

QUINTILIAN AND THE PROGYMNASTICA

QUINTILIAN AND THE PROGYNASIATA

By

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine Quintilian's discussion of the progymnasmata, or elementary rhetorical exercises, in the Institutio Oratoria against an historical background. The study of evidence for the development of the exercises will therefore be important, as well as comparison with the Greek Progymnasmata of Aelius Theon, who was probably a contemporary of Quintilian, and of Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus, who all lived during the period of the Roman Empire. Authors after the fifth century A.D. have not been considered, since the progymnasmata seem to have been fixed by then and collections which appeared in the Byzantine period added no new exercises.

The comparison of Quintilian's work with Greek texts has necessitated a good deal of Greek terminology, for which I apologize to the reader. Since the Greek progymnasmatists have a love of classification and categorization, the reader will also find discussion of rhetorical terms. At the same time, this study shows how often the ideas of Quintilian and Theon are similar, especially in regard to teaching method, which was not

usually an interest of ancient rhetorical writers, and it seems likely that Quintilian was acquainted with Theon's work. It is also instructive to see Quintilian's affirmation of the value of the progymnasmata, at a time when they were not popular with Roman rhetoricians, as part of an educational tradition which continued for many centuries.

It was hoped to add an appendix containing the parts of Theon's work which are missing from the Greek text but which are found in an Armenian translation of the sixth century A.D. Unfortunately, I have not yet found anyone who can translate sixth-century Armenian. The missing passages, when translated, should be of considerable worth, not only for understanding Theon's Progymnasmata, but also for throwing more light on Quintilian's use of these exercises, especially paraphrase, and praise and denunciation of laws, concerning which little is known.

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INTRODUCTION

Origins of the Progymnasmata

It is not known exactly when the progymnasmata originated. Rhetorical exercises, or γυμνάσματα ῥητορικῆς, probably began with the teaching of rhetoric,¹ but we cannot tell when the introductory exercises, or προγυμνάσματα, were separated from or added to the γυμνάσματα, or when they received their name.² The evidence of papyri shows that paraphrase was established as an exercise in the Alexandrian period,³ but there are no papyri for the other progymnasmata from the centuries B.C. We must therefore rely almost entirely on literary evidence, which is also unsatisfactory for the centuries B.C.

Quintilian (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 41) seems to indicate

¹See E. Jullien, Les Professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome (Paris, 1885), 296. Plato (Phaedr., 269D) gives the three things necessary for the orator - φῶσις, ἐπιστήμη, μέλεις. On this "Ternar" see B. Appel, Das Bildungsideal und Erziehungsideal Quintilians nach der Institutio oratoria (Diss.: Munich, 1914), 54ff.; L. Müller, Pädagogik Plutarchs (Diss.: Munich, 1956), 14ff.

²G. Reichel, Quaestiones Progymnasmaticae (Diss.: Leipzig, 1909), 9-10. Anaximenes uses the word but simply meaning "exercise" and the text is doubtful in any case (28, 4 p. 59 Fuhrmann).

³G. Giangrande, "On the Origins of the Greek Romance," Eranos 60 (1962), 158. The oldest example dates from the third century B.C. See Archiv 13 (1939), 121.

that the progymnasmata existed before the declamation, which may have been invented by Demetrius of Phalerum (late fourth century B.C.),⁴ but he expresses so much doubt as to whether Demetrius did, in fact, create the declamation that this passage is of little value for dating the progymnasmata. As Quintilian indicates (Inst. Or., 2, 4, 42), the only fact that can be stated for the beginning of Roman declamation is that it was being taught by Plotius Gallus and others at the time of the Edict of Crassus (92 B.C.).⁵

Elsewhere (Inst. Or., 2, 1, 9), Quintilian declares that antiqui used theses, commonplaces and generalized themes as rhetorical exercises, but he does not indicate how long ago these antiqui lived.⁶ We do know that the thesis (thesis) was introduced into the teaching of philosophy by Aristotle⁷ and Theophrastus and was used by the Peripatetics and Academics, and that Hermagoras applied it to rhetoric in a limited sense in the second

⁴See F. Wehrli, Die Schule des Aristoteles. Demetrius von Phaleron (Basel, 1968), 84. Another possibility for the founder of declamation is Aeschines, who lived shortly before Demetrius (Philostratus, VS, 1, p. 3 Kayser).

⁵Cicero used Greek declamation in his youth (Brut. 309-310) and he refers to the Latin teaching of Plotius (Letter to Titinnius, Suetonius, De Gramma., 26).

⁶See p. 140. Hermogenes (e.g., R. 26, 11) and Nicolaus (e.g., F. 63, 11) refer to earlier teachers and writers of progymnasmata, but again no dates. On Suetonius, pp. 141ff.

⁷Aristotle may have invented the philosophic exercise. See H. Throm, Die Thesis (Paderborn, 1932), 177.

century B.C.⁸ The locus communis (locus communis) was used by Gorgias and the Sophists.⁹ The χρηια (chria) was first taught by the Cynics.¹⁰ These facts are interesting for the development of individual exercises, and they show that, as well as paraphrase, some exercises similar to the progymnasmata existed before the first century B.C. Progymnasmata may have been introduced with the Greek schools at Rome during the second century B.C., but, as we shall find from a study of Roman rhetorical works, these exercises were not collected and recorded as preliminary rhetorical exercises until the first century A.D.

Latin Sources for the Progymnasmata

The oldest rhetorical works in which traces of progymnasmata appear are the Rhetorica ad Herennium¹¹ and the De Inventione and De Oratore of Cicero.¹² Both the Rhetorica ad Herennium and the De Inventione were probably published in the second decade of the first

⁸See pp.125ff.

⁹See p.116.

¹⁰See p.55.

¹¹The author was once thought to be Cicero, but is now regarded as uncertain. See F. Marx, Incerti Auctoris de ratione dicendi, Ad C. Herennium Libri IV (Leipzig, 1894), 69ff.; H. Caplan, Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (London, 1954), vii-xiv.

¹²See Reichel, 12-19.

century B.C.¹³ The De Inventione, as the name implies, deals with the first part of rhetoric, invention, and the Rhetorica ad Herennium also includes the other four parts, arrangement, delivery, memory and style. The De Oratore, which appeared in 55 B.C., was a discussion of requirements for the orator.

In his edition of Rhetorica ad Herennium, Marx¹⁴ enumerates μῦθος (fabula)¹⁵ and διήγημα (narratio) (1,8,12), χρεία (chria) (4,44,56-58), ἐγκώμιον (laudatio) (3,8,15) and κοινὸς τόπος (locus communis) (2,30,47) as the progymnasmata mentioned by his author. Despite the fact that a χρεία (also called expolitio) is set out in full (4,44,56) in a similar manner to that recommended by later progymnasmatists,¹⁶ none of what Marx calls progymnasmata are treated as exercises to be practised before the study of rhetoric by the Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero.¹⁷ Expolitio is to be practised for

¹³See Marx, 153; Caplan, vii; G. A. Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World (Princeton, 1972), 110, 113.

¹⁴Marx, 110.

¹⁵See p. 38.

¹⁶See p. 65.

¹⁷See Reichel, 12-16. διήγημα may be an exception since it could have been used in schools, although it was generally practised delectationis causa (De Inv., 1,19,27). See p. 76.

embellishing arguments and for giving variety in pleading a case (Auctor ad Herennium, 4,44,56 and 58; Cicero, De Inv., 1,41,75). κοινὸς τόπος (locus communis) is also connected with the pleading of a case (Auctor ad Her., 2, 30,47; cf. De Inv., 1,53,100ff.). ἐγκύριον (laudatio) is not treated as an exercise (cf. Auctor ad Her., 3,6,10; De Inv., 2,59,177-178; De Or., 2,10,43ff.), and μυθεύματα (paraphrasis), ὑπόμνημα and ἔξις (thesis) are merely mentioned in the De Oratore (1,154 and 158).¹⁸ Since we are concerned with elementary rhetorical exercises in this dissertation, the works of the Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero will not be of major importance.

Although the progymnasmata existed independently for some time, some appearing later than others, it is not until the first century A.D. that we find lists and details of these elementary rhetorical exercises. Even then the lists are not standardized, and a comparison of the exercises included by Quintilian and the progymnasmatis-
tists shows that there was still some dispute.

¹⁸See Reichel, 118-19. Crassus exercised in paraphrase in his youth, but evidently not in school (De Or., 1,34,154). On paraphrase see pp.50-53 and on ἔξις see pp.125-146. ὑπόμνημα (critical reading of poets and historians) was one of the exercises lost from the Greek texts of Theon. See p.22.

Quintilian is the first Roman author to list progymnasmata. His Institutio Oratoria, which deals with the complete education of the orator, was published in 94 or 95 A.D.¹⁹ In Book 1, which chiefly concerns training by the grammaticus, Quintilian discusses μῦθος (fabula), χρῖα (chria), and διήγησις (narratio) based on poetry (1,9). In Book 2, chapter 4, which concerns elementary training in rhetoric, he discusses διήγησις (narratio) based on history, including ἀνέκδοκον and κτερόκοκον,²⁰ ἐπαινον (laudatio) and ὕψος (vituperatio), and σύγκρισις (comparatio) which is connected with these, κοινὸς τόπος (locus communis), aetiologia,²¹ θεσις (thesis),²² and λόγος (laus ac vituperatio). These exercises are graded according to difficulty and each leads on to the next. Some may be practised in more difficult forms and on specific cases at later stages (Inst.Or., 2,4,36 and 40). Theses (quaestiones infinitae) are treated in more detail in Book 3, chapter 5, and encomium is discussed further in Book 3, chapter 7, while in Book 10, chapter 5, Quintilian recommends practice of paraphrase, thesis, ἀνέκδοκον and κτερόκοκον, and locus

¹⁹Kennedy, 493.

²⁰Here Quintilian uses the Greek terms.

²¹Aetiologia was connected with Χρῖα and is therefore discussed in that chapter, pp. 67-70.

²²Quintilian uses the Greek term θεσις in Books 3 and 10. The text of the Institutio Oratoria used in this dissertation is that of M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1970).

communis for the mature orator. We shall be concerned mainly with Books 1 and 2 since they deal with the preliminary stages of rhetorical education.

Another Roman writer of almost the same period as Quintilian mentions progymnasmata, namely Suetonius in his work De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, which is a surviving part of his De Viris Illustribus and was published early in the second century A.D.²³ It described the careers of teachers from Plotius Gallus to the end of the first century A.D.²⁴ Suetonius speaks of problemata (πρόβλημα), paraphrasis, allocutiones (ἀποκρίσεις)²⁵ and aetiologiae as among the elementary rhetorical exercises taught by the grammaticus (De Gramm., 4). He mentions chria, fabula, narratio including paraphrase, translation from Greek, laudatio and vituperatio, theses, and ἀντιθέσεις and κατακρίσεις of fables as exercises formerly taught by the rhetor.²⁶ These progymnasmata are similar to those of Quintilian, but their division between grammaticus and rhetor is slightly different. This introduces the question of who taught the progymnasmata.

²³ Probably between 112 and 117 A.D. See Kennedy, 551.

²⁴ Rhetores from the Augustan Age to the end of the first century A.D. are missing.

²⁵ ἀποκρίσεις are omitted by Quintilian. See p. 114.

²⁶ ἀντιθέσεις and κατακρίσεις are the only Greek terms used by Suetonius. Translation from Greek, although probably involved in paraphrase, was not listed as a separate elementary rhetorical exercise by Quintilian.

Grammaticus or Rhetor?

The progymnasmata originated in Greek teaching and were brought to Rome by Greek teachers.²⁷ Although one would expect elementary rhetorical exercises to be taught by a rhetorician, the duties of the Greek grammarian and rhetorician had not been sharply distinguished, at least at Rhodes.²⁸ Aristodemus taught rhetoric in the morning and grammar in the evening (Strabo, 14,650). The custom of teaching both grammar and rhetoric was continued at Rome by Latin teachers such as Antonius Gniphio and Ateius Philologus (Suetonius, De Gramm., 6 and 10). Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian, set his pupils exercises in composition and awarded prizes for the best performance (De Gramm.,17).

At Rome, all school teaching was in Greek in the second century B.C.²⁹ The study of Latin literature was begun, according to Suetonius, by the students of Crates of Mallos when he visited Rome, and continued in the grammar schools (De Gramm.,2-3).³⁰ From that time Greek

²⁷See Jullien, 202.

²⁸See J. Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, vol.1 (Amsterdam, 1967), 109, n.1.

²⁹See Jullien, 88. Presumably Cato and others taught their children in Latin at home.

³⁰See H. Bardon, La Littérature latine inconnue, vol.1 (Paris, 1952), 33.

and Latin grammar schools existed side by side, and in Quintilian's day a boy would still as a rule attend both grammar schools (Inst.Or.,1,4,1). Latin rhetorical teaching, which began in Cicero's youth (Letter to Titinnius, Suetonius, De Gramm.,26) was at first unpopular and was opposed by the Edict of Crassus in 92 B.C., but Latin exercises were soon taught again together with Greek exercises and Greek theory.³¹

As noted above, Quintilian and Suetonius would have most of the progymasmata taught in the rhetorical schools (cf. Inst.Or.,2,1,8; 2,4,1). Quintilian complains that the Latin grammatici have encroached on rhetorical teaching and have taken over these elementary exercises, which for a long time were the object of rhetorical teaching,³² and that they even keep their pupils too long (Inst.Or.,2,1,1-3).³³ Quintilian wants the boy to begin with the rhetor while still studying with the grammaticus, a custom followed by the Greeks (Inst.Or., 2,1,13). Suetonius considers that the fact that early grammatici taught rhetoric as well as grammar led to their later custom (after the separation of

³¹Kennedy, 96.

³²A. Brinkmann, "Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht", RhM 65 (1910), 149, shows that the ῥητορ was no longer taught by the rhetor in the Augustan Age.

³³H.-I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité (Paris, 1950), 60, shows that the starting age with the rhetor was about 15 years. See also P. Petit, Les Etudiants de Libane (Paris, 1957), 139-140.

grammar and rhetoric) of retaining or introducing elementary rhetorical exercises (De Gramm.,4,3).³⁴ He adds that this custom has ceased in his day because of the laziness and youth of some pupils, and later he says that progymnasmata ceased in the schools with declamation (De Gramm.,25,5), which had become so popular that it occupied most of the rhetorician's time under the Empire (De Gramm.,4; cf. Inst. Or.,2,1,2; 2,11,1). These statements of Suetonius seem to indicate that the progymnasmata disappeared altogether from Roman schools. In the first place, however, the word exoluerunt, which Suetonius uses of the progymnasmata in the rhetorical schools, may mean "declined" rather than "ceased".³⁵ Secondly, there is evidence from Ausonius (Prof. Burd.,21,26), Saint Augustine (Conf.,1,17) and Diomedes (1,310 Keil) that progymnasmata were used in grammar schools in the fourth century A.D. Thirdly, the continued use of the progymnasmata in Greek schools is well attested by papyri³⁶ and by the writings of progymnasmatists, and it would seem strange if they ever completely disappeared from Roman schools.

³⁴See p. 8.

³⁵See LS, 689, s.v. exoleo.

³⁶See especially P. Beudel, Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint, papyris, ostracis, tabulis in Aegypto inventis illustratur (Diss.: Münster, 1911).

As well as being so occupied with declamation, the Latin rhetores felt that most, if not all, the progymnasmata were beneath them (Inst.Or., 2, 1, 2). From the detailed study of these exercises in the following chapters, it will be obvious that many of them were very elementary. The X, for example, seems at first to have been used merely for practising Greek grammatical cases. Even the more advanced exercises, such as ἐλέγος and praise and denunciation of laws, are dealt with only at an elementary level by Quintilian in Book 2, and he may have intended these exercises to be taught by an assistant teacher. Most of the progymnasmata follow similar rules, and they are in fact exercises in composition appropriate to the grammaticus as part of ars recte loquendi.

The Latin rhetor was concerned with educating only for a career in oratory.³⁷ The Greeks, on the other hand, looked for a more general education.³⁸ Thus an Alexandrian, Theon, a contemporary of Quintilian,³⁹ considered the progymnasmata a preparation not only for oratory but also for poetry and any kind of writing (Sp. 2,

³⁷This is Quintilian's sole aim, hence the title Institutio Oratoria.

³⁸Hence the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία (orbis doctrinae), which was not important in Roman education (Inst.Or., 1, 10). See Marrou, 244ff., 378.

³⁹See pp. 13ff.

70, 26-28).⁴⁰ Quintilian confirms that Greek rhetoricians lectured on prose writers. He tried to do the same but was unsuccessful because of the feelings of Latin teachers and pupils (Inst.Or.,2,5,1).⁴¹ Theon complains that rhetoricians have not been doing their job (Sp.2,59,1-11), but Quintilian says that Greek grammarians have not encroached on rhetorical exercises to the extent of the Latin grammatici (Inst.Or.,2,1,1). This was probably because Greek rhetorical teaching was never so dominated by declamation as Latin teaching,⁴² also because a Roman boy would usually attend first the Greek grammar school, then Latin grammar school, then rhetorical school, so that the Latin grammaticus would be the one tempted to encroach on rhetoric (cf. Inst.Or.,1,4,1).⁴³

At Rome, therefore, elementary rhetorical exercises came to be taught chiefly by grammatici. Quintilian presents his ideal in the manner of his division of the progymnasmata between grammaticus and rhetor, and just as

⁴⁰ Quintilian is interested in literature only insofar as it is useful to the orator (Inst.Or.,10,1).

⁴¹ M. Winterbottom, A Commentary on Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, Book 2 (Diss.: Oxford, 1964), 157, considers that this was not common practice even among Greek rhetoricians.

⁴² See F. H. Colson, M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutio- nis Oratoriae Liber I (Cambridge, 1924), xxxiii.

⁴³ See Jullien, 203, 298 n.2.

he was unable to introduce lectures on prose writers, it seems unlikely that he was able to change the custom of his day regarding when and by whom the progymnasmata were taught.⁴⁴

Greek writers on progymnasmata treated the exercises as a continuous course to be dealt with by the rhetorician. We now turn to these Greek sources, beginning with a more detailed discussion of Theon.

Greek Sources

Theon

It would be interesting and helpful to know whether Theon was a contemporary of Quintilian and whether his work was used by him. Unfortunately, we have no evidence from ancient authors regarding Theon's date. Practically the only evidence is found in his work. Conjectures of scholars have ranged from the Augustan period⁴⁵ to 500 A.D.⁴⁶ Until the nineteenth century most scholars placed Theon at least in the third century

⁴⁴See p.12, with n.41.

⁴⁵For example, C. S. Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic (New York, 1924), 228; A. Brinkmann, "Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht", RhM 65 (1910), 152.

⁴⁶See W. Stegemann, "Theon", RE, 5(2), 2037; O. P. Hoppichler, De Theone Hermogene Aphthonioque Progymnasmatum Scriptoribus (Diss.: Virceburg, 1884), 21-23, 39, n.2; Marrou, 239. Theon must have lived before the fifth century A.D. since his work is quoted by Athanasius. See p.24.

A.D. and usually after Hermogenes and Aphthonius.⁴⁷

Recently Theon has been considered a contemporary of Quintilian.⁴⁸

The Souda mentions several Theons, one of whom wrote on the progymnasmata (Adler, Q, 206):

Θέων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς σοφιστής, ὃς ἐχρημάτισεν Αἴλιος, ἔγραψε
τέχνην [ρ] περὶ προγυμνασμάτων, ὑπόμνημα εἰς Ἰενοφῶντα,
εἰς Ἰσοκράτην, εἰς Δημοσθένην, ῥητορικὰς ὑποθέσεις,
καὶ ζητήματα περὶ συντάξεως λόγου καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα.

Nearly all scholars agree that this Aelius Theon, the rhetorician, was the author of the Progymnasmata.⁴⁹ The Souda mentions also a grammarian and a philosopher by the name of Theon. Theon the philosopher was interested in rhetoric, according to the Souda, and Theon the progymnasmatist was interested in the philosophic training of his pupils (Sp.2,59,1ff.), but these details do not prove that the two were the same person, as some have thought.⁵⁰

Quintilian mentions the name Theon twice:

⁴⁷Hoppichler, 39.

⁴⁸G. A. Kennedy, Quintilian (New York, 1969), 45; Reichel, 30; H. Mutschmann, Review of G. Gessler, Ad descriptionum historiarum symbola (Diss.: Leipzig, 1916), Woch.f.kl. Phil. 30/31 (1917), 681; Stegemann, "Theon", RE, 5(2), 2037-2039.

⁴⁹Hoppichler, 20.

⁵⁰Stegemann, RE, 5(2), 2039. See also C. Walz, Rhetores Graeci, vol.1 (Tübingen, 1832), 137ff. W.1 hereafter refers to volume one of this work.

Fecerunt alii totidem status, sed alios, an sit, quid sit, quale sit, quantum sit, ut Caecilius et Theon (Inst.Or., 3,6,48). Hoc est πῶριον, ut plerisque placuit; Theon Stoicus πῶριον existimat quod sit e membris non dissimilibus (Inst.Or., 9,3,76).

Because of the subject-matter, neither of these passages should refer to a grammarian. The Theon of 9,3,76 has, however, been identified with the progymnasmatis⁵¹.

Wilamowitz says that this reference is to the Stoic philosopher who could also be the progymnasmatis⁵² but no definite conclusion can be reached because the name Aelius was very common in Egypt.⁵³ According to the Souda, both the philosopher and the progymnasmatis were Alexandrian. Quintilian, by the words Theon Stoicus, indicates the Stoic philosopher, who wrote three books on rhetoric (Souda, Adler @, 203). Theon the progymnasmatis may also have written on rhetoric. This depends partly on how one punctuates the words of the Souda τέχνην περὶ προγυμνασμάτων,⁵⁴ and also on some words of Theon (Sp.2,61,26).⁵⁵

Reichel considers that, like Inst.Or., 9,3,76, Inst.Or., 3,6,48 refers to the work on rhetoric by the Stoic Theon, and he sets out to prove that this author is

⁵¹Stegemann, RE, 5(2),2039.

⁵²U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, "Asianismus und Atticismus", Hermes 35 (1900), 6, n.2.

⁵³Reichel, 22, n.2.

⁵⁴See Hoppichler, 20, n.2; 39, n.1.

⁵⁵Theon's text is in L. Spengel, ed., Rhetores Graeci, vol.2 (Leipzig, 1854), hereafter referred to as Sp.2.

also the writer of the Progymnasmata.⁵⁶ Reichel demonstrates that Theon the progymnasmatist has some ideas in common with the Stoics, but this alone does not prove that he was the Stoic philosopher. As Reichel himself points out, Stoic writers and Theon also have ideas in common with the non-Stoic Auctor ad Herennium and with Quintilian.⁵⁷ Theon the progymnasmatist is also called Platonic by the Byzantine progymnasmatist, Johannes Geometres (Doxopater, W.2,513,25), because Theon draws a number of examples from Plato's dialogues.⁵⁸ Although the confusions of the Souda in vitae are notorious,⁵⁹ in my view there is not enough evidence to identify the progymnasmatist Theon with the grammarian or philosopher of the same name, and, since we do not know that the progymnasmatist wrote a work on rhetoric, we cannot say whether Quintilian refers to him in the Institutio Oratoria.

What is the evidence which suggests that the progymnasmatist Theon was a contemporary of Quintilian?

⁵⁶Reichel, 23ff.

⁵⁷Ibid., 24ff. One example is the theme for a Genos, ἡ νεωτέρα τοῦ ἀρχαίου, which was debated by Epicureans and Peripatetics as well as Stoics, and is found in the Auctor ad Herennium (4,44,57), Cicero (De Or., 3,29,113; Part.Or., 66; Top., 82; Fin., 4,3,6), and Quintilian (Inst.Or., 2,4,25; 3,5,6; 7,1,24), as well as Theon (Sp.2, 123,7).

⁵⁸See Reichel, 43.

⁵⁹On the author, Hesychius of Miletus, see G. Loeschcke, "Hesychios", RE, 8,1322ff.

The Souda says that the Stoic Theon lived in the Augustan Age, and Theon the grammarian, who was the son of Artemidorus, almost certainly did, and so some scholars have thought that the three Theons lived in the Augustan period.⁶⁰ Another view was that Aelius was not a common name before Hadrian's time, but this was disproved by Wilamowitz.⁶¹ Hoppichler shows that Theon the progymnasmatist lived before Hermogenes (born ca. 161 A.D.) and Aphthonius, who lived after the second century A.D.,⁶² and Reichel sets out the evidence from the Progymnasmata for making Theon a contemporary of Quintilian, as follows.⁶³

Theon mentions Theodorus of Gadara (floruit end of the first century A.D.) and Apollonius Nolo (first century A.D.) (Sp.2, 120, 19; 61, 29). Wilamowitz thought that ἐκ τῶν Ἀπίωνος (Sp.2, 93, 24) referred to Apion,⁶⁴ and if this was so, the reference to the recent war of letters must be mid-first century A.D., before the publication of Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria. In addition, the "Asian"

⁶⁰ See Hoppichler, 39, with n.2.

⁶¹ "Asianismus und Atticismus", Hermes 35 (1900), 6, n.3. See Reichel, 20.

⁶² Hoppichler, 23ff.; cf. Radermacher, RE, 8(1), 877. See pp. 28-29.

⁶³ Reichel, 20-22; cf. Stegemann, RE, 5(2), 2039.

⁶⁴ Wilamowitz, "Asianismus und Atticismus", Hermes 35 (1900), 6, n.2. It seems likely that Theon is referring to the grammarian, Apion, and that Ἀπίωνος is the error of a scribe.

rhetoricians were blamed by Theon for their *ἐνημετέραν καὶ ἑρπυγματικὴν λέξιν* (Sp.2,71,11), which style no longer existed in Quintilian's time.⁶⁵ Like Tacitus (Dial.,30-32), Dionysius (Comp.,25), and Quintilian (Inst.Or.,1,10,11; 2,1,4), Theon complained about the orators of his day who were no longer interested in the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* and philosophy (Sp.2,59,1-11).

If Theon was a contemporary of Quintilian, or lived a short time before him, the question arises whether Quintilian knew and used Theon's Progymnasmata. As noted above, references to Theon in the Institutio Oratoria are inconclusive.⁶⁶ Discussion of the individual exercises in the following chapters will show that there are many similarities between the two authors, not only in the material treated. Their methods are often alike, and both are interested in the reasons behind various teaching methods and teaching the progymnasmata at all. They also try to relate the exercises to the future careers of their students. Like Theon, Quintilian treats the simpler exercises, fable, narration, and *ἡρώδης*, as

⁶⁵Wilamowitz, "Asianismus und Atticismus", Hermes 35 (1900), 6. The fact that Theon shows a good knowledge of authors of the third and second centuries B.C., which is cited by Reichel to support an early date for Theon, does not help to date his work because later authors also refer to Hellenistic sources.

⁶⁶See p. 15.

grammatical as well as rhetorical exercises. γνῶμη
(sententia) is included under Χρεῖα by Quintilian and Theon,
whereas Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus devote a
separate chapter to each. Quintilian includes many of the
progymnasmata mentioned by Theon, among them ἐγκώμιον
(laudatio) and paraphrase,⁶⁷ which Theon claims to have
added to the progymnasmata (Sp.2,61,25-26; 62,10ff.).
Quintilian and Theon subordinate ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή to
διήγημα (narratio), while Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus
discuss them apart from the other exercises. Hoppichler
considers that Quintilian did not have Theon's book, since
he does not mention it, but that he may have learnt of his
Progymnasmata from other writers, his pupils or imitators.⁶⁸
Lana thinks that Quintilian used Theon rather than a common
source or a Latin translation, if such existed.⁶⁹ While
these are only speculations, the likenesses between the two
authors do indicate a knowledge of Theon by Quintilian.⁷⁰

The order of Theon's progymnasmata has caused a
good deal of discussion, and since his original order helps

⁶⁷ Quintilian includes paraphrase in his discussion
of fable, while Theon has a separate chapter. See pp. 51ff.

⁶⁸ Hoppichler, 38.

⁶⁹ I. Lana, Quintiliano, il "Sublime" e gli "Esercizi
Preparatori" di Elio Teone (Torino, 1951), 151.

⁷⁰ J. Cousin, Review of Lana's work cited in n.69,
Lustrum 7 (1962), 305, argues unconvincingly that Quintilian
was earlier than Theon, e.g., because he treats paraphrase
differently. Radermacher, "Hermogenes", RE, 8(1),877, also
thinks that Quintilian wrote earlier because he assigns
μῦθος and Χρεῖα to the grammaticus, but Theon treats these as
grammatical as well as rhetorical exercises.

to establish that Theon preceded Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus, we must consider Theon's order here.

In the past, difficulties arose, first because Theon himself appears to give three different sequences for his exercises, although the variations do not seem very important.⁷¹ Secondly, there is no satisfactory text of Theon. The last edition was produced by Finckh in 1834 and republished by Spengel with minor alterations in his Rhetores Graeci, volume 2, in 1854. The text is obviously mutilated, since there are corrupt passages and lacunae, and since the last five progymnasmata mentioned by Theon in his introduction have disappeared. Recently Lana has published a study of the manuscripts,⁷² but his critical edition of Theon's Progymnasmata has yet to appear. Lana discovered that the manuscript tradition of Theon was confused and uncertain. Finckh did not have direct access to any ancient manuscript. In his edition published in Rhetores Graeci, volume 1, in 1832, Walz had spoken of five manuscripts, and Finckh evidently thought that only five remained.⁷³ Walz knew directly three manuscripts, while the others were copied from one of these three manuscripts and from the editio princeps, which was based

⁷¹See Reichel, 31ff.; I. Lana, I Progimnasmi di Elio Teone: 1. La Storia del Testo (Torino, 1959), 163-164.

⁷²La Storia del Testo.

⁷³Ibid., 7.

on a lost manuscript.⁷⁴ When Lana had already finished his Storia del Testo, there was brought to his attention the Armenian translation of Theon's Progymnasmata edited by Agop Manandian and published at Erevan in 1938. The manuscript is from the seventeenth century, but the translation originated from the second half of the sixth century A.D. The translation is of great importance because it often has better readings than the direct and indirect Greek manuscript traditions, it includes passages missing from the Greek text, in particular four of the five missing chapters, and it shows the original order of Theon's text, especially the order of the progymnasmata.⁷⁵

The order of the progymnasmata in the Armenian translation is χρεία, μῦθος, διήγημα, τόπος, ἑκφρασις, προσωποποιὰ, ἐγκώμιον καὶ ψόγος, σύγκρισις, θέσις, νόμος, ἀνάγνωσις, ἀκρόασις, παράφρασις, ἐξεργασία, ἀντίρρησις.

This is similar to the order conjectured by Lana and Reichel.⁷⁶ The view of Finckh and Spengel that the section entitled περὶ ἀνασκευῆς καὶ κατασκευῆς in the Greek manuscript tradition should be placed in the chapter on

⁷⁴W.1, 139-144; Lana, I Progimnasmata di Elio Teone: 1. La Storia del Testo, 8-9.

⁷⁵See G. Bolognesi, "La traduzione armena dei Progymnasmata di Elio Teone", RAI 17 (1962), 231ff. The Armenian translation is seven centuries older than the earliest Greek manuscript of the direct tradition. Ibid., 255-256. It also indicates that Theon's work may have been entitled Περὶ ῥητορικῶν γυμνασμάτων. See Manandian, 213.

⁷⁶Lana, La Storia del Testo, 160ff.; Reichel, 32. See also Hoppichler, 42ff.; Stegemann, RE, 5(2), 2042.

διήγημα is also confirmed by the Armenian translation.⁷⁷

What was the order Theon intended for teaching? The order given by him in chapter one (Sp.2,64,29-65,25) is based on the criterion of a progression from the easiest to the most difficult exercise, which is to overrule the natural and useful order if they should clash (Sp.2,65,1-12). The order, therefore, to be used in teaching would be that from the easiest to the most difficult, first *χρεία*, *μῦθος*, *διήγημα*, secondly the group of exercises which he calls *ὁμολογούμενα* (Sp.2,65,16-17) because they do not include argument about facts, *[κοινὸς] τόπος*, *ἑκφρασις*, *προσωποποιία*, *ἐγκώμιον*, *σύγκρισις*, thirdly the *ἀμφισβητούμενα*, in which facts are disputed, *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή* of *χρεία*, *μῦθος* and *διήγημα*, *θέσις*, and *νόμος*. Of the last five exercises, he says that *ἀναγνώσις* (critical reading of literature), *ἀκροάσις* (declamation) and paraphrase are used from the beginning (these would be involved in the other exercises),⁷⁸ and that *ἐξεργασία* (elaboration)⁷⁹

⁷⁷See Sp.2, p. vi. *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή* are, however, inserted at a different point in the chapter from that recommended by Spengel. See Bolognesi, "La traduzione armena dei *Progymnasmata* di Elio Teone", *RAL* 17 (1962), 254.

⁷⁸Until the Armenian version of these three chapters is translated, one can only speculate on why Theon placed them near the end. Perhaps it was because each was involved in several exercises, and they did not fit into any of the three groups mentioned above.

⁷⁹*ἑξεργασία* was included by Hermogenes and Aphthonius in exercises on the *χρεία*. See p.66.

and ἀντίρρησις (altercation)⁸⁰ are the hardest of all (Sp.2, 65,22-25). Theon did not keep exactly to this order of progymnasmata in his text, because he intended his work for the teacher rather than the student (Sp.2,65ff.). As Lana points out,⁸¹ Theon discusses the same exercise in various ways and includes various grades of difficulty. For example, the Χρεία is considered first because it is brief and easy to remember, but since he is writing for the teacher Theon includes ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή, which the student would not tackle immediately. For convenience of the teacher, ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή are also included with μῦθος and διήγημα.

The order of Theon's progymnasmata in the Greek manuscripts was modelled on the system which appears in Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus,⁸² which proves that Theon's work was the earliest. Since the later writers made a separate chapter on ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή and omitted Theon's last five exercises, Theon's text was altered to agree, and Χρεία was placed after διήγημα (cf. Hermogenes, R.4,7;

⁸⁰ Although ἀντίρρησις is missing from the Armenian translation, its existence in Theon's original text is confirmed by a scholiast on Aristides, who quotes Athanasius, also by Gregory of Corinth (W.7,1206,12-28). See H. Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata (Leipzig, 1926), 58; Stegemann, RE, 5(2),2041.

⁸¹ Lana, La Storia del Testo, 158.

⁸² Ibid., 165. See p.26.

Protopater, A.2, 191, 27).⁸³

Views of scholars have differed regarding when Theon's text was changed. Since Athanasius, who wrote in the fourth century A.D., quoted part of Theon's chapter on ἀντίρρησις, ⁸⁴ the text must have been unaltered at that time, at least in regard to the last five chapters. Lana considers that because of the success of Aphthonius' work, and for other reasons, Theon's Progymnasmata must have been changed by the fourth or fifth century A.D.,⁸⁵ although some copy of the original may have still existed whole and in Theon's order, as is shown by the sixth-century Armenian translation and from traces of his work still preserved in Greek and Byzantine culture.⁸⁶ Stegemann thinks that the text was not changed before the sixth century and probably much later.⁸⁷ Certainly one can understand why Theon's work was altered. It was too long to be useful to students and too learned to be popular, and, when superseded by the works of Hermogenes and Aphthonius, could not survive except in a form more like those works. Theon's Progymnasmata was still found in schools in the sixteenth and

⁸³See Lana, La Storia del Testo, 166.

⁸⁴In a scholiast on Aristides. See n. 80.

⁸⁵Lana, La Storia del Testo, 168-170.

⁸⁶Ibid., 172. Lana appears to refer to the scholiast on Aristides, mentioned above.

⁸⁷Stegemann, RE, 5(2), 2041.

seventeenth centuries,⁸⁸ but his work was not often used in Latin manuals of rhetoric and few texts, commentaries and epitomes have survived.⁸⁹

Theon's contribution was that he may have been the first writer to collect the progymnasmata into a textbook. He included exercises, such as ἐγκώμιον, which had not perhaps been used as progymnasmata previously (Sp.2, 59, 18; 61, 25). He also claimed to have invented definitions (Sp.2, 59, 19ff.), and while the material which he used was not original,⁹⁰ he may have been the first to employ such definitions of the progymnasmata in particular. His work was a source for Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus,⁹¹ and possibly for Quintilian,⁹² and large portions are quoted by Sardinianus in his commentary on Aphthonius.⁹³

⁸⁸D. L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education, 180.

⁸⁹Stegemann, RE, 5(2), 2051-2053.

⁹⁰Ibid., 2049.

⁹¹Ibid., 2052; Brinkmann, "Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht", RhM 65 (1910), 154-155; Felten, Nicolai Progymnasmata, xxviii ff.; Hoppichler, 4-14, 29-33.

⁹²See p. 19.

⁹³H. Rabe, Ioannis Sardiniani Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata (Leipzig, 1923), xx.

Quintilian
(Inst. Or., 1, 9 and 2, 4)

fabula
paraphrasis
chiria
sententia
aetiologia
narratio
ἀνάσκειν,
κατάσκειν
laudatio
vituperatio
comparatio
communis locus
thesis
legum laus ac
vituperatio

Theon
(in the Armenian version)

Χρεία
ἔνδυμα
μῦθος
διήγημα
ἀνάσκειν,
κατάσκειν
τόπος
ἐκφρασις
προσωποποιία
ἐγκύμιον
ὑπόρος
σύγκρισις
θέσις
νόμος
ἀνέκνυσις
ἐκφρασις
παραφρασις
ἐξεργασία
ἀντίφρασις

Hermogenes

μῦθος
διήγημα
Χρεία
ἔνδυμα
ἀνάσκειν,
κατάσκειν
κοινὸς τόπος
ἐγκύμιον
ὑπόρος
σύγκρισις
ἠθοποιία
ἐκφρασις
θέσις
νόμου εἰσφορά

Aphthonius

μῦθος
διήγημα
Χρεία
ἔνδυμα
ἀνάσκειν,
κατάσκειν
κοινὸς τόπος
ἐγκύμιον
ὑπόρος
σύγκρισις
ἠθοποιία
ἐκφρασις
θέσις
νόμου εἰσφορά

Nicolaus

μῦθος
διήγημα
Χρεία
ἔνδυμα
ἀνάσκειν,
κατάσκειν
κοινὸς τόπος
ἐγκύμιον
ὑπόρος
σύγκρισις
ἠθοποιία
ἐκφρασις
θέσις
νόμου εἰσφορά

The Order of the Progymnasmatia
Chart 1

Hermogenes

Hermogenes lived in the second century A.D. He was born ca.161 A.D. and became a young prodigy, producing a number of rhetorical works between 176 and 186.⁹⁴ The Souda does not mention the Progymnasmata, but other writers do, for example, Priscian, who translated or rather adapted the work into Latin ca.500 A.D.,⁹⁵ Tzetzes (Chil., 6,79), Joannes Doxopater, Syrianus, Nicephorus Basilaces, Georgius Pletho.⁹⁶ It is doubtful, however, whether Hermogenes was the author of this work.⁹⁷ By the sixth century A.D. some were assigning it to Libanius.⁹⁸ In the remainder of this dissertation, therefore, Pseudo-Hermogenes should be assumed for Hermogenes.

The Progymnasmata of Theon are fuller than the exercises of Hermogenes, which, taken with the other evidence, is an argument for placing Theon earlier.

⁹⁴See Hoppichler, 24.

⁹⁵For Priscian's Praeexercitamina, see K. Halm, Rhetores Latini Minores (Leipzig, 1863), 551ff.

⁹⁶See W.L, 5-8.

⁹⁷See H. Rabe, Hermogenis Opera (Stuttgart, 1969), iv-vi; Radernacher, RE, 8(1), 877; cf. Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 620.

⁹⁸Radernacher, RE, 8(1), 877.

Hermogenes has no introduction, he does not give precepts in great detail but adds examples, he treats *μῦθος*, *σύνγραμμα* and *ῥεῖα* simply as rhetorical exercises, and he has a separate chapter on *γνώμη* and *ἀνδοκευή καὶ κατασκευή*, all of which suggest that he was later than Theon. It is shown from similar passages that Hermogenes used Theon and not vice versa.⁹⁹ As an example, Theon claimed to have composed his own definitions (Sp.2,59,19ff.), and those of Hermogenes are similar.

Aphthonius

For like reasons, Aphthonius, whose work became even more popular than Hermogenes' Progymnasmata, must have followed Theon. Aphthonius contracted the precepts further and added still more examples, which explains the popularity of his book as a school text. As well, he separated *ἐγκώμιον* and *ψόγος*, and *ἀνδοκευή* and *κατασκευή*, making fourteen chapters in all. The number of chapters indicates that he came after Hermogenes, as confirmed by Tzetzes (Chil.,6,79). According to the Souda, Aphthonius lived after the second century A.D. Most scholars have

⁹⁹Hoppichler, 29-33. Rabe, Hermogenis Opera, vi, agrees. References to Hermogenes' Progymnasmata in this dissertation are taken from Rabe's edition of Hermogenes' works, hereafter indicated by R.

thought that he was writing at the end of the third century or beginning of the fourth century.¹⁰⁰ It now seems certain that his floruit was late fourth century. A scholiast states that Aphthonius was a pupil of Libanius and Phasganius.¹⁰¹ Aphthonius has the same fourteen progymnasmata as Libanius has in his book, and there are many similarities between the two.¹⁰² Rabe¹⁰³ says that Libanius wrote a letter to Aphthonius in 392 A.D. (Ep. 985). According to Libanius, Aphthonius worked far from his home, Antioch, as a teacher, wrote many books, and maintained a connection with Eutropius, who was at Antioch from 355 to 362 A.D., was a friend of Libanius, and was probably the author of Breviarum ab Urbe Condita.

Of Aphthonius' works, only the Progymnasmata, and a collection of forty fables which may also be his, have survived.¹⁰⁴ Aphthonius based his Progymnasmata on the work of Hermogenes (Tzetzes, Chil., 6, 79), but superseded him. His short exposition, which usually consists

¹⁰⁰For example, G. Saintsbury, A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1961), 90; see Hoppichler, 19-20; J. Brzoska, "Aphthonios", RE, 1, 2797.

¹⁰¹Hoppichler, 25; Brzoska, RE, 1, 2797.

¹⁰²H. Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata (Leipzig, 1926), xxvii-xxviii. See p. 36.

¹⁰³Ibid., xii-xiii, for the text of the letter. See also R. G. Bury, Review of Rabe's edition of Aphthonius, CR 41 (1927), 150. In support of the later date for Aphthonius is the fact that he is not mentioned by earlier Neoplatonists.

¹⁰⁴Brzoska, RE, 1, 2797; Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata, xxiv-xxv; Hausrath, Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum, 1, xxiii.

of definition, division and method, plus an illustration of each exercise, was more suitable for an elementary rhetorical text.

Hoppichler shows that Theon, Hermogenes and Aphthonius all use similar matter, but that Hermogenes is closer to Theon and to Aphthonius than Aphthonius is to Theon.¹⁰⁵ Aphthonius probably had Hermogenes' work before him, but it is impossible to know whether Aphthonius used Theon directly because of Aphthonius' silence about his sources and the confused state of Theon's tradition. As well, Aphthonius' theory consists of basic facts common to many writers on rhetoric.¹⁰⁶

The success of his work is demonstrated by the number of commentaries.¹⁰⁷ The most substantial is that of Joannes Doxopater, who collected and edited the commentaries of others in the eleventh century. Aphthonius' Progymnasmata, together with the rhetoric of Hermogenes, was the main text-book from the fifth century.¹⁰⁸ It was still used in schools and universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, outdoing Priscian's Latin version of Hermogenes in popularity.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Hoppichler, 4-14.

¹⁰⁶ See Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata, xxv-xxvi.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., x-xii; Brzoska, RE, 1,2799.

¹⁰⁸ G.L. Kustas, "The Function and Evolution of Byzantine Rhetoric", Viator 1 (1970), 56ff.

¹⁰⁹ Brzoska, RE, 1,2798. Rabe's edition of Aphthonius is hereafter indicated by R.

Nicolaus

Nicolaus lived in the fifth century A.D.¹¹⁰ He wrote rhetorical works, including the surviving Progymnasmata. In number and order of the exercises he agrees with Hermogenes. His work is like Theon's in that he begins with an introduction in which he explains the value of progymnasmata. He is also interested in the theory and methods of teaching the exercises. Nearly every chapter consists of an explanation as to why the exercise appears in its particular position, definition and division, method of teaching, discussion of what kinds of oratory and what parts of a speech the exercise assists, and whether it relates to the whole speech or part of it. The interest in the last point is not found in the other progymnasmaticists.

Similarities in matter indicate that Nicolaus did use Theon.¹¹¹ Felten considers that he knew Hermogenes

¹¹⁰ See J. Felten, Nicolai Progymnasmata (Leipzig, 1913), xxi-xxvi.

¹¹¹ For comparison of each chapter with Theon, Hermogenes and Aphthonius, see W. Stegemann, "Nicolaus", RE, 17(1), 429ff., 449; cf. Felten, xxviii-xxxi.

but not Aphthonius.¹¹² Stegemann, however, thinks that Nicolaus did not use Hermogenes directly.¹¹³ And apart from evidence found in the text of Nicolaus,¹¹⁴ the work of Aphthonius was doubtless influential by the fifth century A.D. Nicolaus may have known both Hermogenes and Aphthonius. But in his interest in discussion of theory and precept rather than example, his work is closer to that of Theon.¹¹⁵

These four progymnasmaticists provide the major Greek sources used in this dissertation. We shall now introduce briefly some of the minor sources.

¹¹² Felten, xxx-xxxi. Hereafter F. means Felten's text.

¹¹³ RE, 17(1), 444.

¹¹⁴ Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata, 'xiii-xv.

¹¹⁵ Besides these four progymnasmaticists, other writers of progymnasmata from the same period, but whose work has not survived, are Harpocration, Epiphanius, Minoukianos, Onasimos, Oulpianos, Paulos, Sirikios, Sopater (Rabe, Aphthonii Progymnasmata, 52-58). For Libanius, see pp. 35-36.

Other Sources

Anaximenes

The Ars Rhetorica of Anaximenes, which for centuries was called the Rhetorica ad Alexandrum of Aristotle, has recently been proved a work of the fourth century B.C. (ca.340 B.C.).¹¹⁶ Since it is pre-Aristotelian, it is the earliest surviving Ars Rhetorica and therefore of considerable value. It will be helpful in the chapter on ἑγκώμιον.

Anonymus Seguerianus

The Anonymus Seguerianus was a name given in the nineteenth century to a treatise on the parts of an oration.¹¹⁷ The original treatise was probably compiled in the second half of the second century A.D. from three major sources; Neocles, who wrote in the first century A.D.; Alexander, son of Eumenius, who wrote in the second half of the second century; and Harpocration, a contemporary of Hadrian.¹¹⁸ These writers in turn probably used at least one source which was known to the Auctor ad

¹¹⁶ M. Fuhrmann, Anaximenis Ars Rhetorica (Leipzig, 1966), praefatio, especially xxxix ff.

¹¹⁷ See Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 616. J. Graeven, Cornuti artis rhetoricae epitome (Berlin, 1891), attributed the treatise to Cornutus, but this has not been accepted.

¹¹⁸ D. Matthes, "Hermagoras von Tennos", Lustrum 3 (1958), 77. What survives is corrupt and may be an epitome. See Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric, 617.

Herennium and Cicero.¹¹⁹ The treatise gathers Aristotelian, Stoic and other materials from the whole history of rhetoric, and the discussion of the four parts of an oration (introduction, narration, proof and epilogue) is unusual only in that the writer applies invention, arrangement and style to each part.¹²⁰ It is important for understanding the struggle between Apollodoreans and Theodoreans, since it refers to the views of Apollodoreans. We shall be referring to the section on narration in the chapter on that progymnasma.

The Pseudo-Dionysius Rhetoric

The Ars Rhetorica formerly attributed to Dionysius of Halicarnassus was not written by him and is not a general rhetorical handbook.¹²¹ The first seven chapters discuss varieties of epideictic oratory and are probably by a single author. The other chapters, on figured themes in declamation, mistakes in declamation, and criticism of characterization and style, may be by several other writers. The period of composition seems to be after the first century A.D., possibly between 150

¹¹⁹ Matthes, ibid.

¹²⁰ See Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric, 617ff.

¹²¹ See H. Usener and L. Radermacher, Dionysi Halikarnassi Opuscula (Leipzig, 1899-1929) for the text. On the controversy regarding authorship, see T. C. Burgess, Epideictic Literature (Chicago, 1902), 106, n.3.

and 250 A.D.¹²² Both this work and that of Menander will be mentioned in the chapter on *Ἐγκύκλιον*.

Menander

A third-century rhetorician, Menander of Laodicea, wrote an important treatise, or perhaps two treatises, on epideictic oratory. Only part of one treatise survives, that is, of Menander's Division of Birthday (γενεθλιακόν) Epideictic, while the other is entitled Menander on Epideictic.¹²³ It is doubtful whether Menander wrote both.¹²⁴

Libanius

Libanius, already mentioned as the teacher of Aphthonius, lived in the fourth century A.D. The work entitled Progymnasmata, which was published after his death, is corrupt in many places,¹²⁵ and has been considered by Orinsky as the work of Nicolaus.¹²⁶ It consists entirely of models for imitation and therefore

¹²²See Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 634; L. Radermacher, "Dionysios", RE, 5, 969.

¹²³For the text, see L. Spengel, Rhetores Graeci, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1856).

¹²⁴See L. Radermacher, "Menander", RE, 15, 762-764.

¹²⁵Foerster-Müncher, "Libanios", RE, 12, 2518-2522.

¹²⁶Ibid., 12, 2519; K. Orinsky, De Nicolai Myrensis et Libanii quae feruntur progymnasmatis. Auszug. (Diss.: Breslau, 1920).

demonstrates the nature of the progymnasmata in the fourth century. The fourteen exercises included are the same ones treated by Aphthonius.¹²⁷

Having introduced the sources, we shall now proceed to study each progymnasma mentioned by Quintilian in the Institutio Oratoria, Book 2, paying particular attention to the development of each exercise and the methods of teaching recommended by Quintilian and the progymnasmatists Theon, Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus.

¹²⁷See p. 26. For the text, see R. Foerster, Libanii Opera, vol. 8 (Leipzig, 1915).

CHAPTER ONE

μῦθος (FABULA)

Several problems relating to μῦθος (fable) will be discussed in this chapter. When was it first used as a progymnasma in the schools? What was it? Was Phaedrus a text-book for the Romans? Why was fable often placed first among the progymnasmata, and how did Quintilian and the progymnasmatists intend it to be taught? Was the fable of practical value in the future careers of the students? Paraphrase will also be considered, since Quintilian includes it in his discussion of fable.

When was μῦθος first used as a progymnasma?

Scholars do not agree on whether the fable was used in the schools before the first century A.D., nor have papyri been discovered which would testify to such a use.¹ Beudel discounts the literary evidence cited by other scholars for several reasons - the examples given are rather γνῶμαι (sententiae), moral maxims; Aesop's name is not mentioned; and Lucian and Strabo cannot be

¹See P. Beudel, Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint, papyris, ostracis, tabulis in Aegypto inventis illustratur (Diss.: Münster, 1911), 34. The earliest Aesopic papyrus is P. Rylands, 493 (first century A.D.).

considered witnesses for the period B.C.² Marx³ finds evidence for μῦθος as a progymnasma in Auctor ad Herennium, 1,8,12-13. He is wrong, however, because fabula does not mean "Aesopic fable" in this context. The definition of the Auctor ad Herennium (fabula est, quae neque veras neque veri similes continet res, ut eae sunt, quae tragoediis traditae sunt), shows that fabula does not here have the restricted meaning "fable", but is rather a division of διήγημα (narratio).⁴ The fabula or μῦθος which concerns us in this chapter is a "fictional story picturing truth" (Theon, Sp.2,72,28). Certainly the passage of the Auctor ad Herennium mentioned above cannot be cited as proof for the use of the fable as a progymnasma before the first century A.D.

²Beudel, 34. The passages concerned are Lucian, Anach.,21; Strabo,1,C15; Plato, Prt.,325E, none of which refers to fables in particular. In the Republic (377A) Plato mentions μῦθος in education, but these are tales of gods and heroes, not Aesopic fables. See p.39.

³F. Marx, Incerti Auctoris de ratione dicendi Ad C. Herennium Libri IV (Leipzig, 1894), 110.

⁴See pp.78ff. Quintilian uses fabula as a division of διήγημα at Inst.Or.,2,4,2. A. Hausrath, Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum (Leipzig, 1956), prol.1,viii, considers the Accursian recensio to be for narrative exercises, the Augustan to be simpler, probably wrongly (see M. Nøjgaard, La Fable antique, vol.1 (Copenhagen, 1964), 481ff.

It is certain only that fables were highly regarded under the Empire, especially by rhetoricians, and were used in the grammar schools. Babrius became the most important Greek fabulist used by the students.⁵

The Nature of $\mu\theta\theta\omicron\varsigma$

The progymnasmatists define $\mu\theta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ as "a fictional story picturing truth", as mentioned above (Theon, Sp.2,72, 28; Hermogenes, R.2,4-5; Aphthonius, R.1,6; Nicolaus, F.6, 9-10; cf. Doxopater, W.2,157,16-17). It must relate to real life and be plausible (Hermogenes, R.2,4-10). It does not include a mythical narrative about the gods (Theon, Sp.2,95,3ff.; Nicolaus, F.7,4ff.), and is restricted to a moral story about animals (Theon, Sp.2,72, 30). Aristotle (Rhet.2,1393a,20) mentions two kinds of fable, $\mu\theta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, but Theon finds eight types (Sp.2,73; cf. Hermogenes, R.1,9ff.; Aphthonius, R.1,7ff.; Nicolaus, F.6,20ff.).⁶ All alike are called Aesopic, because Aesop used fables (Hermogenes, R.2,1). Theon also gives other terms for $\mu\theta\theta\omicron\varsigma$, namely $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ and $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (Sp.2,73,24ff.; cf. Nicolaus, F.6,18-19). There was considerable confusion regarding these terms and

⁵Beudel, 35-36. See also P. Collart, "Les papyrus littéraires latins", RPh 15 (1941), 113, 114, 127.

⁶Quintilian (Inst.Or., 5,11,19) also seems to apply the term Aesopic to all fables. See B. E. Perry, Aesopica, vol.I (Urbana, 1952), 297. On the various kinds of fable, see Perry, 234ff.; Reichel, 50-51; S. Trenkner, The Greek Novella in the Classical Period (Cambridge, 1958), 175-176. On characteristics of the Aesopic fable, see Perry, viii-ix.

their meanings among ancient writers.⁷ $\alpha\lambda\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ("fictional tale") was used by early authors, for example, Archilochus (89,1 81,1D); Theon gives it the more restricted post-classical meaning with the addition of exhortation (cf. Nicolaus, F.6,18-19). $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ("tale, legend, myth, fable") was used in the classical period and in Hellenistic poetry (cf. Nicolaus, F.6,15-18).⁸ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ was classical and Hellenistic not only in the sense "fictional tale" but also meaning "fable" in particular.⁹ There was also confusion among Latin writers concerning fabula, fabella and apologos; for example, Quintilian is not consistent in his use of fabula and fabella as "fictional narrative" and "fable" (cf. Inst.Or., 5,11,18-21), and he uses apologos also for "fable" (Inst.Or., 6,3,44).

Was Phaedrus used as a Textbook?

Quintilian confirms the use of $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ by teachers of his day and recommends it as the first progymnasma of the grammaticus in the following passage:

⁷See M. Nøjgaard, La Fable antique, vol.1 (Copenhagen, 1964), 122ff.

⁸See LSJ, s.v.

⁹The first example was in Herodotus, 1,141. See Nøjgaard, 125ff.

"Therefore let them learn to relate Aesop's fables, which follow very closely their nurses' stories,¹⁰ in pure speech and a simple style: they should be allowed first to change verse¹¹ to prose, then give an exact version in different words, then paraphrase more freely, in both an abridged and expanded manner but keeping the poet's sense (poetae sensu). Whoever handles successfully this task, which is difficult even for expert teachers, will be capable of learning anything." (Inst.Or., 1,9,2-3).

One question that arises from this passage is to which poet is Quintilian referring in the words poetae sensu? It cannot be Aesop, because what we have of his work is in prose. Colson considers that poetae refers to any poet being studied, particularly Homer and Vergil,¹² also that Phaedrus as well as Babrius could have been used in schools.¹³

Despite the fact that Quintilian does not mention Phaedrus, and the lack of evidence from papyri and literature,¹⁴ his fables may have been used in Roman schools. Postgate¹⁵ explains Quintilian's silence by saying that Phaedrus himself calls his fables Aesopic,¹⁶ and that only a selection would

¹⁰Here fabula obviously means "story" and fabella "fable". Quintilian makes the same distinction at Inst.Or., 5,11,18-19, but at once uses fabula for "fable". Philostratus says that Aesop's fables were known from babyhood (VA, 5,14).

¹¹See Colson's note on interpretari, ad loc.; W. Peterson, M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber Decimus (Oxford, 1891), note on interpretatio (10,5).

¹²See Colson's note ad loc.

¹³F. H. Colson, "Phaedrus and Quintilian 1,9,2", CR 33 (1919), 60.

¹⁴See Hausrath, "Phaedrus", RE, 19,1493-1494.

¹⁵

H. Postgate, "Phaedrus and Seneca", CR 33 (1919), 23.

¹⁶Poetae in Inst.Or., 1,9,3 could then mean "of Phaedrus". The construction of the sentence seems to connect poetae with Aesopi fabellas.

be used in a school anthology so that there was no need to give the author's name. Colson thinks that the name would have been mentioned if any poetical fabulist had been used in Roman schools.¹⁷ He points out that there is not a single quotation from Phaedrus in extant grammarians and rhetoricians.

Hermann argues that the parchment collections of fables which appeared about the middle of the first century A.D., and whose existence is confirmed by Quintilian (Inst. Or., 1, 9, 2), must have been selected from Phaedrus.¹⁸ His reasons why Phaedrus is not mentioned by Quintilian are that the school versions of Phaedrus were expurgated and so considered simply as adaptations of Aesop,¹⁹ and that Phaedrus belonged to Seneca's literary circle, thus incurring Quintilian's disapproval.²⁰ The latter point would explain a reference to Phaedrus merely as poeta at Inst. Or., 1, 9, 3.

Some objections to Hermann's arguments are that Quintilian may not have been specifying any poet in this passage, and that he may have omitted Phaedrus, and indeed the parchment collections of Latin fables, from his program

¹⁷Colson, "Phaedrus and Quintilian 1,9,2", CR 33 (1919), 59ff.

¹⁸L. Hermann, Phèdre et ses fables (Leiden, 1950), 5.

¹⁹Ibid., 144.

²⁰Ibid., 153.

because he wanted his students to exercise with Greek fables.²¹ In addition, Phaedrus' work was not appreciated in his lifetime.²² Seneca ignored it, declaring that Aesopic fables were intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus (Epist. ad Polybium de consolatione, 8,3).

In the absence of real evidence, we certainly cannot be sure that Phaedrus was used in schools, and even if his fables provided material for anthologies, those of Avianus later furnished stories more suitable in metre and content.²³

Methods of teaching $\mu\omega\theta\omega\varsigma$

Quintilian places the fable first because it is simple, but he considers the exercises difficult enough to provide training for other learning (Inst. Or., 1,9,3). Oral composition is to precede written, a sound method for avoiding mistakes, and one would expect that Quintilian's students learned vocabulary and variety of expression from these exercises, which are based on paraphrase.

Theon also treats $\mu\omega\theta\omega\varsigma$ mainly for grammatical exercises. He adds the use of $\mu\omega\theta\omega\varsigma$ for practice in the oblique cases, especially the accusative (Sp. 2,74,21ff.). In another exercise, the teacher provides a conclusion and the student is required to compose a suitable fable

²¹Cf. Inst. Or., 1,4; A. de Lorenzi, Fedro (Florence, 1955), 189-190.

²²Hermann, 145.

²³Hausrath, RE, 19,1494.

(Sp.2,75,31). As in Quintilian, the composition may be brief or expanded (Sp.2,75,16ff.). Theon would also use the more rhetorical exercise of defence and refutation of $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\varsigma$. He divides a $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\varsigma$ into parts like a speech and discusses topics for $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ (Sp.2,76ff; cf. Nicolaus E21,19).²⁴ Since this exercise is difficult, it is to be postponed to the end of the progymnasmata (Sp.2,65,20).²⁵

Hermogenes stresses the moral value of the fable as the reason for placing it first (R.1,2-5). He says that it must be plausible, and like Quintilian and Theon he would have it sometimes expanded, sometimes concise (R.2).²⁶ He adds an example, the fable of the monkeys in council, told briefly and at length (R.3). The style should be simple and pleasant. Aphthonius' concise introduction to the use of fable (R.1-2) contains nothing new. As an example, he gives the fable of the ants and the tree-cricket (R.2,5ff.).

Nicolaus gives reasons similar to those of Quintilian for placing $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\varsigma$ first among the progymnasmata. $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\varsigma$ is clear and more simple than the others, and since it is related to poetry it makes a starting-point familiar to the student (F.6,1-6; cf. Schol. in Aph., W.2, 16-20). He wants the

²⁴On $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ see pp. 90-93.

²⁵In addition, Theon does not place the fable first. See p. 26.

²⁶Apuleius (De Deo Socratis, 111) refers to this practice.

enunciation simple and the meaning clear (F.11,3-10; cf. Theon, Sp.2,74,9; Hermogenes, R.3,15). He adds that the fable belongs to deliberative rhetoric although others have thought it useful for the three kinds of oratory, forensic, deliberative and epideictic (F.8,12ff.; cf. Aristotle, Rhet., 2,1394a,20; Schol.in Aph., W.2,568-569).

The Value of $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$

Apart from moral training, $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ gave a general grounding in composition, and so was useful to both the future writer and orator. It was helpful in preparing the minds of students for poetry, history and mythology (Doxopater, W.2,155). It was used for practising narrative, if not argument. Doxopater claims that the fable trained the pupil to compose prooemia (J.2,79,21-22).

Like Aristotle (Rhet., 2,1394a,20), the progymnasmatists were concerned with the utilitarian value of $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ for the orator. For example, Theon recommends several exercises which would be useful to the orator in particular, including ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή and memorization and recitation. In this section he uses the word $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ twice to describe $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, and throughout his chapter on $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ he is at pains to show its usefulness.

Perry, however, considers that $\mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ was not suitable for Theon's proposed exercises. No examples

of $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\iota$ used for the grammatical exercise of practising cases have been found,²⁷ although Egyptian papyri show that the $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$ was used in this way for some time after Theon.²⁸ Fables were employed, however, for practising direct and indirect speech,²⁹ and a third century papyrus is quite similar to Theon's chapter on $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\varsigma$.³⁰ The exercise of composing a fable from a moral was continued in later life, for example by Latro (Seneca, Controv., 1, prf. 23). Hermogenes considered the fable unsuitable for ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή (R. 11, 4-5), but it seems possible that these could be used in an epilogue if something false emerged from the fable.³¹ Finally, Hausrath holds that the augustana (Byzantine) collection of fables consists of exercises in the style of rhetoricians and pupils.³²

Whether Hausrath is correct or not, these progymnasmata seem to have been intended for a double

²⁷Perry, 296-297; Beudel, 51.

²⁸See p. 65, n. 36.

²⁹Beudel, 51.

³⁰J. G. Winter, "Some Literary Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection", TAPhA 53 (1922), 136-137.

³¹See Reichel, 53. The model fables of rhetoricians have examples of the use of $\mu\omega\theta\omicron\varsigma$ for praise and blame (W. 1, 424ff., 597ff.).

³²Cited by Nøjgaard, 480. Nøjgaard disagrees, 481ff.

audience, both the young, as in Quintilian, Inst.Or.,1,9, Theon (Sp.2,75) and Hermogenes (R.1),³³ and the advanced student, the prospective writer or orator, as in Quintilian, Inst.Or.,5,11 and Theon (Sp.2,70). The older student may have been concerned with refuting the applied fable of his opponent (Sp.2,65,20). We know without doubt, from the evidence of Egyptian papyri, that $\mu\bar{\omega}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ was used in the grammar schools, for writing, translation,³⁴ verse-to-prose exercises,³⁵ and for training in direct and indirect speech. Fables were probably also learned by heart.³⁶

Was the fable useful in oratory? Aristotle regards it as a means to persuasion, and easier to use than historical examples because $\mu\bar{\omega}\theta\omicron\iota$ can be invented when the occasion demands (Rhet.,2,1394a,20). He also gives examples of the use of fable in oratory (Rhet. 2,1393b,20), and this custom is confirmed for the fifth

³³ $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota$ is explained by Hermogenes as those not yet trained (cf. Priscian, 551,3 Halm). Perry, 296-297, overlooks the young.

³⁴ Collart, "Les papyrus littéraires latins", RPh 15 (1941), 113, no.4; Nøjgaard, 549.

³⁵ W. A. Oldfather, "An Aesopic Fable in a School-boy's Exercise", Aegyptus 10 (1929), 255-256. See also p.51.

³⁶ Beudel, 35-36.

century B.C. (Aristophanes, Vesp., 566 and 1258-9). In the fourth century, Demosthenes and Demades rebuked their audiences for delight in fables rather than serious matters, but there are no fables in the Attic orators and no evidence for the use of whole fables in Alexandrian and Roman oratory.³⁷ The fable was used chiefly for allusion³⁸ to stories well known to the audience. Cicero never related a whole fable,³⁹ although he made allusions and recommended this practice to other speakers (e.g., De Inv., 1,17,25; De Or., 2,66,264; Phil., 3,11,27). Livy refers to the fable of Menenius Agrippa as horridus et priscus modus dicendi (2,32,8), but Quintilian cites it as an example of fable as a means for delighting and persuading the simple (Inst.Or., 5,11,19; cf. Macrobius, Somn.Scip.,

³⁷Except for the fable of Menenius Agrippa (Livy, 2,32,8). See B. E. Perry, "Fable", SG (1959), 22; Nøjgaard, 464.

³⁸Likewise in literature, e.g., Plautus, Pseud., 139-140; Aul., 226-236; Terence, Eun., 832; Ennius, 159 Vahlen; Horace, Epist., 1,1,73. Horace also uses whole fables several times in the Satires and Epistles (Sat., 2,3, and 6; Epist., 1,7,10, and 20). Whole fables were useful in this type of writing because the author was seeking to point a moral.

³⁹Nøjgaard, 465.

1,2,7-9).³⁷ He also refers to fables (apologi) among stories which add charm to a speech (Inst.Or.,6,3,44). Hermogenes testifies to the use of μῦθος in oratory (R.4,3-4) and a scholiast on Aphthonius states that the three types of oratory are to be illustrated with fables as occasion requires (W.2,568).

The progymnasmatists and collections of fables which appeared under the Empire may have brought new popularity to the fable, but most examples appear in epideictic writers such as Dio Chrysostom, Himerius and Apuleius.³⁸ Since the stories were simple and well known, it is understandable that their use was limited in practical oratory.

³⁷Quintilian (Inst.Or.,5,11,19) also gives an example of fable in Horace's Epistles and implies that the fable could be used for sophisticated audiences.

³⁸Nøjgaard, 465. On the fable in literature under the Empire, see also Hausrath, RE, 19,1486ff.

Paraphrase

Paraphrase as an exercise is mentioned by Plato (Phaedr., 235A) and Isocrates (Paneg., 8). A papyrus example from the third century B.C.³⁹ shows that paraphrase was already established as a school exercise. It was based on reading, with Homer as the most popular source for paraphrases.⁴⁰ In the De Oratore (1,34,154), Crassus confirms the use of paraphrase in the schools when he was a boy, but objects to its use on the grounds that nothing is gained by employing the same words in paraphrasing, and that others will be inferior to the original words.⁴¹ Theon later answers this objection (Sp.2,62,10ff.), saying that one can speak well on the same subject more than once and that the imagination is expressed in many ways (cf. Inst.Or., 10,9). Theon gives many examples of paraphrase by ancient writers.

In a passage already quoted (Inst.Or., 1,9,2-3),⁴²

³⁹Archiv 13 (1939), 121. See also G. Giangrande, "On the Origins of the Greek Romance", Eranos 60 (1962), 158.

⁴⁰Giangrande, 154. Paraphrase was not restricted to Homer, however. J. W. B. Barns, "Literary Texts from the Fayum", CQ 43 (1949), 1, no.1, is a paraphrase of an epic poem about Hercules from the second century B.C.

⁴¹Reichel, 112, gives examples from Cicero and other Roman writers.

⁴²See p.41.

Quintilian recommends paraphrase in exercises on the fable. There are three steps. First the pupils are to change verse to prose, secondly to give an exact version in different words, thirdly to paraphrase more freely in both an abridged and expanded manner. The changing of verse to prose is not mentioned by the progymnasmatisists, but in the fourth century A.D. Saint Augustine performed this exercise in grammar school (Conf., 1, 17). Beudel has not found examples of such difficulty in Egyptian papyri, with one exception.⁴³ He evidently considers that fables or similar stories in verse were changed into prose by the teacher as a rule and dictated to the pupils.⁴⁴

There are, however, papyrus examples of both expressing the same thing in different words, which was an aid to comprehension, and expressing the same thing from another point of view, which was an end in itself and used to develop style.⁴⁵ In the latter exercise, the pupil varied the arrangement and proportions of the original and added rhetorical figures. In one example, a paraphrase of Iliad, 1, 1-21 has become fourtimes as long as the original.⁴⁶

⁴³Beudel, 54 = Grenfell-Hunt, 2, 84.

⁴⁴Beudel, 54; cf. Marrou, 239; Hausrath, RE, 19, 1493.

⁴⁵P. J. Parsons, "A School-Book from the Sayce Collection", ZPE 6 (1970), 141.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Paraphrase of Aesopic fables would usually be of the simpler type, that is, expressing the same thing in different words as an aid to understanding.⁴⁷ This was an exercise closely associated with reading in the grammar schools, whereas the exercise to develop style was more rhetorical.

The progymnasmatists, except Theon,⁴⁸ do not mention paraphrase, possibly because they thought that it was the province of the grammaticus (cf. Suetonius, De Gramm., 4,3). Although practised chiefly by students in grammar school, paraphrase to develop style was recommended by Quintilian for the mature orator (Inst.Or., 10,5,5),⁴⁹ and Statius testifies to its practice by the grammatici themselves (Sily., 5,3,159).⁵⁰ Paraphrase continued to be used in schools in the Middle Ages,⁵¹ and is still common in

⁴⁷For examples, see P. Collart, "Les papyrus littéraires latins", RPh 15 (1941), 114, no. 18 (third century A.D.); Archiv 7 (1924), 255 (third century A.D.); Archiv 14 (1941), 138 (first century A.D.). Cf. Apuleius, De Deo Soc, 111.

⁴⁸Theon's separate chapter on paraphrase exists only in the Armenian version. See p. 22. Hermogenes does not mention paraphrase by name, but includes both brief and expanded methods of relating fables (R.2).

⁴⁹See Peterson's note ad loc.

⁵⁰See Colson's note on professoribus (Inst.Or., 1,9,3).

⁵¹G. Giangrande, "On the Origins of the Greek Romance", Eranos 60 (1962), 158.

education. The Greek love-romance probably developed from paraphrases of Alexandrian love-elegies and epyllia which rhetoricians composed as models for their pupils.⁵²

⁵²Giangrande, 155-156. Cf. Trenkner, 185.

CHAPTER TWO

Χρεία (CHRIA)

The next exercise for consideration is the Χρεία.

We shall discuss the meaning of the term, Quintilian's classification of the Χρεία, the exercises based upon it, and its value. The related γνώμη (sententia) will be discussed in less detail since Quintilian merely mentions it (Inst.Or.,1,9,3). Aetiologia will also be examined.

The Meaning of Χρεία

The literal meaning of Χρεία was always "a need", or something necessary for a particular purpose, as in the phrase Χρεία γαστρική,¹ and it later acquired the meaning "something useful for life", or "useful to have on hand".

The first use of Χρεία as "a helpful saying" appears in Aristippus, who established a literary genre of Χρεία in the fourth century B.C. (Diogenes Laertius, 2, 85).² Gow conjectures from the Χρεία of Machon that these books contained jokes useful to a public speaker or raconteur.³

Books of pithy sayings, called Χρεία, were collected by

¹K. von Fritz, "Gnome", RE, 6, 88; see also LSJ, 2002, s.v. e.g. Aristotle, Pol., 1254b: ἡ περὶ τὴν χρεὴν καὶ εὐχὴν.

²See E. Mannebach, Aristippi et Cyrenaicorum Fragmenta (Leiden, 1961), 78, for example. See also A. S. F. Gow, Machon: The Fragments (Cambridge, 1965), 12-13. Von Fritz, RE 6.88, is wrong on the founder. Colson, on Inst.Or., 1, 9, 3, thinks the name came from the phrase τὸ πρὸς τὴν χρεὴν (cf. Nicolaus, F.20).

³Gow, 24.

other philosophers such as Hecaton, Zeno of Citium, Metrocles the Cynic, Persaeus the Stoic, Ariston of Chios, and Cleanthes (Diogenes Laertius, 6,32-33,91; 7,36,173).

Because of their coarse humour, many of these *Χρῆται* were not suitable for the classroom. The Cynics were probably the first to teach *Χρῆται* to children (Diogenes Laertius, 6,31),⁴ but *Χρῆται* were also used by the Stoics,⁵ and Peripatetics such as Xenophon, in the Hiero, and Aristotle⁶ collected similar sayings.

Some ancient writers appear to have been uncertain as to what a *Χρῆς* was. Athenaeus (13,577d) gives *Χρῆς* as the title of Machon's book, but soon afterwards (13,579d) calls its contents *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* (commentarii).⁷ Theon, however, distinguishes *Χρῆς* from *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* (Sp.2,97,2-6), in that the *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* was longer than the *Χρῆς*, and unlike the *Χρῆς* it did not refer to one particular person. The progymnasmatists also discuss the differences between *Χρῆς* and *γνώμη* (sententia). Theon (Sp.2,96,29-30; 99,13 and 24-26) and Nicolaus (F.21,1-18) both list as a characteristic of *Χρῆς* that it was *σπουδαίου, ἑλαίου* (both serious and humorous) (cf. Doxopater, W.2,247,19ff.).

⁴See von Fritz, RE, 6,88.

⁵Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 82, holds that Quintilian was influenced by the Stoics on the *Χρῆς*.

⁶See G. A. Gerhard, Phoinix von Kolophon (Leipzig, 1909), 249, n.6. Aristotle liked puns, etc. (rhet., 1410b).

⁷Commentarii (memoirs) = *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* (LSJ, intermediate edition, 133, s.v.).

Sometimes the humour of the $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ seems more important than the moral.⁸ Generally, however, the lesson was more important, since the progymnasmatists all define the $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ as the concise exposition of a word or deed, useful for life (Theon, Sp.2,96,19-22; 97,7-10; Hermogenes, R.6,4-6; Aphthonius, R.3,21-22; Nicolaus, F.19,7-9; cf. Doxopater, W.2,249,20-22).⁹

The $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$, as used in the rhetorical schools, was a saying or deed, usually of a philosopher or well-known person, simple and memorable with a point or moral applicable to life. $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ of this sort were first used extensively by philosophers¹⁰ and from them passed into the schools, where they were probably introduced as valuable truths to be learnt by heart and only later were used as a basis for composition.¹¹ As with the other progymnasmata, there is little evidence extant for the development of the $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$, especially at Rome. Auctor ad Herennium (early first century B.C.) includes a rhetorical exercise (expositio) on a $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (4,44,56), but the first discussion of the $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ is found in Quintilian (Inst.Or.,1,9,4-5).

⁸ See p.71 for other differences between $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ and $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$. See also L. Giangrande, The Use of Spoudaiogeloion in Greek and Roman Literature (Hague, 1972).

⁹ A papyrus of the third century A.D. has a similar definition. See Archiv 7 (1924), 228, no.620.

¹⁰ See p. 55.

¹¹ See Colson's note on chriae, Inst.Or.,1,9,3.

Classification of the $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$

By the first century A.D., several types of $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ were recognized (Inst.Or. 1,9,4-5). Quintilian says that some begin with a simple statement (type I),¹² "dixit ille" (IA) or "dicere solebat" (IB), a second type gives the answer to a question, "interrogatus ille" (IIA), or statement, "cum hoc ei dictum esset, respondit" (IIB), and a third type begins "cum quis dixisset aliquid" (IIIA), vel "fecisset" (IIIB). In the fourth type (IV), an action¹³ may also be the subject of a $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, for example, "Crates, cum indoctum puerum uidisset, paedagogum eius percussit" (1,9,5). Another type, the $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is related to the $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, but here the person supplying the moral does so unintentionally. In the example (1,9,5), "Milo, quem vitulum adsueuerat ferre, taurum ferebat", Milo did not intend to point the moral, which is that progression from easy to more difficult tasks brings success.¹⁴

Quintilian thus gives three main types of $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ — verbal, in which the point is demonstrated by words,

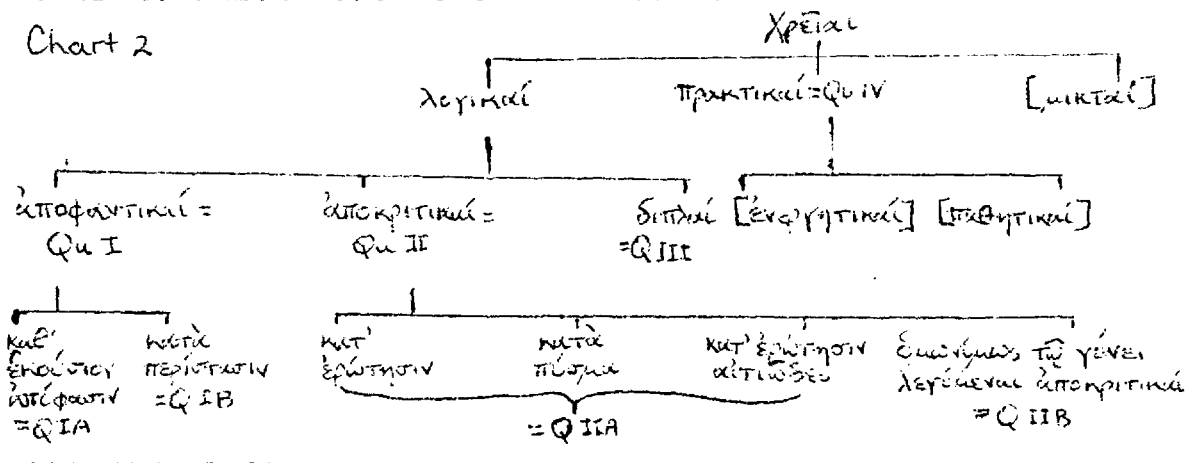
¹²The Roman numerals correspond to those in Schissel's table. See p.58.

¹³See Colson's notes on Inst.Or., 1,9,5.

¹⁴Ibid.; also O. Schissel, "Die Einteilung der Chrie bei Quintilian", Hermes 68 (1933), 248.

practical, in which the point is shown by an action, and *χρεῖσδες*, in which the moral is supplied unintentionally. The progymnasmatists also have the first two categories, verbal and practical *χρεῖαι*, but substitute for the *χρεῖσδες* the mixed *χρεῖα*, in which usually both words and actions supply the moral (Aphthonius, R.4,8-11).¹⁵ Theon has a number of subdivisions, which Schissel has equated with those of Quintilian.¹⁶ The following diagram constructed by Schissel¹⁷ matches Theon's categories (from Sp.2,97,11-99,10) with those of Quintilian indicated by the Roman numerals which were mentioned above.¹⁸

Chart 2



¹⁵Theon's mixed *χρεῖα* is different. See p. 62.

¹⁶Schissel, 245-248.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 248.

¹⁸See p. 57. See also Cousin, *Etudes sur Quintilien*, 200.

There are difficulties, however, in fitting Quintilian's scheme to Theon's, and Schissel is not correct about every type. One difficulty is that Theon distinguishes each type by name and example, as follows:
 λογικὰ καὶ αὖν [sc. ἀρεταί] εἰσιν αἱ χωρὶς πράξεως διὰ λόγων
 ἔχουσα τὸ κῆρυξ, εἶναι Διογένης ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος,
 πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξος γένοιτο, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἥκιστα δόξης
 φρονιμίῳ (Sp.2,97,12-15).

Quintilian, on the other hand, uses as distinguishing signs the introductory formula of the *χρεία*, especially the subordinate clause to the principal point, and some examples, in this way:

alterum [sc. genus] quod est in respondendo: "interrogatus ille", uel "cum hoc ei dictum esset, respondit" (Inst.Or., 1,9,4).

Quintilian's first type of *χρεία* (I), which is a simple statement, appears to correspond with Theon's demonstrative type (ἀποφαντικὸν εἶδος) (Sp.2,97,16-19).¹⁹ But Theon's two subdivisions, voluntary or unprompted demonstration and one prompted by circumstance (καθ' ἑκούσιον ἀπόφασις and κατὰ περίστασιν) are not so similar to Quintilian's "dixit ille" (IA) and "dicere solebat" (IB), as Schissel would have us believe.²⁰ "Dixit ille"

¹⁹Schissel, 246.

²⁰Ibid.

could be a voluntary demonstration (Quintilian gives no example), but "dicere solebat" is not peristatic because it is not limited to a particular time.

Quintilian's second type of ἡρώα (II), the posing and answering of a question, corresponds to Theon's answering type (ἀποκριτικὸν εἶδος), and Quintilian's first subdivision of this type (IIA), "interrogatus ille respondit", could include three of Theon's subdivisions - answering a question which requires the answer "yes" or "no" (κατ' ἐρώτησιν), giving a longer answer to an enquiry (κατὰ πόσιν), and answering a question which requires a reason (κατ' ἐρώτησιν ἀπὸ αἰτίας) (Sp.2,97,26-98,12). Moreover, Theon's fourth subdivision, like the kind answering a statement (ἐκινούμενος τῷ γένει λεγόμενον ἀποκριτικόν), is similar to Quintilian's type IIB, the answer to a statement. Theon's example of this type, in which no question is asked, tells of Plato, who, when Diogenes once invited him to lunch in the market, said, "How marvellous would be your naturalness if only it were not a pose." (Sp.2,98,12-20).

Quintilian's third kind (III), "cum quis dixisset aliquid" (IIIA) uel "fecisset" (IIIB), is more difficult to equate with Theon's types. Colson²¹ considers that Quintilian's third type differs from IIB (the answer to

²¹See his note ad loc.

a statement) in that it lacks ei, that is, type III is not the answer to anything addressed directly to the speaker of the $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$. Schissel²² equates Quintilian's type IIIA ("cum quis dixisset aliquid") with the double kind of word $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ of Theon, in which one $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ answers another - for example, Alexander, king of the Macedonians, coming upon Diogenes asleep, said, "A counselling man should not sleep all night", and Diogenes replied, "These things are the care of the man to whom the peoples have entrusted themselves" (Sp.2,98,20-29=II,2,24-25). Unlike Colson, Schissel therefore considers the difference between Quintilian's types III and IIB to be that the saying which introduces the $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in IIB is not in itself a $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, whereas in type III one $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ answers another. But this limitation does not have to be placed on Quintilian's type III ("cum quis dixisset aliquid" nel "fecisset"). Also, type III includes both an introductory word or action, so that IIIB at least cannot be identified with Theon's double word $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ which requires an introductory λογική $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$.²³ For these reasons, I do not agree with Schissel in equating Quintilian's type III with Theon's double $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$.

²²Schissel, 247.

²³Schissel, ibid., does concede this point, but does not indicate same in his diagram.

Nor is Reichel's²⁴ identification of Quintilian's type III with Theon's mixed $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ correct, to judge by Theon's examples of mixed $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, in which the answer to a question is given by deed not word (Sp.2,99,6-10). Quintilian rather includes type III with verbal $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, in which the answer is given by word not deed (Inst.Or. 1,9,4).

Quintilian's type IV is an action chria which corresponds to Theon's $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma \mu\eta\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, but with the subdivisions $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ and $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (active and passive) omitted. Theon's example of Diogenes beating a tutor because his charge was unruly (Sp.2,98,32) is similar to Quintilian's example about Crates (1,9,5).²⁵

From this discussion it can be seen that Quintilian's and Theon's categories of $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$ do not exactly match. In some cases we cannot be certain what Quintilian meant, since he does not have a detailed discussion with examples like Theon's. It is doubtful whether such comparison is profitable.²⁶ It does show, however, that there was no one rhetorical system, and that discussion of rhetorical terms often became very

²⁴Quaestiones Progyrnasmaticae, 118, n.6.

²⁵Quintilian has an ignorant boy instead of a badly-behaved one. See Colson's note ad loc.

²⁶See Lana, Quintiliano, il "Sublime" e gli "Esercizi Preparatori" di Elio Teone, 130.

specialized, detailed and confused. Furthermore, other and different classifications of the *χρεία*, which are not found in Quintilian, appear in Theon (Sp.2,99), Hermogenes (R.7,7-9) and Nicolaus (F.21).²⁷

Quintilian is the only writer, Greek or Latin, who names *χρεῖδες* as a separate exercise.²⁸ In Schissel's view,²⁹ *χρεῖδες* is not a *χρεία* because the moral is not supplied voluntarily or consciously. Quintilian's example of Milo and the bull (*Inst.Or.*,1,9,5) contradicts Colson's identification of *χρεῖδες* with Theon's *παραθητική* variety of the *χρεία πρακτική*.³⁰ (Sp.2,99,2-4), because Milo performs an action. The *χρεῖδες* is, however, related to the *χρεία* since it points a moral and could be used as a basis for school exercises.

Exercises on the *χρεία*

For Quintilian, the *χρεία* followed closely fable and paraphrase. The subjects for the *χρεία* were to come from reading (1,9,6) and so were connected with the study of literature.³¹ Theon also recommends exercises similar to those for *μῦθος*, including *ἀπαγγελία*, which was like

²⁷I do not intend to discuss these classifications since they are omitted by Quintilian.

²⁸Cousin, *Etudes sur Quintilien*, 82.

²⁹Schissel, 248.

³⁰See Colson's note *ad loc.*

³¹See Colson, "Phaedrus and Quintilian I,9,2", *CR* 33 (1919), 60.

paraphrase (Sp.2,101,6-8). The *Χρεία* was useful as well for practising grammatical cases (*Inst.Or.*, 1,9,5;³² cf. Suetonius, *De Gramm.*, 25,5).³³ Theon discusses how each main type of *Χρεία* may be used in all cases, singular and plural (Sp.2,101-102). Nicolaus also gives examples of this practice (F.18; cf. Doxopater, W.2,192,16ff.), which is supported by the evidence of papyri,³⁴ especially from Egyptian schools. Here is an example worked through each case in the singular:

ὁ Πυθαγόρας φιλόσοφος ἀπορίας καὶ γράμματα διδάσκων συνεβούλευεν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμένων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῷ Πυθαγόρῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀπορίων καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντες λόγος ἀπομανημεύεταί τε συνεβουλεύοντες τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμένων ἀπ[ε]χέσθ[αι]. τῷ Πυθαγόρῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀπορίων καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντι ἔδοξε συνεβουλεύσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμένων ἀπέχεσθαι. τὸν Πυθαγόραν φιλόσοφον ἀπορίων καὶ γράμματα διδάσκοντα φασὶν συνεβουλεύσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμένων ἀπέχεσθαι. ὁ Πυθαγόρε φιλόσοφε ἀπορίας καὶ γράμματα διδάσκων σύ ποτε συνεβουλεύσατον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς ἐναιμένων ἀπέχεσθαι.

³²See Colson's note *ad loc.*

³³See R. P. Robinson, C. Suetoni Tranquilli *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (Paris, 1925), note *ad loc.*

³⁴Beudel, 49-51; F. G. Kenyon, "Two Greek School-Tablets", *JHS* 29 (1909), 29-30; Ziebarth, 16-17; P. J. Parsons, "A School-Book from the Sayce Collection", *ZPE* 6 (1970), 143-144. The use of the *Χρεία* for practising grammatical cases in Latin is attested by Diomedes, in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol.1 (Hildesheim, 1961), 310. In this example, the saying attributed to M. Porcius Cato was attributed to Isocrates by the progymnasmatisists (Hermogenes, R.7,13ff.; Aphthonius, R.4,16ff.; Nicolaus, F.21,3ff.). J. Barnes, "A New Gnomologium: with some remarks on Gnostic Anthologies", *CQ* 45 (1951), 15, thinks that this exercise taught variety in introducing prose quotations.

Although not quoted in full here, this example was also worked through the dual and plural.³⁵ Such exercises were used for some time after Theon,³⁶ but they were purely grammatical and perhaps for that reason disappeared eventually from the progymnasmata (cf. Sardonius, R.37,12).³⁷

Some rhetorical exercises on the ἡμεῖς are also recommended and discussed at length by Theon, including praise, antithesis, expansion and contraction, and ἡμεῖς and κατακρίναι (Sp.2,101,3-6).³⁸ All the progymnasmatists associate the ἡμεῖς with rhetoric rather than grammar. Hermogenes (R.7-8), Aphthonius (R.4-6) and Nicolaus (F.24) add to the rhetorical exercises of Theon the development of the ἡμεῖς as an exercise in composition on a given theme following a fixed group of topics or headings

³⁵Ziebarth, 16-17. It will be noted that various verbs are used in order to give practice in each case.

³⁶Beudel, 51. Egyptian examples follow Theon's precepts, but deal only with the ἡμεῖς and use only one formula for each case - Parsons, "A School-Book from the Sayce Collection", ZPE 6 (1970), 143-144.

³⁷Use of the ἡμεῖς for practising grammatical cases is not mentioned by Hermogenes and Aphthonius, and by the fifth century Nicolaus speaks of it as a thing of the past (F.18). The disappearance of this exercise also explains why, from the time of Hermogenes, the ἡμεῖς is no longer the first of the progymnasmata (cf. Nicolaus, F.19,1-6). See p. 26. See also Brinkmann, "Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht", RhM 65 (1910), 152-155. Theon placed ἡμεῖς first, but intended that ἡμεῖς and κατακρίναι of the ἡμεῖς be postponed (Sp.2,65,20) because of the difficulty.

³⁸Nicolaus does not hold with ἡμεῖς and κατακρίναι of ἡμεῖς and ἡμεῖς (F.21,19ff.; cf. Hermogenes, R.11,5), and Hermogenes and Aphthonius omit ἡμεῖς and κατακρίναι of the ἡμεῖς.

(that is, ἐξήγησις or expolitio).³⁹ These topics are panegyric, paraphrastic, from the cause, from the contrary, analogy, example, testimony of the ancients, to be followed by a brief epilogue.⁴⁰ The Auctor ad Herennium had developed an expolitio in a similar way, arguing from the cause, contrary, comparison, illustration, testimony of the ancients, with a brief epilogue, and adding a recommendation to practice such an exercise (4,44,56ff.).

The Usefulness of the ἤρετα

The ἤρετα was useful for elementary, grammatical and rhetorical exercises. Seneca (Ep.,33,7) says that it was first used in elementary school, for memorization and later composition.⁴¹ For Quintilian, it was to be used chiefly as a grammatical exercise, that is, for paraphrase and practising cases (Inst.Or.,1,9,5-6). Theon placed it first among the progymnasmata because it was simple and easy to remember (Sp.2,64,30-31).⁴² He acknowledged its moral value as well as its usefulness in building power of expression (Sp.2,60,16-19). Nicolaus

³⁹ ἐξήγησις is mentioned by Theon (Sp.2,64,26; 65,23; 70,5) but not with the same meaning. See Reichel, 14-15.

⁴⁰ For a papyrus example from the second century A.D., see Beudel, 56-57; J. G. Milne, "Relics of Greco-Egyptian Schools", JHS 28 (1908), 130; Ziebarth, 18.

⁴¹ See O. Crusius, "Aus antiken Schulbüchern", Ph 64 (1905), 144.

⁴² ἤρετα was later placed after διήγησις. See p.23.

comments that some writers placed the *Χρεια* first for its moral value, or considered that it should be used simply for drilling grammatical cases (F.17,16-20; 18,1-6).

Theon does include both grammatical and rhetorical exercises on the *Χρεια*, but not the composition on a set theme found in Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus, who, in turn, omit the grammatical exercises. The *Χρεια* provided training for deliberative rhetoric in particular, but also for forensic oratory (Nicolaus, F.23,9-17).

In literature, many *Χρεια* are preserved in biography, for example, in Xenophon's Hiero and in vitae such as those of Diogenes Laertius. The Gnomologium Vaticanum⁴³ consists largely of *Χρεια*.

Aetiologia

Quintilian mentions sententia and ethologia together with the *Χρεια* (Inst.Or.,1,9,3)⁴⁴. He says that the sententia (proverb) is general, but the ethologia refers to people. This same distinction is drawn between *γνώμη* (sententia) and *Χρεια* by the

⁴³L. Sternbach (ed.), Gnomologium Vaticanum (Berlin, 1963).

⁴⁴See pp. 71-73 for discussion of sententia (*γνώμη*).

progymnasmatis (Theon, Sp.2,96,25-27; Hermogenes, R.7, 4-6; Nicolaus, F.19,13-15; cf. Isidore, 513, 28-31 Halm).

The term ethologia is a correction of Regius, who edited Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria in 1493, and it is found in no manuscript. Nor does it appear in the progymnasmatis. After Quintilian, Suetonius mentioned ethologia, but did not say what it was (De Gramm.,4,3). Seneca had referred to ethologia as a description of each virtue, useful in philosophy (Ep. 95,65).⁴⁵ This does not fit Quintilian's definition. The substitution of ethopoeia (character sketch) also would not fit the context. Winterbottom,⁴⁶ Colson,⁴⁷ and Robinson⁴⁸ favour the reading aetiologia.

Aetiologia is mentioned by Rutilius Lupus (2,19 and 21, Halm), Seneca (Ep.,95,65), Quintilian (Inst.Or.,9,3, 93), Augustinus (Gen.ad litt.,2,5), an anonymous rhetorician (date unknown-73,17 Halm), and Isidore of Seville (521,18 H), and in each case the term refers to searching for

⁴⁵Reichel, 119, thinks that it was a description of virtues and vices like the Characters of Theophrastus.

⁴⁶In his edition of the Institutio Oratoria (Oxford, 1970).

⁴⁷See Colson's note ad loc. and "Quintilian and the 'Chria' in Ancient Education", CR 35 (1921), 152.

⁴⁸R. P. Robinson, "Ethologia or Aetiologia in Suetonius De Grammaticis c.4 and Quintilian I,9", CPh 15 (1920), 370-379; see also his note on Suetonius, ad loc.

or giving a reason. Seneca defines aetiologia as causarum inquisitio (a search for reasons) and associates it with the grammatici. Quintilian identifies aetiologia with ad propositum subiecta ratio (the addition of a reason for what is advanced) (cf. Cicero, De Or., 3, 54, 207). This definition is similar to the phrase subiectis dictorum rationibus (adding the reasons for the sayings), which is found in Quintilian's description of exercises on the ἡρεῖα (Inst.Or., 1, 9, 3). The earliest exercises probably consisted of writing out the ἡρεῖα by heart with a short explanation of the reason for it.⁴⁹ The more elaborate themes on the ἡρεῖα also required the giving of a reason (αἰτίαι).⁵⁰

Aetiologia seems therefore to be an exercise which can be related to the use of ἡρεῖα by the grammatici whereas ethologia cannot so easily be linked with the ἡρεῖα. Some of Theon's examples of ἡρεῖα could be considered aetiologiae - for example, Diogenes' beating of the tutor, mentioned above,⁵¹ where the reason for the action is given (Sp. 2, 98, 32), or Socrates' answer, "I cannot say, for I do not know what education he has", when asked if he

⁴⁹See Colson's notes on subiectis dictorum rationibus and et ratio est. See also Winterbottom's note on quod genus chriae ... (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 26), where he agrees that αἰτία was always one of the key elements in the treatment of a ἡρεῖα, with the result that the aetiologia, which was treated in a similar manner, could be called a type of ἡρεῖα.

⁵⁰See pp. 65-66.

⁵¹See p. 62.

deemed the king of Persia fortunate (Sp.2,98,9-12), where the type of $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ is $\mu\epsilon\tau'\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\omega\delta\epsilon\varsigma$.

Quintilian has an example of aetiologia among the elementary exercises to be taught by the rhetorician (Inst.Or.,2,4,26). He says that as a preparation for conjectural cases, which were concerned with motive (causa, uoluntas)(cf.Inst.Or.,7,2,3; 12,2,19), his teachers made their pupils discuss such questions as "Why in Sparta is Venus represented wearing armour?", the aim being to discover the intention. Such a question is described as a type of $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$, and although there is some doubt whether these are Quintilian's words or a gloss,⁵² I think that Colson has shown clearly enough that $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ and aetiologia were related.⁵³ Quintilian places this particular exercise near the end of the progymnasmata because of its difficulty.

⁵²See Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 117, n.5.

⁵³See also Winterbottom on Inst.Or.,2,4,26. I agree that this exercise cannot be called a $\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, because it is not a general question and it is not argued on both sides. For the latter reason, it cannot be considered an $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma$. See Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 117, n.5; Reichel, 123. See p.69.

γνώμη (sententia)

As already noted,⁵⁴ the γνώμη was associated with the χρεῖα by Quintilian and the progymnasmatists. The meaning of γνώμη was originally "mark" or "sign", and it later acquired the meaning "opinion".⁵⁵ From Aristotle (Rhet., 2, 21, 1394a) we learn that it was a general saying with a moral aim. Quintilian identifies γνώμη with sententia (Inst. Or., 8, 5, 3).

These are the differences between χρεῖα and γνώμη as set out by Theon (Sp. 2, 96, 24-97, 2). χρεῖα always refers to a particular person, γνώμη not always. χρεῖα is sometimes general apart from the reference to a person, sometimes particular, but γνώμη is always general. χρεῖα may be deed or word, γνώμη only word. χρεῖα may be sometimes humorous and of no practical value, but γνώμη is always of moral worth. This is the extent of Theon's discussion of γνώμη. The other progymnasmatists give it a separate chapter immediately following χρεῖα. Hermogenes says that γνώμη may persuade toward or dissuade from something or show

⁵⁴See p. 67.

⁵⁵See K. Horna, "Gnome", RE 6, 74, and for a discussion of γνώμη and γνῶμολογία in Hellenistic times, RE 6, 76ff. The practice of compiling anthologies (γνῶμολογία) of γνῶμαι and χρεῖαι began with the sophists in rhetorical education, and they probably intended γνῶμολογία to be used in the composition of θέσεις. See J. Barns, "A New Gnomologium with some remarks on Gnostic Anthologies", CQ 45 (1951), 8ff.

the nature of something (R.8,17). He characterizes $\gamma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta$ as true, plausible, simple, compound, or exaggerated (R.9). Following the progymnasmatist's love of categories, Aphthonius and Nicolaus add other types. Aphthonius lists the hortatory, dissuasive, declaratory, simple, compound, real, or exaggerated (R.7). Nicolaus includes the true, plausible, simple, double,⁵⁶ some followed by a reason, others without a reason, some showing of what kind deeds are, others of what kind deeds should be, the hortatory, dissuasive, disapproving, also some telling of worthy actions, others of unworthy deeds (F.26). All these categories seem possible, but one pities the student who had to remember examples of them all.

Like the $\chi\rho\alpha\iota\alpha$, the $\gamma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta$ was useful for all parts of rhetoric (Nicolaus, F.28,9ff.). It was memorized in the elementary schools.⁵⁷ It could be used for composition on a set theme in the same manner as the $\chi\rho\alpha\iota\alpha$ (Hermogenes, R.10; Aphthonius, R.8-10; Nicolaus, F.29,5; Libanius, 8,106ff. Foerster). For the older student, Quintilian recommended changing the $\gamma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta$ into as many forms as possible, that is, paraphrase (Inst.Or.,

⁵⁶A double $\gamma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta$ combined two thoughts. "Learn noble things from the noble: if you mix with bad men, you lose even the sense which you have." (Nicolaus, F.27,1-3).

⁵⁷Cf. Inst.Or., 1,1,36. See Crusius, "Aus antiken Schulbüchern", Ph 64 (1905), 44; also possible examples of memorized $\gamma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta$ from the fourth century A.D. in D. L. Page, Select Papyri, vol.3 (London, 1942), 476. See also J. Clarysse and A. Wouters, "A Schoolboy's Exercise in the Chester Beatty Library", AS 1 (1970), 202. Aeschines, 3,135

10,5,9; cf. Fronto, Ep. ad M. Caes.,3,11). Exercises on the ὑπόμνημα were continued in later life, at least by the orator Latro (Seneca, Controv.,1,pref.23) and Marcus Aurelius (Fronto, Ep. ad M. Caes.,5,59). For Fronto, teacher of Marcus Aurelius, the ὑπόμνημα was indispensable as a tool in oratory (Ep. ad M. Caes.,3,11).

The ὑπόμνημα continued to be important in education into the Middle Ages. It is mentioned by Fortunatianus, Julius Victor, Cassiodorus, Isidore, and, of course, Priscian, who translated Hermogenes (Halm 123; 437-8; 499-500; 513: 553-4). Collections of ὑπόμνημα such as the Catonis Disticha, and especially the Μεγίστου Γράμμα and ὑπόμνημα from Euripides, were popular.⁵⁸ Colson finds an example of a ὑπόμνημα in the thirteenth century, and considers that both the ὑπόμνημα and the ὑπόμνημα may have influenced the form of the Christian sermon.⁵⁹ By accustoming students to memorize sayings, to paraphrase them, and to develop speeches from them, exercises on the ὑπόμνημα and ὑπόμνημα did affect the literary style of the late Roman Empire and early Middle Ages.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Horna, RE,6.83-84; W. Görler, Μεγίστου Γράμμα (Diss.: Berlin, 1963).

⁵⁹Colson, "Quintilian and the 'Chria' in Ancient Education", CR 35 (1921), 152-153.

⁶⁰See F. Di Capua, Sentenze e Proverbi (Naples, 1946), 100-101.

CHAPTER THREE
διήγημα (NARRATIO)

For Quintilian, narratio (διήγημα) was the first exercise to be undertaken by the rhetorician because it resembled those elementary rhetorical exercises which he had assigned to the grammaticus (Inst.Or.,2,4,1). Narration was involved in the exercises on the fable, and Quintilian also wanted the grammaticus to use narration of poetic themes, but for the benefit of knowledge, not style (Inst.Or.,1,9,6),¹ whereas style was to be a major concern of the rhetorician (Inst.Or.,2,4,13-14). The grammaticus was therefore not required to treat narration as a progymnasma, which was an elementary exercise in rhetorical composition, and this chapter will be concerned with Quintilian's instructions to the rhetorician.

The progymnasmatisists placed διήγημα after μῦθος, and originally after χρεία,² because it was related to these two exercises and because it was simpler than the other exercises (Nicolaus, F.11,11-13). In both Quintilian and the progymnasmatisists the exercises on διήγημα are similar to those on μῦθος. The difference is that the student would now deal more with prose writers, and would pay more attention to style, and to ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή, which Quintilian did not include in exercises on the fable since

¹See Colson's note ad loc.

²See p.23.

ἀνασκέυῃ and κατασκέυῃ were rhetorical rather than grammatical exercises.³

Before examining divisions of διήγημα in Quintilian and the progymnasmatists, we shall discuss the origin and nature of narration, and its divisions in other writers. Later we shall mention style in διήγημα, methods of teaching it, and its usefulness to the future orator.

The Origin and Nature of διήγημα

Narration, or the relating of incidents, began even before written literature in the telling of stories, and practice in it was an essential part of rhetoric. We cannot tell when narration began to be used as an elementary rhetorical exercise in the schools, but paraphrase, which must be considered a related exercise, was established as a school exercise by the third century B.C.⁴ No papyri, however, from before the first century A.D. show the use of narration as a progymnasma.

The Auctor ad Herennium (1,8,12) and Cicero (De Inv.,1,19,27) mention that the practice of narration is useful. Although they are referring to the type not used

³See p 90.

⁴See p 50.

in legal cases (genus a causa civili remotum),⁵ narration may well have been a progymnasma in their time.⁶ Narratio was also a technical term for a division of a forensic speech and was generally used in this sense (cf. Inst.Or., 4,2).⁷ In Greek the part of a speech was called διήγησις (Aristotle, Rhet., 3,1416b), the progymnasma διήγημα (Nicolaus, F.11,16-19). Most writers on rhetoric discussed διήγησις. The progymnasmatisers are concerned with something different, although they apply to διήγημα the divisions of διήγησις, which could include all types of narration. Their definition of διήγημα could apply equally to διήγησις :

διήγημα ἐστὶ λόγος ἐκθετικὸς πραγμάτων γεγονότων ἢ ὡς γεγονότων.
(Theon, Sp.2,78,15-16; cf. Auctor ad Her., 1,3,4; Cicero, De Inv., 1,19,27; Quintilian, Inst.Or., 4,2,31; Hermogenes, R.4,6-7; Aphthonius, R.2,14-15; Nicolaus, F.11,14-15).

⁵These two authors divide narration according to two principal categories, genus a causa civili non remotum and genus a causa civili remotum. See p.78. Quintilian also restricts exercise to genus a causa civili remotum, but the progymnasmatisers include διήγημα πολιτικόν. See p.85.

⁶See K. Barwick, "Die Gliederung der Narratio in der rhetorischen Theorie und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Antiken Romans", Hermes 64 (1929), 283-284; O. Schissel, Die griechische Novelle (Halle, 1913), lff.; Marx, 110; Reichel, 12-13.

⁷A. Schaefer, De rhetorum praecentis quae ad narrationem pertinent (Diss.: Freiburg, 1920/1), considers narratio only as part of a speech.

Nicolaus gives the fullest account of the differences between *διήγημα* and *διήγησις* (F.11,16-12,6; cf. Doxopater, W.2,198,26ff.). *διήγησις* is for judicial debates, *διήγημα* for relating stories or events. He says that some writers thought that *διήγησις* was the exposition of true things, *διήγημα* of things which could have happened, but Nicolaus obviously does not agree because he defines *διήγημα* as the exposition of things that have happened or could have happened (F.11,14-15). Most writers, however, held that the difference between *διήγημα* and *διήγησις* was similar to that between *ποίημα* and *ποίησις*,⁸ that is, *διήγημα* was about one event, *διήγησις* about many (cf. Hermogenes, R.4,9; Aphthonius, R.2,16). *διήγημα* was therefore the telling of a story, true or possible, about one event.

As mentioned above, the progymnasmatisists attempt to apply divisions of *διήγησις* to *διήγημα*, and we must therefore examine the various systems of classifying *διήγησις*.

⁸ *ποίημα* meant "a poem", *ποίησις* usually "poetry". See LSJ, 1429.

Anonymus Seguerianus, 53ff.

αἱ διηγήσεις ἐπὶ κρίτων λεγόμεναι =

- = διήγημα πολιτικόν {
- (a) αἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον αὐτὸ
 - (b) † αἱ δὲ πρὸς ἰδίας διηγήσεις τῆς ὑποθέσεως λέγονται † 9
 - (c) αἱ δὲ παρεκπίπτουσι πίστεως ἕνεκεν ἢ αὐξήσεως ἢ διαβολῆς ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου, ὅστις καὶ παραδιηγήσεις τινὲς καλοῦσιν.

αἱ καθ' ἑαυτάς =

- (a) μυθικά = (a) ψευδῆ =
- (b) ἱστορικά = (b) ἀληθῆ =
- (c) περιπετικά } = (c) ὡς ἀληθῆ =
- (d) βιωτικά }

(Anonymus Seguerianus) (Sextus Empiricus Math., I, 252)

Auctor ad Herennium + Cicero

1, 8, 12-13

De Inv. 1, 19, 27.

genus a causa civili non remotum

(a) cum exponimus rem gestam

(a) in quo ipsa causa et omnis ratio controversiae continetur

(b) quod intercurrit nonnumquam aut fidei aut criminationis aut transitionis aut alicuius apparationis causa

(b) in quo digressio aliqua extra causam

genus a causa civili remotum

genus in negotiis positum

(a) fabula = (a) legends παρὰ φύσιν

(b) historia = (b) facts and legends κατὰ φύσιν and tragedy (in earlier theory)

(c) argumentum = (c) comedy and tragedy (Hermogenes and Nicolaus)

(Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero) (Asklepiades and Auctor ad Herennium, Cicero and Quintilian)

in personis positum

<ἀφηγηματικά>

<δραματικά>

<μικτά>

(Plato, Resp., 3, 392D)

Divisions of διήγησις

⁹ This passage is corrupt (see Graeven, ad loc.), but seems to mean the actual narrative part of the delivery (cf. Theon, Sp. 2, 60, 4).

Divisions of *Σύγγραμματα*

In dividing narratio, that is, the part of a speech (*Σύγγραμματα*), the Auctor ad Herennium (1,8,12-13) and Cicero (De Inv.,1,19,27) give three kinds, one relating only the details of the case, another including a digression, comparison or amplification, and a third unconnected with public issues. The first two belong to genus a causa civili non remotum and the third to genus a causa civili remotum. These two divisions correspond to those in the Anonymus Seguerianus (53, p.12 Graeven): αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ κριτῶν λεγόμεναι¹⁰ and αἱ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτάς. The two subdivisions of genus a causa civili non remotum are also similar to those of the Anonymus Seguerianus (55, p.13 Graeven), as shown in the preceding diagram.¹¹

The subdivisions of genus a causa civili remotum¹² have caused difficulties to scholars because they do not correspond to the four subdivisions of the Anonymus Seguerianus, βιωτικά, ἱστορικά, μυθικά and περιπετικά (54, p.12 Graeven). The Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero

¹⁰See Barwick, "Die Gliederung der Narratio", Hermes 64 (1929), 263, n.2. This division is the same as διήγημα πολιτικόν, which was sometimes given as a fourth kind with fabula, historia, argumentum (Hermogenes, R.4,19; Nicolaus, F.12,17; Martianus Capella, 486,16 Halm; Doxopater, A.2,207,9). Aphthonius has three kinds (R.2,19), including πολιτικόν (cf. Doxopater, A.2,199,19). See p.86.

¹¹See p.78.

¹²Ibid.

make a division in negotiis and in personis not existing in the Anonymus Seguerianus. As well, Fabula goes with μυθικά (neque verse neque verisimiles res - Auctor ad Her., 1, 8, 13 and Cicero, De Inv., 1, 19, 27; πράγματα ἀγένητα καὶ ψεύδη - Sextus Empiricus, Math., 1, 264),¹³ and historia with ἱστορικά, but scholars have disagreed over βιωτικά and περιπετικά¹⁴ and to which divisions of the Roman writers they correspond. It appears that the Anonymus Seguerianus, whose text is a compilation,¹⁵ especially in the section on διήγησις, included both an earlier βιωτικά = argumentum (also called πλάσμα or δραματικόν) and a later περιπετικά = argumentum (= πλάσμα), and so both βιωτικά and περιπετικά correspond with argumentum. Most writers had the three divisions, μυθικόν, ἱστορικόν, πλάσματικόν (fabula, historia, argumentum). These are sometimes attributed to Asklepiades of Myrlea,¹⁶ with reference to the historical part of grammar, because they are found not only in Sextus Empiricus (Math., 1, 263), but also in a scholiast on Dionysius Thrax (449, 10 Hilgard) and in one on Terence, which seems to be derived from Tzetzes by a humanist scholar.¹⁷

¹³See Barwick, 270.

¹⁴Ibid., 267ff.

¹⁵E.g., from Alexander, Apollodorus, Aristotle, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Harpocration, Neocles, Theodorus, Zeno. See Barwick, 268ff. See p.33.

¹⁶See G. Wentzel, "Asklepiades", RE, 5(2), 1630; W. J. Slater, "Asklepiades and Historia", GRBS 13 (1972), 317.

¹⁷See Barwick, 265.

The difficulty over the four divisions of the Anonymus Seguerianus has led to confusion as to where comedy and tragedy belong in this scheme. Under αἱ καθ'ἑαυτὰς there are also divisions relating to truth. Sextus Empiricus (Math., 1,252) has three,¹⁸ which he quotes from Asklepiades in his section on the historical part of grammar, namely ἀληθῆ, the factual, ψευδῆ, fiction and legends, and ὡς ἀληθῆ, such forms as comedy and mimes.¹⁹ μυθικόν corresponds to ψευδῆ, ἱστορικόν to ἀληθῆ, and πλασματικόν / δραματικόν / περιπετικά ~ βιωτικά to ὡς ἀληθῆ. A scholiast on Dionysius Thrax declares (16,22H.), τὰ βιωτικά, τούτέστι τὰ κωμικά. Like Asklepiades, the Romans (Auctor ad Her., 1,8,12; Cicero, De Inv., 1,19,27; Quintilian, Inst.Or., 2,4,2) give comedy as an example of argumentum (πλασματικόν), and assign to fabula (μυθικόν) legends παρὰ φύσιν, and to ἱστορικόν, in the sense of factual history, facts as well as legends κατὰ φύσιν. When Auctor ad Herennium, Cicero and Quintilian include tragedy under fabula, they do so because of the occurrence of individual ἁδύνατα in tragedy.²⁰ Apart from these single ἁδύνατα, for Asklepiades and the Romans, probably

¹⁸There is, however, much doubt over the text in this passage, which has been emended from 1,92 and 263.

¹⁹ὡς ἀληθῆ are also called ἀμφίδοξα in Doxopater, W.2, 207,7.

²⁰See Barwick, 271, n.2.

as a result of peripatetic theory, tragedy goes with ἱστορικόν, in the sense of factual history, and comedy with πλασματικόν (cf. Schol. on Dionysius Thrax, 173, 3H.). In order to correct this impractical division, πλασματικόν was expanded in later writers like Hermogenes (R.4,18) and Nicolaus (F.13,2-4) to include tragedy. In the Anonymous Seguerianus, if tragedy belongs to ἱστορικόν, βιωτικὴ goes well with πλασματικόν since comedy is concerned with circumstances of everyday life. On the other hand, if περιπετικόν goes with δραματικόν, as Hermogenes implies (R.4,17), tragedy belongs with πλασματικόν and can also be called δραματικόν, since περιπετικόν includes both tragedy and comedy and is a synonym for δραματικόν.²¹

We are left with the genus in personis positum of the Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero, which corresponds to no Greek division and which the two authors themselves could not or would not explain. They, or rather their Roman authority, may have misunderstood the Greek sources in confining fabula, historia, argumentum to negotia when they should have applied these categories to personae as well. The divisions into things-and-persons and fabula, historia, argumentum were not

²¹Barwick, 274.

intended to be mutually exclusive, and the facts could be defined in terms of the persons who were part of the narrative. The orator decided whether he would merely report the facts (ἀφηγηματική/διηγηματική) or enliven his presentation by making the persons concerned speak (μιμητική/δραματική). This classification appeared first in Plato (Resp., 3, 392Dff.) and Aristotle (Poet., 3, 1448a) in relation to poetry;²² and reappeared in later antiquity (cf. Nicolaus, F. 12, 7ff.).²³ The other classification (μυθικόν, ἱστορικόν, δραματικόν) also came from poetry, probably through the peripatetic school.²⁴ In the Greek sources, such as Hermagoras or the Stoa, there were thus these two classifications, the one relating to material κατὰ πράγματα (μυθικόν, ἱστορικόν, δραματικόν), and the other to form or presentation κατὰ πρόσωπα (ἀφηγηματικά, δραματικά, μικτά) (cf. Doxopater, W. 2, 206, 30).²⁵ This division was misunderstood by the Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero, or their source, as things and persons, things being non-dramatic and persons dramatic, whereas in reality things and persons in διήγησις cannot be so separated.

²² There is also a third type of presentation, which is a mixture of the other two. Plato's example of ἀφηγηματική, namely the dithyramb, seems incorrect. See A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy (Oxford, 1966), 32ff.

²³ See P. Steinmetz, Gattungen und Epochen der griechischen Literatur in der Sicht Quintilians, in R. Stark, ed., Rhetorika (Hildesheim, 1968), 458, correcting I. Kayser, De Veterum Arte Poetica Quaestiones Selectae (Diss.: Leipzig, 1906) and earlier accounts. See also "Longinus", Subl., 9, 13.

²⁴ Barwick, 282; Reichel, 63 and 80.

²⁵ Barwick, 279ff.; Reichel, 79; Matthes, "Hermagoras von Temnos", Lustrum 3 (1958), 200; W. Schmid, "Anhang" in E. Rohde, Der griechische Roman (Leipzig, 1914), 603.

Difficulties also arise in the progymnasmatists, because they attempt to apply more than one system for treating διήγησις, not only the classification relating to form (ἀφηγηματικά, δρῶντικά, μικτά) and that concerning material (μυθικόν, ἱστορικόν, πλάσματικόν), but also the system concerning truth content (ψεῦδῃ, ἀληθῇ, ὡς ἀληθῇ),²⁶ and the στοιχεῖα.²⁷ These four systems had merit individually, but could not be equated. In addition, the progymnasmatists, as mentioned above,²⁸ are applying systems for διήγησις (a γένος) to διήγημα (an εἶδος).

Divisions of διήγημα

In his discussion of narration as a preliminary rhetorical exercise (διήγημα), Quintilian includes only the type not used in legal cases (genus a causa civili remotum) (Inst.Or.,2,4,2). He ignores the divisions genus in negotiis positum and genus in personis positum of Cicero and the Auctor ad Herennium, but his definitions of fabula, historia, argumentum are similar to theirs.²⁹ Poetic narratives are assigned by him to the grammaticus, and historical narratives to the rhetorician.³⁰

²⁶See p.81.

²⁷See p.87.

²⁸See p.76.

²⁹See also p.81. Quintilian's discussion is fairly simple since he objected to all the classes made in narration (Inst.Or.,4,2,2).

³⁰See p.74. Quintilian seems to have failed to influence other teachers to follow this division. Cf. Ausonius, Prof.Bard.,21,26.

The progymnasmatists agree on διήγημα ἱστορικόν but disagree somewhat on the other divisions. Theon distinguishes διήγημα μυθικόν (poetry) and διήγημα ἱστορικόν/πραγματικόν (history) (Sp.2,65,21; 66-67). But his διήγημα μυθικόν does not seem to correspond to the fabula of Quintilian. For the latter, fabula, in tragedies and poems, is not only far from truth but also from resemblance to truth: ψευδῇ (Inst.Or.,2,4,2). For Theon, διήγημα μυθικόν refers to stories about gods and heroes (cf. Plato, Resp.,377A), but presented in such a way that they seem real: ὡς ἀληθῇ (cf. Macrobius, Somn.Scip.,2,9ff.³¹). Nicolaus says that μυθικά are not believed without dispute but may be suspected as false (F.12,19-21), yet they are about things recorded as if they have happened whether possible or not: ὡς ἀληθῇ (F.13,7-9). Hermogenes and Aphthonius do not define διήγημα μυθικόν. As well as διήγημα μυθικόν and διήγημα ἱστορικόν, Theon refers to δραματικά (πράγματα ὡς γεγενέτα), that is, διήγημα πλασματικόν (Schol.,W.1,260,4ff.), and διήγημα πολιτικόν / ἱδιωτικόν (Sp.2,60,4). Hermogenes has the same four divisions of διήγημα as Theon, but is concerned with discussing only διήγημα πολιτικόν / ἱδιωτικόν, that is, narratio a causa civili non remotum (R.4,20).³² Nicolaus also includes

³¹See Reichel, 53; Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 113-114.

³²See p.76, n.5.

διήγημα πολιτικόν, which he refers to as πραγματικόν³³ and δικανικόν (F.12,18). Aphthonius has only three divisions of διήγημα, namely δραματικόν (πεπλυσμένον), ιστορικόν and πολιτικόν (R.2,19-20). These may agree with a passage in Theon (Sp.2,91,13) where he refers to history, political speech and drama,³⁴ but πεπλυσμένον does include μυθικόν (Schol. in Aphthonium, W.2,13,16; Doxopater, W.2,199,19; 205,8; cf. Sextus Empiricus, Math.,1,268).

Quintilian and the progymnasmatists therefore have basically the same divisions of narration.³⁵ They differ in the emphasis placed on each division as a result of their varying views of the truth content of μυθικόν, ιστορικόν, πραγματικόν.

Style in διήγημα

Quintilian has a long discussion of style, insisting on correctness and quality in the narration of the young boy (Inst.Or.,2,4,3-14). Theon also devotes much attention to style, but in detailed fashion more suitable for the mature orator or writer. When he discusses narration in legal cases, Quintilian again examines style. The principal qualities which he requires are lucidity (σφήνεια), brevity (συνοψία) and plausibility (πιθανότης) (Inst.Or.,

³³Thus contradicting Theon. See p. 85.

³⁴See Reichel, 56.

³⁵The progymnasmatists add διήγημα πολιτικόν and Nicolaus adds the αφηγηματικά, δραματικά, μικτά classification.

4,2,31). These qualities are common to Theon (Sp.2,79,20), Aphthonius (R.3,3) and Nicolaus (F.14,4; cf. Anonymus Seguerianus, 63,pl4 Graeven), although Aphthonius adds to the list purity of expression (ἑλληνισμός) and Nicolaus, pleasantness (ἡδονή) and magnificence (μεγαλοπρέπεια).³⁶

Quintilian also mentions five circumstances of narration often included in legal cases, thing, person, place, time and cause (Inst.Or.,4,2,2). Theon adds manner and says that narration is perfect if it contains all six στοιχεῖα περιστατικά (Sp.2,78,19-24; cf. Aphthonius, R.2,23-3,2; Anonymus Seguerianus, 90,pl8 Graeven). Hermogenes (Περὶ Εὑρέσεως 3,5 R.141) and Nicolaus (F.13,20) mention a seventh, material (ὕλη) (cf. Doxopater, J.2,234,7ff.). These seven στοιχεῖα were noted also by Hermagoras (Augustinus, 141,11ff. Hahn; cf. Fortunatianus, 103,18 Hahn).³⁷

Methods of teaching διήγημα

Quintilian suggests that in the early stages the rhetorician dictate whole themes for the boy to imitate, and he advises on the correction of faults (Inst.Or.,2,4,12).

³⁶Isocrates and many other authors mention three virtues of style (Inst.Or.,4,2,31). Theophrastus mentions four, the Stoics five. See Reichel,64; I. Stroux, De Theophrasti Virtutibus Dicendi (Leipzig, 1912); K. Barwick, Remius Palaemon und die römische Ars Grammatica (Leipzig, 1922), 260; G. Calboli, Studi Grammaticali (Bologna, 1962), 144-157.

³⁷Aristotle listed ten στοιχεῖα in the Categories; cf. Inst.Or.,3,6,23; on the στοιχεῖα in Aristotle and Theophrastus, see G. Bühring, Untersuchungen zur Anwendung, Bedeutung und Vorgeschichte der Stoischen "numeri officii" (Diss.: Hamburg, 1960), 215, 230ff..

A child should repeat stories as soon as he begins to speak in order to improve his powers of speech, and he should should tell a story backwards or start in the middle, thereby strengthening the memory as well. This method is useful for both poetic and historical narratives. He emphasizes correctness of speech (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 15-18). These instructions are wise because they would help to avert difficulties when the boy came to write his own themes.

Theon also wants recitation to precede writing, and adds that students should learn the ordering of chapters and arguments as well as the essential character of a problem. Attention should be paid to articulation and composition. Like Quintilian, he advises the teacher how to correct faults, beginning with the most obvious. It is useful for the student to write on topics treated by the ancients and to compare his versions with theirs. He should aim at handling all types of problems with appropriate delivery (Sp.2, 71-72). Theon's ideas for teaching methods are therefore quite similar to those of Quintilian. He even includes changing the order of chapters (Sp.2, 85, 31) and starting a story in the middle or at the end, which he exemplifies from Homer, Herodotus and Thucydides (Sp.2, 86, 7; 86, 20; 87, 6).³⁸ He also says that *σύνταξις* is

³⁸Cf. Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 115, n.l.

like fable, and he gives similar exercises, including practice of grammatical cases, composition, expansion, and contraction, variation of expression, and ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή (Sp.2,85,29ff.; cf. 74,3ff.).³⁹

The other progymnasmatisists are not so interested in methods of teaching διήγημα, although Hermogenes (R.5) and Nicolaus (F.16) have σχήματα for expressing διήγημα in various ways (cf. Theon, Sp.2,87,12ff.). These σχήματα are grammatical constructions and rhetorical sentence patterns.

The Usefulness of διήγημα

If practised as recommended by Quintilian and Theon, διήγημα must have been useful, because, as Theon says, it is necessary for the orator and the historian to be able to narrate well and in various ways, to put a story together and to debate questions (Sp.2,60,1ff.). Narration was not only one of the parts of a legal speech, but was also used in proving arguments and in epilogues (Nicolaus, F.15,16ff.), and in all three kinds of rhetoric (F.15,12ff.). Egyptian papyri show that many themes for διήγημα were taken by Greek teachers from Homer, and that these were not simply exercises in paraphrase.⁴⁰ Mythological

³⁹See pp.90ff. on ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή.

⁴⁰See Beudel, 58-59; J. G. Milne, "Relics of Greco-Egyptian schools", JHS 28 (1908) 126ff; D. L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (New York, 1957), 186.

subjects and topics relating to virtue were also popular.⁴¹ Such exercises were used in the schools of both grammatici and rhetores for many centuries, and even found their way into Christian schools.⁴²

ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή

ἀνασκευή (refutation) and κατασκευή (confirmation) were exercises which probably began with the Sophists (cf. Diogenes Laertius, 9,51), although Aristotle used the terms ἀνασκευάζειν and κατασκευάζειν (Top., 7,152b-153a). They were not mentioned as progymnasmata by any extant writer before Quintilian (Inst.Or., 2,4,18-19), Suetonius (De Gramm., 25,8), and the progymnasmatists.

A confirmation or a refutation was an amplification (ἀλλήγοις) of certain points in a statement or narrative, with the purpose of proving them credible or incredible (cf. Hermogenes, R.11,2-3; Aphthonius, R.10,9-10 and 13,20-21; Nicolaus, F.29,16-18; Doxopater, 319,4ff. and 356,8ff.; Isidore, 513,33 Halm). Things which were obviously true or impossible were not discussed, but only those points which offered argument from two sides (Hermogenes, R.11,4; Aphthonius, R.10,11-12; Nicolaus, F.29,19-22). The student was given headings to follow in his amplification. According to Nicolaus, the order could be varied and it was not necessary to include all the headings in every

⁴¹Beudel, 58-59.

⁴²Ibid., 60.

exercise (cf. Theon, Sp.2,93,12-13).⁴³

Quintilian links ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή with narration (Inst.Or.,2,4,18-19). He says that ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή are suitable exercises not only for fictitious mythological stories,⁴⁴ but also for stories recorded in histories, such as the tale of Romulus' wolf and Numa's Egeria. There are many examples of such stories in Greek historical writings.⁴⁵ A question often arises about the time or place at which something happened, and sometimes about the person, as in Livy and in disagreements between historians.

Like Quintilian, Theon subordinates ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή to narration (Sp.2,93-96), but he includes them in his chapters on μῦθος and χρεία as well. He probably places them in several chapters for the teacher's convenience since he considers them too difficult for beginners (Sp.2,65,19ff.; 64,32ff.). The other progymnasmatisists deal with ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή separately, following γνώμη.⁴⁶ They all give lists of topics for refutation. In the chapter on μῦθος, Theon lists the

⁴³Other progymnasmata followed a similar pattern, e.g., an ἐγκώμιον was an amplification of a person's deeds and qualities and a κοινὸς τόπος was an amplification of a virtue or vice according to set headings.

⁴⁴E.g., stories of Daphne (Aphthonius, R.10ff.) and Chryses, Ajax and Achilles (Libanius, 8,123ff. Foerster).

⁴⁵E.g., Herodotus, 7,21. Cf. Juvenal, 10,174ff.

⁴⁶Hermogenes and Nicolaus have one chapter on ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή, but Aphthonius divides the two.

foolish, improbable, unseemly, defective, superfluous, unaccustomed, inconsistent, arrangement, useless, unlike, false and obscure (Sp.2,76,18-78,13). He varies these topics for *διδύγματα* and *χρεία* (Sp.2,93,5ff.; 104,15ff.), and under *διδύγματα* he discusses the incredible in particular (Sp.2,94,12ff.). Hermogenes includes the obscure, incredible, impossible, inconsistent or contrary, unfitting and inexpedient (R.11,8-19), and these are repeated by Aphthonius (R.10,15-17). Nicolaus' topics are the improbable, impossible, unfitting, inexpedient, contrary (F.30,14-15). Confirmation follows the opposite topics (Theon, Sp.2,78,4; Hermogenes, R.11,20; Aphthonius, R.14,1-5). Under each topic one should consider the *στοιχεῖα* person, thing, place, time, manner and cause (Theon, Sp.2,78,4; 94,12ff.; cf. Quintilian, *Inst.Or.*,2,4,19; Nicolaus, F.33,1-4).

ἀνασκευή and *κατασκευή* are useful exercises because the person refuting or confirming resembles one debating cases (Theon, Sp.2,60,6-8; 78,10-11; cf. Nicolaus, F.29,12-15). They are helpful also in all types of narration (Theon, Sp.2,86,4). Theon wishes *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή* to be engaged upon later than the other exercises on narration because they are close to the work of the orator, which is to show disputable points and strengthen proofs (Sp.2,65,1-4; cf. Cicero, *De Or.*,2,81,331; Quintilian, *Inst.Or.*,5,13,1). Quintilian includes *ἀνασκευή*

and κατασκευή among exercises for the mature orator
(Inst.Or., 10, 5, 12). In the words of Aphthonius, ἀνασκευή
and κατασκευή encompass all the power of the art (R.10,
18-19; 14, 6-7).

CHAPTER FOUR

ἑγκώμιον (ENCOMIUM)

Quintilian now proceeds to encomium and vituperatio, praise of famous men and denunciation of the wicked, which he describes as more important exercises than those already undertaken (Inst.Or.,2,4,20).¹ We shall examine the origin and nature of ἑγκώμιον, its topoi, and the related exercises, ὀψέως (vituperatio) and σύγκρισις (comparatio), and we shall see why all these were useful as progymnasmata.

The Origin and Nature of Encomium

Quintilian does not discuss the origin of the term ἑγκώμιον, but each of the progymnasmatists offers an explanation. According to Theon, the name ἑγκώμιον came from the fact that poets long ago used to make hymns for the gods in the village festivals (ἐν κώμαις καὶ παῖσι) (Sp.2,109,26-28; cf. Nicolaus, F.49,10-12). Hermogenes says that it came from singing hymns for the gods in the villages (ἐν ταῖς κώμαις) (R.15,4). Aphthonius (R.21,6-7)

¹ Quintilian places ἑγκώμιον first of the exercises which Theon calls ἐμμετρικά . The progymnasmatists place it after the commonplace (κοινὰ τόποι). See p.26. Quintilian postpones his discussion of the encomiastic topoi to Book 3, where he explains the three types of rhetoric, forensic, deliberative and epideictic.

declares that it came from singing in the villages (*ἐν τοῖς κώμας*), but he distinguishes *ἐγκώμιον* from a festive ode for the gods (*ὕμνος*) (R.21,8-9). Theon (Sp.2,109,22-24) and Hermogenes (R.17,21) also make this distinction, thus agreeing with the Alexandrian grammarians² who considered that a hymn was for gods and *ἐγκώμιον* for men.³ *ἐγκώμιον* differed from *ἐπαινος* (praise) in that it was worked through all the virtues and advantages of a person, while *ἐπαινος* might refer to only one quality (cf. Hermogenes, R.15,6-8; Aphthonius, R.21,9-11; Nicolaus, F.49,1-7). On this point the progymnasmatisists do not agree exactly with Aristotle (*Rhet.*, 1,9,1367b,28), who held that *ἐπαινος* concentrated on virtue and *ἐγκώμιον* on deeds.⁴ Theon combines virtue and deeds in his definition:

Ἐγκώμιον ἐστὶ λόγος ἐμφανίζων μέγεθος τῶν κατ'ἀρετὴν πράξεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν περὶ τι ὀρισμένον πρέσσωπεν

(Sp.2,109,20-22). Once again we see some confusion among

²G. Fraustadt, *Encomiorum in Litteris Graecis usque ad Romanam Aetatem Historia* (Diss.: Leipzig, 1909), 9-10; A. Harvey, "Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry", *CQ* (new series) 5 (1955), 157ff.

³Plato (*Resp.*, 10,607A) agrees, but at *Leg.*, 7,801D says that *ἐγκώμια* are for gods as well as men. Fraustadt, 25, doubts whether songs for the gods were sung in procession (*ἐν κώμας*) and favours songs about heroes. Menander Rhetor says that this is the difference between *ὕμνος* and *ἐπαινος*, that *ὕμνος* is for gods and *ἐπαινος* for men (Sp.3, 331,18-20; cf. Doxopater, W.2,415,6-7).

⁴See Fraustadt, 85ff.

rhetical writers on the meaning of terms.

The term ἐγκύμνιον appears to have been derived from κύμνος rather than κύμνη (cf. Doxopater, W.2,414).⁵ κύμνος was associated with village revelry and a procession, and so came to mean a song sung in procession.⁶ Pindar and Bacchylides appear to be the first to use κύμνος to mean the song as well as the procession.⁷ The processional κύμνος was associated with victory, and the ἐγκύμνιον was a song of praise which the festive procession used to sing while returning from victory ἐν κύμνῳ.⁸ All victory songs (ἐμνίσματα) came to be called ἐγκύμνια,⁹ and gradually the term was extended to all poems of praise and later to prose.¹⁰

⁵Fraustadt, 18ff.

⁶See also LSJ, 460; Th. Payr, "Enkomion", REAC, 5, 333.

⁷See F. Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh, 1972).

⁸See also O. Crusius, "ἐγκύμνιον", RE, 5, 2581.

⁹Pindar calls several of his poems ἐγκύμνια, e.g., Nem., 1, 7; Pyth., 10, 53. Crusius, RE, 5, 2582 and Fraustadt, 32ff., agree that ἐμνίσματα = ἐγκύμνια in Pindar and Bacchylides, and ἐμνίσματα = to praise, in poetry and prose.

¹⁰Fraustadt, 16ff., 39ff.; Payr, REAC, 5, 333. Nicolaus uses ἐγκύμνιον for the epideictic genre (F.47, 5-11) and for encomiastic features of other oratory (F.48).

In Greek literature, *ἐγκύματα* are found from the beginning, first of all in poetry.¹¹ The origins of the encomiastic genres are seen in Simonides, and especially in Bacchylides and Pindar, on whom the sophists based their work.¹² The earliest prose *ἐγκύματα*, such as the Helen and the Busiris of Isocrates, were about mythical characters.¹³ Isocrates borrowed other elements from the poetic tradition, especially that of Pindar, *such as* the use of similar topics, for example, *γένος* and *ἔργα*.¹⁴ On the other hand, in the Evagoras Isocrates was the first to employ prose for formal praise of a living person and for praise of character, introducing deeds as the evidence of character (Evagoras, init. and 73; cf. Aristotle, Rhet., 1, 9, 1367b).¹⁵ Most rhetoricians after Isocrates define *ἐγκύματα* as the

¹¹See Fraustadt, 5. The poetic *ἐγκύματα* of the Alexandrians and Romans were different from these early *ἐγκύματα*. See also Payr, REAC, 5, 334-335, on *ἐγκύματα* in Greek and Latin literature.

¹²See also L. B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian", HSPH 30 (1919), 49; T. C. Burgess, Epideictic Literature (Chicago, 1902), 114.

¹³Isocrates (Evag., 5-8) refers to the mythological and poetic origin of *ἐγκύματα*. Fraustadt, 47, 50, 74ff., calls the Helen and Busiris rather *παιγνία*, i.e., written to show the skill of the author (cf. Helen, 15; Busiris, 9).

¹⁴See Fraustadt, 45ff., and V. Buchheit, Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos Epideikton (Munich, 1960), 38ff. on Isocrates' relationship to earlier rhetoric. See pp. 101ff.

¹⁵See Fraustadt, 59; Buchheit, 42-43; Burgess, 114-116 holds that Isocrates was influenced by Socrates.

praise of a person founded on his deeds and proved qualities (*ἐκλογαὶ καὶ κριταὶ*) (cf. Anaximenes, 3, 1 p. 21, 13 Fuhrmann;¹⁶ Aristotle, Rhet., 2, 22, 1369a; Quintilian, Inst. Or., 3, 7, 13-16; Theon, Sp. 2, 109, 20-22; Hermogenes, R. 14, 17-18; Aphthonius, R. 21, 5; Nicolaus, F. 48, 19-20; Menander, Sp. 3, 368, 7). The aim is to set out the character of the subject in the best light (Isocrates, Panath., 123; Nicolaus, F. 52-53; Alexander Rhetor, Sp. 3, 2, 17), and so facts are selected at will and may be amplified, understated or even ignored (Isocrates, Helen, 14; Busiris, 4; Anaximenes, 3, p. 21 Fuhrmann; Aristotle, Rhet., 1, 9, 1367a-b; Theon, Sp. 2, 111, 21-112, 2 and 112, 11; Nicolaus, F. 52, 20-53, 3).¹⁷ Quintilian suggests that occasional apology may be necessary (Inst. Or., 3, 7, 6; cf. Nicolaus, F. 53, 6-19),¹⁸ but, in general, writers

¹⁶This passage, however, seems to be corrupt. See Fuhrmann's note ad loc.

¹⁷The term for amplification was *ἀλλοτρίως*, and for understatement *ταπεινότης*. See Buchheit, 209, on Anaximenes, 3 (p. 21, 16-17 Fuhrmann).

¹⁸See also scholion on Pindar, Isthm., 4, 49.

of ἐγκώμια, like Isocrates in the Evagoras, exaggerate the good qualities and overlook the bad (cf. Aristotle, Rhet., 3,1417b; Theon, Sp.2,112,8-13).

That is to say, ἐγκώμιον must amplify and embellish its themes (Quintilian, Inst.Or.3,7,6; cf. Anaximenes,3, p.21 F.; Aristotle Rhet.,3,1417b; Cicero, Part.Or.,71). It belongs to epideictic or demonstrative oratory, which the Greeks, following Aristotle, divorced from practical oratory (Cicero, De Or.2,84,341; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,7,1)¹⁹. The Romans, on the other hand, gave ἐγκώμιον a place in practical tasks, such as in funeral orations, legal cases, and debates in the senate (Cicero, De Or.,2,84,341; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,7,2), but still composed ἐγκώμια of gods and heroes solely for display (Quintilian, Inst.Or., 3,7,3-4).

As used in the schools, ἐγκώμιον was an exercise which trained the student to amplify and embellish themes according to set topoi. The most important subject was praise of a person, often an historical and well-known

¹⁹ On differences between Greek and Roman funeral orations, see Spalding's note on Inst.Or.,3,7,2; G. A. Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World, 22, 510; L. Weber, Solon und die Schöpfung des attischen Grabrede, (Frankfurt, 1935). The Greeks had many kinds of epideictic speeches. In the Περὶ ἑνδοκίμων, Menander gives twenty-three kinds for adorning various occasions, e.g., a marriage, a departure, a funeral; Ps.-Dionysius includes three others in his Ars Rhetorica. Competitions in prose and verse encomia, which were held at festivals, increased in popularity under the Empire (Marron, 273).

character;²⁰ As well, gods, cities, public works, lands,²¹ places, times, animals,²² plants,²³ foods,²⁴ pursuits,²⁵ qualities,²⁶ sayings or deeds, and paradoxical themes could be the subjects of *ἐγκόμια* (Aristotle, *Rhet.*, 1, 9, 1366a; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, 3, 7, 7-9 and 26-28; Theon, *Sp.* 2, 109, 25; 112, 14; Hermogenes, *R.* 14, 20-15, 2; 17-18; Aphthonius, *R.* 21, 12-17; Nicolaus, *F.* 57, 9ff.; Menander, *Sp.* 3, 332 and 346; Ps.-Dionysius, *Ars Rhetorica*, 1, 3ff.; Emporius, 569, 25ff. Halm).²⁷

²⁰Aphthonius (*R.* 22ff.) has an *ἐγκόμιον* of Thucydides and a denunciation of Philip. See also Libanius, § 216ff. Foerster. All rhetorical writers except Menander give rules for praise of a person rather than a thing. Quintilian tells how to adapt the *topoi* to cities, public works and places (*Inst. Or.*, 3, 7, 26-28), Hermogenes to animals, plants and cities (*R.* 17-18), Nicolaus to things (*F.* 57-58).

²¹Cf. Cicero, *Verr.*, 2, 1; 4, 48 (referred to by Quintilian *Inst. Or.*, 3, 7, 27).

²²See Isocrates, *Helen*, 12, where he mentions bumblebees as a subject of *ἐγκόμια*; Libanius, § 267-273 Foerster, on an ox.

²³Libanius, § 273-277F, on trees; *Archiv* 10 (1932), 221-222 for praise of a fig from the third century A.D. Praise of animals and plants was popular during the Second Sophistic (see Cousin, *Études sur Quintilien*, 192). For Byzantine examples, praising trees and plants, see A.R. Littlewood, *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres* (Amsterdam, 1972).

²⁴Cf. Isocrates, *Helen*, 12; Plato, *Symp.*, 3, 177B; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 20, 9.

²⁵See Libanius, § 261-267 Foerster, on farming.

²⁶See Aphthonius, *R.* 25-27 on wisdom; Libanius, § 257-261 Foerster, on justice.

²⁷See also J. Adamietz, *M.F. Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber III* (Munich, 1966), notes on 3, 7, 7-9, 26-28.

Chart 4 The Encomiastic Topoi

— 100 —

— 101 —

Hermagoras (= Cic. de inv. 184 sqq. + Theo 78)	Anaximenes (c. 3 et 35)	Aristoteles (15 et 19)	Auct. ad H. (III 6, 10 sqq.)	Cic. de inv. (1159, 177 sqq.)	Cic. de orat. (II 43 sqq. et 341 sqq.)	Cic. part. or. (20 69-23 82)	Quintil. (III 7, 1 sqq.)	Theo (II 109 sqq. Sp.)	Hermag. etc. (111 sqq.)	Graph. 2 21 5 14	Nico. F 30 599.
nomen naturalis sexus											
patria	ἑγένος			patria	genus	genus	patria parentes maioresque	ἔθνος πάλις γονεῖς ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι	ἔθνος πάλις γένος οὐγενεῖα	ἔθνος πάλις γονεῖς οὐγενεῖα	ἔθνος πάλις γονεῖς οὐγενεῖα
cognatio: maiores con-anguinei etias 5. ἡλικία commoda corporis:		ἑγένεια (c. 9)	genus	genus	propinqui						
valens longus formosus velox	2. 4. ὁρῶς καλῶς	ἰσχύς μέγεθος καλῶς δύναμις ἄρ. (?) ἡλικία	vires dignitas velocitas valetudo	vires dignitas velocitas valetudo	vires forma valetudo ingenium		robur pulchritudo	ἰσχύς καλῶς δύναμις ἐναισθησία	ἰσχυρός μέγεθος καλῶς ταχύς	ἰσχυρός καλῶς ταχύς	ἰσχυρός καλῶς ταχύς
commoda (animi?)											
victus: educatio amici negotium (etc.?)	3. ἀγωγή	παιδεία (c. 9) φίλοι	educatio amicitia	amici	amici	(educatus) amicitia		παιδεία φίλοι	φίλοι	φίλοι	φίλοι
fortuna: liber pecuniosus	πλοῦτος	χρήματα (c. 9)	divitiae	pecunia	pecunia (divi- tiae B) opes	cf. su- pra: for- tuna	divitiae potestas gratia	πλοῦτος ἀρχή δόξα εὐτεχνία	κτῆματα (δυναστεία)	κτῆματα δυναστεία	κτῆματα δυναστεία
cum potestate felix clarus quales liberos [habet]	6. τύχη	(εὐτυχία) τιμή, δόξα εὐτεχνία	potestas gloriae	potentia honos							
mors 10. θάνατος habitus 4. διάθεσις affectio studium			mors etc.		mors etc.	(mors etc.)	(mors etc.)	ἐπιθανασία	τελευτή καὶ	τελευτή	τελευτή
consilium 7. προαίρεσις	προαίρεσις	προαίρεσις (c. 9)			(quid senserit)			προαίρεσις	(ἐπιτηδεύματα)	ἐπιτηδεύ- ματα	ἐπιτηδεύ- ματα
facti 8. πράξεις casus (τύχη) orationes 9. λόγος	πράξεις λόγοι	πράξεις (c. 9) τύχη (c. 9)	facta (8, 15)		(quid fecerit) (quid tulerit) (quid dixerit)	(quid gesserit) (quid acciderit) (quid dixerit)	facta dicta	πράξεις τύχη	πράξεις τύχη	πράξεις τύχη	πράξεις τύχη
rei familiaris ad- ministratio, consuetudo domestica	σοφία δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνη	σοφία δικαιοσύνη ἀνδρεία σωφροσύνη φρόνησις ἐλευθεριότης μεγαλοψυχία πρᾶσις μεγαλοπρέπεια	proidentia iustitia fortitudo modestia temperantia	sapienter iuste fortiter sapienter?) liberaliter humiliter magnifice	1. actione 2. scientia 3. virtutibus	iustitia fortitudo continentia ceteraeque	δικαίος ἀνδρείος σωφρονέας φρόνιμος ἐλευθεριότης μεγαλοψυχία πρᾶσις μεγαλοπρέπεια	σοφός δικαίος ἀνδρείος σωφρονέας	σοφός δικαίος ἀνδρείος σωφρονέας	σοφός δικαίος ἀνδρείος σωφρονέας	

The Encomiastic Topoi

Beginning at least from the time of Aristotle, who collected inter alia the teachings of Isocrates,²⁸ writers on rhetoric agreed quite closely on the topics (τόποι, loci) for ἐπεὶ.²⁹ Fraustadt has prepared a table which shows the agreement of certain writers and their minor variations.³⁰ I have added the topoi mentioned by Aphthonius and Nicolaus.

From a study of the differences between his authors, Fraustadt finds four plans:

1. that of Hermagoras, the simplest,³¹ which was followed by the Auctor ad Herennium, and by Cicero in the De Inventione.
2. the Peripatetic, which can be seen in Cicero's De Oratore and in Theon.
3. the Academic, which can be seen in Cicero's Partitiones Oratoriae.

²⁸Fraustadt, 90, and see 63ff. on the topoi of the Evagoras.

²⁹Marrou, 274, has a table of thirty-six basic topoi.

³⁰Fraustadt, 100-101, reproduced on p. 101. Under Cicero, De Oratore, B refers to the second passage (34lf.). See Fraustadt, 102-116, for discussion of the table. See also Reichel, 90ff., on the topoi in some of these same authors.

³¹The topoi which Fraustadt assigns to Hermagoras are, however, the most numerous and appear the most complex. Fraustadt appears to be incorrect about Hermagoras (see p. 103, n. 35).

4. that of Quintilian.³²

This division is not very satisfactory. The differences between the four plans are not great, as is obvious from a comparison of Fraustadt's summary tables,³³ and there is a lot of overlapping. It is unlikely that Hermagoras, who was influenced by Theophrastus, held very different views from the Peripatetics. Further, Cicero and Theon seem to follow Aristotle,³⁴ and I have found no justification for the statement of Fraustadt that Hermagoras provided the basis for the topoi in Cicero's De Inventione and Theon.³⁵ In addition, Quintilian mentions Aristotle and Theophrastus (Inst.Or., 3, 7, 1) and his topoi are very similar to those of Theon.

Although Fraustadt's four plans are not satisfactory, it can be seen from his table of topoi that Quintilian and the progymnasmatists were obviously following well-defined topoi of epideictic oratory. Also, Aphthonius is closer to Hermogenes than to Theon. Nicolaus is nearer Aphthonius than Theon and says that he is keeping to the contemporary topoi (Nicolaus, F.50,

³²Fraustadt, 107-108, 111, 113, 116.

³³Ibid., 107-108, 116.

³⁴See Burgess, 121.

³⁵See W. Kroll, "Rhetorik", RE, Supp.7, 1093. Matthes, "Hermagoras von Temnos", Lustrum 3 (1958), 81ff., points out that Cicero in the De Inventione would know Hermagoras only at third hand at best, and that Hermagoric doctrines were very subject to interpretation and confusion.

9-10).

There are several other points worth noting which Fraustadt's table does not show. First, the topoi may be classified into two or three main groups following Aristotle: τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ (τὰ παρὶ ψυχῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν σώματι) and τὰ ἔκτὸς ἀγαθὰ (Rhet., 1, 1360b; cf. Anaximenes, 1, 10 p. 7, Fuhrmann).³⁶ This classification appears in all the writers (Auctor ad Her., 3, 6, 10; Cicero, De Or., 3, 29, 115; Part. Or., 11, 38; 22, 74; Top., 23, 89; Tusc., 5, 30, 85; Quintilian, Inst. Or., 3, 7, 12; Theon, Sp. 2, 109, 29-30; Hermogenes, R. 16, 3ff.; Nicolaus, F. 50, 4ff.). Aphthonius (R. 22, 6) calls the three divisions εἰς ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ ἔκτῳ, but the last is quite similar to τὰ ἔκτὸς ἀγαθὰ (cf. Hermogenes, R. 16, 12-13). He does, however, make the triple division under deeds only (τῶν πράξεων),³⁷ whereas the other writers impose the division on all the topoi. This is not a serious difference since the others emphasize deeds (cf. Doxopater, W. 2, 432, 14), and the important thing is how the subject uses his endowments. Theon, who discusses deeds at length, says that the good things of the mind are good morals and following these

³⁶This classification is found first in Plato, Leg., 3, 697B and Phaedr., 270B.

³⁷See table on p. 106.

with deeds (Sp.2,110,7-8), and further stresses the importance of the ways in which physical advantages are used (Sp.2,111; cf. Auctor ad Her.,3,7,13-14; Cicero, De Inv.,2,59,178; De Or.,2,84,342). It is through action that virtue is shown (cf. Cicero, De Or.,2,11,46 and 84, 345ff.; Part.Or.,22,76ff.; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,7,15-16; Aphthonius, R.22,5-6; Nicolaus, F.52,17; Menander, Sp.3, 373,5-6). This emphasis on deeds for showing character, which was elaborated in the rhetorical ἐγκώμιον by Isocrates,³⁸ does not appear in Fraustadt's table.

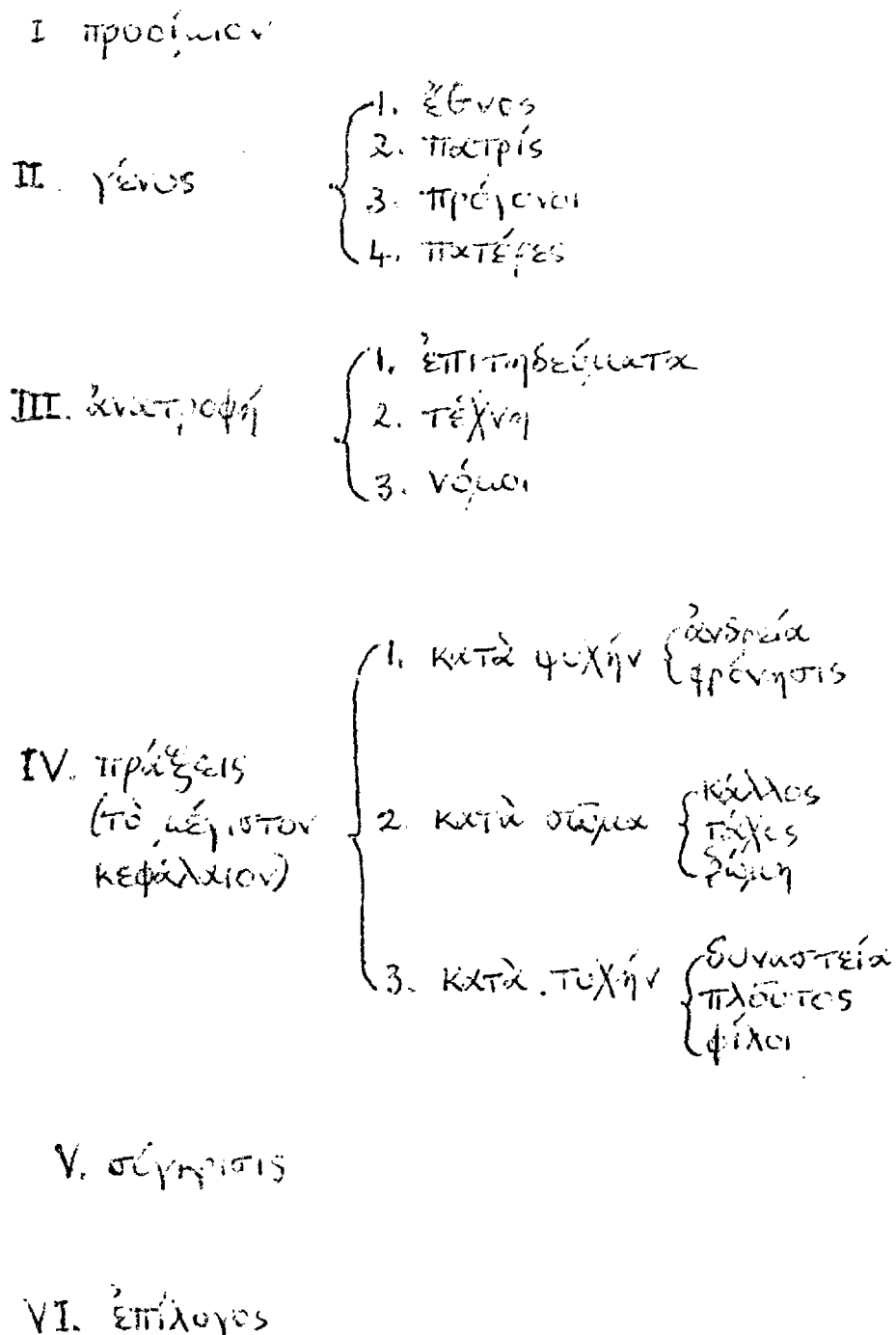
Secondly, Fraustadt omits omens before birth (γένησις), mentioned by Quintilian (Inst.Or.,3,7,11),³⁹ Hermogenes (R.15,19-21) and Nicolaus (F.51,21-52,5; cf. Menander, Sp.3,371,3ff.).

Thirdly, a more serious omission is that of σύγκρισις (comparatio), which was included in the ἐγκώμιον by the progymnasmatists (Theon, Sp.2,111,1-3; Hermogenes, R.17,2-4; Aphthonius, R.22,9-10; Nicolaus, F.52,18; cf. Menander, Sp.3,372,21ff.). Comparisons were made of the same quality in one or more people, or were more comprehensive. Theon, Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus all make σύγκρισις a separate exercise as well as including it under ἐγκώμιον,⁴⁰ and we shall therefore discuss σύγκρισις

³⁸See p.97.

³⁹See J. Adamietz, M.F.Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber III (Munich, 1966), note ad loc.

⁴⁰Some writers (possibly those mentioned on p.32) did not make σύγκρισις a separate exercise (Nicolaus, F.59,2).



The scheme of Aphthonius

(Burgess, Epideictic Literature, 120)

Chart 5

further below.⁴¹

Fourthly, Fraustadt does not give a clear picture of the order of topoi in a school exercise. I therefore include a diagram of Aphthonius' topoi constructed by Burgess.⁴² Pseudo-Dionysius (Ars Rhetorica, 6, 2) and Menander (Sp. 3, 369, 18ff.) have similar divisions.⁴³ A papyrus of the third or fourth century A.D. shows that Aphthonius' order was followed in a school exercise.⁴⁴

Fifthly, subjects and circumstances would decide the prominence of various topoi and some could even be omitted (Auctor ad Her., 3, 8; Quintilian, Inst. Or., 2, 13, 15). Sometimes deeds could be listed in chronological order (Quintilian, Inst. Or., 3, 7, 15), while at other times they could be grouped according to each virtue, in particular the Socratic virtues, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις, to which φιλανθρωπία was often added (Isocrates, Evag., 22f.; Aristotle, Rhet., 1, 1366b; Anaximenes, 16, pp. 78-79 Fuhrmann; Quintilian, Inst. Or., 3, 7, 15; Theon, Sp. 2, 112, 2-8;

⁴¹See pp. 109-111.

⁴²Epidictic Literature, 120. See also 122-126.

⁴³See Baldwin, Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic, 31, for a table comparing Aphthonius and Menander. Menander divides deeds into actions performed in wartime and those in peace (Sp. 3, 372, 25ff.).

⁴⁴Archiv, 10 (1932), 222-223, no. 756.

Sp.3,373ff.). Almost any type of ἐγκώμιον, such as praise of a person in authority, and laudations on the occasion of a birthday, marriage or funeral, could be based on these topoi. We have already noted⁴⁵ that the same topoi could be adapted for various inanimate things, as well as animals and plants (cf. Menander, Sp.3,332,20-32; Doxopater, W.2,424ff.; Schol.ad Aphthonium, W.2,45,9).

ψόγος (vituperatio)

Anaximenes describes ψόγος as the opposite of ἐγκώμιον, that is, the minimizing of creditable qualities and the amplification of discreditable ones (3, p.21, Fuhrmann; cf. Auctor ad Her.,3,6,10; Cicero, De Or.,2,86,349; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,7,19). The exercise of ψόγος (blame) was used with ἐγκώμιον and was developed from similar topoi (Theon, Sp.2,112,17-18; Hermogenes, R.15, 8-11; Aphthonius, R.27,16-17; 28,3-6; Nicolaus, F.53,20)⁴⁶. According to Quintilian, a denunciation should include discussion of a man's origin, predictions before his birth, natural advantages nullified by vices or lack of such advantages, and judgments of other men (Inst.Or.,3,7,

⁴⁵See p.100.

⁴⁶Cf. Cicero, De Or.,2,86,349, where he says that the rules for assigning blame have to be developed out of the vices which are the opposite of the virtues on which ἐγκώμιον is based.

19-22). These are similar to his topics for ἐγκύβευς . Aphthonius, who devotes a separate chapter to ψόγος , uses exactly the same topoi as for ἐγκύβευς .⁴⁷ He also says that ψόγος may be used of things, times, places, animals and plants, as well as persons (R.27,16-28,6).⁴⁸

σύγκρισις (comparatio)

σύγκρισις in rhetorical ἐγκύβευς appeared first in Isocrates, as far as we know.⁴⁹ In the Evagoras he compared the hero with Cyrus, founder of the Persian empire. Later he gave rules and examples of the use of σύγκρισις , and he pointed out the advantage of showing that the subject had surpassed by all virtues men of the past and present (Panath.,39f.,123; cf. Anaximenes, 13 p.78 Fuhrmann; Aristotle, Rhet.,1,9,1368a; Theon, Sp.2,111,1-3). He also showed that σύγκρισις had a place in ψόγος (On the Yoke,41f.).

As mentioned above,⁵⁰ σύγκρισις was recommended as part of ἐγκύβευς and ψόγος by the progymnasmatisists also (cf. Cicero, De Or.,2,85,348). Hermogenes (R.17,11-12;

⁴⁷ ψόγος could be called part of ἐγκύβευς (cf. Nicolaus, F.54,1-2; Menander, Sp.3,331,15).

⁴⁸ Libanius denounces wealth, poverty, pride and the vine (8,306ff.Foerster).

⁴⁹ See Payr, REAC, 335-336. F. Focke, "σύγκρισις ", Hermes 58 (1923), 337, says that the Gorgian ἐγκύβευς had no σύγκρισις . The Helen and Palamedes of Gorgias are, however, forensic defences rather than ἐγκύβευς .

⁵⁰ See p.105.

18,16-20) and Aphthonius (R.22,9-10; 28,5) included it in both ἐγκύριον and ψόγος, but made it a separate exercise as well. From Aphthonius' example, a comparison of Achilles and Hector (R. 22-23), it can be seen that σύγκρισις proceeds by the same topoi as ἐγκύριον (cf. Theon, Sp.2,113; Hermogenes, R.19,3-8; Nicolaus, F.61,1), and that it is a double ἐγκύριον, or sometimes ἐγκύριον plus ψόγος (Aphthonius, R.31,11-12; Nicolaus, F.60,13-14). Quintilian, who mentions comparatio briefly and only as a separate exercise, says that it duplicates the subject matter and deals not only with the nature of virtues and vices but also with degree (Inst.Or.,2,4,21; cf. Theon, Sp.2,113,7). One may introduce degree of virtue and vice in order to make a more effective comparison.

Iulius Rufinianus (47,16 Halm) described σύγκρισις as the opposition of contrary things and persons. Hermogenes, however, widened the scope of the exercise considerably. Comparison could be of equals (Hermogenes, R.19,14-16; cf. Theon, Sp.2,112,26-113,2; Nicolaus, F.60,8-9), or one could be shown to be better, or occasionally worse, than the other (Hermogenes, 19,16-20,5; cf. Anaximenes,8, p.23 Fuhrmann; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,2,4,21; Aphthonius, R.31,6-7,13-14; Nicolaus, F.60,9-13), or one could be praised and the other blamed (Hermogenes, R.19,17-19). The writer could also

compare individuals, whole kinds, or numbers of each kind (Theon, Sp.2,114). Theon (Sp.2,113,3ff.) and Aphthonius (R.31,18-19) recommend setting one point beside another, that is, making the comparison of the two subjects on each topos. As with ἐγκύβητος and ψόγος, σύγκρισις could be used of cities (Isocrates, Panath.,39f.), things (Theon, Sp.112,21-23; Nicolaus, F.60,8), deeds (Hermogenes, R.19,10-13), plants and animals (Hermogenes, R.19,7-9; Nicolaus, F.63,3), times and places (Aphthonius, R.31,16-17).⁵¹

The Usefulness and Influence of these Exercises

Quintilian said that ἐγκύβητος and ψόγος were useful because the mind was exercised by the variety of matter, contemplation of virtue and vice moulded the character, and the broad knowledge of facts acquired could be drawn upon for every type of case (Inst.Or.,2,4,20; cf. Cicero, De Or.,3,27,105). ἐγκύβητος, ψόγος and σύγκρισις belonged to epideictic oratory, but the matter of deliberative oratory had much in common with the epideictic (Aristotle, Rhet.,1,9,1368a; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,7,28), and, like forensic oratory, epideictic required

⁵¹ Libanius compares sailing and farming, the country and the city (8,349ff.Foerster).

proof (Inst.Or.,3,7,4). The encomiastic topoi were useful for every class of lawsuit (Cicero, De Or.,2,86, 349; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,2,1,11). Comparison was useful in all types of rhetoric (Nicolaus, F.62), especially in judicial speeches (Quintilian, Inst.Or.,7,2,24; 9,2,100; Theon, Sp.2,60,31), ἐπαγγελία or debates (Theon, Sp.2,61,2-4), or deliberative speeches (Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,8,34). The school exercises in ἐγκύκλιος therefore provided valuable training for all types of rhetoric.

In literature, the influence of the encomiastic topoi emanating from the schools, has already been shown, for example, in the work of Juvenal⁵² and Claudian.⁵³ The topoi were seen in praise and denunciation of the emperors, for example, the invective of Hilary of Poitiers against Constantine.⁵⁴ Comparison was common in

⁵²See W. S. Anderson, "Juvenal and Quintilian", YCLS 7 (1961), 1-93.

⁵³See L. B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian", HSPH 30 (1919), 49-87; H. B. Levy, "Claudian's In Rufinum and the Rhetorical ψόγος", TAPhA 77 (1946) 57-67.

⁵⁴T. J. Haarhoff, The Schools of Gaul (Johannesburg. 1958), 164. See also Th. Payr, REAC, 337. Lucan's Laus Neronis was probably an example. Encomiastic poetry, although influenced by rhetoric, was dominated by the tradition of the poetic encomiastic genre (see Payr, REAC, 335).

Hellenistic philosophic and historical writing,⁵⁵ and the rhetorical method of comparison influenced Plutarch in the Vitae. Like Theon (Sp. 2, 112), he preferred the comparison of equals.⁵⁶ The influence of rhetorical ἐγκύκλιος continued in the subjects of mediaeval poetry, such as praise of gods, people, countries, cities, animals, plants, seasons, virtues, arts and professions.⁵⁷

As Burgess points out, the progymnasmata as a whole had epideictic qualities, and the encomiastic topoi were used in other exercises helpful for deliberative and forensic oratory, for example, Χρεια, γυναιχη, κοινοι τόποι, ἡθικοὶ, ἑσθῆς . "Thus the prominence of the ἐγκύκλιος as a separate progymnasma, together with its entrance into many others, helps to prove the epideictic character of the progymnasmata as a whole and accounts in large measure for the strong influence of Greek rhetorical training in continuing and extending the epideictic style."⁵⁸

⁵⁵See Reichel, 96; Th. Payr , REAC, 5.336.

⁵⁶Focke, 339 and 357-358 considers that Plutarch's method originated in rhetoric, especially Theon. On the close relation between ἐγκύκλιος and biography, see Th. Payr , REAC, 5.336.

⁵⁷See Curtius, 155ff.

⁵⁸Epideictic Literature, 118, n.4.

προσωποποιία and ἔκφρασις

After ἔγκλειον, ψόγος and σύγκρισις, the progymnasmatists include προσωποποιία or ἡθεσιάζεω⁵⁹ (a speech in character) and ἔκφρασις (description). Since Quintilian omits these from the elementary rhetorical exercises, I shall not discuss them.

Quintilian does not include the προσωποποιία because it is a useful exercise for anyone, since it requires double effort, and especially for future poets and historians, who, like orators, have to write speeches in character (Inst.Or., 3, 8, 49; cf. Theon, Sp. 2, 60, 22-24). Quintilian also considers the προσωποποιία very difficult (Inst.Or., 3, 8, 49; 9, 2, 29ff.; cf. Theon, Sp. 2, 120, 26), and he treats it as a suasoria, a deliberative declamation in character (Inst.Or., 3, 8, 49 and 52).⁶⁰

He recognizes the value of ἔκφρασις (descriptio) (e.g., Inst.Or., 4, 2, 123; 4, 3, 12), but does not consider it as a progymnasma. Hermogenes says that some writers do not make ἔκφρασις a separate exercise because it is anticipated in μῦθος, διήγημα, κοινὸς λόγος and ἔγκλειον (R. 23, 15-19).

⁵⁹ Ancient writers did not agree on the difference between προσωποποιία and ἡθεσιάζεω. See Reichel, 75-77.

⁶⁰ For more detailed discussion, see Lana, Quintiliano, il "Sublime" e gli "Esercizi Preparatori" di Elio Teone, 139ff. Theon places προσωποποιία and ἔκφρασις before ἔγκλειον. See p. 26.

CHAPTER FIVE

κοινὸς τόπος (COMMUNIS LOCUS)

The κοινὸς τόπος (commonplace) is the subject of this chapter. We shall discuss the meaning of the term, the nature of the school exercise, topics for development of a commonplace, and its usefulness to the orator.

The Meaning of κοινὸς τόπος

The term κοινὸς τόπος, or τόπος (Demosthenes, In Aristog., (25) 76; cf. Aristotle, Rhet., 1, 1358a),¹ was applied to themes and examples common to ancient orators, the earliest instances being concerned with virtue and vice (Demosthenes, In Aristog., (25) 76; cf. Cicero, Part.Or., 115-116; Fronto, Ep.ad M.Caes., 5, 59; Philostratus, VS, 1, p. 2 Kayser).² The term was extended to any common themes, such as were used in praise of the gods and the city in funeral speeches.³ Such themes could be developed to give colour and variety to a speech, and their principal advantage was that they were of general application and so transferable from speech to speech.

¹κοινὸς τόπος were possibly called κοινοί before Aristotle. See L. Radermacher, Artium Scriptores (Vienna, 1951), 224. "Longinus" uses the term τοπικότητα, e.g., Subl., 11, 2.

²See also H. H. Hudson, "Compendium Rhetorices by Erasmus" in Studies in Speech and Drama in Honor of Alexander M. Drummond (New York, 1968), 337.

³E. Pflugmacher, Locorum Communium Specimen (Diss.: Greifswald, 1909), 12ff.; W. Plöbst, Die Auxesis (Amplificatio) (Diss.: Munich, 1911), 22ff. Examples of such commonplaces in forensic cases were whether one should believe suspicions, rumours, witnesses, etc. (Cicero, De Inv., 2, 15, 48).

KOINOS TOTOS as an Exercise

The KOINOS TOTOS was developed as an exercise by the Sophists, who instructed their pupils in the memorizing of set pieces to be used at suitable times (καίριως)⁴; and in the working and reworking of great moral themes⁵ and presumably questions of natural philosophy. Protagoras and Gorgias were the first teachers to collect and treat KOINOI TOTOI (Aristotle, Soph.El.,183b; Cicero, Brut.,46; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,1,12). Ancient orators, such as Lysias, practised and collected TOTOI,⁶ and many examples of commonplaces are repeated in the Attic orators.⁷ No extant papyri show the development of the KOINOS TOTOS as a progymnasma.

The progymnasmatic KOINOS TOTOS was related to the earliest commonplaces in that it was concerned with virtue or vice, but otherwise had little connection with the rhetorical commonplace, which Quintilian describes as a miserable worn piece of furniture, brought out whenever possible (Inst.Or.,2,4,29). It appears that there was an evolution from actual commonplaces to methods of producing and classifying them, and the KOINOS TOTOS of the progymnasmatists may be considered to

⁴This practice was criticized by Isocrates (Adv.Soph., 9ff.), Aristotle (Soph.El.,184a) and Quintilian (Inst.Or., 2,4,27ff.).

⁵Marrou, 91; O. Navarre, Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote (Paris, 1900, 60ff.

⁶Navarre, 166f.; Radermacher, Artium Scriptores, 149.

⁷Radermacher, 224; Theon, Sp.2,60,19-22.

represent an intermediate stage in which commonplaces were joined together to amplify a particular virtue or vice.⁸

The κοινὸς τόπος was related to ἐγκώμιον, and was placed immediately after it by Quintilian. The progymnasmatists placed it after ἀνασκευή καὶ κατασκευή⁹ and before ἐγκώμιον. A κοινὸς τόπος could be used in an ἐγκώμιον,¹⁰ and therefore it was more natural for it to precede ἐγκώμιον in the order of the progymnasmata. . Whereas an ἐγκώμιον or ψόγος set forth the whole life of a certain person and included proof, a κοινὸς τόπος amplified one deed and did not include proof (Quintilian, Inst.Or., 2, 4, 22). A κοινὸς τόπος also had a general orientation (Nicolaus, F.38, 19-22; cf. Theon, Sp.2, 106, 22), for example, towards every temple-robber or chieftain (Hermogenes, R.12, 4-5) or all treachery (Aphthonius, R.16, 20-17, 2). Another difference between κοινὸς τόπος and ἐγκώμιον, according to the progymnasmatists, was that the former called for reward or punishment while the latter did not (Hermogenes, R.15, 15-17; Aphthonius, R.27, 14-16; Nicolaus, F.38, 15-19).

⁸See P. Jehn, Toposforschung, eine Dokumentation (Frankfurt, 1972), on modern discussions of the rhetorical Topics-theory. The κοινὸς τόπος should not be confused with the rhetorical τόπος, in the sense "source of argument" (cf. Inst.Or., 5, 10, 20), which was discussed in Aristotle's Topica and Cicero's Partitiones Oratoriae and Topica.

⁹See p.26. κοινὸς τόπος was useful for the epilogue of a speech and was connected with ἀνασκευή and κατασκευή, and so its natural place was after them (Doxopater, W.2, 370, 1ff.; cf. Nicolaus, F.35, 6ff.).

¹⁰See Kroll's notes on Cicero, Orator, 125 and 210.

Theon defines the commonplace as an amplification of an admitted or established deed,¹¹ either bad or good (Sp.2,106,4-5; cf. Nicolaus, F.36,15-18; Doxopater, W.2, 371,11). He adds that it may be about an evil deed, for example, of a tyrant, traitor, murderer, or profligate, or a useful deed of a tyrant-slayer, chieftain, or law-giver (Sp.2,106,6-10). It was, however, usually about an evil deed. Quintilian (Inst.Or.,2,4,22) and Aphthonius (R.16, 18-19) do not include good deeds,¹² and Hermogenes (R.12ff.), Aphthonius (R.17ff.) and Libanius (8,158ff. Foerster) give examples only of amplifications of evil deeds (cf. Nicolaus, F.37,7ff.; Doxopater, W.2,390,25ff.). Praise of a good deed would not occur as often as denunciation of an evil act in judicial cases,¹³ although Cicero considers praise of virtues useful for this branch of oratory (De Or.,3,27,107).

¹¹This is a sharper definition than that of Cicero, who describes a commonplace as the amplification of an undisputed statement or a doubtful statement (De Inv.,2,15, 48; 2,22,63). The Auctor ad Herennium also refers to both kinds (e.g.,2,6,9: 2,30,47ff.). Cicero and the Auctor ad Herennium do not treat the commonplace as a progymnasma, but include it in the pleading of a forensic case.

¹²Nor do the Auctor ad Herennium (2,30,47) and Cicero (De Inv.,1,53,100).

¹³See Spalding's note on Inst.Or.,2,4,22.

The progymnasme is called τόπος because it is the starting-point (ἀφορμή) for generalizations about wicked deeds (Theon, Sp.2,106,14-21; Nicolaus, F.36,22-37,3; cf. Anonymus Seguerianus 169, p. 32 Graeven; Doxopater, W.2, 376,15-18). It does not investigate facts (Theon, Sp.2,106, 26ff.; Hermogenes, R.12,1-3; cf. Cicero, De Or.,3,27,106), since the principal aim of such generalizations is to appeal to the emotions by colouring the acknowledged facts (Demosthenes, In Aristog., (25)76; Auctor ad Her.,2,30,47; Cicero, De Inv.,2,15,49; Victorinus, 270,11 Halm), especially in the epilogue of a speech (Cicero, Or.,127; Nicolaus, F.36,5-6; Doxopater, W.2,370,5-6).¹⁴ It is called κοινός because it is applicable, for example, to every traitor (Aphthonius, R.17,1-2; cf. Cicero, De Or., 3,27,106; Hermogenes, R.12,4-5; Nicolaus, F.36,20-22). It may be simple, or double, for example, about a traitor-general or a priest-desecrator (Theon, Sp.2,106,12-13; cf. Quintilian, Inst.Or.,2,4,22; Nicolaus, F.39,3ff.),¹⁵ or triple, for example, concerning murder of a priest in a temple (Doxopater, W.2,377,19; cf. Emporius, 564,14 Halm).¹⁶

¹⁴ Ἀκατάσκευος, on the other hand, did not take facts for granted and sought to prove by argument (Nicolaus, F.29, 18ff.; 36,2ff.), and was generally used with an ἐνασκειν to supply argument on two sides (cf. Hermogenes, R.11,5-7).

¹⁵ Nicolaus considers these poor examples of double commonplaces because two crimes are not involved.

¹⁶ Antiphon's tetralogies contain much material of this sort, designed to be learnt as κοινὰ τόποι (Radermacher, 81ff.). A commonplace dealt with a class of person or type of deed, not a particular charge (cf. Inst.Or.,2,4,23). See also Navarre, 124ff.

The Topics

The method of developing (ἐργάζεσθαι, αὐξάνειν) a κοινὸς τόπος was to some extent similar to that for an ἐγκώμιον in that certain στοιχεῖα or κεφάλαια were used.¹⁷ Different topics were followed, however, except for comparison. Quintilian does not discuss the topics for the commonplace, but the progymnasmatisists do examine them.

In a regular κοινὸς τόπος there was no πρόμιον because it was like a second speech or epilogue (Theon, Sp.2, 106,27ff.; Hermogenes, R.12,11ff.; Aphthonius, R.17,3).¹⁸ For training the young, however, a pattern of exordia was composed in the schools (Aphthonius, R.17,3-5; cf. Nicolaus, F.39,18ff.). After the πρόμιον and announcement of the crime, Theon (Sp.2,107,23ff.) has the following headings:

1. intention of the doer
2. thing involved (e.g., money)
3. extent of the crime (what other crimes it includes)
4. comparison with other deeds (triple comparison, or comparison with the greater, less or equal)
5. past life of perpetrator surmised
6. events after the deed
7. the irreparable
8. judgment
9. description of the deed.

¹⁷Doxopater (W.2,412) considers the term τόπος more appropriate to ἐγκώμιον, but he uses the term κεφάλαια also for the main heads of ἐγκώμιον.

¹⁸Cf. J. Ernesti, Lexicon Technologiae Latinorum Rhetoricae (Hildesheim, 1962), 184.

Praiseworthy deeds would be amplified from the opposites of these (Theon, Sp.2,109,18).

Hermogenes (R.12-14) and Aphthonius (R.17) have almost the same topics as each other:

1. analysis of the contrary
2. the deed
3. comparison
4. proverb (Hermogenes) / intention (Aphthonius)
5. past life of perpetrator (cf.Doxopater,W.2,394,25ff.)
6. repudiation of pity by the telik heads,¹⁹ which are the lawful, just, expedient, possible, fitting (Hermogenes), or the lawful, just, expedient, possible, probable, imminent (Aphthonius)(cf.Doxopater,W.2,399)
7. sketch of the deed.

Nicolaus has a mixture of all these topics (F.42ff.):

1. from the contrary
2. the deed
3. accompanying factors
4. comparison (the same types mentioned by Theon)
5. repudiation of pity
6. outline of the deed.

He does not hold with surmising the past life of the perpetrator from the present (F.42,10), but says that comparison may include his past deeds (F.44). Both comparison and repudiation of pity should include some of the telik heads, which are the expedient, just, lawful, possible, honourable,

¹⁹This term seems to be of Stoic origin. See A.von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, vol.3(Stuttgart,1964),25.

notable, necessary, easy (F.44,17ff.; cf. Doxopater, W.2,412).²⁰

While the topics are similar in the progymnasmatists, agreement is not as close as in the *trópeis* for *ἐγκύβητος*, and no earlier writer has a list corresponding to those of the progymnasmatists for *κοινὸς τόπος*. Some of their topics are found in Aristotle, the Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero. Aristotle includes the possible and impossible among topics necessary for all types of speeches (Rhet.,2,19,1392a). Under the twenty-eight topics of demonstrative and refutative enthymemes, he includes the contrary, more or less (comparison), and consequences (Rhet.,2,23,1400b). The Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero, in the De Inventione, agree upon ten topics²¹ for the *indignatio* or amplifying of an accusation in the conclusion of a speech (which was the most useful place for a *κοινὸς τόπος*).²² Among these topics are premeditation (intention), comparison, and description of the deed (Auctor ad Herennium, 2,30,48-49; Cicero, De Inv.,1,53,101). In the Partitiones Oratoriae, Cicero speaks of the contrary and comparisons as arguments inherent in a subject (Part. Or.,7; cf. Top.,11 and 47), and when discussing amplification in a peroration, he includes the contrary and

²⁰Emporius has the intention, the deed, comparison and results (565 Halm).

²¹Cicero adds five more topics.

²²See p. 117.

consequences (Part.Or.,55). Under conjectural questions he adds possibility and intention (Part.Or.,111-112) and under questions of definition he considers discussion of equity necessary to both prosecution and defence (Part.Or.,126).

The progymnasmatists were therefore using well-known rhetorical topics when they compiled their lists for the *κοινὰ τόποι*. It is impossible to say whether any of these writers made use of a single source, now lost, but it seems likely that all were compilers using various sources, including works of other progymnasmatists.²³

The Usefulness and Influence of *κοινὰ τόποι*

By teaching the student to practise argument and amplification in particular, the *κοινὰ τόποι* provided useful training, especially for judicial oratory, both in prosecution and defence (Quintilian, Inst.Or.,2,4,22; cf. 2,1,11; Cicero, De Or.,3,27,106; Nicolaus, F.46,20ff.).²⁴ Turning a specific question towards the general was helpful, because, as Quintilian said, all cases turned upon general questions (Inst.Or.,3,5,9; 10,5,12; cf. Cicero, De Or.,2,31,135; Or.,126),²⁵ although in practice this was not

²³See pp.25,32 and Felten, Nicolai Progymnasmata, xxvii-xxxiii, on the sources of Nicolaus.

²⁴See Ernesti, 184. Amplification, though epideictic, was necessary for all types of speech (Aristotle, Rhet.,2,1391b-1392a).

²⁵The commonplace was used also by schools of philosophy, e.g., the Peripatetics and Academics (Cicero, De Or.,3,18,67; 3,27,107).

always true, especially in conjectural cases.²⁶ Quintilian also recommended practice of commonplaces to the mature orator for increasing fluency in subjects allowing varied digressions (Inst.Or., 10, 5, 12).

A disadvantage of κοινὰ τόποι was that evil deeds were usually the subject,²⁷ and in practice the persons involved were limited to a few types. Cicero (De Or., 3, 27, 106) mentions the embezzler, traitor and murderer; Quintilian (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 22) mentions the adulterer, gambler, and embezzler; and Theon adds the tyrant, thief, and desecrator (Sp. 2, 106, 8; 108, 5ff.). The κοινὰ τόποι influenced the lurid declamations on fictitious cases (controversiae), which concentrated on display and became popular under the Empire. The first declamations may have been little more than commonplaces.²⁸

²⁶See Kroll's note on Or., 126.

²⁷See p. 118.

²⁸S. F. Bonner, Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire (Liverpool, 1969), 12.

CHAPTER SIX

Θέσις (THESIS)

In this chapter, we shall examine the θέσις, its origins and development, its divisions and functions according to Cicero, Quintilian and the progymnasmatists, its actual role in the Roman schools, and its usefulness as an elementary rhetorical exercise.

The Origin of θέσις

As with the κοινὸς τόπος, there appear to be no papyri showing the use of θέσις as a rhetorical exercise, and we therefore have to rely on literary evidence of its origin.

Protagoras is said to have been the first to discover that every question may be argued from two sides (cf. Eudoxus, 80A21,DK(6); Aristotle, 80B6,DK(6); Seneca, Ep.,88,43; Diogenes Laertius, 9,53).¹ Aristotle, however, is thought to have been the first to use the θέσις as an exercise, with rhetorical as well as dialectical purpose (Cicero, Tusc.,2,3,9; Fin.,5,4,10; Or.,46 and 127; De Or.,3,21,80; Diogenes Laertius, 5,3).²

¹He wrote two books of ἀντιλογίαι 80B5,DK(6).

²In Aristotle's time, θέσις already existed in philosophy teaching as a problem in dialectic (Top.,1,104b). See Reichel, 98ff; F. Striller, De Stoicorum Studiis Rhetoricis (Diss.: Bratislava, 1886), 23; H. Throm, Die Thesis (Paderborn, 1932), 177; I. Düring, Aristoteles (Heidelberg, 1966), 70, citing Top.,9,1,165a,19.

The custom of collecting books of *Θέσεις* as exercises was begun by Aristotle (Theon, Sp.2,69,1) and followed by Theophrastus³ and the Peripatetics (Theon, Sp.2,69; Strabo, 13,p.609; Diogenes Laertius,4,27).⁴ The Peripatetics used the *Θέσεις* in their schools from the time of Theophrastus and were still using it in Quintilian's day (Cicero, Tusc.,2,3,9; Or.,127; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,12,2,25; Athenaeus,4,p.130D).⁵ The *Θέσεις* was also the chief exercise in the schools of the Academics after Arcesilaus (Cicero, Fin.,2,1,2; Acad.,2,3,7; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,12,2,25).⁶ A listener would propose a question which the teacher or a student would discuss, ex tempore, from both sides, an exercise requiring great practice, knowledge and skill.⁷

The *Θέσεις* was not taken over officially into the rhetorical curricula until the second century B.C., when

³The collections of Theophrastus included mainly ethical themes, but also questions of metaphysics and natural philosophy. See E. M. Jenkinson, "Further Studies in the Curriculum of the Roman Schools of Rhetoric in the Republican Period", SO 31 (1955), 127.

⁴See Throm, 171-179. Strabo (13,p.609) even sees this as decadence in the Peripatetics. See Kroll, RE, "Rhetorik", Supp.7, 32, 1105ff.

⁵See Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 116, n.4.

⁶See Reichel, 99ff.

⁷See Throm, 187. The question most often discussed, and which was still popular in the seventeenth century, was "Should one marry?". But there were many others. See Bonner, 3-5.

there was strife between philosophers and rhetoricians concerning who had the right to teach its use.⁸ At that time, Hermagoras of Temnos, perhaps because he realized the benefit a philosophic training would give the orator's mind, or the importance of general questions of equity behind specific cases,⁹ claimed some *θέσεις* for rhetoric. He first divided the material of rhetoric into *θέσεις* and *ὁμοθέσεις* (Cicero, *De Inv.*, 1,6,8; Quintilian, *Inst.Or.*, 2,21,21; 3,5,14), the latter being a discussion limited by the introduction of specific persons, the former being without such limits (Cicero, *De Inv.*, 1,6,8).¹⁰ The type of *θέσεις* he assigned to the orator were πολιτικά ζητήματα (Sextus Empiricus, *Math.*, 2,62; Augustinus, 138,29ff. Halm). These were civil questions, quarum perspectio in communem animi conceptionem potest cadere, quod Graeci *κεῖνῃν ἐννοῶν* vocant (Augustinus, 138,33-139,2 Halm),

⁸ Striller's evidence (19, 24) that the *θέσις* was already used in rhetoric by the Stoics is not convincing. Cicero (*Fin.*, 4,3,7) and Plutarch (*De Stoic.repu.*, 10) state that the Stoics omitted this exercise.

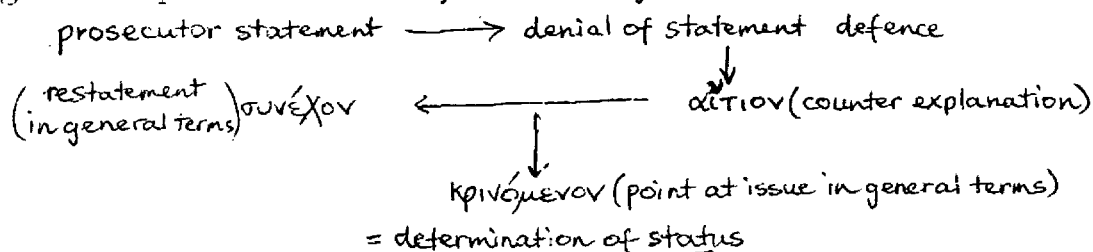
⁹ See ppl28-129 ; Bonner, 6.

¹⁰ The Stoics had seven *μεμβράναις*, apparently taken over by Hermagoras (Augustinus, 141,12ff. Halm), namely, who, what, when, where, why, how, by what means. Of course, a *θέσις* is limited by at least one of these, *res* (what). According to Cicero (*De Inv.*, 1,6,8), Hermagoras stressed a specific person as the limiting circumstance impossible in a *θέσις*. Later writers often lost sight of this. See p.135.

that is to say, they were usually restricted to questions of ethics,¹¹ which fall within common experience.

Examples are an navigandum sit, an philosophandum (Augustinus, 140,5 Halm). Theoretical θέσεις which required specialized knowledge, such as verine sunt sensus (epistemology), quae sit solis magnitudo (physics), would be left to the philosopher.¹²

There was dispute even in antiquity about the relationship of the θέσις to Hermagoritic rhetoric. Hermagoras did not claim the θέσις as a progymnasma, and it is possible that he theorized that behind every case (πολιτικὸν ζήτημα) lay an ὑπόθεσις and ultimately a general point-at-issue, which may be shown thus:



An equation of θέσις with the quaestio has therefore

¹¹See Throm, 192, 90. Striller, 25, claims that Hermagoras gave all questions, including theoretical θέσεις, to the orator, but it can be argued that speculative questions, such as verine sunt sensus, are not within the common grasp.

¹²Cicero appears to be the only writer who reproached Hermagoras for taking over such θέσεις. See Striller, 8; Jenkinson, 126, 128. Hermagoras evidently gave no instructions on how to treat the θέσις (Cicero De Or. 2,19,78; 3,28,110). Quintilian is uncertain whether Hermagoras gave any θέσεις to the orator (Inst.Or., 2,21,22). Only fragments of Hermagoras survive, edited by D. Matthes (Leipzig, 1962).

been made both in antiquity and in recent times. But although Theon (Sp.2,120,18) equates *θέσις* and *κρινόμενον* and claims this equation for Hermagoras, there is no other evidence that Hermagoras considered that the *κρινόμενον*, nor the general question in a case, could be called *θέσις*.¹³

Cicero

Cicero goes further than Hermagoras in claiming all *θέσεις*, including the theoretical, for rhetoric, and complains that no writer nor teacher has grasped the nature and range of *θέσεις* (De Or.,2,15,65-66; 3,28,110).

Like Hermagoras, Cicero divides rhetorical material into general and specific questions (De Or.,1,31,138). He translates *ὁπόθεσις* by causa (for example, De Inv.,1,6,8) or by quaestio definita (Part.Or.,4 and 9; Top.,92), and *θέσις* by quaestio or quaestio infinita (De Inv.,1,6,8; De Or.,1,31,138 and 141; 2,15,65-66; 2,19,78; 2,31,134; Or.,46 and 125; Part.Or.,4 and 9).¹⁴ He is not perhaps certain of the difference between *θέσις* and *ὁπόθεσις*. In the De Inventione (1,6,8), he has a definition of causa (*ὁπόθεσις*), which he says is from Hermagoras, as including specific individuals

¹³See Throm, 114ff.; Kroll's note on Cicero, Or.,126. Hermagoras' system of *στάσεις* (status) for forensic oratory is not relevant to the *θέσις* but rather to declamation exercises (see Bonner, 12-16).

¹⁴*θέσις* is rendered by propositum (Part.Or.,61; Top. 79) and consultatio (Part.Or.,4 and 106; De Or.,3,28,111; Ad Att.,9,4,3), but these terms do not seem to have been adopted by other authors. Cicero also uses the Greek word *θέσις* (Or.,46 and 125; Ad Att.,9,4; cf. Ad Quint.Fratr.,3,3,4). The Latinized thesis does not appear until the Elder Seneca.

(cum personarum certarum interpositione). In the Partitiones Oratoriae (61) he omits the word "certain", which makes the persons involved in a causa (ὁπόθεως) not necessarily specific individuals, while in the Topica (80), on the other hand, he indicates that a quaestio (θέσις) may include some of the circumstances of a causa.¹⁵

In his youth, Cicero considered quaestiones outside the duty of the orator (De Inv., 1, 6, 8).¹⁶ Later, however, he reproached the rhetoricians for giving no help with quaestiones (de altera parte dicendi mirum silentium est) (De Or., 2, 29, 78; cf. 3, 28, 109-110). Cicero was aiming to regain for rhetoric its position under Aristotle and Theophrastus with a blending of philosophy and rhetoric,¹⁷ especially by taking back general themes appropriated by the Peripatetics and Academics (De Or., 3, 27, 107ff.; cf. 1, 13, 56; 2, 16, 67). In the Orator Cicero supported the θέσις still more strongly. He said that Aristotle had used it in a rhetorical way to give facility in speaking on either side of a question, and he wished his nephew to

¹⁵See p. 127, n. 10.

¹⁶Reichel, 101, sees here the influence of Posidonius, who opposed Hermagoras and who taught at Rhodes.

¹⁷See E. G. Sihler, "Θετικώτερον", AJPh 23 (1902), 290; Thron, 152ff. Quintilian approved of Cicero's mature view of the θέσις (Inst. Or., 3, 5, 15-16).

be trained by this method (Or., 46; Ad Quint. Fr. 3, 3, 4). In the Partitiones Oratoriae and Topica, Cicero discussed divisions of the genera and how to deal with them.

In the Partitiones Oratoriae (62ff.) he gives two main divisions, that of knowledge (theoretical) and that of action (practical).¹⁸ The former is subdivided into an sit, quid sit, quale sit,¹⁹ the latter into ad persequendum aliquid aut declinandum and quod ad aliquod commodum usumque referatur, also into what instructs about duty or calms or arouses emotions. This classification is repeated with no major differences in the Topica (79ff.).²⁰

Whereas Hermagoras had restricted the orator to practical genera, Cicero, although stressing ethical questions (De Or., 3, 30, 120)²¹ and expressing his admiration for political philosophers who gave proof of their wisdom through action (De Or., 3, 15, 56), later claimed all philosophy as necessary for the orator (Or., 16; cf. Quintilian, Inst. Or., 1, prf., 16ff.). In the

¹⁸Cf. Aristotle, Top., 1, 104b, but comparison with Cicero cannot be taken far here (see the examples). Cicero may have learnt of this division through some philosophy handbook. See Throm, 81-82, and 138.

¹⁹These are the same as the three chief status or bases, coniectura, finitio, qualitas, which were applied to genera after Hermagoras, who had four status, namely, coniectura, proprietas, translatio, qualitas (Quintilian, Inst. Or., 3, 6, 56). See Throm, 139ff.

²⁰Ibid., 142.

²¹Cicero holds that these should belong entirely to the orator.

Partitiones Oratoriae (62ff.) he includes theoretical questions, such as verine sunt sensus, which he had earlier left to the philosopher (De Inv., 1, 6, 8).²²

Cicero was, however, particularly interested in practical Ques in oratory.²³ He stressed the importance of general questions because they allowed greater freedom of oratory in argument, manner and style, and helped the jurors reach a verdict through showing general truths behind specific questions (De Or., 3, 107, 120ff.; Or. 45ff., 125ff.; Part.Or., 104). Entire cases could depend on a Ques (Or., 125ff.),²⁴ which is pars causae (an intrinsic element of a lawsuit) (Top., 80).²⁵

Although the practical Ques was used as a progymnasma, it appears from Quintilian and later writers that Cicero was not successful in advocating theoretical Ques for the orator (cf. Augustinus, 139 Halm).²⁶

²²For other examples, see De Or., 3, 29, 113; Top., 32.

²³See Reichel, 102. Cicero found comfort in practising such Ques in March, 49 B.C. (Ad Att., 9, 4; cf. Ad Att., 9, 9, 1).

²⁴Cf. Quintilian, Inst.Or., 3, 5, 9ff., with Adamietz' note on 3, 5, 10.

²⁵Sihler, 294, gives examples from Cicero's speeches. Cf. Inst.Or., 2, 4, 24 and Spalding's note ad loc.

²⁶See pp. 133, 135.

Definition and Division of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Quintilian and
the Progymnasmatists

In Book 2 of the Institutio Oratoria, Quintilian does not give any division of $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, and theoretical questions of definition and classification are for him no concern of the student at the elementary level. The examples which he gives are practical $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Inst.Or., 2,4,24-25), so that the young pupil will not be concerned with abstract philosophical $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. Quintilian confirms that general questions belong to the orator (Inst.Or., 2,21,22).

Book 3, which is intended for the more advanced student, contains a classification, and a definition, namely that indefinite questions are those handled without specific reference to persons, time, place and the like (Inst.Or., 3,5,5).²⁷ Quintilian notes that writers have used various terms for an indefinite question - the Greeks $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, Cicero propositum, some authors quaestiones universales civiles,²⁸ others questions suitable to the philosophers, Athenaeus

²⁷As in Part.Or., 61, the omission of certis leads to some vagueness. See p. 130; cf. Throm, 106. For discussion in later authors, see Augustinus (139ff. Halm); Martianus Capella (454,17ff. Halm); Excerpta Rhetorica (585,17ff. Halm); Isidore (515,10ff. Halm).

²⁸e.g., πολιτικὰ ζητήματα (Hermagoras). See Throm, 89ff.

pars causae.²⁹ He does not discuss these designations.

In classifying the ῥῆσις (Inst.Or., 3, 5, 6), he does not include all Cicero's divisions, but following the Partitiones Oratoriae (62) and Topica (81), he has two kinds - of knowledge, such as an prouidentia mundus regatur,³⁰ and of action, such as an accedendum ad rem publicam administrandum (cf. Cicero, De Or., 3, 29, 112; Top., 82; Theon, Sp. 2, 123, 7ff.).³¹ The first kind involves three questions, an sit, quid sit, quale sit (cf. Part.Or., 62; Top., 82), the second, how to obtain power and how to use it (cf. Part.Or., 63).

The progymnasmatists define ῥῆσις as a verbal investigation or debate of a general question (Theon, Sp. 2, 120, 13-14; Hermogenes, R. 24, 2-4; Aphthonius, R. 41, 13-14; Nicolaus, F. 71, 11; cf. Doxopater, W. 2, 539, 14ff.; 540, 11ff.). They give as the difference between ῥῆσις and ὑπόθεσις that ῥῆσις does not relate to particular circumstances (περίστασις) (Theon, Sp. 2, 120, 13ff.; Hermogenes, R. 24, 2ff.; Aphthonius, R. 41, 22ff.; Nicolaus, F. 71, 12ff.). περίστασις means a concrete,

²⁹And Theodorus κατάλογον ἐν ὑποθέσει (Theon, Sp. 2, 120, 19). Cf. Cicero, Part.Or., 9, 61; Top., 80. See Adamietz' note on Inst.Or., 3, 5, 5; Theon, 119-120.

³⁰See Spalding's note ad loc. This example is developed by Theon, Sp. 2, 126, 3ff.

³¹Quintilian's examples are practical ῥῆσις, especially those involving comparison. They are found in other authors (Cousin, Etudes sur Quintilien, 116, n.4).

individual, particular circumstance (Aphthonius, R.41,22f.; Nicolaus, F.71,18ff.).³² A θέσις may, however, have περίστασις of a general kind (that is, no specific person is mentioned), for example, εἰ βασιλεὺς γαμητέον, εἰ σοφὸς πολιτεύεται (cf. Inst.Or.,3,5,16).³³

Despite differences in the explanation of the terms,³⁴ they divide the θέσις into two kinds, practical or political, for example, εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πλευστέον, εἰ τειχιστέον (Aphthonius, R.41,16-17), which belong to rhetoric, and speculative, theoretical or natural θέσεις, such as εἰ σφαιροειδὴς ὁ οὐρανός (Aphthonius, R.41,19; Nicolaus, F.76,18), which belong to philosophy (Theon, Sp.2,121,6ff.; Hermogenes, R.25,8-10; Nicolaus, F.76, 18-23; Doxopater, W.2,542,19ff.; Schol. in Aphthonium, W.2, 663,22ff.).³⁵ Practical θέσεις are questions of practical ethics having reference to a deed (Theon, Sp.2,121,8-9; Hermogenes, R.25,11-12; Nicolaus, F.76,20-23), and they fall within common considerations (Hermogenes, R.25,4; cf. Priscian, 559, 10ff. Halm). As πολιτικός may also mean

³² Especially a person (Philostratus, VS,1,p3,1 Kayser).

³³ See Theon's examples, Sp.2,123,7; 128,5; 61,6ff.; cf. Inst.Or.,3,5,16. See Thron, 107. Reichel, 107-108, fails to observe the difference between εἰ βασιλεὺς γαμητέον and an Catonii ducenda uxor.

³⁴ See Thron, 86. Victorinus has the same division (176,1ff. Halm). Practical θέσις is either civil or moral (270,8 Halm).

³⁵ Aristotle, Top.,105b, divides problems into ἠθικάς, λογικάς, φυσικάς. Ethical—"Should one obey parents or the laws?"; logical—"Is knowledge of contraries the same or not?"; physical—"Is the universe eternal or not?".

"of the citizens", such *thésais* often involve the good of the city (Aphthonius, R.41,16-18; Doxopater, W.2,542,27-28).³⁶ Theoretical *thésais* are completely speculative (Aphthonius, R.41,18-19; cf. Theon, Sp.2,121,7), and may be peculiar to a certain field of knowledge, such as natural science (Hermogenes, R.25,5-8; Doxopater, W.2,542,29ff.).³⁷ Theon differs from the other progymnasmata-ists in claiming that theoretical *thésais*, although more the sphere of philosophers, may be treated by orators using the topics derived from practical *thésais* (Sp.2,121,11-14), and he shows how to do this on the theme *εἰ ἡ πόλις θεοῦ κέλευσεν* (Sp.2,126,3ff.). He also divides *thésais* into simple (*ἀπλάι*) and connected (*συνεξαρτημένα*), for example, *εἰ γεωγητέον* and *εἰ βασιλεῖ γεωγητέον* (Sp.2,128,4ff.; cf. *Inst.Or.*,3,5,8). Hermogenes has three kinds, simple, relative and double (*αἱ ἀπλάι, αἱ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τι λαμβάνοντα, αἱ διπλάι*), calls *εἰ βασιλεῖ γεωγητέον* relative and gives as an example of double *εἰ ἀλλητέον καὶ ἄλλου ἢ γεωργητέον* (R.25,16-21; Doxopater, W.2,543,11ff.).³⁸

³⁶For examples, see Bonner, 3+4, under the headings Law and Government, Man and his social duties, Questions of Everyday Life.

³⁷*Ibid.*, under The Universe and its Problems, Questions of Abstract Thought. Most examples of *thésais* originated in philosophy. See Reichel, 104-105; Bonner, 5.

³⁸The double *thésis*, which involves a comparison, is favoured as a *progymnasma* by Quintilian (*Inst.Or.*,2,4,24-25).

The *θέσις* is different from the progymnasmatic commonplace (*κοινὸς τόπος*) in that now the student is not arguing from an admitted fact (*ὁμολογούμενον*) but presents a theme based on a disputed question (*ἀμφισβητούμενον*). (Theon, Sp.2,120,16-17; Hermogenes, R.25,13-15; Nicolaus, F.75,15-18). The commonplace does not admit dispute since it is an amplification of a common quality, usually a vice.³⁹ The *θέσις* is the first progymnasma to allow treatment from two sides (Aphthonius, R.42,6-7; cf. Hermogenes, R.26,7; Nicolaus, F.74,4).⁴⁰ Theon considers that the *θέσις* persuades, while the *κοινὸς τόπος* brings punishment, and that the *τόπος* is for court and the *θέσις* for the citizens (that is, deliberative or epideictic oratory) (Sp.2,120,20-24).⁴¹ The deliberative nature of the *θέσις* is stressed by Nicolaus, who says that it is not, like the commonplace, designed to move in a forensic setting, but to make a case in a symbouleutic setting (F.75,18-20). It is not concerned with a person like the *κοινὸς τόπος* but examines an aperistatic case situation (F.75,21ff.).⁴²

³⁹See pp.118ff.

⁴⁰Cicero (*De Or.*,3,27,107) held that a *κοινὸς τόπος* could be open to two-way argument. The term had now become more specialized, as applied to the progymnasma.

⁴¹Cicero did not agree. See p.132.

⁴²Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.Or.*,3,6,57, on the *πραγματικὴ θέσις* of Hermagoras.

Apart from indicating that practical *θέματα* involving comparison provide the most attractive and abundant practice in speaking (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 24-25), Quintilian does not say how to teach them in the schools. The progymnasmatists, except Nicolaus, use *telik* heads similar to those for other exercises, such as the necessary, beautiful, expedient, pleasant (Theon, Sp.2, 121, 18-20), the just, possible, proper (Hermogenes, R.26, 1-2), lawful (Aphthonius, R.42, 10), and refutation would be from the opposites (Theon, Sp.2, 121, 21; Hermogenes, R.26, 6-7). Theon adds *topoi* under each of his four heads (Sp.2, 121, 24ff.). Aphthonius considers that the *θέματα* requires an *ἐφευρεσις* or subtle approach, which was used in difficult situations,⁴⁶ in place of the usual *πρὸς ἁπλῆν* (R.42, 8-9). Since Nicolaus considers that the exercise is more deliberative than epideictic, his *θέματα* follows a different pattern and is rather a discussion of advantages and disadvantages with example and argument (F.72ff.).

⁴⁶Cf. Auctor ad Herennium, 1, 6, 9ff., with Caplan's note ad loc.

The Position of the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in the Roman Rhetorical
Schools

Declamabat autem Cicero non quales nunc controversias dicimus, ne tales quidem, quales ante Ciceronem dicebantur, quas thesis vocabant (Seneca, Controv., I, prf. 12).

This sentence from Seneca the Elder has caused difficulties, particularly in regard to the position of the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Roman education and the development of the controversia.⁴⁴ Seneca is saying that Cicero's declamations were different from those of his own time (controversiae)⁴⁵ and from the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ used before Cicero. He does not say that the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ was the only rhetorical exercise before Cicero, nor that the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ disappeared completely with the rise of the controversia.

Clarke has argued that the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ was never important in rhetorical education.⁴⁶ I must, however,

⁴⁴This discussion will naturally be more concerned with the $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. See M. L. Clarke, "The Thesis in the Roman Rhetorical Schools of the Republic", CQ 45 (1951), 159-166; E. M. Jenkinson, "Further Studies in the Curriculum of Roman Schools of Rhetoric in the Republican Period", SO 31 (1955), 122-130; L. A. Sussman, The Elder Seneca as a Critic of Rhetoric (Diss.: Chapel Hill, 1969).

⁴⁵On the difference between the old and new declamation, see Bonner, 25-26; Jenkinson, 123; Sussman, 17.

⁴⁶Cf. Jenkinson, 124ff.; Throm, 80; Kroll, "Rhetorik", RE, Supp. 7, 1094.

take issue with him on certain points.⁴⁷ He claims that the antiqui and veteres who, according to Quintilian, used general themes such as Θέσεις as the basis of rhetorical training (Inst.Or., 2, 1, 9; 2, 4, 41-42), were probably men of the Roman Republic, including Cicero. I am not convinced by his arguments on this point,⁴⁸ and think that the antiqui were Romans before Cicero, as supported by Quintilian's reference to Plotius Gallus as the founder of declamation at Rome (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 42).⁴⁹ Quintilian would then agree with Seneca that declamation appeared at Rome in Cicero's youth and that the Θέσεις was used before that.

Further discussion arises from the following passage of Suetonius:

quaedam etiam ad usum communis vitae instituta tum utilia et necessaria tum perniciose et supervacanea ostendere, saepe fabulis fidem firmare aut demere quod genus thesis et anasceuas et catasceuas Graeci vocant: donec sensim haec exoluerunt et ad controversiam ventum est (De Gramm., 25, 5).

⁴⁷Sussman, 13ff., criticizes other points.

⁴⁸Clarke, 160. As he points out (n.5), sometimes Quintilian includes Cicero among the ancients and at other times he does not. Also Quintilian does not accept that Demetrius invented declamation (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 41).

⁴⁹Cicero also may have named Plotius as the founder of declamation (in the lost Letter to Titinnius, cf. Suetonius, De Gramm., 26). Another theory (Winterbottom, 155-156) that the antiqui were ancient Greeks is not supported by Inst.Or., 2, 4, 41-42 and 2, 10, 1, nor by Seneca.

Suetonius seems to refer to the *θέσις* together with other *progymnasmata*. But what does *thesis* mean in this passage? Robinson takes it as an accusative referring to *quaedam etiam ad usum ... ostendere*.⁵⁰ These words, however, do not accurately describe *θέσις*, and seem rather to apply to praise and denunciation of laws. *Thesis* seems instead to be genitive⁵¹ and used in a general sense referring to *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή* of fables, thus: "this kind of theme the Greeks call *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή*."⁵² In this case, Suetonius does not mention the *progymnasma* *θέσις* at all. Even if he does, I cannot see any great discrepancy between his statement and those of Seneca and Quintilian. We know that Cicero used both *θέσις* and declamations (*Tusc.*, 1, 4, 7; *Ad Att.*, 9, 4; *Brut.*, 310; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, 10, 5, 11), and the presence of the *θέσις* in Quintilian and

⁵⁰See Robinson's note *ad loc.*; cf. Clarke, 164.

⁵¹G. Brugnoli, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli praeter Caesarum Libros Reliquias* (Leipzig, 1963), gives the manuscript reading *θέσις*. For many parallels of such a genitive rendered in Latin by the ending *-is*, as in *thesis*, see Neue-Wagner, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1902, 455).

⁵²See Reichel, 130; J. C. Rolfe, *Suetonius*, vol. 2 (London, 1965), 439. A progymnastic *θέσις* is, in fact, an *ἀνασκευή* and *κατασκευή* of a theme or "thesis" of a general nature (cf. Nicolaus, F. 75, 13).

later writers (for example, Isidore, 514,2ff. Halm), shows that it never disappeared altogether.⁵³

Certainly, the *Gēns* seems never to have been the major exercise in rhetorical education.⁵⁴ Hermagoras had to claim it for rhetoric in the second century B.C. The Academics and Peripatetics, who began teaching rhetoric at Rome in Cicero's youth, assigned *Gēns* to philosophy and declamation to rhetoric (Cicero, Tusc.,2,9; De Or.,3,28, 110). *Gēns* is excluded from the Rhetorica ad Herennium and the De Inventione, while particular themes like those of the controversia are included (Auctor ad Her.,1,13,23; De Inv.,2,50,148).⁵⁵ Cicero said that none before him had been able to move from the specific to the general (Brut., 322; cf. Or.,45), and that he had been brought up on the declamation of particular themes (Ad Quint.Fratr.,3,3,4). Since Cicero's nephew was declaiming at thirteen years, it seems likely that early specialization was causing less time to be spent on the progymnasmata even in the schools of the grammatici.⁵⁶ Yet even if the *Gēns* was only one

⁵³On the meaning of exoluerunt, see p.10. Even Seneca (Contr.,7,4,3) shows that the *Gēns* was practised or still familiar. The moral treatises of the Younger Seneca are like *Gēns*. See also Bonner, 11.

⁵⁴See Clarke, 161ff.; Throm, 80.

⁵⁵See Marx, 102ff.; Bonner, 27.

⁵⁶The usual age for starting rhetoric was about fifteen years. See p.9, n.33.

of the elementary exercises, it did not vanish.⁵⁷

What of the early importance in rhetorical education which Seneca, possibly Suetonius, and Quintilian appear to assign to the *céns*? And did the controversia develop from the *céns*? Quintilian (Inst. Or., 2, 4, 25) shows how easily a *céns* could be changed to a suasoria by adding a particular person, and if other specific circumstances were added, a controversia would result. Bonner demonstrates that similar subjects to those of the *céns* appeared in declamations under the Empire.⁵⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that the themes of the controversiae were influenced by the *céns*. On the other hand, declamation appeared at Rome early in the first century B.C., if not earlier,⁵⁹ while the *céns* in the rhetorical schools had been and remained simply one of the preliminary exercises. Seneca's statement, if it means that first there was *céns*, then declamation, is an oversimplification.⁶⁰ Sussman rightly criticizes

⁵⁷ See pp. 141-142.

⁵⁸ Bonner, 10.

⁵⁹ See p. 2 ; Jenkinson, 124; Clarke, 161.

⁶⁰ He may have confused the more important philosophic *céns* with the rhetorical *céns* (Sussman, 16-17), or he may have tried to impose a pattern of development where there was none (cf. Philostratus, VS, 1, p. 3 Kayser). See also A. Gwynn, Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian (Oxford, 1926), 164ff.

the arguments of Jenkinson and Clarke in discrediting Seneca's statement, and points out that they do not explain the passages from Quintilian satisfactorily.⁶¹ Clarke⁶² and Jenkinson⁶³ may be correct, however, in seeing Cicero's influence in Seneca and Quintilian, for Cicero thought that all particular questions can be referred to the general,⁶⁴ and that general questions were part of the original education before Socrates (De Or., 3, 16, 60-61), that is, before the separation of philosophy and rhetoric. Seneca and Quintilian would then, in their dissatisfaction with the present education, idealize the past and give the Gēsis a more important role than it had ever enjoyed.

Usefulness of the Gēsis

Even if the Gēsis was merely a preliminary exercise it was valuable. As a progymnasma, the Gēsis was of course an exercise in composition and not practised for its philosophic value.⁶⁵ Yet it was useful for epideictic and deliberative oratory and all parts of a speech (Nicolaus, F. 76, 3-17), because every particular case contains a general question (Cicero, Brut., 322;

⁶¹Sussman, 13ff.

⁶²Clarke, 165-166.

⁶³Jenkinson, 128-130.

⁶⁴See pp. 123, 132.

⁶⁵Cicero claimed the Gēsis for argument not matter (Victorinus, F. 76, 9-10 Halm).

Quintilian, Inst.Or.,3,5,9ff.; Martianus Capella, 454, 30-32 Halm).⁶⁶ A general question could be used for elaborating a case and for showing the truth about particular circumstances (Cicero, Or.,45; Quintilian, Inst.Or.,10,5,12). The practice of disputing on both sides of a question approaches very closely to forensic cases (Inst.Or.,12,2,25). In addition, the suasoria or deliberative declamation, which was popular under the Empire, developed from the Quaestiones (Inst.Or.,2,4,25). A suasoria was a Quaestio with a particular person added, for example, should Cato marry? (Inst.Or.,3,5,8).⁶⁷ The influence of Quaestiones, such as, should a son obey his father in everything, also appeared in the themes of controversiae, the declamations on fictitious cases. Bonner gives many examples from Seneca's Controversiae.⁶⁸

The Quaestiones remained a school exercise for centuries. It was retained in the Byzantine syllabus when other progymnasmata were removed, and appeared in an English grammar school of the seventeenth century.⁶⁹

⁶⁶See p.123. Kroll, RE, Supp.7,1095, seems to be wrong here. See Throm, 118; Sihler, 290.

⁶⁷See Bonner, 8-9.

⁶⁸Bonner, 6ff.

⁶⁹D. L. Clark, 133.

The influence of the *Cicero* was felt also in literature, both ancient, especially the Tusculan Disputations of Cicero and satire,⁷⁰ and more recent, such as Shakespeare's Sonnets.⁷¹ The *Æons* in literature may have been effected partly through popular philosophy, but was also the result of rhetorical studies.⁷²

⁷⁰ See Reichel, 106-107; Throm, 187.

⁷¹ D. L. Clark, 206.

⁷² Throm, 155.

CHAPTER SEVEN

νόμου εἰσφορά (LEGUM LAUS AC VITUPERATIO)

Praise and denunciation of laws was placed last among the elementary rhetorical exercises because it was the most difficult and complex (Quintilian, Inst.Or., 2,4,33; Theon, Sp. 2,65,22). In fact, it was not always included (Hermogenes, R. 26,11; Aphthonius, R. 46,20).

Although there are examples of praise and denunciation of laws at a generalized level in Greek orators such as Antiphon and Lysias,¹ no evidence exists to show that the progymnasma was used before the first century A.D. It is true that analyses of laws in some types of forensic cases (νομικὰ ζήτηματα), under the headings letter and spirit of the law, conflicting laws, ambiguity, definition, and analogy, are found in the Auctor ad Herennium (1,11,19ff.) and Cicero (De Inv., 2,40,116ff.),² but these discussions belong to the Hermagoritic στάσις doctrine and are too advanced for elementary exercises.³

Quintilian and the progymnasmatists demonstrate

¹See Radermacher, Artium Scriptores, 76-77; Plöbst, Auxesis, 29-30.

²Auctor ad Herennium also includes transference (μετάληψις). The five bases (στάσεις) given above also occur in Quintilian (Inst.Or., 7), and probably originated in Hermagoras along with certain examples. See Matches, "Hermagoras von Tenos", Lustrum 3 (1958), 182-186. Whether μετάληψις was a separate στάσις or not was much disputed (cf. Inst.Or., 3,6,68) so that Hermagoras' position is unclear, but μετάληψις occurred in relation to both πολιτικά and νομικά.

³Quintilian says that questions of letter and spirit occurred in schools (Inst.Or., 7,6), but omits them from Bk.2.

which questions concerning laws are suitable for treatment as progymnasmata. Quintilian declares that questions regarding whether the mover is legally in a position to propose a law, and whether the proposal is itself legal, which are also involved in the στάσις doctrine,⁴ are not suitable for the elementary rhetorical exercises, which are not concerned with particular persons, times and cases (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 35-36; cf. Hermogenes, R.26, 14ff.).

Aphthonius agrees with Quintilian on this point, since he calls praise or denunciation of a law more than a θέσις and less than an ὁπόθεσις because the person introduced is not well-known and the circumstances are not clearly presented (R.47, 1-6). Like the κοινὸς τόπος, this exercise deals with general questions, but it differs in that here there is still dispute about facts, whereas in a commonplace they are taken for granted (Nicolaus, F.77, 12-15).

Quintilian says that praise or denunciation of a law is like a suasoria (deliberative) or controversia (forensic) depending on the law of the particular state. He claims that in Greece the proposer of a law spoke before a judge, while in Rome acceptance ~~of~~ rejection of a law was urged before a popular assembly (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 33). In either case, he says, only a few certain arguments are available,

⁴These are questions of μετάληψις. See p. 147, n.2.

for example, that there are also three kinds of law,⁵ sacred, public and private. This division can be used in praise of a law, which may be defended by gradations, first because it is law, secondly because it is private, thirdly since it is for religion (Inst.Or.,2,4,33-34).⁶ But where cases allow something to be said on both sides, then this something is applicable to all types of law (Inst.Or.,2,4,34).⁷

Questions which Quintilian considers suitable for elementary school exercises as well as real life (uero fictoque certamine) concern either the words or matter of the law, not involving persons, times and cases (Inst.Or.,2,4,36-37). Questions about words turn on ambiguity and clarity (τὸ σαφές) (Inst.Or.,2,4,37; cf.7,9; Theon, Sp.2, 129-130).⁸ Those about matter involve whether the law is consistent (τὸ συνεκτικόν) or should be retrospective or applied to individuals. (Inst.Or.,2,4,37). Other

⁵Winterbottom, in his note ad loc., discusses proposed emendations but retains et genera, which stresses that laws, in addition to differing in the way they are made, differ also in kind.

⁶As Quintilian indicates, sacred law was really part of public law. See A. H. J. Greenidge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time (New York, 1971), 373. On ius scriptum and ius non scriptum (ius commune), see J. W. C. Turner, Introduction to the Study of Roman Private Law (Cambridge, 1953), 68.

⁷See Spalding's note ad loc.

⁸I have inserted Greek terms when the discussion of the progymnasmatists turns upon similar issues. See pp.150-1. See Lana, Quintiliano, il "Sublime" e gli "Esercizi Preparatori" di Elio Teone, 147ff., for similarities in the discussions of ambiguity of Quintilian and Theon.

questions are whether the law can be criticized in whole or in part (cf. Inst.Or.,2,4,39; 7,1,49; Theon, Sp.2,128, 29), and whether it is valid in perpetuity, which is not suitable for an elementary exercise since it depends on special circumstances and not general characteristics of a law (Inst.Or.,2,4,40).

According to Quintilian, the question which is of most general application is whether the law is right or expedient (Inst.Or.,2,4,37).⁹ He includes under right all qualities such as justice, piety, religion (Inst.Or.,2,4,38). Justice (τὸ δίκαιον) includes discussion of the acts and suitable punishment or reward. Expediency (τὸ συμφέρον) is determined sometimes by the nature of things, sometimes by circumstances (Inst.Or.,2,4,39; cf.12,1,41). There is also the question whether the law can be enforced, that is, whether it is possible (τὸ δυνατόν; Demosthenes, In Tim.,24,68).

Quintilian's issues **gather** around the telik heads,¹⁰ variations of which are used by the progymnasmatists. For attacking a law, Theon has, after the introduction, the headings the ambiguous, impossible, unnecessary, opposite, unjust, worthy, inexpedient, shameful (Sp.2,129,7-10).¹¹

⁹That is, a question of quality (ποιότης) (Inst.Or.,3,6,36 and 41), and so the telik heads may be used.

¹⁰When discussing laws Cicero includes the expedient, honourable, necessary, lawful, possible (De Inv.,2,40,116ff.).

¹¹Theon discusses the ambiguous in detail, and it is possible that in the part of this chapter missing from the Greek he discusses the other heads. See p. 25.

Hermogenes includes the evident, just, expedient, possible and proper (R.27). Following the exordia and argument from the contrary, Aphthonius uses the headings the lawful, just, expedient and possible (R.47,11-15), the same as those employed for θέσις (R.42,10). Nicolaus says that the only difference in the telik heads in this exercise will be in their order (F.77,16ff.), and that the exercise is like a forensic speech in its exordia, debates and epilogues (F.79, 1-2; cf. Doxopater, W.2,555,27).

The exercise is concerned with attacking or defending a law when it is being proposed, or when it has been proposed and is being discussed, or when it is already established (Theon, Sp.2,128,26-27; Aphthonius, R.47,7; Nicolaus, F.78,10-14).¹² The praise or criticism of a proposed law does not seem a very useful exercise in view of the limited scope available to an orator in political life under the Empire (Tacitus, Dial.,36ff.), and judging from Aphthonius' examples (R.47ff.), fictitious or archaic laws were the basis of school exercises. On the other hand, established laws could still be discussed in the many court cases open to the orator, and Quintilian indicates that this was common practice (Inst.Or.,7,1,47; cf. Nicolaus, F.78,15).¹³

¹²Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education, 206, is incorrect about this as on other points relating to the progymnasmata.

¹³See E. P. Parks, The Roman Rhetorical Schools as a preparation for the courts under the early Empire (Baltimore, 1945), 13-60.

The chief use of the exercise would be in deriving general
telik arguments which could be used about laws that had
already been passed and affected the case at issue.
Everything of a more complex nature would be left for
later training by the rhetorician.¹⁴

¹⁴Advanced discussions on the letter and spirit of
the law also occurred in schools (Inst.Or.,7,6). On the
knowledge of law required by the orator under the Empire,
see Parks: A.Gudeman, Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus,
second edition (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914), note on Dial.,
31,11.

CONCLUSION

Having examined each of the progymnasmata separately, we must now assess their value over all as a program of exercises, remembering that they were intended to be elementary exercises in writing and speaking, and finally sum up Quintilian's role in the development of this program.

Quintilian is concerned solely with a rhetorical education, and he obviously regards the progymnasmata as a very suitable basis on which to build a training in rhetoric. These exercises, he says, involve matters which are the special concern of oratory and typical of actual legal cases, such as narration, eulogy, denunciation and commonplaces (Inst.Or.,2,1,10-12). Paraphrase fits the student for other learning (Inst.Or.,1,9,3), while eulogy (ἐγκώμιον) not only provides a store of knowledge but also exercises the mind and forms the character (Inst.Or.,2,4,20). The *θέσις* is useful for deliberative and judicial oratory, and leads to declamation, the most important exercise in the Roman rhetorical schools under the Empire (Inst.Or.,2,4,24). The aetiologia, a type of *ἡρεσία*, prepares the student for conjectural cases (Inst.Or.,2,4,26), while praise and denunciation of laws

also leads on to declamation (Inst.Or.,2,4,33).

Quintilian's exercises are reasonably close to reality, for example, ἀντιρροή and κατασκευή should involve historical rather than poetic themes (Inst.Or.,2,4,18-19). He opposes display and stresses that the student should first learn to speak correctly (Inst.Or.,2,4,17). He does not give many rules and instructions, and appears content to leave details of method to the teacher.

Like Quintilian, Theon emphasizes the importance of preparation for speaking (Sp.2,59,1-11; 60,1-2), but he also regards the progymnasmata as a preparation for a more general education, that of poets and historians as well as orators, because these exercises provide a store for any kind of eloquence as well as moral training (Sp.2,70, 25-29; cf. Quintilian, Inst.Or.,2,4,20; Hermogenes, R.1, 1-3). Exercises such as narrative, paraphrase, and Χρῆμα and γένεσις, which teach wise sayings as well as the power of words, would be useful to all (cf. Sp.2,60,16-19; 62,10ff.; Doxopater, W.2,248,14; 288,6; 296,19; Schol.ad Aphthonium, W.2,588,11). In addition, Theon points out the usefulness of all the exercises as rhetorical training, for example, ἀντιρροή and κατασκευή resemble debating cases (Sp.2,60,6-8) and comparison is found in all types of oratory (Sp.2,60,31-61,5). Each part of a speech is contained in the progymnasmata (Sp.2,60).

Nicolaus and commentators on Aphthonius also demonstrate the value of these exercises for all parts of rhetoric, especially forensic speeches (Nicolaus, F.5,11-18 and passim; cf. Doxopater, W.2,78,3 and 15; 125).¹ Rhetoric is difficult and must be approached gradually by parts (Nicolaus, F.1,16-2,10; 1,13-14).

Theon claims that the exercises are arranged to form a graded program (Sp.2,64,29-65,25; cf. Doxopater, W.2,138,16). This is true, on the whole.² ἀνακωνή and κατακωνή of μῦθος, χρεῖα and διήγημα, although appearing in his first chapters, are not to be practised until near the end, just before the θέσις (Sp.2,65,17-21).³ Each exercise leads to the next, and they overlap so that the student would not find everything in the new exercise unfamiliar, and, as extra help, examples are given for imitation (Theon, Sp.2,61,30; 71,1; 72,9ff). The more difficult exercises also follow similar topics. The last two, θέσις and νόμου εἰσφορά, approach real speeches in their manner of argument.

The other claims of Quintilian and the progymnasmatists seem justified also. Nearly all the exercises

¹See Reichel, 39.

²Ibid., 35-37.

³On the order of the progymnasmata, see pp. 20ff.

dealt with moral questions of virtue and vice and good and bad citizenship, which helped to develop the virtues of fortitude, justice, prudence and temperance in the pupils. In addition, the progymnasmata were of considerable value for general training because the first exercises were not only closely related to the study of literature but were also useful for practising correct speech and developing mastery of language. In the more difficult exercises, the student was prepared for invention and arrangement of speeches. He looked for and examined all the topics of argument and learnt to analyse the aspects of each type of discourse.⁴ The progymnasmata did not aim to encourage imagination and independent ideas.⁵ The method of argument was more important than the subject, and the pupil was concerned with general rather than specific questions. He would, however, gain a command of arguments and methods of amplification useful in particular cases, and the ability to grasp the essential question behind specific circumstances. Some material used in the *κoinḗs tékēs* and *ἐξῆς* could also be brought out later in speeches. Moreover, the student followed set patterns which provided a disciplined training and instilled habits of thought helpful for an orator.

⁴Thus, the *κoinḗs tékēs* and *ἐξῆς* were useful for practice by the mature orator as well (Inst.Or., 10, 5, 11ff.).

⁵See Marrou, 241. A student in ancient times was not expected to be original.

Unfortunately, these set patterns and rules, although not so important in Quintilian, became more and more detailed and regimented in the progymnasmatists.⁶ Theon composed definitions and included systems of classification. Hermogenes and Aphthonius devoted almost all their attention to such rules. Nicolaus discussed the respective merits of various systems. As a result, oratory in general tended to become stereotyped and unimaginative,⁷ and literature to be regarded as something composed according to schemes.⁸

Another disadvantage was that, due to imperial absolutism, the subjects of progymnasmata were not drawn from contemporary cases, and also had to be concerned with expediency rather than truth. They therefore employed ancient and fictitious themes, for the most part, and became out of touch with reality, for example, in the *κοινὸς τόπος* which influenced the subjects of controversiae. The progymnasmata were

⁶This was a characteristic of declining sophistry. See J. W. H. Walden, The Universities of Ancient Greece (New York, 1909), 203. Theon was interested in teaching method, but this interest does not appear in later progymnasmatists.

⁷See Marrou, 241; Baldwin, Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic, 38.

⁸See Saintsbury, 91. Quintilian's and Theon's interest in style (Inst.Or., 2, 4, 3-14; Sp.2, 80ff) also disappeared in later writers. In particular, the encomiastic τοπὸν affected the pattern of other exercises and contributed to their epideictic nature and the continuance of epideictic style in literature.

certainly adequate as a preparation for declamation, and, as indicated above, they supplied a good preliminary training for rhetoric in general under the Empire.

The progymnasmata provide an interesting example of the traditionalism of ancient and mediaeval teachers. Similar rules and themes are found in Anaximenes, Aristotle, Auctor ad Herennium and Cicero, to mention only those ancient authors whose rhetorical works have survived, and such rules and themes were doubtless found in other lost hand-books. The rhetorical writers of the period of the Roman Empire were, to a large extent, compilers from earlier sources, and because of them the progymnasmata did not disappear with the rise of declamation. These exercises were still collected and commented upon in the Byzantine period, when they were probably the principal exercises in composition.⁹ The Progymnasmata of Hermogenes and Aphthonius became the chief text-books of the thirteenth century,¹⁰ and texts, both Greek and Latin, of Theon and Libanius together, Hermogenes and Priscian together, and Aphthonius, were common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only disappearing when composition of Latin orations ceased to be the chief aim of grammar school education.¹¹ Some of the exercises, such as the ὑπόμνημα

⁹See Walz, vols.1-2; M. L. Clarke, Higher Education in the Ancient World, 134.

¹⁰Clarke, 134. Hermogenes' rhetorical works and Aphthonius' Progymnasmata were important from the fifth century. See p30.

¹¹D. L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education, 180-181; F. R. Johnson, "Two Renaissance Text-Books of Rhetoric", Huntington Library Quarterly 6 (August, 1943), 428.

and paraphrase, are still used in schools.¹²

Quintilian was therefore part of this tradition. He drew on earlier sources, of which one may have been the Progymnasmata of Theon.¹³ His contribution lay in setting down the progymnasmata together as a program of exercises, which had not been done before in Latin, as far as we know, and in realizing and explaining their value as a preparation for rhetoric at a time when they were in danger of vanishing from Roman schools.

¹²D. L. Clark, "The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Grammar Schools", SI 19 (1952), 263.

¹³See p.19.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of ancient authors and texts follow the system of the Oxford Classical Dictionary², with these exceptions and additions:

<u>Aristotle, Rhet.</u>	<u>Ars Rhetorica</u>
<u>Auctor ad Her.</u>	<u>Auctor ad Herennium</u>
<u>Cicero, De Inv., Or.</u>	<u>De Inventione, Orator</u>
<u>Demosthenes, In Aristog.</u>	<u>In Aristogeiton</u>
<u>In Timoc.</u>	<u>In Timocratem</u>
<u>Fronto, Ep.ad M. Caes.</u>	<u>Epistulae ad Marcum Caesarem</u>
<u>Isocrates, Adv.Soph.</u>	<u>Adversus Sophistas</u>
<u>Evag.</u>	<u>Evagoras</u>
<u>Panath.</u>	<u>Panathenaicus</u>
<u>Macrobius, Somn.Scip.</u>	<u>Commentarii in Ciceronis</u> <u>Somnium Scipionis</u>
<u>Plautus, Aul., Pseud.</u>	<u>Aulularia, Pseudolus</u>
<u>Plutarch, De Stoic.repugn.</u>	<u>De Stoicorum repugnantibus</u>
<u>Quintilian, Inst.Or.</u>	<u>Institutio Oratoria</u>
<u>Suetonius, De Gramm.</u>	<u>De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus</u>

Abbreviations of periodicals follow the system of the Année Philologique, with these exceptions and additions:

<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>Ancient Society</u>
<u>Jahr.f.Class.Philol.</u>	<u>Jahrbücher für Classische</u> <u>Philologie</u>
<u>NJPhP</u>	<u>Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie</u> <u>und Paedagogik</u>
<u>Ph</u>	<u>Philologus</u>
<u>RU</u>	<u>Revue Universitaire</u>
<u>SG</u>	<u>Studium Generale</u>
<u>Woch.f.Klass.Phil.</u>	<u>Wochenschrift für Klassische</u> <u>Philologie</u>

These works of reference are abbreviated as follows:

RE Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen
Altertumswissenschaft. Edited by A. F. Pauly,
G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, and others. Stuttgart:
Metzler, Druckenmüller, 1894-.

REAC Realllexikon für Antike und Christentum.
Edited by Th. Klauser and others. Stuttgart:
Hiersemann, 1950-.

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