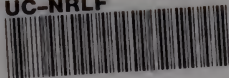


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# EXTEMPORARY SPEECH IN ANTIQUITY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND  
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF GREEK)

BY

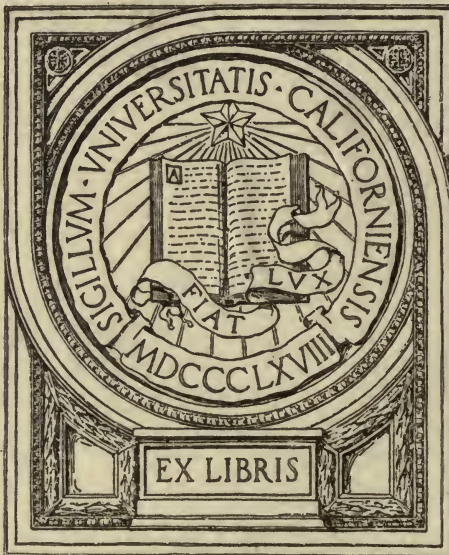
HAZEL LOUISE BROWN

MENASHA, WIS.

THE COLLEGIATE PRESS  
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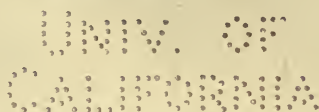
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## PREFACE

While the object of the following pages has been to consider the part played by extemporary speech in the theory and practice of the orators and rhetoricians of ancient times, it has been thought best to set the discussion in the framework of a running commentary on Greek oratory in general, in order to give to the paper some sort of unity. In case of many of the orators there are only a few isolated references to their practice as speakers, and of some of them we can only say, after considering the evidence, what in each case was the probable method followed. Many topics which might have been investigated in connection with the main subject, necessarily have been left untouched, since a discussion of them would carry the treatment far beyond the confines of a single paper. An attempt has been made to bring the discussion into relation to modern theory and practice by means of the parallels in the foot-notes, though of necessity these have been few and short.

In the notes I have endeavored to give credit to all articles from which I consciously received any suggestion; if I have in any case failed to do so, the oversight has been unintentional. Particular mention must be made of Blass's *Attische Beredsamkeit*, which has proved invaluable.

In conclusion I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul Shorey of the University of Chicago, at whose suggestion the paper was written, and to whose comments and criticism any value it may have is largely due.

HAZEL LOUISE BROWN.

Chicago, 1914



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## I. THE PLACE OF EXTEMPORARY SPEECH IN THE THEORY OF RHETORIC

It is not until comparatively late in the history of Greek literature that we find any formal theoretical treatment of extemporary speech, and then only in the form of polemic against a rival. Purely extemporaneous speech was very early found to be ineffective, and as a result there arose a large number of τέχναι, the object of which was to show how speech could be used to the best advantage.<sup>1</sup> Any treatise on rhetoric implies preparation and study on the part of the one who produces it, and of the one who follows it. It is the result of its author's experience and observation,<sup>2</sup> and the study of this is the means by which the pupil attains his purpose.<sup>3</sup> If a people "practiced rhetoric" they must have studied to make their speeches effective, and they must have used all the technical knowledge they possessed to attain that end.

It pleased the Greek rhetoricians to trace back their art, not only in practice but in theory, to even before the time of Nestor, Phoenix, Odysseus, and the other Homeric heroes.<sup>4</sup> The rules for speeches

<sup>1</sup> The first of these came into being as a result of the political disturbances in Sicily (cf. p. 75). Cases which dealt with this period must be settled largely on the basis of the probable, and it was the man of training who could make his case seem most probable. The man able to speak had an advantage over the one who could not, as well then as in Aristotle's time; (Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* I, 12, 2; 24; II, 2, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Blair (*Lecture XIV*) p. 348 Vol. I says: "All science arises from observations on practice. Practice has always gone before method and rule; but method and rule have afterwards improved and perfected practice in every art."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hobbes's *Brief of Aristotle's Rhetoric* I, 1: "to discover method is all one with teaching an art."

<sup>4</sup> Syrianus in Hermog. p. 17 (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 43, 3 Walz): σύνδρομος γὰρ ἡ ῥητορικὴ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πρὸ Νέστορος τε καὶ Παλαμήδους καὶ Φοίνικος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύος καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἤσκητο παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἡ γοῦν κατὰ Κάδμῳν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Plut. *De Soc. Genio* p. 309H; also Hermogenes (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 405, 25, Spengel), where Homer, as the best poet, is also called the best orator and speech writer. Seymour (*Life in the Homeric Age*) p. 44, says: "The oratory of Nestor, like that of the second book of the *Iliad*, where Odysseus urges the Achaeans to remain before Troy (II, 284), and that of the ninth book of the *Iliad*, where Achilles is asked to return to the

in very early times were doubtless very simple ones and not worthy of the name of τέχνη. But still the observance of them would take the speakers out of the class of purely extemporaneous orators. One critic says<sup>5</sup> that the germs of a τέχνη existed in Homer, and some even go so far as to attribute the invention of the δικανικός λόγος not to Antiphon, but to Menestheus,<sup>6</sup> the leader of the Athenians at Troy.

Leaving the age of legend, we find that the "discovery" of rhetoric is ascribed by Aristotle to Empedocles.<sup>7</sup> Empedocles himself seems to have written no book on rhetoric, but perhaps imbued Corax and the other rhetoricians with his principles.

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field of conflict (IX, 225 ff.), is no natural untrained eloquence, but shows that the art had been studied."

Gladstone, in his *Homer* (p. 119), says: "The art of speech was, in truth, at this period what may be termed their (the Greeks) only fine art; and they had carried it, at a stroke, to its perfection."

The practice of the rhetoricians of tracing their art back to the Homeric heroes is parodied by Plato in the *Phaedrus* (261 B-C): "What", says Socrates "have you heard only of the rhetorical arts of Nestor and Odysseus, which they composed during their leisure in Ilium, and have you never heard of those by Palamedes?" "By Zeus," replies Phaedrus, "I have not even heard of those by Nestor, unless you make Gorgias a Nestor, or Thrasy-machus and Theodorus an Odysseus." "Perhaps I do," returns Socrates.

According to the Scholiast on the passage, by Palamedes Socrates meant Zeno. Holden in a note on Plut. *Dem.* c VIII, 3, says Plato is referring to Alcidas under the name of Palamedes.

<sup>5</sup> Auctor. Proleg. in Hermog. (Walz VII, 5-6) quoted by Spengel (*Art. Script.* p. 7): καὶ ὅτι Ὅμηρος τὰ σπέρματα τῆς τέχνης κατέβαλεν, ἐδήλωσε Τηλέφορος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ὅστις τέχνην συγγραφάμενος ἐπέγραψε περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὅμηρον ῥητορικῆς ἀκαεὶ περὶ τῶν τρισκαίδεκα συνεγράψατο στάσεων· λέγουσι δὲ τινες δικανικὸν λόγον εὐρηκέναι [Cod. εἰρηκέναι] πρῶτον Μενεσθέα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀφίκετο, ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι Ἀντιφῶντα. Compare Quintilian X, 1, 49.

<sup>6</sup> The choice of Menestheus as originator of this sort of speech was no doubt due to a desire on the part of the late writer to prove the superiority of Athens even in heroic times. It was on the basis of Homer's mention of Menestheus (*Iliad* II, 552; XII, 373; XIII, 195; cf. *Æsch.* III, 184; Plut. *Cimon* 7) that Athens claimed the right to the leadership against Xerxes (Herod. VII, 159-161).

<sup>7</sup> Diogenes Laertius VIII, 57: Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ φησὶ πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικὴν εὐρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικὴν. Cf. also IX, 25. Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Math.* VII, 6: Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ πρῶτον ῥητορικὴν κεινικέναι. Suidas s. v. Ζήνων. Quintilian III, 1,



It is usually agreed that the founders of rhetoric as an art were Corax and Tisias of Syracuse, the first of whom was said to be the author of the first rhetorical treatise or *τέχνη*.<sup>8</sup> Whether Corax, or

8: nam primus post eos quos poetae tradiderunt movisse aliqua circa rhetoricen Empedocles dicitur. Aristotle (*De Soph. Elench.* 183, b. 31) seems to have Empedocles and Corax in mind when he says: "The original inventors (of the art of rhetoric) made but little progress. The great modern professors inherited from those who went before them many successive improvements, and added others themselves. *Tisias after the first inventors of the art*, Thrasy-machus after Tisias, Theodorus after Thrasy-machus, and many others contributed different portions."

Cf. Verrall, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. IX, p. 129 ff; and 197 ff. In the first of these papers Mr. Verrall states that Pindar, in a passage of the *Second Olympian Ode* (93 ff.) alludes to a work of an etymological character by two authors, one of whom was Corax of Syracuse. His co-worker is not named. Mr. Verrall reaches this ingenious conclusion in the following manner. In line 93 of the *Ode*, instead of ἐξ δὲ τὸ πᾶν, he argues in favor of τοπᾶν from τοπή, a noun which he elicits from the verb τοπάζω or τοπάω. This "divination" (τοπή) he believes meant the explanation of words, a technical explanation, which could only be given by a professional interpreter. The professors of this species of learning are described as two in number (γαυῆτον) and resemble crows. In the word κόρακες, Mr. Verrall sees a play upon the name of the Sicilian rhetorician, Corax. He therefore infers that the Pindar passage contains an allusion to a work on etymology by Corax and some unnamed coadjutor.

In the second paper Mr. Verrall undertakes to show (1) that Tisias was a collaborator with Corax in his *τέχνη*, and (2) that Tisias may have been the collaborator in the work to which Pindar alludes.

If we accept Mr. Verrall's view, all the accounts of the life of Tisias which make an allusion by Pindar chronologically impossible must be rejected. Mr. Fennell suggests that the second author might be Empedocles.

<sup>8</sup> Quintilian III, 1, 8. Whether Corax and Tisias each wrote a *τέχνη*, or whether there was but one work is a disputed question. Aristotle mentions Tisias as the immediate successor of the founders of the art of rhetoric, (*Soph. Elench.* c. 34, 183b 31). Cicero (*De Invent.* II, 6) calls him the inventor and princeps of the art; cf. also Plato, *Phaedrus* 273C and Eudocia Aug. DLXV, p. 441 (ed. Flach). Later (*De Orat.* I, 20, 91) he applies the same terms to both Corax and Tisias, and in the *Brutus* (XII, 46) quoting Aristotle, he joins them as the authors of an art; "artem et praecepta Siculus Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse." Plato (*Phaedrus* 273A) assigns the theory of probability to Tisias (cf. also 267A); Aristotle (*Rhet.* II, 24), to Corax. Quintilian (II, 17, 7, and III, 1, 8), joins the two. The author of the Proleg. ad Hermog. (p. 130A), ascribes the treatise to Corax. See also Syrianus ad Hermog. (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 575 Walz) . . . . Κόραξ ὁ τεχνολόγος. Arsen. Violet. ed. Walz p. 506: Ἰσοκράτης εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τινός,

Corax and Tisias, in their rules for speaking, treated the subject of extemporary speech is unknown. The divisions of a speech which Corax made, proemium, narrative, argument, subsidiary remarks, and peroration,<sup>9</sup> would seem to argue preparation.<sup>10</sup> Except the story of his lawsuit with his pupil Tisias,<sup>11</sup> there is no evidence of his having appeared in court himself, or written speeches for

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δοι ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀρπάζεται, τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ Κόρακος ἐφευρόντος τὴν ῥητορικὴν οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κόρακες εἰσιν. Two explanations are possible. First, Corax himself wrote no τέχνη. His instructions were oral, and were developed and committed to writing by his pupil Tisias. This is the conclusion reached by Susemihl, *Genet. Entwicklung der platonisch Philosophie* (1885) I, p. 485. Second, both wrote "arts". That of Tisias was an expansion of that of his master and superseded it. We hear nothing of Corax's work, but that of Tisias was a well-known text book in Plato's time (*Phaedrus* 273A).

Cf. Verrall, *Journ. Phil.* IX, 199-203, on the reference to Tisias in Aristotle, *Soph. Elench.* p. 183b 32.

W. R. Roberts has pointed out (*Class. Rev.* XVIII, [1904] pp. 18-21) that the fragment of a rhetorical treatise recently discovered (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Part III, pp. 27-30) offers some interesting points of contact with the Sicilian rhetoric of Corax and Tisias as described by Cicero (*Brutus* XII), the Prolegomena in Hermogenem (Walz *Rhet. Gr.* IV, 12), and Aristotle (*Soph. Elench.* 183b). He calls attention to the fact that the words ἀκριβέως and γεγραμμέναις, found at the beginning of the new fragment correspond closely to the *accurate* and *de scripto* (cf. c. II, n. 31) of Cicero's quotation from Aristotle's lost συναγωγή τέχνων in the *Brutus*. (Compare Alcidamas 13). The fragment also closely agrees with the purposes and methods of Corax as given in the Prolegomena in Hermogenem and contains the same technical terms, διήγησις and ποσοῖμον. For a full discussion of the fragment and conjectures as to its possible source see Roberts' article.

<sup>9</sup> Proleg. in Hermog. (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 11-12 Walz); Spengel, *Art. Script.* p. 25. Doxopater (*Rhet. Gr.* VI, 13 Walz) attributes to Corax only three divisions: proemium, argument, and peroration. Cf. *Rhet. Gr.* III, 610, where an anonymous author gives the same three.

<sup>10</sup> Not necessarily verbal preparation. The speakers need not have written out and memorized a speech, but their remarks could not have been arranged under such heads without a certain amount of at least mental preparation.

<sup>11</sup> Auctor Proleg. in Hermog. (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 13; 154 ff., Walz); Sopater, (*Rhet. Gr.* V, 6, 65, Walz); Max. Plan. (*Rhet. Gr.* V, 215, Walz); for another version see Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* II, 96.

The same story is told of the suit between Protagoras and his pupil Euathlus by Aulus Gellius (V, 10), Marcell. (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 179, Walz), Apuleius (*Flor.* IV, 18); compare Quintilian, III, 1, 10.



others, although it is quite possible that he may have done so.<sup>12</sup> Under the circumstances in which he wrote, he would hardly fail to set forth his principles of rhetoric in written speeches.<sup>13</sup>

Whether Gorgias left a written art is doubtful.<sup>14</sup> Diogenes Laertius, quoting Satyrius, says that Gorgias left behind him a treatise containing a complete system of the art of rhetoric.<sup>15</sup> His

<sup>12</sup> Corax appears to have taught rhetoric for a living because he failed in political life: οὗτος ὁ Κόραξ οὖν (Westermann) φθὼν κρατούμενος τῇ τῆς ῥητορικῆς κηρύττει διδασκαλίαν (Schol. Hermog. p. 26 Sp.). Cf. Jebb, p. CXXI.

According to Pausanias (VI, 17, 8), Tisias received pay for writing a pleading for a certain woman of Syracuse. This is mentioned only by Pausanias, and doubts have arisen as to the reliability of the statement. Cf. Blass, I, 21 (2nd. ed.).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Navarre, (*Essai sur la Rhétorique Grecque*) p. 13. There can be little doubt that speeches were written by them to be memorized by their clients in their suits at law. Navarre believes that it was the practice of his profession which suggested to Corax the idea of writing a formal treatise.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, 53. Diogenes Laertius (VIII, 58) asserts that Gorgias left behind him a τέχνη and the author of the Prolegomena to Hermogenes (Spengel, *Art. Script.* p. 82) agrees with him. Quintilian (III, 1, 8) includes him among the writers of "artes." A scholion on Hermogenes (quoted by Spengel p. 78) assigns τέχναι to the sophist. The latter were, however, rather dissertations on particular questions than any one complete theory (cf. Welcker, *Kleine Schriften* II, 456, 176). Dionysius (*De Comp. Verb.* c. 12) mentions a discussion of Gorgias περὶ καιροῦ with the remark that he was the first who ever wrote on the subject.

Spengel (p. 81) would deny the existence of any rhetorical treatise by Gorgias on the basis of passages from Aristotle (*Soph. Elench.* c. 33, 183b 15) and Cicero (*Brut.* XII, 46,) but Schanz (*Beitrage zur Vorsokratischen Philosophie* p. 131) declares that neither of these passages is decisive. Plato (*Phaedrus* 261B, 267A) expressly alludes to treatises on rhetoric by Gorgias. Cf. also Dionysius (*De Comp. Verb.* c. 12, p. 68R). Blass's conclusion, however, is the probable one.

Dr. Süss (*Ethos*, pp. 17-49) regards Gorgias as the source of all that is good in the rhetorical ideas of Plato, Alcidas, and Isocrates. Plato and Isocrates may have owed far more to Gorgias than we can see at present. but Dr. Süss's method of reasoning does not convince us of this with certainty.

<sup>15</sup> Diog. Laert. VIII, 58; Quint. III, 8; Eud. Aug. CCLI; Diod. Sic. XII, 53; *Rhet. Gr.* V, 543, Walz; Dionys. Hal. *De Comp. Verb.* p. 73 (Goeller); Auctor Proleg. in Hermog. (Spengel p. 82): Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνοῦς κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἐλθὼν Ἀθήνησι τὰς συγγραφείσας παρ' αὐτῶν [Corace et Tisia] ἐκόμισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτέραν προσέθηκε· καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀντιφῶν ὁ

method of teaching, like that of Protagoras,<sup>16</sup> rested on the commission to memory of prepared passages: "he wrote panegyrics and invectives on every subject, for he thought it was the province of an orator to be able to exaggerate or extenuate as occasion might require."<sup>17</sup> That he advocated extemporary speech is, of course, clear. The object of his teaching was to enable orators to speak plausibly on any subject at a moment's notice.<sup>18</sup> But this power was to come as a result of his teaching, and the method he followed. The commission to memory of general topics and devotion to style would seem to argue that the so-called extemporary speeches were in part, at least, carefully prepared and even memorized. The preparation of the Sophists was none the less preparation because it was for all occasions rather than for any particular one.<sup>19</sup>

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Ῥαμνούσιος ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγεται τέχνην γράψαι· μετὰ ταῦτα Ἰσοκράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ. Cf. Aristotle, *Soph. Elench.* c. 34; Plato, *Phaedrus* 261B-C. The work of Gorgias's pupil, Polus, doubtless contained his doctrines. Syrianus (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 44, Walz) calls this work of Polus a τέχνη. Suidas (s. v. Polus) calls it περὶ λέξεως. In Plato's *Gorgias* (462B-C) we are told that Socrates had read this work. On this passage the scholiast on the *Gorgias* remarks: ἐκ τούτου δῆλον, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πῶλου λόγος αὐτοσχέδιος ἦν ἀλλὰ σύγγραμμα. This statement seems very doubtful. On p. 448C of the *Gorgias* the scholiast says: φασὶ μὴ ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου τὸν Πῶλον ταῦτα εἰπεῖν, προσυγγραψάμενον δὲ, probably meaning that Plato in this passage has preserved a fragment of Polus's τέχνη, possibly its opening sentence. He is said to have borrowed some technical terms from Licymnius (cf. scholiast on *Phaedrus* 267C), whose art of rhetoric is mentioned by Aristotle, (*Rhet.* III, 13, 5).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Quintilian III, 1, 10; Spengel, pp. 42-45.

<sup>17</sup> Cicero, *Brutus* XII, 46-47; Arist. *Soph. Elench.* c. 34, 183b. Cf. also Quintilian III, 1, 12. The scholia or commentary of Olympiodorus on the *Gorgias*, printed in the Supplement to Jahn's *Jahrbucher Bd.* XIV, is a copy of what professes to be contemporary notes of the oral lectures of the rhetorician.

The picture drawn by Plato of the method of teaching of Gorgias must not be taken as decisive evidence. We are told by Athenaeus (XI, 113), and the story is not improbable, that when the dialogue was read to Gorgias he assured his friends that he never said or heard any of the things contained in it.

<sup>18</sup> Compare Cicero's definition of an orator: *De Orat.* I. 6, 21; 13, 59.

<sup>19</sup> On the services rendered by the Sophists to eloquence, see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* II, 125; Navarre, pp. 66-71.

According to Aristotle,<sup>20</sup> the next after Tisias to take up rhetoric was Thrasymachus of Chalcedon.<sup>21</sup> He is said to have been the author of an "art of rhetoric",<sup>22</sup> and also to have written ἀφορμαὶ ῥητορικαί,<sup>23</sup> which may not have differed from his large treatise, a collection of exordia,<sup>24</sup> discussions on climaxes,<sup>25</sup> and on the means of arousing pity.<sup>26</sup>

We are told that Antiphon was the first to publish an art of rhetoric: πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ῥητορικὰς τέχνας ἐξήνεγκε γενόμενος ἀρχίζων.<sup>27</sup> Pollux declares that the treatise current under Antiphon's

<sup>20</sup> *Soph. Elench.* c. 34.

<sup>21</sup> On Thrasymachus see Blass I, 240 ff., Jebb, (*Att. Or.*) II, 423 Cope (*Journ. Class. and Sac. Phil.*) III, 268-281; C. F. Hermann, *de Thrasymacho Chalcedonio* (Gottingen, 1848); Suidas s.v. Thrasymachus; Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo* p. 627; *de Dem.* c. 3; *de Lys.* c. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Suidas s. n.; cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 267C-D, 271A; and the couplet in Athenaeus (X, 454) quoted by Blass (I. 243), where the name is given by the first letters of the words in the first line; also the scholiast on Juvenal VII, 203.

<sup>23</sup> Suidas; Navarre, p. 155, believes these are to be identified with the rhetoric mentioned by the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds*, 850. According to Welcker (*Kl. Schr.* II, 457), the ἀφορμαὶ ῥητορικαί are identical with the ὑπερβάλλοντες.

<sup>24</sup> Athenaeus X, p. 416A.

<sup>25</sup> ὑπερβάλλοντες (λόγοι), Plutarch, *Symp.* I, 2, 3, (616D).

<sup>26</sup> ἔλεοι. Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 1. These were no doubt what Cicero calls "miserationes": *Top.* XXII, 86; *Part. Or.* XVII, 56; *Brut.* XXI, 82; *De Or.* III, 30, 118; *Orat.* XXXVII, 130; *De Inv.* I, 98; 106 ff.; Quint. VI, 1, 21-45. Cf. Volkmann, sec. 28, p. 222. From Plato, *Phaedrus*, 267C, Blass (*Att. Bereds.* I, 248 ff., 2nd. ed.) would suggest that Thrasymachus wrote a treatise on arousing anger and one on invective. All these may have been separate treatises or chapters in his great work (Navarre, p. 156). They were probably collections of examples rather than theoretical treatments of the subjects. Spengel (*Art Script.* p. 96) believes that Thrasymachus is described in the following passage of Aristotle; (*Rhet.* I, 1, p. 1354A): νῦν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων συντιθέντες ὀλίγον πεπορικασιν αὐτῆς μόριον . . . διαβολὴ γὰρ καὶ ἔλεος καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη, τῆς ψυχῆς οὐ περὶ τοῦ πράγματός ἐστιν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν. Cf. also Plato, *Rep.* I, 336B. Dionysius (*de Dem.* c. 3) praises his δημηγορικοὺς λόγους, probably the same called by Suidas συμβουλευτικοί. These Navarre (p. 417) says were not real speeches but only compositions to serve as models. This would account for the statement of Dionysius that Thrasymachus left no judicial or deliberative speeches (*de Isaeo* c. 20).

<sup>27</sup> Pseudo-Plut. *Vit. X Oratt.* 832E; also Quintilian III, 1, 11: "artem et ipse (Antiphon) composuit." Diod. Sic. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I, 365: φασι



name is spurious,<sup>28</sup> but he seems to be alone among ancient critics in that opinion.<sup>29</sup> There seems to have been a difference of opinion in ancient times as to whether Antiphon "discovered" rhetoric or only advanced an art already existing.<sup>30</sup> Hermogenes describes him as the inventor and founder of the political style.<sup>31</sup> He is, at any rate, the first Greek whose works are extant who combines the theory with the practice of rhetoric.

It is possible to form some idea of Antiphon's treatise.<sup>32</sup> In his extant speeches we find a combination of natural eloquence with the rhetorical influence of Gorgias,<sup>33</sup> of whom one account makes

δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ διατριβὴν λόγους καὶ τὰ ῥητορικὰ ἰδιώματα εὐρεῖν καὶ μισθοῦ συνηγορῆσαι . . . . . πρῶτον δικανικὸν λόγον εἰς ἔκδοσιν γραψάμενον κ. τ. λ. Photius *Cod.* CCLIX: πρῶτον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ῥητορικῶς συντάξασθαι φασὶ τέχνας ἀγχίνουιν γεγονότα. γένος Ἀντιφώντος, 4; μηδ' ἦν πῶ τις τότε . . . . . μήτε τέχνων. ῥητορικῶν συγγραφεὺς. . . . .

<sup>28</sup> Pollux VI, 143: . . . . . ἐν ταῖς ῥητορικαῖς τέχναις [Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν] δοκοῦσι δ' οὐ γνήσῃαι

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Dionys. Hal. *First Letter to Ammaeus* c. 2: "I would not have them think that all the precepts of rhetoric are included in the Peripatetic philosophy, and that nothing important has been devised by such men as Theodorus, and Thrasymachus, and Antiphon; nor by Isocrates and Anaximenes and Alcidas, nor by their contemporaries who composed rhetorical handbooks, and engaged in oratorical contests, such men as Theodectes, and Philiscus, and Isaeus, and Cephisodorus, together with Hyperides, and Lycurgus, and Aeschines." (Roberts).

<sup>30</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I, 15, 2; Eud. Aug. CVIII, and Suidas s. v. Antiphon.

<sup>31</sup> Hermogenes, *De Form.* II, (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 415, Sp.): πρῶτος λέγεται . . . . . εὐρητής καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γενέσθαι τοῦ τύπου τοῦ πολιτικοῦ.

<sup>32</sup> It would seem that the work was of rather a technical nature. Galen *Praef. ad Glossas Hippocrat.* 19, p. 66 (Kuhn): οὗτις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν περὶ λόγους ἔχόντων ἡξίου ποιεῖν ὀνόματα καινά, δημοῖ μὲν καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ἱκανῶς, ὅς γε ὅπως αὐτὰ ποιητέον ἐκδιδάσκει. Also Ammonius π. διαφ. λέξ. p. 127 (Valcken): σημείον καὶ τεκμήριον διαφέρει. Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ τὰ μὲν παροιχόμενα σημείοις πιστοῦσθαι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα τεκμηρίοις. Cf. also p. 173. Other passages referring to the τέχνη also seems to deal with meanings of words: Antiattic. B. A. p. 78, 6:—ἀστοργία, φιλοστοργία, στοργή; Ἀντιφῶν ἐν δευτέρῳ π. τῆς ῥητ. τεχνῆς. p. 79, 1: ἀπαρσασκεύαστον. Ἀντιφῶν τρίτῳ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης. p. 110, 33: ὀλιγοφιλίαν. Ἀντιφῶν τρίτῳ. Pollux III, 63: πολυφιλίαν δὲ καὶ ὀλιγοφιλίαν Ἀντιφῶν.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I, 15, 6:—(λόγοις) ἐν οἷς ἡ δεινότης καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τέχνης ἐγκείται . . . . . Cf. Blass, I, 130-134. Compare

Antiphon a pupil,<sup>34</sup> and it is of course natural to suppose that in his speeches he set forth the principles advocated in his τέχνη. In the passages referring to this work there is no hint that he preached the doctrine of extemporal speech, although he may of course, have done so in parts of the treatise which have not been preserved. All the evidence we have supports the opposite belief, that he enjoined upon the orator care and practice: Ἀντιφῶν τε ἐν ταῖς ῥητορικαῖς τέχναις τὸ μὲν τὰ παρόντα ἔφη καὶ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ παρακείμενα αἰσθάνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι ἡμῖν· παρὰ φύσιν δὲ τὸ φυλάττειν αὐτῶν ἐκποδὼν γενομένων ἐναργῆ τὸν τύπον.<sup>35</sup> Two other things seem to indicate that his τέχνη would advise preparation of speeches, in part, at least. These are his tetralogies,<sup>36</sup> and his collection of prooemia and epilogues. The first were probably μελέται, school exercises or examples, in his rhetorical treatise. In them only the essential framework for discussion is supplied. They are merely skeletons to be filled out as occasion might require. It cannot be proved that the tetralogies were not issued separately. But since they are exactly the sort of thing which would show the ability of Antiphon to argue well on both sides of a case,<sup>37</sup> a power which as a rhetorician he doubtless claimed to possess,<sup>38</sup> it seems possible, at least, to assign them to the τέχνη.<sup>39</sup>

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Dionysius' remarks on Gorgias (*De Imitat.* II, 8); see, however, Frei. *Quaest. Protag.* 530 ff. Mahaffy (*Hist. Class. Gr. Lit.*) p. 82 says: "His style shows, as might be expected, evident traces of the study of Tisias and Gorgias, the reasonable presumptions (εἰκότα) of Tisias, and the antitheses of Gorgias being prominent in his speeches."

<sup>34</sup> Suidas s. v. Antiphon.

<sup>35</sup> Longinus, *Rhet. Gr.* I, 318, 9 Sp.

<sup>36</sup> The authenticity of the Tetralogies has been questioned. The arguments given for them in the following works seem conclusive: Blass, *Att. Bereds.* II (2nd. ed.), pp. 151-154; Croiset, *Hist. de la Lit. Grecque*, IV, 73; Cucuel, *Essai sur la langue et le style de l'orateur Antiphon* p. 127ff.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Auctor Hypothes. in Antiphont. Tetralog: πανταχοῦ μὲν τὴν οἰκείαν Ἀντιφῶν ἐνδείκνυται δύναμιν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταύταις ταῖς τετραλογίαις ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγωνίζεται. Δύω γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λόγους εἰπὼν, δύω καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἐμελέτησεν, ὁμοίως ἐν ἀμφοτέροις εὐδοκμῶν. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* I, 1, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Compare the story of Carneades' ability to so argue, and Cato's horror at the proceeding: Quintilian, XII, 1, 35; at greater length in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* V, 13, 16; Plut. *Cato*; Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 31.

<sup>39</sup> Sauppe (*Fragm. Oratt. Gr.* p. 145) and Spengel (*Art. Script.* p. 117) believe the Tetralogies to be examples taken from the τέχνη.



The collection of Proems and Epilogues (προοίμια καὶ ἐπίλογοι) ascribed to Antiphon may also have had a place in the "art." But since we know of collections of such parts of speeches by orators who never wrote a formal treatise, it is more natural to suppose that they were issued separately. Such collections furnished the orator with introductions and conclusions of speeches. They were of so general a nature as to be applicable to almost any speech, and their use implies verbal preparation and memorization at least for part of the oration. Blass<sup>40</sup> suggests that Antiphon may have used this collection of his for the opening and closing passages of the speech "*On the Murder of Herodes*," and the opening of that "*On the Choreutes*." Examples of the προοίμια have been preserved by Suidas.<sup>41</sup> The passage in Cicero's *Brutus* (c. XII) where he quotes a statement from Aristotle, . . . "huic (Gorgiae) Antiphontem Rhamnusium similia quaedam habuisse conscripta," probably refers to this collection.<sup>42</sup>

The period of Lysias' activity at Athens was not unlike the crisis at Syracuse which produced the earliest masters of rhetoric, Corax and Tisias. Except the doubtful story in Aristotle, which Cicero repeats,<sup>43</sup> we have no evidence that he taught rhetoric, yet he, too, is said to have produced a rhetorical treatise,<sup>44</sup> and a collection of commonplaces.<sup>45</sup>

On the Tetralogies as "œuvres d'école" see Cucuel, p. 131. Cf. also Süß, *Ethos* pp. 3-10.

<sup>40</sup> *Att. Bereds*, p. 103. Cf. *de caede Herod.* 14, 87 and *de Chor.* 2, 3.

<sup>41</sup> s. v. ἄμα, αἰσθέσθαι, μοχθηρός; also Pollux VI, 143; Photius s. v. μοχθηρός. B. A. p. 359, 6.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Blass, p. 103; Mahaffy, II, p. 94, believes that the reference is to the extant tetralogies. Cicero, in the above-mentioned passage, discusses "communes loci"; under this heading the proems and epilogues certainly would be included. The term does not seem nearly so applicable to the tetralogies.

<sup>43</sup> Cicero, *Brutus* XII, 48. Compare Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo* p. 365; Spengel, *Art. Script.* p. 98n.; Westermann, sec. 46, 6.

<sup>44</sup> Pseudo-Plut. 836B; Suidas, s. v. Lysias; Eud. Aug. 619, p. 463 (Flach).

<sup>45</sup> παρασκευαί. Cf. Süß, pp. 10-11; Blass, I, (2nd. ed.) 382 n. 1. Navarre p. 158, believes that these were distinct from his treatise on rhetoric. On these productions see Marcellinus in Hermog. (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 352 Walz): they were τόποι γεγυμνασμένοι. Navarre, p. 166, says: "l'ouvrage de Lysias n'était pas un traité théorique mais un recueil de modèles."

Even if Lysias did not write an art of rhetoric himself, he at least served as a text for one. Plato's *Phaedrus* has very aptly been described as "a dramatized treatise on rhetoric."<sup>46</sup> Indeed, if one can imagine a great genius dramatizing Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the result would probably be an approach to the second half of the *Phaedrus*. The popular treatises on the art of rhetoric excited Plato's ridicule and both in the *Phaedrus* and in the *Gorgias* he holds them and their professors up to scorn.<sup>47</sup> But in the *Phaedrus*, as Thompson observes,<sup>48</sup> Plato furnishes us with the scheme of a new and philosophical rhetoric, founded partly on psychology and partly on dialectic, and which he exemplifies in the second erotic discourse.<sup>49</sup> At the beginning of the *Phaedrus*,<sup>50</sup> a speech attributed to Lysias is read by Phaedrus,<sup>51</sup> and criticized by

Aristotle mentions two other writers of treatises on rhetoric who developed τόποι. Of these the first is Calippus (*Rhet.* II, 23, 13, 1399a; also 1400a), and the other Pamphius (*Rhet.* II, 23, 20, 1400a; see 1373a). The latter is praised by Cicero (*de Orat.* III, 21, 81); see also Quintilian III, 6, 34.

<sup>46</sup> Thompson, *Phaedrus*, p. XIV (*Introd.*).

<sup>47</sup> In the *Gorgias* he characterizes rhetoric as a mere trick acquired by practice. Cf. *Gorgias*, 462C; *Phaedr.* 260E.

<sup>48</sup> *Introd.* p. XIV.

<sup>49</sup> *Phaedr.* 244-257C. Cf. Thompson, *Introd.* p. XV.

<sup>50</sup> 227C.

<sup>51</sup> Whether or not the *Eroticus* ascribed to Lysias (*Phaedr.* 230E-236B) is genuine, is a much debated question. Lysias is mentioned as the author of erotic discourses by the Pseudo-Plutarch (836B), Suidas (s. v. *Lysias*), Eudocia Augusta (619 p. 463 Flach), Photius (*Cod.* CCLXII), Harpocration (s. v. Ἀπαγορεύειν) and Maximus of Tyre (XVIII, 5), and so far as we know he was the first to commit to writing discourses of this description (Thompson, *Phaedrus*, p. 151 n. 3). The ancient critics, Hermeias, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ep. ad Pompeium, de Platone*, 775R), Diogenes Laertius (III, c. 19) all believe it genuine. Cornelius Fronto wrote an *Eroticus* in imitation of that ascribed to Lysias, and neither he nor his pupil, Marcus Aurelius, for whom the discourse was written, seem to have doubted that the speech in the *Phaedrus* was the work of Lysias.

Among modern critics, Jebb (*Att. Or.* I, p. 305 ff.) believes the speech a genuine production of Lysias. He bases his belief first, on the elaborate dramatic introduction for a verbally exact recital of the speech, which Phaedrus has spent the day memorizing (*Phaedr.* 228A-C), a preface which he says would be inartistic if the speech were merely Plato's imitation of Lysias, but which is perfectly fitting as an apology for incorporating into

Socrates.<sup>52</sup> Phaedrus thereupon demands that Socrates make a better speech on the same theme. Socrates, after ironically depreciating his own ability as a speaker, and the folly of his attempting to speak "extempore"<sup>53</sup> on the subject on which Lysias, the most able writer of the day, has spent a long time,<sup>54</sup> makes a speech<sup>55</sup> which he immediately recants on the ground of impiety, in the second erotic discourse, which exemplifies the theory of rhetoric contained in the rest of the dialogue.

Plato's definition of rhetoric, λόγου δυνάμις τυγχάνει ψυχαγωγία<sup>56</sup>

his own production so large a portion of the work of another, (*Phaedrus* 228; also 243C: ὁ ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου ἐρηθείς), and second, on the closeness of Socrates's criticism, which would not have much meaning or force "if the satirist were merely analyzing his own handiwork". Others who hold this opinion are Spengel (*Art Script.* p. 122 ff.), Westermann, Sauppe, Vater, Susemihl, and Egger (*Observations sur l'Éroticos inséré sous le nom de Lysias dans le Phèdre de Platon*, *Annuaire des Études grecques* 1871); Blass, (*Att. Bereds.* I, 416-23), Thompson (*Phaedrus*, App. I, and *Gorgias*, *Introd.* iii), Grote, (*Plato*, III, p. 47). The opposite view is taken by Stallbaum, Jowett (*Introd.* to the *Phaedrus*), Perrot (*L'éloquence Pol. et Jud. à Athènes*, p. 246), Müller (Donaldson) II, p. 140, C. F. Hermann, Mahaffy (*Gr. Lit.* II, pp. 141-142), and Croiset, IV, 436. Cf. also Süss, pp. 11-12, and p. 71 ff.

<sup>52</sup> 230E-234D.

<sup>53</sup> 236D.

<sup>54</sup> 227D-228.

<sup>55</sup> 237B-241D.

<sup>56</sup> In reality, Plato's definition has an element which that of the rhetoricians does not possess. Dr. Süss (*Ethos*, p. 79, and 99) transfers the Platonic definition to Gorgias. He cites as proof a passage in Gorgias' *Helen* (sec. 10), and two passages of Isocrates (II, 49, and IX, 10). The passage of Gorgias does not contain the word, and Isocrates uses it in a very different sense from Plato. In the first passage, Isocrates is speaking as a moralist. With the examples of Homer and the tragedians before us, he says, there is proof given to those who desire to entertain (ψυχαγωγεῖν) their audience that they must refrain from admonitions and advice, and must say only such things as they see that crowds most delight in. In the second passage, also, Isocrates is not speaking as a rhetorician. He is merely stating that poetry possesses means of entertaining the hearers which prose lacks.

Plato goes back to the etymology of the word, "a guidance of the soul," and uses it to emphasize the psychological element in rhetoric.

See Professor Shorey's review of Doctor Süss's book (*Classical Philology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 110).



οὔσα,<sup>57</sup> seemingly does not differ much from that held by the rhetoricians,<sup>58</sup> and elsewhere<sup>59</sup> he shows that he appreciates its worth. But it is not the purpose of the present discussion to enter into Plato's ideas about rhetoric in general. It will deal only with his remarks upon the relative value of the written and the spoken speech. In the *Phaedrus*, the first valuable extant treatise on rhetoric, there is no discussion of extempore speech. The question discussed is the greater value of oral as compared with written discourse, or rather, of oral as compared with written instruction.<sup>60</sup> These remarks are introduced by the myth of Theuth, the scene of which is laid in Egypt, the supposed source of written discourse.<sup>61</sup> The object of the fable is to show that the art of writing causes men to neglect the cultivation of the memory, and gives them the appearance and not the reality of wisdom.<sup>62</sup> Written words, goes on Socrates, are of no further value than to remind one who already knows the subject of which the writings treat.<sup>63</sup> Writing is

<sup>57</sup> *Phaedrus*, 271D.

<sup>58</sup> ῥητορικὴ πειθοῦς δημιουργός (Plato, *Gorgias*, 453A, 452E, 454E, 456A. This definition originated with Corax and Tisias (Proleg. in Hermog. *Rhet. Gr.* III, 611, and IV, 19 Walz); Ammianus Marcellinus XXX, 4, 3: "Tisias suasionis opificem esse memorat assentiente Leontino Gorgia"; cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* I, 2, 1. Doxopater (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 104 Walz) attributes this to Gorgias himself, but is probably quoting Plato; cf. also *Rhet. Gr.* VII, 33 (Walz). Quintilian, II, 15, 3 ff., attributes the definition to Isocrates and finds fault with it as too wide; compare II, 15, 10. See also Isocrates apud Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Math.* II, 62, p. 301F; *Rhet. Gr.* III, 451 Sp. Alcidas is said to have defined rhetoric in his τέχνη as δύναμις τοῦ ὄντος πιδάνου. (Proleg. in Hermog. *Rhet. Gr.* VII, 8 Walz) Aristotle (I, 1, 14; II, 1, 7) has the following definition: "Rhetoric is the faculty of observing or discovering in every case the possible means of persuasion"; cf. I, 2, 1. This is objected to by Quintilian, II, 15, 13. Cf. Cicero, *de Or.* I, 31, 138; III, 14, 53; *de Invent.* I, 5, 6; Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 30, 27.

<sup>59</sup> *Polit.* 304A ff.

<sup>60</sup> The oral exercises which formed part of the teaching of the Academy were ridiculed and disparaged by the comic poets. Cf. Epicrates ap. Athenaeus II, 59C (Meineke III, p. 370), and the amusing picture of the orator in the *Naufragus* of Ehippus (Meineke III, p. 332), quoted by Athenaeus (XI, p. 509C).

<sup>61</sup> 274C-275B. Cf. Quintilian XI, 2, 9. Pithoeus observes that there was a similar opinion among the Druids (Caesar, *B. G.* VI, 14.)

<sup>62</sup> 275.

<sup>63</sup> 275C-D.

like painting, its productions seem alive, but they can neither answer questions nor defend themselves when attacked. Writing is the same for all, and cannot adapt itself to different persons,<sup>64</sup> as the true orator ought to do.<sup>65</sup> The written word is only an eidolon of the spoken discourse, and is only its νόθος ἀδελφός.<sup>66</sup> Therefore the philosopher who has true ideas of the just, the beautiful, and the good, will not, in his serious moods, "write them in water" by committing them to paper; he will not sow them in ink through a reed, in the form of discourses which are both unable to defend themselves and to convey an exact impression of the truth.<sup>67</sup> This he will do only for the sake of recreation, and as a substitute for the amusements of the many.<sup>68</sup>

Rhetoric, then, is inferior to dialectic, which, when it works in minds suited to it, is the surest way to propagate truths and preserve them from extinction.<sup>69</sup>

As to speeches, it has been shown, says Socrates, that, whether dialectic or persuasive, they cannot be constructed technically, that is, scientifically, even so far as their nature admits of such treatment, unless the speaker or writer has been thoroughly trained in dialectic, and can define any term he uses and divide it into parts until such division is no longer possible, and unless he can adjust his discourse to the different types of mind.<sup>70</sup>

Speech writing in itself is not disgraceful. The disgrace lies in writing speeches ill.<sup>71</sup> The speech will be written well if the writer esteems his art at its true value; if he knows that the best of written speeches are for the purpose of reminding those who already know, and that only in discourses spoken and written for the sake of in-

<sup>64</sup> 275D-E. Cf. Alcidas, 27-28.

<sup>65</sup> 273E. The treatment of rhetoric in the *Laws* modifies this. Cf. Grote, *Plato*, IV, p. 324 (1888).

<sup>66</sup> 276A. Cf. Alcidas 27.

<sup>67</sup> 276C.

<sup>68</sup> 276D. Cf. Alcidas 2, and 35.

<sup>69</sup> 276E-277A.

<sup>70</sup> 277B-C. Modern writers on the art of rhetoric are dissemblers, according to Socrates, and conceal the very admirable knowledge they have of the soul; but they will not write artistically until they speak and write according to the method based on the knowledge of souls (271).

<sup>71</sup> 258D.



struction is there found what is clear and perfect and worthy of study.<sup>72</sup>

If, then, those who write have composed their works knowing the truth, and if they are able to defend what they have written, and show by speaking that their own written productions are inferior to their oral efforts, they must be given the higher name of "philosopher." They must not be called poets, writers of speeches, or compilers of laws. Such names apply only to those who have nothing more valuable to offer than what they have written.<sup>73</sup> In this last class Plato places Lysias.

Of course, Plato as a teacher would naturally extol dialectic. And it is true that he tries to make his own written compositions approach as nearly as possible to the method he believed correct. The dialogue form imitated most closely the method of oral teaching.<sup>74</sup> In the person of Socrates, Plato's ideas and beliefs are able to defend themselves. They are not like the Athenian Orators, who, we are told, are like books, and able neither to ask nor to answer questions.<sup>75</sup> But it seems that to such orators as Lysias Plato is unfair.<sup>76</sup> Lysias accomplished a great deal of necessary work which Plato would not have done. The orator described in Plato's *Phaedrus*, a perfectly wise man who knows all truth,<sup>77</sup> could not possibly exist, and even if he could, Plato himself tells us that the

<sup>72</sup> 277D-278B.

<sup>73</sup> 278B-E.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Demetrius of Phalerum (*de Elocut.* 224), where he says that the dialogue reproduces an extemporary utterance.

<sup>75</sup> *Protagoras* 329A.

<sup>76</sup> On Plato and Lysias see Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium, de Platone*. According to Dionysius, Plato had a marked feeling of rivalry against Lysias.

<sup>77</sup> Grote, *Plato*, Vol. III, 42. No man could be said to know, according to Plato, who could not conduct and sustain a Socratic cross-examination.

Grote (*Plato*, III, 44) says: "Plato himself seems to regard this ideal grandeur of the orator as unattainable, and only worth aiming at for the purpose of pleasing the gods, not with any view to practical benefit."

Later (III, 48) Grote says: "Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ars Rhet.* p. 381) notices the severe exigencies which Plato here imposes on the Rhetor, remarking that scarcely any rhetorical discourse could be produced which came up to them. The defect did not belong to Lysias alone, but to all other rhetors also. Demosthenes alone (in the opinion of Dionysius) contrived to avoid the fault because he imitated Plato."

people would never listen to him.<sup>78</sup> His only chance of being heard would be inside the Academy with Socrates, Plato, and Theatetus for his hearers. Plato's orator is a splendid ideal orator, not a human being, with a human being's limitations. Such men as Lysias and Antiphon were practical orators, whose speeches were to serve a practical purpose, and aid ordinary men, not intellectual genuises.<sup>79</sup>

In depreciating the written speech Plato is not quite fair, and it is very natural that he should be unfair. Immeasurably the superior intellectually of any man of his time, it would be as unreasonable to expect him to come down to the level of an orator who would write a clever speech for a given sum, as it would to expect Lysias to rise to the ideal orator of the *Phaedrus*.

To take Plato's view of the written speech as typical of the time, is of course impossible, but that a prejudice did exist against written speeches we know from Isocrates.<sup>80</sup>

Whether Isocrates ever published a formal handbook of the theory of rhetoric is doubtful. He himself never makes mention of it, as he probably would have done had he written one.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Gorg.* 513B; *Rep.* 495-496.

<sup>79</sup> Plato is thinking of all types of literature; the speech-writer, of rhetoric only.

<sup>80</sup> Isocr. V, 29. Cf. John Quincy Adams, "Declamation, Composition and Delivery" (*Lectures on Oratory*); also Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, p. 43 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Aristotle says nothing of such a treatise. The Pseudo-Plutarch (838F) says: "Some say that he wrote treatises on rhetoric; others hold that he employed no formal method, but only practice." The authenticity of the treatise which circulated under his name was doubted by Quintilian (II, 15, 4):—"si tamen re vera ars quae circumfertur eius est." cf. also III, 1, 14. Photius likewise doubts (*Cod.* 260): γεγαφέναι δὲ αὐτὸν τέχνην ῥητορικὴν λέγουσιν, ἣν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιγραφομένην τῷ ὀνόματι. οἱ δὲ συνασκήσει μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσασθαι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους τὸν ἄνδρα φασί. Plutarch (*Dem.* c. 5, 5) speaks of Ἰσοκράτους τέχνας. Cf. also Cicero, *de Invent.* II, 2, 7. In the *Brutus* (XII, 48), Cicero seems to imply a formal treatise:—"Isocrates . . . se ad artes componendas". The reference in *Ad Atticum* II, 1, 1: "meus autem liber totum Isocrati μυσθόηκιον", need not necessarily be an allusion to such a work. See also the Scholiast in Apthon. *Progymn. Cod.* VIII, 127B; Scholiast in Hermog. (Spengel, *Art. Script.* p. 160); Sopater in Hermog. (Sp. p. 161); Apsines p. 713 (Sp. 163); Tzetzes *Chil.* XI, 654; IX, 935; 941; Zozimus p. 258, 137. There is a learned discussion of Manntius on the subject in a note on Cicero, *Epist. ad Div.* I, 9. He conjectures that the treatises may have been the work of Isocrates of Apollonia. Another explanation is to understand that τέχναυ

Blass<sup>82</sup> shows that there is not sufficient evidence to ascribe the alleged work to Isocrates himself "who seems only to have devised special rhetorical artifices called τέχναι.<sup>83</sup> Notes on these were collected by his pupils into a book which passed under his name.<sup>84</sup> In the extant fragments of this work or collection, there is no reference to extemporary speech, nor can I find in his speeches any evidence that he advocated it.<sup>85</sup> On the contrary, all indications point to his having held the opposite view. We are told that in his school technical rules came first. Then the scholar must write a composition in

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or *artes* mean the actual speeches of Isocrates (cf. Rauchenstein, *Panegyricus and Areopagiticus*, ed. V, *Introd.* p. xxiv). According to the Pseudo-Plutarch (837A), Isocrates made use of certain institutions of rhetoric composed by Theramenes, which have since borne Bolon's name.

Cf. M. Sheehan, *De fide artis rhetoricae Isocrati tributae*. (Bonn, 1901); M. Pantazes, ἡ Ἰσοκράτους ῥητορικὴ τέχνη ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ποριζομένη. (Athens, 1906).

<sup>82</sup> pp. 96-98.

<sup>83</sup> Mahaffy, *Hist. Class. Gr. Lit.* II, p. 231. Cf. the use of τέχναι in Æschines, I, 117.

<sup>84</sup> The fragments of this treatise may be found in the Benseler-Blass edition of Isocrates, II, 275.

<sup>85</sup> The word αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, as far as I am aware, occurs but twice in Isocrates; once in IX, 41, where it means to *act on the spur of the moment*, and once in XIII, 9, in a taunt against certain sophists who, while they promise to make their followers able speakers, write worse speeches than certain of the laymen extemporize. Compare XIII, 16 ff. αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, Latin, *extempore facere*, or *dicere*, is classed as specifically Attic by the ancient grammarians. Eustathius (*ad. Hom. Il.* XVI, 1081) discusses at length σχεδῖος in Homer, and its later derivatives.

The word often occurs in senses allied to the idea of practice without suitable preparation (cf. Bud. p. 886): Æsch. III, 158; Xen. *Mem.* III, 5, 21; *Hell.* V, 2, 32.

A few examples of the verb in the sense of extemporize, and of the words allied to it follow. An exhaustive list is of course impossible here. In most cases passages used in the text have been omitted.

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν: Plato, *Crat.* 413D; *Apol.* 20C; *Menex.* 235C-D; Lucian, *Pseudol.* c. 5; Athenaeus, 589B (of a made-up story); Demetrius, *de Elocut.* 224; Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 25, p. 200.

ἀποσχεδιάζειν: Suidas ἀποσχεδιάζουσιν=ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος λέγουσι. Athenaeus, III, 125C; VIII, 337B; Ptolem. Greg. I, 18, 3; Philost. *Vit. Apoll.* V, p. 222, 26A.

αὐτοσχεδιαστής: Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 13, 5, opposed to the τεχνίτης. Cf. Pol-lux, VI, 142.



which the rules he had learned were applied. The finished production was then carefully revised by Isocrates.<sup>86</sup>

Naturally a man like Isocrates, who was incapacitated for the delivery of even a prepared speech, would not advocate a practice which he himself could not follow. Besides, he took his profession too seriously<sup>87</sup> to trust much to unpremeditated speech.<sup>88</sup> His aim was to produce work which should be worthy of consideration among all people and for all time.<sup>89</sup> He even dignified his system by the name of "philosophy."<sup>90</sup> Rhetoric he regarded as a sort of

αὐτοσχεδιαστικός: Tragedy and comedy were at first mere improvisation:

Arist. *Poet.* IV, 12; *Alcid.* 80, 11; 89, 7; 90, 18.

αὐτοσχεδιασμός: Arist. *Poet.* IV, 6; Pollux VI, 142, from Plato Comicus.

αὐτοσχεδιασμός: *Alcid.* 85, 5R.

αὐτοσχεδιαστός: *Alcid.* 84, 2; 16.

αὐτοσχέδιος: Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* p. 204; and *σχέδιος de Comp. Verb.* c. 18, p. 123; *Ars. Rhet.* I, 40. II, 34; Herodian, IV, 7, 9; Schol.

Arist. *Eq.* 539. Dio. Cass. LXXIII, 1.

αὐτοσχηματιστός: Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 92, p. 73, 25.

αὐτοσχεδιῶς: Alex. *Rhet. περὶ σχηματ.*; Aristides, *περὶ λόγου πολιτ.* p. 654.

Closely allied to αὐτοσχέδιος is αὐτοφνής: Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* LXI; LXVII; Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo* c. 7; c. 16; Demetrius *de Elocut.* 27; 30.

Another equivalent is αὐτοκάβδαλα: Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 14, 11, with Cope's note.

<sup>86</sup> Isocr. XV, 183ff; *Ep.* VI, 7ff. He lays great stress on the art of memorizing, and this would imply that the pupils may have committed their speeches to memory after the final revision by the teacher.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Isocr. XV, 11; XIII, 16-19.

<sup>88</sup> The orator's position in ancient times was one of great responsibility. Lord Brougham (Vol. IV, p. 380) says: "The Press now takes the place of public speaking among the ancients. The orator of old was the Parliamentary debater, the speaker at public meetings, the preacher, the newspaper, the published sermon, the pamphlet, the volume all in one." Cf. also Jebb, p. LXXII.

<sup>89</sup> XV, 41, 44.

<sup>90</sup> I, 3; III, 1; IV, 10; VIII, 145; XI, 1; XII, 263; XIII, 1; 11; 14; XV, 10; 30; 50; 181; 205; 209; 215; 243; 247; 266; 270; 279; *Ep.* VI, 8; also Quintilian, II, 15, 33.

On the philosophy of Isocrates and his relation to the Socratic schools see Spengel, *Isokrates und Platon* (*Transactions of Munich Academy*, 1855, VII, 3, 731-69); *Philolog.* XIX (1863) 594-8; Bake, J., *de aemulatione Platonem inter et Isocratem* (*Scholia hypomnemata* III, [1844] 27-47; Susemihl, F., *de Platonis Phaedro et Isocratis contra sophistas oratione dissertatio* (*Index*



mental gymnastic,<sup>91</sup> and to one who practiced it three things were necessary: natural ability, practice, and theoretical instruction.<sup>92</sup> Even among the qualities included under the head of natural abilities, Isocrates places a liking for work.<sup>93</sup> He was said by some to have employed no formal method of teaching in his school, but to have relied on practice.<sup>94</sup> He used to make his students repeat to

*Gryph*; 1887); Holzner, E.: *Platons Phaedrus und die Sophistenrede des Isokrates* (Prager Stud. 1894); Huit, C., *Platon et Isocrate* (Revue des Études grecques, 1888, 49-60; Thompson, *Phaedrus*, p. 147; 170-183; Jebb, II, 3 ff.; 36 ff.; 50-53; Blass, II, 27-38. Grote, *Plato*, III, 36-7.

<sup>91</sup> XV, 181.

<sup>92</sup> XIII, 14-15; XV, 181ff.; 191 ff.; Plato *Phaedrus*, 269D. How far natural ability, practice, and theoretical instruction contribute to success was a commonplace among both Greeks and Romans: cf. Plut. *de Educat. Puer.* c. 4; Cicero, *Archias*, 1; *de Or.* I, 4, 14; I, 25, 113-115; Horace, *A. P.* 408; Quint. I, *Praef.* 26-7, 11, 19; Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 33, 19, with Gudeman's note. Auctor *ad Herenn.* differs slightly: the necessary qualities are to be acquired (1) arte, (2) imitatione, (3) exercitatione. Saintsbury (*Hist. of Crit.* I, 25) quotes some interesting verses of the comic poet Simulus which deal with this subject. For a discussion of the matter see Shorey, Φύσις, Μελέτη, Ἐπιστήμη. (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.* Vol. XL, 185ff.).

Sometimes the question is whether art or nature aids most, but in "art" are included, of course, both practice and instruction; Horace, *A. P.* 408: both are necessary; each aids the other. The conjunction of the two insures perfection: Longin(?), *de Sublim.* XXXVI, 4 (compare XXXII, 1). Nature must be aided by art: Quint. IX, 4, 5. Although the chief power rests with nature, the highest excellence is possible only when nature is aided by art: Quint. XI, 3, 11.

<sup>93</sup> XV, 189 ff. The necessary natural abilities are: ability to invent, ease of understanding, liking for work, memory, a good voice, and self-confidence in public. Compare XV, 244; Quint. I, *praef.* 27; also Emerson's qualifications for an orator in his *Essay on Eloquence*, and Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, pp. 63-139.

<sup>94</sup> Pseudo-Plut. 838F; Photius, *Cod.* CCLX; cf. Isocr. XV, 191; Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 26 fin.; Himerius, *Or.* XXIV; Cicero, *de Or.* I, 33, 149; Arist. *Eth.* II, 1, 4; Erasmus, II, col. 254d (Leyden, 1703).

Pliny, while admitting that practice is the best master in the art of pleading, believes that it should not be carried too far lest it produce a rash assurance rather than a just confidence in one's powers (*Ep.* VI, 29, 4). Compare Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 33: "Neque enim solum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu puto abnuet et hi significare vultu videntur."

him the speeches they heard delivered at the public assemblies,<sup>95</sup> and each month held a contest among them at which a crown was given to the victor.<sup>96</sup> Doubtless his aim was to give them a taste of that "experience which is the main secret of success in speaking."<sup>97</sup> Since he was himself unable to appear in public as an orator, he made style the object of his care,<sup>98</sup> perhaps being convinced, like Aristotle, that "written orations influence more by means of their style than through their sentiment."<sup>99</sup> His defense of his speech at the beginning of the *Panegyricus* is a rebuke to those who look with scorn upon orations which are carefully worked out.<sup>100</sup>

Isocrates' care and devotion to perfecting his style, and the praise he won as a result of this, and likewise his contemptuous references to other teachers of the time as his inferiors, seem to have drawn upon him the dislike, not only of the Sophists, but even of Aristotle.<sup>101</sup> Of the enmity between Isocrates and Aristotle, if enmity there was, we have little means of judging, but the case for the Sophists is admirably set forth by Alcidas in the first formal

<sup>95</sup> Pseudo-Plut. 838F.

<sup>96</sup> Menander (*Rhet. Gr.* III, 398 Sp.).

<sup>97</sup> Isocr. XV, 296.

<sup>98</sup> Quintilian X, 1, 79: "he is so careful in composition that his care is even censured."

<sup>99</sup> Arist. *Rhet.* III, 1, 7.

<sup>100</sup> II-15.

<sup>101</sup> The almost extravagant praise bestowed on Isocrates by the ancients (such as that found in Cicero, *de Or.* II, 3, 10; II, 22, 94; *Brutus*, VIII, 32; *Orator*, XIII, 40; Quintilian, III, 1, 14; II, 8, 11) is said to have angered Aristotle, who, in his indignation, set up a rival school in which rhetoric should be taught more philosophically (Cicero, *de Or.* III, 35, 141; *Tusc. Disp.* I, 4, 7; *de Off.* I, 1, 4; *Orator*, XIII; XIX, 62; LI, 172; Quint. III, 1, 14; Numenius ap. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* XIV, 6, 9; Sopater and Syrianus ad Hermog. (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 298 Walz). Cf. Stahr, *Aristotelia*, I, p. 63 ff.; II, p. 44 ff.

There is no ill-will toward Isocrates expressed in Aristotle's references to him (*Rhet.* I, 9, 38; II, 23, 12; III, 17, 10-11; 16; and probably I, 9, 36; I, 2, 7; III, 16, 4 (Cope), but see Quintilian, IV, 2, 32, and Dion. Hal. *de Isocr.* 18), but critics believe that traces of this rivalry may be found in Isocrates (XII, 20; XV, 258; *Ep.* V, 3. Cf. Spengel, *Trans. Bavar. Acad.* Munich, 1851, p. 16 ff.; Teichmüller, opposed by Blass in Bursian-Müller's *Jahresbericht* XXX, 235.

defense of extemporary speech extant, the treatise entitled *Περὶ τῶν τοῦς γραπτοῦς λόγους γραφόντων ἢ περὶ σοφιστῶν*.<sup>102</sup>

That this tract is a manifesto, not perhaps against Isocrates personally, but against his school, is generally agreed,<sup>103</sup> although there is no direct reference to him in the treatise. Alcidas, being not only the pupil,<sup>104</sup> but in the strictest sense the follower of Gorgias, had for his object the cultivation of eloquence that was in part, at least, extemporary. The incessant care, the constant revision, and the intense devotion to style of Isocrates, due in the beginning, doubtless, to his poor voice and lack of self-confidence, were

<sup>102</sup> That there existed some historical connection between Plato's *Phaedrus*, the *κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν* of Isocrates, and Alcidas' attack on written speeches, is practically certain, but any attempt to determine what it was, brings up the vexed question of the relative dates of the Platonic and Isocratean treatises, and thus opens an endless field for discussion.

The *Phaedrus* may be either earlier or later than the work of Isocrates, according as one regards *Phaedrus* 269D as an idea imitated and expanded in Isocrates XIII, 14-15, or as Plato's summary of the orator's entire doctrine. Either view can be made to seem probable.

If we admit the obvious parody of the *Panegyricus* (8)<sup>1</sup> in *Phaedrus* 267A (but see Süss, p. 20), and that of Isocrates XIII, 17, in the *Gorgias* (463A), we get the sequence, *κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν*, *Gorgias*, *Panegyricus*, *Phaedrus*.

Turning to Alcidas, we find a passage (12) which may be either a challenge to Isocrates which he answers in *Panegyricus* 11, or it may be Alcidas' reply to that passage. Blass thinks, and his view seems probable, that the *Panegyricus* is a reply to Alcidas. If, then, we admit the parody of Isocrates in the *Phaedrus*, the treatises would appear in the order, Alcidas, *Panegyricus*, *Phaedrus*. If one holds the belief that the Alcidas passage is an answer to *Panegyricus* 11, Alcidas would be placed after the *Panegyricus*.

Cf. Süss, p. 30 ff.; Gercke, *Hermes* XXXII, 341 ff.; *Rhein. Mus.* LIV, 404 ff.; Hubik, *Weiner Studien* XXIII, 234 ff.

The resemblances in Alcidas to Plato and Isocrates are not sufficient to date him with certainty in relation to either author. Compare Alc. 2 and 35 with *Phaedrus* 276D; Alc. 27-28 with *Phaedrus* 275D, and Isocrates XIII, 10.

<sup>103</sup> Christ, p. 229; Blass II, 327 ff.; Mahaffy, II, 245; Jebb, II, 428. See also Tzetzes, *Chil.* XI, 672. The authenticity of the treatise is doubted by Sauppe, *O. A.* II, 156, but Blass (II, 327) conclusively proves the arguments against it inadequate.

<sup>104</sup> Quintilian, III, 1, 10; Suidas, s. v. *Gorgias*; *Alcidas*; Eud. Aug. XCIX; Athen. XIII, 592C; Tzetzes, *Chil.* XI, 746. On Alcidas see Blass, II,<sup>2</sup> 364, and Vahlen, *Der Rhetor Alkidamas*, Vienna, 1864.



directly at variance with the teachings of the Sophists. Their object was "to teach methodically the art of saying, under all circumstances, something which would pass muster at the time."<sup>105</sup> An additional motive for the attack of Alcidas is suggested by the tradition that Isocrates had once been the pupil of Gorgias.<sup>106</sup>

There is but slight evidence on which to base the belief that Alcidas wrote a treatise on rhetoric,<sup>107</sup> but his theory is set forth in detail in the extant essay "*On the Sophists*."

The opening thesis is that those who are mere composers of cleverly written speeches "have missed the greater part both of rhetoric and philosophy, and should rather be called poets than sophists."<sup>108</sup> Alcidas by no means despises writing, but believes that it should be practiced as a "parergon." His case is supported by a series of clearly stated, but not logically connected arguments. In the first place, writing is easier than speaking.<sup>109</sup> To speak fittingly at a moment's notice, and with speed and ease, about whatever subject comes up for consideration; to make a speech appropriate to the crisis which calls for speech, and pleasing to one's audience, is a talent which does not belong to every man, nor is it the result of any chance system of training.<sup>110</sup> But to write with plenty of time at one's disposal, to correct at one's leisure, to place before one the treatises of preceding sophists and gather arguments therefrom, to imitate things which have been well said, to correct one's writing and make it clear, partly through consultation with friends, and partly by long meditation, this is a task easy even for the untrained.<sup>111</sup>

And so, since it is easier to write than to speak, the ability to write, naturally is held in less esteem.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Jebb, II, 40.

<sup>106</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* I; cf. p. 116 n., 205. If not a pupil of Gorgias, Isocrates had at any rate many Gorgian traits.

<sup>107</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 5, 5.

<sup>108</sup> I-2; 12. Both Plato and Isocrates speak of the writer of a finished prose production as a "poet": cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 236D: ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν (of Lysias); 234E; *Euthyd.* 305B; *Legg.* IX, 858C. Isocrates, XV, 192; XIII, 15.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Isocrates, IV, 11, where he says that the master of elaborate diction will also be able to write in the simple style. Compare XV, 49.

<sup>110</sup> 3.

<sup>111</sup> 4-5. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 278D.

<sup>112</sup> 5.



In the second place, there is no doubt that the man who is able to speak well will be able to write well, but no one will be able to speak as a result of his ability to write. For the speakers have learned the more difficult art, and so can readily turn to the simpler, as one who has been used to heavy burdens, can easily carry lighter ones. But the writers have trained themselves in the easier pursuit, and can no more perform the harder task, than can the one who has been used to light burdens carry a heavy weight. So the skillful extempore speaker, if time and leisure be given him, will be a better writer of speeches, but the one who has spent his time in writing, if he turn to extempore speech, will be filled with perplexity and confusion.<sup>113</sup>

Here Alcidas shifts his point of view, and from this point on, discusses the advantage that the extempore speaker has with an audience over the man who depends on a written speech.

In daily life there are many opportunities for the speaker, but few for the writer. For often a written speech cannot be brought to perfection until the opportunity for it has passed.<sup>114</sup> Besides, elaborately worked out compositions fill the minds of the hearers with distrust and envy, and therefore writers imitate the style of extempore speakers, and are thought to write best when they write least like written speeches.<sup>115</sup> Therefore the method of training which leads to ability in extempore speaking ought most to be honored. Some recommend writing part of the speech and extemporizing the rest; but to this, too, there are objections, for the result will be a production in which part appears mean and poor in comparison with the accurate finish of the rest.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> 6-7.

<sup>114</sup> 8-11. It is said of Gladstone: "Mr. Gladstone never wrote a line of his speeches, and some of his most successful ones have been made in the heat of debate and necessarily without preparation." (Quoted by Hardwicke, *History of Oratory and Orators*, p. 289; cf. also Morley's *Life of Gladstone*).

<sup>115</sup> 12-13. Nowadays people loosely call a speech extempore if it is not actually read from a manuscript. There seems to be a sort of tacit conspiracy between author and audience so to regard a speech unless it is openly read. The modern feeling is that great oratory ought to be extempore. According to Jebb (*Introd.* LXXXII ff.) the Hebraic basis of Christian education is responsible for this.

<sup>116</sup> 14. Cicero and Quintilian held exactly the opposite view: Cicero, *de Or.* I, 33, 150 ff; Quint. X, 3, 2; I, 1, 28.

The one who professes to teach others must not be a man who can display his knowledge if he has tablet or manuscript<sup>117</sup> in hand, but if deprived of these is no better than the untrained. He must not be one who, if time be given him, can produce a speech, but if

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Lord Brougham, *Inaugural Address* (Vol. III, 93) says: "We may rest assured that the highest reaches of the art, and without any necessary sacrifice of natural effect, can only be attained by him who well considers and maturely prepares and oftentimes sedulously corrects and refines his oration. *Such preparation is quite consistent with the introduction of passages prompted by the occasion, nor will the transition from the one to the other be perceptible in the execution of a practiced master.* I have known attentive and skillful hearers completely deceived in this matter, and taking for extemporaneous, passages which previously existed in a manuscript, and were pronounced without the variation of a particle or a pause. Thus, too, we are told by Cicero in one of his epistles, that having to make, in Pompey's presence, a speech, after Crassus had very unexpectedly taken a particular line of argument, he exerted himself and, it appears, successfully, in a marvellous manner, mightily assisted in what he said extempore, by his habit of rhetorical preparation, and introducing skillfully, as the inspiration of the moment, all his favorite commonplaces, with some of which, we gather from a good-humored joke at his own expense, Crassus had interfered (*Ad Att.* I, 14)."

If, however, we believe in the rules of avoidance of hiatus, regularity of clauses in a period, etc., to which critics have called attention, we must believe one of two things in the case of the carefully finished productions which the Greeks have left us; either that all such extemporary additions were omitted from the published speech, or, what is more likely, that such additions were carefully revised and polished before the speech received publication.

<sup>117</sup> γράμματεῖον ἢ βιβλίον. βιβλίον here clearly must mean the speaker's manuscript copy of his speech. He has memorized his oration, but lest his memory fail, he brings with him either a tablet containing notes (γράμματεῖον), or a copy of his speech to which to refer (βιβλίον). Were it not for γράμματεῖον, we might take βιβλίον to mean note-book as it does in Ps. Dem. LXI, 2. As it is, it seems necessary to give the word the other interpretation. In the *Phaedrus* (228B) βιβλίον is the written manuscript of Lysias' speech which Phaedrus consults and learns by heart. In Aristophanes' *Birds* (973, 977, 980, 986, 989) βιβλίον is the oracle-monger's copy of the collection of oracles which was referred to for checking his quotations. Compare Isocrates V, 21, where Isocrates calls the written speech he sends to Philip τὸ βιβλίον.

Mr. H. Hayman (*Journal of Philol.* VIII, 123-5) has pointed out that the use of writing-tablets to assist the memory was so well established in Æschylus' time that they furnish a rather trite metaphor in *Prom.* V. 789; *Coeeph.* 450; *Eumen.* 275.

he must speak on the sudden, is voiceless, and while he professes to teach the art of speaking, has himself no power to speak.<sup>118</sup>

Writing, according to Alcidas, is a hindrance rather than a help to speaking. The mind of the writer who tries extemporary speech moves like a captive newly freed from long-worn bonds, whose limbs, even when at liberty, move in the same way in which they were forced to move when bound.<sup>119</sup>

Furthermore, it is difficult to learn and remember a written speech, and disgraceful to forget before an audience what one has learned.<sup>120</sup> The man who uses written speeches must remember the very words and syllables of his text; the extempore speaker need only have the arguments clearly in mind.<sup>121</sup> If one of these should

<sup>118</sup> 15. For somewhat the same idea see Isocr. XIII, 9; Plato, *Protag.* 329A.

<sup>119</sup> 16-17. Plutarch, *de Educat. Puer.* 9, uses the same figure. Plutarch advocates no extemporary speech until the child reaches man's estate: cf. p. 47.

<sup>120</sup> This, according to M. Sargey (*Recollections of Middle Life*, trans. Cary) pp. 10-11, was the fate of Gaston de Saint Valry who forgot his lecture, lost his way among his notes, and so made a failure of his performance.

There is still a prejudice against speeches which are clearly learned by heart. See the epigram on Ward:

"Ward has no heart, they say, but I deny it:

He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it."

(Bartlett: *Familiar Quotations*, p. 456).

<sup>121</sup> This was M. Sargey's method in delivering a lecture (*Recollections of Middle Life*, p. 37). But consider M. Sargey's advice to a lecturer (p. 156): "You have possessed your memory of the themes from the development of which the lecture must be formed; pick out one from the pile, the first at hand, or the one you have most at heart, which for the moment attracts you most, and act as if you were before the public; improvise upon it. Yes, force yourself to improvise. Do not trouble yourself about badly constructed phrases, nor appropriate words—go your way. Push on to the end of the development, and the end once reached, recommence the same exercise, recommence it three times, four times, ten times, without tiring. You will have some trouble at first. The development will be short and meagre; little by little around the principal theme there will group themselves accessory ideas, or convincing facts, or pat anecdotes that will extend and enrich it. Do not stop in this work until you notice that in thus taking up the same theme you fall into the same development, and that the development with its turns of language and order of phrases fixes itself in your memory."

This is certainly a close approach to verbal preparation. The method of Alcidas' extemporary speaker may have been similar.



escape him,<sup>122</sup> he can pass to the next and still, since the style of his speech is loose, leave no break. If he remembers it later, he can easily prove the point then, but the one who delivers a written speech, is thrown into utter confusion if he forgets.<sup>123</sup>

The minds of the audience, too, are more favorably disposed to the extempore speaker.<sup>124</sup> The man who has written out his speech,

M. Sarcey's preparation was quite as thorough as any verbal preparation: cf. pp. 47, 49, 51, 146, 147, and Chapter IX, (*How a Lecture is Prepared*), and as a result of it he gradually acquired great facility (p. 85). So well did he know his lectures that they were easily written out afterwards if needed (p. 195).

W. D. Howells says of Mark Twain: "It was his custom always to think out his speeches, mentally wording them, and then memorizing them by a peculiar system of mnemonics which he had invented" (*My Mark Twain* p. 59).

On the problem of after-dinner speeches, etc., see Sears, *The Occasional Address*.

The orator Alcidas praises may have been such an one as Sears (*History of Oratory*, p. 398) says Wendell Phillips was: "He usually spoke without notes, as he composed his speeches without pen. This does not mean without preparation. He was always preparing and storing his memory with facts, pursuing fallacies, linking chains of argument that seemed to have no weakest link, gathering anecdotes, culling illustrations that found their own place when and where they were wanted. Above all, for years, he cultivated the habit of thinking on the platform and off, and was never so effective as when apparently the most extemporaneous. His own explanation seems simple enough: "The chief thing I aim at is to master my subject. Then I earnestly try to get the audience to think as I do."

<sup>122</sup> According to Quintilian, some object to partition of matter in speeches for this same reason, but Quintilian says that nothing of this kind can happen except to one who is utterly deficient in ability, or who brings to his pleading nothing settled or premeditated (IV, 5, 2).

<sup>123</sup> 18-21. There can be no doubt, however, that in the Greek courts the general practice was neither to extemporize solely nor absolutely to be prepared. Compare Quintilian, X, 7, 1-4.

<sup>124</sup> Compare Lord Brougham's remarks (Vol. III, 92): "I am now requiring not merely great preparation while the speaker is learning his art, but after he has completed his education. The most splendid effort of the most mature orator will be always finer for being elaborated with much care. There is, no doubt, a *charm in extemporaneous elocution*, derived from the appearance of artless, unpremeditated effusion, called forth by the occasion, and so adapting itself to its exigencies, which may compensate for the manifold defects incident to this kind of composition: that which is



speaks either too long or not long enough to suit his audience. The extemporary speaker can adjust the length of his speech to the desire of his hearers.<sup>125</sup>

The extempore speaker can take advantage of all unforeseen points which appear in the actual progress of the contest. He can catch an argument from his adversary and turn it to his own advantage. The one who is used to written speeches, must either neglect all these opportunities, or else throw his whole oration into confusion and destroy its symmetry.<sup>126</sup>

Alcidamas, then, would not call these productions speeches, but rather phantoms and shapes and imitations of speeches. Like the statues of men and the paintings of living creatures, they give some pleasure to the sight, but are of no advantage to man in his time of need. At a crisis they are motionless and voiceless like the statues, but extempore speech is vital and like to the living creature.<sup>127</sup>

At this point Alcidamas stops to justify himself and to explain why he who so praises extemporary speech has descended to writ-

inspired by the unforeseen circumstances of the moment, will be of necessity suited to those circumstances in the choice of the topics, and pitched in the tone of the execution, to the feelings upon which it is to operate. These are great virtues: it is another to avoid the besetting vice of modern oratory, the overdoing everything, the exhaustive method, which an offhand speaker has no time to fall into, and he accordingly will take only the grand and effective view: nevertheless, in oratorical merit, *such effusions must needs be very inferior; much of the pleasure they produce depends upon the hearer's surprise that in such circumstances anything can be delivered at all, rather than upon his deliberate judgment that he has heard anything very excellent in itself.*"

<sup>125</sup> 22-23.

<sup>126</sup> 24-26. Alcidamas assumes too much. Any speaker with a reasonable amount of practice could make such additions to his speech.

See what M. Sarcey says of Deschanel: "Did he read? Did he write? Did he extemporize? I believe, indeed, that he employed in turn all three processes which he knew how to mould into a harmonious whole" (p. 53).

Jebb (I, 37) thinks that Alcidamas means in this section that the introduction of *commonplaces* makes the speech uneven. The unevenness results from the difference between the prepared and the extemporary portions of the speech. The prepared portions need not necessarily be commonplaces. The speech would seem "patch-work:" Horace *A. P.* 15; compare Quint. XII, 9, 15 ff.

<sup>127</sup> 27-28. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 275-276.

ing. He does not, he says, utterly depreciate writing. He has written his treatise, in the first place, in order to show that writing should be practiced as a secondary consideration, and secondly that he might show those people who pride themselves on their ability as writers that after a little labor he can far surpass them.<sup>128</sup> Writing he believes useful to a certain extent. It is difficult to remember one's extemporaneous speeches and so tell whether one is improving in the art or not. In written speeches one can see plainly the growth of the soul. Besides, he is anxious to leave some memorial of himself behind.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>128</sup> 29-31. It was perhaps with this purpose in view that Alcidas wrote his pamphlet in defense of the new Messene (Aristotle, *Rhet.* I, 13, 3, and schol.; II, 23, 1, see Vahlen, p. 491 ff., and especially 504 ff.), which may be contrasted with Isocrates' *Archidamus* (Curtius [Ward], *Hist. Gr.* V, 173).

Whenever an orator wished to publish what we should now call a pamphlet, he did not put it in the form of an essay, but in that of a speech purporting to be delivered on a real occasion. Jebb, II, 45 says: "Since the end of the fifth century B. C. a literature of political pamphlets had been coming into existence; writing was now recognized as a mode of influencing public opinion on the affairs of the day. Thrasymachus pleaded for the Larisaeans, as Isocrates for the Plataeans, in a rhetorical pamphlet; in the same way Isocrates attacked, and Alcidas defended, the new Messene. . . . To Isocrates belongs the credit of trying to raise the dignity and worth of this intermittent journalism."

On Thrasymachus' pamphlet cf. Sauppe, *O. A.* II, 162.

In Rome funeral speeches were used for this purpose. Cato's death at Utica called forth quite a literature of its own. Cicero (*Plut. Caes.* c. 54; *Cic.* c. 39; *Cic. ad. Att.* XII, 40, 1; XIII, 27, 1; XIII, 46, 2; *Orat.* X, 35; *Tac. Ann.* IV, 34), M. Brutus (*Cic. ad Att.* XIII, 46, 2; XII, 21, 1), M. Fadius Gallus (*Cic. ad Fam.* VII, 24, 2; 25, 1), and Munatius (*Plut. Cat. Min.* c. 37; cf. c. 25; *Val. Max.* IV, 3, 2), wrote in praise of him, and against him wrote Hirtius (*Cic. ad Att.* XII, 40, 1; 41, 4; 44, 1; 45, 3; 47, 3), Caesar (*Suet. Iul.* 56; *Iuv.* VI, 338; *Plut. Caes.* c. 3; c. 54; *Cic.* 39; *Plin. N. H.* VII, 117; *Plut. Cat. Min.* 36; 52; 54; *Plin. Ep.* III, 12; *Cic. ad. Att.* XIII, 50, 1; 51, 1; *Top.* c. 25, 95; *Quint.* III, 7, 29), Metellus Scipio (*Plut. Cat. Min.* 57), and later Augustus (*Suet. Aug.* 85).

On the pamphlets to which the death of Cato gave rise cf. Wartmann, *Leben des Cato von Utica* (Zur. 1858), 145.

So there were "laudationes Porciae" by Cicero (*ad Att.* XIII, 37, 3; 48, 2) which was carefully revised, M. Varro, and Lollius (*Cic. ad Att.* XIII, 48, 2).

On the possibility that the "laus Catonis" of Cicero may have been, partially at least, in verse, see *Philologus*, XLII, 181.

<sup>129</sup> 32. "Res scripta manet."

The orator may use forethought as regards his argument and arrangement;<sup>130</sup> the words should come at the inspiration of the moment.<sup>131</sup> The accuracy<sup>132</sup> of the writer will not compensate for the opportunities he will lose. Therefore the one who wishes to be called a clever orator rather than a competent maker of speeches,

<sup>130</sup> But compare Longinus, *Ars Rhet.* (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 318, 14, Sp.)

<sup>131</sup> Quintilian (IX, 4, 3) says that if only language such as happens to present itself is to be used, the whole art of oratory is at an end, and this is true in a certain sense. However, Alcidas' idea may not have differed so very much from the "praeceptum paene divinum" attributed to Cato (Iulius Victor *Ars. Rhet.* p. 197, O), "rem tene, verba sequentur." This idea is often found as well in modern writers as in those of ancient times: Cicero *de Or.* I, 6, 20; II, 34, 146; III, 3, 125; *Orat.* XXXIV, 119; *de Fin.* III, 5; Horace, *A. P.* 40-41; 311; Quint. VIII, *praef.* 21; 28-30; Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 13; Seneca, *Cont.* III, *Proem.*

Blair, *Lecture XIX* (Vol. II, 51). Montaigne (I, 195, ed. Cotton) says: "Let but our pupil be well furnished with things, words will follow but too fast; he will pull them after him if they do not voluntarily follow."

Milton says: "True eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth; and that whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, by what I can express, *like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their places.*"

<sup>132</sup> ἀκριβεία. The word is used of the exactness and high finish of style of written speeches. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 12, 5 (with Cope's note), Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* II, 9, p. 581) contrasts it with τὸ σχεδιάζειν. Cf. also Grant's note on Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* I, 7, 18.

The word seems to be used at times in two different senses:

1. As opposed to mere slovenliness and effusiveness of style: accurate and clear; Isocr. V, 4: ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθαρῶς; V, 155; cf. also Plato, *Phaedr.* 234E.

2. Of a highly finished style as opposed to one which avoids ornament, like that of Lysias, for example, which is yet a highly finished style from one point of view. Isocrates uses it in this sense in IV, 11, where ἀκριβῶς, as contrasted with ἀπλῶς means ἐπιδεικτικῶς. Cf. also IX, 73.

The ἀκριβεία of the Alcidas passage might, of course, be the simple accuracy of the Lysias type of speech, but if we admit that Alcidas had Isocrates in mind as he wrote, it is more probable that the word meant for him the high finish of the ἐπιδεικτικὸς λόγος. In the Pseudo-Dem. *Erotica*, 61, 2, there is the same contrast: orations for oral delivery are to be written in a simple style (ἀπλῶς), like what one would say on the spur of the moment; those which are designed for a permanence should be ἐπιδεικτικῶς.



who desires rather to be able to seize opportunities than to be an accurate user of words, and prefers the good-will of his audience to their envy, will make the ability to speak extempore the object of his care, and regard writing as an amusement and a secondary consideration.<sup>133</sup>

This treatise of Alcidas in its secondary arguments, in some ways strikingly anticipates the views held by the Roman writers on rhetoric, although on the main point they are opposed. He views the question from the common-sense standpoint and his individual conclusions are sound. Unfortunately, however, Alcidas has directed his polemic against two distinct classes of people, to neither of which all of his arguments apply. Part of his criticisms are aimed at those who write speeches to be read, and part at those orators who are dependent on their manuscripts for their words.

If the treatise is directed against Isocrates, as critics believe,<sup>134</sup> it ought to deal primarily with those writers whose speeches were composed to be read, not delivered.<sup>135</sup> Alcidas' statement at the beginning of his work, that his remarks are directed against those who plume themselves on the display of their wisdom through books, and who spend their lives in writing speeches, would surely show that he had Isocrates in mind.<sup>136</sup> His description of the author laboriously composing and taking the advice of his friends in revising his speech,<sup>137</sup> would fit in perfectly with what we know of Isocrates' practice. Likewise his remarks about the one who professes to teach the art of words, but has himself no power to speak,<sup>138</sup> is a good characterization of Isocrates. The further criticisms of the orators who are voiceless except when they have learned a

<sup>133</sup> 33-35. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 276D.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Tzetzes, *Chil.* XI, 672; Spengel, pp. 173-180; Gercke, A.: *die alte Τέχνη ῥητορικὴ und ihre Gegner (Hermes, XXXII [1897] 341-81)*, and *Isokrates XIII und Alkidamas (Rhein. Mus. LIV [1899] 404-13)*. Against this view see Hubik, J.: *Alkidamas oder Isokrates (Weiner Stud. XXIII [1901] 209-12; cf. Reinhardt, C.: de Isocratis aemulis, (Bonn, 1873); Mahaffy, II, 246; Blass, II, p. 22 ff.; 240-242. See, however, Süss on Alcidas.*

<sup>135</sup> The title of the treatise, περὶ τῶν τοὺς γραπτὺς λόγους γραφόντων, would seem to imply that Alcidas had this class of writers in mind.

<sup>136</sup> 1-2.

<sup>137</sup> 4-5.

<sup>138</sup> 15; cf. also Pseudo-Plutarch 838E.

written speech by heart, could not apply to Isocrates or writers of his sort. He never tried to deliver a public speech, nor is there any evidence that he ever taught his pupils to rely solely on their manuscripts.<sup>139</sup>

Alcidamas claims that the ability to speak well necessarily implies an ability to write well. Since the speakers have been trained for the more difficult task, they can turn readily to the easier one;<sup>140</sup> but what can that training have been which the extempore orator went through?<sup>141</sup> Clearly one in which writing played a large part, at least if Alcidamas followed the method of his teacher Gorgias.<sup>142</sup>

In Gorgias' school, extempore speech was the result, in part at least, of training in writing, and Alcidamas himself admits that writing has some use.<sup>143</sup> If a speaker has gained his ability to speak through writing, of course writing will be an easier task to him. Perhaps this is the explanation of Alcidamas' other claim, that it is easier to write than to speak.<sup>144</sup> His statement that no one will be able to speak as a result of having trained himself in writing is one which Quintilian later is at great pains to disprove.<sup>145</sup>

To the orators who wrote their speeches, whoever they may have been, Alcidamas is clearly unfair. He proves the superiority of ex-

<sup>139</sup> How far Isocrates' pupils did commit to memory is uncertain. Their productions were subjected to careful revision by the master (cf. p. 24). The stress Isocrates lays on the cultivation of the memory (cf. n. 86), might imply that in the end the revised speech was memorized. Even if this were the case Isocrates doubtless also trained his pupils to take advantage of unforeseen opportunities.

<sup>140</sup> This is, of course, a pure fallacy. *Learning* a more difficult subject may make it easier to *learn* an easier one. Certain branches of higher mathematics are more difficult than certain languages, but it by no means follows that the one who knows the mathematics can speak the languages.

<sup>141</sup> Alcidamas himself says (6) that the ability to speak extempore is the result of no chance method of training.

<sup>142</sup> On the method of Gorgias see p. 11. Also Süss, *Ethos* pp. 17-59; Scheel. E.: *de Gorgianae disciplinae vestigiis* (Rostock, 1890).

<sup>143</sup> 30.

<sup>144</sup> 3. Cf. the dictum of Epicurus, that writing entails no trouble: τὸ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιπόνου τοῦ γράφειν ὄντος, ὥς αὐτὸς Ἐπίκουρος λέγει, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus strongly condemns (*de Comp. Verb.* c. 24 fin.). That depends upon what sort of writing or speaking one does. It is a question of how well one does either.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Quintilian, X, 3, 2; I, 1, 28; X, 7, 12; also Cicero, *de Or.* I, 33, 150 ff.

temporary speech by attacking exaggerated examples from the other side. The man he sets up as a representative of the non-extemporary orators is one who has spent his life in writing in his study, and is suddenly forced to make an extemporary speech,<sup>146</sup> or one who has laboriously written out his speech and learned it by heart, and who is absolutely incapable of saying anything beyond what appears in his written copy.<sup>147</sup> The recluse or teacher like Isocrates, suddenly brought from his retirement and forced to make a speech at a moment's notice, of course would be at a loss. So, too, would the man who could do nothing but repeat, parrot-like, a speech he had written.<sup>148</sup> Such a man could not, as Alcidas

<sup>146</sup> 8.

<sup>147</sup> Alcidas seems to have in mind chiefly the speakers in the assemblies and law-courts (9; 11; 13; 24). In the latter, very often the speeches delivered must have been recited by another than the author, but Alcidas does not seem to have considered the case of the man who has purchased a written speech, unless section 13 be a possible reference. Such a speech must be memorized in order to keep within the letter of the law which declared that each citizen must make his own defense (cf. p. 80 n. 54). Plutarch (*de Garrulitate*, 5) tells the following story: "Lysias wrote a defense for some accused person and gave it to him, and after he had read it (ἀναγνούς) several times, he came to Lysias in great dejection and said: "When I first read this defense, it seemed to me wonderful, but when I read it a second and a third time, it seemed utterly dull and ineffective." Then Lysias laughed and said: "What then? Are you going to recite it (μέλλεις λέγειν) more than once to the jury?"

According to Liddell and Scott, λέγω never means read, but always recite. Even in such phrases as λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε, they believe that λέγε means recite what is written. In the Plutarch passage the distinction is clear between the man's reading the speech to himself, and his reciting it to the jury after he has memorized it, but in the directions of an orator to the clerk, when decrees or laws clearly are read, it is difficult to keep such a distinction; cf. Dem. XVIII, 28, 37, 39, 53, 73, 75, 76, 83, 89, 92, 105, 115, 118, 120, 154, 155, 156, 163, 180, 212, 214, 217, 221, 222, 267, 289, 305; XIX, 32, 38, 40, 47, 51, 61, 62, 63, 70, 86, 130, 154, 161, 162, 168, 170, 200, 214, and elsewhere.

<sup>148</sup> Alcidas does not seem to have contemplated the possibility of an orator having practiced a speech, and yet being able to extemporize if necessary. He harps continually on the "written" speech and uses no word which could be taken to mean an oration practiced, and yet such that it will not suffer from necessary extemporary interpolations. According to Alcidas, if a man writes a speech, it follows that he must depend on it word for word.

If other advantages are equal, the best writer is apt to be the best speaker, but an inferior writer would have the advantage on the platform if he pos-



says,<sup>149</sup> take advantage of sudden opportunities for speaking, and if he did forget a part of his speech or tried to insert any new matter,<sup>150</sup> would be thrown into utter confusion, but why write an attack on speakers whose failure before an audience would be the clearest proof of their inability to speak? Surely such men could not be taken as representative of the non-extemporary orator in Alcidas' time. A capable orator must have been one who, while he prepared his speech so far as he could, was still able to extemporize if occasion should require it, and so weave the parts together that one portion would not, as Alcidas says, seem mean and poor in comparison with the accurate finish of the rest.<sup>151</sup> The statement that the audience looks with distrust and envy upon highly elaborated productions is perfectly true,<sup>152</sup> and all who treat of rhetoric have much to say about how the speaker is to disarm the suspicion of the judge and the audience.<sup>153</sup> It is likewise true that orators are most success-

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essed a good voice and an attractive personality. Ulpian (*in Dem. c. Timocr.* 822) says that Demosthenes, when he was asked whether he or Callistratus of Aphidnae were the better speaker, answered: ἐγὼ μὲν γραφόμενος, Καλλίστρατος δὲ ἀκουόμενος (Jebb, I, LXIV). It was precisely because Isocrates did not possess these other abilities that he failed as a speaker.

<sup>149</sup> 9 ff.

<sup>150</sup> 21. Plutarch, *de Educat. Puer.* c. 9, would allow extemporary speech as emergencies call for it, but believes that it should be used only as one would take medicine, i. e. occasionally and sparingly.

<sup>151</sup> 14. David Hume in *An Essay on Eloquence* (Essay XII of *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*) says: "It is true there is a great prejudice against set speeches; and a man cannot escape ridicule *who repeats a discourse as a schoolboy does his lesson*, and takes no notice of anything that has been advanced in the course of the debate. But where is the necessity of falling into this absurdity? A public speaker must know beforehand the question under debate. He may compose all the arguments, objections, and answers such as he thinks will be most proper for his discourse. If anything new occur, he may supply it from his own invention; *nor will the difference be very apparent between his elaborate and his extemporary compositions. The mind naturally continues with the same force which it has acquired by its motion; as a vessel, once impelled by the oars, carries on its course for some time, when the original impulse is suspended.*"

For exactly the same figure see Cicero, *de Or.* I, 33, 150, p. 55.

<sup>152</sup> 22-23.

<sup>153</sup> The idea that the judge and the audience are suspicious of a finished speech and that the suspicion of the judge may be disarmed and the good-

ful when their speeches appear to be spontaneous, but this is no reason for assuming that an extemporary speaker is superior to a capable orator who prepares his speeches.<sup>154</sup>

will of the audience gained by seeming to speak without preparation, very frequently occurs in the writings of the ancients: Alcidas, 12-13, 22-23, 33-35; Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 14, 7; Cicero, *de Invent.* I, 15, 20; Quintilian, IV, 1, 5; 8-9; 37-39; 54; 56-58; IV, 2, 126-7; XI, 2, 47; XI, 3, 157-8; Anaximenes, *Ars Rhet.* c. 36 (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 229 Sp.); Hermogenes (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 440; 441, 28, Sp.); Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* VIII, 6, 1; cf. Sarcey, p. 161.

A profession of weakness, inexperience, or inferiority in ability to the other side, according to Quintilian (IV, 1, 8-9) allays the suspicion of the judge. Of this there are many examples: Antiphon, *de caede Herod.* 1; *Tetral.* II, 2, 1; Lysias, XVI, 20-21; XII, 1-3; Ps.-Lys. *Epitaph.* 1-3; Dem. XLI, 2; Ps.-Dem. LVIII, 2; 58; 60; LIX, 14; Isaeus, VIII, 5; IX, 35; X, 1, Cicero, *Pro Quint.* and *Pro Arch.* (beginning); cf. Quint. XI, 1, 19-20, and elsewhere. Cf. Mathews, p. 208 ff.

Attempts are often made by one side to arouse the envy and jealousy of the judges against the other: Lys. XX, 23, Isocr. VII, 35; XVIII, 48; 60; Dem. XXVIII, 2; 7; 24; 45-66; Ps. Dem. XLII, 23; LVIII, 41; Isaeus, VIII, 39, 5; 35, 2; Æsch. I, 101; Lys. *Adv. Leocr.* 10, 32; Din. I, 70.

The hearers are told that the effect of the orator's speech depends on their good-will and sympathy: Dem. XVIII, 277; XIX, 340; Ps. Dem. *Epitaph.* 13; Plut. *comp. Dem.-Cic.* II, and elsewhere.

There was a technical term for the attempts of an orator to render his hearers or the judge favorably disposed toward him: προπαρασκευή or *præparatio*; Tac. *Dial.* c. 19, 11 (with Gudeman's note); compare Quint. IV, 1, 62; 72; 2, 26; VII, 10, 12.

Isocrates (IV, 13) attacks those who seek to mollify their hearers by "alleging either that they have had to make their preparations off-hand (ἐξ ὑπογυίου), or that it is difficult to find words adequate to the greatness of their subject matter".

The phrase, ἐξ ὑπογυίου is interpreted by αὐτοσχεδιάζειν by the Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Clouds* 145, and by Suidas, s. v. ἐξ ὑπογυίου. According to Kühner (*Gr. Gram.* sec. 523) ἐξ ὑπογυίου = ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα. Cf. ἐκ χειρός off-hand (Polybius), ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ἐξ ἐτόιμου and ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ (Isocr. IV, 147). Other passages in which the phrase or an allied expression occurs are Arist. *Rhet.* I, 1, 7; II, 22, 11; *Pol.* VII (VI), 8, 1321b 17; Xen. *Cyr.* VI, 1, 43; Plato, *Menex.* 235C; Isocr. XVIII, 29; XV, 4; *Ep.* VI, 3; Longin. (?) *de Sublim.* XVIII, 2; XXXII, 3; *C. I.* 2250, 7, and elsewhere.

For the equivalent phrase ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα, παραχρήμα, etc., see Plato, *Crat.* 399D; *Rep.* 455A; *Menex.* 236B; *Polit.* 310C; Plut. *Mor.* 6C; Dem. I, 1; XXXVII, 47; Ps. Dem. LXI, 2, and elsewhere. ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος and αὐτόθεν occur in Plut. *Mor.* 407B and elsewhere.

<sup>154</sup> An orator might be fully capable of extemporizing an address and still prefer to prepare. M. Sarcey (p. 45) tells an anecdote of M. Léon Say who

In Alcidas' complaint that written speeches are like statues and cannot help one in his time of need,<sup>155</sup> he goes back again to his criticism of speeches to be read. In comparison with a living speaker they are indeed lifeless, and of this disadvantage Isocrates was well aware.<sup>156</sup> The comparison, however, need not necessarily be between written speeches and extemporary speakers. It would hold perfectly well between academic essays and the speeches of such an orator as Demosthenes. Even Alcidas, while proving the superiority of the extemporary speaker, would leave himself a loop-hole of escape. He would allow his speaker to arrange his arguments and the order of his speech; the words ought to be extemporary.<sup>157</sup> This might imply much or little in the way of preparation.<sup>158</sup>

Alcidas' treatise, then, is a laudation of extemporary speech, first, as compared with orations which are written to be read, and so far, perhaps, aimed at Isocrates; and secondly, against those orators who can speak only if they have written and memorized a speech.<sup>159</sup> His arguments against each class are sound, but they will

had prepared a lecture and as he was stepping on the platform received an order from the government to change his subject. He thereupon delivered an extemporary lecture with great success. Emerson (*Essay on Eloquence*) tells of Lord Ashley's being unable on one occasion to deliver a premeditated speech, and his finally drawing an eloquent argument from his own confusion.

<sup>155</sup> 27 ff. Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 275-6.

<sup>156</sup> Isocr. V, 25-26.

<sup>157</sup> 33.

<sup>158</sup> Of course the preparation need not necessarily be verbal. Still, if an orator spent much time on the arrangement of his arguments he would unconsciously fall into using certain sequences of words which would again recur with the argument. Cf. Sarcey, quoted in n. 121 p. 31. The result is practically memorization.

<sup>159</sup> There are amusing stories in Quintilian of those orators who cannot alter the fashion of their speeches, into which they have introduced passages for effect which sometimes fail to produce it: VI, 1, 42-43; VI, 3, 39-40. Also Cicero *pro Cluent.* 21. Compare Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, pp. 405-6: "The average of speaking, however, in America, both in Congress and elsewhere, is far higher than it is in England. Rhetoric and elocution are parts of American education. . . . The training, however, has one bad result, the orator seldom gets rid of the air of speaking for effect. The great English orators, nature's elect and pupils, such as Gladstone and Bright, speak in the accent of nature and to the heart, though practice in debating societies had marred the freshness of Gladstone's style. I once heard Everett,



not apply to both classes, nor would they hold against one who could justly be called a good orator, the man who is able to deliver a creditable extemporary speech when necessary, but who realizes that there are occasions which demand a degree of precision and finish which only a written speech can attain.

Isocrates' other opponent, Aristotle, held very different views from those of Alcidamas. It was the practice of Aristotle, we are told, to "accustom his disciples to discuss any question which might be proposed, training them just as an orator might."<sup>160</sup> This might almost be a description of Gorgias' method of teaching, but there are not many traces of the sophists in Aristotle's theoretical treatment of rhetoric.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is in reality only an amplification of the principles set forth in Plato's *Phaedrus*.<sup>161</sup> Like the *Phaedrus*, it contains no treatment of extemporary speech.<sup>162</sup> The question Aristotle deals with is the difference between written and spoken speeches, that is, the difference between the style to be used in writing and that to be used in pleading.<sup>163</sup> He distinguishes two kinds of speeches, and two styles appropriate to them: (1) the style of debate, that of the speech made in the actual contest in the assembly or law-court; and (2) the style of written compositions which are

whose platform oratory was the acme of American art. His language was unimpeachable. But his every word, and not only his every word, but his every gesture, was unmistakably prepared. He seemed to gesticulate not only with his hands, but with his legs. He even planned scenic effects beforehand. Having to deliver a Fourth of July oration, he introduced a veteran of 1812, put him in a conspicuous place, and told the old man to rise to him at his entrance into the Hall. The old man did as he had been bidden. Everett apostrophized him with, "Venerable old man, sit down! It is not for you to rise to us, but for us to rise to you." The veteran said afterwards, "Mr. Everett is a strange man; he told me to rise when he came into the hall, and when I did rise he told me to sit down."

<sup>160</sup> Diogenes Laertius V, *Aristotle*, 4.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Thompson's *Phaedrus*, *Introd.* p. XX, where he compares the *Phaedrus* and the *Rhetoric*.

<sup>162</sup> Aristotle's treatment of the agonistic speech may possibly include extemporary speeches. See, however, p. 44, n. 174.

<sup>163</sup> *Rhet.* III, 12. On the adaptation of style to the different kinds of oratory, see Quintilian, VIII, 3, 11-14 (Cope); also III, 8, 63, though with perhaps a difference of meaning.

confined to the "display" branch of literature, and under which he includes all compositions which are intended to be read, poetry, history, philosophy, any writing on any subject whatever.<sup>164</sup>

With both of these styles the orator ought to be acquainted. A knowledge of the agonistic style means simply the power of speaking good Greek, and if the orator is acquainted with the style appropriate to writing, he need not sit silent when he wishes to communicate his opinions to others besides the members of the assembly or court before which he actually makes his speech, a fate which awaits those who can only speak and not write.<sup>165</sup>

According to Aristotle, the written style is the more exact or finished; the style of debate partakes more of declamation.<sup>166</sup> In debate character and emotion are both represented,<sup>167</sup> doubtless because in a debate the interests at stake are real and there is therefore more room for portrayal of character and display of passion than in the comparatively unemotional written speeches.<sup>168</sup> A man who is passionately intent upon moving a judge, may omit a conjunction or

<sup>164</sup> See Hermogenes (*Rhet. Gr. II*, 401, Sp.). Aristotle subdivides the first class of speeches into the deliberative and the forensic. He does not contemplate the epideictic speech as a spoken speech (III, 12, 5-6).

<sup>165</sup> *Rhet. III*, 12, 2. See Blair's Lecture (VII) on the *Rise and Progress of Writing* (Vol. I, 171).

The authenticity of the Third Book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* has been questioned. Diogenes Laertius (V, 1, 24) in his list of Aristotle's works gives the following: τέχνης ῥήτορ ἡς ἄ β, περὶ λέξεως ἄ β. Jebb, in his translation of the *Rhetoric* (*Introd.* p. xxii. 7) believes that the latter refers to the two parts of Book III, also described as περὶ λέξεως καθαρᾶς ἄ. The arguments of H. Diels (*Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* [1886] IV, 1-37) who believes it genuine appear conclusive. The treatise has also been defended by Spengel (ed. 1867, II, 354), and Cope (ed. 1867, *Introd.* p. 8). Sauppe (*Ausg. Schr.* [1863] 354 ff.) and Rose (*Ar. Pseud.* 137) believe it spurious.

<sup>166</sup> ὑποκριτικωτάτη: "lends itself most to acting" (Cope); "is the best adapted to deliver" (Jebb).

Cope, on Aristotle, *Rhet. III*, 12, 2, quotes Cicero, *Orator*, LXI, 208, for the reason why the graphic style admits of more ornament and artificial arrangement than the other, at least so far as declamation is concerned. Cf. also *Rhet. III*, 5, 6.

<sup>167</sup> III, 12, 2.

<sup>168</sup> On the contrast between the two see Isocrates V, 25-26; Alcidamas, περὶ τῶν τοῦς γραπτῶς λόγους γραφόντων.

two with safety.<sup>169</sup> Demetrius of Phalerum has the same idea in mind when he assigns to debate the disjointed style, and keeps the compacted and consolidated one for the reader.<sup>170</sup>

Therefore, according to Aristotle, the speeches of the writers if they are delivered in actual debate, seem paltry<sup>171</sup> in comparison with those of the orators, while the latter, excellent as they were when delivered, appear crude<sup>172</sup> when taken in the hands and read.<sup>173</sup>

The reason for this is that speeches intended for delivery do not produce their proper effect when delivery is withdrawn, and so appear ridiculous,<sup>174</sup> and in like manner, while omission of connectives and frequent repetitions in written style are justly censured, in debate they become amplification and are employed by the orator because more adapted for declamation.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>169</sup> Aristotle elsewhere says that where action or delivery is most required, there there is least of exact finish to be found: III, 12, 5.

<sup>170</sup> *de Elocutione* 193: "No doubt the disjointed style lends itself better to debate. It likewise bears the name of "histrionic" since a broken structure stimulates acting. On the other hand, the best "literary style" (γραφικὴ δὲ λέξις) is that which is pleasant to read; and this is the style which is compacted and (as it were) consolidated by the conjunctions" (Roberts).

Sarcey (p. 163) says that in a lecture there are no transitions. When you have finished one theme, simply pass on to the next if there is no logical connection between the two. If there is, the audience will follow it.

<sup>171</sup> στενός: "narrow" (Cope); "thin" (Jebb). στενός is the Latin *tenuis*, that is, "slight", in a depreciatory sense. Cf. Cope's note on this passage.

<sup>172</sup> ἰδιωτικοί: "such as have only the capacity of unprofessional persons or laymen"; as opposed to professionals (Cope).

<sup>173</sup> III, 12, 2. Cf. Quint. XI, 3, 8, on Hortensius.

<sup>174</sup> Such speeches must have been written or they could not appear "silly" (Jebb) or otherwise; there would be no means of judging of their effect on a reader. This would argue against the assumption that Aristotle included impromptu speeches in the agonistic class.

Memorization of speeches must have been common, for Theophrastus' "*Loquacious Man*" is one who never fails to repeat a much-applauded speech he once made in the assembly.

<sup>175</sup> III, 12, 2. Cf. Aquila Romanus 30.

Jebb, in his translation, has the following: "But when we reiterate we must also vary—an art, which is, as it were, introductory to the whole art of delivery." I cannot get this meaning out of the passage: the varying of the expression, as the following example shows, *opens the way to declamation*.



Leaving now the subject of written speech as contrasted with the speech of debate, Aristotle discusses the two classes into which he divides the latter.<sup>176</sup> Of these, the deliberative, or speech to the people, is exactly like sketching; <sup>177</sup> the greater the crowd addressed, the more distant is their point of view, and so finished productions are superfluous. The style of a judicial oration or forensic pleading, being before a smaller audience, admits of more exactness and finish,<sup>178</sup> still more so if it be before a single judge. Here there is least room for rhetorical artifices;<sup>179</sup> what belongs to the case and what is foreign to it is more easily seen, and since the contest is absent,<sup>180</sup> and there is no room for prejudice, the judgment is un-biased. This is why the same orators do not distinguish themselves in all these branches, but where delivery is most required, there there is least of accurate finish to be found.

The epideictic style, says Aristotle, is best suited to writing for its purpose is to be read, and in the second degree, the judicial.<sup>181</sup> Aristotle nowhere says that the speech to be delivered should be extemporary.

Other writers of Greek treatises on rhetoric have very little to say on the subject of extemporary speech.<sup>182</sup> Anaximenes,<sup>183</sup> who is

<sup>176</sup> III, 12, 5, Cf. Cope's note on this passage.

<sup>177</sup> III, 12, 5. For the figure see Plato, *Theatetus*, 208E; also *Phaedo*, 69B; *Parmen.* 165C; *Rep.* 365C; 602D; Jebb (p. 178) renders *συναγραφή*, "rough fresco-painting".

<sup>178</sup> III, 12, 6; Quint. III, 8, 62.

<sup>179</sup> Jebb (p. 178) renders this: "the relevant and the irrelevant are then more easily seen in one view, and the turmoil is absent, so that the judgment is serene."

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* I, 16, 8.

<sup>181</sup> III, 12, 6.

<sup>182</sup> For the attitude toward rhetoric of the post-Aristotelian philosophers, and that of the Stoics and later schools, see Zeller: *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, Eng. trans. London, 1870; Stryter: *de Stoicorum studio rhetorico*.

For the Stoic definition of rhetoric see Diog. Laert. VII, 42; Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* II, Plut. *de Stoic. Repug.* 28, 1047 ff. It was characteristic of the Stoics to separate theory and practice: Cicero, *de Or.* II, 38, 159; III, 18, 65.

On Chrysippus' *περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς* cf. Baguet, *de Chrysippi vita, doctrina, et scriptis*, Lovan, 1822, 103.

For Epicurus' attitude toward oratory and learning, see Schol. in Hermog. (Spengel, p. 8); Quint. II, 17, 15; XII, 2, 24.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Süß, *Ethos*, p. 123.

generally accepted as the author of the "*Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*,"<sup>184</sup> has a few brief remarks about the prepared speech. They have, however, nothing to do with the theory of the matter, being merely interesting directions for a reply to the charge of delivering a prepared speech. His remarks are a practical admission of the charge of preparation: ἐὰν δὲ διαβάλλωσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς γεγραμμένους λόγους λέγομεν, ἢ λέγειν μελετῶμεν ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ μισθῷ τινὶ συνηγοροῦμεν, χρὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμότε βαδίζοντας εἰρωνεύεσθαι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς γραφῆς λέγειν, μὴ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἔαν τοιαῦτα πράττειν, λέγειν δὲ ὅπως ἂν τις βούληται συγχωρεῖν. 'Ρητέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ὁ ἐναντίος οἶεται μεγάλα ἡδικηκέναι. ὥστ' οὐ νομίζει με κατ' ἀξίαν κατηγορῆσαι, εἰ μὴ γράφοιμι καὶ πολὺν χρόνον σκεψαίμην. περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς τῶν γεγραμμένων λόγων διαβολὰς οὕτως ἀπαντητέον, ἂν δὲ φάσκωσιν, ἡμᾶς λέγειν μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν, ὁμολογήσαντες ἐροῦμεν· ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ μανθάνοντες ὡς φῆς οὐ φιλόδικοι ἐσμεν, σὺ δὲ ὁ λέγειν μὴ ἐπιστάμενος καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς καὶ πρότερον ἐάλως συκοφαντῶν· ὥστε λυσιτελεῖς φανεῖται τοῖς πολίταις κακᾶεινον μανθάνειν 'ρητορεύειν.<sup>185</sup> Later in his treatise Anaximenes

<sup>184</sup> The *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* is now universally admitted to be the work of some author other than Aristotle. The Florentine scholar, Victorius, seems to have been the first to argue that the real author was Anaximenes of Lampsacus. Since the thorough discussion of the question by Spengel (*Art. Script.* 182-189) this view has been almost universally adopted although it is not without its difficulties (cf. Cope, *Introd.* to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, pp. 406-414). The treatise is not quoted in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, although it bears some rather superficial points of resemblance to it. The latest event mentioned in it belongs to 340 B. C., and therefore the date has been put at about 340-330 B. C. For a further discussion of the treatise see Spengel, (*Anaximenes Ars Rhetorica*, (ed. 1847), and *Philologus* XVIII (1862), 604-646; Blass, *Att. Bereds.* II, 378-399, (2nd. ed. II, 353 ff.); Jebb, II, 431; Wendland, (Berlin, 1905); Nitsche, W: *Dem. u. Anaximenes* (Berlin, 1905). Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900), 160; 335 ff., does not believe that Aristotle was the author, but finds it difficult to accept Anaximenes. See also Susemihl (*Jahres. üb. die Fortsch. d. classisch. Alterth.* (1885), XIII, 1 ff.; and Maas, E.: *Deutsch. Litteraturz.* IV (1896), 103 ff.

Garnier, *Mém. sur l'art oratoire de Corax* (*Mémoires de l'Institut*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, tom. II, 1815) tries to prove it the work of Corax. (Cf. Gros. E.: *Étude sur l'état de la Rhétorique chez les Grecs* [Paris, 1835], 16).

<sup>185</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* I, 234-5, Sp. Cf. Demosthenes' admission of preparation: XXI, 191; Plut. *de Educat. Puer.* 9. There may possibly be a hint of preparation on Demosthenes' part in XIII, 171, 18, but the authenticity of this speech is questioned.

observes very sensibly:<sup>186</sup> δεῖ δὲ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας ὅτι μάλιστα πειραῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πεπραγμένα τοὺς λόγους ἀποδιδόναι καὶ συνεθίζειν αὐτοὺς τούτοις ἅπασιν ἐξ ἐτοίμου<sup>187</sup> χρῆσθαι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν [οὖν] τοῦ λέγειν ἐντέχνως, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὁμιλίαις, ἐντεῦθεν πλείστας καὶ τεχνικωτάτας ἀφορμὰς ἔχομεν· χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι μὴ μόνον περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτοῦ, διακοσμοῦντα ταῖς ἰδέαις ταῖς εἰρημέναις. συμβάλλεται γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον παρασκευὴ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πείθειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δόξης ἐπιεικοῦς τυγχάνειν.

Although Plutarch cannot be classed among the writers on rhetoric, in the strict sense of the term, one passage in particular of his writings ought to be mentioned here. In his treatise "*On the Education of Children*" Plutarch says:<sup>188</sup> "For perfection is only attained by neither speaking nor acting at random. As the proverb says 'Perfection is difficult to attain'. But extemporary oratory is reckless and thoughtless (οἱ δ' αὐτοσχέδιοι τῶν λόγων πολλῆς εὐχερείας καὶ ῥ' αἰδιουργίας εἰσὶ πλήρεις) and knows neither where to begin nor to end. And besides their other shortcomings, extemporary speakers fall into great disproportion and repetition,<sup>189</sup> but preparation does not allow the speech to go beyond its due proportion."<sup>190</sup>

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There seem to be two possible ways of interpreting the passage of Anaximenes; it may be that the speaker who is to reply to the charge of preparation has written his own speech, as Demosthenes, for example, wrote the Midias speech, and so replies to his opponents. The other possibility is that the speaker is going to deliver a speech which has been written for him, and which he has memorized and will speak as his own. Certainty on this point seems impossible. The passage could be used to support either view.

<sup>186</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* I, 239, Sp.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. p. 40, n. 153 fin; Philost. *Vit. Soph.* II, 9, 7.

<sup>188</sup> *De Educat. Puer.* 9. εὐχερεία and ῥαδιουργία have a disparaging moral sense here. The translation given by Goodwin renders the words "easy and facile". I hardly think this is the sense in this passage.

<sup>189</sup> Sears (p. 412) says of George William Curtis: "The lessons which he left to youth of kindred aspirations were, first, that nothing should be spared in the preparation for public speech, even to the perfect memorizing which has all the force of extemporization without its inevitable blemishes of repetition and disproportion, of things better left unsaid, of good things arriving too late to be uttered, and a general deterioration in the speaker who follows it exclusively".

<sup>190</sup> Hume, in his *Essay on Eloquence*, says a defect of modern orators is that "their great affectation of extemporary discourses has made them reject



Pericles, as we hear from tradition, when called upon by the people to speak, frequently refused, saying that he was unprepared. In like manner, too, Demosthenes, the zealous follower of Pericles in affairs of state, when the Athenians called upon him for his advice, refused to give it, saying 'I am not prepared'. But, perhaps you will say, this statement is without authority, and mere tradition. However, in his speech against Midias, Demosthenes plainly sets forth the utility of preparation. At any rate, he says:<sup>191</sup> 'I acknowledge, men of Athens, that I have considered my speech, and I do not deny that I have prepared it to the best of my ability; for I should have been but a simpleton if, after having suffered so much at his hands, and even still suffering, I had neglected how to plead my cause before you'.<sup>192</sup> Not that I would altogether reject extemporary oratory, or deny that one should practice it on fitting occasions, but it ought to be used as one would take medicine (i. e. sparingly and occasionally). Until the child reaches man's estate,<sup>193</sup> I would advocate no extemporary speaking, but when his power to speak is rooted, then it is fitting that at critical times his words should flow freely. For just as those who have been for a long time in fetters, stumble if they are afterwards freed, not being able to walk because they have long been accustomed to their bonds,<sup>194</sup> in

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all order and method, which seems so requisite to argument, and without which it is scarcely possible to produce any entire conviction on the mind."

<sup>191</sup> XXI, 191.

<sup>192</sup> See the comment on this admission by Gregory of Corinth (*Rhet. Gr.* VII, 1271, Walz).

<sup>193</sup> Practice in extemporary speaking clearly held a place in the schools. Crassus advocates it (*Cic. de. Or.* I, 33, 150) . . . . in istis ipsis exercitationibus etsi utile est etiam subito saepe dicere; also I, 60, 257, . . . . subitae ad propositas causas exercitationes. Compare *Cic. ad Fam.* IX, 18, 3. Quintilian (II, 4, 15-16) condemns extemporary garrulity in boys; they should learn to speak correctly before they speak rapidly. There will be a proper time for acquiring facility of speech.

It was usual for the pupils to learn by heart what they had composed and repeat it on a certain day. This practice Quintilian condemns, and would have them instead learn portions of the speeches of others (II, 7, 1-5; cf. also I, 11, 14).

<sup>194</sup> For exactly the same figure see Alcidas 16-17, as describing the mind of the writer who tries extemporary speech. Cf. p. 31.

the same way, those who for a long time have bound their speech fast, if at any time they must speak at a moment's notice, keep none the less the same character of expression. But to allow those who are still children to speak extempore, is to give cause for the highest possible degree of idle talk".

Elsewhere Plutarch advocates preparation of speeches if such preparation be possible. The man who takes part in public life must of course know how to speak,<sup>195</sup> and the speech he delivers before the people ought to be premeditated.<sup>196</sup> The oration should not be over-elaborate,<sup>197</sup> but fitting preparation is necessary if the orator is to speak before a numerous and honorable assembly.<sup>198</sup>

Although Plutarch advises preparation when preparation is possible, he knows that there arise many occurrences in political life when it is imperative that the orator should speak at once, and for this he should be trained.<sup>199</sup> Plutarch's orator, in short, would be one who, while he understood the value of preparation and would employ it wherever he could, would still be able to express himself in a creditable manner on any subject which suddenly came up for discussion.<sup>200</sup>

Hermogenes, in his treatise on eloquence,<sup>201</sup> makes one excellent point in connection with the subject of preparation for a speech. He believes that if a speaker is making a speech in the deliberative branch of oratory, he ought to admit that he has prepared what he is going to say. On other occasions he may, if he wishes, pretend to extemporize: "When shall an orator pretend to extemporize? Of the three branches of rhetoric, in a speech belonging to the advisory class, he especially ought even to admit that he has deliberated. For the one who seeks advice will not suffer the one who gives it to say whatever comes into his head, but on the contrary, the adviser ought to admit that he has considered and thought the matter out, like Demosthenes when he says<sup>202</sup> "but as it seemed, that crisis called

<sup>195</sup> *Pol. Praec.* 802 A.

<sup>196</sup> *Pol. Praec.* 803 F, and c. 9.

<sup>197</sup> *Pol. Praec.* 802 E-F.

<sup>198</sup> Πῶς ἄν τις . . . ἐπ' ἀρετῇ 80 C-D.

<sup>199</sup> *Pol. Praec.* 803 F-804 A.

<sup>200</sup> In the "Lives" Plutarch tells of the actual practice of the orators.

<sup>201</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* II, 426-56, Sp. Cf. n. 185.

<sup>202</sup> XVIII, 172.

for a man who was not only well-disposed towards you, and wealthy, but one who had also followed matters most closely from the beginning." <sup>203</sup> For this ought to belong to the counsellor, (namely), experience in affairs. But in a forensic speech, even if you have come prepared (ἐσκευμμένος ἦκης), pretend to speak on the spur of the moment (αὐτόθεν λέγειν), just as all the ancients do: for although they all wrote, they pretend to extemporize (σχεδιάζειν). Why? Because the judge looks with suspicion upon the orator, and fears that he may be deceived by the power of rhetoric. This very characteristic, then, is part of the orator's skill, to seem to speak extempore, in order that thus, too, the judge may be misled: and introductions which they have long considered, they speak as if they had found on the spur of the moment, and the heads of their discourse, as if they called them to mind on a sudden in the progress of each case. But in the encomiastic type of speeches, there is nothing to prevent you at times from using both: both acknowledged written preparation and pretended extemporization" <sup>204</sup>

Gregory of Corinth <sup>205</sup> comments in some detail on this passage of Hermogenes. He agrees with Hermogenes that the one who gives advice should be a man of experience, and quotes Euripides to prove his point. <sup>206</sup> A confession of preparation in this branch of speaking is, therefore, admissible. Gregory, like Hermogenes, commends pretended extemporization in the judicial branch of oratory as disarming the suspicion of the judge. In encomiastic speeches, Gregory agrees that the orator may use both methods, but adds that he found in one of the ancient writers a statement that while one could admit preparation and also pretend to extemporize in encomiastic speeches, one must not employ both methods in the same speech, for the two things are irreconcilable with each other. <sup>207</sup>

<sup>203</sup> Hermogenes' example is not a good one. In the Demosthenes passage there is only the remotest kind of implication of preparation.

The slight differences between our text of the Demosthenes' passage and that quoted by Hermogenes is probably to be explained on the theory that the rhetorician was quoting from memory. It is, of course, possible that Hermogenes had access to a different text.

<sup>204</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* II, 440-41 Sp.

<sup>205</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* VII, 1268 ff., Walz.

<sup>206</sup> *Phoen.* 529: ἀλλ' ἡμπειρία ἔχει τι λέξει τῶν νέων σοφώτερον, and 453: βραδεῖς δὲ μῦθοι πλείστον ἀνύουσιν σοφόν.

<sup>207</sup> Gregory later (p. 1273) tries to explain this.



According to Gregory, the view that the adviser should take thought and prepare was held as well by Homer<sup>208</sup> as by Demosthenes.<sup>209</sup>

In explaining why pretended extemporization is best in a judicial speech Gregory says,<sup>210</sup> again quoting Euripides,<sup>211</sup> that truth is simple. The man who pleads a true cause will need no preparation or consideration (μελέτη, σκέψις), and so even if orators have prepared their speeches beforehand, they pretend to speak extemporaneously. This is the explanation of the prayer to Apollo in Polyxenus' speech and of the remarks of Aristogeiton in the speech against Hyperides, which he pretends that he has just remembered.

Aristides mentions pretended extemporization as one of the many ways of rendering one's speech credible. After giving examples of the pretended recollection of an important point,<sup>212</sup> and the pretended search for a decree "which ought to be somewhere there,"<sup>213</sup> he adds: "for to introduce one not as having made one's preparations, but as searching at the critical time, ὁμοίον ἐστὶν αὐτοσχεδίῳ καὶ ἀξιόπιστον ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον."<sup>214</sup>

The author of the treatise "*On the Sublime*,"<sup>215</sup> by virtue of his

<sup>208</sup> P. 1270. Homer, *Il.* IX, 74; X, 17; XIV, 3; *Od.* 192.

<sup>209</sup> I, 9 (St.); XVIII, p. 284.

<sup>210</sup> P. 1271 (Walz).

<sup>211</sup> *Phoen.* 469: ἀπλοῦς δ' μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν. *Or.* 491.

<sup>212</sup> Dem. XXIV, 122; and XL, 58; cf. Blass, III, 150-161.

<sup>213</sup> Dem. XX, 84.

<sup>214</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* II, 490, Sp. Instances of the employment of such devices may be found in large numbers in the orators; for example the interpolation of remarks while a decree is being sought, or between the command to read a decree and its actual reading: Dem. XVIII, 179; 212; 218-219; XXI, 108; XX, 84-7. So in Dem. XIX, 213-15, the orator has the witnesses called and then goes on speaking for a time while they are supposedly standing at the bar, and this too, in a speech which was probably never delivered (cf. p. 128, n. 273).

<sup>215</sup> The authorship of the treatise "*On the Sublime*" has been much debated in late years. No doubt seems to have been felt by the early editors. The editio princeps, published at Basle in 1554, by Francis Robortello, attributed the work to Dionysius Longinus, and the statement seems to have been unquestioned by all the editors, translators, and critics who flourished during the next two centuries. In 1808, however, doubt was aroused by the discovery by the Italian scholar Amati that one of the Vatican manuscripts read Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους.

subject advocates a care in the choice of words which is incompatible with extemporary speech. He says in one passage: "Now the choice of proper and striking words attracts and charms the hearers in a wonderful degree, (and this choice is the most important pursuit of all orators and writers), since it is through its agency that there is caused to blossom upon speeches, as upon the most beautiful statues, grandeur, beauty, mellowness, dignity, power, strength, and whatever admirable qualities there may be in addition, and breathes into things, as it were, a kind of living voice. Upon this fact it is superfluous to dilate in detail to those who know it well."<sup>216</sup>

An outburst of passion should have the appearance of extemporization, if it is to produce its greatest effect upon the audience, but it is only the appearance of spontaneity, produced by the skillful use of figures.<sup>217</sup>

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At present critical opinion seems to be against the traditional view that the treatise is the work of Longinus. There is no good evidence for attributing the production to the Longinus of history; it is not listed among his works by Suidas, Porphyry, or others, nor is it mentioned or quoted by any writer of antiquity. Furthermore, internal evidence, as Roberts has shown, points to the first century rather than the third as the probable period of the production of the treatise.

Additional information on the subject may be found in W. R. Roberts' excellent introduction to his edition of the work (Cambridge, 1899), and in the following articles: Buchenau, G.: *De Scriptore Libri Περὶ Ὑψους* (Mar. Catt. 1849); Egger, A. E.: *Longin est-il véritablement l'auteur du Traité du Sublime?* (In his *Essai sur l'histoire de la critique chez les Grecs* [Paris, 1849] 524-533); Francs, L. B. des: *Utrum Dionysio Longino adscribendus sit liber qui Περὶ Ὑψους inscribitur*. (Grat. 1862); Winkler, A.: *De Longini qui fertur libello Περὶ Ὑψους* (Hal. 1870); Martens, L.: *De libello Περὶ Ὑψους* (Bonn, 1877); Rohde, E.: *Zu der Schrift Περὶ Ὑψους* (Rhein. Mus. N. F. 1880, XXXV, 309-312; Personneaux, R.: *De l'auteur du Traité du Sublime* (Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux, 1883, V, 291-303; Coblenz, B.: *De libelli Περὶ Ὑψους auctore* (Argent. 1888); Hultzsch, T.: *Zum Anonymus Περὶ Ὑψους* (Jahrb. f. Class. Phil., 1890, CXLI, 369-370); Brighentius, E.: *De libelli Περὶ Ὑψους auctore dissertatio*, (Patav. 1895).

<sup>216</sup> *De Sublimitate* 30, 1 (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 279, I, Sp.). Elsewhere (I, 4; *Rhet. Gr.* I, 246, 4) the same author says: "Elevated language does not produce the effect of persuasion upon the audience, but that of ecstasy. In every way and at every time imposing speech, with the effect it produces, has greater power than that of persuasion, or that which aims at gratification."

<sup>217</sup> *De Sublim.* 18, 2 (I, 270, Sp.). In this passage the author is discussing the figure of question and answer as a means of simulating a natural out-

According to Theon, it is impossible for one to become an orator without the daily drill of writing. Neither the speeches of the ancients, nor the art of rhetoric will help the would-be orator, unless he disciplines himself by writing from day to day: "But just as for those who would be painters, it is of no advantage to look at the works of Apelles and Protogenes and Antiphilos unless they themselves try their hands at painting, so, too, for those who would be orators, there is no help in the speeches of the ancients, nor in the multitude of their thoughts, nor in their purity of style, nor in the harmony of their composition, nor is there any advantage in hearing about elegance, unless each one, by his own efforts, trains himself by writing every day."<sup>218</sup>

Among the less important rhetoricians there are two slight references to the subject of extemporary speech. Alexander<sup>219</sup> has the following observation: ἔστι δὲ διὰ τῶν σχημάτων δοκεῖν καὶ αὐτοσχεδῶς λέγειν μηδὲ ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς ὡς Δημοσθένης, "ἀρά τις ἡμῖν λοιπὸς λόγος;"<sup>220</sup> ἢ οὕτω "τουτὶ μικροῦ με παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν."<sup>221</sup> τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τὴν τοῦ δοκεῖν αὐτόθεν λέγειν ἔμφασιν ποιεῖ. Tiberius has even

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burst of passion. Later (22, 3; I, 273, Sp.) he speaks of hyperbata as useful for the same purpose. For the same idea, see Demetrius, *de Elocutione*, 27, and 300.

<sup>218</sup> Theon, *Progymnasmata*, c. 1 (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 62, Sp.). Elsewhere (c. 2; II, 65, Sp.) Theon gives an interesting glimpse of the method of teaching which he believes correct. He says that the teacher should select from the ancient orators good examples of various kinds of discourse, among them the so-called commonplace, and assign them to be memorized by the pupils.

On the stress laid by Cicero and Quintilian on writing see p. 54 ff. Compare Cicero, *Brut.* LXXI, 250, of Marcellus' practice.

<sup>219</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* III, 14, 7-8. Cf. also *Rhet. Gr.* III, 12, 15 ff. Quintilian (IV, 5, 4) recommends the introduction of such expressions as giving an air of spontaneity to the speech.

<sup>220</sup> As far as I am aware this exact sequence of words does not occur in Demosthenes. The nearest approaches to it are the following:

XXIII, 82: Ἄρά τις ἡμῖν ἔτι λοιπὸς ἔστι νόμος;

XXI, 99: τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον;

XXIV, 99: καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἄλλ' ἢ καταλελύσθαι;

XXV, 81: τί οὖν λοιπὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι;

XLI, 18: τί ἔτι λοιπὸν;

LV, 18: τί λοιπὸν ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ πρὸς θεῶν;

<sup>221</sup> Dem. XIX, 234; XXI, 110.



less to say :<sup>222</sup> αὐτοσχέδιον δ' ἔστιν ὅταν προσποιῇται ἄρτι νενοηκέναι, οἷον "ὁ τοίνυν μεταξὺ λέγων ἐνεθυμήθην",<sup>223</sup> καὶ πάλιν, "τουτὶ γὰρ αὖ μικροῦ με παρῆλθεν."<sup>224</sup>

Among the Romans the subject of extemporary speech was treated by Cicero, Quintilian,<sup>225</sup> and Tacitus. Cicero, in his treatise, *de Oratore*, discusses in the person of Crassus, the worth of exercise in extemporary speaking. In considering methods of training students, Cicero says: "Although in those exercises (those of the students) it is useful even frequently to speak on the sudden, yet it is more advantageous, after taking time to consider, to speak with greater preparation and accuracy. But the chief point of all is, that which, to say the truth, we hardly ever practice, for it requires great labor which most of us avoid; I mean, to write as much as possible. Writing<sup>226</sup> is said to be the best and most excellent modeller and teacher of oratory, and not without reason. For if what is meditated and considered easily surpasses sudden and extemporary speech, a constant and diligent habit of writing will surely be of more value than meditation and consideration itself;<sup>227</sup> since all the arguments relating to the subject on which we write, whether they are suggested by art or by a certain power of genius and understanding, will readily present themselves and occur to us while we examine and contemplate it in the full light of our intellect; and all the thoughts and words which are the most expressive of their kind, must of necessity come under and submit to the keenness of our judgment while writing; and a fair arrangement and collocation of words is gained by writing in a certain rhythm and measure, not poetical but oratorical. Such are the qualities which bring applause

<sup>222</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* III, 66, 28, Sp.

<sup>223</sup> Dem. XXIV, 122.

<sup>224</sup> Dem. XIX, 234; XXI, 110.

<sup>225</sup> Quintilian (III, 1, 19 ff.) gives a list of writers on the theory of eloquence beginning with Cato, the Censor. Cf. Boelte, F.: *De Artium Scrip-toribus Latinis Quaestiones*, 1886.

<sup>226</sup> Stilus. Compare the "stilus exercitatus" of *Orator*, XLIV, 150; also *Brutus*, XXV, 96; Quint. IX, 4, 114: "practice in writing, accordingly, will qualify us sufficiently for observing due numbers in prose, and enable us to pour them forth in a similar way extemporaneously."

<sup>227</sup> Cicero seems to have three different stages of speech in mind: (1) pure extemporization, subitam et fortuitam orationem, (2) a speech which one has had time to think over and prepare in his mind, (3) the stage of writing.

and admiration to good orators; nor will any man ever attain them unless after long and great practice in writing, however resolutely he may have exercised himself in extemporary speech; and he who comes to speak after practice in writing brings this advantage with him, that though he speak at the call of the moment, yet what he says will bear a resemblance to something written;<sup>228</sup> and if ever, when he comes to speak, he brings anything with him in writing, the rest of his speech, when he departs from what is written will flow on in a similar strain.<sup>229</sup> As when a boat has once been impelled

<sup>228</sup> Two interpretations of this passage seem possible: (1) the general habit of writing will impart a finish to the orator's style when he reaches the stage of being able to speak extempore; (2) if a part of the speech be written, it will give finish to that part which is extemporized.

Cicero may have mixed the two; the figure of the boat would apply only to the second. Either interpretation supports the thesis that writing is an aid to extempore speaking.

<sup>229</sup> There is hardly any doubt that the written passages were memorized. Antonius, in speaking of the Greek teachers of rhetoric says (*de Or.* II, 19, 78-9): "But their whole method of teaching, so far as I can judge, is extremely ridiculous . . . . They make five parts, as it were, of eloquence: to find what you are to say, to arrange what you have invented, then to clothe it in proper language, then to commit it to memory (*memoriae mandare*), and at last to deliver it with due action and elocution; a task surely requiring no very abstruse study. For who would not know without assistance that no one can make a speech unless he has settled what he is to say, and in what words, and in what order, and remembers it?" Elsewhere (*I*, 31, 142) Crassus mentions the five necessary things for an orator to consider in his speech: "*reperire primum quid diceret, deinde inventa non solum ordine sed etiam momento quodam atque iudicio dispensare atque componere; tum ea denique vestire atque ornare oratione; post memoria saepire; ad extremum agere cum dignitate ac venustate.*"

Again we are told (*de Or.* I, 34, 157) that the memory must be exercised "by learning by heart, word for word, as many of our own writings and those of others as possible: . . . . *ediscendis ad verbum quam plurimis et nostris scriptis et alienis.*"

Another thing which would imply memorization of the prepared portions is the fact that Cicero insists that the memory is to be used as well for words as for facts: *de Or.* I, 5, 18: (*memoria*) nisi custos inventis cogitatisque *rebus et verbis* adhibeatur . . . . also I, 15, 64; 21, 94, (compare Tac. *Dial.* c. 30, fin.). Committing to memory is one of the regular parts of preparing a speech: *de Or.* II, 19, 79. In Aristotle there is no mention of committing to memory. There is merely a discussion of style and delivery. Here, between style and delivery there is committing to memory. *De Or.* II, 87, 355, implies memorization: *omnem scriptum verborum apparatus* (cf. also II,

forward, though the rowers suspend their efforts, the vessel herself still keeps her motion and course during the intermission of the impulse and force of the oars, so, in a continued stream of oratory, when written matter fails, the rest of the speech maintains a similar flow, being impelled by the resemblance and force acquired from what was written." <sup>280</sup>

88, 359), as does III, 9, 33. Oratorical rhythm (*de Or.* I, 33, 151 and elsewhere) would also imply verbal memorization. "Memoria iuris consultorum" (*de Or.* I, 28, 128) probably refers only to memory of facts.

It was the general practice of orators, and particularly of Cicero, to memorize the essential parts, and particularly the introductions of their speeches (Quint. X, 7, 29-30; cf. p. 164, n. 414). There is an amusing instance of this practice in Lucian's "*Zeus in Tragicis*" 658-9. Zeus is to make a speech to the Gods and has forgotten the exordium he has prepared. By the advice of Hermes, he adapts the opening of Demosthenes' *First Olynthiac* to his needs, and when his memory for the orator's words fails, is carried on into his speech without trouble. Lucian says that such an adaptation is "the fashionable method with speakers nowadays." Apparently it was also a common practice for the orators to commence with a quotation from Homer.

The French lecturer, M. Sarcey, tried to learn his exordium by heart, thinking that by doing so, all trace of emotion would disappear, but found the plan a failure (p. 81; p. 160); he believes that the audience always knows the moment a speaker passes from recitation to pure improvisation (p. 161).

There is a bare possibility that an orator may have used his manuscript for the written portions, but it is not likely. Such great reliance on the actual written text would be an effective check on any attempt at extemporary eloquence. Modern speakers agree that one must not form the habit of relying on one's manuscript if one ever wishes to speak extempore.

<sup>280</sup> *de Or.* I, 33, 150 ff. The Greek rhetorician, Alcidas, held exactly the opposite view: cf. p. 29 and n. 151; Sarcey, p. 158. Antonius (*de Or.* I, 60, 257) finds fault with this system of training as too severe.

The phrase used by Antonius, "accuratae ac meditatae commentationes" is closely paralleled in Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 6, 20: "accuratam meditatamque orationem." *Meditatus* is a word frequently used by Tacitus. It occurs once in an absolute and active sense in *Dial.* c. 10, 32 (cf. Gudeman's note where Seneca, *Ep.* 20, 12, is quoted as a parallel). As a passive participle in the sense of well-prepared, it appears often; for example, *Ann.* XIV, 55; *Hist.* IV, 68, 27. As far as I know, the verb *meditor* occurs but once in Quintilian (X, 3, 30) where it is used of Demosthenes "practicing" his oratory on the sea-shore. The noun *meditatio* is used by Quintilian in the sense of what he later calls "*scholasticae controversiae*" (IV, 2, 92; 97; *Sen. Cont.* I, *Praef.* 12; *Tac. Dial.* 14, 23) or *μελέται* (cf. Spalding's note on Quint. X, 1, 70), in contrast to actual pleadings in the law-court (IV, 2, 29). The word appears



He elsewhere speaks of frequent practice which is superior to the precepts of all masters,<sup>231</sup> calls the pen "the creator of eloquence,"<sup>232</sup> and believes that nothing has so much power as writing to produce skill in speaking.<sup>233</sup>

again (X, 1, 70) of the formal speeches, μελέται, meditationes, in the plays of Meander. In Tacitus (*Dial.* 14, 4) it is used in the same sense of "school declamations." These are ridiculed by Juvenal, *Sat.* I, 15 (cf. Mayor's note).

The correspondence in meaning of meditari (Cicero, *de Or.* I, 30, 136; 32, 148; *Brut.* LXXXVIII, 302) with μελετᾶν is clear enough (cf. Curt. *Greek Verb.* p. 224) but the best authorities now deny any radical connection (cf. Curt. *Gr. Et.* I<sup>2</sup>, 9, 376; Vanicek, *Et. Wörterb.* pp. 670, 1216). These words and the nouns derived from them are often used of the actual declamation (see above; also Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I, 22, 3; I, 25, 17, of a declamation which had been written out and published; I, 25, 22; II, 8, 3, of a written speech; II, 24, 1), and also of the close preparation of a speech even if the exact character of the preparation is not specified: cf. Æsch. I, 30: τῶν λόγων ἐπιμεληθέντα; Plut. *Reip. Ger.* 15, fin.: Ἰφικράτης δὲ καὶ μελέτας λόγων ποιούμενος ἐν οἴκῳ . . . . On *Hearing*, 38 E: καὶ λόγων μὲν διοῦνται μάθησιν εἶναι καὶ μελέτην . . . . Compare Tac. *Ann.* VI, 48, 1; III, 15, 13; Arist. *Rhet.* II, 19, 13.

μελέτη seems to have referred primarily to a prepared speech or exercise, and is contrasted in Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* II, 33, 4, (628), with extemporary speech, but it is also used to include extemporary speech: Philost. *Vit. Soph.* II, 4, 4, (570): τὰς μὲν οὖν μελέτας αὐτοσχεδίου ἐποιεῖτο, also I, 20, 4 (514), and pp. 604, 619, 628, 626. It was also the common word used for the deliberative or controversial speech, either extemporary or prepared, delivered on the occasion of a display (Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, p. 361, however, would not agree).

μελετᾶν may also be used of committing a speech to memory. It is the word used in *Phaedrus* 228B of Phaedrus' practicing the speech of Lysias which he has committed to memory (cf. also 228E). Solon, when he desired to move the people for a purpose, secretly composed some verses and *got them by heart*, so that he seemed to utter them extempore: ἐλεγεία δὲ κρύφα συνθεῖς καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος κ. τ. λ. (Plut. *Solon*, c. VIII, [82]).

Compare also the phrases "cura . . . . meditatio": Tac. *Dial.* c. 16, 3; cf. c. 30, 9; c. 33, 19; *Ann.* IV, 61; Cicero, *de Or.* I, 1, 1; *de Rep.* I, 21, 34. A similar collocation is found in Greek: μελέτη καὶ ἐπιμέλεια (Dem. XVIII, 308).

<sup>231</sup> *de Or.* I, 4, 15.

<sup>232</sup> *ad Fam.* VII, 25, 2. Cf. Mathews, p. 175 ff.

<sup>233</sup> *Brutus*, XXIV, 92. Cf. *de Or.* I, 33, 150; I, 60, 257; III, 40, 190; *Brut.* XXV, 96; *ad Fam.* VII, 25, 2; Quint. X, 3; Aquila Romanus *de Fig.* XLVIII.

Horace, most of whose precepts in his "*Art of Poetry*" would apply equally well to prose, has nothing to say of extemporaneous speech, but preaches the doctrine of constant correction and revision.<sup>234</sup>

Quintilian<sup>235</sup> treats the subject of extemporaneous speech with his usual discernment. He regards with sincere admiration one who possesses the gift of speaking well without preparation, yet believes that if constant training is not added to it, the very gift will be of little worth.<sup>236</sup> He considers the art of speaking to be something very important and difficult to acquire: "magnus est labor dicendi; magna res est."<sup>237</sup> Unlike the earlier sophists, he does not believe in the "oratory in twenty lessons" system. He does not adopt the position of Antonius who says "rhetorice observationem quamdam esse non artem,"<sup>238</sup> but believes that it is assisted by rules "si tamen rectam viam non unam orbitam monstrent; qua declinare qui crediderit nefas, patiatur necesse est illam per funes ingredientium tarditatem."<sup>239</sup>

Some theory and much practice<sup>240</sup> are what the would-be orator requires, and his practice is to consist, not in speaking, but in writing.<sup>241</sup> "We must write" he says, "as carefully and as much as

<sup>234</sup> *Sat.* I, 10, 69-72; *A. P.* 289 ff.; 291, 386, 438 ff.; *Persius*, I, 106; V, 162.

Quintilian (X, 4, 1) calls correction by far the most useful part of one's studies, quoting Cicero's saying that the pen is not least serviceable when it is used to erase (*Cicero, de Or.* II, 23, 96; *Pliny, Ep.* I, 18). The best method is to lay the work by for a time if possible. Correction, however, should have its limits, lest over-polishing wear the production to nothing (cf. Horace, *A. P.* 24 ff.; also *Quint.* X, 3, 7-8; Blair, *Lecture XIX*, Vol. II, p. 53).

So it is said that Daniel Webster, in speaking of a certain writer, remarked that the only thing he needed to learn was how to scratch out, adding that a very large part of his own life had been spent in scratching out (*Hardwicke*, p. 423).

<sup>235</sup> On Quintilian as a pleader in the law-courts, see IV, 1, 19; 2, 86; VII, 2, 5; 2, 24; IX, 2, 73-4; as a professor of oratory, *Mart.* II, 90, 1; *Pliny, Ep.* II, 14, 10; VI, 6, 3; *Juv.* VII, 186; *Quint.* I, *Praef.* 1; II, 12, 12; III, 6, 68; IV, *Praef.* 2; X, 1, 125.

<sup>236</sup> X, 3, 2.

<sup>237</sup> IX, 3, 36. Cf. also II, 13, 15; 17; *Cic. pro Mur.* c. 13.

<sup>238</sup> II, 17, 5; cf. *Cicero, de Or.* II, 8, 32.

<sup>239</sup> II, 13, 16.

<sup>240</sup> For the idea that the two must go together see *Tac. Dial.* c. 33, 21.

<sup>241</sup> The entire Third Chapter of Quintilian's Tenth Book is on the utility of writing.

we can . . . . For without this precaution, the very faculty of speaking extempore will but furnish us with empty loquacity and words born on the lips. In writing are the roots, in writing are the foundations of eloquence; by writing resources are stored up, as it were, in a sacred repository, whence they may be drawn forth for sudden emergencies, or as circumstances require."<sup>242</sup>

Writing, he says elsewhere,<sup>243</sup> is the most laborious, but also the most advantageous means of improvement for the orator, and not without reason has Cicero called the pen "the best modeller and teacher of eloquence."<sup>244</sup>

It is Quintilian's belief that the ability to speak extempore is absolutely necessary. He says of it "maximus vero studiorum fructus est et velut praeium quoddam amplissimum longi laboris,"<sup>245</sup> and believes that he who has not succeeded in acquiring it, will do well to renounce the occupation of the forum, and devote his solitary talent of writing to some other employment.<sup>246</sup>

Often there arise occasions when it is absolutely necessary to speak on the spur of the moment;<sup>247</sup> if a friend or client must be

Compare Lord Brougham's remarks (*Inaugural Address*, Vol. III, p. 91): "I should lay it down as a rule admitting of no exceptions *that a man will speak well in proportion as he has written much*; and that with equal talents, he will be the finest extempore speaker, when no time for preparation is allowed, who has prepared himself most sedulously when he had the opportunity of delivering a premeditated speech. All the exceptions I have ever heard cited to this principle are apparent ones only; proving nothing more, than that some few men, of rare genius, have become great speakers without preparation; *in no wise showing that with preparation they would not have reached a much higher pitch of eloquence.*" Compare Quintilian II, 17, 12-13, p. 126, n. 264.

<sup>242</sup> X, 3, 2; also I, 1, 28; I, 4, 3; cf. Cicero, *de Or.* I, 22, 150 ff. For the opposite view see Alcidamas 14. These resources Sarcy would store up by repeated improvisations upon the same theme (p. 158). Compare Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching*, 170-172.

<sup>243</sup> X, 3, 1; ut laboris, sic utilitatis etiam longe plurimum adfert stilus; cf. Blair, *Lecture XIX*, Vol. II, 52.

<sup>244</sup> *de Or.* I, 33, 150; also Quint. X, 7, 28.

<sup>245</sup> X, 7, 1.

<sup>246</sup> This, of course, is the man attacked by Alcidamas, the orator who is incapable of departing at all from his written speech. See Montaigne's excellent essay *Of Quick or Slow Speech* (Vol. I, p. 44).

<sup>247</sup> X, 7, 2; cf. Anaxim. *Ars. Rhet.* 38 (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 239 Sp.).



aided at once, of what use is an advocate who "secessum et silentium quaeret, dum illa verba fabricentur et memoriae insidant et vox et latus praeparetur?"<sup>248</sup> The speech which the advocate has written and prepared may suddenly be rendered useless: "nam saepe ea, quae opinati sumus, et contra quae scripsimus, fallunt, ac tota subito causa mutatur; atque ut gubernator ad incursus tempestatum sic agenti ad varietatem causarum ratio mutanda est."<sup>249</sup> Time may be wanting for delivering a speech which has been prepared and composed (laboratam congestamque . . . studio actionem) with the labor of whole days and nights,<sup>250</sup> or objections must be met.<sup>251</sup> It is to provide against such dangers as these that the orator must possess the ability to speak extempore. The habit will be of advantage, however, only if it has been acquired and formed by a course of careful study and practice, "ut ipsum illud quod in se rationem non habet, in ratione versetur."<sup>252</sup> Quintilian does not admire mere continuity of speech (fortuiti sermonis contextum).<sup>253</sup> He says: "neque ego hoc ago, ut extempore dicere malit, sed ut possit."<sup>254</sup>

Although the orator must be able to speak extempore, his memory must be trained not only to remember what he has written after repeated perusals, but to observe the order of thoughts and words even in what he has merely meditated. The ability to speak ex-

<sup>248</sup> X, 7, 2-3.

<sup>249</sup> X, 7, 3; cf. X, 1, 2; XII, 9, 21; Alcidamas, 24 ff.; Tac. *Dial.* c. 39, 10. This is particularly true if the orator is the defendant in a case. The accuser generally sets forth what he has previously meditated, the defendant has frequently to oppose what is entirely unexpected; (Quint. V, 13, 3). Some orators, however, neglect all objections, for instance, and in general deliver their premeditated speech as if they had no opponent (Quint. V, 13, 36).

This idea still holds good in modern courts; see the discussion given by Blair, *Lecture XXVII* (Vol. II, 235 ff.). His way of meeting the difficulty agrees closely with that of Quintilian.

<sup>250</sup> XII, 6, 5.

<sup>251</sup> XII, 9, 15 ff.

<sup>252</sup> X, 7, 12. It is to be based on art, but through habit to have become mechanical. X 7, 5-7 would practically imply verbal premeditation.

<sup>253</sup> X, 7, 13; cf. II, 4, 15; Cicero, *de Or.* I, 5, 17. Compare Theophrastus III, where "an effusion of prolix and unpremeditated discourse" is the definition given of garrulity.

<sup>254</sup> X, 7, 4.

tempore seems to Quintilian to depend on no other faculty of the mind than memory.<sup>255</sup>

On the question whether those who are going to deliver a speech should learn it by heart word for word, or only master the substance and order of particulars, Quintilian believes that no general decision can be given. He says: "For my own part, if my memory is sufficiently strong, and time is not lacking,<sup>256</sup> I should wish not a single syllable to escape me; otherwise it would be of no avail to write. Such exactness we should acquire in childhood; and the memory should be brought to such a condition by exercise that we may never learn to excuse its failures. To be prompted, therefore, and to refer to one's writing, is harmful, because it grants indulgence to carelessness; and a speaker will not feel that he retains with sufficient security that which he is in no fear of losing.<sup>257</sup> As a result of this come interruptions in the course of our speech, and a method of delivery halting and irregular, for the speaker, since he appears like one who has learned a lesson, destroys the 'whole grace of what he had written with grace' by making it clear that he *did* write it. A good memory, however, gains us credit even for quickness of wit, because we seem, not to have brought from home what we say, but to have conceived it on the instant; and this opinion is of great service both to the orator and his cause, for a judge admires more and distrusts less that which he regards as not having been preconcerted to mislead him. We should therefore consider it as one of the very best devices in pleading to deliver some parts of our speech which we have extremely well connected, as if they had not been connected at all, and to seem, at times, like people thinking and doubting, seeking what we have in reality brought with us."

"It is foppish," says Quintilian elsewhere,<sup>258</sup> "for the orator to be prompted or to read, as if he were forgetful; for by all such practices the force of eloquence is relaxed and the ardor cooled, while the judge will think that too little respect is paid him."

It was Quintilian's purpose to train an orator who would not

<sup>255</sup> XI, 2, 2; 3; see Blair's remarks on memorizing a sermon, Lecture XXIX, (Vol. II, 320); Quint. XI, 2, 44-5.

<sup>256</sup> The speech may be learned in parts: XI, 2, 27.

<sup>257</sup> XI, 2, 46-47.

<sup>258</sup> XI, 3, 132.

depend either wholly on premeditation<sup>259</sup> or entirely on the conceptions of the moment.<sup>260</sup> He should be one whose extemporary efforts have the finish and accuracy of a prepared speech, and the prepared portions of whose oration have the appearance of being poured forth extemporaneously. The speech should be an harmonious whole: "nam sicut cithara ita oratio perfecta non est, nisi ab imo ad summum omnibus nervis consentiat."<sup>261</sup>

<sup>259</sup> The orator must be one to whom memory is not wanting for retaining what he has written, or ready facility in uttering what he has to speak extempore (XI, 3, 12).

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Quint. X, 6, 5 ff.: "but if by chance while we are speaking, some glowing thought, born at the moment, should flash upon our minds, certainly we ought not to adhere too superstitiously to that which we have meditated. For what we have pondered is not to be so precisely fixed that no room is to be allowed for the happy thought of the moment, since often, even in our written compositions, those thoughts are inserted which arise on the spur of the moment; and so the whole of this sort of exercise (premeditation: cogitatio) must be arranged in such a manner that we may be able easily to depart from that which we have meditated and easily to return to it. For just as it is of the very greatest importance to bring from home (afferre) a prepared and definite supply of language, so to reject the gifts of the moment is the very greatest folly. Let our premeditation, therefore, have this end in view, that fortune, while she cannot disappoint us, may yet have it in her power to aid us."

Quintilian would prefer the rashness of purely extemporary speech to that preparation which is unable to depart from what it has before considered (X, 6, 6).

The word *afferre*, as in the above passage (see also Quint. X, 7, 30), is often used of speeches prepared beforehand as opposed to those delivered extempore; cf. Cicero, *Orator*, XXVI, 89; *quaesita nec ex tempore ficta sed domo allata*; *Phil.* II, 42; Sen. *Controv.* III, *praef.* 4: *Vir (Cassius Severus) enim praesentis animi et maioris ingenii quam studii magis placebat in iis quae inveniebat quam in iis quae attulerat*; also X, 2, 6; compare Tac. *Dial.* c. 6, 22: *sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem . . . .*

One of these "glowing thoughts" or "happy inspirations" occurred to Cicero on one occasion (*ad Att.* I, 16, 9). It either occurred to him before he made the speech, or was reduced to writing by him later, because he clearly had a copy by him when he wrote to Atticus. After quoting "the happy inspiration" he says "I have copied almost a whole speech into a letter" (*paene orationem in epistulam inclusi*).

<sup>261</sup> II, 8, 15; cf. Horace, A. P. 23: *Denique sit quidvis simplex dumtaxat et unum*. Perhaps the idea goes back ultimately to the ζῶον of Plato's *Phaedrus*, 264C; cf. Tac. *Dial.* c. 21, 33; Isocr. XIII, 13. The "patching" (cf. p. 33, n. 126) in an orator's speech will be visible only if he has not the "facilitas" (cf. p. 65, n. 276).



The faculty of extemporaneous speech was, in Quintilian's mind, one which could be acquired by proper attention to theory and study.<sup>262</sup> The orator must have a settled method of speaking. He must know the parts of causes, the proper order of questions, and the order of particulars in each department. Thus he will adhere with greatest ease to the chain of facts in the narration.<sup>263</sup> He will know what he wants in each portion of a speech, and will "not look about him like one at a loss." Such orators will have a certain range and limit which cannot exist without proper division. These qualifications, he says, depend on art, the rest is due to study:<sup>264</sup> "multo ac fideli stilo<sup>265</sup> sic formetur oratio, ut scriptorum colorem etiam quae subito effusa sint reddant; ut cum multa scripserimus, etiam multa dicamus. Nam consuetudo et exercitatio<sup>266</sup> facilitatem maxime parit; quae si paululum intermissa fuerit non velocitas<sup>267</sup> illa modo tardatur sed ipsum os quoque concurrit."

Although the power to speak extempore can be acquired, it will not, however, come to the orator as soon as he begins to speak, and it cannot be retained without practice: . . . . "facilitatem . . . . extemporalem a parvis initiis<sup>268</sup> paulatim perducemus

<sup>262</sup> X, 7, 5 ff. Cf. Philost. *Vit. Soph.* II, 33, 1.

<sup>263</sup> X, 7, 6.

<sup>264</sup> X, 7, 7.

<sup>265</sup> *Stilus*, in the sense of composition: II, 2, 11; 4, 13; X, 1, 2; 3, 5, 7, 4; Tac. *Dial.* c. 39, 9. II, 2, 11, implies a written composition recited by the pupil to his fellow students. It was no doubt memorized.

<sup>266</sup> The practice of speaking constantly in connection with writing.

<sup>267</sup> *velocitas*. This is the "fluency," εὐροια, of the Greeks; cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 238 C; Pollux, IV, 20, and 22: VI, 147 and 148; Suidas s. v. εὐροιας; Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 23. Plutarch (*Alex.* c. 53) uses the phrase εὐροισαὶ πρὸς ὑπόθεσιν of an orator who was clever at making speeches on a given theme at a moment's notice. Among the later Sophists εὐροια became almost a technical term for the continual flow of extemporaneous speech: cf. Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 8, 6; I, 18, 4; II, 9, 5; II, 10, 2; II, 15, 1; II, 25, 6; II, 27, 10; II, 33, 2; Synes. *Dion.* p. 40, and elsewhere. Cf. Hobein: *De Maximo Tyrio Quaestiones Philologiae Selectae* (Gottingen, 1895); 16 ff.

<sup>268</sup> Just what the "parva initia" were is not stated. From the general tone of Quintilian's treatment of the subject, one would suppose that the orator prepared parts of his speech and then followed the method advocated by Sarcey (pp. 156-7, cf. p. 31, n. 121), extemporized badly until he had acquired some skill. Crassus (*de Or.* I, 33, 150 ff.; I, 60, 257) recommends extemporaneous exercises on stated cases: subitae ad propositas causas exercitationes.

ad summam, quae neque perfici neque contineri nisi usu potest."<sup>269</sup> It ought, however, to be attained to such a degree that premeditation (cogitatio)<sup>270</sup> though safer, may not be more effective.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>269</sup> X, 7, 18. Quintilian's orator must exercise himself by speaking daily in the hearing of several persons, or alone, or failing either, must silently meditate by himself.

Against the idea that extemporary speaking needs no training, Henry Ward Beecher says: "Not an eminent orator has lived but is an example of industry. . . . If any one would sing, he attends a master and is drilled in the very elementary principles; and it is only after the most laborious process that he dares to exercise his voice in public. . . . But the extempore speaker, who is to invent, as well as utter, to carry on an operation of the mind, as well as to produce sound, enters upon the work without preparatory discipline, and then wonders that he fails!" (Hardwicke, p. 73).

On the necessity for an orator to carry on all these operations at once, see Quintilian, I, 12, 4; X, 7, 9; XI, 2, 3.

<sup>270</sup> Cogitatio here seems to stand for the verbally prepared speech as contrasted with the extemporary oration, and implies that Quintilian expected that the majority of speeches would be prepared; cf. n. 277.

<sup>271</sup> X, 7, 19. Quintilian continues: "Since many have had such command of language, not only in prose, *but even in verse*, as Antipater of Sidon (Cicero, *de Or.* III, 50, 194) and Licinius Archias (Cicero, *pro Arch.* c. VIII), for we must rely on Cicero's authority with regard to them both; not but that even in our own times some have exercised this talent and still exercise it." Cicero (*pro Arch.* VIII) says of Archias: "quotiens ego hunc vidi, cum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de eis ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, *dicere ex tempore!* quotiens revocatum eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis!" Mr. Kelsey in a note on this passage says: "All the writings of Archias have perished with the exception of eighteen epigrams (cf. Reinach, *de Archia*, p. 28) which are assigned to him with a strong probability that they are genuine. To judge from these, his success as an extemporizer consisted chiefly in the ability to patch together, on the spur of the moment, phrases, lines and passages from the older poets which had previously been committed to memory. . . . By having a memory stored with original and selected passages appropriate to many subjects and occasions, a good ear for meters, and constant practice, a professional extemporizer was able to perform feats that appeared little short of the marvellous, and that, too, without being a great poet." Such may have been the case also with Antipater of Sidon whose epigrams may be found in the *Palatine Anthology*.

Poetic extemporization, and particularly the extemporization of epigrams, is said to go back as far as Simonides (Athenaeus, III, 99). According to Plutarch (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετα νῦν τὴν Πυθίαν 25) there were several extempore poets stationed about the Tripes, who received the words of the

There are even occasions on which extemporizations are more effective than premeditated speeches: "si calor ac spiritus tulit, frequenter accidit, ut successum extemporalem consequi cura <sup>272</sup> non possit. Dum tunc affuisse, cum id evenisset, veteres oratores, ut Cicero dicit, aiebant. Sed ratio manifesta est. Nam bene concepti affectus et recentes rerum imagines continuo impetu feruntur, quae nonnunquam mora stili refrigescunt et dilatae non revertuntur."<sup>273</sup>

If he is without this enthusiasm, an orator, if called upon to speak on the sudden, may gain time in various ways: <sup>274</sup> in the first place, he may relax something of his care about words; a slower method of pronunciation, and a mode of speaking with suspense and doubt, as it were, gives time for consideration; yet the orator must manage so that he may seem to deliberate and not to hesitate.

This talent,<sup>275</sup> however, must be kept up with no less practice than it is acquired. The pen, through lack of use, loses little of its readiness; while promptitude in speaking, which depends on activity of thought, can be retained only by exercise.<sup>276</sup> The orator must

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oracle and dressed them up in extempore (ἐκ τοῦ προστυχόντος) verses. He later complains of those who lessen the value of poetry by composing vain predictions in verse either extempore (οἱ μὲν αὐτόθεν) or by lot from little books which they carry. "From a meal without wine" says Athenaeus "there arise neither jokes nor extempore poems (II, 9)". Horace (*Sat.* I, 4, 10) says that Lucilius would extemporize a couple of hundred lines at a stretch. Suetonius (*de Gram. et Rhet.* 23) says Palaemon had the gift of making extempore verses. Cicero, too, could write verses rapidly (Plut. *Cic.* c. XL, 881). Statius' "*Silvae*" are said to have been practically extemporaneous (see the dedication to Stella) as the name shows (cf. the use of "*silvam*" in Quint. X, 3, 17), and Vergil's librarian is said to have extemporized a missing two lines which were incorporated in the manuscript. Athenaeus (XIV, 16, 622B) mentions improvisatori. He says of certain men: σχέδην ἐπέραινον ῥήσεις which clearly means αὐτοσχεδιάζον, although Liddell and Scott believe it means "acted as buffoons."

<sup>272</sup> Ut . . . . possit. "Ut successus orationis extemporalis vincat successum curae et meditationis" (Spalding).

Cura here means study; that of writing and premeditation; literary composition. The Greek equivalent in some senses is ἐπιμέλεια. Cf. n. 285, p. 68.

<sup>273</sup> X, 7, 14.

<sup>274</sup> X, 7, 22.

<sup>275</sup> X, 7, 24.

<sup>276</sup> Reading, writing, and speaking are together to produce a certain efficient readiness (firma facilitas) which the Greeks call ἔξις (X, 1, 1-3;



speak before others daily,<sup>277</sup> or failing that, must speak (dicere) by himself.<sup>278</sup>

Even the orator who has acquired the power of speaking on the sudden, should take whatever time is possible for consideration.<sup>279</sup>

The good orator, in Quintilian's opinion, would prepare his speech as far as he could foresee the trend of the case,<sup>280</sup> and meet any unforeseen attacks with extemporaneous replies.

Tacitus, if we are able to regard the "*Dialogus*" as a work of

compare X, 7, 8; II-14; 18; XII, 9, 21; Polybius, X, 47, 11). Later ἑξίς became almost technical for the acquired habit of extemporary speech (Pliny, *Ep.* II, 3, 4), especially in the New Sophistic.

<sup>277</sup> Cogitatio, premeditation, according to Quintilian (X, 6, 1 ff.) is something between writing and extemporary speech. It may fit together the whole texture of a speech, so that nothing is wanting but to write it down, and fixes it in the memory even more firmly than writing. This power of thought, however, is not to be easily acquired.

Cogitatio is elsewhere contrasted with what the orator has written and learned by heart (X, 6, 4), although in some cases premeditation accomplishes memorization. cf. Cicero, *de Or.* II, 88; Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 24; also compare Cicero, *de Or.* I, 4, 14; II, 30, 131; 35, 149.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. Plut. *Cat. Min.* c. IV: "He (Cato) did not practice his exercises in company with others, nor did anyone hear him when he was declaiming." Compare Seneca, *Contr.* IV, *praef.* 2, of Asinius Pollio.

<sup>279</sup> X, 7, 20. He will give to every cause such preparation as he can (XII, 9, 15); Cicero, *de Or.* II, 24; cf. Blair, Vol. II, p. 269.

<sup>280</sup> Quintilian (XII, 3, 2-5) in arguing that a knowledge of civil law is necessary to an orator, says that the speaker may be able to get it from others, but "when he shall bring before the judge what he has taught himself and arranged at home, and which he has learned by heart like other parts of the cause" (*praecepta et composita et sicut cetera quae in causa sunt, in discendo cognita*), he will fare ill unless there be one skilled in the law near to prompt him.

These learned men of the law, who were to aid the speaker were called *pragmatici* or *iuris interpretes* (Quint. XII, 3, 3-4; III, 6, 59; cf. Juv. VII, 123; Cicero, *de Or.* I, 45, 198; 59, 253; Plut. *Ger. Reip.* 19, 5. "There were among the Romans a set of men called Pragmatici, whose office it was to give the Orator all the law knowledge which the cause he was to plead required, and which he put into popular form, and dressed up with those colors of eloquence that were best fitted for influencing the judge before whom he spoke" (Blair, *Lecture XXVIII*, Vol. II, 279).

Libanius (I, 185, 17) says: "In former days the expert in law stood in court with his roll in his hand, looking at the speaker, and waiting for the order to read." Cf. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, p. 189 ff.

his,<sup>281</sup> accorded enthusiastic praise to extemporaneous speaking. Aper, in his "defense of oratory,"<sup>282</sup> after speaking of the honors

<sup>281</sup> The manuscripts, with the exception of the codex Vaticanus 2964 which contains only a fragment of the work, unanimously attribute the *Dialogus* to Tacitus. In the codex Vindobonensis 351 there is found "Quinctil." added to the title, but both hand-writing and ink are different from those of the rest of the treatise. Lipsius believed that the word was inserted by Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584) to whom this manuscript belonged (cf. Gudeman, *Introd.* p. XIV, n. 4). The editio princeps and an edition of 1475 were printed directly from the manuscripts and also give Tacitus as the author. Gudeman (p. XXII) points out that, since the manuscript history of the *Dialogus* is identical with that of the *Germania*, every examination must start out with the presumption that the one is as genuine a work of Tacitus as the other.

The first to doubt the authenticity of the treatise was Beatus Rhenanus in a note to his edition of Tacitus published at Basle in 1519. No attention was paid to the matter, however, until the edition of Lipsius in 1574. This critic denied that the *Dialogus* was the work of Tacitus, and attributed it to Quintilian. Later, however, he abandoned this position because of chronological difficulties. Nevertheless, the theory that Quintilian is the author of the treatise has been held by many. The arguments for it are based on the similarity of style between the *Institutio Oratoria* and the *Dialogus*. This theory has been disposed of by Spaulding in his edition (1803) of Quintilian (Vol. II, p. 424 ff.).

Nast, in his German translation of the *Dialogus* (1778), brings forward the younger Pliny as the author, and this view, too, had its followers. The arguments for this theory, based on similarities in diction and thought between the *Dialogus* and the works of Pliny, have been refuted by Eckstein (*Proleg. in Tac. qui vulgo fertur dial. de Orat.*, Halle, 1835). Suetonius, Messalla, and Maternus have also been mentioned as possible authors of the treatise (Eckstein, pp. 43-46). The burden of proof seems to rest on those who deny the accepted authorship.

There is an excellent and full discussion in Gudeman's edition (pp. xiv-lxiii) which contains all the facts given above, and many additional ones. Those who desire to pursue the subject further may consult Eckstein, F. A.: *Proleg. in Tac. qui vulgo fertur dial. de orat.* (Halle, 1835); Eruenwald, E.: *Quae ratio intercedere videatur inter Quint. et Tac. Dial.* (Berlin, 1883); Dupré A.: *Dial. de orat. nec Quint. nec cuiusvis alii sed Tacito adiudicandum esse* (Calais 1849); Peck, T.: *On the authorship of the Dial.* (*Transact. Am. Phil. Ass.* Vol. X, 1879); Widal, A.: *In Tac. Dial. de orat. disputatio* (Paris, 1851); Jansen, I. H. A. G.: *de Tac. dial. auctore* (Gron., 1878); Wackermann, G. O. F., *Dial. Qui de orat. inscr. quo iure Tac. abiudicatur* (Rostock, 1874); Vogel, T.: *De dial. qui Tac. nomine fertur sermone iudicium.* *Fleck Jahrb. Suppl.* Vol. II, 249-282.

<sup>282</sup> *Dial.* cc. 5-10. The *Dialogus* purports to represent the faithful reproduction from memory of a debate on the decline of eloquence (cc. 1-2).

paid to eloquence, adds that there belong to it other joys of which the orator alone can be sensible. If he comes to his task armed with an elaborate and well-prepared speech (*accuratam meditatamque orationem*) "est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia."<sup>283</sup> If he enters upon a new and perhaps unexpected debate, even the nervous flutter of spirit<sup>284</sup> which he felt when he arose, increases the pleasure of his success; but the greatest pleasure comes when he boldly hazards an extemporary speech: "sive novam et recentem curam"<sup>285</sup> non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati: sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est; nam in ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam quae (alia) diu seriuntur atque elaborantur grata, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur."

Later, however, Tacitus' enthusiasm seems to have been considerably modified. He places a greater value upon the enduring fame which comes from thought and care;<sup>286</sup> the fame that rests on such a basis will not end even with the life of the man himself.

<sup>283</sup> *Dial.* c. 6, 20. Cf. Cicero, *de Or.* I, 60, 257.

<sup>284</sup> Quintilian believes that such anxiety should be assumed if it is not really felt (*XII*, 5, 4). Tacitus himself realized the possible value of this "trepidatio:" *Hist.* I, 69. Cf. also Cicero, *de Or.* I, 26, 119-120; I, 27, 123 ff. where two causes are given; Pliny, *Ep.* V, 17, 3; VII, 17, 13; 25, 1; Sarcey, p. 300; Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, p. 141 ff.

<sup>285</sup> "novam et recentem curam" clearly means a speech which the orator has had a little time to prepare, but has not been able to bring to the perfection of the "*accuratam meditatamque orationem*."

Tacitus uses "cura" seemingly for formal literary composition in general. In *Dial.* c. 3, 13, it means the tragedy, Cato. Here it is the "speech." Later (c. 28, 20) he uses "curae" for school-exercises. Cf. also *Ann.* III, 24, and IV, 11, where the word is used of Tacitus' own writings; also *Dial.* c. 16, 3; *Agric.* 10, where the meaning is practically "research."

Tacitus seems to be the only prose writer who so uses the word, though it occurs frequently in poetry: Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, II, 4, 16; IV, 16, 39; Martial, I, 107, 5, and elsewhere.

<sup>286</sup> *Ann.* IV, 61, 5. So much value did Tacitus give to care that here the contrast is not between extemporary and prepared speeches, but between speeches prepared carelessly and those prepared properly.

On Haterius, here used as an example, see Hieron, on Eus. *Chr. a. Abr.* 2040; Sen. *Contr.* IV, *praef.* 6-11; *Ep.* 40, 10. Specimens of his declamations are frequently given by Seneca the Elder. Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* II, 33; Suet. *Tib.* 27; 29; and in general Cinia, A.: *de Q. Haterio Oratore (Saggi di studi lat., Flor. 1889, 105).*



Outside of these treatises there are but a few scattered references to the theory of eloquence among the Romans. Oratory was displeasing to the later Emperors, and therefore the greater part of it is mere declamation in the schools of the rhetoricians. The references in Seneca, Petronius, Pliny the Younger, and Fronto, have been employed in different parts of this paper.

## II. THE PLACE OF EXTEMPORARY SPEECH IN THE PRACTICE OF THE ORATORS

Even in the heroic age, long before men thought of a theory of rhetoric, or the written word was known, there were brilliant examples of the practice of oratory. Even before the time of the great struggle of the Greeks against Troy, Menestheus is said to have used his skill as a speaker to exasperate the people against Theseus.<sup>1</sup> In the time of which Homer tells, power to fight and ability to speak were rated equally high, each having an equal share in making the hero, and so Achilles, when he set out to join the Grecian force, "being as yet unskilled in war and public speaking, wherein men win renown," took Phoenix with him, "who should teach him all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds."<sup>2</sup> The eloquence of Nestor was proverbial throughout antiquity,<sup>3</sup> his fame as an orator being based on the well-known line of the *Iliad*: τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέειν αὐδῇ.<sup>4</sup> Menelaus, too, was an able speaker,<sup>5</sup> but according to Quintilian, the highest power of eloquence was reached in Ulysses, καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χεῖμερήσιν,<sup>6</sup> and the admirable qualities shown in Ulys-

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Thes.* cc. 32-33; Pausanias, I, 17, 6. The Greeks loved to trace the beginnings of rhetoric back to history.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, IX, 440 ff. See Quintilian II, 3, 12; 17, 8; Phoenix praeceptor Achillis; Plut. *de Educat. Puer.* c. 7; Cicero, *de Or.* III, 15, 57. Compare *Odyssey* VIII, 171 ff.: if the gods have "crowned a man's words with beauty," the people gaze on him as on a god; cf. Cicero, *de Or.* III, 14, 53. Gladstone (*Homer*, p. 118) calls Achilles' speech in the Ninth Book of the *Iliad* the most elaborate of all the orations found in the poem.

<sup>3</sup> Theognis, 714; Cicero, *de Sen.* 10, 31; Brut. X, 40; Auct. *ad Heren.* IV, 33, 44; Seneca, *Ep.* 40, 2; Pliny, *Ep.* IV, 3, 3; Lucian, *Imag.* 13; Tac. *Dial.* 16, 19; Laus Pis. 64; Tertull. *de Anim.* 31; Auson. *Prof.* 16, 22, 22; see Otto, *Die Sprichw. etc. bei d. Rom.* p. 242.

The Trojan elders, too, are able speakers; cf. *Iliad*, III, 150; compare Vergil, *Aen.* I, 148; Quint. XII, 1, 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, I, 249; cf. also Hesiod's description of those gifted by the Muses with eloquence: *Theog.* 81 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad*, III, 213 ff. On this characterization of Menelaus as fitting a Spartan see Croiset, IV, 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad*, III, 221 ff. See Ovid, *Met.* XIII, 92; Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20, 22; Hermogenes (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 390 Sp.). Emerson in his *Essay on Eloquence* (So-

ses' speech, he says, were such as Eupolis<sup>7</sup> admired in Pericles, and which Aristophanes<sup>8</sup> compared to thunder and lightning.<sup>9</sup> The example of Ulysses who stands "with his eyes fixed on the ground and his scepter motionless" before he begins to utter his speech, is the one which the Roman orator is to follow; he, like Ulysses, is to stand silent a moment and consider what he is to say, even after leave to speak has been granted him by the praetor.<sup>10</sup> In Quintilian's opinion, practically all oratorical excellence is to be found in Homer: . . . . . omnibus eloquentiae partibus exemplum et ortum (Homerus) dedit. . . . . nam ut de laudibus, exhortationibus, consolationibus taceam; nonne vel nonus liber, quo missa ad Achillem legatio continetur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio vel dictae in secundo sententiae omnes litium ac consiliorum explicant artes?<sup>11</sup> Cicero calls Nestor and Ulysses the old-

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*ciety and Solitude* p. 72) says: "For what is the Odyssey but a history of the orator, in the largest style, carried through a series of adventures furnishing brilliant opportunities to his talent?" Cf. also pp. 73-4 of the same *Essay*.

<sup>7</sup> Δῆμοι (Meineke, II, 458-9; Kock, I, 281).

<sup>8</sup> *Acharnians*, 530.

<sup>9</sup> Quintilian, XII, 10, 64: Nam et Homerus brevem quidem cum iucunditate et propriam, id enim est non deerrare verbis, et carentem supervacuis eloquentiam Menelao dedit, quae sunt virtutes generis illius primi; et ex ore Nestoris dixit dulciorem melle profluere sermonem, qua certe delectatione nihil fingi maius potest; sed summam aggressus in Ulixæ facundiam et magnitudinem illi iunxit; cui orationem nivibus hibernis et copia verborum et impetu parem tribuit. Cum hoc igitur nemo mortalium contendet; hunc ut deum homines intuebuntur. Hanc vim et celeritatem in Pericle miratur Eupolis, hanc fulminibus Aristophanes comparat, haec est vere dicendi facultas.

<sup>10</sup> Quintilian, XI, 3, 157-8. I suppose the usual interpretation of the word *cogitatio* would make the passage mean no more than that the orator is to stand a moment and collect his thoughts before he speaks, and yet the same word is used in another passage (X, 7, 19) in direct contrast with extemporary speech and where we are obliged to make it mean the premeditated, which may in some cases be equivalent to the memorized, speech. That Quintilian may have had the latter idea in mind is, therefore, possible.

<sup>11</sup> X, 1, 46; cf. also II, 17, 8: . . . . . apud Homerum et praeceptorem Phoenicem cum agendi tum etiam loquendi (II. IX. 432) et oratores plures et omne in tribus ducibus orationis genus et certamina quoque proposita eloquentiae inter iuvenes invenimus (II. XV, 284), quin in caelatura clipei Achillis et lites sunt et actores (II. XVIII, 497-508). Cf. Hermog. II, 10 (*Rhet. Gr.* III, 375, Walz; II, 405, 21 Sp.); Xen. *Symp.* IV, 6.



est representatives of Greek eloquence, and adds that Homer would not have bestowed such praise upon them if oratory had not been held in honor even in those days, nor could the poet himself have exhibited such fine specimens of eloquence as we actually find in his poems otherwise.<sup>12</sup>

The "three leaders" are probably Nestor, representing the grand style, Menelaus, the simple, and Ulysses, the middle. Cf. Aulus Gell. VII, 14. Capertonier thinks Phoenix, Ulysses and Ajax are meant: the speakers in the embassy to Achilles (*Il.* IX). In Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* III, 152, 12 ff. may be found an elaborate comparison of the Homeric heroes with Lysias, Demosthenes and Isocrates. See also Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* II, 63, 28 ff.; *Art Script.* pp. 6, 7, 119 n.

It is somewhat difficult for a modern fully to appreciate the feeling of the ancients about Homer. "Boys learned Homer by heart at school, priests quoted him touching the gods, moralists went to him for maxims, statesmen for arguments, cities for claims to territory or alliance, noble houses for the title-deeds of their fame." (Jebb, *Primer. Gr. Lit.* p. 34. Homer was referred to in all seriousness as authority in historical appeals (Herod. VII, 159-161; Arist. *Rhet.* I, 15; Thucyd. II, 41, 4; cf. I, 10, 1; Plut. *Solon*, c. 10). He was looked upon as the embodiment of national Hellenic sentiment (cf. Isocr. IV, 159). According to Plato, (*Rep.* 603E) certain eulogists of Homer asserted that he had educated Greece (see also Plato's *Ion*). Hippias of Elis made him the subject of "displays" at the Olympic festivals (Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 363A). The schools used Homer as a text-book (Plato, *Protag.* 325C; Xen. *Symp.* III, 5; Dion. Chrys. Or. II, p. 308; Quintil. I, 1, 36; cf. I, 1, 19; I, 8, 10-11 and elsewhere.

According to Longinus (?) *de Sublim.* XIII, 3-4, Herodotus, Stesichorus, Archilochus, and above all, Plato, drew from the great Homeric source (compare Quint. X, 1, 46 ff.). The same author (c. XIV) advises one who is elaborating anything which requires lofty expression and elevated conception, to consider, as the most severe test of its excellence, how Homer, Plato, Demosthenes, or Thucydides would have treated the same thing and furthermore how the writer's productions would have affected Homer and Demosthenes had they heard them. Horace (*A. P.* 140 ff.) quotes the opening verse of the *Odyssey* as a model exordium. Lucian (*Encom. Demosth.*)<sup>1</sup> parallels Homer with Demosthenes, and he, with Demosthenes is the author most quoted in the pages of the rhetoricians. Only a few authors dared to accuse Homer and Demosthenes of "nodding:" Cicero, *Orat.* XXIX, 104; Plutarch, *Cicero*, c. XXIV; Cicero, *Brut.* IX, 35; Quint. X, 1, 24; XII, 1, 22; Horace, *A. P.* 357.

<sup>12</sup> Brutus, X, 39-40: Nec tamen dubito quin habuerit vim magnam semper oratio. Neque enim iam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus et Nestori quorum alterum vim habere voluit, alterum

In the years between Homeric times, to which the Greeks traced back the history of eloquence and rhetoric,<sup>13</sup> and the actual rise of those arts in democratic Athens, lyric poetry, such as that of Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Archilochus, and Solon, practically fulfilled all the functions of the orator.

Callinus of Ephesus, the earliest elegiac poet, gives us in his poems not only the general's speech, which occurs first in Homer,<sup>14</sup> but also that of the orator who seeks to rouse his countrymen against an invader.

Tyrtaeus, whom Pausanias makes a lame Athenian school-master,<sup>15</sup> averted a revolution in Sparta by his poem *Eunomia*,<sup>16</sup> and his exhortations and marching songs at any rate, if not Tyrtaeus himself, as tradition says, led the Spartans to victory.<sup>17</sup> His poems were political as well as martial, and his elegies were learned by heart and sung by Spartan soldiers around their camp-fires.<sup>18</sup>

Archilochus, who was the first to wield the weapon of public satire, not only urged on the Thasians to war against the Thracians of the mainland, but also used his gift of poetry for political purposes.<sup>19</sup>

suavitatem, nisi iam tum esset honos eloquentiae; neque ipse poeta hic tam ornatus in dicendo ac plane orator fuisset.

The fact that Homer contrasts the two styles perhaps shows that he had given some thought to the theory of the question. Compare Plut. *Pol. Praec.* c. 5. Quintilian (II, 17, 8) points out that in Homer there are contests in eloquence proposed among the young men (*Il.* XV, 284), and that both law-suits and pleaders are represented among the figures on Achilles' shield (*Il.* XVIII, 479-508). Cf. Croiset, M.: *De Publicae Eloquentiae Principiis apud Graecos in Homericis Carminibus* (Paris, 1874); also Epes Sargent's remarks on early Greek oratory (*Oratory Ancient and Modern*, quoted by Byars, *Handbook of Oratory*, p. 270 ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. p. I ff.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. p. 91, n. 100.

<sup>15</sup> On the legend see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* p. 166; compare Plato, *Laws*, 629A.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. fr. 5, 6, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Fr. 8, 10 (with which compare Theognis 699 ff.), 15, 30-33.

<sup>18</sup> Athenaeus, XIV, 630F. Cretans as well as Spartans knew their Tyrtaeus (Plato, *Laws*, 629) and later Lycurgus quotes him in his indictment of a coward (*in Leocr.* 107).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Welcker, *Archilochos* (*Kl. Schr.* 1); Hauvette, *Archiloque*, (Paris, 1905); Hauvette, *in Rev. d. Études Greques*, 1901.

Solon's poetry is in the main the expression of his political life against those who criticised his measures.<sup>20</sup> As Tyrtaeus' songs roused the Spartans to reconquer Messenia, so Solon, after writing and getting by heart his poem, *Salamis*, recited it in the market-place as if it were an extemporary outburst, and with Pisistratus' aid, inspired the Athenians to renew the war.<sup>21</sup>

The history of Greek eloquence is practically the history of eloquence at Athens. In historic times Athens was the city which was regarded as the true home of eloquence: (urbs) in qua et nata et alta sit eloquentia,<sup>22</sup> the city which Isocrates later made the "school of Greece."<sup>23</sup> It was not, however, until after the expulsion of the tyrants and the establishment of the democracy that eloquence began to flourish to any great extent even in Athens.<sup>24</sup> For this Cicero gives the reason: "nec enim in constituentibus rem publicam nec in bella gerentibus nec in impeditis ac regum dominatione devinctis nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes omni-que socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Plut. *Solon*, c. III; cf. fr. 4, where he describes the evils of the political system which he overthrew. Cf. in general, Begemann, *Quaestiones Soloneae* (Göttingen, 1878).

<sup>21</sup> Plut. *Solon*, c. VIII: . . . . ἐλεγεία δὲ κρύφα συνθείς καὶ μελετήσας ὥστε λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος κ. τ. λ.

<sup>22</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* X, 39; also XIII, 49: hoc autem studium non erat commune Graeciae sed proprium Athenarum. Cf. Velleius Paterculus (I, 18), who probably had this passage in mind: "Una urbs Attica pluribus annis eloquentiae quam universa Graecia operibusque floruit, adeo ut corpora gentis illius separata sint in alias civitates ingenia vero solis Atheniensium muris clausa existimes."

Blair (Lecture XXV, Vol. II, 186) says: "The most liberal endowments of the greatest princes never could found such a school for true oratory as was formed by the nature of the Athenian Republic. Eloquence there sprung, native and vigorous, from amidst the contentions of faction and freedom, of public business, and of active life."

Compare Isocr. XV, 295-8; IV, 50; Thucyd. II, 41, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* VIII, 32.

<sup>24</sup> Before this time Cicero (*Brut.* VII, 27) mentions only Solon, Pisistratus, and Cleisthenes as men who were considered able speakers "ut temporibus illis."

<sup>25</sup> Brutus, XIII, 45; cf. Sandys ed. of Cicero's *Orator*, Introd. p. 3. For the idea see also *de Or.* I, 4, 14; I, 8, 30; II, 8, 33; *Orat.* XLI, 141; *Brut.* VI, 22; Quint. I, 16, 1 ff. These passages seem at first sight to be contradicted by



Cicero says there were no orators at Corinth, Argos, or Thebes, and he never even heard of one belonging to Sparta,<sup>26</sup> brevity of speech being, in his opinion, of merely occasional importance in oratory.

The earliest practical development and the real study of oratory arose, however, not in Athens but in Sicily.<sup>27</sup> After the expulsion of the tyrants, the return of the exiles, and the consequent claims and counter-claims to property, there arose a storm of litigation out of which emerged the "art of rhetoric," of which the founder was Corax of Syracuse.<sup>28</sup> There is no mention of speeches composed by him either for his own use or that of others, yet that he did compose speeches seems very probable, since we are told that although no one before the time of Corax and his pupil Tisias<sup>29</sup> had composed by rules of art, yet there had been many orators who expressed themselves carefully and who even wrote out their

Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 40, where it is stated that internal dissensions are necessary for the development of eloquence, but Cicero, too, by "pax" (*Brut.* XII, 45) means freedom from foreign wars; cf. *de Or.* I, 9, 38; *de Invent.* I, 1, 1; also Longin. (?) *de Sublim.* c. 44. Compare Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, p. 32 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Brut.* XIII, 50: "quis enim aut Argivum aut Corinthium, aut Thebanum scit fuisse temporibus illis? nisi quid Epaminonda docto homine (cf. Nepos, *Epam.* IV-V; Plut. *Apophtheg.* 194B; *Agésilas*, c. 27) suspicari libet; Lacedaemonium vero usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse neminem." Cf. Vell. Pater. I, 18, 2: neque vero hoc magis miratus sum quam neminem Argivum, Thebanum, Lacedaemonium oratorem aut dum vixit auctoritate, aut post mortem memoria dignum existimatum. Cf. also Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 40, 13; Quint. II, 16, 4.

Thucydides (IV, 84, 2) mentions Brasidas, but with an important reservation: (Brasidas) was, for a Lacedaemonian (ὁς Λακεδαιμόνιος) not deficient in eloquence. Cf. also Athen. XIII, 611A; Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* V, 87.

<sup>27</sup> The Sicilians were naturally quick and disputatious: Cicero, *Brut.* XIII, 46; *Verr.* IV, 43, 95.

<sup>28</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* XII, 46. On Corax see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, 18-20; Suidas, s. n. . . . ὁ τῆς ῥητορικῆς εὐρετής. Schol. ad. Hermog. (*Or. Att.* VIII, 196, ed. Reiske); Croiset, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* IV, 42. Jebb, *Introd.* p. cxix gives an excellent sketch of the causes which would spring up at such a time and the instruction which the claimants to property would need; cf. also Navarre, p. 5 ff. The establishment of a popular ecclesia (Diodorus XI, 72) no doubt increased the need for ability as a speaker.

<sup>29</sup> On Tisias see Blass I, 20-22.

speeches: <sup>30</sup> "itaque ait Aristoteles cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur, tum primum, quod esset acuta illa gens et controversiae nata, artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse; nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et de scripto <sup>31</sup> plerosque dicere."

This judicial oratory of the Sicilians, partially shaped by the hands of Antiphon, reached its earliest finished form in the speeches of Lysias, but while it was being so shaped, another branch of oratory, the political, was flourishing at Athens, and of this the great example was Pericles, "an almost perfect orator."<sup>32</sup> In this first great age of eloquence, the age of Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles, Alcibiades, Thucydides, oratory had not yet become the subject of systematic study. It was practical, and had little or nothing to do with the theory of rhetoric. Nevertheless the orators whom this age produced were in Plutarch's opinion greater than any who followed them.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Cicero, Brut. XII, 46. The passage from Aristotle was no doubt taken from his lost work συναγωγή τέχων (Diog. Laert. V, 24). Cicero describes it (*de Invent.* II, 2, 6): "Ac veteres quidem scriptores artis usque a principe illo atque inventore Tisia repetitos unum in locum conduxit Aristoteles et nominatim cuiusque praecepta magna conquisita cura perspicue conscripsit atque enodata diligenter exposuit." Cf. also Cicero, *de Or.* II, 38, 160.

Spengel, *Art. Script.* p. 2, suggests that Quint. III, 1, 13, and Diog. Laert. II, 104, may be citations from this work.

<sup>31</sup> *de scripto* is a disputed reading. In the manuscripts there is a variation: F, B, O, have *descripto*; C, *de scripto*. J. Schmitz proposes to emend to *descripte*, and Eberhard to *discripte*. It is perhaps easier to keep *de scripto*. W. R. Roberts, in the article before referred to (*Class. Rev.* 18 [1904] 18-21) has shown that the parallel between a recently discovered rhetorical fragment and this passage of the *Brutus* (cf. p. 9, n. 8) if accepted tends to confirm the manuscript reading *de scripto* as against the conjectural emendations *descripte*, and *discripte*.

The best evidence, however, in favor of the reading *de scripto*, is the fact that Cicero frequently uses the phrase when he means to speak or read from a written composition; *Planc.* 30, 74; *Phil.* X, 2, 5; *ad Att.* IV, 3, 3; *ad Fam.* X, 13, 1; *Sest.* 129; *Leg. Agr.* II, 48; Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 6, 6.

<sup>32</sup> Cicero, Brut. XII, 45.

<sup>33</sup> Speaking of Demosthenes (*Dem.* 852B) Plutarch says: "and if to the nobleness of his principles and his high-souled eloquence he had added warlike courage and hands clean from bribery, he would have been worthy to hold a place, not with Moerocles, Polyeuktus, and Hyperides, but with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles of old."

Caesar (Plut. *Caes.* 880) in commending Cicero's eloquence, compares him to Pericles and Theramenes. Compare Dem. XVIII, 219.

We have no means of forming a judgment of Cimon as an orator,<sup>34</sup> although the fact that Plutarch classes him with Pericles and bestows such high praise upon him, would lead one to suppose that he was an able speaker.

To the eloquence of Themistocles there are several references. Herodotus<sup>35</sup> says: "At the dawn of day all the men-at-arms were assembled together, and speeches were made to them, of which the best was that of Themistocles; who throughout contrasted what was noble with what was base, and bade them, in all that came within the range of man's nature and constitution, always to make choice of the nobler part. Having thus wound up his discourse, he told them to go at once on board their ships, which they accordingly did" (Rawlinson).

Thucydides<sup>36</sup> describes him as *κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο*. The Pseudo-Lysian *Epitaphius*<sup>37</sup> speaks of him as one *ικανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γινῶναι καὶ πράξει*. In Cicero's account of the earlier Athenian oratory, between the establishment of the democracy and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the first important name is that of Themistocles, "quem constat cum prudentia tum etiam eloquentia praestitisse".<sup>38</sup>

Beyond these general expressions of approval, there is almost nothing known of the character of Themistocles' eloquence. Plutarch attributes two public speeches to him: one at the time of his alleged proposal to burn all the Grecian ships except those of the Athenians,<sup>39</sup> and another, on the authority of Theophrastus, at

<sup>34</sup> Nepos speaks rather slightly of Cimon (*Cimon*, c. II): "habebat enim satis eloquentiae."

<sup>35</sup> Herod. VIII, 83. This speech was evidently quite pretentious, and would argue quite a degree of knowledge of speechmaking on his part. We can see from Herodotus' account that Themistocles' speech contained several of the topics which later came to be regarded as fixed parts of an oration. It contained (1) a series of antitheses (*τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα, [τὰ] κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται*) (2) an appeal to the Greeks to choose the better course (*παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι*), and finally a peroration (*καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν*).

<sup>36</sup> I, 138.

<sup>37</sup> sec. 42.

<sup>38</sup> *Brutus*, VII, 28. Cicero elsewhere quotes Thucydides' characterization of Themistocles: *ad Att.* X, 8, 4; cf. also Himerius *Or.* V, 11.

<sup>39</sup> Plut. *Them.* c. 20, 1. Cf. also Plut. *Arist.* c. 22, 2; Diodor. XI, c. 42; Cic. *de Off.* III, 11, 49; Val. Max. VI, 5, 1, sec. 2. Grote (*Hist. Gr.* V, p. 27,



Olympia against Hieron of Syracuse, in which he urged the Greeks to tear down Hieron's tent and not to allow his horses to compete for the prize.<sup>40</sup> Nepos says,<sup>41</sup> "multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur; <sup>42</sup> saepe in concionem populi prodibat; nulla res maior sine eo gerebatur, celeriter que quae opus erant reperiebat; neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus, quam excogitandis erat, quod et de instantibus (ut ait Thucydides) verissime iudicabat, et de futuris callidissime coniciebat."

There is one passage in the Pseudo-Plutarch which is usually understood to imply that Themistocles' oratorical efforts were extemporary. The author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators* in speaking of Antiphon says:<sup>43</sup> τῶν γοῦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ [Antiphon] γενομένων οὐδενὸς φέρεται δικανικὸς λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν, διὰ τὸ μηδέπω ἐν ἔθει τὸ συγγράφειν εἶναι, οὐ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ Ἀριστείδου οὐ Περικλέους . . . . I cannot see that this necessarily means that the predecessors of Antiphon made purely extemporaneous speeches. The passage seems only to say that there were no forensic speeches of these orators in circulation (φέρεται,<sup>44</sup>) in published form at the time when the author of the *Life of Antiphon* wrote his account. The speeches may have been lost before his time, or the orators may never have put them in shape for publication; but in any case the lack of speeches does not prove that Themistocles failed to prepare his oration before he delivered it.

n. 2) says, "the story is probably the invention of some Greek of the Platonic age who wished to contrast justice with expediency and Aristides with Themistocles."

<sup>40</sup> Plut. *Them.* c. 25, 1; cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* IX, 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Them.* c. 1.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Plut. *Them.* c. 5, 4. Themistocles is most frequently mentioned for his excellent memory and for his achievement of learning the Persian language in one year. Cf. Thucyd. I, 138, 1; Plut. *Them.* c. 5, 4, and c. 29, 2; Cicero, *de Or.* II, 74, 299; Quint. XI, 2, 50; Philost. *Imagg.* II, 31; Diodorus, XI, 56-57; Nepos, *Them.* c. 10, gives an exaggerated account of his attainments in this line; cf. also Val. Max. VIII, 7, 15.

<sup>43</sup> *Vit. X Oratt.* 832D. The statement that it was not customary may be a false statement, or merely an inference from the fact that no speeches were in existence at that time.

<sup>44</sup> On φέρεται in this sense see Budaeus, *Comm. Ling. Graec.* p. 393. De Aristide: Ἀναθέμενος ἄλλον Παναθηναϊκὸν εὐτελῆ καὶ ψυχρὸν, ὃς καὶ φέρεται. Julian, *Or.* p. 189A; Argum. *Rhesi* Eurip.; Schol. Eurip. *Phoen.* 377; Ps-Plut. *Ant.* 15.

Suidas<sup>45</sup> says that the predecessors of Pericles extemporized; he was the first to write out a forensic speech before he delivered it;<sup>46</sup> but we cannot be sure that this would apply to Themistocles for it is a question whether Suidas would class him as one of those *πρὸ Περιηλέους*,<sup>47</sup> although it is probable that he did. It is impossible, however, to decide the point on the testimony of Suidas alone, and it therefore seems as if the question must be left open for lack of direct evidence.<sup>48</sup> The probabilities seem to me to be in favor of the belief that Themistocles was not a purely extemporary speaker, the more so, since there is evidence to show that Pericles, whom the Pseudo-Plutarch classes with Themistocles, certainly did not rely solely on the inspiration of the moment.

According to Cicero,<sup>49</sup> the earliest authors who have left authentic writings are Pericles and Alcibiades: "Antiquissimi fere sunt quorum quidem scripta constant, Pericles atque Alcibiades et eadem aetate Thucydides." Jebb<sup>50</sup> declares that the use of "constant" in

<sup>45</sup> On the sources of Suidas and the trustworthiness of his accounts see Daub, A.: *De Suidae Biographicorum origine et fide* (Leipzig, 1880); and *Studien zu den Biographika des Suidas* (1882); Volkmann, D.: *De Suidae biographicis quaestiones selectae*, (1861), *De Suidae biographicis quaestiones alterae* (1867), *De Suidae biographicis quaestiones novae* (1873).

<sup>46</sup> s. v. *Pericles*.

<sup>47</sup> Themistocles was born c. 525 B. C., Pericles c. 493 B. C. Cicero (*Brutus* VII, 28) speaks of Cleon as the contemporary of them both.

<sup>48</sup> There is an amusing story in Plutarch (*Them.* c. 2, 3) of the boy Themistocles inventing and arranging speeches in his play hours. One could not argue from this that it was his practice in later life to be careful about his speeches, although it seems probable that he was so.

<sup>49</sup> *De Or.* II, 22, 93. Mure (*Crit. Hist. Gr. Lit.* V, p. 166) says: "There can be little doubt that the specimens of Periclean eloquence here vaguely referred to by Cicero are the speeches in Thucydides." The fact that Cicero mentions Thucydides would be against this view.

<sup>50</sup> *Att. Or.* I, p. cxxviii. *Constant*, however, may mean merely "are in existence," and so the passage may mean, not that these particular speeches are genuine, but are in existence as representative of such writings. I have been able to find no other passage in which *constant* is used in raising the question as to whether a given work is or is not genuine. The lexicons explain *constant* in this passage of Cicero by *esse* or *existere*, and in this sense the word is frequent in Cicero: *Verr.* III, 187; *de Fin.* IV, 54; V, 22; II, 38; *de Nat. Deor.* I, 25; I, 48; I, 89, and elsewhere. Wilkins in his note on *de Or.* II, 22, 93, translates *constant* "are recognized as genuine" but gives no other passage containing a similar use of the word.

this passage seems to imply that the question of the authenticity of the speeches had been investigated. From this statement alone, one might suppose that Cicero believed the speeches genuine, but as Jebb points out, he elsewhere speaks more doubtfully:<sup>51</sup> "Ante Periclem cuius scripta quaedam feruntur . . . littera nulla est quae quidem ornatum aliquem habeat et oratoris esse videatur."

This seems to mean no more than that there were in circulation in antiquity certain speeches which were ascribed to Pericles, but which were probably spurious. Such, at any rate, was the belief of Quintilian,<sup>52</sup> who, after quoting the above passage of the *Brutus*, adds: "Equidem non reperio quidquam tanta eloquentiae fama dignum; ideoque minus miror esse qui nihil ab eo scriptum putent, haec autem quae feruntur ab aliis esse composita."

Elsewhere<sup>53</sup> Quintilian positively asserts that no writings of Pericles were extant in his time: ". . . Periclem, cuius eloquentiae, etiamsi nulla ad nos monumenta venerunt," and ". . . in agendo clarissimos quosdam nihil posteritati mansurisque mox litteris reliquisse ut Periclem" etc.

It may perhaps be suggested that the speeches ascribed to Pericles in Cicero's time and those known to Quintilian were not the same, and that the former may have been genuine. To support such a thesis one must suppose that the authentic writings were lost between the time of Cicero and that of Quintilian, and that the speeches Quintilian knew were imitations of the true ones mentioned by Cicero. There is no evidence for such a belief; it seems an arbitrary assumption.

We may, then, accept it as Quintilian's view that the speeches in circulation in his time under the name of Pericles were spurious.

Suidas<sup>54</sup> says very positively that the predecessors of Pericles

<sup>51</sup> *Brutus*, VII, 27.

<sup>52</sup> Quintilian, III, 1, 12.

<sup>53</sup> XII, 2, 22; 10, 49.

<sup>54</sup> s. v. *Pericles*. Pericles delivered a number of forensic speeches in addition to those which we know (Ps.-Plut. *Antiph.* 5). He must have delivered one in his own defense (Plut. *Peric.* c. 35, 3-4), since according to Athenian law (cf. Meier-Shömann, *Att. Process*, II, p. 919, n. 438) a man must make a speech at his own trial, even if the speech were written for him, or he later employed an advocate to speak in his behalf. This speech might be one of only a few words, before the speech of the advocate. There is no evidence that Pericles employed an advocate, and it is extremely



had extemporized; he was the first who wrote out a forensic speech before he delivered it: [Περικλῆς] ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγός, ὅστις πρῶτος γραπτὸν λόγον ἐν δικαστηρίῳ εἶπε, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σχεδιαζόντων, but we cannot, of course, form a definite judgment from the evidence of Suidas;<sup>55</sup> this must be supported by other reliable authorities. I find a like statement in no other author except Eudocia Augusta<sup>56</sup> who clearly followed Suidas.<sup>57</sup> Apparently the statement is flatly contradicted by the passage in the Pseudo-Plutarch quoted above.<sup>58</sup>

Plutarch<sup>59</sup> says Pericles left nothing in writing behind him except some decrees, and that there are very few of his sayings recorded: ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολέλοιπε πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀπομνημονεύεται δ' ὀλίγα παντάπασιν.

Lucian,<sup>60</sup> quoting from comedy, says Pericles could lighten and thunder and that he possessed "πειθοῦς τι κέντρον." He adds: "So much tradition tells us, but we have nothing left from which to form a judgment," in the last sentence referring of course to the lack of written productions.

probable that a man of his character and position would deliver the principal speech in his own defense. He also made a speech against Cimon (Plut. *Peric.* c. 10, 5; *Cim.* c. 14, 4; Arist. *Ath. Pol.*; c. 27), and one on behalf of Aspasia (Plut. *Peric.* c. 32, 3; Athen. XIII, 589E). Cf. also Plut. *Peric.* c. 12, possibly.

On the elusion of this law which was effected by delivering speeches prepared by others, see Quint. II, 15, 30.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. n. 45.

<sup>56</sup> *Violarium*, p. 353: Περικλῆς . . . ῥήτωρ καὶ δημαγωγός, ὅστις πρῶτος γραπτὸν λόγον δικαστηρίῳ εἶπε, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σχεδιαζόντων.

<sup>57</sup> See Flach, J.: *Untersuchungen über Eudokia und Suidas*, Leipzig, 1879.

On the authenticity of the *Violarium* see Pulch, P.: *Hermes*, XVII, 177; *Amer. Journ. Phil.* III, 489; IV, 109; V, 114 ff.; VII, 104.

<sup>58</sup> *Vit. X Oratt.* 832D; cf. p. 78.

<sup>59</sup> *Pericles* c. 8. These ψηφίσματα (cf. c. 10, 3; 17, 1; 20, 2; 25, 1; 29, 1; 30, 3; 34, 2) were probably taken from the ψηφισμάτων συναγωγή or copies of the original decrees made by Craterus (Plut. *Arist.* c. 26, 2). The originals, kept in the temple of the Mighty Mother at Athens, were stolen by Apellicon (Athen. V. 53). At the capture of Athens by Sulla they were carried to Rome (Plut. *Sull.* 26). See Cobet. *Mnemos. N. S.* I, p. 97 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *Encom. Demosth.* 20: . . . ἐκείνου [Περικλέους] μὲν γε τὰς ἀστρατάς καὶ βροντάς καὶ πειθοῦς τι κέντρον δόξῃ παραλαβόντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν γε οὐχ ὀρώμεν. . . Cf. n. 7 and n. 9.

Finally Sopater <sup>61</sup> bears witness that neither Themistocles nor Pericles committed any speeches to writing. They and the other orators of their time spoke ἀγράφως. Philostratus <sup>62</sup> states that there are some who believe that extemporary speech began with Pericles, but he seems rightly to doubt the statement.

Now if we accept as correct the verdict of Quintilian as to the speeches ascribed to Pericles, there remains no record of any written speech of his. This lack of record, however, gives no trustworthy ground for the belief that Pericles did not prepare his speeches before delivering them.<sup>63</sup>

For the moment we may disregard the statement of Suidas, until we see how much we are justified in inferring from the other passages cited. The statement in the Pseudo-Plutarch is limited to one class of speeches, the δικανικοὶ λόγοι, and seems to mean no more than that there was no such speech by Pericles in circulation in published form.<sup>64</sup> This, as well as Plutarch's affirmation that Pericles left nothing in writing, ἔγγραφον μὲν οὐκ οὐδὲν ἀπολέλοιπε, can by no means be taken as conclusive proof that Pericles' speeches were extemporary. The record of the effect produced by his orations would seem to make this belief improbable. The comic poets, a class of men, as Quintilian says <sup>65</sup> "not at all inclined to flattery," said that the power of his eloquence was scarcely credible. They

<sup>61</sup> Prolegom. in Aristidem (Arist. III, 737, ed. Dindorf): τρεῖς φορὰι ῥητόρων γεγόνασιν, ὧν ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἀγράφως ἔλεγεν, ἥς ἐστι Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Περικλῆς καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνους ῥήτορες· ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἐγγράφως ἔλεγεν, ἥς ἐστι Δημοσθένης καὶ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ἰσοκράτης καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἡ πρᾶττομένη τῶν ῥητόρων δεκάς. Compare Apsines, quoted by Spengel, *Art. Script.* p. 93.

<sup>62</sup> *Vit. Soph. Praef.* 4, p. 481: σχεδίων δὲ πηγὰς λόγων οἱ μὲν ἐκ Περικλέους ῥυθῖναι πρῶτον φασίν, ὅθεν καὶ μέγας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνομήσθη τὴν γλῶτταν . . . . ἐμοὶ δὲ πλείστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων Αἰσχίνης δοκεῖ σχεδιάσαι . . . .

<sup>63</sup> Pericles prayer (see n. 78) that no word might escape him foreign to the subject with which he was to deal, would almost imply verbal preparation.

<sup>64</sup> The contradiction between the Pseudo-Plutarch and Suidas is only apparent. The author of the *Life of Antiphon* says merely that there were no δικανικοὶ λόγοι of Themistocles, Aristides, or Pericles in circulation.

<sup>65</sup> XII, 2, 22.

compare his energy to "thunder and lightning from heaven."<sup>66</sup> He was the "Olympian,"<sup>67</sup> on whose lips "persuasion was seated,"<sup>68</sup> and "he alone of all the orators left a sting in the minds of his hearers."<sup>69</sup> Thucydides<sup>70</sup> calls him *πρώτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος*. Plato<sup>71</sup> speaks of him as *πάντων τελεώτατος εἰς τὴν ῥητορικὴν*. Plutarch<sup>72</sup> says that Pericles used to govern Athens by sheer force of character and eloquence. To Cicero<sup>73</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 530; Quintilian II, 16, 17-19; XII, 10, 24; 65; Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20, 17; Cicero, *Orat.* IX, 29; *de Orat.* III, 34, 138. In the *Brutus* (IX, 38; XV, 59) Cicero assigns the passage of Aristophanes, or a similar passage, to Eupolis. He evidently did so at first in the *Orator* (IX, 29) but had it corrected when Atticus pointed out the error (*ad Att.* XII, 6, 3)! Cf. De Quincey (ed. Masson, 1890) Vol. X, 325.

<sup>67</sup> Plut. *Peric.* c. 8, 2; Athenaeus X, 48, 436F; XII, 45, 533C; XIII, 56, 589D; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 530; Cicero, *Orat.* IX, 29; Diodor. XII, 40, 5; XIII, 98, 3; Val. Max. V, 10, *ext.* 1; Lucian, *Imagg.* 17; Theon, *Progym.* (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 111, 9, Sp.); Plut. *Mor.* 118E; Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV, 8, 19.

<sup>68</sup> Eupolis, *Δῆμοι* (Meineke, II, 458-9; Kock, I, 281): *Πειθῷ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν*. Quint. X, 1, 82; XII, 10, 65; Cicero, *de Or.* III, 34, 138; *Brut.* XV, 59; Himerius, *Or.* XXIII, 4; Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20, 17; Val. Max. VIII, 9, 2. Cf. Æschines' insinuation that Demosthenes is trying to ape Pericles (III, 256). In like manner Ennius calls M. Cethegus "*flos delibatus populi suadaeque medulla*" (Cicero, *Brut.* XV, 58; Quint. II, 15, 4).

<sup>69</sup> Eupolis, *Δῆμοι*:

οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων  
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

Cicero, *Brut.* IX, 38; *de Or.* III, 34, 138; Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20, 17; Val. Max. VIII, 9, *ext.* 2.

<sup>70</sup> I, 139, 4. Cf. also Hermogenes (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 392, 14, Sp.): . . .  
. . . τὸν περιφανῶς δεινότατον γεγονότα λέγειν τὸν Περικλέα.

<sup>71</sup> *Phaedrus*, 269E. Cf. Isocrates, XV, 234: ῥήτωρ ἄριστος, compare XV, 315.

<sup>72</sup> Plut. *Nic.* III, (524D): Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τε ἀρετῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἄγων . . . . Plutarch goes on to say that Pericles required no tricks of manner or plausible speeches to gain him credit with the populace: . . . . οὐδενὸς ἐδεῖτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότατος. Perhaps Plutarch meant to contrast Pericles with Cleon, who was the first to abandon the dignified calm assumed by speakers; cf. Plut. *Nic.* VIII; *Tib. Gracch.* II; Quint. XI, 3, 123; and the Scholiast on Lucian, *Tim.* c. 29 (quoting Theopompus).

See also Diodorus, XII, 38, 2; (ὁ Περικλῆς) λόγου δεινότητι πολὺν προέχων ἀπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν. Plut. *Pol. Praec.* 802C; *Peric.* VII, 1.

<sup>73</sup> *De Or.* I, 50, 216: . . . . eloquentissimus Athenis Pericles; also *de Or.* III, 34, 138; *Brut.* VII, 29; IX, 38; XI, 44; XII, 45; XV, 59.



he was "the best orator in Athens" and Themistius<sup>74</sup> gives him like praise, assigning the merit for it to the teaching of Anaxagoras:

. . . . . (τὴν πόλιν) Περικλέα ἐπαινοῦσαν μόνον καὶ Ἀσπασίαν, ὡς ῥήτορας τελεσιουργούς τε καὶ ὑψηλόνοους, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου ἀδολεσχίας αὐτὰ προσειλκύσαντο εἰς τὴν τέχνην.<sup>75</sup>

That the cautious Pericles should have been willing to trust solely to the "natural gift" which Plato says was his,<sup>76</sup> in his speeches, and when he wished to produce an effect on the people should have relied on "a stream of fortuitous eloquence" such as Quintilian says "iurgantibus etiam mulieribus superfluere video"<sup>77</sup> is not probable.

In addition to the probability that such a high degree of eloquence required preparation, there are passages which seem to indicate that Pericles actually did prepare his speeches. Plutarch says: <sup>78</sup> οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον εὐλαβῆς ἦν, ὥστ' αἰεὶ πρὸς βῆμα βαδίζων ἡῦχετο τοῖς θεοῖς μηδὲ ῥῆμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀκόντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην χρεῖαν ἀνάρμοστον. Such a prayer certainly seems to imply careful preparation beforehand; moreover the adjective εὐλαβῆς<sup>79</sup> would hardly be applied to a man who trusted to the inspiration of the moment even for choice of words. The same story appears elsewhere in Plutarch in a context which

<sup>74</sup> Or. XXVI, p. 396 (ed. Dind).

<sup>76</sup> With this passage compare Plato, *Phaedrus*, 270A and Scholiast on 261A; Cic. *de Or.* III, 34, 138; *Brut.* XI, 44-5; *Orat.* IV, 15 (with Sandys' note); Plut. *Peric.* c. IV; c. VI; Himerius, Or. XXIII, 4; V, 11; Quint. XII, 2, 22 (Pericles, Demosthenes, Cicero); also Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I,<sup>2</sup> p. 34 ff.; Pseudo Dem. *Erot.* 45; Diodor. XII, 38-41; Lucian, *Timon*, V, 10; Val. Max. VIII, 9, 2; 11, *ext.* 1; Suidas, s. v. *Pericles*; Diog. Laert. II, *Anaxag.* c. IX; Isocr. XV, 235. For philosophy as an aid to eloquence see Cicero, *de Or.* I, 19, 88.

<sup>78</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus*, 270A. Philostratus (p. 493) and Suidas (s. n.) make Pericles and Thucydides when old men, the pupils of Gorgias; cf. also Eud. Aug. CCLI.

<sup>77</sup> X, 7, 13.

<sup>78</sup> *Peric.* c. VIII, 4. Cf. also Aelian, *Var. Hist.* IV, 10; Quint. XII, 9, 13.

<sup>79</sup> Plut.; *Peric.* c. VIII, 4: Περικλῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον εὐλαβῆς. εὐλαβῆς: discreet; careful in speaking; Plato, *Polit.* 311A-B; Plut. *Fab.* c. 17; *C. Gracch.* c. 3; Dem. XIX, 206; Schol. Arist. *Eq.* 13. In later Greek, and particularly in ecclesiastical writers and in the New Testament, the word comes to have a mainly religious significance: careful in one's dealings towards the gods, reverent, pious: Ev. Luc. 2, 25; Act. Ap. 25, 8, 2, and often in Christian inscriptions.

leaves no doubt of the meaning. In his *Political Precepts*<sup>80</sup> Plutarch speaks as follows: "Let your (i. e. the would-be statesman's) chief endeavor, therefore, be to use to the multitude a premeditated and not empty speech, and (you may do) that with safety, knowing that even Pericles himself, before he made any address to the people, was wont to pray that he might not utter a single word foreign to the matter with which he was to deal". There would be little point in the application of the story if the speeches Pericles made after uttering his prayer were extemporary.

In still another passage<sup>81</sup> Plutarch says that Demosthenes, whose aversion to speaking extempore was well known, followed Pericles "in his forbearing to speak on the sudden or upon every occasion": ἄλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Περικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλᾶσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν . . . .<sup>82</sup> If Pericles and Demosthenes were alike in this respect, then the statement in the Pseudo-Plutarch must be understood to mean only that no speeches of Pericles were in circulation, and the statement of Suidas may be regarded as authoritative. The other passages which might seem to indicate that Pericles' speeches were extemporary, are merely statements to the effect that he left no written speeches behind him. They do not prove that he did not write his orations before delivery. He may not have cared to revise and publish them. He may have felt that such an act would not have been consistent with his practice of reserving his appearance in public for exceptional occasions,<sup>83</sup> or he may have preferred that the impression he made upon the people should be a personal one. Lastly, his reason may have been the one given in Plato's *Phaedrus*,<sup>84</sup> where we are told that men

<sup>80</sup> *Pol. Praec.* 803F: . . . . μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐσκεμμένῳ πειρῷ καὶ μὴ διακένῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς μετ' ἀσφαλείας, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἤρχετο πρὸ τοῦ δημηγορεῖν μηδὲ ῥῆμα μηδὲν ἀλλότριον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ.

<sup>81</sup> *Dem.* c. 9, 3; also *de Educat. Puer.* c. 9.

<sup>82</sup> The phrase ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου does not appear in Greek before Aristotle. It occurs fairly often in later literature: *Plut. Dem.* c. 9, 2; *Mor.* 639D; *Dion.* c. 5, 4; *Lucian, Charon*, c. 13, and elsewhere.

<sup>83</sup> *Plut. Peric.* c. 7, 5; cf. *Mor.* 811C.

<sup>84</sup> *Plato, Phaedr.* 257D: οἱ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι τε καὶ σεμνότατοι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αἰσχύνονται λόγους τε γράφειν καὶ καταλείπειν συγγράματα ἑαυτῶν, δόξαν φοβούμενοι τοῦ ἔπειτα χρόνου μὴ σοφιστὰι καλῶνται.

high in political life shrank from writing speeches lest, if any of their productions lived after them, they should gain from posterity the name of "sophists".<sup>85</sup> Lucian's explanation,<sup>86</sup> that there remained no means of forming an estimate of Pericles's oratory because, beyond the momentary impression produced, there was in his performances no element of permanence, nothing which would stand the test of time, is, of course, a possible one.<sup>87</sup> It seems improbable, however that speeches of that sort could "leave a sting in the minds of the hearers". The fact that Pericles' productions have not survived is no proof that they did not deserve to do so.

Whatever may have been the reason for the non-survival of written speeches by Pericles, it seems very probable that his productions were in the main, the result of preparation and study. He probably did, as Plato says, have a natural gift for speaking, but mere extemporary eloquence, however clever, could not have produced the effect ascribed to Pericles' speeches. His cautious character would also make it unlikely that he would rely solely on his natural ability, particularly on such important occasions as those of his policy speech, the funeral oration, etc. Of the passages bearing on the subject, those in Cicero and Quintilian are concerned with certain speeches ascribed to Pericles. If the speeches were authentic, then it is probable that Pericles wrote them before rather than after delivery. His only reason for writing them after delivery would have been because he wished them to be published. If they were spurious, as Quintilian believed, that fact by no means proves that Pericles extemporized solely. It does not mean that he did not write, but that he did not publish. Suidas states plainly that Pericles

<sup>85</sup> The name of "sophist" as well as that of λογογράφος was held in disrepute, although in the strict etymological sense neither of the two terms would imply reproach (cf. Thompson's *Phaedrus*, *Introd.* p. xxvii): Plato, *Phaedr.* 257C; 258D; *Protag.* 312A; Arist. *Soph. Elench.* c. 34; Dem. XIX, 246; Æsch. III, 173, 200, 215; I, 170; Dinarchus, I, 111, and elsewhere.

<sup>86</sup> *Encom. Demosth.* c. 20: ἀλλ' αὐτὴν γε οὐχ ὁρῶμεν δῆλον ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν φαντασίαν οὐδὲν ἔμμονον ἔχουσαν οὐδ' οἷον ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρόνου βάσανον καὶ κρίσιν.

<sup>87</sup> Quintilian (XII, 10, 49-56) says that many men of great learning have thought that the reason why Pericles and Demades left nothing in writing was because the modes of speaking and writing are essentially different. Pericles and Demades were *speakers*, not writers. Isocrates was a writer, not a speaker. Quintilian denies the truth of this.



wrote out at least one kind of speech, the *δικανικὸς λόγος* before he delivered it. Plutarch's statement that he left nothing behind him except decrees, cannot be used as proof that his speeches were extemporaneous. The testimony of the author of the *Life of Antiphon* seems outweighed by the three passages of Plutarch<sup>88</sup> mentioned in the discussion.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Peric.* c. 8, 4; *Dem.* c. 9; *Pol. Praec.* 803F.

<sup>89</sup> The funeral oration in Thucydides (II, 35-46), supposed to be delivered by Pericles, as well as the other speeches attributed to him by the historian (I, 145; II, 60), are, of course, not genuine. Thucydides himself (I, 22) has disposed of the question of the authenticity of all the speeches: ὥς δ' ἂν ἐδόκουν ἑμοὶ ἕκαστος περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων, οὕτως εἴρηται. The words ἔλεγε [Περικλῆς] τοιαῦτα (II, 34), as well as ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν (I, 145) and τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων (II, 65) show that Thucydides made no claim to give the actual speech. Dionysius (*de Thucyd. Ind.* c. 44, p. 924) regards the speech of Pericles simply as the composition of Thucydides and criticizes it as such. Sandys (*Cicero's Orator, Introd.* p. 3) says: "Thucydides gives us only the substance of three of the great orator's speeches as seen through the transforming medium of the historian's mannerisms." Mure (*Crit. Hist. Gr. Lit.* V, 168 ff.) attempts to reconstruct Pericles' speech by sifting out the palpably Thucydidean matter. His attempt shows clearly that the speech in its present form could not have been delivered by Pericles. Cf. Jebb, *The Speeches of Thucydides (Essays and Addresses* p. 381 ff.); *Attic Orators*, II, 424; Blass, I, 227-239; Auffenberg, L.: *De orationum operi Thucydideo insertam origine, vi historica, compositione* (Pr. 1879); Heilmann, A.: *De Thucydidis orationibus*, (1833)<sup>1</sup>; Hüppe, O.: *De orationibus operi Thucydidis insertis* (Pr. 1874); Tiesler, C.; *Ueber d. Reden d. Thukydides* (Pr. 1854). Also Macaulay's remarks on the speeches of Thucydides in his *Essay On the Athenian Orators*. On the funeral oration of Pericles see Weber, K. F.: *Ueber die Stand-Rede des Perikles* (Darmstadt, 1827); Westermann: *Gesch. der Bereds.* secs. 35, 63, 64.

Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte* II, 602, n. 2) gives a list of authorities for supposing that the quotation in Plutarch (*Peric.* c. 8, 5): τὸ Αἴγινα ὥς λήμνη τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεύσαι, and the famous saying τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνιρρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ξαῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, twice quoted by Aristotle (*Rhet.* I, 7, 34; III, 10, 7) belong to the speech delivered over those who fell in the Samian war (Plut. *Peric.* c. 28, 24). Mure (*Crit. Hist. Gr. Lit.* V, 166) with less reason would place the quotations in the speech over those who fell in the first year of the Peloponnesian war. Athenaeus (III, 55) attributes the remark about Aegina and that about the loss of the young men of Greece to the orator Demades. In Herodotus (VII, 162) Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, is quoted as making the same remark.

As to Alcibiades, no specimens of his oratory seem to have existed in ancient times, notwithstanding the fact that Cicero mentions him as one of the two most ancient authors who have left authentic writings.<sup>90</sup> The Pseudo-Plutarch<sup>91</sup> agrees with Cicero and also attributes written orations to him. The writings referred to in this passage, however, like those attributed to Pericles, are probably spurious.

The funeral oration in the *Menexenus* (236C-249C) is, of course, Plato's own production (cf. Jebb, I, 301, and Jowett, *Introd.* to *Menex.*). It is ascribed to Aspasia, and purports to be in part impromptu on her part, and in part composed of passages from a funeral oration delivered by Pericles but written for him by Aspasia (236B-C; cf. 249C-E). Socrates' pretended reluctance to repeat the oration lest Aspasia be angry with him if he publishes her speech (236C), is part of the jest of the whole. A. G. Becker, *Demosthenes als Staatsmann und Redner*, says: "Some funeral orations were actually spoken at the ceremony; others were only sketched out by the writers whose names they bear, without having been delivered on such an occasion. To the latter class belongs avowedly the noble oration of Plato in the *Menexenus*, which the philosopher puts in the mouth of Socrates, with the assertion that it was composed by Aspasia. It seems that Plato, dissatisfied with the ordinary forms of these public funeral orations, wished to show by a specimen, how the orators might, on so important an occasion, express themselves in a more lofty way than they were accustomed to do.

In the same class, it seems, we must place the oration of Pericles in Thucydides (II, 34). For though the historian ascribes it to that statesman, it is most probably a work of his own design and composition, like the rest of his speeches ascribed to other men."

The funeral oration incorporated in the *Menexenus* was much admired by the Greeks. Cicero tells us that it was publicly recited every year at the celebration of the annual funeral rites in honor of those citizens who had perished in their country's service (*Orat.* XLIV, 151). Cf. also Dion. Hal. *de Dem.* c. 23, compared with *Ars Rhet.* c. 6.

The story of Aspasia's having been the teacher of Pericles and even of Socrates, although of course unworthy of belief, is often referred to in antiquity: Plut. *Peric.* c. 24, 4; Plato, *Menex.* 235E; Schol. Plat. *Menex.* p. 391; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV, c. 19, 124 (ed. Klotz); Alciphron, *Ep.* I, 34, 7; Athen. V, 61, 219B; Philost. *Ep.* 73, 2.

<sup>90</sup> *de Or.* II, 22, 93. Helbig, on very insufficient grounds, has assigned to Alcibiades the Pseudo-Xenophontic treatise, *De redivibus Atheniensium*.

<sup>91</sup> *Vit. X Oratt.* 832D: ὅσους μέντοι ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τὸ παλαιότατον ἀναφέροντες ἀπομνημονεύσαι τὴν ἰδέαν τῶν λόγων ταύτην μεταχειρισμένους τούτους εὖροι τις ἂν ἐπαβεληκότας Ἀντιφῶντι πρεσβύτῃ ἥδη ὄντι, ὅλον Ἀλκιβιάδην, Κριτίαν, Λυσίαν, Ἀρχίνον. Alcibiades is said to have been a pupil of Gorgias: Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 2.

Demosthenes in one passage<sup>92</sup> says of him: καὶ λέγειν ἐδόκει πάντων, ὥς φασι, εἶναι δεινότατος. The phrase ὥς φασι, although it seems to imply that no written orations existed from which a judgment could be formed, cannot be taken as absolute proof that such was the case.<sup>93</sup>

As in the case of Pericles, the fact that no speeches written by Alcibiades were in existence does not prove that he was an extemporary orator. We are told that he was an eloquent and persuasive speaker. Plutarch says:<sup>94</sup> "And that he was a capable orator, the comic poets bear witness, and the most powerful of public speakers in his oration against Midias says that Alcibiades, in addition to other admirable qualities, was a most accomplished orator."

Lucian, in praising an orator, says that "when he came forward to speak, the whole city listened to him open-mouthed, as men say the Athenians of old did to Alcibiades."<sup>95</sup>

Cicero describes him, with Pericles and Thucydides, as "subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiis magis quam verbis abundantes."<sup>96</sup> This would be a rather strange characterization if Alcibiades had been a purely extemporary speaker. It is true that Cicero may have had in mind the speeches in Thucydides, for he says elsewhere<sup>97</sup> that

<sup>92</sup> Dem. XXI, 143. This passage is also quoted in Plutarch, *Alcib.* 196A. Buttman, in his note on the Midias passage, argues that Demosthenes was simply adapting his language to the ignorance of his audience, but a fair interpretation of the passage implies that Demosthenes himself knew no published speeches of Alcibiades. Cf. also Westermann, *Gesch. der Bereds.* I, 2, sec. 39.

<sup>93</sup> The phrase ὥς φασι is not to be pressed. The Attic orators, even when quoting well-known facts of history like to give them an air of tradition: cf. Isocr. IV, 87; VI, 99; XII, 154; XIV, 57; Dem. IV, 17; XIV, 30; XV, 22; XVI, 7; XX, 12; 161; XXI, 36; 62; 144; XXIII, 116; 117; XXIV, 212; XXVI, 6; XL, 25; LIV, 18, and elsewhere.

<sup>94</sup> *Alcib.* 196A. Cf. also Nepos, *Alcib.* c. 1: disertus, ut imprimis dicendo valeret quod tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei dicendo possit resistere. Plut. *Nic.* 528C.

<sup>95</sup> *The Scythian*, c. 11: "In truth, when he speaks in public, the whole city listens, open-mouthed, just as they say the Athenians, once upon a time, listened to Alcibiades."

<sup>96</sup> *de Or.* II, 22, 93; cf. III, 16, 59.

<sup>97</sup> *Brut.* VII, 29. The fact that Alcibiades' speech to the Spartans (Thucyd. VI, 80-93) is in Attic, not Doric, would be of no value in determining the question of the authenticity of the speech. Neither Xenophon nor Thucydides use dialect speeches. Occasional Doric words may be found, but the



the character of the eloquence of the time of Alcibiades, Critias,<sup>98</sup> and Theramenes,<sup>99</sup> may be inferred from the writings of Thucydides: "grandes erant verbis crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri." What Cicero probably meant by this statement was that Thucydides, in the speeches attributed to Alcibiades, gives the best specimens of the style of oratory which prevailed at the time, and which Alcibiades and his contemporaries probably followed. It can hardly be that Cicero means that the speeches are to be taken as representing the actual productions of Alcibiades. In the first place, neither Critias nor Theramenes make a formal speech in Thucydides, and besides it was impossible that a man of Cicero's intelligence could have failed to see that the speeches in Thucydides are speeches by Thucydides.<sup>100</sup>

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Spartan generals address their troops in Attic Greek. Blass (I, 234-5, 2nd. ed.) points out that the speeches of the Spartans in Thucydides are as lengthy as any others and are in Attic, not Doric.

Attic Greek probably became the official language or dialect in the subject states early, and an authentic speech in Attic by Alcibiades to the Spartans is not impossible. Cf. Bonner, R. J.: *The Mutual Intelligibility of Greek Dialects*, *Classical Journal*, IV, 356 ff.

<sup>98</sup> There were extant in Cicero's time some writings by Critias (*de Or.* II, 22, 93). Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions his orations (*de Lys.* c. 2; *de Isaeo* c. 20; *de Thucyd.* c. 51) as does Phrynichus (ap. Phot. *Cod.* 158). That he was eloquent and learned we are told by Cicero (*de Or.* III, 34, 139; *Brut.* VII, 29; cf. Xen. *Mem.* I, 2, 16). Hermogenes quotes as to oratory his *προοίμια δημηγορικὰ* (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 415-6 Sp.). Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* I, 16, 5; II, 1, 35) characterizes his method of speaking; cf. also I, 19, 2; *Ep.* 73, 2. Only a few trifling fragments of his prose works remain. He also wrote tragedies, elegies and other works. The remains of his writings have been collected by Bach (1827). Cf. also Westermann, p. 58.

<sup>99</sup> Of the eloquence of Theramenes Cicero says he only heard (*de Or.* II, 22, 93; cf. III, 16, 59; *Brut.* VII, 29). The writings attributed to him by Suidas (s. v. *Theramenes*) are doubtless spurious. "They seem to be" says Ruhnken (*Hist. Crit. Orat. Gr.* p. xli) "the productions of later sophists, as Quintilian puts it (II, 4, 41), fictas ad imitationem fori consiliorumque materias apud Graecos dicere circa Demetrium Phaleria institutum fere constat." Cf. also Eud. Aug. p. 231; Westermann, p. 57.

<sup>100</sup> It is true that Thucydides seems to take more pains to make the speeches of Alcibiades fit his character (cf. Thucyd. VI, 18, 3-4) than he does in the case of the others, but the attempt is a very transparent one and could hardly have deceived Cicero. Furthermore, Cicero has elsewhere pro-

All Cicero seems to mean is, that because of the lack of authentic speeches, one can conjecture what sort of oratory existed in the time of Alcibiades from the speeches of Thucydides who belonged

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nounced judgment on the speeches in Thucydides. He says in one passage (Brut. LXXXIII, 287): orationes autem quas interposuit (multae enim sunt) eas ego laudare soleo; imitari neque possim si velim, nec velim fortasse, si possim." Cf. *Orat.* IX, 30; "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;" also *Orat.* IX, 31-32; LXXI, 234; de *Opt. Gen.* 15-16; de *Or.* II, 56; 93; Brut. LXXXIII, 288; cf. also Dionys. Hal. de *Thucyd.* c. 55. Polybius (XII, 25) criticises Timaeus' disregard for truth in the speeches in his history.

To take the orations in the historians as representative of the actual speech-making ability of the Greeks is of course impossible. Particularly true is this in the case of the type of speech known as the "general's speech," and yet the very existence of such a type implies that the Greek generals possessed the ability to speak extempore to some degree at least. Even in Homeric times an assembly might be called by any chief at a moment's notice (cf. *Il.* I, 54; II, 50 ff.; VII, 345; VIII, 489; IX, 9; X, 209; XVIII, 249; XIX, 4 ff. and elsewhere) at which the different heroes might be called upon to speak, a custom which still prevailed in the Greek army in historic times (cf. Xen. *Anab.* I, 3, 3-7; 9-19; III, 1, 15; III, 1, 35; 45; 3, 12, and elsewhere; compare Thucyd. VIII, 93). It was an absolute necessity, then, that the men in authority should be able to express themselves clearly on matters of importance without preparation. (cf. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 87). As Jebb (II, 39 ff.) says: "The power of speaking coherently and effectively in a law-court, in a public assembly or at a public festival, held a place in old Greek life roughly analogous to that which the journalistic faculty holds in modern Europe. The citizen of a Greek republic might be called upon at any moment to influence public opinion in behalf of certain interests or ideas, by a neat, pointed, comprehensive address, which must be more or less extemporary." The ability to utter fitting words of encouragement to the soldiers before battle is placed by Socrates among the necessary qualifications for a general (Plato, *Ion*, 540D; cf. also Theon, *Rhet. Gr.* II, 115 Sp.), but the elaborate productions given in the historians as general's speeches are justly subjected to criticism. As Plutarch says (*Praec. Ger. Reip.* 803B) in speaking of the highly finished productions found in Ephorus, Theopompus, and Anaximenes: "οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας στάς. (Eurip. *Autol.* fg. 284, 22).

The general's speech may be found in its first stage in Homer in the encouraging words uttered before battle by the leaders to the soldiers (*Il.* IV, 234 ff.; 294 ff.; VI, 66; 111; 123, and elsewhere. Cf. also Æsch. *Persae*, 400 ff.; Eurip. *Suppl.* 700 ff.; *Heraclidae*, 820 ff. In lyric poetry the poems of Callinus and Tyrtaeus take the place of the general's speech. A form of it occurs in

to the same age: "quibus temporibus quod dicendi genus viguerit ex Thucydidi scriptis, qui ipse tum fuit intellegi maxume potest."

Himerius has the following statement about Alcibiades and his power as an orator:<sup>101</sup> Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπειδὴ πλήρης Λυκείου καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ<sup>102</sup> Λυκίῳ λόγων ἐγένετο, δεινὸς μὲν εἰπεῖν φανείς, κρατήσας δὲ πάντας τῷ θαύματι, ἀποπηδήσας Λυκείου, δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν δημοσίᾳ τύχῃ καὶ πράξεσι· δοὺς δὲ ὅσον τοῖς λόγοις τοσοῦτον τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνίκησεν.

So much for Alcibiades' oratory in general. There remain several passages which seem to show that he should not be regarded as an extemporary orator.

"He was," says Plutarch,<sup>103</sup> "an excellent orator, and so careful in his choice of words and phrases that he would pause in the midst of his discourse if a particular apt expression for the moment escaped him and stand silent until he recollected it."

Elsewhere<sup>104</sup> Plutarch attributes this hesitation to confusion due to lack of proper preparation: ἔστι δὲ καὶ λέγοντας ἑαυτῶν λαμβάνειν διαπειρᾶν εἰ μήτε πολλῶν παρὰ προσδοκίαν συνελθόντων ὑπὸ δειλίας ἀναδυόμεθα, μήτ' ἐν ὀλίγοις ἀθυμοῦμεν ἀγωνιζόμενοι, μήτε πρὸς δῆμον ἢ πρὸς ἀρχὴν εἰπεῖν δεῖσαν ἐνδεία τῆς περὶ τὴν λέξιν παρασκευῆς προϊέμεθα τὸν καιρὸν οἷα περὶ Δημοσθένους λέγουσι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος νοῆσαι μὲν πράγματα δεινότατος ὢν περὶ δὲ τὴν λέξιν ἀθαρσέστερος ἑαυτὸν

Herodotus (for example, VIII, 83), and it is often found in Xenophon (*Anab.* I, 7, 3-8; III, 2; IV, 8, 10; *Cyrop.* I, 4, and elsewhere.

For a full discussion of the general's speech, its τόποι, etc., see Burgess, *Epidictic Literature*, p. 209 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *Or.* V, 12; also *Ecl.* 17, 8.

<sup>102</sup> For Alcibiades as a pupil of Socrates see Cic. *de Or.* III, 34; Pseudo Dem. *Erot.* 45; Philost. *Ep.* VII, 1; *Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 2; cf. Xen. *Mem.* I, 2, 40-46, where he gets the better of his uncle Pericles in an argument about law.

<sup>103</sup> Alcib. 196A: εἰ δὲ Θεοφράστῳ πιστεύομεν ἀνδρὶ φιληκοῦ καὶ ἱστορικῷ παρ' ὄντινον τῶν φιλοσόφων, εὐρεῖν μὲν ἦν τὰ δέοντα καὶ νοῆσαι πάντων ἱκανώτατος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ζητῶν δὲ μὴ μόνον, ἀ δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς δεῖ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οὐκ εὐπορῶν δε, πολλάκις ἐσφάλλετο καὶ μεταξὺ λέγων ἀπεισιώπα καὶ διέλειπε, λέξεως διαφυγούσης αὐτὸν, ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ διασκοπούμενος. Compare Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences* p. 359, of John Stuart Mill: "His speeches were written, and he sometimes lost the thread. But he would not, like less scrupulous speakers, fill the gap with mere words; he would wait, however awkward the pause might be, till the thread was recovered."

<sup>104</sup> *On man's progress in virtue*, 80C-D.



διέκρουεν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν ζητῶν καὶ διώκων ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα διαφεύγον ἐξέπιπτεν.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, Plutarch would hardly class a successful extemporary speaker with Demosthenes, whose dislike to speak without preparation was an established fact.

Again, in his *Political Præcepts*<sup>106</sup> Plutarch says that a ready tongue is an indispensable possession for the man who would lead in political affairs, as is the ability to speak on a moment's notice.<sup>107</sup> Lack of this ability is the reason why Demosthenes was deemed inferior to many, as they say. Plutarch then adds, on the authority of Theophrastus, the same story that appears in the *Life*. There would be no fitness in telling the story here if Alcibiades had not been unwilling to speak extempore. The inference, then, is that he was accustomed to prepare his speeches before delivery.

It seems probable, then, that both Pericles and Alcibiades made their speeches the object of study, and that they could not have been extemporary orators. How much knowledge of the "art of oratory" they possessed cannot be told, but there is no reason why the opinion Quintilian expresses of Lysias, Herodotus, and Thucydides, should not hold equally well for Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, or any Athenian who sought to influence his countrymen by his oratory: "Itaque ut confiteor, paene ultimam oratoribus artem compositionis, quae perfecta sit, contigisse; ita illis quoque priscis habitam inter curas, in quantum adhuc profecerant, puto."<sup>109</sup>

When we come to the Attic orators, the first who have left complete written orations, we are better able to judge of the amount of preparation spent by the orators upon their speeches. First there is the internal evidence of the speeches themselves; their perfect finish and polish, the judicious use of figures, and the extreme condensation

<sup>105</sup> ἐκπίπτω here means to forget what one has before prepared or written down. It is the word used by Æschines when he charges Demosthenes with forgetting his speech before Philip, II, 34; also Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 2; II, 1, 36; II, 32, 2.

<sup>106</sup> 803F-804A.

<sup>107</sup> This was particularly true at Athens. Cf. Fénelon's remark (quoted by Croiset, IV, 19): "A Athènes tout dépendait du peuple, et le peuple dépendait de la parole."

<sup>108</sup> Blass (I<sup>2</sup> 276) however, thinks Alcibiades never prepared his speeches in writing.

<sup>109</sup> IX, 4, 16-17.

of style. This, however, cannot be taken as perfectly decisive proof of preparation before delivery, because we cannot be sure that the spoken speech and the one we now read were exactly the same. We know that some of the Roman orators at least, carefully revised the speeches they had delivered before they allowed them to be published.<sup>110</sup>

Besides this evidence of the diction, we have many cases of repetition of passages in different compositions of an orator, or even the appearance of the same passage in the works of several different orators. There are cases in which speeches were prepared for delivery and later published, but which were never actually delivered before an audience. There are stock parts of speeches, such as *proöemia*, composed by orators in such general terms as to be applicable to almost any speech, and kept on hand for sudden needs. We know how great pains some of the orators took to acquire their art, and we also know that some of them were never willing to run the risk of an extemporary speech. There are instances where the orator frankly admits that he has prepared his speech,<sup>111</sup> and finally, what seems a very clear argument against the belief that the speeches were extemporary, there are many very transparent efforts to give the orations an air of spontaneity.

As far as the diction of the speeches of the Attic orators is concerned, it cannot, as has been said, be taken as a proof of preparation beforehand. We cannot tell how great a command over language the orator's training may have given him. It is possible, though not probable, that a skillful orator may always have used the right word in the right place even in an extemporary speech, and also have employed just the right figure where it would have the best effect, but certainly the conciseness characteristic of the Attic orators would argue against the belief that the speeches were in the first place extemporary. Repetition and prolixity are the acknowledged signs of unpremeditated discourse; condensation implies thought and effort. Indeed, condensation is so striking a characteristic of the

<sup>110</sup> Cicero, for example; for his practice see p. 158.

<sup>111</sup> Demosthenes, Cf. XXI, 191; Plut. *de Educat. Puer.* 9. The preparation in Demosthenes' case was, I think, practically verbal. While his speech was thoroughly prepared and memorized, there was of course freedom for the orator to insert any extemporary matter which might be necessary or advisable.

Attic orations, that it almost leads one to believe that the speeches in their present form could not possibly have been delivered before an audience, and that the spoken speech was worked over, polished, perhaps, and condensed, and then reduced to writing in its present form.<sup>112</sup> The question arises, could an Athenian audience, even granting all the natural quickness that has been attributed to it, and all the critical taste it had acquired from listening to the finest productions,<sup>113</sup> have appreciated Demosthenes' speeches, for example, after hearing them once? Perhaps so, if all the Greeks were as good judges as the old market-woman who mortified Theophrastus by calling him ξένος for no other reason than that his Attic Greek was too Attic.<sup>114</sup> It might be argued from this very conciseness that the present form of the speeches is not the one in which they were originally delivered, and that explanatory words and phrases, necessary to the hearer but not to the reader, have been omitted from the published speech.

Granting, however, so far as the diction of the speeches is concerned, that the orators might have been able to extemporize so successfully, and granting that "in general intelligence the Athenian populace far surpassed the lower orders of any community that has ever existed,"<sup>115</sup> let us see what the actual practice of the orators was in regard to extemporary speech.

Before taking up the Attic orators, however, it will be necessary to say a few words about Gorgias with whom the history of Greek oratory begins.

According to Blass<sup>116</sup> the art of the sophists was first brought to Athens not by Gorgias but by Protagoras. One might naturally expect to find that the speeches of the sophists, who claimed universal knowledge, were wholly extemporary, but such was not the practice of Protagoras himself nor of his pupils. He prepared certain general topics called "commonplaces" which he made his pu-

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Brougham's *Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients*, *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 86 ff.; Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, p. 198.

<sup>113</sup> See Macaulay's *Essay On the Athenian Orators*.

<sup>114</sup> Quint. VIII, 1, 2; Cic. Brut. c. XLVI, 172.

<sup>115</sup> Macaulay, *On the Athenian Orators*.

<sup>116</sup> *Att. Bereds.* I (2nd. ed.) p. 23 ff. On Protagoras see Frei, *Quaestiones Protagoreae*, Bonn, 1845.



pils commit to memory.<sup>117</sup> These prepared topics, of so general a nature that they were applicable to almost any speech, and on subjects which were most likely to occur in a discussion,<sup>118</sup> were elaborately worked out beforehand and brought in as opportunity offered. A good example of the way in which these topics were employed may be seen in Plato's *Protagoras*. In this dialogue Protagoras is asked by Socrates to prove that virtue can be taught.<sup>120</sup> Protagoras agrees and gives his hearers a choice as to the method of procedure, whether he shall prove his point by relating a fable or by argument. The hearers leave the choice to Protagoras, and he chooses to relate a fable. There follows the myth of Prometheus and Epimetheus,<sup>119</sup> doubtless Plato's own production, but still just such a "display speech"<sup>120</sup> as the sophists must have written by the score.

<sup>117</sup> Cicero, on the authority of Aristotle, states that Protagoras was the first to do this, *Brut.* XII, 46: . . . . scriptasque fuisse et paratas a Protagora rerum illustrium disputationes quae nunc communes loci appellantur. Cf. Aristotle, *Soph. Elench.* c. 34; Quint. III, 1, 12.

<sup>118</sup> Aristotle, *Soph. Elench.* c. 34: "ready-made" speeches which were believed to cover the topics likely to be discussed, were learned by heart. Aristotle believes this method unscientific. Elsewhere, however, Aristotle declares that one should learn by heart arguments on the problems that oftenest arise, and also that one should have "ready-made" arguments for the conclusions that are oftenest wanted, and for those problems where proof is difficult to extemporize: (*Top.* VIII, 12 (14), 4; 6; 7; 17; cf. *Top.* II. 5, 1; *Soph. Elench.* XII, 2 and 4.

Cf. the saying attributed to Protagoras (Diels, fr. 10): μηδὲν εἶναι μῆτε τέχνην ἄνευ μελέτης μήτε μελέτην ἄνευ τέχνης. (Stob. *Flor.* 29, 80).

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I, 10, 494.

<sup>120</sup> This is clearly shown by the words used in the *Protagoras* (328D): Προταγόρας μὲν τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδειξάμενος. Cf. also Navarre, p. 39. ἐπίδειξις and ἐπιδείκνυσθαι are the standing expressions for such displays. The author of the *Prolegomena ad Hermog* (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, 15, Walz) uses the same word of Gorgias on the occasion of the famous embassy: ἐλθόντος δὲ Γοργίου εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπεδείξατο ἐκεῖ λόγον καὶ εὐδοκίμησε πάνν, ὥστε ἡνίκα ἐπεδείκνυτο λόγον ὁ Γοργίας φορτὴν ἀπράκτον ἐποιοῦν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λαμπάδας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ὠνόμασαν. Prodicus' *Choice of Heracles* is an ἐπίδειξις (Xen. *Mem.* II, 1, 21 ff.). Cf. also Plato, *Protag.* 317C; 320C; 347B; *Hipp. Mai.* 286A, of Hippias' fine speech; *Gorg.* 447A; B; C; *Axiochus*, 336C; *Cratylus*, 384B (of Prodicus' course of lectures); *Eryx.* 398E; *Euthyd.* 274D; 275A; 278C; 272D; *Gorg.* 458B; *Hipp. Min.* 363A; C; D; 364B; *Hipp. Mai.* 282B; C; 285C, 287B; *Ion*, 530D; 542A; *Phaedr.* 235A; *Protag.* 328D and elsewhere.

Of course it was the purpose of the sophists to seem to speak without preparation, but nevertheless their speeches doubtless were largely composed of brilliant discussions of topics prepared in advance, brought into the discourse as opportunity offered, and pieced together with extemporary oratory.

One of the earliest uses of the verb in this sense occurs in Aristophanes, *Eq.* 349 (cf. also *Ran.* 771). Both verb and noun occur frequently in Isocrates: II, 7; IV, 4; 17; V, 25; 27; 17; 93; XII, 271; 272; X, 9; 15; XV, 55; 147; XI, 9; *Ep.* VI, 4, and elsewhere.

In the lists of the sophists' productions are given titles of lectures which must almost necessarily have been written discourses which they probably knew by heart. Diogenes Laertius (IX, 55), speaking of the works of Protagoras which were extant in his time and so were written treatises, mentions the following: a treatise on the *Art of Contention*, one on *Wrestling*, one on *Mathematics*, one on a *Republic*, one on *Ambition*, one on *Virtues*, one on the *Original Condition of Man*, one on *Those in the Shades Below*, one on *Things that are not Done Properly by Men*, one volume of *Precepts*, one essay entitled *Justice in Pleading for Hire*, two books of *Contradictions*.

Of these there are several which were clearly lectures and as such were no doubt delivered more than once. According to Zeller (*Pro-Socratic Philosophy*, II, 409, n. 2) the δίκη ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ (Diog. Laert. IX, 55), if genuine, may have discussed the theme of the law-suit with Euathlus, and the anecdote rose from it: if not genuine, then the anecdote gave rise to its fabrication. This would be an excellent theme for a sophist's lecture.

Diogenes says (IX, 54) that the first of Protagoras' works that he ever read (ἀνέγνω) in public was the treatise on the Gods which he read "at Athens in the house of Euripides, or as some say, in that of Megacledes; others say that he read it in the Lyceum, his pupil Archagoras, the son of Theodotus, giving him the aid of his voice." This was the treatise which was burnt for political reasons (Plato, *Theatet.* 171D; Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* I, 23, 63; Diog. Laert. IX; 51; 54; Eus. *Pr. Ev.* XIV, 19, 10; Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 10; Joseph. *c. Ap.* II, 37; Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* IX, 56 and elsewhere).

Parts of the Ἀλήθεια from which came the famous sentence, "Man is the measure of all things" (Plato, *Theat.* 152A; 161C; see also 155E; 162A; 166B; 170E; 171C; *Craty.* 386C; 391C) may have been used as lectures. The Scholiast on *Theatetus* 161 says Ἀλήθεια was the name of the work (see, however, Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* VII, 60; Porph. ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* X, 3, 25, and the discussions of the matter in Frei, p. 176 ff.; Bernays, *Rhein. Mus.* VII, 464 ff.; Schanz, *Beitr. z. Vorsokr. Phil.* I, H, 29 ff.).

The myth of the *Protagoras* (320 ff.) is believed by Zeller (p. 471)<sup>1</sup> to be taken from a treatise of Protagoras. Steinhart (*Pl. Werke*, I, 422) doubts this on the ground that it is too good for Protagoras. Frei (p. 182) believes it to be taken from the treatise περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως, but Bernays (*Rhein. Mus.* VII, 466) believes the last-mentioned work to be a rhetorical treatise.

Protagoras' contemporary, Gorgias,<sup>121</sup> another of the crowd of rhetoricians who appeared "as soon as the force of a regular and well-adjusted style was understood,"<sup>122</sup> belonged to a different

If we can believe Diogenes Laertius, the lectures of Protagoras and Prodicus were read: οὗτος (Protagoras) καὶ Πρῶδικος ὁ Κεῖος λόγους ἀναγινώσκοντες ἠρᾶνίζοντο.

Gorgias is said to have *read* his Olympic oration (Plut. *Coni. Praec.* c. 43); another account says he *recited* it; cf. Hieronymus, quoted by Wytenbach on Plutarch 144B.

Among the works of Prodicus (cf. Welcker, *Kleine Schr.* II, 393-541) are mentioned several which must have been memorized "displays." Such was his famous fifty-drachma ἐπίδειξις, (Plato, *Crat.* 384B; Arist. *Rhet.* III, 14, 9); his *Heracles*, of which the proper title was Ὁραὶ (Schol. on Aristoph. *Clouds*. 360; Suidas: ὄραι, Πρῶδ; Cicero, *de Off.* I, 32, 118) of which the contents are given by Xenophon (*Mem.* II, 1, 21 ff.) and which he may have heard Prodicus deliver and written up from memory; and the lecture περὶ ὀνομάτων ὁρθότητος (Plato, *Euthyd.* 277E; *Crat.* 384B; cf. Welcker, p. 452) which, according to Zeller, even judging from Plato's caricature of it, must have been preserved after the writer's death. The treatise on the mitigation of the fear of death, which is imitated in the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* 366B; 369C) and the discussion of the value and use of wealth (*Eryxias* 395E; 396E; 379C-D) probably belonged to the same class, as might be the case also with the panegyric on Agriculture implied in Themistius *Or.* XXX, 349B.

It is asserted that Hippias (see Mähly, *Hippias von Elis*, *Rhein. Mus. N. F.* XV, 514-535; XVI, 38-49) usually delivered lectures in the temple precincts at the Olympic games (Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 363C, ἐπιδέδεικται and εἰς ἐπίδειξιν) and answered any questions that were asked him (cf. also *Protag.* 315B; 317D). Epideictic speeches by him at Athens are also mentioned (*Hipp. Mai.* 286B; *Hipp. Min.* 363A; cf. also Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 11).

His lecture on Homer is mentioned in the *Lesser Hippias* (363A), and elsewhere in the same dialogue (368B ff.) the sophist boasts of lectures in prose, epics, tragedies, etc. (Cf. Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 11; Cicero, *de Or.* III, 32, 127; *Apul. Flor.* 32; Themistius, *Or.* XXIX, 345C). His lecture which contained advice to a young man, (Nestor to Neoptolemus, *Hipp. Mai.* 286A) was probably distinct from his lecture on Homer.

Socrates (*Hipp. Min.* 363B) says: ἔστι γ' αἱ ἡδέως ἂν πυνθούμεν 'Ἰππίου ὦν νῦν δὴ ἔλεγε περὶ 'Ομήρου. If, as Liddell and Scott assert, λέγειν never means to read but always to recite (cf. p. 38, n. 147), then Hippias' Homer lecture was memorized and recited.

<sup>121</sup> On Gorgias see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, 44-72; Navarre, p. 79 ff.; Spengel, *Art. Script* 63-84; Jebb, I, cxxiii-cxxviii; Cope (*Camb. Journ. Class. and Sac. Phil.* III, 65-80).

<sup>122</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* c. VIII, 30.



school. He was the inheritor of the teaching of Corax and Tisias, and was "in oratical ability the foremost man of his time."<sup>123</sup> He, too, prepared discussions on general topics like those of Protagoras,<sup>124</sup> and seems to have been the first rhetorician who made a practice of giving what Navarre calls "les séances d'improvisation."<sup>125</sup> We are told that he was the first to signify his willingness to speak on any subject his audience might be pleased to suggest,<sup>126</sup> a practice which he continued even in extreme old age.<sup>127</sup> Never-

<sup>123</sup> Diodor. Sic. XII, 53. Of Gorgias' own rhetorical training we know little. Tradition makes him the pupil of Tisias (*Rhet. Gr.* IV, p. 14 Walz) and of Empedocles (Diog. Laert. VIII, 58; Quint. III, 1, 8; Schol. ad Plat. *Gorg.* 465D; Suidas s. v. *Gorgias*; Eud. Aug. CCLI). In Plato (*Meno* 76C) they are shown to be advocates of the same doctrines (cf. also Theoph. *Fr.* 3; *de Igne* 73). Blass rejects the tradition because of the slight difference in age between the two men; see Diels, *Gorgias und Empedocles (Bericht. der Berlin Akademie, 1884, p. 343 ff.)*. According to Pausanias (VI, 17, 8)<sup>1</sup> Gorgias was the pupil of Tisias (cf. Schol. ad Hermog. *Oratt. Gr.* VIII, 191, ed. Reisk), who accompanied him to Athens on his embassy and contended with him for the palm of eloquence (Diod. Sic. XII, 53; Olympiod. in *Gorg.* p. 3; also Dionys. Hal. *de Lys.* 3; Plut. *de genio Socrat.* c. 13; Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 282B). Thucydides (III, 86) in describing the embassy, does not mention Gorgias.

<sup>124</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* XII, 46-47; Quint. III, 1, 12. There may be a possible reference to this in Isocrates, IV, 8; cf. also Plato, *Phaedr.* 267A.

E. Scheel, *De Gorgianae Disciplinae Vestigiis* (Rostock, 1890), endeavors to reconstruct Gorgias' method of training from the works of Gorgias and the orations of Isocrates. He translates τέχναι in Gorgias' teaching by "exempla," commonplaces.

<sup>125</sup> p. 37.

<sup>126</sup> Philostr. *Proem. ad Vit. Soph.* 4 (483): . . . . σχεδίου δὲ λόγον Γοργίας ἄρξαι (παρελθὼν γὰρ οὗτος ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων θέατρον ἐθάρορῃσεν εἰπεῖν "προβάλλετε" καὶ τὸ κινδύνειμα τοῦτο πρῶτος ἀνεφθέγγετο, ἐνδεικνύμενος δὴπου πάντα μὲν εἰδέναι, περὶ παντὸς δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐφίεις τῷ καιρῷ . . . . Also Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 2; Cicero, *de Fin.* II, 1, 1; *de Or.* I, 22, 103, where Crassus ridicules the men who make such claims in his own day; III, 32, 129; Val. Max. VIII, 15, ext. 1, 2; Plato, *Gorg.* 447C-D: καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν τοῦτ' ἦν τῆς ἐπιδείξεως ἐκέλευε γοῦν νῦν δὴ ἐρωτᾶν ὃ τι τις βούλοιο τῶν ἐνδον ὄντων καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα ἐφη ἀποκρίνεσθαι. The answering of questions gave him an opportunity for a "display". After the display, Gorgias, like the modern extension lecturer, will answer questions. Cf. Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 286A, where Hippias tells Socrates of the fine speech he has, written with great care, which he is to "exhibit" in three days (ἐπιδεικνύναι).

This is Sarcey's definition of a lecturer: "A man capable of improvising, on no matter what subject, before any audience, a development of any theme

theless, to natural gifts must be added painstaking study and incessant practice. Even a naturally clever man cannot become a master of style without practice, and it doubtless took the rhetorician who has been called "le Balzac de la prose attique"<sup>128</sup> many a weary hour to bring the Gorgian style to perfection. If, in addition, this master of style had his memory stored with prepared passages, and had written panegyrics and invectives on every subject,<sup>129</sup> he could not be at a loss for materials for a speech at a moment's notice. There are few subjects which his audience could propose to him which he could not turn to a discussion of generalities and so bring in his prepared topics.<sup>130</sup> Thus the extemporal speech would be only partly extemporal, and in reality would be largely the result of study and preparation, and even memorization. Of course in Gorgias' case and in that of some of the other sophists there was, to start with, some natural aptitude for extemporal speaking, but

whatever" (*Recollections of Middle Life* p. 147). This ability will never come, according to Sarcey, if one reads his lectures, or recites lectures learned by heart. If one does so, he will be no further along at the end of ten years than on the same day; but see the French lecturer's method of preparation (p. 31, n. 121). Every lecture must be improvised, he says (p. 160); but, he adds, one does not improvise successfully before the public *until he has twenty times improvised in solitude*; cf. also p. 163.

<sup>127</sup> Quint. II, 21, 21; XII, 11, 21; also Eud. Aug. CCLI; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* I, 23. Polus and Meno made similar claims (Plato, *Gorg.* 461D; *Men.* 70B), but the "improvisateur par excellence" seems to have been Hippias (Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 363C; 364A; also *Protag.* 315C; compare Apul. *Flor.* IX), yet even he, after experiencing some of Socrates' dialectic, needs a little time for thought before improvising an answer (*Hipp. Mai.* 295A; 297E). For a general account of Hippias see Apelt, O.: *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Griech. Philos.* (Leipzig, 1891) 369-393.

<sup>128</sup> Navarre, p. 119.

<sup>129</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* XII, 47. Cf. Plato, *Menex.* 235D, where Socrates says it is not hard to extemporize panegyrics, at least in the presence of the persons praised; cf. also Arist. *Rhet.* III, 17, 11.

<sup>130</sup> So Sarcey (p. 115) says of Henry de Lapommeraye: "He was ready upon every subject, and treated commonplaces with extraordinary abundance of improvisation."

On the sophists' evasion of uncomfortable discussions, and their methods toward their opponents, see Zeller, p. 463 ff., who illustrates his points from the Platonic dialogues.

even granting that, their ability would still be largely the result of training in which writing played a large part.<sup>131</sup>

Three great speeches are assigned to Gorgias, the *Olympiacus*, the *Epitaphius* and the *Pythius*. Few if any scholars would argue that these were extemporary. The Gorgian figures point to an elaborately perfected style. Philostratus tells us that Gorgias delivered his oration against the barbarians in the presence of the assembled Greeks at the Olympic games.<sup>132</sup> His *Epitaphius* was delivered by him personally at Athens and "was composed with the highest art."<sup>133</sup> Philostratus also speaks of the Pythian oration as having been delivered by Gorgias, and adds that on the altar or pedestal from which he spoke, a golden statue of the orator was set up.<sup>134</sup>

<sup>131</sup>The characteristic Gorgian style could hardly be extemporary, or if by any chance it could be so used, the feat would be like that of the Italian improvisatori.

<sup>132</sup> Philost. *Ep.* 73 (13), 2 (887), the verb used is διελέχθη, not αὐτοσχεδιάσθη which Philostratus probably would have used had the speech been extemporary, since he seems fond of using the word. Elsewhere (*Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 2) he has the following statement: ὁ δ' Ὀλυμπικὸς λόγος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτῷ ἐπολιτεύθη. The verb in the Latin version is rendered by "composita est" and cannot be taken to imply actual delivery by Gorgias himself. According to Plutarch, however, Gorgias actually read the speech (*Conj. Praec.* c. 43); cf. Pausan. VI, 17; also Hieronymus, quoted by Wytttenbach on Plutarch, 144B; compare Eud. Aug. CCLI, p. 173 (ed. Flach); Quint. III, 8, 9. Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 14, quotes from the speech.

<sup>133</sup> Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 3; . . . σοφία δ' ὑπερβαλλούση ξύγκειται, also Eud. Aug. CCLI. Blass, I, (2nd. ed.) p. 64 ff. studies the extant fragment of the *Epitaphius* (*Rhet. Gr.* V, 548 Walz) in great detail.

<sup>134</sup> *Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 2; Cf. Eud. Aug. CCLI.

Cicero, *de Or.* III, 32, 129, mentions this golden statue, but Pausanias (X, 18, 7) very gravely declares that the statue which he saw on his visit to the shrine was only "gilt." Pliny the Elder (*N. H.* 33, 4, 24)<sup>1</sup> believes it solid, as does Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* XXXVII, p. 115R). According to Athenaeus (XI, 113) who quotes Hermippus, the statue was set up by Gorgias himself, and this is the belief of Pliny (*N. H.* 33, 4, 24); cf. also Pausan. X, 18, 7. Valerius Maximus (VIII, 15, *ext.* 1, 2) says that a statue of solid gold was erected by the whole of Greece in honor of Gorgias; cf. Philostr. p. 493. Pausanias (VI, 17, 7-8) mentions a statue at Olympia, set up by the descendants of Gorgias' brother and sister.

The *Encomium of Helen* and the *Defense of Palamedes*, ascribed to Gorgias are probably spurious. All early critics seem to ignore them. Blass (I)<sup>1</sup> at first rejects them, but later (II, 222) accepts the *Encomium* as genu-



The earliest of the Athenian orators who left writings was Antiphon, and it is with him that the history of Attic oratory begins.<sup>135</sup> He is said to have been the first to write out a forensic speech for publication: . . . . . πρῶτον δικανικὸν λόγον εἰς ἔκδοσιν γραψάμενον Ἀντιφῶντα φύλου Ῥαμνοῦσιον. ὥς φησὶ Διόδωρος.<sup>136</sup> Quintilian says "Antiphon quoque et orationem primus omnium scripsit,"<sup>137</sup> doubtless meaning no more than that Antiphon was the first orator who left behind him an authentic speech. He was, in fact, the first orator who put his speeches into shape with a view to their general circulation. He seems to have been the first to regard speeches written for others from a literary point of view.<sup>138</sup> The speeches he wrote were to be worthy of preservation, not merely pleas whose sole object was to accomplish their immediate purpose in the court-room.

We are told that Antiphon, who was evidently a celebrated teacher of rhetoric,<sup>139</sup> was the first to write speeches for others to

ine, believing that it was in reply to this that Isocrates wrote his *Helen*. Schonbörn, *De authentia declamationum Gorg.* (Bresl. 1826) defends both; Foss (*De Gorg. Leon.* 78 ff.) and Spengel, p. 71 ff., reject both, as do Steinhart (*Pl. Werke*, II, 509, 18) and Jahn (*Palamedes*, Hamb. 1836). Geel (*Hist. Crit. Soph.* p. 31 ff., p. 48 ff.) believes the *Palamedes* genuine and the *Helen* spurious. Cf. Süss, *Ethos*, pp. 49-59.

<sup>135</sup> Jebb, I, p. cvi. On Antiphon see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, 79-195; Jebb, I, 1-70; Perrot, *Éloq. polit. et judic.* pp. 96-153.

<sup>136</sup> Diodorus ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I, 365; cf. Blass, III, B, 324. The statement of Suidas (see n. 54) that Pericles was the first to write out a forensic speech before he delivered it, does not conflict with this passage. Pericles did not publish his speech; Antiphon was the first to write out a forensic speech for publication (εἰς ἔκδοσιν).

<sup>137</sup> III, 1, 11. Suidas s. v. Μοχθηρός calls him . . . . . ὁ παλαιότατος τῶν ῥητόρων.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Navarre, p. 13.

<sup>139</sup> Plato, *Menex.* 236A. Thucydides is said to have been his pupil: Suidas, s. v. *Thucyd.* and *Antiphon*; Eud. Aug. CVIII; Ps.-Plut. 259; Hermog. *de Form.* II (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 414, 19 Sp.); Aristides, p. 131 Dind.; Themistius, *Or.* XXVI, p. 329; Dion. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* 10; Schol. Thucyd. IV, 135, and VIII, 68; Marcellinus, *Vit. Thucyd.* p. 25; Trypho (*Rhet. Gr.* III, 201, 8 Sp.); *Vita Antiphontis*. For striking rhetorical coincidences between the two see Mure, *Hist. Gr. Lit. V, Appendix G, No. 11*, and Neischke, A.; *De Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo* (Münden, 1885); Lehmann, J.: *Thucydidis oratio Antiphontis dictione comparat.* (1876).

deliver in court; there was, at least, no such speech in circulation by any writer before his time: καί τινας λόγους τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν συνέγραψεν εἰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγῶνας, πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦτο τραπεῖς, ὥσπερ τινές φασιν. τῶν γοῦν<sup>140</sup> πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδενὸς φέρεται δικανικὸς λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν . . .<sup>141</sup> It is hardly possible that there were no speeches written for clients before Antiphon's time. The explanation of the passage no doubt is that his speeches were the first published, and since no speech of an earlier date was in existence, some critics (τινές φασι) attributed to Antiphon the origin of the practice. He is described, perhaps correctly, as the first who ever made a practice of selling speeches.<sup>142</sup>

Antiphon was primarily a writer rather than a maker of speeches, and so closely did he adhere to his vocation that he never addressed the people himself until he made his own defense in the trial which resulted in his condemnation and death.

That he was the leading man of his time so far as speech-making is concerned, is shown by the fact that he assisted not individuals only, but even wrote speeches for the allied cities in disputes about the tribute.<sup>143</sup>

He himself took little part openly in public life; his role in politics was played from behind the scenes. Thucydides, in speaking of the affair of Pisander, says: "The person who devised the whole matter . . . was Antiphon, a man second to none of the

<sup>140</sup> The γοῦν shows that such was the author's belief.

<sup>141</sup> Ps.-Plut. *Vit. X Oratt.* 832. Cf. also the γένος 'Αντιφῶντος 4: . . . μὴδ' ἦν πῶ τις τότε μήτε λόγων μήτε τέχνων ῥητορικῶν συγγραφεύς. Auctor Proleg. in Hermog.: λέγουσι δέ τινες δικανικὸν λόγον εὐρηκέναι (Cod. εἰρηκέναι) πρῶτον Μενεσθέα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀφίκετο, ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι 'Αντιφῶντα.

<sup>142</sup> For this he was attacked by Plato the comic poet: Meineke, I, 180; Kock, I, 103; Plut. *Mor.* 833C; Phot. *Cod.* 259; Ps.-Plut. *Vit. Antiph.* 17; Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 15, 2; Eud. Aug. CVIII; Ammianus Marcell. XXX, 4, 5; Diodorus ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I, 365.

<sup>143</sup> Harpocration mentions two of these: περὶ τοῦ Λινδίων φόρου (Harpocr. s. v. Ἀμφίπολις, ἀπειπεῖν, ἄττα, δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐπαγγελία, ἐπίσκοπος, προσφορά, συνήγοροι, τριβωνευόμενοι), and περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθράκων φόρου (Harpocr. s. v. ἐκλογεῖς, αἰεῖ, ἀποδιδόμενοι, ἀπόταξις, συντελεῖς). The latter is referred to by Suidas (s. v. Σαμοθράκη), Priscian (18, 280), and Blass believes by Demetrius, (*de Elocut.* 53), where the name of the speech is not mentioned.

Athenians of his day in ability, and who had proved himself most capable to devise measures and to express his views; and although he did not come forward to speak in the assembly of the people, nor, of his own will, into any other debate, but was regarded with suspicion by the people owing to his reputation for cleverness, yet was most able, for any one man, to aid those who were engaged in a contest, both in the law-court and before the assembly of the people, whoever of them might ask his advice on any point."<sup>144</sup>

Only once did he appear as pleader before a court, when, after the downfall of the Four Hundred, he was tried for his life on the charge of having been a party to the establishment of the oligarchy. Of the speech he made in his own defense, the *περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως*,<sup>145</sup> Thucydides says: "he . . . appears to me to have made the best defense of all men up to my time, when he was brought to trial for his life in regard to this very matter, on the charge of having assisted in setting up the oligarchy."<sup>146</sup>

Aristotle tells us that Agathon, the tragic poet, praised the speech, and that Antiphon, who had just been condemned to death, replied that a self-respecting man will care more for the opinion of one person who is competent to judge, than for that of many whose opinion is worthless.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Thucyd. VIII, 68. No doubt it was forensic speeches which Antiphon was most often called upon to write for his clients, yet the statement of Thucydides *τοὺς μέντοι* etc., seems to imply, as Jebb (*Att. Or.* I, 3-4) points out, that he was versed in deliberative as well as forensic oratory. Cf. also Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 15, 6.

Antiphon may very possibly have been concerned in helping the speakers who came forward at the time of the Pisander episode prepare their speeches (Thucyd. VIII, 66). We are told that the points to be brought forward by the speakers were previously discussed (*προῦσκεπτο*).

<sup>145</sup> Harpocr. s. v. *στασιώτης* (cf. also Suidas) *διαστῆσαι, ἐμποδῶν* (cf. *Etym. M.* p. 336, 35), *ἐπεσκήψατο* (cf. *Etym. M.* p. 355, 36) *Ἡετιώνεια, τετρακόσιοι*. Blass would refer the two fragments quoted by Suidas (I, 2, p. 977, and II, 2, p. 1073, 16) to the same speech; cf. Sauppe, *Or. Att.* II, p. 138.

<sup>146</sup> Thucyd. VIII, 68. Cf. Quint. III, 1, 11: . . . "pro se dixisse optime est creditus;" and Cicero, *Brut.* XII, 47: "(Antiphon) . . . quo neminem umquam melius ullam oravisse capitis causam, cum se ipse defenderet, (se audiente) locuples auctor scripsit Thucydides."

<sup>147</sup> Aristot. *Eud. Eth.* III, 5. One other production which bears his name may have concerned Antiphon personally. This is the *Ἀλκιβιάδου λουδογαίαι*. Plutarch (*Alcib.* 192F) quotes a story about Alcibiades on this authority



There are various accounts of his rhetorical training. The Pseudo-Plutarch gives two accounts:<sup>148</sup> μαθητεύσας δὲ τῷ πατρὶ (ἦν γὰρ σοφιστής, ᾧ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην φασὶν ἐπὶ παῖδα ὄντα φοιτῆσαι) καὶ δύνανμιν λόγων κτησάμενος, <ἦ> ὥς τινες νομίζουσιν, ἀπ' οἰκείας φύσεως. The latter of these is the view held by the author of the γένος Ἀντιφώντος who explicitly says that he had no teacher, and adds that to his natural cleverness Antiphon added the drill of practice.<sup>149</sup> As Spengel puts it, he was "multa doctus exercitatione".<sup>150</sup>

There is no evidence that Antiphon ever made an extemporal speech.<sup>151</sup> Owing to his policy of keeping in the background in political matters, and the fact that the people regarded him with suspicion because of his cleverness in speaking,<sup>152</sup> he did not appear in public except in the trial in his own defense, and on that occasion it would certainly be very unlikely that he would trust to an extemporal speech, when his own life depended on the result of the trial.

Andocides,<sup>153</sup> though an interesting figure with reference to the history of Athens, is of little importance so far as the present in-

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(ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀντιφώντος λουδορίας) and adds that too much weight must not be given to it on account of Antiphon's open enmity towards Alcibiades. This might have been a political attack on Alcibiades, published by Antiphon in pamphlet form. Jebb (I, p. 5) points out that Athenaeus (XII, 525B) quotes a statement made by Antiphon ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδην λουδορίας. From this Jebb would suppose that the work was a speech in a δίκη κατηγορίας (cf. Dem. *Conon* 18) for which he says λουδορία was used as a convertible term; cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1207, εἰλον διώκων λουδορίας. In that case the speech may have been delivered by some one of Antiphon's clients. Sauppe, *O. A.*, believes Athenaeus made a mistake and that Plutarch is correct. Cf. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* p. 95.

<sup>148</sup> *Vit. Antiph.* 2; Eud. Aug. CVIII; Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 15, 2: γενέσθαι τ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν αὐτομαθῶς σοφόν, οἱ δ' ἐκ πατρὸς.

<sup>149</sup> sec. 4.

<sup>150</sup> *Art. Script.* p. 116.

<sup>151</sup> The περὶ τῆς μεταστάσεως is spoken of by Pseudo-Plutarch (sec. 20) as the speech ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γέγραφε. It was, then, prepared before delivery, since there is not much possibility of its having been reduced to writing afterwards. It is impossible to tell from the Aristotle passage (n. 147) whether Agathon had read the speech or heard it delivered.

<sup>152</sup> Thucyd. VIII, 68, 1 . . . . . ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος . . . . .

<sup>153</sup> On Andocides see Blass, I, 268-331; Jebb, I, 71-141; Lipsius, J. H.: *de Andocidis Vita et Scriptis*.

vestigation is concerned. He owes his reputation chiefly to his historical interest in connection with the affair of the Hermae, and the violation of the Mysteries. We know nothing of his rhetorical training, although he may have profited by the instructions of Antiphon, who was at the time the chief teacher of rhetoric. Andocides was not a professional rhetorician. His speeches were more in the nature of pamphlets or essays written in vindication of his own policy or character.<sup>154</sup> There is no evidence that he ever made an extemporal speech. Of the four extant orations ascribed to him,<sup>155</sup> *de Mysteriis*, *de Reditu*,<sup>156</sup> *de Pace*,<sup>157</sup> *contra Alcibiadem*,<sup>158</sup> there is no probability that any were extemporal on an occasion, and reduced to writing afterwards.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Harpocration, 'Ορ 'ρῳδεῖν.

<sup>156</sup> Photius, *Cod.* CCLXI.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Harpocration, 'Ορ 'ρῳδεῖν.

<sup>157</sup> According to the author of the argument (Auctor Arg. fin.) Dionysius of Halicarnassus believed that the speech *On the Peace* was spurious. Harpocration also doubts its authenticity. He quotes it three times, but always with the addition εἰ γνήσιος. This view is now rejected by nearly all scholars. Blass (cf. his edition of Andocides)<sup>1</sup> thinks that the exile Andocides wrote the oration for his own justification. Jebb (p. 82) believes it was actually delivered. He calls it Andocides' "only recorded utterance on a public question." Taylor (*Lectiones Lysiacae* c. VI, Vol. II, p. 260, ed. Reiske) and Markland (*ad Aesch. de Fals. Legat.* p. 302) take the same view as Dionysius. Ruhnken (*Hist. Crit. Gr. Orat.* in his *Opuscula* Vol. I, 325) and Blass (*Att. Bereds.* I, 332) defend the speech as authentic. Cf. also Croiset, IV, 430.

<sup>158</sup> The speech against Alcibiades, perhaps spoken in the person of Phaeax (cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 193E), is undoubtedly spurious. Harpocration, the Pseudo-Plutarch, and Photius attribute it to Andocides, but Blass (*Att. Bereds.* I, 336 ff.)<sup>1</sup> rightly rejects their view. Taylor (*Lectiones Lysiacae* c. VI) following Plutarch (*Alcib.* 196) assigns the speech to Phaeax, who shared with Alcibiades in the danger of ostracism. He believes that it was read by Plutarch as the oration of Phaeax in the actual contest between Phaeax, Nicias and Alcibiades. His view is opposed by Ruhnken (*Hist. Crit. Gr. Orat.* XLVII ff.) and Valckner. For another view see Grote, *Gr. Hist.* IV, 151, n. 1. According to Meier, *de Andocidis quae vulgo fertur oratione in Alcibiadem*, the speech is an imitation by some later rhetorician. This is shown by the utter ignorance of history and the polished style. This is the view held by Jebb, I, 131, who points out that sections 10-40 are a mere stringing together of all the stories about Alcibiades, and that the speech has the unmistakable air of a compilation.

The πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους, which Plutarch mentions in his *Life of Themistocles* (c. 32, 128C) is believed by Ruhnken (p. LII)<sup>1</sup> and Sauppe to have been a letter written to the allies of Pisander, who were called ἑταῖροι.

There was little opportunity for Lysias<sup>160</sup> to display skill as an orator in person. In station he was a metic, and so debarred from public business, and by profession he was a writer of speeches for others.<sup>161</sup>

Very little is known of his rhetorical training.<sup>162</sup> We are told that in Sicily he was the pupil of Tisias.<sup>163</sup> Cicero, on the authority of Aristotle, tells us that Lysias was the first "to profess the art of speaking," and that he kept a school of rhetoric, but finding himself outdone as a theorist by Theodorus, although his superior in the practice of the art, he abandoned teaching, and took up speech-writing.<sup>164</sup> The story, however, is hardly probable. The fact that

<sup>160</sup> Cf. p. 139 ff. The repetition of such passages would make it impossible to hold the view that the speeches containing them were extemporary.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, 331 ff.; Jebb, I, 158-198.

<sup>161</sup> When a man procured a speech from an expert, he must memorize it. This would familiarize the Athenians with the idea of a completely memorized speech.

Antiphon seems to have been the first to follow the profession of speech-writer at Athens (Ps.-Plut. 832; Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 15, 2; Amm. Marcell. XXX, 4, 5; Diod. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I, 365), but after his time the custom of writing and selling speeches became general. The men who practiced this art, as a rule were not held in high esteem, and were classed with the sophists (Plato, *Phaedr.* 257C; *Euthyd.* 272A; 289D; 305A; Dem. XIX, 246; 250; Anaxim. *Rhet.* XXXVI (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 234-5 Sp.), but nevertheless we find that orators of the greatest ability, such as Antiphon, Lysias, Demosthenes, Isaeus, and others, did not hesitate to write speeches for others to deliver (cf. Dionys. Hal. *de Lys.* c. 1; Meier-Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 707). Quintilian (II, 15, 30) says it was a general practice at the time of Socrates' trial for men to deliver speeches composed for them by others.

<sup>162</sup> Most ancient critics say little about Lysias except in praise of his style, and his ability in adapting the speech to the speaker. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* never mentions him by name, although he quotes once (II, 23, 19) from the speech *On the Constitution* (XXXIV, 11), of which Dionysius remarks (*de Lys.* c. 32): εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐρρήθη τότε, ἄδηλον· σύγκειται γοῦν ὡς πρὸς ἀγῶνα ἐπιτηδείως. Plato's only mention of Lysias is in the *Phaedrus*. Quintilian mentions his style in several places, and believes that the art of composition was studied by him as far as the skill of the ancients then reached (IX, 4, 16).

<sup>163</sup> Ps.-Plut. 835D; Phot. *Cod.* 262; Suidas, s. v. *Lysias*; Eud. Aug. 619.

<sup>164</sup> *Brut.* XII, 48; On Theodorus see Blass, I, 251 ff.; 2nd. ed. 259 ff.; Cope, III, 284 ff. Aristotle, *Rhet.* II, 23, speaks of a τέχνη of his; cf. also *Soph. Elench.* c. 34; Dionys. Hal. *de Isae.* c. 19; Cicero, *Orat.* XII, 39; Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 13, 5; Plato, *Phaedr.* 261C; 266E.



all his known forensic speeches were composed after his loss of wealth seems to show that Lysias adopted speech-writing as a profession because of his misfortunes under the rule of the Thirty.<sup>165</sup> He wrote speeches for men in all stations of life, from that of a knight, to that of an object of public charity. Tradition tells us that he even wrote a defense for Socrates,<sup>166</sup> but the only occasion on

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Thompson's *Phaedrus* p. xxvi.

<sup>166</sup> There seems to be nothing improbable in the story that Lysias composed a defense for Socrates. Lysias was the foremost speech-writer of his time, a friend of Socrates, and as such would naturally wish to aid him. The reason given by Socrates for refusing to make use of the speech, as given by Cicero (*de Or.* I, 54, 231), is characteristic of him: "sed, inquit, ut, si mihi calceos Sicyonios attulisses, non uterer, quamvis essent habiles atque apti ad pedem, quia non essent viriles, sic illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri." According to Quintilian (II, 15, 30, with Spalding's note), Socrates declined the speech on the ground that it was "inhonestam sibi;" compare Plato, *Apol.* 20B-C; Quint, XI, 1, 11; Ps.-Plut. 836B; Diog. Laert. II, 40; VI, 4, 2; Val. Max. VI, 4, ext. 2; Stob. *Flor.* VII, 56; Photius, *Cod.* 262; Antiatt. in Bekker. *Anecd.* p. 115, 8; Schol. ad Plat. *Apol.* 18B.

This tradition is usually rejected on the ground that it is based on a misunderstanding. Diogenes Laertius (II, 5, 39), quoting Hermippus, says that "Polycrates the sophist wrote the speech which was delivered (i. e. against Socrates at his trial), not Anytus, as others say." Quintilian cautiously accepts the same view (II, 17, 4; cf. also III, 1, 11). That this is not true, however, Diogenes goes on to show. He says: "But Favorinus, in the first book of his *Commentaries*, says that the speech of Polycrates against Socrates is not a genuine one; for in it there is mention made of the restoration of the walls by Conon, an event which took place six years after the death of Socrates." This accusation of Socrates by Polycrates (also mentioned by Suidas s. v. *Polycrates*; Isocr. *Busir.* 3, and 5; Auctor argument. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XI, 10) was, according to Bentley (*de Epist. Socr.* 6, p. 51; cf. Jebb, I, 150) published later than 392 B. C. In reply to this accusation Lysias wrote a *Defense of Socrates* (Schol. ad Aristid. p. 113, 6, vol. III, 480 ed. Dind., quoted by Jebb, I, 151).

There seems to be no necessity for identifying the two speeches of Lysias. He may very well have written a defense at the time of the trial, which Socrates declined to use, and then later, after Polycrates' attack, have written a reply to that. Cf. Hölscher, L.: *Quaestunculae Lysiaca* (Herford, 1857) p. 4 ff., who also believes that the Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους was distinct from the reply to Polycrates.

Cf. Grote, *Hist. Gr.* Vol. IV, 171 (1862) who quotes the testimony of Xenophon, *Mem.* IV, 4, 4, that Socrates would have been acquitted if he had taken a less lofty tone toward the dicasts. Compare Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* I, 29, 71; Ovid, *Trist.* V, 12, 12.

which he came into direct contact with Athenian politics,<sup>167</sup> was his coming forward in person to accuse Eratosthenes,<sup>168</sup> the murderer of his brother. In addition to this speech, there are only two others which could, by any possibility, be assigned to Lysias for personal delivery. These are the *Epitaphius*<sup>169</sup> and the *Olympiacus*.

The Funeral Oration ascribed to Lysias has been the subject of much discussion. The Pseudo-Plutarch,<sup>170</sup> Suidas,<sup>171</sup> Eudocia Augusta<sup>172</sup> and Photius tell us that Lysias was the author of ἐπιτάφιοι, but do not mention any particular one. Among ancient critics Harpocration and Theon<sup>173</sup> assign this particular one to Lysias. Aristotle<sup>174</sup> quotes a passage from the speech,<sup>175</sup> but does not mention Lysias as the author.<sup>176</sup>

There seems to be little doubt that the speech we possess is spurious, although attempts have been made to prove it a genuine production of the orator.<sup>177</sup> If the speech is the work of Lysias it

<sup>167</sup> References are also made to a production of Lysias entitled *On his own Services*. This may have been delivered as a speech or published as a pamphlet at the time of the proposal of Thrasybulus that full citizenship be conferred upon Lysias. It has survived only in a few words quoted in various places. Cf. Harpocration, s. v. Κεῖοι, μεταπύργιον, Φηγαεῦσι. Ps.-Plut. 836B; Blass, I, 359.

<sup>168</sup> We know from his own words that this was his first appearance in a law court: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν . . . οὐτ' ἑμαντοῦ πάποτε οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας. (*Contra Eratos*. 3). This statement, of course, cannot be taken as proof that Lysias did not write speeches for others before 403, although it seems likely that he did not. Cf. also Cicero, *Brut.* IX, 35; Quint. IX, 4, 17.

<sup>169</sup> On the Funeral Speeches in Greek see Buresch, C.: *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica* (Leipziger Studien IX [1887], 1-164)<sup>1</sup>; Holmes, D. H.: *A Study of the Type of the Greek Epitaphios with Special Reference to the Oration in Thucydides* (Kansas, 1896); Burgess, T. C.: *Epideictic Literature*, p. 146 ff., and the literature there cited.  
<sup>170</sup> 836B.

<sup>171</sup> s. v. *Lysias*.

<sup>172</sup> 619.

<sup>173</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* II, 63, 31; II, 68, 26, Sp.

<sup>174</sup> *Rhet.* III, 10, 7, with Cope's note.

<sup>175</sup> sec. 60.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Dionys. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* c. 6, who mentions an *Epitaphius* by Lysias.

<sup>177</sup> Dr. Le Beau in his *Lysias Epitaphios als echt erwiesen* (Stuttgart 1863) tries to prove it genuine; cf. also Girard, J.: *Sur l'authenticité de l'Or. fun. attribuée à Lysias* (*Revue Archéol.* 1871, pp. 373-389); Thomaschke, de

cannot have been delivered by him in person, since, as Jebb points out,<sup>178</sup> Lysias was debarred from the privilege of delivering such an oration because he was not an Athenian citizen. The supposition that another man was chosen speaker, and that Lysias composed the speech for this citizen to deliver, is very unlikely. Thucydides<sup>179</sup> tells us that the citizen chosen by the state to deliver such a speech was "one who in point of intellect is considered talented, and in dignity is preëminent," one who would surely be capable of writing his own speech. Besides, we are told by Plato<sup>180</sup> that such speeches were prepared beforehand by the orators in case the choice of the citizens should fall upon them.

Le Beau<sup>181</sup> thinks that Lysias wrote the speech for the use of the Archon Polemarchus, and that he delivered it at the annual gathering held in honor of those citizens who had died during the past year. Eckert<sup>182</sup> on the other hand, believes that the custom mentioned by Le Beau did not exist before the time of Alexander. He shows, moreover, that the style of the speech is extremely unlike that of Lysias' authentic writings.<sup>183</sup>

Some have thought the speech a mere scholastic exercise, never intended for actual delivery, written by some unknown rhetorician who borrowed largely from Isocrates.<sup>184</sup> Against this, however, is to be set the fact that Aristotle quotes from the speech as from a well-known epitaphius.<sup>185</sup>

*L. epitaphii authenticia verisimili*, (Vrat. 1887). The opposite view is maintained by Eckert, H.: *De Epitaphio Lysiae oratori falso tributo* (Berlin, 1865); also Blass, I, 431. The arguments given by Eckert seem conclusive. Dobree (*Adv.* I, p. 8) calls it "non modo Lysia sed quovis oratore indignantam."

<sup>178</sup> I, p. 203.

<sup>179</sup> II, 34, 6. Cf. Plato, *Menex.* 234C.

<sup>180</sup> *Menexenus*, 235D.

<sup>181</sup> p. 37 ff.

<sup>182</sup> p. 6 ff.

<sup>183</sup> pp. 19-48.

<sup>184</sup> Jebb, I, 205. It may have been assigned to Lysias by some later critics to account for the statement in the Pseudo-Plutarch (836B), Photius, and Suidas (cf. Sauppe, *O. A.* 170) that Lysias wrote epitaphioi.

<sup>185</sup> Aristot. *Rhet.* III, 10, 7, with Cope's note.



Grote,<sup>186</sup> following some German critics,<sup>187</sup> believes it a genuine work of Lysias, although perhaps only a rhetorical exercise. he also believes that the funeral oration in the *Menexenus* was composed by Plato in competition with it. The two speeches do cover nearly the same range of subjects, but, as Jebb points out,<sup>188</sup> these topics were the "commonplaces of commemorative oratory" and there is no need to assume that Plato imitated this particular one.

The speech, on its own evidence, was prepared.<sup>189</sup>

The *Olympiacus* is usually regarded as the fragment of a genuine speech actually delivered by Lysias in person at the Olympic festival in 388 B. C., when Dionysius of Syracuse sent a splendid embassy to contend at the games.<sup>190</sup> Ancient authorities for the belief that the speech was actually delivered are Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>191</sup> and Diodorus. The latter tells us<sup>192</sup> that the crowd at the games, as a result of this address, plundered Dionysius' tents, hooted at his poems, and ridiculed his ambassadors, but so far as we can judge, this was the only result obtained. The speech, on the evidence of Diodorus and the Pseudo-Plutarch was prepared beforehand and read.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Plato, III, 408, see also p. 404; *Hist. Gr.* VI, p. 191, n.; Holmes, *A Study of the Type of the Greek Epitaphios*, 221.

<sup>187</sup> Stallbaum, *Proleg. ad Menex.* p. 10; Westermann, *Gesch. der Beredsamkeit*, sec. 66, p. 134; Schleiermacher, *Einleitung* to his translation of the *Menexenus*.

<sup>188</sup> I, 205.

<sup>189</sup> secs. 1-3.

<sup>190</sup> Jebb, I, 152; Mahaffy, II, 142. Scheibe, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* XXXI, 373, doubts its authenticity. The title is found in Harpocration, s. v. *Ιόνιος*. Theon, *Progym.* (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 63, 31 Sp.) and Hermogenes (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 420, 24 Sp.) refer to it. The Pseudo-Plutarch and Photius (*Cod.* 262) do not mention it, although they may have included it under the general title *ἐγκώμια* (836B).

<sup>191</sup> *de Lys.* c. 29.

<sup>192</sup> XIV, 109.

<sup>193</sup> Diodorus Sic. XIV, 109, 3: . . . . . ὅτε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν λόγον ἐπιγραφόμενον ἀνέγνω. Ps.-Plut. 836D.

For the reading of a speech from manuscript, see Ps.-Plut. 836D: ἀνέγνω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει λόγον μέγιστον, of this same speech. Lamachus read his attack on the Olynthians: Plut. *Dem.* c. 9: ἀκούσας Λαμάχου . . . . . ἀναγινώσκοντος, and Ps.-Plut. 845C. ἀναγνοῦς is the word used (Plut. *de Garrul.* c. 5) of the man who had purchased a speech

Isocrates, who follows Lysias in the list of Attic orators, was, as Macaulay says,<sup>194</sup> "rather a pamphleteer than an orator." With the exception of the six forensic speeches,<sup>195</sup> all Isocrates' pro-

from Lysias reading it over to himself as opposed to delivering it (λέγειν) in court. According to Menander (Rhet. Gr. IX, 623, 25, Walz)<sup>1</sup> Isocrates read (ἀναγνούς) his *Panegyric* at Olympia, as did Gorgias according to Plutarch (*Conj. Praec.* c. 43, 144B: Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀναγνόντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγον . . . .) Æschines read Demosthenes' speech at Rhodes (cf. n. 299). Caesar read his speeches to the pirates (Plut. *Apophtheg.* 205F). Pompey's oration in praise of Plancus was read in the Senate (Plut. *Cat. Min.* c. 48, 753; see, however, *Pomp.* c. 55, 649). For other references see Cicero, *ad Att.* IV, 3; *ad Fam.* X, 13.

How far the Greek orator used his manuscript when delivering, not reading a speech, I am unable to say. Alcidas (15) refers to tablets (γραμματοῖον)<sup>2</sup> as a help to the orator, and probably to a manuscript (βιβλίον); cf. p. 30, n. 117. On the use of notes see p. 164, n. 414.

This reading of a speech was of course distinct from author's readings such as those given by Herodotus (Eusebius, *Chron.* ad Ol. 83-4; Lucian, *Herod.* I, ff.; Suidas s. v. Θουκυδ.; Ὀργᾶν; Marcell. *Vit. Thucyd.*; Photius, *Cod. LX*), Thucydides, Lucian, Plutarch, and Maximus of Tyre.

Among the Romans we are told that Asinus Pollio was the first to invite his friends to a recital of his own compositions (Seneca, *Contr.* IV, *praef.* 2).

On author's readings, public recitations, etc., see the exhaustive notes of Mayor on Juvenal, III, 9; VII, 38 ff.; VII, 84 ff.

As late as Pliny's time there was no system of publication by which a work could be brought before the public, although the book selling trade was extensive (Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 2; 9; 11; Martial, I, 117. Recitations largely took its place.

On the publication of books see Haenny, *Schriftsteller u. Buchhändler*.

<sup>194</sup> On the *Athenian Orators*. Macaulay's own speeches are merely essays which he recited.

"The modern analogy for Isocrates' oratory is that of the pulpit" (Jebb, II, 7).

<sup>195</sup> There has been much discussion over the question as to whether Isocrates did or did not write for the law-courts. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (I, 9; cf. also Ps.-Plut. 837A) speaks of Isocrates as familiar with suit-pleading, and according to the current story, sneered at the bundles of the rhetorician's speeches which he saw hawked about by the book-sellers (Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 18). The reading διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τοῦ δικολογεῖν adopted by Jebb in his translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1909) is, however, that of the inferior manuscripts. Spengel, Cope, and Roemer prefer the reading of the Paris manuscript διὰ τὴν ἀσυνήθειαν. Cope (Comm. on *Arist.* I, 185) renders this "in consequence of his want of actual practice in the law-courts."

Cicero (*Brut.* XII, 48) probably on Aristotle's authority, says Isocrates wrote speeches for others to deliver. The Pseudo-Plutarch (837A) says: "It is evident that he composed orations for others to use, but himself delivered only one, that *Concerning the Exchange of Property*." Photius (*Cod.* 159) mentions such speeches and expresses no doubt as to their authenticity. In the supposed reference to Isocrates in Plato's *Euthydemus* (278E), he is spoken of as "one who composed speeches for the law-courts with ability and success," and later the speaker says of the same person: "I doubt whether he ever got up in court in his life, though they say that he is thoroughly versed in his profession and that he writes excellent speeches."

Lucian in the *Parasite* (c. 42) says: "Isocrates, so far from serving in war, never ventured into a law-court;" compare Quint. X, 1, 79. The reason given by Lucian is Isocrates' weakness of voice. This, however, is merely against personal delivery of a court speech. It does not prove that he never wrote any.

Isocrates himself nowhere refers to this part of his career. He alludes with scorn to those who write forensic speeches (IV, 11; XII, 11; XV, 2; 3), as compared with the higher type of speeches he advocates (IV, 1; 11-12; XII, 11; 26-35; XV, 2-3; 38; 41; 46; 48; 49; 51; 161; 216; 228; 276; XIII, 20). Isocrates' adopted son, Aphareus, declares that Isocrates never wrote a forensic speech (Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 18) but Dionysius rejects the statement, and on the authority of one of Isocrates' pupils, Cephisodorus, believes that he did write some forensic speeches, but not many. Cf. Grote, *Plato*, III, 36. On the court speeches see Blass, II,<sup>2</sup> 213-40; III, 2; 377-8.

Most modern critics also believe the speeches genuine. Thompson, *Phaedrus*, p. 182, n. declares that Isocrates' forensic speeches are his best. Mahaffy (II, 221) points out that a sentence in the earliest of them (*Against Callimachus*) is copied verbatim in the *Antidosis*. There seems to be no passage where Isocrates explicitly denies that he wrote for the courts; he simply ignores this early part of his career.

Another theory in regard to the court-speeches is that they are merely rhetorical exercises, *μελέται*, perhaps written on the occasion of real law-suits, in rivalry with the speeches actually delivered, and by way of models for his pupils to show what ought to have been said (Mahaffy, II, 212). The view that the speeches are rhetorical exercises is held by Blass, III, 118; Benseler, *de Hiatu* (he rejects *Or.* XVII, and XXI, because of the admission of hiatus), and Westermann (*Hist. Gr. Or.* p. 82). The opposite opinion is held by Müller (*Hist. Gr. Lit.* II, 159); Rauchenstein (*Introd. Panegy.* p. iv); Henn, *de Isocrate rhetore*; cf. Jebb, II, 221 ff.; Norden, E., *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, I (1898), 113-119.

While not strictly a forensic speech, there is a possibility that the *Plataicus* may have been written by Isocrates for actual delivery by a Plataean in the ecclesia at Athens (Grote, *Hist. Gr.* X, 220); Croiset, IV, 498. Plutarch (*de Glor. Athen.* 350B) attributes this speech to Hyperides. cf. Blass, II,<sup>2</sup> 265-68.



ductions were written to be read, not spoken.<sup>196</sup> He himself tells us that he was barred from participation in public affairs by his weakness of voice and timidity of disposition.<sup>197</sup> Although he gained

<sup>196</sup> There is a slight possibility that the *Archidamus* may have been delivered. In this speech Isocrates seems to have caught more nearly the real oratorical tone. Jebb (II, 195) believes that the speech was sent to Archidamus, not for delivery, but as a proof of sympathy with the Spartan policy. Spengel (*Art. Script. Introd.* p. xxiv) says of it: "non est ut *Philippus* oratio Archidamo missa, sed declamatio," (cf. the hypothesis to the speech, quoted by Spengel)! but, as Jebb remarks, the fact that the speech was a declamation would not prove that it was not sent to Archidamus. The speech doubtless expresses more or less faithfully, the feeling of the majority of the Spartans over the reestablishment of Messenia, and Isocrates has attempted to give it something of a Spartan air (15-16). There is nothing in the oration which would prevent Archidamus from using it if he had wished to do so.

On the speech see Blass, II<sup>2</sup> 288-293.

The *Nicocles* is another speech about which there may be doubt as to whether it was delivered. Jebb (II, 90) says: "the piece was no doubt written to order." If the Salaminians had heard the *Ad Nicoclem* as section 11 of this speech says, it would be very natural for Nicocles to desire that they should see the other side of the picture. The plea for monarchy (14 ff.) does not represent the real opinion of Isocrates, but is, of course perfectly suited to Nicocles. The praises of the reign of Nicocles (27 ff.) which sound rather strange when put into the King's own mouth, would not, perhaps, be an argument against the possibility of the speech having been recited by the monarch. The argument, by an unknown grammarian, says: καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὑπὸ Νικοκλέους λέγεται, but the verb here may mean no more than "is put into the mouth of Nicocles." On the two speeches see Blass, II<sup>2</sup> 269-78.

<sup>197</sup> Isocr. V. 81-82; XII, 9-10; *Ep.* I, 9; *Ep.* VIII, 7. Cf. also Ps.-Plut. 837A; 838E; Cicero, *de Or.* II, 3, 10; *de Rep.* III, 42; *Brut.* VIII, 32; Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 29, 6; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 17, 3; Suidas, s. n.; Lucian, *Parasit.* c. 42. Cf. De Quincey (ed. Masson, 1890) vol. X, 210; 323-4; 296.

The Pseudo-Plutarch (837A)<sup>1</sup> says Isocrates delivered the *Antidosis* himself, but this is clearly wrong (cf. *Antid.* 13). Isocrates was challenged to an exchange of properties (Dionys. Hal. *de Dinarch.* 13), but did not appear in court because of illness. His adopted son, Aphareus, represented him, and made a speech on that occasion (Dionys. Hal. *de Dinarch.* 13). Isocrates' essay, which is a defense of his whole life, he puts in the form of a speech delivered in court (7-9; 10-11) against an imaginary opponent, Lysimachus (sec. 14), whom he taunts with delivering a composed speech even while he attacks the skill of Isocrates' compositions. The real challenger, according to Dionysius (*de Dinarch.* 13) was Megaclicides. On this speech see Blass, II<sup>2</sup> 73-4; 308; 314. So in the *Areopagiticus* and the *de Pace* (145) "the de-

the name of "the father of eloquence,"<sup>198</sup> and although his house was called the "school of eloquence,"<sup>199</sup> and the "Trojan horse from which none but real heroes proceeded,"<sup>200</sup> this fame was due to his ability as a teacher rather than as a speaker.<sup>201</sup> Indeed, he himself boasts that he had more pupils than any other teacher of the art.<sup>202</sup>

Isocrates is described as a pupil of Tisias,<sup>203</sup> Prodicus<sup>204</sup> and

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liberative form was adopted merely for the sake of giving greater life and impressiveness of the pleading" (Jebb, II, 203 ff.; 182 ff.; Blass, II<sup>2</sup> 299-308.

On one occasion only we are told that Isocrates was able to overcome his natural lack of nerve. During the rule of the Thirty at Athens, when Theramenes was unjustly condemned by Critias, Isocrates arose and stoutly defended him. The story, however seems to be based on insufficient evidence (Suidas, s. v. 'Αργέου υἱός; Pseudo-Plutarch, 836F).

The tradition that Isocrates came forward as a rival of his own pupils in the contest in memory of Mausolus, and that he was defeated by Theopompus, is probably groundless. The Isocrates who contended was probably Isocrates of Apollonia, the greater Isocrates' pupil. Suidas mentions an Isocrates as a contestant but says that none but pupils of Isocrates of Athens entered, thus showing that he understood that the Isocrates named was Isocrates of Apollonia (s. v. 'Αμύκλα, 'Ισοκράτης, Θεοδέκτης). The Pseudo-Plutarch (838B) and Aulus Gellius (X, 18)<sup>1</sup> say Isocrates of Athens. Theopompus, whom Ruhnken (*Hist. Crit. Orat. Gr.* p. lxxxv) says ought to be believed rather than "a hundred Suidases," boasts that he defeated his master Isocrates (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* X, 3, p. 464). This view is held by Taylor (*Lectiones Lysiacae* III, p. 233). Sanneg (*de Schola Isocratea*) ingeniously tries to combine both views by proposing the explanation that Isocrates of Athens wrote a speech which Isocrates of Apollonia delivered.

Presence of mind, which Isocrates so plainly lacked, is believed by Quintilian to be the most important of all the qualities needed by the orator. Neither study nor knowledge will avail without it. (XII, 5, 2).

<sup>198</sup> Cicero, *de Or.* II, 3, 10; cf. *de Rep.* III, 30, 42; Isocr. XII, 10.

<sup>199</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* VIII, 32; compare Isocr. XV, 295.

<sup>200</sup> Cicero, *de Or.* II, 22, 94.

<sup>201</sup> Quint. II, 8, 11. On Isocrates as a teacher see Girard, Paul: *L'éducation athénienne*, 310-327, and Strowski, M. F.: *de Isocratis paedagogia* (Albi, 1898).

<sup>202</sup> XV, 30; 41. Cf. Quint. XII, 10, 22; III, 1, 14; later the pupils of Isocrates were made the subject of a special treatise by Hermippus, which is praised by Athenaeus (VIII, 342C). Cf. also Sanneg, P.: *de Schola Isocratea* (Halle, 1867).

<sup>203</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 1; Photius, *Cod.* 260; Suidas, s. v. *Isocrates*.

<sup>204</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 1; Photius, *Cod.* 260; Ps.-Plut. 836; cf. Welcker, *Kleine Schrift.* II, 393-541.

Gorgias,<sup>205</sup> and also of Theramenes who was put to death by the Thirty.<sup>206</sup>

He himself did not claim any ability as a speaker. Once when he was asked how it was that he who himself possessed no great amount of eloquence, could make others eloquent, he replied: "Just as a whetstone cannot cut, yet will sharpen knives for that purpose."<sup>207</sup>

Isocrates looked upon his speeches as productions to be read rather than delivered,<sup>208</sup> and complains bitterly of those who fail to do justice to his compositions in reading them.<sup>209</sup> So in later years when Hieronymus tried to declaim Isocrates' orations with the gestures, passion, and tones appropriate to speeches, he failed utterly. He says scornfully that Isocrates "has dropped his voice to the key in which a slave reads aloud to his master."<sup>210</sup>

Isocrates was well aware of the disadvantages under which a

<sup>205</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 1; *de vi dic. Dem.* c. 4; Quint. III, 1, 13 (who quotes Aristotle as his authority); Cicero, *de Senect.* V, 13; *Orator*, LII, 176; Suidas, s. v. *Isocrates*; *Gorgias*; Val. Max. VIII, c. 13, 2; Photius, *Cod.* 260; Ps.-Plut. 836; Phil. *Vit. Soph.* I, 17, 4; cf. Frei. p. 541.

<sup>206</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 1; Photius, *Cod.* 260; Ps.-Plut. 837A.

<sup>207</sup> Ps.-Plut. 838E. Cf. Horace, *A. P.* 304: reddere quae ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi. Photius, *Cod.* 260; Stephan. *Apophtheg.* p. 697; Arsen. *Viol.* p. 307; Sextus Empir. p. 678, 14 Bek.; Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde* I, 631.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 2; compare Isocr. XV, 67.

<sup>209</sup> XII, 17; also V, 26-27. These people might belong to either of two classes: (1) opponents or plagiarists who "murdered" his speeches purposely; (2) merely bad readers who might be students or friends.

When Isocrates sent the *Philippus* to Philip, he probably contemplated the possibility that it would be read to him. The actual pronouncing of the speech was indispensable according to Greek feeling. The modern feeling is different. Macaulay, *On the Athenian Orators*, says: "Our legislators, our candidates, on great occasions, even our advocates, address themselves less to the audience than to the reporters. They think less of the few hearers than of the innumerable readers. At Athens the case was different" etc.

<sup>210</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isocr.* c. 13; also c. 2; Quint. X, 1, 79; XII, 10, 49. The translation given is Jebb's rendering of the words εἰς ἀναγνώστου παιδὸς φωνὴν καταδύντα, (II, 71). Croiset (IV, 493) less happily gives: "le chantonnement monotone d'un enfant qui lit à haute voix."



speech not intended for delivery lay. He says in the *Philippus*:<sup>211</sup> "Now I have not forgotten the great advantage which spoken dis-

<sup>211</sup> 25-26. Cf. also *Ep.* I, 2. Compare Ps. Dem. *Erotica*, 61, 2: "All this is written in the way in which you would put it down in a note-book. For orations intended for oral delivery ought to be written in a simple style like what you would say on the spur of the moment (ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα); but those which are intended for permanence should be composed with the utmost care and according to rules of art. It is proper that the former should be convincing, the latter epideictic" (Kennedy).

Isocrates himself calls the *Philippus* a pamphlet (21): τὸ βιβλίον.

On the difference in the effect produced by a speech delivered and a speech read see Quint. X, 1, 16 ff.; Pliny, *Ep.* II, 3, 9; 19, 1, who laments the fact that in a speech read there is no room for impromptus.

Dr. Blair (Lecture XXVI), in discussing modern eloquence says: "With regard to the pulpit, it has certainly been a great disadvantage that the practice of reading sermons, instead of repeating them from memory, has prevailed so universally in England. They may, indeed, have introduced accuracy, but it has done great prejudice to eloquence, *for a discourse read is far inferior to an oration spoken*. It leads to a *different sort of composition* as well as of delivery, and can never have an equal effect on any audience." (Cf. also Lecture XXV, vol. II, 178; XXIX, p. 321; XXXIV, 471; Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, p. 198 ff.).

Quintilian denies (XII, 10, 49 ff.) that the modes of speaking and writing differ (cf. p. 43, n. 168). He says (51) that a written oration is nothing else but a record of an oration delivered. Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20, says: "For the oration on paper is, in truth, the original and model of the speech that is to be pronounced."

The Greeks and Romans paid a great deal of attention to delivery. Demosthenes regarded it as of supreme importance (cf. n. 257, p. 124). Cicero called it the language (*de Or.* III, 59) and the eloquence of the body (*Orator*, c. XVII). Quintilian (XI, 3, 1 ff.) has a long discussion of delivery, mentioning the orators who were famed in that respect, and adding comments (compare XII, 5, 5). Cf. also Cicero, *Orat.* c. LVI; *de Or.* III, 56, 213; I, 31, 142; II, 19, 78; *Brut.* LXVI, 234; XXXVIII, 141-2; Longinus, *Ars Rhet.* (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 310, Sp.). Aristotle (*Rhet.* III, 1, 3) declares that being qualified for delivery is a gift of nature, and rather without the province of art. Cf. Dionys. Hal. *de vi dic.* Dem. c. 22.

Cicero (*Orator*, XXXVII, 130) says that the written page lacks that living breath (*spiritus*) which makes exactly the same passages appear more striking when delivered than when read. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* III, 12, 2; Dionys. Hal. *de Dem* 54, of Demosthenes' speeches when badly delivered.

How an orator delivered his speech was even more important than what he said: Quint. XI, 3, 5; Plut. *Pol. Praec.* 801C (who quotes Menander, Kock, III, 135); Cicero, *Brut.* XLIX, 184.

courses have over written<sup>212</sup> for the purpose of persuasion, nor have I forgotten the universal impression that the one is delivered in connection with serious and important affairs, the other composed merely for the purpose of display or for the sake of profit. And this belief is not without reason; for when a discourse is deprived of the personal reputation of the speaker, of the tones of his voice, and of the changes of expression which oratory can command, and when it has lost, in addition, the advantages of time and place and of the enthusiasm called forth by the affair under consideration,<sup>213</sup> when the discourse is bare and destitute of all the things I have spoken of, and is read in an unpersuasive manner, without giving any impression of character, but in the manner of one telling over an inventory, it naturally appears to the hearers to be a poor production."<sup>214</sup>

This disadvantage Isocrates labored to overcome by the time he spent in perfecting the style of his speeches. He was a tireless worker. Even in his ninety-seventh year, while suffering from the disease which finally caused his death, he boasts that he is still able to work hard.<sup>215</sup> He spent three years on the *Panathenaicus*. He

Hardwicke, p. 152, speaking of John Philpot Curran, says: "In reading his speeches it must be borne in mind that it was not so much his *matter*, but the *manner* in which his speech was made which invested it with such irresistible power, and caused it to produce such wonderful effects."

The importance of the manner of delivery made Fox say: "Did the speech read well when reported? If so, it was a bad one" (quoted by Hardwicke p. 126). Cf. Whately's remarks on delivery in his *Elements of Rhetoric* (quoted by Byars, *Handbook of Oratory*, p. 254) and the passage from Harsha, quoted by Byars, pp. 316-317. Compare Mathews, *Oratory and Orators*, Chapter I,

<sup>212</sup> It might, perhaps, be thought that in the "spoken discourse" Isocrates was thinking of extemporary speeches, but it is probable that he had in mind merely speeches delivered, which had been written and committed to memory, like those mentioned in Ps. Dem. *Erot.*, 61, 2; cf. n. 211.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. De Quincey, Vol. X, 326; also Blair's Lecture (VII) *On the Rise and Progress of Writing*, Vol. I, 171.

<sup>214</sup> The opposition Isocrates had in mind was that between a speech actually delivered by the author, or learned and delivered by another as if he were the author, and a speech avowedly read with no attempt at delivery, Cf. n. 211.

<sup>215</sup> XII, 268; Cicero, *de Senect.* c. 5.

tells us that he began this oration at the age of ninety-four<sup>216</sup> and speaks of revising it with some of his young pupils.<sup>217</sup> When the speech was about half written he fell ill,<sup>218</sup> and it was only finally completed when he reached his ninety-seventh year.<sup>219</sup>

Isocrates gives in the same speech an interesting account of his careful method. He had been revising the speech with some of his pupils, and they believed that nothing was lacking but a conclusion.<sup>220</sup> A friend whom Isocrates asked for an opinion about his speech disliked the criticism of Sparta. Isocrates silenced this critic<sup>221</sup> and had his essay written out at once;<sup>222</sup> but a few days later he was seized with new misgivings, and at last called a council of friends to decide whether the composition should be burnt or published.<sup>223</sup> At its reading the speech met with their approval.<sup>224</sup>

In other speeches of Isocrates there is evidence of the same painstaking workmanship. He himself acknowledges that the Peace of 346, between Athens and Philip, was made before he finished the work in which he intended to advocate its measures.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>216</sup> XII, 3; Ps.-Plut. 837F.

<sup>217</sup> 200.

<sup>218</sup> The *Panathenaicus*, he says (267), was begun when he was ninety-four years old. "It was already half completed when there came upon me a disease unpleasant to mention, which is able to destroy not only the old in three or four days, but also many in the prime of life. Against this I have been struggling for three years." He had at last given in, when his friends urged him not to leave his speech unfinished. He completed it as they desired.

<sup>219</sup> 270.

<sup>220</sup> 200; compare V, 4.

<sup>221</sup> 228.

<sup>222</sup> 231.

<sup>223</sup> 233.

<sup>224</sup> This is exactly the method followed by M. Ernest Legouv   in preparing a lecture according to Sarcey, p. 106 ff. The French lecturer, after this careful revision, committed his lecture to memory, practiced its delivery, and delivered it in private before he risked a public appearance. He always took his manuscript with him that the audience might not think that he was pretending to extemporize (p. 147).

Compare the anecdote told of Archbishop Tillotson in Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (quoted by Byars, p. 208).

<sup>225</sup> V, 4-7; Tzetzes, *Chil.* XI, 382; Athenaeus, περὶ μηχανημάτων p. 2; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 350-351.



The care bestowed upon the *Panegyricus* <sup>226</sup> became almost proverbial. Ten years is usually mentioned as expressing the duration of its composition,<sup>227</sup> a period which Quintilian gives as the lowest estimate assigned by his predecessors.<sup>228</sup> Plutarch <sup>229</sup> speaks scornfully of this painstaking care: "Isocrates was nearly three Olympiads in writing his *Panegyric*; . . . while Timotheus <sup>230</sup> freed Euboea from slavery . . . he sits at home, poring over his work, seeking out choice words, as long a time as Pericles spent in erecting the Propylea and the Parthenon . . . Consider, now, the poor spirit of this sophist who spent the ninth part of his life in compiling one single oration." The author of the treatise *On the Sublime*, in like manner, quotes Timaeus as praising Alexander for conquering the whole of Asia in fewer years than it took Isocrates to write the *Panegyricus*.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>226</sup> Isocrates himself gave the speech this name: V, 9; 84; *Ep.* III, 6; XV, 172.

<sup>227</sup> Ps.-Plut. 837E: "He labored on his *Panegyric* ten years, or as some tell us, fifteen." Cf. Longin. (?) *de Sublim.* 4, 2; Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 25; *de vi dic. in Dem.* c. 51; Photius; Plut. *Mor.* 350E says twelve years. Cf. Fénelon's *Dialogues on Eloquence*.

<sup>228</sup> X, 4, 4. Quintilian in the same passage mentions Cinna's *Smyrna* which occupied nine years in composition. On this see Catullus, 95. 1; Philargyus and Servius on Verg. *Ecl.* IX, 35. The latter suggests that Horace's "nine years" (*A. P.* 386) is a reference to this, but Horace is not speaking of the time spent in composition, but of the lapse of time between composition and publication. Cf. Quintilian's *preface* to his treatise.

Together with Isocrates' *Panegyricus*, critics usually mention the story of Plato's having written over many times the opening words of the *Republic*: Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* v. 25; *de Dem.* c. 51; Diog. Laert. III, 38; Quint. VIII, 6, 64. On Vergil's care in his compositions see Aulus Gellius XVII, 10; Quint. X, 3, 8.

<sup>229</sup> *Mor.* 350E-351A

<sup>230</sup> Timotheus was a pupil of Isocrates: XV, 102; *Ep.* VIII, 8; Cic. *de Or.* III, 34, 139; *de Off.* I, 32, 116. According to the Pseudo-Plutarch (837) and Photius (*Cod.* 260), Isocrates composed the dispatches which Timotheus sent to the Athenians.

<sup>231</sup> *de Sublim.* 4, 2. The author continues: "On this principle the Lacedaemonians were clearly inferior to Isocrates in prowess, for they spent thirty years in the conquest of Messene, whereas he composed his *Panegyric* in ten."

Isocrates avows the care he spent on this composition: IV, 13; V, 84. We may venture to suppose that he worked it over with his pupils as he tells us he did with later writings: V, 4; 17-23; XII, 200.

That this oration was ever publicly delivered, as Philostratus tells us,<sup>232</sup> is extremely unlikely.<sup>233</sup> Isocrates' weakness of voice and lack of self-confidence would probably have deterred him from the attempt, but apart from that, the manner in which he speaks of the Lacedaemonians would make it improbable that the speech was actually delivered.<sup>234</sup> The latter argument would also hold against the view that the speech might have been delivered for Isocrates by another. The probable way in which it became known was by means of copies circulated at the festival, or else sent to the leading men in the various Greek states.<sup>235</sup> This speech was like all the others, a pamphlet on a question of public policy thrown into the form of a speech delivered under imaginary circumstances.

Aelian<sup>236</sup> ascribes to the influence of the *Panegyricus*, the expedition against the Persians planned by Philip and carried out by Alexander. While we need not take the statement literally, there can be no doubt that the influence of Isocrates' pamphlets in their time was very great. The renown enjoyed in antiquity by the *Panegyricus* is attested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>237</sup> and Philostratus.<sup>238</sup> It was Isocrates, as well as Xenophon, who prepared the way for Philip.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>232</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 17, 4; also Aelian *Var. Hist.* XIII, 11; Lucian, in Macrobius c. 23 (III, 225 ed. Reitz). Menander (*Rhet. Gr.* IX, 623, Walz) says: ὥσπερ Ἰσοκράτης ἦσθη, τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀναγνοῦς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον. Isocrates himself speaks of it as the "speech I delivered at the festival," but the statement is not to be pressed. It is, no doubt, only one of those touches by which "ce Haranguer sans tribune" (J. Girard, *Études sur l'Eloquence attique* p. 90) endeavored to make himself seem one who took an active part in public affairs. Compare IV, 187; V, 149-151, and elsewhere.

<sup>233</sup> Some of the sentences are far too long for delivery; for example, IV, 47, φιλοσοφίαν τοῖνυν κ.τ.λ. On this point see Quintilian, VIII, 2, 17; Demetrius, *de Elocut.* 193. Compare Aristotle, *Rhet.* III, 5, 6.

<sup>234</sup> Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893) pp. 100-114; also Rauchenstein's *Introd.* p. 21.

<sup>235</sup> In V, 11, Isocrates speaks of the *Panegyricus* as ὁ λόγος ὁ πρότερον ἐκδοθείς. It was probably published in a year in which the festival occurred, probably 380; see Sandys' *Panegyricus Introd.* p. xlii, and Blass, II, 230.

<sup>236</sup> *Var. Hist.* XIII, 11. Cf. Isocr. *Ep.* III, 3. According to the author of the argument to the *Philippus*, it was not the *Panegyricus* but the *Philippus* which roused Alexander to make war on Darius.

<sup>237</sup> *de Isocr.* c. 14.

<sup>238</sup> *Vit. Soph.* I, 17; cf. also Isocr. V, 11.

<sup>239</sup> On the *Panegyricus* and the relation of Isocrates to the Greek and Athenian politics of his time see Blass II<sup>2</sup> 250-256; III, 2,<sup>3</sup> 379; Oncken,

Of Isaeus,<sup>240</sup> whose name appears next in the canon, very little is known. He is said to have been the pupil of Lysias and of Isocrates.<sup>241</sup> With the exception of the Greek argument to his Fourth Oration,<sup>242</sup> there is no evidence that Isaeus ever delivered a speech. His importance is usually estimated by the influence which he exercised upon his pupil Demosthenes.<sup>243</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus says he discusses Isaeus because he believes that in him are to be found the seeds and beginnings of the oratorical power which reached its perfection in Demosthenes.<sup>244</sup> Indeed, Demosthenes was later reproached by Pytheas with having swallowed Isaeus bodily.<sup>245</sup> It is doubtful, however, whether Demosthenes' debt to Isaeus was as great as is usually believed.<sup>246</sup>

The tradition which makes Demosthenes a pupil of Isocrates,<sup>247</sup> is probably without foundation. Hermippus, who wrote a special

W.: *Isokrates und Athen* (1862), 37-62; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. v.: *Aristoteles und Athen* (1893) II, 100-114; Meyer, Ed.: *Geschichte des Altertums* V, (1902) 46; 312; 369-372.

<sup>240</sup> On Isaeus see Blass, II, 452-541; Jebb, II, 261-368; Moy, M. *Étude sur les Plaidoyers d'Isée*, Paris, 1876; Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo*, especially c. 4, and c. 16.

<sup>241</sup> Ps.-Plut. 839E; Photius, *Cod.* CCLXIII; Suidas s. n.; Eud. Aug. DVI; Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo*, I; *genus Isaei*, I.

<sup>242</sup> On the value of this evidence see Blass, II, 506; Curtius, *Hist. Gr. V*, 226 (Ward).

<sup>243</sup> On Isaeus as the teacher of Demosthenes see Plut. *de Glor. Athen.* 350C; Photius, *Cod.* CCLXIII; CCLXV; Ps.-Plut. 837D; 839F; 844C; Suidas, s. n.; Eud. Aug. DVI; Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo*, c. 1; c. 3; *genus Isaei*, I; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 17, I; also Hoffmann, P.: *de Demosthene Isaei discipulo* (1875).

On Demosthenes' speech *Against Aphobus* as the work of Isaeus, see Ps.-Plut. 839F; 844C.

<sup>244</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo*, c. 3; c. 20.

<sup>245</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Isaeo*, c. 4.

<sup>246</sup> On the influence of Isaeus on Demosthenes see Blass, III, 14, 202; Jebb, II, 267-69; 300; the dissertation of W. Herforth (Grünberg, 1880), and the careful examination made by A. Laudahn in two programs (Hildesheim 1872-3).

<sup>247</sup> Ps.-Plut. 837D; 839F; 844C; Suidas s. n.; we are also told that he received instructions from Plato: Plut. *Dem.* c. 5 (on the authority of Hermippus); Cicero, *Brut.* XXXI, 121; *Orator*, IV, 15; *de Or.* I, 20, 89; *de Off.* I, 1, 4; Diog. Laert. III, 46; Suidas, s. n.; Olympiodorus, ad Plat. *Gorg.* 515D; Schol. ad Plat. *Phaedr.* 261A; Quint. XII, 2, 22; XII, 10, 24;



treatise on Isocrates' pupils, does not mention him, but merely quotes an unbelievable story about Demosthenes' having obtained some of Isocrates' treatises in an underhand way.<sup>248</sup> That Isaeus aided Demosthenes in the composition of his speeches against his guardians is very likely,<sup>249</sup> but the training of Isaeus alone would never have made him an orator. The years that elapsed between his law-suits with his guardians and the delivery of his first public speech,<sup>250</sup> he devoted to overcoming those natural defects<sup>251</sup> which are alleged to have caused his failure on his first attempt to speak in public,<sup>252</sup> and even after these difficulties were conquered, he still labored to improve his gifts as an orator by constant industry. We are told that he copied the works of Thucydides eight times with his own hand,<sup>253</sup> that he used to begin work before dawn, and was vexed if he found that the workmen were astir first in the morning.<sup>254</sup> His study by night caused his opponents to sneer at his speeches as smelling of the lamp.<sup>255</sup> All this laborious course of

Aul. Gell. III, 13; Tac. *Dial.* c. 32, 26. The letter of Demosthenes appealed to as testimony by Olympiodorus is doubtless apocryphal. Cf. also Schaefer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*, I, 278-295; 312; Blass, III, 397; Funkhaenal, *de Dem. Platonis discipulo*; Heusde, P. W. van: *Initia Philosophiae Platonicae*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 151 ff.

<sup>248</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 5, 5 (κρύφα λαβόντα); Ps.-Plut. 844C; Suidas, s. v. *Demosthenes*.

<sup>249</sup> Ps.-Plut. 839F; 844; Liban. *Vit. Dem.* p. 3; Argum. ad *Orat. c. Onet.* p. 875.

<sup>250</sup> In 354.

<sup>251</sup> Dion. Hal. *de Dem.* c. 53; Cicero, *de Div.* II, 46, 96; *de Or.* I, 61, 260-1; *de Fin.* V, 2, 5; Plut. *Dem.* c. 7; c. 11; Ps.-Plut. 844D; Lucian, *Encom. Demosth.* c. 14; Suidas, s. n.; Quint. X, 3, 30 (compare X, 3, 25); XI, 3, 54; XI, 3, 68; 130 (cf. also Liban. *Vit. Dem.*); I, 11, 5; Val. Max. VIII, 7, 1; Photius, *Bibl.* p. 493, 5; Apuleius, *Apol.* p. 87; Hermogenes *Progym.* (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 7, 1 Sp.); Zozimus, *Vit. Dem.* p. 20, 2. Schaefer, I, 299-301; De Quincey, X, p. 327; Mathews, p. 428.

<sup>252</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 6; cf. Ps.-Plut. 845A; Zozimus, *Vit. Dem.* p. 19, 22. For modern instances of such failure see Mathews, p. 144 ff.

<sup>253</sup> Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* c. 4. Cf. Dionys. Hal. *de Thucyd.* 53.

<sup>254</sup> Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* IV, 44; Stobaeus, *Flor.* 29, 90.

<sup>255</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 8, 3; c. 11; *Comp. Dem.-Cic.* 1-3; *Pol. Praec.* 802E-F; 803C; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* IV, 19, 44; Ps.-Plut. 848C; Athenaeus, II, 22; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* VII, 7; Lucian, *Encom. Dem.* c. 15; cf. Aesch. III, 229; Liban. 79-82. For an orator's study by night, etc., see Aristophanes, *Knights* 346,

training,<sup>256</sup> not only in composition but in delivery,<sup>257</sup> was practiced before rhetorical theory was completed by the treatise of Aristotle, for Dionysius of Halicarnassus is at great pains to prove that Demosthenes had delivered his most important orations before Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric*.<sup>258</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of the facility which his training must have given him, this "most powerful orator"<sup>259</sup> would never speak extempore if he could possibly help it.<sup>260</sup> Plutarch tells us that al-

and with the picture there given, Horace, *A. P.* 474, and Plato, *Phaedr.* 228B.

On Pytheas see Suidas, s. n.; Blass, 253-256. Titles of works by him are given by Sauppe, *O. A.* II, 311.

For the taunt against Demosthenes as a water drinker see Plut. *Dem.* 8; *Dem.* VI, 30; XIX, 46. Compare Aristoph. *Eq.* 89; *Cóm. Poet. fr.* 41:

ἐντῆν ἄρ' ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ ἐν οἴνῳ λόγος

ἐνιοὶ δ' ὕδωρ πίνοντές εἰς' ἀβέλτεροι.

also Athenaeus, p. 44E-F; Lucian, LXXIII, 15.

<sup>256</sup> Lucian (*ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος*) contrasts the laborious methods of such orators as Demosthenes with the superficial ones followed in his own day.

<sup>257</sup> Cicero, *de Or.* III, 56, 213; *Brut.* XXXVIII, 142; *Orat.* XVII, 56; Quint. XI, 3, 6-7; Suidas; Plut. *Dem.* c. 8; Ps.-Plut. 845B; Philodemus, *Rhet.* 16, 3 (I, p. 196, 3, ed. Sudhaus); Longinus, *Ars Rhet.* (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 310, 32, Sp.). Cf. Schaefer, I, 298; Emerson, *Essay on Eloquence (Society and Solitude, 70-71; also 97-8)*; Bacon, *Essay on Boldness*.

<sup>258</sup> Dionys. Hal. *Ep. ad Ammaeum* I, c. 2 ff.; c. 10 ff.

Compare Renan, *Discours de Réception de M. de Lesseps*: "You have a horror of rhetoric and you are right; it is (with poetics) the only mistake of the Greeks. After having produced masterpieces, they thought they could give rules for producing **them**, a serious mistake. There is no art of speaking, any more than there is an art of writing. To speak well is to think aloud. Oratorical and literary success never had any cause but one, absolute sincerity."

Thinking, however, is one thing, and speaking another. Theoretical knowledge and practice are also necessary for an orator. Cf. Cicero, *de Or.* I, 14, 63.

Demosthenes, too, is said to have read carefully all the treatises on rhetoric that he could get hold of: Plut. *Dem.* c. 5. For the idea that eloquence has not sprung from art, but art from eloquence see Cicero, *de Or.* I, 32, 146.

<sup>259</sup> Plut. *Alcib.* 196A. On the power of his eloquence see Plut. *Dem.* c. 18, and elsewhere. Compare Fénelon: *Lettre à l'Académie française*.

<sup>260</sup> So Dumoul in his *Recollections of Mirabeau* says: "More a thinker than an extemporiser, he never spoke without first writing or dictating his speeches. Resembling Cicero and Demosthenes in this respect, he read them

though he was frequently called upon by name by the people as he sat in the assembly, he would not rise to speak unless he had previously considered the subject and come prepared for it.<sup>261</sup> He "followed Pericles" in his "dislike to speak on the sudden," and was unwilling too often to put his faculty of speaking at the mercy of fortune.<sup>262</sup> Plutarch says that it was due to want of courage and assurance that he refused to speak off-hand,<sup>263</sup> giving as a proof the fact that when Demosthenes was at a loss and discomposed, Demades would often rise up on the sudden to support him, but that he was never seen to do the same for Demades.<sup>264</sup> This certainly could not

over, put finishing strokes, gave them solidity by lengthened arguments, lightened them by touches of eloquence, recalled them to his memory, sometimes read them, more often spoke them, adding, to that which he had meditated on, the abrupt, unforeseen fire of inspiration." See, however, Sears, *History of Oratory*, 244-5, on Mirabeau.

Mirabeau, like Demosthenes, was capable of extemporal speaking.

<sup>261</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 8; also *de Educat. Puer.* 9: "Demosthenes, when the Athenians called upon him for his advice, refused to give it, saying 'I am unprepared.'"

These calls upon Demosthenes doubtless occurred at those unexpected meetings of the senate or people of which Æschines speaks (II, 72), and at which it would be necessary for the orators to deliver an extempore συμβουλευτικὸς λόγος. It might be said that Demosthenes' speech, when the news came that Elatea had been captured by Philip (Dem. XVIII, 174 ff.) was of this character. On this, Westermann (p. 131) has the following comment: "Verum nox intercesserat haud dubie meditando commentandoque ab oratore consumpta." When Demosthenes quotes from this speech he seems to claim to give the exact words (XVIII, 174-9), thus leading one to suppose the speech was prepared; cf. 179: Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τοῦτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην.

One of the exordia (IX) of the collection said to have been written by Demosthenes is designed to serve as an introduction to an extemporal speech of advice.

<sup>262</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 9; cf. also *Pol. Praec.* 803F-840A. Demosthenes himself declared that his eloquence came only from practice: Plut. *Comp. Dem.-Cic.* 2. *Exordium* XLV has the same idea, that the faculty of eloquent speaking is acquired by practice.

<sup>263</sup> *Dem.* c. 8. Cf. also Plut. *On Man's Progress in Virtue* 80 C-D. For Demosthenes' reason cf. Plut. *de Educat. Puer.* c. 9; *Dem.* c. 8; Ps.-Plut. 848C.

<sup>264</sup> This is probably a mere story. On Demades see Blass, III, B, 242-7. As an orator he seems to have had natural gifts of an extraordinary kind (cf. Pollux, XII, 104: Δημάδης εὐφνής; Emerson, *Essay on Eloquence*



have been due to any lack of ability on Demosthenes' part. Many contemporaries believed that he was a better orator when he spoke without premeditation.<sup>265</sup> The story is told that once when Lamacus the Myrrhenaean had written a panegyric upon King Philip and Alexander, in which he uttered many things in reproach of the Thebans and Olynthians, and read it publicly at the Olympic games, Demosthenes suddenly arose and so justified the Thebans and Olynthians that Lamachus was forced to leave the assembly at

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(*Society and Solitude*, 84-5). His powers as an extemporary speaker made some prefer his speeches even to the prepared ones of Demosthenes (Plut. *Dem.* c. 10; c. 23; cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* XII, c. 43)<sup>1</sup>. Many of his sayings are to be found scattered through Plutarch and Stobaeus. Demetrius (*de Elocut.* 282; 284-286) refers to a collection of his sayings, and Aulus Gellius (XI, 10) quotes a witticism of his. (Cf. Diog. Laert. V, 81; Apsines, *Ars Rhet.* p. 707). Demades wrote no speeches (Cicero, *Brut.* IX, 36; *Orat.* XXVI, 90; Quint. XII, 10, 49), although Tzetzes, or rather the ancient rhetorician whom Tzetzes compiled, claims to have read speeches of his (Tzet. *Chil.* VI, 36, 37), and is usually cited as the natural orator who owed nothing to art. Quintilian, however, in discussing him (II, 17, 12-13)<sup>1</sup> has some excellent remarks. In arguing against those who declare that it is not necessary to learn oratory in order to become an orator, Quintilian says: "They cite Demades, a waterman, and Æschines, an actor, as instances of this . . . but it is not certain that Demades did not learn; and he might, by constant practice in speaking, which is the most efficient mode of learning, have made himself master of all the powers of language that he ever possessed. But we may safely say that he would have been a better speaker if he had learned, for he never ventured to write out his speeches for publication, though we know that he produced considerable effect in delivering them." Compare Brougham's remarks, quoted on p. 59, n. 241; also those of Henry Ward Beecher on the same topic: Byars, 290-1.

According to Stobaeus, *Flor.* 29, 91, Demades plumed himself on having had no other master but the tribune. Pseudo-Callisthenes II, 2-5, professes to give a speech of his, and Suidas (s. n.) says: ἔγραψεν Ἀπολογισμὸν πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα δωδεκαετίας. Neither Sauppe (*O. A.*) nor Blass (ed. Dinarchus, 1888) who give the fragment believe it genuine.

<sup>265</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 9. As a modern parallel John Bright might be cited; cf. Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, 238-9: "Few would hesitate to give John Bright the foremost place among the British orators of his day. The question whether his speeches were prepared has been debated. But there can be no doubt upon the point. I have stood by him when he was speaking and seen the little sheaf of notepapers on each of which probably his sentence or his catchword was written, and which dropped into his hat as he went on. Nobody can speak literature ex tempore, and Bright's great

once.<sup>266</sup> While there can be no doubt that Demosthenes possessed the ability to speak extempore,<sup>267</sup> and probably incorporated some extemporary matter in his speeches,<sup>268</sup> he always preferred to prepare his speech if he could.<sup>269</sup> This habit of his became a by-word

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speeches are literature, first-rate of its kind. He was, however, by no means without the power of speaking *ex tempore*. I have known him when called on unexpectedly to respond very well. If he was interrupted by an opponent in his speech, he was ready with his retort. He told me that when he was to speak at the unveiling of Cobden's Statue at Bradford he had been greatly at a loss as to what he should say; but the happy thought had come to him one morning while he was dressing. He had begun as a temperance lecturer with a single address. He had no doubt formed his style on the Bible, which I never heard read so well as when I heard him read it to his household. His delivery was calm and impressive, without gesticulation or appearance of rhetorical passion. His enunciation was perfectly distinct, and he thus without straining his voice made himself heard in the largest hall. He confessed to me that after all his practice and success he never got over his nervousness. At Bradford, where his audience was more than friendly, he told me that his knees shook under him when he rose to speak".

<sup>266</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 9; the same story is told by the Pseudo-Plutarch, 845C, who uses the same word, ἀναγνώσζοντος.

<sup>267</sup> It hardly seems possible to doubt that some of the speeches made by Demosthenes on his various journeys through the country were extemporary. It is true that on one occasion when he deemed it important (XVIII, 174-179), Demosthenes incorporates into his oration a former speech which might be thought to have been extemporary (see n. 261). Doubtless Demosthenes prepared for all the emergencies he could foresee, but he must have delivered a great many speeches during periods of which we have no record. A possible explanation of this lack of speeches might be that they were extemporary and so were lost. Such might be some of the speeches implied in XVIII, 45; 69; 72; 86; 88; 136; 141; 143; 179; 191; 214; 244-245; 320, and elsewhere; Æschines, III, 63; 71; 97; 145-146; 150; 160; 166; 167.

<sup>268</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 8: Demosthenes would admit that his speeches were neither entirely prepared beforehand, nor yet wholly extemporary. Cf. also c. 9: his retorts and rejoinders were often extemporary. Compare Longinus(?) *de Sublim.* (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 273, 19, Sp.); Plut. *Pol. Praec.* 803C; *Dem.* c. 11. Quint. VI, 3, 33, says care should be taken that jests should never seem premeditated. Extemporary retorts are recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus (XVIII, 1, 4) of the Emperor Julian; by Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* I, 2, 1) of Leo of Byzantium; by Pliny the Elder (*N. H.* I) of Plancus.

<sup>269</sup> If we are to acknowledge the "law of three short syllables" in Demosthenes, that orator's preparation must have been verbal preparation

among the popular pleaders,<sup>270</sup> and Demosthenes thus answers it in his reply to a supposed taunt by Midias: "Probably he will also say something of this kind—that all my speech is considered and prepared (ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρασκευασμένα).<sup>271</sup> I admit, men of Athens, I will not deny that I have considered it (ἐσκέφθαι), aye, and got it up (μεμελετηγένηαι) as well as I possibly could.<sup>272</sup> I were a simpleton indeed, if, after I have suffered, and am still suffering such injuries, I took no pains (ἡμέλουν) about the method of stating them to you. I maintain, however, that Midias has composed my address (γεγραφέναι): he that has supplied the facts with which the speech deals, may most fairly be deemed its author, not he who has only considered (ἐσκεμμένος) or studied (μεριμνήσας) how to lay an honest case before you".<sup>273</sup>

of the most minute sort, if the speeches we have reproduce at all the speeches actually delivered. It was Blass (Att. Bereds. III, 99-104) who first drew attention to the fact that Demosthenes, as far as he possibly can, avoids the consecutive use of three or more short syllables, except when the three syllables are included in the same word or in a combination which is virtually equivalent to one word, such as a noun preceded by a preposition or an article. Compare Cicero, *Orat.* XLIV, 151.

If one believes that the speeches we have are in the main the speeches delivered, this law would imply careful memorizing of the entire speech. Blass (III, 248) and Schaefer (III, 64-65) believe that Demosthenes' avoidance of hiatus is an evidence of the highly finished character of the final draft of the speeches. The attempts that have been made to define the rules which govern the rhythms of Demosthenes' prose have been anticipated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Comp. Verb.* c. 17).

<sup>270</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 8. Plutarch elsewhere seems to disapprove of Demosthenes' preparation as over-elaborate, at least for statesmen's speeches: *Pol. Praec.* 802E-F. In *περὶ δυνωπίας*, 16 (534F) he speaks scornfully of those speakers who are so extremely careful that they will not allow two vowels to come together.

<sup>271</sup> ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρασκευασμένα. For σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς: studied and prepared speeches, see Plut. *Dem.* c. 10: πλὴν τὸν γε Δημάδην πάντες ὁμολόγουν τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι καὶ παραφέρειν αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς, also *Moral.* 6C; 844E.

<sup>272</sup> As a contrast to this admission see H. W. Grady's words of his celebrated speech *The Old South and the New*: "When I found myself on my feet, every nerve in my body was strung as tight as a fiddle-string" etc.

<sup>273</sup> XXI, 191. This passage is quoted by Plutarch, *de Educat. Puer.* 9.

Hardwicke, p. 423, says of Daniel Webster: "The impression has been current that his great speeches were unstudied. He said on one occasion



Demosthenes used to affirm that it was a more truly popular act to use premeditation in one's speeches, such preparation being in a

that he would as soon think of appearing before an audience half-clothed as half-prepared, and at another time he told one of his friends that he would as soon stand up and tell his audience that he had garments enough at home, but did not think it worth while to put them on, as to tell them that he could have made a satisfactory speech, perhaps, if he had taken the requisite pains."

Commentators have long disputed over the question whether the speech against Midias was ever actually delivered. Personally I am inclined to think that it was not. The main evidence against its having been delivered is the statement of Æschines (III, p. 61, secs. 52-53; cf. also p. 84) that Demosthenes compromised the suit for thirty minae (cf. also Ps.-Plut. 844D). While one must not rely too implicitly on the testimony of Æschines, he would hardly have ventured to make such a statement in public if the trial had been carried to its conclusion. Plutarch (Dem. c. 12) agrees with Æschines and thinks that Demosthenes compromised the suit through fear of Midias' party leader, Eubulus.

H. Weil (*Demosthenes*, *Introd.* p. xxi) has the following statement, "Plutarque dit que Démosthène désespéra de triompher de la ligue qui protégeait Midias. Nous n'avons pas la clef de cette énigme. Mais on peut soupçonner, et l'on aime à croire, que les malheurs de la patrie l'ayant rapproché d'Eubule, Démosthène fit taire ses haines personnelles devant les convenances politiques et les devoirs du citoyen." It is quite possible that Demosthenes may have felt that Eubulus was doing good work for the state and therefore did not wish to render compromise with him impossible.

Goodwin, in his edition of the speech (p. vi) says: "His (Demosthenes') first and greatest struggle was to unite the people at once in opposition to Philip, and he could not afford to alienate any men of influence at this critical time."

Dionysius (*Ep. ad Ammaeum* I, 4) speaks of it as "the speech which Demosthenes composed after the vote of censure passed upon Midias by the people," where the verb used, συνετάξατο, seems to imply that Demosthenes wrote but did not deliver the speech. Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* IV, 205) believes that Demosthenes did not compromise the suit through mercenary motives, but because he feared a defeat due to the power of the other party. Diogenes Laertius (VI, *Diog.* 6) also refers to the suit as having been compromised. Cf. Westermann, A.: *de Litibus quas Demosthenes oravit ipse* (Leipzig, 1834), 25-28; Boeck, *Comment. Acad. Berol.* 1818, *Cl. hist. phil.* 60-100; Schaefer, II, 102; Blass, III, 1<sup>2</sup>, 238 ff.

The strongest argument that the speech was not delivered lies in the apparently unfinished character of the oration itself; for example, the repetition in secs. 10 and 185, the failure to give the evidence of the goldsmith which was promised in sec. 21, and the apparent disregard, in places, of the three short syllable law (cf. n. 269 p. 127). Buttman, in his second

Excursus, believes that there is a lacuna after the evidence of the goldsmith, which was followed by a series of depositions. If so, the omission may have been due to the negligence of the copyists, Demosthenes himself may have omitted the sections when he published, or the oration may have been published from an imperfect manuscript. From what is said by the anonymous author of the Second Argument, it would appear that some passages of the edited edition have been lost (pp. 519, 520, 535), but this testimony cannot be relied upon.

The statement in 191, that the speech has been carefully worked out, cannot be taken as evidence that it was delivered. Doubtless Demosthenes, when he wrote the speech, intended that it should be delivered, and such a statement would naturally find a place in the first draft of the oration. The same argument would hold good for Demosthenes' expressions of indignation against those who had compromised such suits, and his determination not to follow their example (3, 39, 103, 120, 151, 215, 261). Grote (*Hist. Gr.* XI, 479) suggests that "Demosthenes may have delivered the discourse and obtained judgment in his favor; and then afterwards, when the second vote of the dicasts was about to come on for estimation of the penalty, may have accepted the offer of the defendant to pay a moderate fine, in fear of exasperating too far the powerful friends around Midias" (for a possible case of this sort cf. sec. 176 of the speech). Mahaffy (II, 350) believes that the condition of the speech (cf. 20, 28, 29, 47) indicates that it was edited, not by Demosthenes himself, "but by pupils and admirers, possibly by his nephew, Demochares." A. G. Becker suggests that there were legal doubts as to whether the offense was of a public or a private character, and therefore Demosthenes, feeling not sure of his ground, had an additional motive for accepting the terms offered. The vote of censure and the fact of a payment by Midias, which was practically a confession of guilt, may have satisfied Demosthenes. Grote's explanation would leave us to suppose either that we possess only the first draft of the speech which was delivered, or else that Demosthenes delivered the speech in its present unfinished state, a thing which he would not be likely to do. There is a possibility, however, that the orator did deliver the oration in this rough form, and never wrote it up for publication, for Photius (*Cod.* 265), speaking of the two speeches, *Against Midias* and *Against Æschines* says: . . . . καὶ τινες ἔφησαν ἐκάτερον λόγον ἐν τύποις καταλειφθῆναι ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν διακεκαθάρθαι.

On the Midias speech see Haupt, O.: *Ueber die Midiana des Demosthenes*, Posen, 1857; Wachendorf, *de Demosthenis Midiana*, Neuss, 1879; Vielhaver, C.: *de Demosthenis Midiana*, Breslau, 1908.

The speech *On the Corrupt Embassy*, here joined by Photius with the speech against Midias, is also suspected of never having been delivered. Dionysius (*Ep. ad. Amm.* I, 10) says: τὸν κατ' ᾿Αισχίνου λόγον συνετάξατο; composed not delivered (ἀπήγγειλε or διέθετο). Idomeneus and Ulpian (in *annot. ad Dem. or. d. f. l.* p. 402 say the trial actually took place (cf. Philost. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 2). Photius (*Cod.* 61; cf. *Cod.* 264) says that Æschines was not convicted because Eubulus arranged matters so that the jurors got up and went out while Demosthenes was still speaking (cf. Auctor *Epistolae*

certain sense, a mark of respect toward the people,<sup>274</sup> and once when Epicles reproached him with preparing what he had to say, he replied: "I should be ashamed to make an extemporary speech to so great an assembly."<sup>275</sup>

*Æschineae* XII, p. 695 R.). Other critics believe that the case never came to trial, but that the speeches on both sides were only published (Ps.-Plut. 840C; Auctor arg. *Æsch.* II, p. 314 Bekk.; Auctor arg. *Æsch.* I; Schol. *Æsch.* p. 49, 2; Hermogenes *περὶ τῶν στασέων* p. 28, ed. Walz; Photius, *Cod.* p. 490; Blass, III, 1<sup>2</sup> 351; Westermann, p. 52 ff. Plutarch (*Dem.* c. 15, 853) seems to have been the first to doubt on the ground that no mention of the trial is made in either of the orations on the Crown. The same view is held by A. G. Becker (*Demosthenes als Staatsmann und Redner*, II, 320), who argues the matter at greater length. Kennedy believes that the evidence on which they rely, being negative has little force under the circumstances, for the reason Auger gives and which Becker does not answer in a satisfactory manner, namely that both orators had cause to be silent: Demosthenes had lost the verdict, and Æschines had so small a majority that his acquittal could hardly be considered honorable.

Cf. also Schaefer, A.: *Dem. und seine Zeit*, III, 2, p. 66; Weil, *Demosthenes*, 234-236; Grote, *Hist. Gr.* XI, 525 ff. and note; Rohdewald: *de nonnullis orationum Æschinis et Demosthenis de legatione male gesta habit-arum locis disputatio*, Münster, 1867; Schmidt, M.: *Quaestiones de Demosthenis et Æschinis orationibus de falsa legatione*, 1851. A speech might be modified by failure to get the required number of votes: cf. Blass I, p. 318.

On the speech *On the Peace* from this point of view see Blass, III, 342, 343, 351.

<sup>274</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 8. The audience, according to Plutarch, seemed to expect that an orator would prepare his speech. In his essay on *Listening* (c. 14, 45D) he rebukes those who come to listen to a speech without any preparation or consideration, and yet expect that what the orator has to say will be prepared and premeditated ( . . . ἐκείνον μὲν ἀξιοῦσαν ἥκειν πεφροντικῶτα καὶ παροσκευασμένον). Elsewhere in the same treatise (c. 3, 38E) he says that such people think that speaking requires study and attention (μάθησιν . . . μελέτην), but listening does not need either.

Compare the beginning of Lord Brougham's *Inaugural Address* (Vol. III, 73): "I am anxious to address you rather in the form which I now adopt, rather than in the more usual one of unpremeditated discourse. I shall thus at least prove that the remarks which I deem it my duty to make, are the fruit of mature reflection, and that I am unwilling to discharge an important office in a perfunctory manner."

<sup>275</sup> Ps.-Plut. 848C: "αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ ἂν" εἶπεν "εἰ τηλικούτῳ δήμῳ συμβουλευὼν αὐτοσχεδιάζοιμι." The compiler adds: "He never put out his lamp, that is, ceased polishing his orations, until he was fifty years old." Cf. Plut. *Dem.* c. 11.



Dionysius of Halicarnassus defends at some length the incessant care which Demosthenes devoted to the perfecting of his works. The critic urges that it is not strange if one who surpassed all his predecessors in oratorical fame, should use no thought or word at random, but should pay great heed to the order of his thoughts and the grace of his language, when he was producing works for all future ages, and putting himself to the test of envy and time. If Isocrates spent at least ten years on the *Panegyricus*, and if the first words of Plato's *Republic* were found arranged in several different ways in his tablets, we cannot wonder if Demosthenes took pains to attain perfection, and to avoid employing a single word or thought which he had not weighed.<sup>276</sup>

According to Demosthenes' political rival, there was one occasion on which all his skill and preparation availed him nothing. Æschines tells us that when Demosthenes appeared for the first time in the presence of the King of Macedonia, whose projects he had so often denounced at home, his presence of mind entirely failed him; he forgot the speech he had written, and in spite of some good-natured encouragement from Philip, was quite unable to deliver his address.<sup>277</sup> While we may grant that there was exaggeration on the part of Æschines, it is quite possible that the story rests on a basis

The sentence which follows this account: "He delivered most of his speeches extempore, nature having qualified him for it," is supposed to have been added by some other hand, since it contradicts what goes before. Another suggestion is that Demosthenes may have made many extemporary speeches, but only laboriously prepared for important occasions (Jebb, I, p. lxxi).

<sup>276</sup> *de Comp. Verb.* c. 25. Dionysius repeats this passage slightly altered in *de Dem.* c. 51. Quintilian (XII, 9, 15) quotes Demosthenes as saying that the orator will utter, so far as his subject will allow, nothing but what he has written or "hewn into shape." On the effect of Demosthenes' eloquence see Lucian, *Encom. Demosth.* 32; Dionys. Hal. *de Dem.* c. 22; Amm. Marcell. XXX, 4, 5.

<sup>277</sup> Æsch. II, 34-35, also mentioned by Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 2; II, 1, 36; in II, 32, 2 the subject for an extemporary speech given by the Emperor to a sophist is, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐκπεσὼν καὶ δειλίας φεύγων. Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* VIII, 12; Longinus, *Ars Rhet.* (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 314, 31 Sp).

A similar misfortune happened to Curio: Cicero, *Brut.* LX, 217; compare 218-220.

of fact. It may be, as Grote suggests,<sup>278</sup> "that Demosthenes was partially divested of his oratorical powers by finding himself speaking not only before the enemy whom he had so bitterly denounced, but surrounded by all the evidence of Macedonian power, and doubtless exposed to the unequivocal marks of well earned hatred from those Macedonians who took less pains than Philip to disguise their feelings,"<sup>279</sup> but perhaps in view of the lack of evidence, it would be better to adopt Müller's more charitable opinion, that Demosthenes' "common sense assured him that this was not an occasion on which fine speaking could produce any practical results, and so he contented himself with a very brief address."<sup>280</sup>

Among the contemporaries of Demosthenes, there are but two who claim ability as extemporary speakers. I mean, of course, Æschines and Demades.<sup>281</sup>

Of Lycurgus as a speaker not much is known. Cicero mentions him as one of the contemporaries of Demosthenes.<sup>282</sup> He is said to have been a pupil of Plato,<sup>283</sup> and Hyperides characterizes him as not inferior as a speaker to anyone in the city.<sup>284</sup> There seems to be but one account of his method of preparing his speeches. The Pseudo-Plutarch tells us that Lycurgus was not gifted with the ability to speak extempore; that he studied night and day, and used even to lie on an uncomfortable couch so that he might rise earlier and devote himself to his studies. So anxious was he to note down his thoughts as they occurred to him, that writing materials were always placed at his bedside.<sup>285</sup> He may even have employed rhetoricians to aid him when he was engaged in the composition of his speeches; at least he was taunted with having done so, and as far as we are able to judge, did not deny the charge.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>278</sup> *Hist. Gr.* XI, 530.

<sup>279</sup> Cf. *Æsch.* II, 32; 33.

<sup>280</sup> *Hist. Gr. Lit.* II, 320. Brougham suggests that Demosthenes' failure may have been due to lack of time for proper preparation.

<sup>281</sup> On Demades see n. 264.

<sup>282</sup> *Brutus*, IX, 36: "Huic (Demosthenes) Hyperides proximus et Æschines fuit et Lycurgus et Dinarchus et is, cuius nulla exstant scripta, Demades alique plures."

<sup>283</sup> Diogenes Laertius III, 31, 46; Olympiodorus ad Plat. *Gorg.* 515 D.

<sup>284</sup> Hyperides *Pro Euxen.* col. XXVI-XXVII.

<sup>285</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch, 842 C-D.

<sup>286</sup> Pseudo-Plutarch, 842 C.

The long quotations from the poets found in Lycurgus (secs. 92, 100,

Æschines, in sharp contrast to his state-rival, Demosthenes, seems more than any other professional orator, to have trusted to extemporary inspiration. He often taunts Demosthenes because of his rhetorical skill and preparation,<sup>287</sup> and Demosthenes, in his turn,

103, 107, 109, 132) would suit a speech prepared verbatim. Such quotations seem to have been part of the orator's stock-in-trade. Æschines before giving a quotation from Hesiod, has the following statement (III, 135): "And I myself will speak the words; for I think it was for this reason that when we were children we learned the words of the poets, in order that when we were men we might make use of them." Other passages in which Æschines quotes from memory are I, 128, 129, 144, 151, 152; II, 144, 158; III, 184-185.

There is evidence, however, that such quotations, as well as oracles, laws, and epigrams, were read for the speaker by the clerk (Dem. XVIII, 289; XIX, 70; 247; 255; 297; XXI, 8, 10; Æsch. I, 148; 149; 150; III, 112; 190; so in the *Antidosis*, with the exception of sec. 194, the extracts from Isocrates' other speeches are read by the clerk; cf. Isocr. XV, 59; 65; 72). The reading of passages by the clerk would suit an extemporary speech still less than quoting from memory.

In the Lycurgus passages there is no indication of reading either by the orator himself or by the clerk. The supposition therefore is that Lycurgus memorized the passages and delivered them himself.

<sup>287</sup> II, 1; 4; 114; 157 (compare Dem. XVIII, 280); III, 142; 153; 157; 167; 209-210; 215; 229; 233; cf. Blass, III, 64-66.

Æschines' demand (III, 202) that Demosthenes make his defense in the same order as the accusation, may have been designed to embarrass Demosthenes if the speech he had prepared and was intending to use was arranged in a different way (cf. Quint. III, 6, 3). The objection given by Demosthenes (XVIII, 2) to this attempt to prescribe an order to him, was so reasonable that it allowed an excellent starting-point for the defense. Cf. Quint. VII, 1, 2. Whately (*Elements of Rhetoric*, c. I) in speaking of the importance of arrangement, says: "Æschines strongly urged the judges (in the celebrated contest for the Crown) to confine his adversary to the same order in his reply to the charges brought, which he himself had observed in bringing them forward. Demosthenes, however, was far too skillful to be thus entrapped; and so much importance does he attach to this point, that he opens his speech with a most solemn appeal to the judges for an impartial hearing; which implies, he says, not only a rejection of prejudice, but no less also a permission for each speaker to adopt whatever arrangement he should think fit. And accordingly he proceeds to adopt one very different from that which his antagonist had laid down; for he was no less sensible than his rival that the same arrangement which is most favorable to one side is likely to be least favorable to the other."



Æschines' seeming knowledge of Demosthenes' speech (III, 54, 57, 189, 216, 225, 228, 257) means no more than that the orator in composing his attack, dealt with the points which his own sense and the gossip of the town had told him were to be made by his opponent. No knowledge of the actual speech of Demosthenes is implied. So *Oration I* of Æschines is composed along the general lines which he had heard were to be taken by the other side (I, 117). Compare Dem. XIX, 80.

Scholars have debated much over the question whether the two orations on the Crown, in their present form, were the speeches actually delivered at the trial. W. Fox, *Kranzrede des Demosthenes*, p. 214, maintains that in the present form of the two orations on the Crown, we have not only in the main, but in detail, the orations prepared, memorized, and delivered at the trial. He believes that there may have been in addition a slight amount of extemporized matter. Other scholars have regarded with suspicion passages in Æschines anticipating Demosthenes, and passages of refutation to which there is no corresponding passage in the rival orator, as pointing to addition or suppression when the speakers revised their orations; for example, Æsch. 13-16, 24-30, 35-48, 54-56, 84, 159-167, 177 ff., 189 (cf. Dem. XVIII, 319), 197-199, 216, 225 ff. (cf. Dem. XVIII, 243), 228. A. Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, III, *Beiträge* p. 72 ff., believes that the trend of each orator's argument might well be known to the other through gossip and by the arguments made at the preliminary hearing. While denying that such anticipation of similes as appears in Æschines (189, 215, 225, 228) could occur, and must have been added after the trial when the speech was prepared for publication, he thinks that we have the orations in the main as they were delivered. A. Kirchhoff, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1875, p. 64 ff., is very severe on Demosthenes' speech in regard to revision, but makes fewer changes in that of Æschines. B. Cämmerer, *de duplici Recensione Orationis Æschineae contra Ctesiphontem habitae* (Arnstadt, 1876), believes that Æschines made large additions to his speech when he revised it. His attempts to seem extempore (57, 176, 177) are merely conventional. Kirchhoff believes that Demosthenes' speech as we have it, is a combination of two speeches: one "sketched" when first there was danger of a trial, and the other the speech which was actually delivered six years later. Blass, III, 2, p. 180 ff., thinks that in Æschines' speech we have the draft of the oration as drawn up in 336, emended in 330 by new suggestions, and still further worked over after the trial had actually taken place, and before the speech was published. Some of the points he criticizes might be due to the fact that Æschines was less skillful than Demosthenes in preparing and revising.

Cf. also Nadrowski, R.: *de genuina Demosthenis pro Corona orationis forma*, Thorn, 1880; Fox, W.: *Analyse und Würdigung der Rede von Kranze*, Innsbruck, 1863.

Demosthenes' Third Philippic (Or. IX) has been handed down in two recensions. The shorter and better one is represented by the oldest manuscript, Parisian S, only, the other by all the rest. Blass, III,<sup>1</sup> 304, believes

constantly ascribes the success of his opponent to his great natural powers and his strong, clear and carefully cultivated voice.<sup>288</sup> Some, according to Philostratus,<sup>289</sup> even attribute to Æschines the invention (εὑρημα) of extemporary speech. Philostratus himself, while acknowledging Æschines' ability, assigns the beginning of the practice to Gorgias. As we have seen, Gorgias' boast that he was able to speak on any subject at a moment's notice, rested on a basis of carefully prepared commonplaces.<sup>290</sup> There is no evidence that Æschines' ability was dependent on any such aid. According to Suidas "he was the first of all men to have the name of speaking 'in a god-like manner,' owing to the fact that he extemporized as one who was inspired."<sup>291</sup> Philostratus says he spoke "as those who utter oracles."<sup>292</sup> That this ability was a natural gift, probably improved by practice, is usually conceded.<sup>293</sup> Æschines may have had some training in

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that the shorter version was a revised edition prepared by the orator himself. This, if so, would be another proof of Demosthenes' careful and thorough revision of his speeches. Both versions are thoroughly Demosthenic. See also Spengel, *Abhandl. f. Munich Acad.*, 1863, at the end of his first article on Demosthenes' public speeches.

<sup>288</sup> XVIII, 127, 132, 259, 276-77, 280 (cf. Æsch. II, 170), 285, 291, 308, 313; XIX, 126, 199, 206, 208, 209, 216, 336, 337-340; cf. A. Schaefer *Dem. u. seine Zeit*, I, 215, 3; Blass, III, B, 222. Æschines warns his hearers against the professional artifices of Demosthenes, III, 200; I, 170, and describes himself as an unprofessional speaker: II, 181-182; III, 228.

<sup>289</sup> *Proem ad Vit. Soph.* 4.

<sup>290</sup> Cf. p. 99 ff. Philostr. *proem. ad Vit. Soph.* 4.

<sup>291</sup> Suidas, s. n.: πρῶτος [Ἀισχίνης] δὲ πάντων τὸ "θεῖως λέγειν" ἤκουσε, διὰ τὸ σχεδιάζειν ὡς ἐνθουσιῶν. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 4: τὸ γὰρ θεῖως λέγειν οὐπω μὲν ἐπεχωρίασε σοφιστῶν σπουδαῖς, ἀπ' Αἰσχίνου δ' ἤρξατο, θεοφορήτῳ ὁρμῇ ἀποσχεδιάζοντος, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς χρησμούς ἀναπνέοντες. Æschines thought well of his own gifts: II, 41; III, 228; cf. also Dem. XVIII, 242; XIX, 339 ff.

<sup>292</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 4; cf. also Photius, *Cod.* 61, and 67; Caecilius of Calacte (ap. Æsch. p. 5 Sch.); Dionys. Hal. c. 35, p. 206; *iud. vet.* V, 5; the Scholiast on Æschines says his oratory has power and facility such as would come from nature and private study: μελέτης ἀφανοῦς i. e. not under a master; cf. Hermog. *de Fig.* II, c. 11; Dio Chrys. XVIII, 11. Cf. Schaefer, *Dem.* I, 229; Sauppe, *O. A.* II, p. 26.

<sup>293</sup> Critics are divided as to whether Æschines' speech to the Amphictyons, which created so much excitement (Æsch. III, 122; Dem. XVIII, 149), and from which he gives a quotation (III, 119-122), was prepared or extemporary. Æschines says (III, 119) of the clerk, ἅμα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν ἐκέλευον αὐτοῖς

his youth,<sup>294</sup> but probably never enjoyed any extensive schooling by rhetoricians.<sup>295</sup> His reply to the Rhodians, when they asked him to teach them the art of rhetoric, that he did not know it himself, may well be true.<sup>296</sup> He was, as it seems, an orator with an extra-

την μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, which Schaefer regards as proof that Æschines' speech was not the result of a sudden impulse as he seems to imply, II, 119: ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω παρωξύνθη, . . . and ἐπῆλθε δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην μνησθῆναι κ.τ.λ. but that he had prepared it and provided the necessary documents (cf. Dem. XVIII, 149). A burst of extemporaneous eloquence might be expected from Æschines, and as Weidner argues, against Schaefer's view, such important documents as the one cited, concerning the Delphic god, would surely be close at hand, and the clerk might procure and read them after a very short time. It might be argued from Æschines' repeating part of the speech that it was prepared, but he only claims to give the substance, II, 122: τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ διεξελθόντος ἑμοῦ κ.τ.λ. In like manner, the other speeches mentioned as his were probably extemporaneous. An abstract of his speech to the assembly in June, B. C. 346, when Philip had reached Thermopylae (cf. Dem. XVIII, 35) is given by Demosthenes (XIX, 19 ff.), and Æschines replies to it (II, 119 ff.).

His speech before the Athenians is reproduced in summary in II, 75 ff.; cf. Dem. XIX, 15.

Other speeches by him are mentioned in Æsch. II, 41; 114; III, 71; 146; 215; Dem. XVIII, 35-36.

Cf. Philostratus, *proem ad Vit. Soph.* 4, where it is stated that Æschines spoke extemporaneously as ambassador, as the defender of anyone in court, and when he made an address to the people.

His speech *On the Embassy* was probably not delivered, but written and published as a defense of his policy and character (Auct. arg. Æsch. II; Plut. *Dem.* c. 15; Hermog. *περὶ τῶν σπασ.* p. 28 ed. Walz) although Schaefer, Thirlwall, and others think otherwise. Cf. Busse, R.: *de duplici recensione orationis quae est de Falsa Legatione*, Berlin, 1880.

On his speech *Against Timarchus* see the anonymous Second Argument. Compare n. 287.

<sup>294</sup> Quint. II, 17, 12-13.

<sup>295</sup> We are told on somewhat doubtful authority that he was a pupil of Plato, Alcidamas, Isocrates, and even of Socrates: Ps.-Plut. 840 B; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 4; Phot. *Cod.* 61, and 264; Suidas, s. n. The Scholiast on Æsch. II, 1, gives Demetrius of Phalerum as authority for the connection with Plato and Socrates, but Apollonius (*Vit. Æsch.* 6) says this is a mistake due to confusion with Æschines of Eleusinia who is said to have written a rhetorical *τέχνη*; cf. Diog. Laert. II, 64; Athen. XIII, 93; Schaefer, I, 229.

<sup>296</sup> Ps.-Plut. 840D. On Æschines' school at Rhodes see Blass, III, B, 138-139. Westermann (*Gesch. d. Bereds.* I, 81) regards Æschines as the



ordinary natural gift improved by practice. According to Philostratus,<sup>297</sup> he left written speeches behind him in order that he might not be far surpassed by the laboriously prepared orations of Demosthenes. It was only in his exile, if we may believe the often repeated story of his reading of the speech to the Rhodians,<sup>298</sup> and his subsequent comment on Demosthenes, that he acknowledged the superiority of his rival.<sup>299</sup>

Of the last two Attic orators, Hyperides and Dinarchus, little need be said. Hyperides was preferred by some to Demosthenes,<sup>300</sup> and was famous for his wit,<sup>301</sup> but there is no evidence that he delivered an extemporary speech. The story is told that in leisure moments he drew up several declarations against Demosthenes, and that Demosthenes, on coming to see him when he was ill, found him with the book in his hand. At this Demosthenes expressed his displeasure, and Hyperides replied: "This shall hurt no one who is my friend, but will keep the one who is my enemy from doing aught against me."<sup>302</sup> It is impossible, of course, to draw a conclusion from one instance only, but this evidence, such as it is, would show that Hyperides prepared himself for emergencies.

In the case of Dinarchus, with whom Attic oratory ends,<sup>303</sup> extemporary speech is practically out of the question. As a metic<sup>304</sup> he

founder of the Rhodian school of eloquence. Cf. Quint. XII, 10, 19; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 2; Plut. *Dem.* c. 34; Photius, *Cod.* 61, and 264; Schaefer, III, 266 n.

<sup>297</sup> *Proem. ad Vit. Soph.* 4.

<sup>298</sup> Ps.-Plut. 840D (ἀνέγνων).

<sup>299</sup> For this story see Ps.-Plut. 840D-E; Cicero, *de Or.* III, 56, 213; Quint. XI, 3, 7; Pliny, *Ep.* II, 3, 10; IV, 5, 1; Schol. ad Æsch. *Or.* II, 1, p. 5 Sch.; Phot. *Cod.* 61, 7-10; *Cod.* 264 (ἐπεδείξατο); Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 18, 6 (ἀναγνούς); Val. Max. VIII, c. 10, ext. 1; Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 31 (30).

<sup>300</sup> Ps.-Plut. 849D; Longinus (?) *de Sublim.* 34 ff. On Hyperides see also Ps.-Plut. 848D; Diodorus XVIII, 3; Blass, III, B, 1-72.

<sup>301</sup> Long. (?) *de Sublim.* 34, 2; Cicero, *de Or.* I, 13, 58; II, 23, 94; III, 7, 28; *Brut.* XVII, 67; *Acad.* II, 10; Quint. X, 1, 77. He is said by some to have been a pupil of Isocrates and Plato: Ps.-Plut. 848D; Diog. Laert. III, 46; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 17, 5; Athen. VIII, 342C; Suidas.

<sup>302</sup> Ps.-Plut. 849E-F; his funeral speech, Ps.-Plut. 850A; Dem. XVIII, 221, 27.

<sup>303</sup> Croiset, IV, 650; Jebb, II, 373.

<sup>304</sup> Dionys. Hal. *de Dinarch.* c. 3; c. 2.

was barred from public debates. His three extant orations were all written for prosecutors in the affair of Harpalus.<sup>305</sup> The only speech he ever delivered in person was that against his faithless host Proxenus,<sup>306</sup> and there is no ground for believing that this could have been extemporary.

Before leaving Greek orators of the classical period, it might be well to consider one class of evidence which shows perhaps better than anything else that many of these speeches were the result of verbal premeditation. I mean the repetition of striking passages.

The ancients seem to have been firm believers in the maxim, τὸ καλῶς εἰπεῖν ἅπαξ περιγίγνεται, δις δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται.<sup>307</sup> An orator will repeat in one speech passages from some other speech of his own, sometimes verbatim,<sup>308</sup> and at times with slight changes. This he had a perfect right to do of course, but the question assumes a different aspect when we come to consider passages taken bodily by one author from another. I do not refer to the so-called "commonplaces of thought," these were of course public property and at the service of any orator who might choose to make use of them,<sup>309</sup> but when

<sup>305</sup> Ps.-Plut. 850C; but see also Suidas; s. v. Πραγματεία.

<sup>306</sup> Ps.-Plut. 850D-E; Dionys. Hal. *de Dinarch.* p. 113. Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 498E with the Scholiast. This was his first appearance in a law-court: Dionys. Hal. p. 635; p. 647; Hermog. *περὶ ἰδεῶν* II, 5, p. 384, Walz.

<sup>307</sup> Theon. *Progym.* c. 1 (*Rhet. Gr.* II, 62, Sp.) disputes this. Cf. Brougham, p. 387 for the effect of such repetitions on a modern audience.

<sup>308</sup> For example, see Antiphon, *de caede Herod.* 14, and *de Chor.* 2.

<sup>309</sup> According to Cicero (*Brut.* XII, 46), who quotes Aristotle as his authority, Protagoras composed a number of dissertations on such leading and general topics as were later called "commonplaces". His example was followed by Gorgias and Antiphon. Lysias is also said to have composed a collection (cf. Süß, pp. 10-11). These elaborately worked-out topics were quoted verbatim. They formed part of the intellectual training as well in Rome (Cicero, *de Or.* I, 13, 56; I, 31, 141; II, 27, 118; *Brut.* LXXVIII, 271) as in Greece (for example in the school of Gorgias). Cf. Arist. *Soph. Elench.* c. 34; Theon, *Rhet. Gr.* II, 65, Sp. Quintilian (II, 1, 11-12) says that such commonplaces mix themselves with the inmost substance of causes, and recommends preparation of them. Later (II, 4, 27-33) he objects to these carefully memorized topics, which are fitted, like ornaments, on to extemporary speeches, on the ground that they become displeasing to the audience when heard over and over. Furthermore, they are often used, not because they are wanted, or apply to the case, but because they are ready.

Cicero drew up a treatise on these on the basis of Aristotle's work (*ad Fam.* VII, 19, 20; *Top.* c. 1, 5, and the end of the preface to the *Para-*

one finds a passage of one orator repeated verbatim or with such slight changes that the passage is not materially affected, it seems a clear indication of preparation, practically of memorization. The first instance where such repetition occurs is found in the works of Andocides and Lysias. Parts of the Prooemium<sup>310</sup> of Andocides'

*doxes*) to which the "fire and sword" topic may have belonged (*ad Att.* II, 1, 1; I, 14, 3; *Brut.* 298), and a collection is ascribed to Hortensius (Quint. II, 1, 11). Such "commonplaces", which are to be distinguished from the commonplaces of thought, the substance of which has often been used, were no doubt a great help to the orator.

Commonplaces in general are discussed by Aristotle, *Rhet.* II, 18, 3-5; II, 23; Auctor *ad Heren.* II, 5; 13; 14; 22; 24; 26; 48; 49; Cicero, *de Invent.* II, 48 ff.; *de Or.* III, 27, 106; *Orat.* XV, 47; 72; 95; 118; 126; Quint. II, 1, 11-12; II, 4, 27-33; V, 12, 15-16; *Rhet. ad Alex.* cc. XXXV-XXXVII; Theon. *Rhet. Gr.* II, 106 Sp.; also II, 32 ff.

Blass suggests (II, 458) that the treatise on rhetoric ascribed to Isaeus (Ps.-Plut. 839F; cf. Dionys. *ad Amm.* p. 722U. and R.) may have been a collection of commonplaces.

The treatise of Hermagoras may have been useful for this purpose: Cicero, *Brut.* LXXVIII, 271. On this work see Volkmann, *Rhetorik*, p. 5; 20 ff.; Blass, *Gr. Bereds.* 84-88; Jebb, II, 444-445.

On Cicero's *Topica* see Brandis, *Rhein. Mus.* III, 547; Klein, J.: *de fontibus Top. Cic.* (1844); Hammer, C., Bursian, *Jahres.*, XIV, 200; XXII, 218.

<sup>310</sup> Collections of prooemia and epilogues were composed by orators to be used as they might need them. The first known writer of such a collection was Cephalus (Suidas, s. n.) who lived but a little while before Antiphon (cf. also Tzetz. *Chil.* VI, c. 34; the one mentioned in Athen. 592 C is probably a later sophist, Ruhnken, p. xlii). There followed the collection of Antiphon, of which examples are quoted by Suidas (s. v. ἄμα, αἰσθέσθαι, μοχθηρός. We hear of such a collection by Thrasymachus (Athen. X, 416A) and Lysias (cf. p. 16, n. 45). One book of Theophrastus' treatise on rhetoric was devoted to prooemia (Diog. Laert. V, 48; Proleg. in Hermog. p. 14), and Hermogenes speaks of Critias' προοίμια δημηγορικὰ. A collection is attributed to Demosthenes, which Harpocration and Stobaeus recognize as genuine. Fabricius says: "a Demosthenes per otium elaborata, quibus in tempore uteretur". The prooemia are probably spurious (Pollux, VI, 143), and were collected, no doubt, by some unknown compiler who took some examples from Demosthenes (cf. Dem. IV, and *Exord.* I; I, and III; XIV, and VII; XVI, and VIII; XV, and XXVII), and some from other writers, or he may have added a few himself. Cf. Blass, 283-287; Schaefer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit*, III, Ap. p. 129; Mahaffy, II, 339; also Uhle, P.: *de prooemiorum Demosthenis origine* (1885); Reichenberger, S.: *Demosthenis de collectione prooemiorum* (1886); May, J.: *Zur Kritik der Prooemien des*



speech *On the Mysteries* (secs. 1-7) occur with slight variation in Lysias' *On the Estate of Aristophanes* (2-5). Isocrates, too, used a part of the same material,<sup>311</sup> but with much greater changes. That such a practice was frequent in ancient times, I think we are justified in inferring from a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus.<sup>312</sup> After observing that among two hundred genuine speeches of Lysias, no fixed use of any commonplaces, even in the prooemium, can be found, the critic adds: "And yet even those who have written only a few speeches are found to have suffered this misfortune, I mean of

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*Demosthenes* (Durlach, 1905); Swoboda, R.: *de Demosthenis quae feruntur prooemiis* (1887), and others.

Apsines wrote a τέχνη ῥητορικὴ περὶ προομίου, (cf. Spengel, *Art. Script.*, 110-111), and Anaximenes (p. 4 ed. Sp.) discusses the exordium in detail (cf. also *Rhet. Gr.* III, 470, Sp.). Mahaffy believes (II, 230) that of Isocrates' Epistles, I, VI, and VIII, "are mere proems to political advices, and evidently published as specimens by the author."

Cicero possessed a collection of these useful introductions. He sent Atticus his treatise *de Gloria* with an exordium prefixed which he had already used for the Third Book of the *Academics*. When he discovered his mistake, he sent Atticus a new exordium, and begged him to take out the other and put the new one on (*ad Att.* XVI, 6, 4). Cf. Quint. IV, 1, 8; Tac. *Dial.* c. 20, 1, Messallae prooemia.

In this connection the *Florida* of Apuleius must also be mentioned. This is supposed by some to be a sort of Anthology from the orations of Apuleius, collected either by himself, or some follower of his. The more probable explanation is that the book is a collection of passages which the author intended to use as prooemia to declamations, or as bits to be worked into extemporaneous speeches (cf. p. 173).

Quintilian, in discussing the exordium (III, 9, 8 ff.), does not believe that the exordium should be written last, after the whole speech has been prepared, as Antonius does in Cicero's *de Oratore* (II, 78, 315). This practice would be harmful if the orator had no time to write his speech. If he has the necessary time, he is to contemplate his material in the order in which the different parts of the speech would naturally come, and then write his speech in the order in which he is to deliver it. If the orator can derive his exordium from the pleading of his opponent, it will gain him the confidence of the audience, and even though the rest of his speech be written and carefully studied, an extemporary exordium will give an air of spontaneity to the whole (IV, 1, 54; cf. also IV, 1, 56-58). Compare Cicero's treatment of the subject, *de Or.* II, 77, 315-325.

<sup>311</sup> Or. XV.

<sup>312</sup> *de Lys.* c. 17. Compare *de Isaeo*, c. 7 ff. Cf. Girard, *L'Eloquence Attique*, p. 16 ff.

falling into the repetition of commonplaces; for I say nothing of the fact that almost all of them *take the things which have been said by others and consider it no shameful act to do so.*"<sup>313</sup> In spite of Dionysius, however, in this case Lysias seems to have "borrowed." The question is, did he borrow from Andocides or did they both take the material of some third person and alter it to suit their views? Jebb<sup>314</sup> believes that the whole prooemium was the work of Andocides and that Lysias abridged it. Blass, on the contrary, believes, with more reason, that both Andocides and Lysias used a prooemium written by some third person in which Andocides interpolated some matter of his own (secs. 3-6). The original prooemium Blass attributes to Antiphon.<sup>315</sup>

In the sections where Andocides, Lysias and Isocrates use common matter Isocrates agrees with Andocides rather than with Lysias. Compare Andoc. I, 1, Lys. XIX, 2, Isocr. XV, 17 (cf. also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI, p. 748); Andoc. I, 6, Lys. XIX, 2-3; Andoc. I, 7, Lys. XIX, 4-5, Isocr. XV, 17-19; Andoc. I, 1; Lys. XIX, 11; Isocr. XVI, 7, Andoc. I, 9, Lys. Frag. 70 (Th.); Lys. XVIII, 3, Isocr. XVI 21; Lys. XXIII, 4, Isocr. XVI, 5; Lys. XVIII, 4, Isocr. XVI, 46; Lys. II, 73, Lys. X, 28; Lys. X, 7, XI, 4; Lys. XIII, 13, XVIII, 5 fin.; Lys. XIII, 12, XXX, 10; Lys. XV, 8, XVI, 13.

Lysias' second speech against Theomnestus is merely an epitome of the first speech.<sup>316</sup> Harpocration refers to the *Speech against Theomnestus* six times, but never to a second speech, or to the first as the first. It probably was, as Jebb says, made by some grammarian later than Harpocration's time. The second speech preserves for the most part the words of the first:<sup>317</sup> compare first speech 1-5, and second speech 1-2; 6-20, and 3-6; 21-29, and 7-10; 30-32, and 11-12.

Isocrates boasts that he never appropriated the material of others;<sup>318</sup> according to his own story, he is the one who is the

<sup>313</sup> Cf. Long.(?) *de Sublim.* 13, 3-4.

<sup>314</sup> I, 115.

<sup>315</sup> *Att. Bereds.* I<sup>2</sup> 115. Aristotle (*Soph. Elench.* c. 34) says ready made speeches were given by the teachers of rhetoric to their pupils to be memorized. This prooemium may have been part of one of those.

<sup>316</sup> Jebb, I, 292.

<sup>317</sup> Cf. Herrmann, c.: *Zur Echtheitsfrage von Lysias X Rede* (Hannover, 1878) p. 17.

<sup>318</sup> II, 41; V, 94; X, 13; XIII, 12.

object of quotation, imitation, and plagiarism,<sup>319</sup> because he has surpassed his rivals.<sup>320</sup> Repetition in his own works<sup>321</sup> he justifies on the ground that since others adopt his arguments, he would be a fool if he were the only one who did not make use of what he had said before.<sup>322</sup> Nevertheless there were not wanting critics who say that he borrowed from others, and it is on his pet *Panegyricus* that the bulk of the censure falls. The Pseudo-Plutarch<sup>323</sup> speaks of it as an oration "which he is said to have borrowed out of Gorgias the Leontine and Lysias". According to Photius<sup>324</sup> the *Panegyricus* owed much to the funeral oration of Archinus, the friend of Thrasybulus whom Plato praises.<sup>325</sup> According to Philostratus, Isocrates' speech is an adaptation of that of Gorgias on the same theme.<sup>326</sup> Theon believes that the oration is borrowed from Lysias' *Epitaphius* and *Olympiacus*.<sup>327</sup>

There is a close resemblance between the *Epitaphius* current under Lysias' name and the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates. If we believe the *Epitaphius* a genuine speech of Lysias, the explanation of the resemblance must be that Isocrates borrowed from Lysias, or that both were indebted to Gorgias. Those who doubt its authenticity<sup>328</sup> must regard the *Epitaphius* as the work of a later rhetori-

<sup>319</sup> IV, 4; V, II; 84; 94; XII, 1 ff.; 8; 16. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI, 263S, who mentions a book *de scriptorum furtis*, and gives examples.

Mirabeau used to take whole passages of other peoples speeches. The Viscount de Cormenin calls him the "sublime plagiarist". On Mirabeau's methods and style see Cormenin's essay on Mirabeau in his *Orators of France (Livre des Orateurs)* American edition of 1854 to which is prefixed J. T. Headley's essay on the *Oratory of the French Revolution*. Cf. also Mathews, p. 195.

<sup>320</sup> XV, 61.

<sup>321</sup> Such as the quotations in XV, from III, VIII, IV, II, XIII.

<sup>322</sup> V, 93-95.

<sup>323</sup> Ps.-Plut. 837F.

<sup>324</sup> *Cod.* CCXL.

<sup>325</sup> *Menex.* 403 A.

<sup>326</sup> *Vit. Soph.* I, 17, 4; the Latin version calls the speech "consarcinata."

<sup>327</sup> Theon. *Progym., Rhet. Gr.* II, 63, 30, Sp.; I, 155, Walz.

<sup>328</sup> Among whom is Dobree, who says in his *Adversaria* "Illic (in the *Panegyricus*) summum oratorem videas, hic (in the *Epitaphius*) nugacem compilatorem".

On the resemblance between the two speeches see Wolff, E.: *Quae ratio intercedat inter Lysiae epitaphium et Isocratis Panegyricum*, Berol, 1896.



cian who followed Isocrates. Compare Lys. (?) II, 2, Isocr. IV, 186; II, 9, IV, 72; II, 12, IV, 53; II, 15, IV, 24; II, 29, IV, 88-89; II, 31, IV, 100; II, 33, IV, 96; II, 37, and IV, 96; II, 38, IV, 97; II, 42, IV, 98; II, 44, IV, 93; II, 55, IV, 106; II, 59, IV, 115. Also compare Lys. XII, 98, Isocr. XIV, 48; XIV, 30, XVI, 10; XIV, 31, XVI, 11; XIV, 32, XVI, 12; XIV, 37, XVI, 11; XVIII, 3, XVI, 21; XVIII, 4, XVI, 5; XVIII, 4, XVI, 46.

Isaeus, being strictly a writer of court-speeches, would have little need of the sort of passages usually copied by orators. The curious expression in *Oration V*, 10, 2-3: οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οἰκειότητος may have been copied from Lysias, XII, 20. The imitation seems the more probable since we find a passage of Lysias (XXI, 19) quoted by Stobaeus<sup>329</sup> under the name of Isaeus.<sup>330</sup>

Lycurgus, *Adv. Leocr.* 70, is clearly an imitation of Isocrates, IV, 72.

Demosthenes' imitation of Isaeus is perfectly clear. Still, the way in which Demosthenes uses his borrowed material, shows him to be no slavish imitator, but a capable orator. This will be shown by an examination of the following parallel passages: Demosthenes XXX, 37, incorporates with slight changes Isaeus, XIII, 12, 1. Porphyry, ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* X, 3, p. 466, notes the similarity of these two passages, with which compare Isocrates, XVII, 54. Demosthenes XXXVII, 3, copies Isaeus, VIII, 4. Demosthenes XXVII, 2, 3, adopts Isaeus VIII, 5, 1, and as Blass (*II*<sup>2</sup> 558, n. 6) points out, Demosthenes' amplifications produce a better rounded and more artistic period, but detract from the effectiveness of the appeal. Compare also Demosthenes, XXVII, 3, and Isaeus, VIII, 4; XXVII, 7, and VIII, 28; XXVII, 47, and VIII, 20.

Demosthenes XXX, 3, copies Isaeus, VIII, 5, 2-3. Demosthenes XXX, 38, imitates Isaeus VIII, 13, 1. Demosthenes XXVII,

<sup>329</sup> *Flor.* V, 54.

<sup>330</sup> Fr. 131, Sauppe. Many repetitions may be found in Isaeus' own speeches: compare I, 41-43 with IV, 12-18; I, 44-47, with IV, 23; II, 46, 6, with VII, 30; III, 35-39, with III, 28; cf. also III, 45, 49, 51; VIII, 28, 1, with fr. 30, Sauppe. The substance of this is a commonplace, but as Dionysius, *de Isaeo*, c. 12, observes, characteristic of Isaeus.

47 ff. imitates Isaeus, VIII, 28, 5 (compare Dem. XXIX, 55). Demosthenes XXVIII, 23, copies Isaeus VIII, 45, 4.

Theon<sup>331</sup> charges Demosthenes with borrowing, in his speech against Midias, from speeches by Lysias, Lycurgus, and Isaeus in like cases of outrage, and also with very often repeating himself. The first charge may be true; the second certainly is. A few examples follow: III, 35, 24 repeats XIII, 174, 26 (on *Or. XIII*, see F. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena ad Leptineam*, p. 74); compare III, 35, 25-26 and XIII, 174, 28-30, also XXIII, 17; XIII, 174, 26, and XV, 201, 35; XIII, 172, 22-173, 24, and XXIII, 686, 198; XXI, 547, and XXI, 574, also XXV, 776, 22; XXII, 595, 7, and XXIII, 653; XXII, 607, 47, and XXIV, 750-752; XXII, 607, 48, and XXIV, 750, 160; XXII, 613, 65, and XXIV, 753; XXII, 615, 69-74, and XXIV, 753, 176-182; XXII, 616, 74 and XXIV, 756, 182-187; XXII, 617, 76, and XX, 459; XXVII, 827, 44-45, and XXIX, 857, 44-46; XXVII, 830, 55-57, and XXIX, 858, 47-49; XXXVII, 983, 58 to end and XXXVIII, 990, 21-23.<sup>332</sup>

The *Fourth Philippic* and the oration *On the Letter* are usually considered spurious and therefore need not be discussed. The former<sup>333</sup> is composed largely of passages drawn from the Chersonese oration, and the latter of parts of the *Second Olynthiac*.<sup>334</sup>

Æschines, in his speech *On the Embassy* (II, 172-176) repeats

<sup>331</sup> *Rhet. Gr.* II, 63-64 Sp.

<sup>332</sup> On repetition in Demosthenes see Gresdorfus, C. G.: *Synopsis repetitionum Demosthenis locorum* (Altenburg, 1833-34), who, however, under repetitions includes "commonplaces" as well. Westermann, *de Litibus* etc., p. 143 ff., distinguishes between the two. It may be that Demosthenes himself contemplated the possibility of repetition: XXIV, 159.

<sup>333</sup> On the spuriousness of the *Fourth Philippic* see Dindorf, *Annot.* I, 202; Becker, A. G.: *Dem. als Staatsm. u. Red.* I, 293-302; Westermann, *de Litibus*, etc., 147 ff.; Boeckh. *Staatshaush. d. Ath.* I, 195; 235; 466; Ruedigerus, *de canone Philippicarum*, 18 ff. Brougham (Vol. IV, 388 ff.) has a long and detailed examination of the *Fourth Philippic*, the authenticity of which he does not doubt; cf. also Croiset, IV, 580. The speech may be either a cento, or, as Blass thinks, an incomplete sketch prepared by way of exercise by the orator himself, which was afterwards found among his papers and published. Another possibility is that the passages were put together by some pupil (Mahaffy, II, 321).

<sup>334</sup> Cf. Westermann, *de Litibus*, p. 165.

with some omissions and changes a passage from Andocides' *On the Peace with the Lacedaemonians* (III, 3-9).<sup>335</sup>

In Dinarchus are to be found imitations of Demosthenes and Æschines: compare Dinarchus I, 24 and Æschines III, 133; Dinarchus I, 77, and Æschines III, 131, and 157 (possibly); Dinarchus, I, 96, and Demosthenes XVIII, 311; XIX, 282. Compare Dinarchus I, 15 and 24, with Dinarchus, III, 18.

Dinarchus also borrowed from Isaeus. Blass<sup>336</sup> thinks that he copied the opening of Isaeus' *Eighth Oration* in his speech *Against Ameinocrates*.<sup>337</sup>

A fragment from an oration of Stratocles, praised by Photius,<sup>338</sup> is repeated almost word for word by Dinarchus.<sup>339</sup> The presence of such passages in so many speeches is good evidence of the careful preparation of their authors. Indeed, such a practice would hardly be possible except on the theory that a large portion of the speeches were written and memorized.

Outside of the great orators, we have little evidence of the practice of speech-makers among the Greeks. We are told that when Lysander planned to abolish the exclusive right to the throne of Sparta possessed by the families descended from Eurypon and Agis, he endeavored "to win over his countrymen to his views by his own powers of persuasion, and with that object, studied an oration written for him by Kleon of Halicarnassus".<sup>340</sup> After Lysander's death the speech was found among his papers, and when Agesilaus was eager to publish it, and thus prove the baseness of

<sup>335</sup> Æsch. III, 6, is repeated from I, 4. This is, however, a mere commonplace, for which, in the earlier passage Æschines disclaims originality; cf. Isocr. XII, 132; Plato, *Rep.* 338D; Lycurg. *Adv. Leocr.* 3; Arist. *Pol.* IV, 2, and elsewhere.

Critics have found likenesses between Æschines and Demosthenes. These may be accidental, due to treatment of the same commonplaces: Æsch. I, 2, Dem. XXI, 7; Æsch. I, 5, Dem. XX, 78; Æsch. I, 129, Dem. XIX, 243; Æsch. II, 14, Dem. LVII, 9; Æsch. II, 158, Dem. XVIII, 200.

<sup>336</sup> Blass, II, 558, n. 5.

<sup>337</sup> Cf. Dion. Hal. *de Din.* c. 12, p. 315, 15 (U. and R.).

<sup>338</sup> *Biblioth.* p. 447 Bk.

<sup>339</sup> I, 24. Diodorus, XIII, p. 585 suspects either that Dinarchus took the passage from Stratocles, or that the oration said to be Dinarchus' work really belongs to Stratocles; the latter is hardly possible.

<sup>340</sup> Plut. *Lys.* c. 25.



Lysander, Lakratides, chief of the ephors, advised him to bury "so clever and insidious a composition" with Lysander.<sup>341</sup>

In contrast to Lysander, who was obliged to learn a speech written for him by another, may be mentioned the orator Callisthenes, who, being asked on one occasion by Alexander to make an extemporary speech in praise of the Macedonians, succeeded so well that all commended him except Alexander, who gave the praise to the good subject on which the orator spoke. Callisthenes, then being commanded to make a speech dealing with the faults of the Macedonians, succeeded so well that he was hateful to them ever afterwards.<sup>342</sup>

Phocion, whom Demosthenes called the "pruning knife" of his orations,<sup>343</sup> clearly prepared and memorized his speeches; at least we are told that once when he was asked by his friends why he was buried in thought, replied that he was considering whether he could shorten the speech he was going to recite to the Athenians.<sup>344</sup>

Among the Roman orators we hear of many who prepared their orations and of a few whose speeches were extemporary. For our knowledge of many of these we are dependent on the mere notices found in the treatises of Cicero and Quintilian.

Among the Greeks, eloquence was an end in itself. Among the Romans it took from the beginning a practical direction.<sup>345</sup> As

<sup>341</sup> Plut. *Lys.* c. 30; also see Plut. *Ages.* c. 20; Nepos, *Lys.* III; Diodor. XIV, 13.

<sup>342</sup> Plut. *Alex.* c. 53. Plut. *Ant.* c. 80, mentions Philostratus as very skillful as an extemporary speaker: ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς . . . . . ἱκανώτατος.

<sup>343</sup> Plut. *Dem.* c. 10; *Phoc.* c. 5; *Pol. Praec.* 803 E; Stobaeus, 37, p. 221. For the saying: μέγιστος μὲν ῥήτωρ Δημοσθένης, δυνατώτατος δὲ εἰπεῖν Φωκίων, cf. Plut. *Dem.* 850D; *Phoc.* 753F; *Pol. Praec.* 803E.

<sup>344</sup> Plut. *Phoc.* c. 5: σκέπτομαι, εἴ τι δύναμαι τοῦ λόγου ἀφελεῖν, ὃν μέλλω λέγειν (recite) πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. The speech reported by Plutarch in c. 17, is probably not authentic. What purports to be the same speech is given at greater length by Diodorus XVII, 15.

<sup>345</sup> Cicero, *de Or.* II, 13, 55; cf. Sallust, *Cat.* 8.

Wilkins (*Introd.* to Cicero's *de Oratore*, p. 49) says: "Such instruction as was given a young Roman was entirely practical. At an early age he was taken by his father to the law-courts, to the popular assemblies, and at one time at least, to the Senate (Aul. Gell. I, 23), that he might become familiar with the turmoil of business and the routine of legal proceedings,

early as the close of the fifth century, Appius Claudius delivered his famous speech against the peace with Pyrrhus, a speech afterwards published,<sup>346</sup> since it was extant in Cicero's time.<sup>347</sup> According to Cicero, however, the first writer worthy of attention is Cato

and listen to the acknowledged masters of oratory". Cf. Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 36, 13: eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat; compare c. 38, 3.

Tacitus states this at great length in *Dial.* c. 34. As a result of this practical training, the Roman orators began their career in early youth. Africanus Minor says (Polyb. 32, 9) at the age of eighteen, Pliny (*Ep.* V, 8, 8) says: undevicisimo aetatis anno dicere in foro coepi (compare Ovid, *Trist.* IV, 10, 15). Quintilian (XII, 6, 1) would set no particular year, but let that depend on the student's capacity.

It was very common for an orator to commence his career by prosecutions (Quint. XII, 6, 1, who gives a list of orators; Polyb. 32, 15 fin.; Cic. *de Off.* II, 49; Suet. *Jul.* 4; Val. Max. V, 4, 4; Tac. *Dial.* c. 34; Apul. *Apol.* 66), or by a speech in praise of a deceased relative. Augustus Caesar is said to have done so at the age of twelve (Suet. *Aug.* c. 8; compare *Tib.* 6; Quint. XII, 6, 1). On these youthful laudationes see Hübner, E., *Hermes*, I, 441.

The custom of delivering funeral orations among the Romans was ancient, even older than the Greek custom; (Plut. *Poplic.* c. 9; Polyb. VI, 53; Cic. *de Or.* II, 44 ff.; *de Leg.* II, 62; *Brutus*, XV, 61; Livy, II, 47, 11; Quint. III, 7, 2; XI, 3, 153; Aul. Gell. XIII, 20, 17; Capitol. Ant. phil. 7, 11). They were also published at a comparatively early time: Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 139; Plut. *Fab.* 1; Livy, XXVII, 27, and elsewhere. Compare Livy, VIII, 40; IV, 16. For the history of the custom see Vollmer: *Laudationum Funebrum, Romanorum Historia et Reliquiarum, Editio, Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* XVIII, 445; XIX, 319; Buresch, C.; *Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica, Leipziger Studien*, IX (1887), 1-164.

<sup>346</sup> Publication of speeches was the rule rather than the exception among the Romans. Any few chapters of Cicero's *Brutus* gives a very great number of orators, many of little fame, whose speeches were extant in Cicero's time; for example, *Brut.* XIX, 77; XX, 79; 80; XXI, 81; XXIII, 90; XXV, 94; 95; 96; XXVI, 102; XXVII, 103; 106; XXVIII, 108; XXIX, 112; XXX, 113; 114; 117; XXXII, 122; 127; 129; 131; 132; 163 and elsewhere. Many others may be found in the pages of Quintilian; I, 1, 6; II, 1, 58; X, 1, 120 and elsewhere.

<sup>347</sup> Cic. *Brut.* XIV, 55; XVI, 61; *Cat. Mai.* c. 6, 16; Senec. *Ep.* 114, 13; Tac. *Dial.* c. 18, 18; Quint. II, 16, 7; Pompon. dig. 1, 2, 36. This was the first prose work written down and published among the Romans: cf. Isidor. *Orig.* I, 37, 2: primus apud Graecos Pherecydes Syrius soluta oratione scripsit, apud Romanos Appius Caecus adversus Pyrrhum solutam orationem primus exercuit.

the Elder,<sup>348</sup> whose speeches were almost as numerous as those of Lysias the Athenian.<sup>349</sup> "He was the first Roman who wrote down and published his speeches on a large scale and among his published speeches were some which were never actually delivered".<sup>350</sup> Nepos inaccurately says that Cato composed speeches in his youth,<sup>351</sup> for his account is at variance with all we know of the practice of the "Roman Demosthenes."<sup>352</sup> According to Plutarch he practiced his eloquence through all the neighborhood and the little villages, considering it an absolute necessity for one who looked forward to something above a humble and inactive life.<sup>353</sup> In the art of speech-making he had recourse to the masters of rhetoric

<sup>348</sup> On Cato the Elder see Schober, E.: *de Catone Cens. Oratore*, Neisse, 1825.

<sup>349</sup> *Brut.* XVI, 63; 67; XVII, 69; *Orat.* XLV, 152.

<sup>350</sup> Teuffel, *Hist. Rom. Lit.* sec. 119 (Warr).

<sup>351</sup> *Cat.* c. 3; a more accurate account appears in Cicero, *Cat. Mai.* 38.

<sup>352</sup> Plut. *Cat.* c. 4.

<sup>353</sup> Plut. *Cat.* c. 1. So Emerson says that the way to become an orator is to stump New England several times. In his *Journal* (1850) he classes Demosthenes as one of the four good stump-orators since history began.

Emerson himself, however, would never trust to extemporaneous speech, but always read his speeches. Lowell, in *Emerson the Lecturer* (Vol. I, 359, Riverside ed.) says: "I have heard some great speakers and some accomplished orators, but never any that so moved and persuaded me as he (Emerson)! There is a kind of undertow in that rich baritone of his that sweeps our minds from their foothold into deeper waters with a drift that we cannot and would not resist. And how artfully (for Emerson is a long studied artist in these things) does the deliberate utterance that seems waiting for the fit word, appear to admit us partners in the labor of thought, and make us feel as if the glance of humor were a sudden suggestion, as if the perfect phrase lying written there on the desk were as unexpected to him as to us! In that closely-filed speech of his, at the Burns centenary dinner, every word seemed to have just dropped to him from the clouds. He looked far away over the heads of his hearers, with a vague kind of expectation, as into some private heaven of invention, and the winged period came at last, obedient to his spell. 'My dainty Ariel!' he seemed murmuring to himself as he cast down his eyes as if in deprecation of the frenzy of approval and caught another sentence from the Sibylline leaves that lay before him, ambushed behind a dish of fruit, and seen only by the nearest neighbors."



and exercised himself in the manner they directed.<sup>354</sup> There seems to be no evidence that he ever spoke extempore.<sup>355</sup>

Although there are many who are named as orators among the contemporaries of Cato, there is little information as to their practice. Of one of these, Quintus Fabius Maximus, we hear that he wrote and delivered the funeral oration of his daughter.<sup>356</sup>

In the following century we find three orators of particular note, the Younger Scipio, Laelius and Servius Sulpicius Galba. The latter was deemed the greatest orator of his time, yet to Cicero time has so destroyed the beauties of his eloquence that his speeches have more the air of antiquity than those even of Cato.<sup>357</sup> Of the practice of Scipio and Laelius we know little, but there is left a fair description of that of Galba. On one occasion, after Laelius had failed to win a case, Galba undertook it, and as he had only the next day in which to prepare himself, he spent the whole of it in considering and digesting his cause. Until the moment when word was brought him that the consuls were going to take their seats, he remained shut up in his study to which he admitted no one, busily dictating to his scribes. Rutilius, who is relating the anecdote, says that the scribes who attended Galba appeared very much fatigued, and argues from this circumstance that Galba must have been as energetic and vigorous in the composition of his speeches as he was in their delivery.<sup>358</sup>

The reason why no trace of the merit of Galba is to be found in his written orations is thus given by Cicero:<sup>359</sup> "The reasons why

<sup>354</sup> Cic. *Brut.* XXXI, 119.

<sup>355</sup> His habit of inserting his speeches in his book on Antiquities would make such a practice unlikely. Cf. Cicero, *Brut.* XXIII, 89; *de Or.* I, 53, 227; II, 56, 227; Aul. Gell. VI, 3, 7; XIII, 25, 15; compare *Brut.* XX, 80.

<sup>356</sup> Cic. *Cat. Mai.* XII, 39; Plut. *Fab.* 1, and 25.

<sup>357</sup> *Brut.* XXI, 82-83. On Scipio see Cic. *de Amicit.* 96; *Brut.* XXI, 82; LXXIV, 258; *pro Mur.* 58; *de Inv.* I, 5; *de Or.* I, 50, 215; *de Off.* I, 116; Fronto, 34, Nab.

<sup>358</sup> Cic. *Brut.* XXII, 87; This description, especially the dictation to the scribes, would imply verbal premeditation. The orator no doubt took the finished manuscript with him. There is no evidence that the scribes took down the speech in short-hand. Quintilian (X, 3, 19-23) does not approve of dictation.

<sup>359</sup> *Brut.* XXIII-XXIV. Cf. Pascal (*Pensées* VII, 6, ed. Havet): "Il y en a qui parlent bien et qui n'écrivent pas bien; c'est que le lieu, l'assistance les

some orators have not written anything, and others not so much as they spoke are very different. Some of our orators, being indolent and unwilling to add the labor of private to that of public business, do not practice composition; for most of the orations we now possess were written not before they were delivered, but some time afterward. Others did not choose to take the trouble of improving themselves, to which nothing contributes in a greater degree than frequent writing, and to perpetuate their eloquence they thought unnecessary, believing their renown in that respect already sufficiently established, and that it would rather be diminished than increased if they submitted any written orations to the arbitrary test of criticism.<sup>360</sup> Some also were sensible that they spoke much better than they were able to write, which is generally the case with those who have great genius but little learning, like Galba. When he spoke he was perhaps so much animated by the force of his abilities and the natural warmth and impetuosity of his temper that his language was rapid, bold and striking; but when he took up the pen in his leisure hours, and his passion had sunk into a calm, his style<sup>361</sup> became dull and languid. This misfortune, indeed, can never happen to those whose only aim is to be neat and polished, because an orator may always be master of that discretion which will enable him to speak and write in the same agreeable manner, but no man can revive at pleasure the warmth of his passion, and when that has once sunk, the fire and pathos of his language will be extinguished. This is why the calm and easy spirit of Laelius<sup>362</sup> seems still to breathe

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échauffent, et tirent de leur esprit plus qu'ils n'y trouvent sans cette chaleur." (Quoted by Croiset, IV, 13).

<sup>360</sup> The orations which came down to Cicero were those of men who wrote them, and therefore presumably either committed them to memory or read them. Cicero implies that the sole reason for non-publication was not writing the oration, and therefore those which were published were written. This would not make revision after delivery and before publication impossible.

<sup>361</sup> *oratio*: this word is clearly used in the sense of style, because Cicero is speaking of writing up a speech after it has been given, that is, putting it in final finished form for publication. Cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 46: *pura oratio*, "purity of style." Galba may have polished his speech so much before he published it that he took all the fire out of it.

<sup>362</sup> Political speeches, defenses, and panegyrics by Laelius are mentioned: Cicero, *Brut.* c. XXI, 82; 83; c. LXXXVI, 296; *de Rep.* VI, 2; *de Nat. Deor.* III, 43; cf. H. Meyer, *Orat. fr.* I, 96.

in his writings, whereas the vigor of Galba is entirely withered away".<sup>363</sup>

Caius Gracchus, whose eloquence is much praised by the ancients,<sup>364</sup> was charged by an opponent with employing Menelaus of Marathus to compose his speeches.<sup>365</sup>

The Younger Cato was evidently an able orator.<sup>366</sup> He was requested by Lucius Caesar to help him prepare a speech,<sup>367</sup> and on one occasion, at least, was fully capable of delivering an extemporary defense against an attack by Caesar.<sup>368</sup>

The principal orators of the age before Cicero were M. Antonius and L. Licinius Crassus. The first of these was a self-taught orator who owed his eminence to his excellent memory, his natural vivacity, and quickness in argument, and whose chief merit lay in his brilliant delivery.<sup>369</sup> Cicero says of him: "He had a quick and retentive memory, and a frankness of manner which precluded any suspicion of artifice. All his speeches were, in appearance, the

<sup>363</sup> Cicero is probably writing loosely and has mixed up style and delivery.

<sup>364</sup> Plut. *C. Gracch.* c. 1; c. 3; c. 4; Cicero, *Brut.* XXXIII, 125-126; *pro Font.* 39; Tac. *Dial.* c. 26; Fronto, *Ep.* p. 54; 144-145. On his delivery and his care in the modulation of his voice, see Plut. *C. Gracch.* c. 4 (compare Cic. *de Or.* I, 34, 154); *Tib. Gracch.* c. 2; Cic. *de Or.* III, 56, 214; III, 60, 225; *de harusp. resp.* 19, 41; Florus, III, 15. Cf. also Plut. *de cohib. ira* 6; Val. Max. VIII, 10, 1; Quint. I, 10, 27; Aul. Gell. I, 11, 10; Amm. Marcell. XXX, 4, 19; De Quincey, X, 326. Fragments of his speeches are preserved in Gellius: XI, 3, 3-5; XI, 10, 2-6, 13, 3; XV, 12, 2-4. The model of both the Gracchi was M. Lepidus Porcina, mentioned by Cicero as not only an excellent speaker, but also as a distinguished writer of speeches for others: *Brut.* XXV, 96.

<sup>365</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* XXVI, 100. He also received instructions from Diophanes of Mytilene (*Brut.* XXVII, 104; Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* c. 8). There was also a discussion in Cicero's time as to whether Gracchus' opponent, Fannius, might have been indebted to others for his speech. Cicero rejects the view on the ground that Gracchus would not have failed to mention the circumstance if it were true.

<sup>366</sup> Aul. Gell. XIII, 20 (19), 10; Fest. 154, 25; Priscian, *GL.* I, 90.

<sup>367</sup> Plut. *Cat. Min.* c. 66.

<sup>368</sup> Plut. *Cat. Min.* c. 51: ἀναστὰς ἐκεῖνος . . . ὥσπερ ἐκ λογισμοῦ καὶ παρασκευῆς τὰ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα λουδοῖαις . . . ὁμοίᾳ . . . ἀπέδειξεν.

<sup>369</sup> In Cicero's *de Oratore* he and Crassus are the principal speakers. Cf. *de Or.* II, 2, 8.



unpremeditated effusions of an honest heart,<sup>370</sup> and yet in reality, they were preconstructed (paratus) with so much skill that the judges were sometimes not so well prepared as they should have been, to withstand the force of them".<sup>371</sup> He never published his orations.<sup>372</sup>

Crassus, in contrast to Antonius, was the man of training. According to Plutarch,<sup>373</sup> he was one of the best speakers at Rome, and no trial was so mean and contemptible that he came to it unprepared.<sup>374</sup> This does not necessarily mean that Crassus followed

<sup>370</sup> The highest triumph of art consists in concealing the means which it uses. The idea passed into a proverb: *artis est celare artem*. Although this exact form is not found in Cicero or Quintilian, the idea is often present: Cicero, *Brut.* IX, 35; XVI, 64; *Orat.* LXVII, 226; *de Opt. Gen. Orat.* IV, 10; Quint. I, 11, 3; II, 5, 8; III, 8, 50-51; IV, 2, 59; IX, 4, 17; 4, 144. Other passages containing the same thought are Arist. *Rhet.* III, 2, 4-5; 7, 10; Dion. Hal. *de Lys.* 8; *Vet. Cens.* V; Ovid, *Met.* X, 252. A form of the proverb mentioned above is to be found in Erasmus, *Adagia* p. 234 (ed. 1656)

<sup>371</sup> *Brut.* XXXVII, 139. Cf. also *Brut.* secs. 143, 186, 207, 215, 301, 304; *Tusc.* V, 19, 55; *de Or.* I, 172.

<sup>372</sup> Cicero, *Orat.* XXXIX, 133. Cicero, *pro Cluent.* 140 gives a reason: "M. Antonium aiunt solitum esse dicere idcirco se nullam umquam orationem scripsisse ut, si quid aliquando non opus esset ab se esse dictum, posse negare dixisse." Cf. *Orat.* XXXVIII, 132.

Antonius either never wrote a speech at all, or, what is very much more probable, he prepared his speeches before delivery so that they seemed unprepared, and never afterwards published them.

Speeches by him are mentioned in Cic. *ad Fam.* IX, 21, 3; *de Or.* I, 39, 178; II, 25, 107; 28, 124; 39, 164; 40, 167; 47, 194; 197 ff.; *de Off.* II, 14, 50; III, 16, 67; *Tusc. Disp.* II, 24, 56; Val. Max. III, 7, 9. He published a small work, *de ratione dicendi*: Cic. *Orat.* V, 18; *de Or.* I, secs. 94, 206, 208; *Brut.* sec. 163; Quint. III, 1, 19; VIII, *proem.* 13; XII, 1, 21; Pliny, *Ep.* V, 20, 5.

<sup>373</sup> Plut. *Crass.* c. 3.

<sup>374</sup> Cic. *Brut.* c. XLIII, 158: . . . paratus (cf. also *Brut.* LXXVI, 263, of another orator) igitur veniebat Crassus. The same statement is made in Plut. *Crass.* c. 3; cf. *pro Mur.* 23, 48; Tac. *Dial.* c. 37, 10; also *Brut.* secs. 143-145, 148, 158-165. The description given of Crassus in the *de Oratore* is probably not very trustworthy. It is Cicero's evident desire to identify himself with Crassus, and so he attributes to him (*de Or.* I, 34, 154-155) those exercises which Quintilian tells us (X, 5, 2) that Cicero himself went through. The rest of the description may be colored in like manner. Compare *Brut.* LXXXIX ff. Cf. Mathews, p. 429 ff.

Crassus, although equipped with all the learning of his time, affected to think little of it (*de Or.* II, 1, 4). So Aper, in Tacitus' *Dialogus* (c. 1, 15;

closely a written speech. Cicero tells of two occasions on which he used only a series of topics or heads. On the occasion of the speech made by Crassus in praise of Quintus Caepio, Cicero says: "Much more was said than was committed to writing, as is sufficiently clear from several heads of the oration which are merely proposed without any enlargement or explanation. But the oration in his censorship against Cn. Domitius, his colleague, is not so much an oration as an analysis of the subject, or a general sketch of what he said, with here and there a few ornamental touches by way of specimen".<sup>375</sup>

In addition to these orators, there may be mentioned P. Sulpicius Rufus and C. Aurelius Cotta. Although both were speakers of ability<sup>376</sup> they did not publish their speeches.<sup>377</sup> Cicero says of them:<sup>378</sup> "The orations now extant which bear the name of Sulpicius are supposed to have been written after his death by my contemporary, Publius Cannutius"<sup>379</sup> . . . . But we have

c. 6) believed that his orations would be more admired if they did not suggest care. Compare Cicero, *Brut.* LXVII, 237, where natural ability and laborious care are contrasted.

<sup>375</sup> *Brut.* XLIV, 164; cf. *Orat.* XXXIX, 132-133. Speeches by Crassus are mentioned in Cicero, *Brut.* XXXIV, 130; XLIII, 160, 161; XLIV, 162, 163, 164; LII, 195; *pro Cluent.* 51, 140; *de Or.* I, 39, 178; 180; 52, 225; 57, 242; II, 6, 24; 32, 140; 55, 223 ff.; 59, 240; 66, 267; 70, 285; III, 2, 6; *de Off.* II, 14, 50; *Top.* X, 44; *pro Caec.* 18, 53; Val. Max. IX, 1, 4; Pliny, *N. H.* XVII, 1.

<sup>376</sup> Cic. *Brut.* LV, 203; XLIX, 182; LV, 202.

<sup>377</sup> Cic. *Orat.* XXXIX, 132-133.

<sup>378</sup> *Brut.* LVI, 205. Cf. also *Brut.* LV, 203; *de Or.* I, 53, 229; II, 21, 88; III, 36, 147.

<sup>379</sup> From Cicero's words: "eas post mortem eius scripsisse P. Cannutius putatur," one would gather that the speeches were forgeries. There is, of course, the possibility that Cannutius wrote up the speeches from Sulpicius' own notes, but of this the Cicero passage gives no hint. Cf. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 29, 50, 58, 73, 74.

A modern parallel might be found in Dr. Johnson's writing up the speeches delivered in the English parliament "from the scanty notes furnished by persons employed to attend in both houses of Parliament." Boswell continues: "Sometimes, however, as he himself told me, he had nothing more communicated to him but the names of the several speakers, and the part which they had taken in the debate." (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, I, 68-69, ed. Fitzgerald, London, 1900).

not a single speech of Sulpicius that was really his own; for I have often heard him say that he neither had, nor ever could commit anything of the kind to writing;<sup>380</sup> and as to Cotta's speech in defense of himself, called a vindication of the Varian Law, it was composed at his own request by Lucius Ælius".<sup>381</sup>

In the age of Cicero himself, mention need be made only of the principal orator of the aristocratic party, Q. Hortensius Hortalus, whose chief merit seems to have been his wonderful memory.<sup>382</sup>

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Spurious speeches existed later also. In the post-Ciceronian period, there are speeches under the names of Catiline, and Marcus Antonius against Cicero; these may, however, have been genuine: cf. Asconius Pedianus, 96 Or.; Quint. III, 7, 2; IX, 3, 94. Speeches under names of men of consular rank were circulated against Sejanus (Tac. *Ann.* V, 4).

<sup>380</sup> Compare Cic. *Orat.* XXXIX, 133.

<sup>381</sup> Ælius composed speeches for many prominent men. *Brut.* LVI, 206. Cf. Suet. *de Gr.* 3; Cic. *Brut.* LVI, 205-7; XLVI, 169: This implies that Cotta memorized or read the speech written by Ælius. So C. Laelius wrote speeches for Tubero (Cic. *de Or.* II, 84, 341), and Fabius Maximus (Cic. *pro. Mur.* 75; Schol. Bob. ad Cic. *p. Mil.* 16, p. 283 Or.); Plotius Gallus for Sempronius Atratinus (Suet. *de Gr.* 2); Caesar for Metellus (Suet. *Jul.* 55); Cicero for Cn. Pompeius and T. Ampius (Quint. III, 8, 50); cf. also Cicero, *ad Q. Fr.* III, 8, 5; *ad Att.* VII, 17; Fronto *Ep.* p. 123.

<sup>382</sup> For a specimen see Sen. *Controv.* I, *Praef.* 19.

The ancients paid a great deal of attention to the cultivation of the memory. Plutarch (*C. Marius*, fin.) calls it "that safest of human treasure chambers" (cf. also Cic. *de Or.* I, 5, 18; I, 31, 142; *Part Or.* VII, 26). Antonius (*de Or.* II, 86, 350-360) gives an outline of the art of memory (cf. also Cic. *de Inv.* I, 7; *Acad.* II, 22, 38, p. 106 ed. Reid; IV, 1; Arist. *Rhet.* II, 8, 14; Plut. *Dem.* 846). The same subject is elaborately treated by the Auctor ad Herennium I, 2, 2-3; III, 16, 28-40 (on this treatise see Spengel, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1861, 391-413) and later by Quintilian (XI, 2) who rejects the elaborate system of "places," held by some and proposes a simpler one. Cf. also Arist. *de Mem. et Rem.* c. 1; Martianus Capella V (*de memoria*); Plato, *Theat.* 191 C-E; in the *Philebus* Plato compares memory to a book.

Hippias professed an art of memory (Plato, *Hipp. Min.* 368 E; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 11, 1; Mähly, *Rhein. Mus.* XVI, 40 ff.) as did Simonides (Quint. XI, 2, 11; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* I, 14, 1) and Evenus (Plato, *Phaedr.* 267A). Philostratus, on the contrary, denies the existence of an art of memory; "memory is a gift of nature and part of the imperishable soul" (*Vit. Soph.* I, 22, 3 ff.). Quintilian says: "The great and only art of memory is exercise and labor" (XI, 2, 40). Plutarch devotes one section of his treatise, *de Educat. Puer.* (c. 13) to a discussion of the memory. The ability to use the memory was sometimes ascribed to the use of drugs and Chaldean arts (Amm. Mar-



Cicero says: "He had such an excellent memory as I never knew in any person, so that what he had composed in private, he was able to repeat, without his written copy, *sine scripto*,<sup>383</sup> in the very same words he had made use of at first. He employed this natural advantage with so much readiness, that he not only recollected what he had written or premeditated himself, but remembered everything that had been said by his opponents without the help of a prompter.<sup>384</sup> He was likewise inflamed with such a passionate love for the profession that I never saw anyone who took more pains to improve himself; for he would not suffer a day to elapse without either speaking in the forum or composing something at home, and very often he did both in the same day."<sup>385</sup>

Quintilian<sup>386</sup> praises him for his exactness in division, notwithstanding the fact that Cicero laughs at the divisions in Hortensius' speeches as being counted on his fingers.<sup>387</sup> His oratory depended largely for its effect upon his graceful delivery,<sup>388</sup> and it

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cell. XVI, 5, 7-8; Philostr. p. 523; 618; Longinus (*Rhet. Gr.* I, 314 ff. Sp.); Plato, *Phaedr.* 274-5; Caesar, *B. G.* VI, 14; Pliny, *N. H.* XXXI, 11, XXV, 21.

Wonderful feats of memory were attributed to some of the ancients. A few passages dealing with such achievements follow: Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 24; XXV, 2-3; Val. Max. VIII, 7, 6; Xen. *Cyroped.* Bk. V; Aul. Gell. XVII, c. 17; Cicero, *de Or.* II, cc. 86-88; *Tusc. Disp.* I, c. 24; Pliny, *Ep.* II, 3, 3; Seneca, *Controv.* I, *praef.*; Quint. X, 6, 4; XI, 2, 38; Amm. Marcell. XVI, 5, 7-8; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 25, 22; Eunapius, p. 65, 75, 79; Syn. Dion. 11.

On the subject in general see Morgenstern, C.: *de arte veterum mnemonica*; Heriotes, P. N.: 'Ἡ μνήμη ἐν τῇ ῥητορικῇ τῶν ἀρχαίων. 1883.

A sufficiently full list of modern treatments, beginning with Roger Bacon's *Tractatus de Arte Memorativa* (1274?) and extending through the year 1888 may be found in Middleton-Fellows' *Memory Systems New and Old*, N. Y. 1888.

<sup>383</sup> *Sine scripto*: cf. also *de scripto dicere*, to speak from a written copy; Cicero, *Planc.* 30, 70; *Phil.* X, 2, 5; *Brut.* XII, 46; *ad Att.* IV, 3, 3; *ad. Fam.* X, 13, 1; Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 6, 6. For *scriptum* as a "speech" see Cicero, *ad Quint.* Fr. III, 8, 5; Tac. *Hist.* IV, 29. Cf. also p. 76, n. 31.

<sup>384</sup> This probably does not refer to one who would aid him from a written copy of his speech, but merely to one who would remind him of the points made by the other side. Prompting in the modern sense, however, is mentioned by Quintilian (XI, 2, 45; 3, 132; cf. pp. 60-61.

<sup>385</sup> *Brut.* LXXXVIII, 301-4.

<sup>386</sup> IV, 5, 24.

<sup>387</sup> *Divinat.* in *Caecil.* c. 14; cf. also *Brut.* LXXXVIII; *pro Quinct.* c. 10.

<sup>388</sup> Cicero, *Brut.* LXXXVIII, 303; XCII, 317.

was perhaps because of this that Cicero wrote of him: "dicebat melius quam scripsit".<sup>389</sup> There seems to be no evidence that Hortensius made extempore speeches.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>389</sup> *Orat.* XXXVIII, 132; also *pro Cluent.* 50, 140; Quint. III, 1, 19; XI, 3, 8. Cicero mentions a speech of his for Messala (*Brut.* XCVI, 328) as published in the same words in which he delivered it as if such a proceeding were unusual (compare Pliny, *Ep.* IX, 13, 18). Cicero has told us that the speeches of the Roman orators were written out for publication after they were delivered (*Brut.* XXIV, 91; 93; Pliny, *Ep.* IV, 9, 23; Sen. *Suas.* 15). This would naturally lead to changes being made in the speeches. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20, and Sallust, *de Coniur. Cat.* 31, of Cicero's first Catilinarian. Such was the practice of Calvus (Tac. *Dial.* XXIII, 10, with Gudeman's note), Crassus and Sulpicius (*Brut.* XLIII, 160; XLIV, 164; Quint. X, 7, 30). Nepos says of Cicero's Corneliania . . . . "iisdem paene verbis edita est . . . . perorata" (Nep. *fr.* 45 H); compare Pliny, *Ep.* IX, 13, 18. Pliny the Younger usually published his speeches in a revised and enlarged form (*Ep.* IX, 28, 5; 13, 23), and his example was followed by Fronto (*Ep.* p. 184 Nab.).

It seems, however, that the speeches in many cases must have been left practically as they were prepared beforehand, since a copy of a speech was sent to friends of the author immediately after its delivery or after so short an interval that much revision would be unlikely. Cf. Cicero, *ad Brut.* II, 3; *ad Att.* XVI, 15; XIV, 17a and *ad Fam.* IX, 14, 7; *ad Att.* XIV, 11, and XV, 20; VII, 9; VI, 3; XIV, 20; XV, 1b; XV, 3, and XV, 4; *ad Fam.* III, 11; V, 4; XI, 13; 19; XV, 6; *ad Att.* II, 20.

Quintilian (XII, 10, 55) believes that if possible the orator should deliver his speech in the same words in which he wrote it beforehand; he adds, however: "but if the time allowed by the judge prevents him from doing so by its shortness, much that might have been said, will be withheld; but the speech, if published will contain the whole; but what may have been introduced to suit the capacity of the judges, will not be transmitted unaltered to posterity, lest it be thought the offspring of his judgment, and not a concession to circumstances."

Bossuet wrote his speeches for publication after he had made them: Croiset, IV, 547. See Mathews, p. 23.

Pliny considered writing speeches a serious matter and worthy of every effort: *Ep.* VI, 33, 1; VII, 6, 6; 13, 2; 30, 4; VIII, 3, 1. His letters were as carefully prepared as his speeches. They were given to the public in successive portions during the author's life (Mommsen, Pliny [Tr.] p. 2). Compare Pliny, *Ep.* VII, 20; 87; V, 10.

So Symmachus intended his letters to be read by future generations (*Ep.* VIII, 2) and polished and elaborated his style (I, 1), especially in the earlier letters (VII, 18) and advised his friends to do the same (VIII, 16; VIII, 1; compare VII, 18; V, 85). Sidonius also says that his letters are really intended for posterity (Apoll. Sid. *Ep.* I, 1; VIII, 1). He revised them carefully, a task in which his friends aided him (I, 1).

<sup>390</sup> Cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* XIII, 33, 3.

Neither is there any evidence that Cicero, Hortensius' rival, ever trusted to the inspiration of the moment. All his pleadings were done after careful preparation,<sup>391</sup> and he constantly endeavored to improve himself. He says in the *Brutus*:<sup>392</sup> "I spared no time to improve and enlarge my talents, such as they were, by every exercise that was proper for the purpose, but particularly by that of writing". The fact that he was subject to "stage fright"<sup>393</sup> would make it unlikely that he would dare to neglect preparation.

Of the six speeches against Verres, we know that only one was delivered.<sup>394</sup> The first actio was merely an introduction to the prosecution proper, an exordium, as it is, indeed, called by Asconius Pedianus. The rest of the trial consisted merely in examination of witnesses and documents.<sup>395</sup> Then after Verres, foreseeing a verdict against him, had gone into exile, Cicero elaborated his materials in the five remaining speeches of the second actio. Although they were never delivered,<sup>396</sup> Cicero speaks as if Verres had appeared at the second hearing, and as if these orations might still have an influence on the final decision. They have all the marks of speeches intended to be delivered, including expressions which have the air of unpremeditated discourse.<sup>397</sup>

The speech *Pro L. Murena* is interesting as showing a variation between the form in which the speech was delivered, and that in which it was published. In one part (sec. 57), only the heads of

<sup>391</sup> *Brutus*, XC, 312. See also the story told in Plutarch (*Apophtheg.* 205 E-F) of his freeing the slave who came to tell him that a cause which he was to plead had been postponed for a day.

On the effect of Cicero's eloquence see Quint. II, 16, 7; VIII, 3, 3; X, 2, 18; Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 13; Plut. *Cicero*, c. 39, and elsewhere.

<sup>392</sup> *Brut.* XCIII, 321.

<sup>393</sup> Cicero, *de Or.* I, 26, 121; *pro Deiot.* I, 1; *pro Cluent.* 18, 57; *Div. in Caec.* 13, 41; *Acad.* II, 20, 64; Plut. *Cic.* 35; Quint. XI, 1, 44.

<sup>394</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20.

<sup>395</sup> Cf. Plut. *Cic.* c. 7.

<sup>396</sup> Cf. Brougham, Vol. IV, 412, on such speeches.

<sup>397</sup> Cf. *Verr.* IV, 10, 26: the supposed forgetting of the mechanic's name, and the being prompted by some one in the audience (quoted by Pliny, *Ep.* I, 20). Cf. also *Verr.* IV, 25, 61; V, 3, 5; on such devices which Pliny (*Ep.* I, 20) implies were very freely used, see Quint. IX, 2, 59-62, who also quotes the Cicero passage.



the sections de Postumii criminibus, de Servii adolescente, are given.<sup>398</sup>

The speech for Milo which we possess is a subsequent revision of the speech actually delivered.<sup>399</sup> Cicero is believed to have been so alarmed at the hostile demonstrations of the opposite party, that in spite of Pompey's protection, he broke down utterly in his speech.<sup>400</sup> Both speeches existed in antiquity. Quintilian mentions them both, referring to the first as the "oratiuncula" which Cicero pronounced on the occasion,<sup>401</sup> and from which he gives a quota-

<sup>398</sup> Pliny, Ep. I, 20, 7: . . . "Ciceronis *pro Murena*, *pro Vareno*, in quibus brevis et nuda quasi subscriptio quorundam criminum solis titulis indicatur; ex his apparet illum permulta dixisse, cum ederet omisisse." These sections may have been lost. Another possible explanation is that Cicero, following the method described by Quintilian (p. 163), extemporized these sections.

<sup>399</sup> Asconius Pedianus, in *Milonianam* 31 (Wag.) fin.: "manet autem illa quoque excepta eius oratio: scripsit vero hanc quam legimus ita perfecte ut iure prima haberi possit."

<sup>400</sup> Cf. Asconius Pedianus, 31 Wag., 42 K. S.: "Cicero cum inciperet dicere, exceptus (est) acclamatione Clodiorum, qui se continere ne metu quidam circumstantium militum potuerunt (cf. *pro Mil.* 1-2). Itaque non ea qua solitus erat constantia dixit. Manet autem illa quoque excepta eius oratio; scripsit vero hanc quam legimus ita perfecte, ut iure prima haberi possit."

Cicero of course would not mention such a misfortune. He says in one of his letters (*ad Fam.* III, 10): "What marks of confidence has he (Pompey) not desired me to receive in the most complimentary form? Finally with what courtesy, with what patience did he endure my vigorous pleading for Milo, though it was at times opposed to his own proposals! With what hearty good will did he take measures to prevent my being reached by the hostile feelings aroused by that crisis, protecting me by his advice, his influence, and finally by his arms!" At the time however, Pompey's kindness did not seem to inspire Cicero with much confidence. Cf. *Plut. Cic.* c. 35. According to Asconius (p. 41) it was the praetor at the trial and also one of Milo's advocates who asked for the guard, but Cicero may, of course, have added his request. Cf. *Cic. ad Att.* IX, 7b; compare *Cic. de opt. gen. orat.* c. IV, 10; *Dio Cassius* XL, 53-54.

As an exercise, *exercitationis gratia*, Brutus wrote a speech *pro Milone*: *Ascon. Ped.* p. 42 Or.; 36 K-S; *Schol. Bob.* p. 276; *Quint.* III, 6, 93; X, 1, 23; 5, 20, with Spalding's note. Cestius Pius wrote a speech *in Milonem*, *Senec. Contr.* III, *praef.* 16.

For other speeches by Brutus see Cicero, *ad Att.* XIV, 1, 2; *Brut.* 21; *ad Att.* XV, 1b, 2; XIII, 46, 2; XII, 21, 1; *Quint.* IX, 3, 95; *Tac. Dial.* 21; *Ann.* IV, 34 (spurious speeches); *Diomed. GL.* I, 367; *Schol. Lucan.* II, 234, ed. Usener.

<sup>401</sup> *Quint.* IV, 3, 17.

tion.<sup>402</sup> He speaks elsewhere of the oration which Cicero "wrote on behalf of Milo, and which he has left to us" thus referring to the speech subsequently published.<sup>403</sup> The first speech was extant in the time of Asconius Pedianus, having been taken down by short-hand writers.<sup>404</sup>

<sup>402</sup> Quint. IX, 2, 54; cf. also Schol. Bob. 346, 13.

<sup>403</sup> Quint. IV, 2, 25. Dio Cassius XL, 54 says: τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν νῦν φερόμενον ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μίλωνος τότε λεχθέντα χρόνῳ ποθ' ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναθαρσήσας ἔγραψε. Dio then tells the story that when Cicero sent the improved edition of his speech to Milo in exile, the latter remarked how fortunate it was that such a speech had never been actually delivered, since, in that case, he should not have been enjoying such delicious fish at Marseilles. Dio adds, that the jest was not so much intended to express Milo's content with his present fortune, as to rebuke Cicero for such an ill-timed display of his oratorical powers, when Milo could no longer profit by them.

<sup>404</sup> Ascon. Ped. 42 (31, ed. Wag.): . . . . manet illa quoque excerpta eius oratio. Cf. Schol. Bob. 276, 10: . . . . et extat alius (Ciceronis) praeterea liber actorum pro Milone.

The first appearance of short-hand writers seems to have been at the time of the debate in the senate upon the punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators. Diogenes Laertius (II, 481) seems to imply that Xenophon took down lectures by some stenographic process, and Demosthenes (XXIX, 11) speaks of a slave who was to take down the testimony of a witness, but there is no direct mention of the practice before the time of Cicero. Short-hand writers were employed at the time of the trial of the Catilinarian conspirators to take down the speech of Cato. Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* c. 23) says: "This only, of all Cato's speeches, it is said was preserved; for Cicero, the consul, had disposed in various parts of the senate house, several of the most expert and rapid writers, whom he had taught to make figures comprising numerous words in a few short strokes, as up to that time they had not used what we call short-hand writers, who then, as it is said, established the first example of the art." It has been suggested, however, that this is a confusion with the speech attributed to Cato by Sallust (*Coni. Cat.* 52); cf. Velleius Pater. II, 35, 3; Schneider, F.: *de Catone Uticensi oratore*, Z. f. A. W. 1843, 112.

These short-hand writers were known as actuarii, notarii, and in Greek as ταχύγρφοι and σημειόγρφοι. The "plures librarii" who were sent by Cicero to take down the words of the Agrarian Law (*de Lege Agra.* II, 5) may have been notarii.

The invention of the notae is usually ascribed to Cicero's freedman, Tiro, whose collection of abbreviations, the Notae Tironianae, are still extant. (On his ability see Cic. *ad Att.* XIII, 25; *ad Fam.* XVI, 4; Aul. Gell. VI, 3, 8). Isidorus. (*Orig.* I, 22) says: "vulgares notas Ennius primus mille et centum invenit. Notarum usus erat ut quidquid pro contione aut in iudiciis diceretur, librarii scriberent simul astantes divisim inter partibus, quot quisque verba et

quo ordine exciperet. Romae Tullius Tiro, Ciceronis libertus, commentus est notas sed tantum praepositionum. Post eum, Vipsanius, Philargyrus, et Aquila, libertus Maecenatis, alius alias addiderunt. Denique Seneca contracto omnium digestoque et auctore numero opus effecit in quinque milia." Elsewhere (I, 21-26) Isidorus devotes six chapters to the different kinds of notae. The freedman of Maecenas, Aquila, mentioned by Isidorus, is spoken of by Dio Cassius (55, 7)<sup>1</sup> where Maecenas himself is said to have been the inventor of the system which Aquila afterwards taught. Seneca (*Ep.* 20) says the system was the invention of freedmen: "Quid verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio? Vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt." Cf. also Quint. XI, 2, 25; Valerius Probus *de Iur. Not. Signif.* I.

Quintilian complains that the pleadings extant under his name, except one published by himself, were ruined by the blunders of short-hand writers who took them down carelessly (VII, 2, 24). Augustus rejects some speeches ascribed to Julius Caesar as the productions of blundering short-hand writers who were not able to keep pace with Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 55). In Suetonius' *Life of Titus*, 3, stenographic signs are alluded to: "E pluribus comperi notas quoque excipere velocissime solitum (Titum) cum amanuensibus suis per ludum iocumque certantur." A method of secret writing is spoken of in Suet. *Aug.* 88, and we are told that Julius Caesar used a cipher (Plut. *Caes.* 17; cf. Aul. Gell. XVII, 9).

After the Christian era began short-hand writing was largely used among the Christians for taking down sermons and speeches. St. Augustine (*Ep.* 141)<sup>2</sup> speaks of an episcopal meeting at Carthage at which eight stenographers were employed in relays of two.

For other allusions to short-hand writing see Cic. *ad Att.* XIII, 25; XIII, 32 (see Becker's *Gallus*, trans. Metcalff, p. 32, n. 4); *Sull.* 14, 15; Quint. XI, 2, 25; Ausonius' Epigram *Ad Notarium* (*Ep.* 146); Lucian, *Encom. Demosth.* 44; Pliny, *Ep.* III, 5, 15; IX, 36; Seneca, *Ep.* 72; *Ep.* 90, 25; Martial, XIV, 208; Petronius, 53; Tacitus, *Ann.* V, 4; Suet. *Aug.* 27 (probably); Spart. *Hadr.* 3; Manil. IV, 197; and an amusing passage in Seneca's *Mort. Claud.* (9), where the stenographer cannot keep pace with the fluent Father Janus; also Libanius, I, 133-134; 143; III, 440, 7; Eunapius, p. 79; Paul. Dig. 37, 1, 6. The term occurs often in sepulchral inscriptions: *C. I. L.* II, 3119; III, 1938; VI, 9704, 9705; Orell. *Inscr.* 2876, 2274, 3186.

Among modern treatments of the subject may be mentioned Lehmann, O.: *Quaestiones de Notis Tironis* (1869); Wild, P.: *Einiges über Tiro u. die Tironischen Noten* (1870)<sup>3</sup>; Schmitz, W.: *Studien zu den Tiron. Noten* (1879); Breidenbach, H.: *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Tironischen Noten* (1900); Pauly, *Realency.* V, s. v. notae and notarius; Schmitz, *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum*, Leipzig, 1893; Rose V., *Hermes*, VIII, 303.

Nowadays when a speech is published in good form, there is a great possibility that there was a manuscript in advance, or that the speech was remodelled in the proof.

The speech attributed to Cato by Sallust (*Con. Cat.* 52) contains nothing of what Cicero says occurred in his speech in the Senate (*ad Att.* XII, 21;



Of the Philippics, the *Second* was never delivered.<sup>405</sup> Antony's reply to the *First Philippic* was delivered in Cicero's absence, but the orator has written his speech in the form of an answer delivered immediately after his opponent's oration, although it was not published until after Antony's departure from Rome.<sup>406</sup> Cicero speaks in terms of praise of the *First Philippic*,<sup>407</sup> and contemptuously of Antony as coming "primed for the contest, after studying his speech for many days in the villa of Metellus",<sup>408</sup> and in the *Second Philippic*,<sup>409</sup> taunts him with having composed his reply to the *First Philippic* with the aid of the rhetorician, Sextius Clodius.

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cf. *pro Sest.* 61; Vellei. Pater. II, 35, 3; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 23). Catiline's address (Sallust, *Con. Cat.* 52) may be shown to have been different from a comparison with Cicero, *pro Mur.* 25 and Plut. *Cicero*, 14. It might be argued that Memmius' speech (*Jug.* 30) was a reproduction of an actual speech from some publication, for Sallust says: "decere extumavi unam ex tam multis orationem eius perscribere." However, had this been so, Sallust would rather have used *exscribere*. Besides *huiuscemodi* shows that he did not profess to give the exact words. The speeches are not authentic, nor does Sallust pretend that they are, (cf. *Con. Cat.* 50, 52, 57; *Jug.* 9, 24, 30, 85). They are such compositions as Thucydides (I, 22) declares the speeches in his own history to be. Seneca's praise of the speeches (*Controv.* III, *praef.* 8) is from the artificial point of view of the scholastic rhetorician. The judgment of Licinianus (p. 42, ed. Bonn.) is equally perverse. Pompeius Trogus (Justin. 38, 3, 11) rightly censures, from a historian's point of view, the use of speeches made by Sallust and Livy.

On this subject see H. Snorr v. Carolsfeld: *d. Reden u. Briefe bei Sall.*, Leipzig, 1888.

<sup>405</sup> Preparation is admitted, sec. 79.

<sup>406</sup> The usual attempts to make the speech seem one actually delivered are not wanting: Quid est? num conturbo te? (32); Nescio quid conturbatus esse videris (36); Quid est? num mentior? (61); miserum me! etc. (64); At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus (76); non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet, etc. (84); haec te, si ullam partem habet sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio (86); III; hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, etc. (112)

On such outbursts as that in section 64, see Sarcey, p. 147, and 150 (the case of Coquelin).

<sup>407</sup> *ad Fam.* XII, 2; XII, 25.

<sup>408</sup> *ad Fam.* XII, 2.

<sup>409</sup> *Phil.* II, 42; 84. Cf. also *Phil.* X, 2, 6: Quod verbum tibi excidet. ut saepe fit, fortuito; scriptum, meditaturn, cogitatum attulisti.

The *Second Philippic* was sent to Atticus, and it was left to his discretion whether it should be locked up or published.<sup>410</sup> Elsewhere Cicero speaks of the oration as not likely to get abroad unless the constitution should be restored,<sup>411</sup> and expresses a wish that the time would come when it might have free circulation.<sup>412</sup>

In Cicero's letters there are many references to his productions and the attention he bestowed upon them,<sup>413</sup> but perhaps the best proof of his care, outside of the speeches themselves, are his works on rhetoric. No one who composed such detailed treatises on oratory, would be likely to fail to use care in a real oratorical effort. A good description of his general method of preparation for a speech, is given by Quintilian, who tells us that "it is the general practice among pleaders who have much occupation, to write only the most essential parts, and especially the commencements of their speeches; to fix the other portions that they bring from home

<sup>410</sup> *ad Att.* XV, 13. The constant parallelism in thought and language in *ad Fam.* XII, 2 and *Phil.* II, shows that the letter was written while Cicero was composing the speech: *ad Fam.* XII, 2, and *Phil.* II, 33; XII, 2, 16, and *Phil.* II, 7, and 63; XII, 2, 21, and *Phil.* II, 6, 42, 63, 76, 84, 104; XII, 3, and *Phil.* II, 31, 34.

<sup>411</sup> *ad Att.* XV, 13a.

<sup>412</sup> *ad Att.* XVI, 11. Cicero goes on to say that he will make certain corrections recommended by Atticus.

In one case a speech had gotten into circulation without Cicero's knowledge. This was the violent speech, *in Curionem et Clodium*, which Cicero had taken pains to suppress. In some way the oration, which was not delivered, got into circulation, and Cicero proposes to extricate himself from any difficulties into which it might bring him by denying the authorship of the speech (*ad Att.* III, 12; III, 15).

<sup>413</sup> *ad Att.* I, 14; 19, 10; 20, 6; II, 1, 1; IV, 2; IV, 13; 16; 17; XIII, 12; 48; *ad Fam.* I, 9; IV, 2; IX, 20, 1; X, 28; XI, 6; XIII, 12; *Brut.* II, 4; *ad Quint. Fr.* II, 1; III, 1; Compare *ad Att.* II, 7; *ad Fam.* IX, 12. In one case his attention was called to a mistake in one of his orations which was already in Atticus' hands for publication. He writes to Atticus (*ad Att.* XIII, 44) to order his librarii to make the correction in all the copies, but in spite of this the error still remains (*pro Lig.* 33). Cf. also *ad Att.* XII, 6, 3, where his attention had been called to a misquotation in the *Orator* (IX, 29).

Cicero was not scrupulous as to the accuracy with which his published orations corresponded with his spoken ones. One reason why he could not insert something in his speech *pro Ligario* was that it was already published: *ad Att.* XIII, 20.

(i. e. prepared in their minds) in their memory by meditation, and to meet any unforeseen attacks with extemporaneous replies. That Cicero adopted this method is evident from his own memoranda."<sup>414</sup>

<sup>414</sup>X, 7, 29-30. There can be no doubt that the written portions were memorized, since they are particularly separated from those other parts which the orator is to fix in his mind by meditation.

Commentariis: "from his note-books" (Frieze). These outline speeches or skeletons are mentioned again by Quintilian, IV, 1, 69; cf. Hieronym. *Apol. ad Rufin.* 2, 469 Vall. Quintilian goes on to say: "But there are also in circulation memoranda of other speakers, which have been found, perhaps, in the state in which each had thrown them together, when he was going to speak, and have been arranged in the form of books; for instance, the memoranda of the causes pleaded by Servius Sulpicius, three of whose orations are extant; but these outlines (commentarii) of which I am now speaking (those of Sulpicius) are so carefully arranged that they appear to me to have been composed by him to be handed down to posterity. (31). Those of Cicero, which were intended only for his particular occasions, his freedman, Tiro, collected" (or, abbreviated, produced in even shorter form than Cicero left them)!

Quintilian believes that if one has prepared a speech, one ought to memorize it and not use notes. On other occasions, when the speaker got up only the heads and extemporized from them, he might use notes. This idea is not unlike that of Alcidamas, who, would allow the speaker to prepare the argument, and only demands that the words be extemporary; cf. p. 31.

As to notes, Quintilian says (X, 7, 31): "I approve of short notes (brevem adnotationem) and of small memorandum books (libellos) which may be held in the hand and on which we may occasionally glance; but the method which Laenas recommends, of reducing what we have written into an outline (commentarium) and heads, I do not like; for our very dependence on these summaries begets negligence in committing our speech to memory (ediscendi), and disconnects and disfigures our speech. I even think that we should not write (i. e. make notes of) at all what we design to deliver from memory (omitting non, with the best MSS); for if we do, it generally happens that our thoughts fix us to the studied portions of our speech, and do not allow us to try the fortune of the moment. Thus the mind hangs in suspense between the two, having lost track of what was written and not finding out the new ideas in the subject".

Elsewhere (XI, 3, 142) Quintilian speaks of a certain manner in which the orator should hold his hand "unless it hold a memorandum book, a practice which should not be much followed, for it seems to imply a distrust of the memory". This passage, as well as the former one, implies that the speech is to be memorized.

Commentarii are clearly the outlines, summaries, or skeletons of speeches (cf. Quint. III, 8, 58; compare Tacitus, *Dial.* c. 23, 10, and c. 26, 11) although



Among Cicero's contemporaries Julius Caesar<sup>415</sup> was perhaps the most renowned. We know little about his method as a speech-maker but what little evidence we have would point to preparation beforehand. He delivered "set speeches", and we are told that he was particularly attentive to his diction.<sup>416</sup>

Of the practice of Augustus Caesar we have a detailed description. We are told that "from his early youth he devoted himself with great diligence and application to the study of eloquence and the other liberal arts. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty affairs in which he was engaged, he is said to have read, written, and declaimed every day. He never addressed the senate, the people, or the army except in a premeditated speech, although he did not lack the ability to speak extempore on the spur of the occasion. Lest his memory should fail him, as well as to prevent the loss of time in getting his speeches by heart,<sup>417</sup> he made it a practice

some scholars have taken the word to mean the finished speeches (cf. Peterson on Tac. *Dial.* 23, 10). The meaning seems plain from Seneca, *Contr.* III, *praef.* 6: sine commentario numquam dixit (Severus) nec hoc commentario contentus erat in quo nuda res ponuntur, sed maxima parte perscribatur actio (actio, = oratio; cf. Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* c. 17, 22).

For other passages in which notes, outlines, or note-books are used see Cicero, *Brut.* XLIV, 164; *ad Fam.* V, 12; Quint. I, 8, 19; III, 6, 59; 8, 58; IV, 1, 69; Seneca, *Controv.* I, *praef.* 11; II, 1, 6; III, *praef.* 6; IX, 2, 2; *Ep.* XV, 5; Asconius, *tog. cand.* p. 87 O; Pliny, *Ep.* I, 6, 1; 22, 11; III, 5, 17; VI, 5, 6; *Traj.* 10, 95 (96); Pliny, *N. H.* III, 17; Suet. *Aug.* 27, 64; Hieronym. *adv. Rufin.* I, 1; compare Sarcey, p. 111; pp. 150-151.

For notes of lectures, etc., see Plato, *Theatetus*, 143A; Euclides, after he returns home makes notes of the conversation between Theatetus and Socrates; Cicero, *de Or.* I, 2; *ad Att.* XIII, 21; Diog. Laert. II, 13, 1; VI, 1, 4; Quint. I, *praef.* 7; II, 11, 7; Lucian, *Hermot.* 2. Students in taking notes of their lectures were sometimes assisted by slaves who wrote shorthand: Liban. II, 293, 16.

<sup>415</sup> On Caesar see Plut. *Caes.* cc. 2, 3, 4; Cic. *de Or.* secs. 252, 261; *Brut.* secs. 72, 253; Quint. X, 1, 114; XII, 10, 11; Tac. *Dial.* c. 21, 21; *Ann.* XIII, 3; Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 25; Vellei. Pater. II, 36; Apul. *Apol.* 95; Fronto, *Ep.* p. 123; Hirtius, *B. G.* VIII, *praef.* 7.

<sup>416</sup> Plut. *Caes.* c. 5; c. 7, a studied speech; *Cat. Min.* 769C. On Caesar's speeches cf. Cic. *Brut.* 262; Tac. *Dial.* c. 21; Aul. Gell. IV, 16, 8; V, 13, 6; XIII, 3, 5; Suet. *Jul.* 55, and 64; Non. 354; Schol. Bob. 297, and 317.

<sup>417</sup> in ediscendo tempus absumeret: ediscere, to learn by heart, to commit to memory. Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 1, 1, tells of a would-be orator, who wrote out

to read them. In his intercourse with individuals, and even with his wife, Livia, upon subjects of importance, he wrote on his tablets all he wished to express,<sup>418</sup> lest, if he spoke extempore, he should say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculiar tone, in which he was diligently instructed by a master of elocution; but when he had a cold, he sometimes employed a herald to deliver his speeches to the people".<sup>419</sup>

Augustus' successor, Tiberius, prepared his speeches,<sup>420</sup> although he rendered his style so obscure by excessive affectation and ab-

all his speeches, but was unable to get them by heart (non posset ediscere); Quint. X, 7, 31.

<sup>418</sup> It was quite usual to deliver a set harangue from a written copy to a great man even in an informal meeting (cf. Cic. *ad Att.* XI, 10). As an illustration of this custom of Augustus, Dio Cassius (55, 15 ff.) has preserved a speech of this kind between him and Livia, and also two of the same sort between Agrippa and Maecenas (52, 1 ff.). Tacitus (*Ann.* IV, 39) says such was the custom in the time of Tiberius, though seeming to imply that it no longer held in his own time. Cf. also Plutarch, *Caesar*, c. 17. There are instances of this reading of a set speech elsewhere, though perhaps in some cases it was necessitated by difference in language. Sulla (Plut. *Sull.* 13) says to Aristion's ambassadors: "My good friends, you may put up (ἀναλαμβάνω cf. *Ages.* 20) your speeches and begone. I was sent by the Romans not to take lessons but to reduce rebels to obedience". We hear that Pompey (Plut. *Pomp.* 79) as he was being brought to Egypt just before his murder "took a little book in his hand, in which was written out an address in Greek which he intended to deliver to King Ptolemy and began to read it (ἀνεγίνωσκεν)." See also the story told in Montaigne, Vol. I, 196, London, 1902.

<sup>419</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 84. Cf. also Aul. Gell. X, 24, 2. Speeches by Augustus are mentioned by Suet. *Aug.* 8; *Claud.* 61; Dio Cass. 53, 30; 54, 28; 35; 55, 2; Quint. XII, 6, 1; Serv. on *Aen.* I, 712; Nikol. Dam. *Aug.* 3.

<sup>420</sup> See Suet. *Tib.* 23, where he hands his speech to his son Drusus to read. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 3. He attended the lectures of the rhetorician Theodorus of Gadara: Sen. *Suas.* III, 8; Suet. *Tib.* 57; Quint. III, 1, 17. The following productions of his are mentioned: funeral speeches (Suet. *Tib.* 6; *Aug.* 100; Tac. *Ann.* IV, 12; Seneca, *Cons. ad Marc.* 15, 3; Dio Cass. 57, 11; compare Tac. *Ann.* I, 52), accusations and defenses (Suet. *Tib.* 8; Tac. *Ann.* III, 12; cf. Meyer, *orat. rom.*<sup>2</sup> 553), edicts, etc. (Tac. *Ann.* I, 81; II, 63; III, 6; 53; IV, 40; Suet. *Tib.* 61; 67; *Dom.* 20; cf. also Tac. *Ann.* IV, 16; 38. Suidas, s. v. Καῖσαρ Τιβέριος says: ἔγραψεν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ τέχνην ῥητορικὴν. According to H. Flack, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVI, 319, this is an error due to confusion with the rhetorician Tiberius.

struseness that he was thought to speak better extempore than in a premeditated discourse.<sup>421</sup>

Claudius published some speeches,<sup>422</sup> and we are told that he did not lack elegance when his speech was premeditated.<sup>423</sup> There is no record of his ever having tried to extemporize. A speech of his, engraved on a tablet of brass, has been found at Lyons. It relates to a question mentioned by Tacitus, namely, the admission of Gauls into the Roman Senate.<sup>424</sup> Tacitus has not given the argument

<sup>421</sup> Suet. *Tib.* 70. Tacitus (*Ann.* IV, 31) comments on the same artificialities of style, but adds that when he spoke as an advocate he delivered himself with readiness and volubility. A speech of his against Maroboduus (*Tac. Ann.* II, 63) was extant in Tacitus' time. Tacitus may have cited it from the "*acta senatus*". The letter of Tiberius later quoted by Tacitus (*Ann.* VI, 6) is given with one very slight variation by Suetonius (*Tib.* 67). The letter was probably extant in the *acta senatus*, but it seems strange that both authors should have quoted exactly the same amount. Suetonius may have quoted from Tacitus, or both from some earlier authority.

Records of the proceedings of the senate, the comitia, and the courts seem always to have been kept by the magistrates, but their duty was limited to the depositing and safe-keeping of them. They could be consulted, of course, but were not made known to the general public. Julius Caesar in B. C. 59 caused the official acts of the people, as well as those of the senate to be published (Suet. *Jul.* 20). There is no evidence that the publication of them extended beyond Rome, and it is probable that scribes at Rome, by private arrangement, forwarded copies of the official announcements to such magistrates abroad as desired them. Cicero constantly assumes that such people receive them (cf. *ad Fam.* XII, 8; 22, 1; 23, 2; 28, 3). Caesar seems to have had a special report made to him of the *acta diurna* (*Cic. ad Fam.* IX, 16, 4), a practice continued by Augustus, who, however, prohibited the publication of the *acta senatus* (Suet. *Aug.* 36, 64). A senator was especially appointed by Tiberius to edit the *acta senatus* (*Tac. Ann.* V, 4), which minutes were sent to Caesar in his absence (Suet. *Tib.* 73). It is supposed that this official is the same as the *curator actorum senatus* mentioned in inscriptions (*Inscr. Henzen.* 5447; 5478, and elsewhere). Both *acta senatus* and *acta diurna* are frequently mentioned; cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* III, 8; 15; VI, 2; *ad Fam.* I, 2; XII, 23; II, 15; Suet. *Tib.* 8; *Cal.* 8; *Tac. Ann.* XII, 24; XIII, 31; Asconius, *Milon.* 19, 44, 47, 49; Pliny, *Ep.* VII, 33; IX, 15; Seneca, *Benef.* II, 10; III, 16; Quint. IX, 3; Juvenal, II, 136; VII, 104; Amm. Marcell. XXII, 3, 4, and elsewhere.

Cf. E. Hubner, *JJ. Suppl. Bd.* III, 564 ff.; 594 ff.; Crutwell, *Hist. Rom. Lit.*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>422</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 38-41.

<sup>423</sup> *Tac. Ann.* XIII, 3-4.

<sup>424</sup> *Ann.* XI, 24. Cf. Dio Cass. 60, 2, 1. Seneca (*Apocolocyn.* 5, 7, 11) represents Claudius as anything but eloquent. In section 14, he speaks so



in the form and words of what probably is a copy of the original speech, but has expressed the substance with his usual brevity.<sup>425</sup>

It is usually agreed that Nero's speeches were the work of Seneca.<sup>426</sup> The encomium on Claudius, pronounced by Nero at the funeral of his predecessor, was, according to Tacitus, the production of Seneca.<sup>427</sup> The historian adds that "old men who make it their recreation to compare the present and the past, took notice that Nero was the first Roman emperor who required the aid of another's eloquence: for Caesar the Dictator rivalled the most distinguished orators; and the eloquence of Augustus was prompt and flowing as became a prince. Tiberius also possessed the art, so far as nicely balancing his words was concerned . . . ; even the disordered mind of Caligula<sup>428</sup> did not impair his power of speaking; nor in Claudius would you feel the lack of elegance whenever his speech was premeditated".

The speech to the Senate, after the panegyric, was also the work of Seneca.<sup>429</sup> The orations in which the new Emperor pledged himself to clemency were given to the world by Seneca through the mouth of the Emperor "either to show the purity of the precepts

poorly that there is need of some one versed in "the Claudian tongue" to understand him. This is, of course, an exaggerated account.

It has been thought that Claudius in writing the speech availed himself of that found in Livy IV, 3; cf. A. Zingerle, *Zfo. G.* XXXVII, 255. On a comparatively recently discovered edict of his see Mommsen. *Hermes*, IV, 99, p. 107; F. Kenner, *Ein Edict des K. Cl.*, Vienna, 1869.

<sup>425</sup> Cf. *Ann.* XV, 63; Tacitus (*Ann.* XV, 67) gives as a reason for quoting a passage exactly, the fact that it was not published.

Tacitus does not claim that the speeches are genuine: *Hist.* I, 6; 29; 36; 83; *Agric.* 29; *Ann.* I, 58; II, 37, 38, 71; III, 50.

<sup>426</sup> Dio Cass. 61, 3.

<sup>427</sup> *Ann.* XIII, 13, 3; Dio Cass. 61, p. 690; Quint. VIII, 5, 18.

<sup>428</sup> The orators who took part in the contests instituted by Caligula clearly wrote their speeches, for those who were defeated were compelled "scripta sua spongea linguave deleri" (Suet. *Calig.* 20). Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 53; Tac. *Ann.* V, 1.

<sup>429</sup> Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 4. Dio says (Bk. 61)<sup>1</sup> that the Senate ordered this speech of Nero's to be engraved on a pillar of solid silver, and to be read publicly every year at the time when the consuls entered upon their magistracy.

he instilled or in ostentation of his talents".<sup>430</sup> Tacitus would not leave Nero even his poetry, claiming that the different lines were the work of men who had talent for composing verses and that these were tacked on to the Emperor's effusions, however crude the latter might be.<sup>431</sup> With some inconsistency, however, Tacitus dramatically represents Nero as claiming ability both as a prepared and as an extemporary speaker.<sup>432</sup>

Of the rest of the Emperors, Titus only seems to have possessed ability as a speaker.<sup>433</sup>

After Galba had been declared emperor, Nymphidius attempted to make himself Caesar before Galba's arrival. He came forward to speak to the soldiers "carrying in his hand a speech written by Cingonius Varro, which he had learned by heart";<sup>434</sup> and later Galba himself, when he adopted Piso as his heir, strove to read to the soldiers a prepared speech.<sup>435</sup> Otho's speech before his departure against Vitellius was written for him.<sup>436</sup> Valentinus spoke against the policy of extending the bounds of the Empire in a prepared speech,<sup>437</sup> and when Vitellius resigned the government, he made his declaration "from a writing which he held in his hand".<sup>438</sup>

<sup>430</sup> Tac. *Ann.* XIII, 11. The speeches mentioned by Suetonius (*Nero*, 7) were probably written by Seneca. On the speech mentioned in *Nero*, 24, see *Berl. Wschrftl. Phil.* 1889, 106. A speech by Nero when the cities of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* IV, 15).

<sup>431</sup> *Ann.* XIV, 16. Suetonius, *Nero*, 52, denies this charge on the evidence of note-books of Nero's which he (Suetonius) possessed.

<sup>432</sup> *Ann.* XIV, 55; Nero says to Seneca: "That I am thus able on the spur of the moment to combat your studied reasonings, is the first benefit which I acknowledge to have derived from you, who have taught me not only to speak on subjects previously considered, but also to deliver my sentiments extemporaneously."

Because of his care for his voice he had his speeches read for him; cf. Suet. *Nero*, 25, 46; Tac. *Ann.* XVI, 27.

<sup>433</sup> A speech by Vespasian is mentioned by Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 80; cf. *C. I. L.* 14, 3608.

<sup>434</sup> Plut. *Galba*, c. 14, 30: λόγον τινά, κομίζων ἐν βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κιγγωνίου Βάρρωνος ὃν ἐκμεμελήτηκει πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπειν. c. 15, 4: Κιγγώνιος δὲ τὸν λόγον γράψας . . . .

<sup>435</sup> Plut. *Galba*, c. 23, 14: ἀρξαμένου δὲ τὰ μὲν λέγειν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. τὰ δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν. So Mamercus tried to deliver a long premeditated speech to the people of Syracuse: Plut. *Timol.* 34.

<sup>436</sup> Tac. *Hist.* I, 90.

<sup>437</sup> Tac. *Hist.* IV, 68.

<sup>438</sup> Suet. *Vitell.* 15; cf. also Tac. *Hist.* III, 37.

Titus could extemporize in both Greek and Latin, in prose and verse,<sup>439</sup> but all Domitian's letters, speeches, and edicts were drawn up for him.<sup>440</sup>

Seneca the Elder mentions several orators who were famous for their abilities as extemporary speakers. He says of Porcius Latro:<sup>441</sup> "He did not know how to cease his studies and resume them. When he set himself to write days were joined to nights, and without rest he tasked himself more heavily, and did not cease or fail. . . . Often when he had toiled the whole night through, he went from his very meal immediately to declaim,"<sup>442</sup>

<sup>439</sup> Suet. *Tit.* 3; cf. 6; compare Pliny, *N.H. praef.* 5; 11.

<sup>440</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 20.

<sup>441</sup> *Controv.* I, *praef.* 13-14, 18, 20-24; IX, *praef.* 3; X, *praef.* 15; for specimens of his declamations see *Controv.* VII, 16, 16 ff.; II, 11, and elsewhere. Cf. also Quint. IX, 2, 91; Suet. *de Gr.* p. 99 (Rffsch.)

<sup>442</sup> Quintilian considers declamation by far the most useful of all exercises (II, 10, 1; compare X, 5, 14-16; cf. Seneca, *Controv.* I, *praef.* 12). Many, indeed, think that it is in itself sufficient to form oratory, for no excellence in continued speaking can be specified which is not found in it (II, 10, 2). Declamation is an exercise preparatory to pleading in the forum (IV, 2, 29), although it lacks, of course, the spirit and force of actual pleading (X, 2, 12). The orator is brought up in the schools, and on the manner in which he declaims will depend the manner in which he will plead (IX, 2, 81). The practice has degenerated because of the absurd themes, out of all relation to real life, which have been chosen as its subjects (II, 10, 12; V, 12, 17-20; X, 2, 11 ff.; X, 5, 14; Tac. *Dial.* c. 35, 17; c. 31, 3). It ought to keep in view the pleading for which the speaker is being trained (II, 10, 3 ff., especially, 12; compare XI, 1, 55 ff.). Declamations, if they are but adapted to real causes, and are made similar to actual pleadings, are of the greatest service, not only while the orator is still studying, but even after his studies may be said to be completed, and he has obtained reputation in the forum (X, 5, 14; compare Cic. *de Or.* I, 33, 149).

The practice of speaking on fictitious cases as if they were real pleadings in the forum or public councils became common among the Greeks about the time of Demetrius Phalereus; it may have been invented by him (Quint. II, 4, 41-42).

Declamation was not solely a matter for the schools. Cicero (*Brut.* XC, 310) says: commentabar declamitans (sic enim nunc loquuntur) saepe cum M. Pisone, et cum Q. Pompeio, aut cum aliquo cottidie; idque faciebam multum etiam Latine sed Graece saepius; (cf. also Quint. XII, 6, 7; Cic. *ad Att.* IX, 4, 9; *Brut.* LXXXIX, 305). He carried on this practice of declaiming in Greek till the time of his praetorship, when he was forty years old, (Suet. *de Gr.* I; Seneca, *Controv.* I, *Praef.* 11 ff.; Quint. VIII, 3, 54; XII, 11, 6; Cicero, *ad Div.* 9, 16). Pompey, Antony, Augustus, and Nero



. . . . . after dinner he almost always toiled by lamplight.  
 . . . . . His memory was indeed excellent by nature, but still very much aided by art. He never read over what he was going to say for the purpose of learning it; he had learned it when he had written it. What would seem the more wonderful in him was the fact that not slowly and carefully, but with almost the same speed with which he spoke, he wrote. Those who twist about what they have written, who consult about individual words, necessarily fix at last what they have so often pondered, in their own mind; but

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also followed this practice (Suet. *de Gr.* I ff.; Suet. *Nero*, 10). Crassus, too, made use of declamation (Cic. *de Or.* I, 34, 154) as did Asinius Pollio (Seneca, *Controv.* IV, *praef.* 2; compare I, *praef.* 12, and III, *praef.* 1), and Caius Piso (Cic. *Brut.* LXXVIII, 272).

This was the good side of declamation, but there was another which has been vividly pictured by Petronius (cc. 1, 2). The declaimers have been the bane of all true eloquence (compare Quint. IV, 3, 2); by the unreal and hackneyed themes on which they employ their empty compositions they have overthrown all that is manly in oratory. The youth they train becomes totally perverted by hearing and seeing nothing which has any connection with real life or human affairs. When the scholars of the declaimers enter the forum, they look as if they were transported into a new world (Petron. 1; Quint. I, 2, 18; II, 10, 8-9; X, 5, 16-18; XII, 11, 14 ff.; Seneca, *Controv.* VII, *praef.* 7 ff.; IX, *praef.* 3; *praef.* 5).

The word *declamare* in the sense of a rhetorical exercise, seems first to have come into use in the time of Cicero (cf. *Brut.* XC, 310; Sen. *Controv.* I, *praef.* 12), although the practice may go back to Æschines and his school at Rhodes (cf. n. 299). These exercises were held both in public and in private (Sen. *Controv.* III, 12; 18). There were public competitions in Greek and Latin declamation and poetry from the time of Caligula (Suet. *Calig.* 20; C. I. L. IX, 1663; 2860; cf. Juvenal, I, 44.)

In the schools, pupils wrote their themes, memorized them, and declaimed to father and friends (Quint. II, 7, 1; X, 5, 21; compare X, 5, 14 ff.). Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* VI, 6, 6, of students declaiming: *sicut in scholis discipuli sedentes de scripto legunt, stantes declamant.* Juvenal VII, 152:

Nam quaecunque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans

Perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem.

Persius, III, 45; compare Petronius, 6.

Cf. Hulsebos, G. H.: *de Educatione et Institutione apud Romanos* (Utrecht, 1875) pp. 102-133.

Parts of speeches, such as Galba's peroratio (Cic. *Brut.* XXXIII, 127) and dictation lessons, usually parts of the poets, were learned by heart (Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* III, 1, 4; compare Persius, I, 28; Horace, *Ep.* I, 20, 17; I, 18, 12; *Sat.* I, 10, 74; Juv. VII, 226; Statius, *Theb.* XII, 815.

the memory of those whose pens are swift is slower. In him not only was there natural excellence of memory, but the highest art both for comprehending and keeping what it ought to hold, so that it even retained whatever declamations he had spoken. His notebooks, therefore, were empty; he said that he wrote in his mind. He so spoke those things which he had meditated that his memory failed him in no word".

L. Vinicius pleaded cases extempore, but did not care for the name of doing so.<sup>443</sup>

Cassius Severus would always write most of his case out in full, and yet when taken by surprise and forced to speak off-hand, he made a better impression than when he had prepared his speech.<sup>444</sup> Seneca mentions Haterius<sup>445</sup> and Argentarius<sup>446</sup> as fluent extempore speakers. Albucius would never speak on the spur of the moment, not because he lacked ability to do so, but because he thought that he lacked it.<sup>447</sup>

Pliny the Younger speaks in terms of admiration of Pompeius Saturninus, who, whether he spoke after preparation or extempore, pleaded with no less warmth and energy than elegance and finish.<sup>448</sup>

Pliny himself used to revise his speeches after delivery, and made additions to them before he published them.<sup>449</sup> He spent a

<sup>443</sup> *Controv.* II, 5, 20.

<sup>444</sup> *Controv.* III, *præf.* p. 359. Cf. Robert, P.: *de Cassii Severi eloquentia*, Paris, 1890.

<sup>445</sup> *Controv.* IV, *præf.* 7. Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 40, 10; Tac. *Ann.* IV, 61, 5; Hieronym. on Euseb. *Chr. a. Abr.* 2040. For a specimen of his declamation see Sen. p. 541 (Kl.). Cf. Cima, A.: *de Q. Haterio oratore*, in his *Saggi di Studj. lat.*, Flor. 1889. Cf. p. 68, n. 286.

<sup>446</sup> *Controv.* IX, 3, 13.

<sup>447</sup> *Controv.* VII, *præf.* 2-3.

<sup>448</sup> *Ep.* I, 16, 2; 7.

<sup>449</sup> *Ep.* IX, 13, 23; 28, 5. The advice of Quintilian and Cicero, as well as that of Pliny, is meant for the court orator. The Romans had no other type in mind. The man whom Quintilian, for example, trains, will be a finished advocate. He strongly condemns those pleaders who do not take their profession seriously enough to give to their cases due preparation: II, 21, 15-16 (compare Cic. *de Or.* I, 12, 51); XII, 8, 2 ff.; 5 ff.; 14-21; cf. Seneca, *Controv.* X, *præf.* 2; Amm. Marcell. XXX, 4, 15 ff.; 19; Athen. I, 10.

For the duties of a Roman advocate and the problems that beset him see Forsyth, *Hortensius: an Historical Essay on the Office and Duties of an Advocate*.

great deal of time over his cases. Speaking of the sudden and unexpected postponement of a case on which he was to speak, Pliny calls it "an accident extremely agreeable to me, who am never so well prepared but that I am glad of gaining further time".<sup>450</sup> From many of his letters we see that he was almost over careful in the revision of his productions.<sup>451</sup>

Among the works of Apuleius there is found a curious production: the so-called prologue to the *de deo Socratis*.<sup>452</sup> It is, in reality, not a prologue at all, but a pretended extemporal speech, or rather, the pretended answer to a challenge to speak extempore, delivered before the main lecture.<sup>453</sup> The production is placed by some, with far greater appropriateness, as it seems, in the collection of passages called the *Florida*,<sup>454</sup> which Walter Pater says are "no impromptu ventures at random, but rather elaborate, carved ivories of speech, drawn, at length, out of the rich treasure-house of a memory stored with such, and as with a fine savour of old musk about them".<sup>455</sup>

This *Prologus* seemingly consists of five parts, though some scholars recognize but three,<sup>456</sup> and it is with the first, or first two of these that this discussion is concerned.

<sup>450</sup> *Ep.* V, 21, 9. Cf. also the anecdote told of Cicero (Plut. *Apophtheg.* 205 E-F) referred to in n. 391.

<sup>451</sup> Cf. Martial, X, 19; Pliny, *Ep.* I, 2, 1; I, 8, 2; II, 5, 1; III, 13, 18; IV, 9, 23; 14, 1; V, 8, 6; 13, 1; 20, 2; VI, 31, 1; VII, 17, 1; 30, 4; VIII, 3, 2; 19, 2; 21, 4; IX, 5, 8; 8, 9; 9, 4; 10, 2; 15, 2; 16, 2; 28, 5; 35, 2; 36, 2; 40, 1; also his advice to Fuscus *Ep.* VII, 9, 4.

<sup>452</sup> Cf. Helm, R.: *de prooemio Apuleianae quae est de deo Socratis orationis*.

<sup>453</sup> Such brief speeches, serving as introductions were termed *προλαλία*. Lucian has two: *προλαλία ὁ Διόνυσος* and *προλαλία ὁ Ἡρακλῆς*. His *Swans and Amber* probably belongs in the same class. On the subject see Stock, Al.: *de prolaliarum usu rhetorico* (Diss. Königsberg).

<sup>454</sup> Cf. p. 140, n. 310. Cf. Goldbacher, A.: *de L. Apulei Mad. Floridorum quae dicuntur origine et locis quibusdam corruptis* (Leipzig 1867); Jeltsch, T.: *de Apulei Floridis* (1868); Cruttwell, *Hist. Rom. Lit.* p. 471.

<sup>455</sup> *Marius the Epicurean*, c. XX.

<sup>456</sup> P. Thomas in his edition (Leipzig, 1908) divides the prologue into five parts, which he discusses in *Actis Acad. Belg.* a. 1900, p. 143 ff.; J. v. d. Vliet in his edition (1900) of the *Florida* makes but three divisions, p. 190 ff. Cf. also his article in *Mnemosyne*, 1888, N. S. XVI, p. 156 ff.



In reply to those who challenge him to speak extempore, Apuleius will deliver what he calls an unpolished attempt (*rudimentum*). He makes the venture, he says, with the better chance of success, because his premeditated speeches (*meditata sum dicturus incogitata*) have already been approved.<sup>457</sup> He is not afraid that he will fail to please in trivial things since he has given satisfaction in more serious matters.<sup>458</sup> That his audience may see whether he is the same when he speaks on the sudden (*repentinus*) as he is when prepared (*praeparatus*), he bids them test him in this rough and unfinished sketch (*schedio incondito*), if there be any who have never heard any of his off-hand efforts (*subitaria*).

There follows a statement of the old idea that the audience is more kindly disposed toward extemporary speeches (in *rebus subitariis venia prolixior*).<sup>459</sup> The things which we recite (*quae scripta legimus*) after we have written them,<sup>460</sup> says Apuleius, will be such as they were when they were composed, even though you (the audience) are silent, but those which are produced on the spot (*quae inpraesentiarum*) and as it were, in combination with you, will be such as you shall have made them by your favor.<sup>461</sup>

The second division, or second part of the first division, opens by quoting an impromptu (*de repentino*) saying of the philosopher Aristippus, and contains an elaborate comparison of extemporary speeches and rubble masonry; for nothing can be at the same time hurried and deliberate, says Apuleius, nor can anything possess at once the merit of elaboration and the grace of dispatch.

Such a pretended extemporization would put an audience in good humor if a prepared speech was to follow. If the orator were really compelled to make an extemporary speech, a number of such ready-prepared *morceaux* could easily be pieced together with extemporary oratory, to form a creditable if not very profound speech, a practice which was common among the earlier sophists.<sup>462</sup>

<sup>457</sup> On his delivered and published speeches see *Apol.* 55, 73, 24.

<sup>458</sup> The idea of extemporary speeches as trivial compared with prepared ones would not have pleased Alcidas, cf. p. 29 ff.

<sup>459</sup> Cf. p. 32 and n. 153.

<sup>460</sup> This implies that the speeches were memorized.

<sup>461</sup> Compare p. 39, n. 153.

<sup>462</sup> Cf. p. 95 ff.

For our knowledge of the practice of those of later times, we are mainly dependent on the pages of the Greek writer Philostratus.

Among the later sophists there were few who did not profess skill as extemporary speakers. Their whole training was designed to give them this ability, and after it was gained constant practice was necessary to retain it. There were certain ones who laid claim to wonderful ability, and while some were able to prove that their boasts were true,<sup>463</sup> others were shown to be utter frauds. In general, however, the later sophists seem to have been hard-working, painstaking teachers. Few of them resembled Hippias of Elis. They were accustomed to study by night in order to perfect themselves.<sup>464</sup> Even after they had acquired the ability to make extemporary speeches, constant practice was necessary to keep it alive.<sup>465</sup>

Pliny gives a good description of one of the better sophists, Isaëus: "He always speaks extempore, and his lectures are as finished as though he had spent a long time over their written composition . . . . He suggests several subjects for discussion, allows his audience their choice, sometimes permits them even to name which side he shall take, rises . . . . and begins. At once he has everything almost equally at command. . . . His reflections are frequent, his syllogisms also are frequent, a result not easily obtained even with the pen. As for his memory, you would hardly believe what it is capable of. He repeats from a long way back what he has previously delivered extempore, without missing a single word. This marvellous faculty he has acquired by dint of great application and practice, for night and day he does nothing, hears nothing, says nothing else."<sup>466</sup>

Among the sophists who are mentioned as clever extemporary speakers are Scopelian,<sup>467</sup> Lollianus,<sup>468</sup> Marcus,<sup>469</sup> Polemo,<sup>470</sup> Her-

<sup>463</sup> Philostratus mentions Hermocrates, who impressed his audience with his wonderful power to grasp his theme ἐν στιγμή τοῦ καιροῦ (p. 612).

<sup>464</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 518; Liban. I, 75, 15; Syn. Dion. II; Themistius, 312B.

<sup>465</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* II, 3, 4; Himer. *Or.* XVII, 6; XXIV, 4; Luc. *Encom. Dem.* 36.

<sup>466</sup> *Ep.* II, 3, 1 ff.; Philostr. I, 20, 1; Juvenal, III, 74.

<sup>467</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 21, 1 ff.

<sup>468</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 23, 2.

<sup>469</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 24, 3-4.

<sup>470</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 25, 9.

odes Atticus,<sup>471</sup> who once, like Demosthenes, forgot his speech, Aristocles,<sup>472</sup> Antiochus,<sup>473</sup> who wrote prepared speeches as well as extemporized, Alexander,<sup>474</sup> Heraclides, who forgot his extemporary speech,<sup>475</sup> Hippodromus, who could speak extempore with the readiness of one reading what was familiar to him,<sup>476</sup> and others.<sup>477</sup>

Some sophists were accustomed to withdraw from the room for a short space of time after their theme had been given them in order to collect their thoughts in private.<sup>478</sup> One of them required half a day to put his argument into shape,<sup>479</sup> and Proclus demanded that his theme be given him the day before.<sup>480</sup> Once the sophist Proaeresius, made an extemporary speech which the short-hand writers took down. When he had finished, he bade them look to their copy, and proceeded to give the whole speech over again without missing a single word.<sup>481</sup> If the speech was really extemporary, this certainly was a wonderful feat, but it reminds one strongly of another sophist, Philager, who was accustomed to repeat his own speeches and pass them off as extemporary. It is said that Herodes Atticus, hearing of this practice of Philager,

<sup>471</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 1, 35-36: λόγου . . . . ἐκπεσεῖν; I, 25, 13.

<sup>472</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 3, 1.

<sup>473</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 4, 4.

<sup>474</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 5, 3; also p. 618.

<sup>475</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 26, 3: σχεδίου λόγου ἐκπεσεῖν.

<sup>476</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 27, 10; cf. also II, 27, 5.

<sup>477</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 1; I, 8, 6; II, 6, 1; 7, 1; 10, 2-3; 13, 1; 15, 1; 17, 2; 24, 1; 25, 6; 29, 1; 33, 2.

<sup>478</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 22, 10; 25, 15; II, 19, 2. Sometimes the sophist thought over his theme for a few minutes in his seat: II, 5, 5. Isaeus gained time for thought by spending a few minutes in arranging his gown: Pliny, *Ep.* II, 3. Cf. Quint. X, 7, 22, for ways in which a few minutes' time for thought may be gained.

<sup>479</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 20, 4.

<sup>480</sup> Philostr. II, 21, 3; cf. Liban, I, 51, 3. Much could be done with a day to prepare in; Sears (p. 263) says of Thiers: "With an afternoon's preparation it is said that he could make a three hour speech upon any subject under the sun, architecture, law, poetry, military affairs, chemistry, astronomy, commerce, journalism." Thiers gained this facility by delivering and redelivering a speech ten or twenty times when he could, before his public appearance, and by extemporizing parts of his addresses to friends; cf. Sarcey, p. 37; p. 159.

<sup>481</sup> Eunapius, p. 79; cf. also p. 70 ff.



gained possession of a copy of one of the sophist's published speeches, and asked Philager to discuss the same theme on which the speech was written. As the sophist went on delivering his oration, the declamation was read aloud from the written copy. It agreed word for word with the pseudo-extemporal speech, and Philager was laughed out of the room.<sup>482</sup>

Even if they were honest in allowing their hearers to propose themes, the sophists could, by skillful depreciation of the topics suggested, force their audience to choose the theme on which they wished to speak.<sup>483</sup> They sometimes had friends stationed in the audience to see that the subject they desired was proposed.<sup>484</sup>

In spite of all their pretensions, however, the sophists were thoroughly aware of the fact that extemporal speech does not conduce to thorough work,<sup>485</sup> and their course of training was not superficial. "A central point in the Greek sophistical education" says Mr. Walden,<sup>486</sup> "was the training of the memory. The Greek student of eloquence was required to learn by heart large quantities of the ancient authors, as well as many of his own and his professor's compositions. Discourses on common topics, such topics as would frequently arise in the course of the student's professional life, were prepared and given to be memorized. By this process not only was the memory of the student, or, at least, the skill with which the student used his memory, improved, but his mind was filled with a ready store of material and illustration."<sup>487</sup>

Polemo considered that this learning by heart was the hardest thing of all in the sophistic training, and so laborious did he deem it that he recommended, as a sufficient punishment for a criminal,

<sup>482</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 8, 3: δοκοῦντι δ' ἀποσχεδιάζειν ἀντιανεγιγνώσκετο ἡ μελέτη. See the description of Fronto's lecture in Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, ch. XV.

<sup>483</sup> Luc. *Rhet. Praec.* 18.

<sup>484</sup> Luc. *Pseudolog.* 5.

<sup>485</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 9, 5; 24, 1; Syn. Dion. 12; Luc. *Rhet. Praec.* 20.

<sup>486</sup> *Universities of Ancient Greece*, p. 214.

<sup>487</sup> Liban. II, 273. Eunapius says of himself (p. 75) that at the age of sixteen he had the ancients at his tongue's end, and a like statement is made of Priscus (Eunap. p. 65).

the being compelled to commit to memory the writings of the ancients.<sup>488</sup>

Notwithstanding this training of the memory, the better sophists took all possible precautions against failure in their speeches. Polemo, one of the greatest of them, was chosen advocate by the people of Smyrna, but died before he could plead their cause. The speech he had prepared was produced after his death, read (*ἀναγνώσθεντος*) in court, and gained for the inhabitants of Smyrna the privilege they sought.<sup>489</sup> Some sophists had others help them prepare their speeches,<sup>490</sup> and there were collections of orations, or *Ready Speakers*, to which the sophist could have recourse if he wished.<sup>491</sup> Parts of the oration might be prepared. For example, the *διαλέξεις*, or part of the sophist's speech which followed the introduction, though it might sometimes be in itself an introductory speech, might be prepared beforehand if the speaker wished, or given extempore.<sup>492</sup>

Clearly, then, preparation and even memorization, was largely employed by those sophists and rhetoricians of whom we only hear; the extent of preparation is more easily seen when we come to those whose writings still are extant.

Dio Chrysostom's orations are lectures, although they often have the air of admirable improvisations.<sup>493</sup> Many of the moral treatises of Plutarch are little more than fair copies of his lectures.<sup>494</sup>

The theory is that the *διατριβαί* of Epictetus and the Cynics were extemporary, but such was probably not the case. Outside of Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus*,<sup>495</sup> there are collections by Teles, Musonius Rufus and others.<sup>496</sup>

<sup>488</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 541; for another interpretation of ἀρχαῖα ἐμμανθάνειν see Mayor on Juvenal I, 43.

<sup>489</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 25, 19.

<sup>490</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 2, 1.

<sup>491</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II, 1, 36; 9, 1.

<sup>492</sup> Himerius, *Or.* VI; XVII; XXII.

<sup>493</sup> Cf. Von Arnim, H.: *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa*, 2nd. ed. vol. I, 171, 180 ff., 211, 282, 286, 288, 298, 305, 308; II, 316, 344.

<sup>494</sup> Cf. *de aud. poet.* c. 1; *de Inimic. util.* c. 1; *an seni sit ger.* c. 26; Volkmann's *Plutarch*; Fowler, *Greek Literature*, p. 421; Dill, *Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 348.

<sup>495</sup> Cf. *Ep. ad Gell.*

<sup>496</sup> On the *διατριβή* see Norden, *die Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 128 ff.; Hirzel, *der Dialog*, I, 369; Susemihl, *Greek Lit.* I, 36; Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*, 234 ff.

The *Dissertations* of Maximus of Tyre are typical sophistic lectures, doubtless carefully prepared beforehand.<sup>497</sup> Lucian clearly read his productions,<sup>498</sup> apparently before publishing them.<sup>499</sup>

Ælius Aristides carefully elaborated his productions, since he was not by nature gifted with the ability to speak extempore. Although he had acquired this power by hard labor, he always required twenty-four hours in which to put his argument into shape.<sup>500</sup> Apparently his formal speeches were read. In the speech in honor of Diana, he had evidently digressed from his manuscript and interpolated extemporary matter in praise of himself. He apologizes to one who attacks him for this. The whole thing would be pointless had he not actually read the address, and looked up from his manuscript to add some extemporaneous observations.<sup>501</sup>

Himerius insists on the necessity of practice and training, particularly of private training before public appearance.<sup>502</sup> In the list of his works as given by Photius,<sup>503</sup> *Ecl.* XVII, *Or.* XII, *Or.* XVIII, *Or.* XX, and one lost speech are classed as extemporary. Other speeches of his which purport to be delivered on the spur of the moment, and they may possibly have been so, and been reduced to writing afterwards, are *Oratt.* VI, XIII, XV, XXIV.

Themistius did not care to speak without preparation. Being asked on one occasion to deliver an extemporary address, he excuses himself in a short speech.<sup>504</sup> Phidias, he says, was a very clever artist, yet even he needed time to bring his productions to perfection. Had anyone asked him, however, to make a display of his art at once, he would have answered that he must be given the necessary time to produce something new, or else he must be judged from the Athena or the Olympian Zeus. So Themistius bids the Emperor to examine some of his already completed productions,

<sup>497</sup> Cf. Hobein, H.: *de Maximo Tyrio Quaestiones Philologae Selectae* (Göttingen, 1895) pp. 16-24.

<sup>498</sup> Putnam, E. J.: *Lucian the Sophist. Classical Philology*, Vol. IV, 1909, pp. 162-177.

<sup>499</sup> Fowler, *Greek Literature*, 433.

<sup>500</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I, 9, 1; 3; 5; 7; Eunapius, p. 82.

<sup>501</sup> Cf. Keil's edition, Latin preface.

<sup>502</sup> *Or.* XVII; XXIV.

<sup>503</sup> *Cod.* CLXV.

<sup>504</sup> *Or.* XXV.



and give him time to produce something new, for he is not skillful in making extemporaneous speeches as are the inspired sophists.<sup>505</sup>

The orations and declamations of Libanius<sup>506</sup> are likewise lectures. The obvious care with which he modelled his style on that of the classical Greek writers is in itself a proof of preparation. His orations were written, published, and sent to friends.<sup>507</sup>

With the Emperor Julian, who belongs as a writer to the school of the sophists,<sup>508</sup> Greek prose literature may be said to end. The art and learning of the sophists became absorbed by the teachings of the Christians, and after a brief but brilliant period, Christian eloquence sank into obscurity.

It has been thought best to end this discussion at the point where sophistic rhetoric ends, but the question of the amount of preparation and extemporization in a speech might still be considered not only in the practice of the Church Fathers, the mediaeval Preachers, and the orators of the Renaissance, when sophistic eloquence revived, but also in that of the orators of the French Revolution, the great speakers of the English Parliament, and our own American orators, as well of the present as of the past.

<sup>505</sup> οἱ δαίμόνιοι σοφισταί; compare *Or.* XXVII, 332C.

<sup>506</sup> Cf. Sievers, G. R.: *Das Leben des Libanius*, Berlin, 1868; Petit, *Essai sur Liban*, Paris 1866; Westermann, *Gesch. d. Griech. Bereds.*; Förster, *Zur Schriftstellerei des Libanios*, and the articles in *Hermes* IX and X.

<sup>507</sup> Liban. *Ep.* DXXV and DCLXX (Wolf); Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec.* VII, p. 378; p. 390.

<sup>508</sup> Cf. France, *Julian's Relation to the New Sophistic*.

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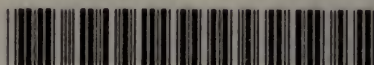
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