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RHETORICAL TECHNIQUE IN CICERO. DE NATURA DEORUM I

Abstract of Thesis.

The primary object of the thesis is an attempt to ascertain whether a close relationship exists between the technique of Cicero's forensic oratory, and the style of De Natura Deorum I, a philosophical dialogue. The method employed is a rhetorical analysis of the dialogue on a comparative basis.

After assigning grounds and authorities for subjecting the philosophical works to such an analysis, Chapter I gives a summary of Cicero's rhetorical technique: this is taken to comprise the most important "parts" of rhetoric - prose rhythm, the arrangement of subject matter, and the use of rhetorical figures and devices. These form the subject matter of the subsequent chapters.

Chapter II shows the importance of rhythm in rhetorical technique, and the occurrence of clausulae in Cicero's oratorical, epistolary and philosophical works. A detailed analysis of the clausulae of De Natura Deorum I is based on a simplified form of the method devised for the speeches by T. Zielinski (Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden). Some remarks are added concerning the final words of clausulae and syllable occurrence, after H. Bornecque (Les Clausules Métrique Latines). Periodic

structure is included in a short appendix.

Chapter III attempts to show in detail that the arrangement of matter common to the speeches is found in a modified form in this dialogue. The form of analysis follows that of T.B.L. Webster (ed. *Pro Flacco*), which in turn is based on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

Ad Herennium Book IV is the authority for the account in Chapter IV of Cicero's use of rhetorical figures: those devices common to Cicero's own rhetorical methods but not included under "figures" are analysed in an appendix.

The conclusion can then be reached that *De Natura Deorum* I has a rhetorical technique very similar to that of a speech, but modified to meet its particular needs.

Thesis

RHETORICAL TECHNIQUE IN CICERO DE

NATURA DEORUM I

Margaret M. Armstrong

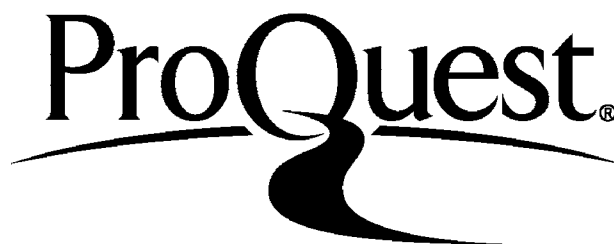
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RHETORICAL TECHNIQUE IN CICERO

DE NATURA DEORUM I

CHAPTER I

A. Grounds for subjecting the philosophical works to rhetorical analysis.

1. The Definition and Function of Rhetoric

Both in ancient and in modern literature are found many and varied definitions of rhetoric, and in most, rhetoric and persuasion are taken as synonymous. Of the classical theorists, Quintilian defines rhetoric as 'bene dicendi scientia',¹ and associates with it eloquence, or the power of persuading; 'Rhetorice, cui nomen vis eloquentiae dedit'.² In more recent times, Isaac Watts defines rhetoric briefly thus: 'Rhetoric in general is the art of Persuasion';³ Pascal gives a detailed analysis of active and passive persuasion.⁴

¹ Quintilian. Inst. Or. 5,10,54.

² id. ib. 2,1,5.

³ Isaac Watts, The Improvement of the Mind. (A Supplement to the Art of Logick). XX,33,193. (1741)

⁴ 'L'art de persuader a un rapport nécessaire à la manière dont les hommes consentent à ce qu'on leur propose, et aux conditions des choses qu'on veut faire croire'
Géom. 2.

Since most writing or speaking has as its ultimate purpose the persuasion of another person, as soon as a language was sufficiently advanced for experiment, rhetoric became part of oral expression. It was especially useful in legal and political speeches where an immediate sway of the emotions was necessary, and later became used in a more modified form in written literature, especially in those types of literature which are closely akin to a speech.

As with most other artistic devices, the exercise of rhetoric is at its best when the very fact of its existence escapes immediate detection, that is when art and nature are almost indistinguishable,¹ as in the great prose authors.

2. The use of rhetoric in all artistic prose

Greek and Latin are highly inflected, and ipso facto more rhythmical than uninflected languages, while the southern temperament of Greeks and Italians produced a naturally musical ear, aided by the fact that ears were used more than eyes in an age when printed books were comparatively rare. It was

¹ Longinus. On the Sublime, XXII,1.

therefore easy to keep to a rhythmical scheme by instinct and a natural susceptibility to an orderly sequence of sound and balance.¹

The Greeks had realised this from the time of Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, who was the originator of artistic prose,² to that of Isocrates, who was its greatest theorist and exponent, and on whose style Cicero largely based his own. Isocrates really laid down the canons of prose writing for all types of work, since he was less an orator than an artist in rhetorical prose, and the distinctive aim of all his work was 'to raise the Art of Rhetoric above such themes as were supplied either by the law-courts or by the myths.'³ The main features of his style and

¹
Die Rhythmen der Asianischen und Romischen Kunstprose.
F. Blass. 1905, p 221. Class. Rev. 1907, p 85.

cf. (urba) quae... suapte natura numerosa sunt,
etiam si nihil est factum de industria, ipsae
enim aures vel animus aurium nuntio naturalem
quandam in se continet vocum omnium mentionem
(Cic. Or. 177)

²
A. Clark. Fontes Prosae Numerosae, Introduction,
gives a brief clear statement of the history of
rhetorical prose.

³
R. C. Jebb. Attic Orators. Vol. II, p 52.

theory are so like those of Cicero by whom he was partially imitated,¹ that they may be summed up as follows.

1. Expression.

a. The rhythmical element. This means the fullest possible use of the musical element inherent in all language, and its adaptation to prose without the strict metrical schemes of poetry.²

b. The periodic style. Isocrates was the first to extend and amplify the period and to give it an artistic shape.

c. The use of tropes and figures. The trope is the use of a word out of its usual context, while a figure consists of an extension into clauses or sentences. Figures are subdivided into 'figurae verborum et figurae sententiarum'. Isocrates uses figures of language far more than any other devices, and his use of tropes is limited.

¹ 'totum Isocratis *μυροθήκιστον* atque omnes eius discipulorum arculas'. Ad Att. II,1.

² Fragment of Isocrates *τεχνη* Sauppe II,225. cf. Cicero's theory. 'nec numerat ut poema neque extra metrum ut sermo vulgi esse debet oratio'. Orator 191.

2. Treatment of Matter.

- a. Invention. This consists in a judicious selection of
- i. information about the subject
 - ii. evidence in support of the author's view
 - iii. examples to illustrate it.
- b. Arrangement. In a truly rhetorical work, this is carefully designed to present the argument in the most intelligible and attractive form.¹

Every piece of writing to some degree uses these devices, most of all rhetorical works; their relative occurrence is therefore an important criterion in the establishment of rhetorical technique. On the other hand, the relationship between art and nature is not to be forgotten. The sense and ear are never to be offended, and are to be taken as the supreme judges.

'Naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur industria'.²

It therefore follows that the successful writer in the rhetorical style will only use a conscious application of art when the nature of the language is found to be deficient in rhetorical resources.

¹ The whole subject is discussed fully in Jebb. Attic Orators, p 56 seq.

² Cic. Orator 58.

3. The influence of Roman education on producing natural rhetoricians.

A Roman boy was subjected to the influence of rhetoricians almost as soon as he had learned to read and write with tolerable accuracy. At the schools of the grammatici, short compositions were popular, and had to be illustrated by argument and examples from history; and older boys attended the classes of rhetores, or 'professors of public speaking', where the art of speech writing, including the use of rhetorical devices, was rigorously instilled. Almost any Roman youth of school leaving age was able to compose a tolerable speech complete with commonplaces, quotations and adornments.¹

Besides having as his native tongue a naturally rhetorical language, any writer in Latin had been deeply impressed in his formative years of adolescence with the tricks and devices of oratory. Cicero was no exception to this general rule: he had been carefully educated by his father, and had, after his school days, pursued a course of additional study in rhetoric in Greece. It is therefore to be expected that all

¹ See 'The Education of a Roman', S. F. Bowyer,ⁿⁿ Liverpool, 1950.

Cicero's literary productiveness will be tinged with rhetorical colouring.

Reflections of a rhetorical education occur in the works of all the famous Latin prose authors - Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Quintilian, Tacitus and Pliny. The rhetorical technique is never laboured, unless deliberately to produce a definite effect, but always facile.

Cicero holds a special position in Roman rhetoric because of his specialised professional training. Lifelong forensic ability and practice at the bar preceded the composition of any of the rhetorical or philosophical treatises: indeed, the date of composition is one of the most important criteria in assessing the technique of the dialogues. The greater number were written between 46 and 44 B.C.¹ when Cicero's style and technique had matured. Long years of political and legal speech-making had made him supreme in 'forensic' technique, and constant practice in it would cause him to write automatically and subconsciously in the rhetorical style, which comes even into the comparative spontaneity of his correspondence.²

¹ Mackail, Latin Literature p 72

² Ad Fam. V,15 is an example.

The circumstances of Cicero's private life and the forced retirement from public affairs probably influenced the style of the dialogues more than is generally realised. Cicero at this time was suffering a double blow: the death of his daughter Tullia in 45 B.C. and compulsory retirement from public affairs, to which he had dedicated his whole life. The publication of philosophical works seemed to him the only service remaining which he could render to Rome. This much Cicero himself tells us:

'nam cum otio langueremus.... philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi. ...hortata etiam est ut me ad haec conferrem animi ^adegritudo fortunae magna et gravi commota iniuria'.¹

In another dialogue, he states that had political circumstances been different, he would be committing to written form not the essays on philosophy, but his public speeches:

'Primum enim, ut stante re publica facere solebamus, in agendo plus quam in scribendo operae poneremus, deinde ipsis scriptis non ea, quae nunc, sed actiones nostras mandaremus, ut

¹
De Natura Deorum I, 7-9.

saepe fecimus. Cum autem res publica, in qua
omnis mea cura cogitatio opera poni solebat,
nulla esset omnino, illae scilicet literae^t
conticuerunt forenses et senatoriae.^{1^}

Perhaps we should not be wrong in asserting that the
treatises of Cicero's enforced retirement were
influenced by the style of the unwritten speeches.

Account must also be taken of Cicero's theories on
the education of the ideal orator. In the rhetorical
treatises, Cicero more than once insists on philosophy
as a necessary adjunct to oratorical training, since
philosophy is 'the parent of all the arts' -

'artium omnium laudatarum procreatricem
quandam et quasi parentem eam quam φιλοσοφίαν²
Graeci vocant'.

Therefore, from his earliest training, an orator of
Cicero's standing would inevitably associate philosophy
and rhetoric, and be well versed in the history of
philosophy in general:

'nec enim... oratoria illa studia deserui...

¹
De Off. II,3.

²
De Or. I,9.

nec ea quae nunc tracto, minuent, sed auget potius
illam facultatem. nam cum hoc genere philosophiae,
quod nos sequimur, magnam habet orator societatem.¹

Besides being interested in the practical side of
oratory and its uses, Cicero pursued literature for its
own sake. The frequent requests for books on a wide
range of subjects, which occur in numerous letters to
Atticus and other friends, and the minute detail of the
treatises on orators and oratory, are more than
sufficient proof of this interest. The solitude and
leisure of his last years gave the opportunity for
reflection, and although the philosophical works were
written in such haste, we cannot think that they were
idly thrown off without any consideration to the
methods of presentation. Cicero had lofty ideals for
his task of presenting an encyclopaedia of philosophy
to the Romans,² and the probability is that he would

¹
De Fato, 3. Also Tusc. Disp. V, 2, 5.

De Nat. Deor. I, 6

²
magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem
civitatis res tam gravis tamque praeclaras
Latinis etiam litteris contineri.

De Nat. Deor. I, 7.

bring to the assistance of his task the style and literary genre in which long practice had made him most proficient - that is, he would tend to write philosophical treatises in the oratorical manner.

Knowledge of the character of ancient Greek and Latin prose, and of the tendency of inflected languages to be rhetorical by nature, together with what is generally to be ascertained about Cicero's education and personal propensities, lead us to expect a certain amount of rhetoric in *De Natura Deorum I*.

It now remains to establish grounds for a rhetorical analysis on a more particular basis.

4. The parallelism between a philosophical dialogue and a forensic speech.

The chief divisions of Latin prose literature are oratory, history and philosophy. Each of these has the same basic purposes, whatever other designs enter it incidentally. These purposes are

- a. To establish facts
- b. To draw conclusions
- c. To promote and sustain interest.

These purposes vary in importance according to the individual subject matter under discussion. For example, in a speech in the law courts, it might be

wiser to concentrate on a. and c., and keep b. as much as possible in the background, if the obvious conclusions were undesirable for the particular case.

If the purposes of a speech and a dialogue are similar, it is logical to suppose that the methods of carrying them out will reveal points of similarity. It is therefore legitimate to ask if periodic structure exists in a philosophical dialogue. We have for the oratorical period the abundance of evidence in Cicero's and Quintilian's works on rhetoric, and the 'orationes ad iudices' themselves. For historical writing, the position is rather different, since theoretically, the presentation of historical narrative should be impartial, except in the actual narration, and in speeches, where rhetorical colouring is expected to occur. Practice does not always concur with theory however, especially when, as in Livy, a grand theme is to be illuminated throughout. Moderns look upon the complex sentence of Livy as a period, even though in rhythm and complexity it differs widely from the Ciceronian period.¹ Ultimately, the oratorical and historical periods are of the same tradition -

¹ Mackail. Latin Literature p 145 seq.
Quintilian X,1,101.

Isocrates, teacher of both orators and historians alike. An analysis of almost any part of Livy except the strictly narrative chapters reveals the existence of the historical period in Latin.

The dialogue period presents even more difficulty, which can be only partially solved by reference to critics, and the Latin dialogue has never been subjected to intensive rhetorical analysis. Before Cicero, we have no extant philosophical dialogues in Latin, and the later ones of Livy, which might have furnished evidence, have not been preserved.

Demetrius definitely insists on the existence of the dialogue period, and his evidence must be given in full. He is the only ancient critic to discuss the question directly: *τρία δὲ γένη περιόδων ἐστίν, ἱστορικὴ, διαλογικὴ, ἔητορικὴ* ---- 1

The character of the period is described as follows:

διαλογικὴ ἐστὶ περίοδος ἣ ἔτι ἀνεκμύνη καὶ ἐπιπλουτέρα τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ μόλις ἐμφαίνουσα ὅτι περίοδος ἐστίν ---- *ἐπερριπταὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλους*

¹ Demetrius. On Style, 19.

τὰ κῶλα εἶφ' ἑτέρῳ ἑτέρον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
διαλελυμένοις λόγοις, καὶ ἀπολήξαντες
μόλις αὖ ἐννοηθεῖμεν κατὰ τὸ τέλος
ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενον περίοδος ἦν.

δεῖ γὰρ μεταξύ διηρημένης τε καὶ
κατεστραμμένης λέξεως τὴν διαλογικὴν
περίοδον γράφεσθαι καὶ μεμυμένην
ὁμοίαν ἀμφοτέροις.

In spite of discussing both the oratorical and historical periods later, Demetrius does not again allude to the dialogue period, except to cite the beginning of Plato's Republic as an example.

Quintilian suggests the existence of the rhetorical period in philosophical dialogues. He considers the philosophical dialogue of more lofty tone than other types, and thus deserving of a more carefully elaborated style:

Est igitur ante omnia oratio alia vineta
atque contexta, soluta alia, qualis in sermone
et epistolis, nisi cum aliquid supra naturam
suam tractant, ut de philosophia, de republica,

1

Demetrius. On Style, 19.

similibus. quod non eo dico quia non illud quoque
solutum habeat suos quosdam et forsitan
difficiliores etiam pedes; neque enim aut hiare
semper vocalibus aut destitui temporibus volunt
sermo atque epistola; sed non fluunt nec
cohaerent, nec verba verbis trahunt, ut potius¹
laxiora in his vincula quam nulla sint.

It is known that the periodic style is used by
Cicero for philosophical passages in the speeches,²
although philosophy is admittedly interpreted in a
wide sense to include the moral commonplaces which
freely adorn the orations. Cicero, however, does not
merely utilize philosophy for the sake of ethical
commonplaces as many of the ancient writers on
rhetoric suggest was the common practice.³

¹
Quintilian. Inst. Or. 9,4,18.

Quintilian tells his readers that the dialogue period
is difficult to analyse because of its modified
structure. His statements accord with Cicero's
general policy in writing:

'semper in omni parte orationis, ut vitae, quid
deceat est considerandum'. Or. 21,71.

²
e.g. In Pisonem 42,49. Pro Sestio. 91.

³
Reid, Academica. Introduction p 9, note 6.

In undertaking to present an encyclopaedia of philosophy to the Romans, Cicero was faced by two main difficulties. The first was purely linguistic - to give Latin a philosophic vocabulary. This problem by no means perturbed Cicero; indeed, he vaunts the superiority of Latin over Greek for the task:

'Latinam linguam non modo non inopem...¹
sed locupletio¹rem etiam esse quam Graecam'.

The second difficulty was by no means so easy to combat. A mass of confused ideas in the Greek sources had to be sorted out and made into lucid and interesting accounts. In spite of its restricted framework, the philosophical dialogue had to be given literary individuality, or Cicero's main purpose in writing it would be defeated. We find Cicero grumbling about the confusion of his material in a letter to Atticus:

'sed multum ea philosophia sursum deorsum'².

The form which Cicero finally chose for the

¹
De Fin. I,10.

Also Ad Att. XII,52,3. 'ἀπόγραφα sunt, minore labore fuint; verba tantum adfero, quibus abundo'.

²
Ad Att. V,10,5.

presentation of philosophical truths lent itself admirably to the oratorical style. Each of the speakers presents his point of view in a series of set speeches, without the emphasis of pure oratory, but without the conversational interruptions which dramatise the Platonic dialogue. Petersson¹ says that philosophical efficiency in the eyes of the Academics, (of whom Cicero was one), consisted largely in the ability to argue on both sides of a question. Precisely the same ability is required by the barrister, and the close comparison is obvious.

The longer speech also gave the opportunity for artistic prose writing in the manner familiar to both Cicero and his readers, and enabled enough characterisation of the speakers to be introduced to prevent the finished dialogue from reading too much like a series of essays.

In the Greek originals, Cicero had the basic facts for his philosophical works, just as in a speech he had collected the facts for a prosecution or defence. But the philosophical dialogues are not mere translations or paraphrases, because Cicero had to draw upon his own originality, knowledge and experience

¹ Cicero. A Biography. p 366.

to make them attractive and useful for the guidance of
¹
men.

It must be remembered also that Cicero was of far greater general and intellectual power than the majority of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers whom he followed as his sources. As in sifting evidence for a lawsuit, he had to exercise his powers of selection and critical judgement when writing philosophy. The long unbroken speech therefore suited a writer who drew to a large extent upon external sources, and in some places gave actual translation or paraphrase.

The Latin philosophic dialogue as it has come down to us is not therefore in the fullest sense a dialogue at all, but rather several short expositions by different speakers: comparison with the Platonic technique is neither appropriate nor profitable, and Cicero may claim as his own the style and technique of the philosophic works.

As the general scheme of each of the speeches is

¹
Lactantius admits that Cicero brought much originality into the dialogues: 'nova ipse afferens plurima'.

Div. Inst. (I, 2, 3)

¹
traceable , so the broad outlines of a philosophic
dialogue may be said to consist of the statement of
view of two or more opposite schools of thought
followed by an inconclusive Academic summing up.
Therefore, although there are no real debates in the
dialogues, there is plenty of scope for the employment
of rhetorical devices.²

The speed at which the dialogues were written and
the diverse sources from which they appear to have
been taken make it impossible for them to be absolutely
faultless and systematic, even in the hands of so
capable a Latinist as Cicero. Many of the apparent
inconsistencies have been disproved by modern
scholarship and attributed to the sources rather than
to conscious error on the part of Cicero himself.³

¹
e.g. from de Or. II,41,177.

Pro Milone. ed. Clark p xlix seq. gives the scheme
for the most perfect of the speeches in the formal
sense.

²
'Weil er nicht hinreichend in die Gedanken eingedr^{un}gen
war, übrigens auch den Schüler der Rhetoren nie
verleugnete'.

W. von Moellendorf. Platon, 1,505n.

³
The post-Aristotelian philosophers did not write at
a time when Greek literature was renowned either for
its accuracy or its beauty. The language is often
obscure and many of the writers poor scholars.

In most of the philosophical works, the main trend of the argument is clear, even though it is obscured in places by what seems to us an exaggerated use of digression. Superfluity of argument or illustration was however one of the main features of the speeches as well. The numerous arguments 'a vita' and 'a persona' seldom had any real connection with the case. They were part of the conventional and expected methods of procedure, and it is therefore probable that a digression such as the encyclopaedia of philosophers in *De Natura Deorum* I, 25 - 41, was not unpleasant to the Romans, although it is irksome to the modern reader. Insufficient account is often taken of the circumstances and persons for whom Cicero wrote. It is perhaps unfortunate for us that we have a knowledge of the influence of Cicero's work in philosophy after his time. To make a fair estimate of his work, it must always be remembered that he wrote with the Romans particularly in mind, and could have had no conception of the wider sphere of influence into which his work eventually expanded.

The Italians were peculiarly susceptible to the

¹
'The history of civilisation knows few moments equal in importance to the sojourn of Cicero in his country seats during the brief period of Caesar's sole rule'.

Zielinski. Translated by Richards, *Cicero, A Study*
p 239 - 40.

ornate oratorical style. This is proved countless times by their critical reception of speeches. Cicero was a good enough psychologist to be able to respond to this mark of temperament in addressing an audience: it is likely that he would endeavour to please a reading public by using a modified form of the same technique.

Finally, the form and technique of Cicero's dialogues were manifestly his own choice. There is sufficient proof of his familiarity with the works of Plato and Aristotle to convince us that he could, had he so desired, have imitated their methods. There are occasional signs that he experimented with it in the Tusculan Disputations:

- A. Malum mihi videtur esse mors.
- M. Iisne qui mortui sunt, an iis, quibus moriendum est?
- A. Utrisque.
- M. Est miserum igitur, quoniam malum.
- A. Certe.
- M. Ergo et ii quibus evenit iam, ut morerentur, et ii, quibus eventurum est, miseri.
- A. Mihi ita videtur.
- M. Nemo ergo non miser.

A. Prorsus nemo.¹

Cicero's instinct told him to express himself in the oratorical style, albeit in a modified form, to suit the dictates of philosophy:

'dicam si potero rhetorice, sed hac
rhetorica philosophorum, non nostra illa
forensi'.²

Instinctively therefore, any weighty subject matter was presented in the familiar form of two competing rhetorical demonstrations with an introduction and conclusion. This form would have the advantage of being attractive to writer and reader alike: to the writer because it was the style in which he was most proficient, to the reader because he was presented with something attractive and planned to assist his understanding.

5. Criticism as a criterion for rhetorical technique in the philosophical dialogues.

Thus far, only the evidence of Cicero himself, of his times and character have been considered.

¹
Tusc. Disp. I,5,9.

²
De Fin. II,6,17.

If it can be proved that literary critics, both ancient and modern, have commented with appreciation on the rhetorical or quasi-rhetorical style of the philosophical dialogues, there will be even more legitimate reasons for attempting a rhetorical analysis of the *De Natura Deorum*. Note must also be taken of the critics who deny oratory a place in the philosophical dialogues, and consider that Cicero's technique was unsuited to the nature of the subject matter.

Macrobius admits Cicero's supremacy in oratory, but considers his philosophical works inferior:

'Tullius... quotiens aut de natura deorum aut de fato aut de divinatione disputat, gloriam quam oratione conflavit incondita rerum relatione minuit'.¹

Velleius Paterculus on the other hand says that Cicero's work in philosophy will endure as long as the world:

'Dum hoc vel forte vel providentia, vel utcunque constitutum rerum naturae corpus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit, ingenio

¹ Macrobius. *Saturnalia* I, 24, 4.

complexus est, eloquentia illuminavit, manebit
incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis
trahet.¹

Later, after the Renaissance, Erasmus praises the style of Cicero's philosophy as well as his high moral tone. Of the Tusculan Disputations, he says:

'When I was fond of those juvenile studies, Cicero never pleased me so much as he does now when I am grown old; not only for the divine felicity of his style, but also for the sanctity of his heart and morals.'²

A French critic of the 18th century, describing the general style of the dialogues, is full of praise for Cicero's handling of the difficult topics of philosophy and for the liveliness which he manages to retain:

'Tout fleurit entre les mains de Cicéron.
Il fait habiter les Grâces dans les rides mêmes
de la philosophie. Orateur dans tous ses écrits,
son enthousiasme ne le quitte point.....

¹ Velleius Paterculus. II,66.

² Erasmus on Tusc. Disp. Quoted by Richards,
Cicero, A Study. p 247.

Ce n'est pas une lecture, c'est un spectacle'.¹

In the edition of the *De Natura Deorum* published in 1880, J. B. Mayor considers it a misfortune for the dialogue that Cicero was no inspired Plato or Lucretius, but rather too much a man of the world. He believes the oratorical element to be false, while the subject matter is out of proportion, containing insertions which do not bear on the argument and have no intrinsic merit in themselves.² Mayor does not attach sufficient importance to the dialogue in all its aspects, and speaks too much as a modern forgetting the circumstances in which Cicero wrote and the temperament of the people for whom he wrote.³

The majority of critics acknowledge Cicero's 'divine felicity' of style in the philosophic works.

¹ J. Thoulier d'Olivet. *Entretiens de Cicéron sur la nature des dieux.* Preface. (1721).

² Mayor. *De Natura Deorum* III. Introduction p ix seq. Mayor appears not to perceive the inconsistency in a comparison of Plato, Lucretius and Cicero - an original philosopher, a poet and an interpreter.

³ *Op. cit.* p xvii. Mayor touches on the subject: his establishment of an unbiased judgement is however not carried out.

Accounting for the changes of opinion on rhetoric brought about by the passage of time, it is remarkable how consistent the criticism is.

The grounds on which rhetorical technique is expected in the De Natura Deorum are therefore strengthened and corroborated by literary criticism throughout nearly a thousand years. *

B. Summary of Cicero's rhetorical technique.

Rhetorical technique falls into five main divisions, some of which must be subdivided. The purpose of the following chapters is to ascertain to what extent the first book De Natura Deorum may be analysed to fit the schemes laid down for the rhetorical speeches.

Divisions of Rhetorical Technique

A.

Prose Rhythm.

This is taken to mean the rhythm of the words at the close of sentences. It is less strict than the rhythm of verse, but reducible to certain general types capable of many variations and combinations. The main types for Cicero's speeches are shown by Zielinski¹ to be six:

¹

Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden

1. - u - | - -
2. - u - | - u -
3. - u - | - u - -
4. - u - | - u - u -
5. - u - | - u - u - -
6. - u - | - u - u - u -

B.

The use of Periodic Structure.

This is only to be found in the longer sentences, and consists in a delicate balancing of clauses. The best periodic style avoids monotony but at the same time admits a certain amount of rich diffuse-ness through the cumulative effect of a series of longer and longer sentences. Sometimes it consists of comparisons, at others of structural contrasts, and the period expanded to its fullest is made up of a series of separate constructions working up to an artistic climax. The best rhetorical style is sometimes more, sometimes less, periodic, according to Dionysius.¹

¹ Dionysius. De Comp. Verb. 19.

C.

The Arrangement of Subject Matter.

Any of Cicero's speeches may be taken and analysed into a number of clear divisions. All follow the same general pattern, though the several divisions may be expanded within themselves, or combined with others so as to be almost indistinguishable from them. For example in the Pro Cluentio, the narratio and tractatio are complementary to each other and extend almost throughout the speech.

If in other respects the De Natura Deorum proves to follow Cicero's usual rhetorical technique, it is also probable that it can be analysed into the following divisions of a speech,¹ though in a modified form:

1. Exordium -²

Introduction designed to win the attention of the audience or reader.

2. Praeiudicia -

Suppositions refuted or confirmed to prepare for the main treatment of the subject.

¹

The Pro Milone is the best known of Cicero's speeches for perfection in arrangement.

²

The Rhetorical analysis is based on that given for the Pro Flacco, ed. T. B. L. Webster, Introduction p xii seq.

3. Narratio -

A brief and clear statement of the discussion.

4. Tractatio -

The main treatment of the subject. The tractatio has several divisions which are used for each separate charge:

a. Propositio -

A statement of fact.

b. Ratio -

Reasons for the fact.

c. Confirmatio -

Supplementary reasons.

d. Exornatio -

Embellishment which has some general connection with the subject in hand.

e. Complexio -

The conclusion arrived at from the discussion of the point.

5. Amplificatio -

The transference of the discourse from the particular to the general.

6. Epilogus -

The conclusion to the whole speech.

D.

The Use of Figures.

Figures are defined by Cicero as 'a weapon either employed for use, to threaten and to attack, or simply brandished for show'.¹ They are therefore the main adornments of the rhetorical style, and give it the colouring and force which other types of prose lack.

Figures of speech consist in an artificial use of words to convey the author's meaning with heightened effect, while figures of thought depend on an assumed attitude of the author's mind. The division can be no hard and fast one, since figures of thought and speech frequently overlap so as to be almost indistinguishable. For example, antithesis may be:

- a. A contrast of opposite words (figure of speech)
- b. A contrast of opposite ideas (figure of thought)
- c. A contrast of ideas and words (figure of speech and thought).

For the most part, it will be convenient for the sake of analysis to keep to one theory of classification,

¹ De Oratore III, 206 - 'orationis autem ipsius, tanquam armorum, est vel ad usum comminatio et quasi petitio, vel ad venustatem ipsam tractatio.'

adding later any other devices which do not appear to have been included. The classification given in the ¹Rhetorica ad Herennium has been chosen as being most comprehensive, but by no means all the figures given there will be found in De Natura Deorum I, nor is the list given in the Rhetorica complete itself.

Verborum exornationes.

1. Repetitio -

The repetition of the same word at the beginning of each clause.

2. Conversio -

The repetition of the same word at the close of each clause.

3. Complexio -

The union of the two preceding artifices 1. and 2.

4. Traductio -

The emphatic re-introduction of the same word.

5. Contentio -

The contrast of two expressions, that is, antithesis.

6. Exclamatio -

An indignant or pathetic exclamation.

¹

Rhetorica ad Herennium, Book 4.

Cicero discusses figures of speech in De Oratore III, 206 seq.

7. Interrogatio -
A question, usually summing up the results of previous arguments.
8. Ratiocinatio -
Questioning addressed to oneself.
9. Sententia -
A moral reflection.
10. Contrarium -
An antithetical expression or question used in arguing.
11. Compar -
The balancing of two clauses of equal length.
12. Similiter Cadens -
Several consecutive clauses ending with words of the same inflection.
13. Similiter Desinens -
Several consecutive clauses ending with words which are similar but not in the same case.
14. Adnominatio -
A play on words, a pun.
15. Subiectio -
The suggestion of a reply to an opponent.
16. Gradatio -
The taking of the closing word of one clause as the starting point for the next.
17. Definitio -
A statement of the force of a word.

18. **Transitio -**
A summing up of the results hitherto reached,
and a statement of the next point to be
discussed.
19. **Correctio -**
The substitution of a more suitable word for
one just used.
20. **Occupatio (called also occultatio) -**
The implied assertion of something by the
expression of the speaker's intention to omit it.
21. **Conduplicatio -**
An emphatic repetition of one or more words.
The most usual form of this is *geminatio* (the
same word used twice).
22. **Interpretatio -**
The repetition of the same idea in different
words.
23. **Permissio -**
A complete surrender to the will of another
person.
24. **Dubitatio -**
An assumed hesitation.
25. **Expositio -**
The refutation of all but one of various
alternatives.

26. Dissolutio -
Asyndeton.
27. Praecisio (also called aposiopesis) -
The leaving of a sentence intentionally unfinished.
28. Conclusio -
The syllogistic summing up of the results of a train of reasoning.
29. Nominatio -
The coining of a word.
30. Pronominatio -
The substitution of a descriptive epithet for a proper name.
31. Denominatio -
The use of metonymy.
32. Circuitio -
Periphrasis.
33. Transgressio -
The use of an unusual order of words.
34. Superlatio -
Exaggeration.
35. Intellectio -
Putting the part for the whole (synecdoche) or the whole for the part.

36. Abusio -
The transference of an epithet.
37. Translatio -
The use of metaphor.
38. Permutatio -
The use of extended metaphor (allegory) and irony.

Sententiarum exornationes.

1. Deminutio -
A disparagement of the speaker himself.
2. Divisio -
A statement of alternatives, with the refutation of each one.
3. Frequentatio -
An accumulation of charges or arguments.
4. Expolitio -
A dwelling upon the same topic in different ways.
5. Sermocinatio -
The putting of language into the mouth of another.
6. Commoratio -
Dwelling on the strong point of the case, and frequently returning to it.
7. Contentio -
Antithesis in thought, not merely in language.

8. Similitudo -
The use of simile.
9. Exemplum -
The giving of an instance.
10. Imago -
A comparison.
11. Confirmatio -
Personification, or prosopopoeia.
12. Significatio -
The suggestion of more than is actually asserted.
13. Brevitas -
Rapidity in narration.
14. Demonstratio -
The bringing of a scene before the eyes of an audience by vivid description.
15. Litotes -
The rhetorical softening of an expression by the denial of the opposite idea, in order to increase emphasis.
16. Oxymoron -
The putting together of two apparently contradictory ideas.
17. Chiasmus -
A 'cross-over' construction of words or ideas.

There are also the following figures which have a strong connection with sound:

i. Alliteration -

The repetition of the same letter or letters in successive syllables.

ii. Onomatopoeia -

The forming of a word to resemble in sound the thing it signifies.

iii. Figura Etymologica -

The use of a combination of words of kindred origin but different meanings.

E.

The use of other rhetorical devices.

The use of these devices does not come under any of the previous divisions, but nevertheless plays an important part in rhetorical technique. Its success or failure largely depend on the orator's knowledge of psychology and his ability to gauge and play upon the emotions of the audience. It will not, of course, be found to such an extent in a philosophical dialogue as in a speech, where it had an important part in securing immediate acquittal or condemnation, but it has possibilities in enlivening the discussion and in helping to keep the subject matter moving, thus preventing monotony. It is also an aid to the methods

of carrying conviction. Many devices mentioned in the Rhetorica ad Herennium, for example, occupatio and sermocinatio, could be included, but the following list deals with those devices not strictly to be classed as figures of speech or thought.

Rhetorical Devices.

1. Characterisation -

The enlivening of the discussion by bringing out the character of the individual speakers.

2. Rhetorical question -

This really deserves inclusion under the heading 'Figures of Thought'. It consists in questions which require no answer, but are often framed in such a way that the answer suggests itself.

3. Devices involving flattery -

a. Appeals to reason -

This consists in an appeal to the intelligence of another person.

b. Politeness or conciliation -

This involves concession to another person of a whole or part of the argument, and is a special case of the figure called 'permissio'.

4. Devices involving humour and anecdotes.-
 - a. Reductio ad absurdum -

The carrying of logical statements to ridiculous, though apparently still logical, conclusions.
 - b. Humorous anecdotes -

These provide illustration by way of a little light relief.
 - c. Frequency and diversity of illustration -

The better a point is illustrated, the more truthful it appears. The extent of the sources of illustration gives the impression of a learned speaker, and thereby induces more confidence in him.
 - d. Quotation -

This usually comes from the poets, and has a special function in the dialogue.
5. Inaccuracies.
6. Correction of source -

By showing that the source of a fact is wrong, the speaker automatically shows that all deductions from the source must be wrong also.
7. Casting of aspersion on moral character -

This may be open or covert.

CHAPTER II

Prose Rhythm in De Natura Deorum I

1. The importance of rhythm in rhetorical writing.

Rhythm, as has been seen, is one of the most important elements in the art of persuasion, which underlies the purpose of all Cicero's philosophical works as much as that of the speeches. To-day, rhythm, except in verse, means very little to us, but to the Romans of Cicero's time it was a primary consideration in prose writing, and audiences were prepared to criticise it almost before any other part of the technique of composition. The number of times Cicero mentions 'aures' in his rhetorical treatises, and the large part of those treatises devoted to the discussion of 'numeri' and 'pedes' supply ample proof, if proof is needed. For these reasons, rhythm deserves a lengthier discussion than some of the other rhetorical devices, and a detailed analysis will be given.

It must again be remembered that rhythm alone, though the rhetorical period cannot be said to exist without it, must not be thought of as the all-predominating characteristic. Cicero himself considers at length in the second part of the Orator

that the balance which is the essence of the period consists of carefully chosen words, symmetry in their order and expression, balance of long and short phrases, in addition to the well-defined combinations of long and short syllables which makes the clausulae. The period must therefore be balanced in all senses 'like a well-made mosaic floor'.¹

The Ciceronian theory of rhetorical prose writing, in spite of the treatises of Cicero and Quintilian, is difficult. W. H. Shewring has clearly noted the main difficulties in an analysis of Roman theory compared with Greek:²

1. The Romans' particular recommendations for clausulae are entangled with more general precepts on sentence rhythm.
2. Their principles are not clearly dissociated from those of the Greeks, with whom they were not really in agreement.

¹ Orator 149

'quam lepide λέξαι compostae, ut tesserulae omnes arte pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato'.

F. Blass, *Die Rhythmen der Asianischen und Römischen Kunstprosa*, p 221 seq. even goes so far as to say that the rhythm of artistic prose depends not on the metrical value of the close of the period, but on the symmetrical correspondence between the clauses within the period. See *Class. Rev.* 1907, p 85.

² *Class. Quart.* 1931, p 12 seq.

3. The true length of the clausula is never fully indicated.

An analysis of a work is therefore the only means by which accurate knowledge of the clausulae may be obtained.

2. Clausulae in the works of Cicero.

The clausulae of the philosophical works have received less attention than those of the speeches¹ and letters², but there are several statements in support of the view that the same general methods are universally employed. 'The choice of clausulae is much the same in the speeches, the philosophical and literary works and most of the letters Ad Familiares, though the percentage of favourite forms is naturally higher in the more sophisticated passages'.³ Of metrical prose in the philosophical

¹ The clausulae of the speeches are fully analysed in Zielinski, *Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden*.

² Analysis, although called by Duff, *Lit. Hist. of Rome*, p 381, footnote 3, too narrow, is given in H. Bornecque's '*La Prose métrique dans la correspondance de Cicéron*'. See '*Tableau de lettres métriques*'. cf. Duff's remarks on the letters Ad Fam. op. cit. p 380, footnote 3.

³ W. H. Shewring. *Class. Quart.* 1931, p 12 seq.

works, H. Bornecque says with reference to the reasons for his study of the *De Divinatione*: '..... redigé en 44 B.C., c'est à dire au moment où Cicéron..... applique dans tous ses ouvrages les règles métriques que nous avons relevées dans les discours'.¹ It would not be out of place to illustrate this statement more fully, since if the letters conform to the rhythmical rules for the speeches, the philosophic works, which come between speeches and letters, have a still greater probability of affinity with the speeches. H. Bornecque shows² that during the years 46 - 44 B.C., when Cicero wrote the bulk of his philosophical works, the majority of the letters show rhetorical rhythms analogous to those of the speeches. In 46 B.C., 61 of the extant 85 letters are metrical, or approximately 71%. In the following year, in which among other works were published *De Natura Deorum*, *De Finibus*, the *Tusculan Disputations* and the *Academica*,

¹ H. Bornecque. *Les Clausules métriques Latines*.
Lille 1907, p 296.

² H. Bornecque. *La prose métrique dans la correspondance de Cicéron*. *Tableaux des lettres de Cicéron par année*.

the percentage is 74%, or 20 out of 27 letters. For 44 B.C. the year of *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*, Bornecque analyses as metrical 22 out of 32 letters, about 68.7%. The last year of Cicero's life, 43 B.C., gives 46 out of 57 letters metrical, or 80.7%.

On grounds of probability therefore, we expect to find that, in conformity with his other types of work, the philosophic dialogues are metrical.

3. Basis for Analysis. The Theory.

The six primary types of clausulae ascertained¹ by Zielinski for the speeches, after analysis and classification of 17,902 sentence readings, are as follows:

1. - u - | --
2. - u - | - u -
3. - u - | - u - -
4. - u - | - u - u -
5. - u - | - u - u - -
6. - u - | - u - u - u -

¹

Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden, Part I.

These types are listed in order of frequency, the first type being most predominant, the last least. It must be remembered that a molossus may regularly be substituted for the cretic in the base, and both bases and cadences may suffer change by resolution or expansion, forming derivatives.

Few of the philosophical works have been subjected to a similar analysis, although work has been done on the clausulae of De Divinatione, De Amicitia and De Senectute, three of the better known dialogues. H. Bornecque gives comparative percentages for these and three rhetorical treatises, but appears to interpret 'clausula' as only the final word in the sentence.¹ There is a detailed analysis of clausulae in the De Amicitia, where only five main types are distinguished by I. Blum,² 'praeter formas singulares quinque clausularum genera distinxi':

1

H. Bornecque. Les Clausules Métriques Latines. Tableau des Clausules de Cicéron pour De Or. I, Brutus, Orator, De Div., De Sen., De Am.

2

Commentationes Aenipontanae. ed. Kalinka 1906 - 24.
I. Blum, de compositione numerosa dialogi Ciceronis de Amicitia.

1. - u - / - -
2. - u - / - u -
3. - u - -
4. - - - -
5. a. - u - u -
 b. - - - - u -
 c. - u u | - u -

1. and 2. correspond to Zielinski 1. and 2.;
3. corresponds to Zielinski's 3. without preceding
base; 5.a. to Zielinski 4. without base.

¹
Ausserer has a very similar analysis for the
De Senectute.

For the De Divinatione, De Amicitia and De
Senectute, ²Bornecque has made the following
conclusions on the use of clausulae, which will be
helpful in determining the style and technique of
the De Natura Deorum.

1. In the De Divinatione, the rules are stricter
than in some other works of Cicero, and the laws of

¹
Commentationes Aenipontanae. ed. Kalinka 1906-24
Ausserer, de clausulis Minucianis et de
Ciceronianis quae inveniuntur in libello de
Senectute.

²
Les clausules métriques Latines. 'Conclusions et
applications'.

rhythm are observed in clauses within the main period.

2. In the *De Senectute*, excessive care is applied to the *clausulae*. This work shows more care than the others discussed in this book.

3. In the *De Amicitia*, the Greek originals and the character of the dialogue appear to exercise some influence on the *clausulae*.

For the purpose of the analysis which is to follow, the period is taken to be the sentence, provided that the sentence is of sufficient length for metrical analysis. The many 'commata' are not included. This is compatible with Cicero's own definition of the period as a sentence which can be spoken in a single breath¹, and with Quintilian's definition of the 'simple' period as compared with the period and its 'incisa':

'genera duo sunt, alterum simplex cum sensus unus longiore ambitu circumducitur, alterum, quod constat membris et incisis, quae plures sensus habent.'²

¹ Cicero, *De Or.* III, 182.

'Longissima est igitur complexio verborum quae volui uno spiritu potest.'

² Quintilian IX, 4, 124.

The main types of clausulae into which the De Natura Deorum will be divided are those of Zielinski's classification in the same order. The main type will be called 1.a., 2.a., etc., and derivatives 1.b., c., d., etc. The analysis is not exhaustive, but sufficiently detailed for the results to be tabulated for comparison with some of Cicero's other works.

The text used is that of Joseph Mayor.
(Cambridge, 1880-1885).

4. Analysis of Clausulae types in De Natura Deorum I.

Reference in

De Natura Deorum I

Clausulae

1.a. - u - | - -

1, 2	Cyrenaicūs pūtāverūnt ignorationē vērsārī
3, 6	ēssē sūscēptūm insectantūr rēpellēndī
6, 15	cōmpārārētūr
8, 20	nihil sīt extrēmūm
9, 22	aedilīs ornārē
10, 25	vēstrā Lūcīlī cūr āquae ādiūnxīt
11, 26	pūlsā sēntirēt ¹ cōrpōre extērnō
11, 28	ēssēt in mūdō coniunctūm pōtēst ēssē hōc ōmittāntūr

1

Pulsa is read variously as nom. or abl. singular. Hirzel and Heindorf take it as nom. Whichever reading is accepted, clausulae of type 1. are obtained:

12, 29	errōrē vērsātūr
15, 38	īpsā dīvīnā futūrūs īn lūctū
16, 43	ignorationē vērsāntūr īpsā nātūrā
17, 45	beatōs hāberēmūs
18, 46	īpsā dēclārat
49	natūra ēt aetērnā
19, 50	ēssē dēberē
54	noctēs tīmerēmūs
20, 55	fluxīssē dīcātīs
56	atquē prāestāntēm
21, 58	quām solēnt vēstrī
22, 62	primīs dēōs ēssē cōnfīterēmūr suspiciō dēōrūm sīt
23, 63	contionē cōmbūstī
64	periurīsqūē dīcēmūs
24, 66	similiōrā quām vēstrā
67	plūrā cōmplēctōr
26, 71	tenērē pōssītīs
74	Cōttā nōn pōssīt
27, 77	imitationē sērvārē lēnā nātūrā

27, 77	contrectatiōne ēquūs vaccāe similēs pūtārēmūs
28, 78	vēxit Europām īn locō vērsōr
79	formicā fōrmicāe lumēn vīdēbātūr venustūm vīdēbātūr
29, 81	absūrdā dēfēndēs
30, 83	ēssē Neptūnī
31, 88	Epicūrē vīdīstī nūmnē vīdīstī ēssē dicāmūs
32, 89	constārē nōn pōssē sumpsissēs tūō iūrē quō mōdo accēdīs
90	divīnā dicēnda ēst
91	Hōc rēfēllātūr
33, 92	ēst sine īngressū cōmprēhēndēndum ēst ¹ habent venustatis pulchritudinē vultis

¹ If intervocalic h is dropped, the resulting
clausula, nihil cōmprēhēndēndum ēst
still belongs to class 1.

33, 93	ēssē dīcēbās
34, 96	umquāmnē vidīstī
35, 98	attēndē quō sērpāt ātquē mōrtālī ūnā cōntūrbēt
36, 100	regerēt gūbērnāret
36, 101	factūm quīdem omnīnō
37, 103	actiō vitāe ōrā reddātūr
104	quō mōdo aētērnūs
38, 107	quō mōdo illi ērgō
39, 109	imāginēs ferrī quō mōdo aētērnāe ēsse oportēre
110	animārē nōn pōssēt
40, 111	animī vōlūptatēm
112	quō mōdo utātūr fruitūr vōlūptātūm
41, 114	deūs nēc aētērnūs
42, 119	īllam ēt aūgustām
43, 121	praestantissimāequē nātūrāe dīlīgī vultīs rēprēhēndūntūr ¹
<u>Total 81</u>	

¹

Loss of intervocalic h gives vobis rēprēhēndūntūr.

Ib -0-1-----

II,26.

pūlsā sēntirēt¹

23,87.

māximē dēlectētūr

30,83.

claudicatiō nōn dēformis

32,90.

fōrma ērant di immōrtalēs

91.

agnōscērem nōn īvītūs

38,107.

beatā sit cur aeterna

imāginēs vēstrae aut undē

animū mēum saepe īcurrīt

40,110.

nullō mālorum intervētū

Total ⁹~~10~~.

¹ If the abl. is read.

See p. 49.

1.c. - 000/- -

1, 1	assensionem cōhibuisse
2	atque movēantur
2, 3	precēs adhibeamus
4	paenē videantur
	investigandī cupiditatem
4, 9	colligataequē videantur
5, 12	vita regeretur
7, 17	scire didicistis
8, 19	terram potuerunt
9, 22	laboremne fugiebat
	carere potuisset
10, 25	repetam superiorum
14, 36	certe volumus esse
15, 40	in esse videatur
41	fuisset videantur
20, 52	negotiis et operosis
21, 57	audire potuisset
22, 61	esse videtur an
26, 73	didicisset videatur
28, 78	hominis similis esse
79	corporis macula naevus
29, 82	Lanuvinis, alia nobis

1

If with Mayor we accept the reading alia nobis,
which entails close repetition.

31, 86	hōs rēligiōnīs
89	īd quōquē nēcēsse ēst
35, 97	maximē similitūdō
37, 103	saepe vōlitantēs
39, 109	unā vidēātūr
41, 115	scripsit Epicūrus
42, 117	ēsse potūisse
44, 123	curantēm nihil āgentēm
	dicām propitiūs sīt

Total 31

1.d. - 0 - / 00 -

20, 56	longior fuerim
35, 98	figurā dissimilis
40, 112	Epicurē quid faciēs
41, 114	at dōlorē vacant

Total 4

1.e. 00 000| - -

23, 64	effūgērē pōtūissēt
41, 116	allicērē sapiētēm

Total 2

1.f. - 00| - -

23, 63	sic pōtūissēt
25, 71	sēd quāsī corpūs ¹
27, 77	nihil vidēātūr
30, 84	nōminībūs sūnt
(36, 101	ūsum etiām membrōrūm) . ²
38, 106	meūm rēfērāntūr

Total 6

¹ nōn ēst / corpūs / sēd quāsī / corpūs - this is a dactylic tetrameter. It may be taken from some piece of verse, or it may have been deliberately put by Cicero into the form of a jingle. The latter theory is attractive, since the Epicureans were said to learn their doctrines - *κίρεια δόξα* or golden maxims - in the form of such jingles.

² Though not strictly included in this classification, this clausula forms the last four feet of a dactylic hexameter with spondaic fifth foot.

1.g. - 00-|--

44, 123

naturā nihil curans

Total 1

2.a. - 0-|0-

1, 1

religionem necessaria

2

dubitatione defendere

2, 3

procurationem deos

magna confusio

3, 6

instituti sumus

7

doctrina praescripserit

4, 8

posse diffident

5, 10

momenta quaerenda sunt

iudicatum vident

11

Graecia intelligo

omnibus dicere

12

esse prae me fero

assentiendi nota

6, 14

tanta dissensio

7, 16

sunt vacaret locus

scire quid sentias

permagna dissensio

7, 17	tuendā sententiā
9, 22	vestrā cessaverit
23	possumus dicere
	ferre praesentia
10, 24	pulchriorem Platonem
	esse formosior
	habeatur molestum in deo
	refrigerata dicenda sunt
25	potest vacans corpore
11, 27	immortalitatem dare
28	suspiciari potest fieri non potest
12, 29	turpissime labitur
30	oportere non censeat
	vehementer repugnantia
	notione comprehendimus ¹
13, 33	et beatus potest
34	intelligi non potest

1

Intervocalic h, according to Zielinski, disappears. Here its disappearance gives a double cretic, which is a 'vera clausula', and the dominant type in this dialogue. (See Tables, p 79) If intervocalic h is not dropped, we get the cadence

notione comprehendimus,
which statistically is less likely.

13, 34	caelum refert in deos
35	sideribusque caelestibus
14, 36	prohibentemque contraria
37	esse divinius
	prorsus appareat
15, 39	posse depingere
41	disiungit a fabula
16, 42	delirantium somnia
43	disputari potest
	volumine accepimus
17, 45	agitationem in deo
18, 47	apta describere
19, 49	causa desiderat
51	aeternus voluptatibus
	cogitari potest
20, 52	laboriosissimum
53	munerum ponimus
54	possit insistere
	plenum negotii deum ¹
21, 57	fortasse respondeam
	mihī videri minus

¹ assuming that the gen. sing. of nouns in -ius, -ium, is -i in Cicero.

22, 60	vidētūr obscūrīor
61	sīntnē dī necnē sīnt
23, 65	scīrē dēsīdērō
	effīngīs atque effīcīs
	obsīdētūr lōcūs
24, 66	nōmēn amittēre
67	otīo languēat
	rationē fīngentībūs
68	dumētā corrēpītīs
25, 70	pōssē dēfēndērē
26, 72	ludī māgīstēr fūit
74	sanguīnēm quīd īntēllēgīs
	prorsūs mōdo īntēllēgō
	tū quīdem īntēllēgīs
27, 77	censēs fīgūrām suāe
28, 79	quīsqūē formosūs est
	saepē iucundā sūnt
29, 80	nūllā pērcēptīō
82	violatū ab Aegyptīō
30, 84	fruentē vōlūptātībūs
85	metuīs sēd ipsōs dēos
	prīmā sēntēntīa est
	vafro māle existīmānt
31, 86	essē pērtērrītās

32, 89	hoc daturum putas
91	falsa convincere
33, 92	posse decreverint
	corporis partium
93	Attico sed tamen
	tam male acceperit
94	sermo et oratio
34, 96	ausus es dicere
35, 97	figuram quae vastior
99	quinque desiderant
	firmitatem nihil pertinet
36, 100	esse tales putas
37, 105	sempiternam putet
	imaginum dicitis
38, 107	vacillat et claudicat
39, 109	ista defenditis
	esse non sentio
40, 110	ne beatus quidem
112	perfundas voluptatibus
113	ne beatos quidem
41, 114	vitam beatissimam
42, 119	ceteros Ennius
43, 121	gratiam sustulit
44, 122	benevolentiam ponitis

44, 122	naturalis inter bonos
123-4	licentiam libero
	gratia et caritas

Total 106

2.b. ---|---

2, 4	plus una vera sit
7, 17	sciscitabar sententiam
8, 19	aedificari mundum facit
9, 23	rerum molitio
12, 29	aut quam formam dei
13, 33	designavit deum
	conservari potest
14, 36	esse affectam putat
17, 45	imbecilla essent omnia
21, 57	dicam quid sentiam
60	quam quid sit dixerim
22, 61	mediocri prudentia
	veritatem plane velim
24, 67	individuis constare omnia
24, 68	sed tamquam sanguinem
26, 72	credo plus nemini
27, 75	levis perlucida

29, 82	Afr̄is H̄ammon̄is Iōvis
30, 83	vulcanō sic̄ accēpim̄s
84	pr̄fectō nōn p̄tās
	lunam aut̄ caelūm dēum
31, 86	mōrtē dīco et̄ dēos
32, 89	est̄ nōn dēscēndēre
34, 95	immortalisquē sīt
36, 100	informationē quādam̄ dēi
38, 108	quās nūquam̄ vidim̄s
	Vellei nūgator̄ia est̄
40, 113	dicit̄ sed̄ saep̄ius
41, 115	arās evērtērit
116	deō sīt cōmunit̄as

Total 30

2.c. -oo-|-oo-

23, 63	sint̄ h̄abēo dīcēre
24, 68	significātis dēum
31, 87	deorum̄ nūm̄erō pōnēre
88	tant̄ae ān̄imi āngust̄iae
33, 99	fēminib̄us crur̄ibus

37, 102

ēssē beātus pōtēst

44, 123

orationē reliquit deos

Total 87

2.d. 000-|-0-

4, 8

stūdiā commoverim

19, 50

pāriā rēspōndēant

21, 58

uberiūs id dicere

24, 67

igitur est veritas

25, 70

potuit obtusius

29, 82

hominis occurrere

88

attigimus aut vidimus

36, 102

melius existimat

42, 119

religionum omnium

44, 122

hominibus consulunt

Total 10

2.e. -000|-0-

3, 6

scire cupientium

9, 22

gurgustio habitaverat

20, 53	cōfūgītis ād dēūm
34, 95	vacuām cādērē nōn pōtēst
97	nōnē sīmīlīs lūpō
37, 104	ātīgēris ūlcūs ēst ¹
43, 121	ēt bēnēficēntiā

Total 7

2.f. -uuu|---

2, 3	iūstītiā tollātūr
7	tām fācīlē possimus
22	terraē māriā pārēnēt
21, 59	distinctē grāvītēr ōrnātē
24, 67	nōn īgītūr aetērnē.
79	singulī rēpēriēbantūr
31, 87	siderūm sīmīlē vidīstī

Total 7

¹

attigeris - is normally in 2nd pers. sing. future perfect, -is in perfect subjunctive. Poets tend to treat both as common. The rule is not hard and fast.

2.g. - 00|00 -

6, 14	quaestionem referenda sunt
10, 24	est etiam dei
18, 46	partim ratio docet
49	sed quasi sanguinem
25, 65	individuum potest
30, 84	innumerabilis
	truncō sapientia

Total 7

2.h. 00--|00 -

12, 33	etiam caelum deum
	etiam prudentia

Total 2

2.i. ---|00 -

17, 45	superis impendere metus
26, 73	Epicuri non a Democrito

Total 2

1

Democrito may be scanned - 00 - or - - 0 -
since - o - is in 'doubtful' position.

- 2.j. - u-|uu-
5, 10 autem ērat Pythagōrās¹
- 2.k. -uu|---
45, 123 naturā nihil cūrāns
- 2.l. -uu|uu-
12, 29 eius reliquā faciāt
- 2.m. -u-|uuu-
35, 99 pertinent quid ipsā faciēs
- 2.n. -u--|uuu-
35, 98 liniamentā manēant
- 2.o. -u--|u-
22, 62 nōn sātis firmā pūto
- 2.p. -u--|---
27, 78 corpōris nōlis ēsse

1

This unusual clausula occurs only once in De Natura Deorum I. Its presence is probably due to the Greek name.

3.a. - 3-|-3--

4, 8	cōpia vincēremur
5, 11	arbītror contīgisse
6, 15	immortalībūs dispūtatum est
7, 17	coepīmus si videtur
8, 20	Platonicūs deūs sempiternum
10, 25	innumerābilēs esse mundos
26	mortalitās cōsequatur
11, 27	notionem videtur
17, 44	igitur deos cōfitendum est
<hr/>	
20, 54	incūdībūs nōn pūtatis
21, 59	ad modum dicērentur
	sententiās incidisse
25, 70	nuntios dixit esse
29, 80	pulchriorem necesse est
30, 83	testimoniūm veritatis
84	ipsūm sibi displicere ¹
33, 92	humanūs deos nōn egere
34, 94	et deorum figuram
36, 101	nōn queunt cogitare
37, 105	de deo cogitemus

¹
See 3.e.

38, 108	impūnitās garriēndī
40, 113	proferrēm libros sī nēgārēs ¹
42, 117	cultū piā cōtīnetūr
118	fūditūs sustūlerunt
119	cognōscītūr quām dēōrūm
43, 120	Demōcrītō digniōrā ²
44, 122	et bēnignōs fūisse
	immortalībūs quīd vōvemūs

Total 29

3.b. ---|---

4,9	pētractāndam dēdissem
5, 11	satis rēsponsūm vidētūr
	est quāntō maiūs omnes
6, 13	dē naturā dēōrūm
9, 22	exornatās vidēmūs
12, 29	et sēnsu omne cārere
13, 32	et naturām dēōrūm
35	omni sēnsu et figurā

¹ libros - i long or short in doubtful position

² Democrito - o may be long or short in doubtful position.

15, 39	immortalitatem essent consecuti
16, 42	immortali procreatos
17, 44	praeclare iactum videtis immortales putemus
17, 46	vigilanti cuiquam aut dormienti
20, 55	nobis essent colendi
22, 60	desperasse omnem veritatem
23, 63	naturam sustulerunt
64	aut tam impurus fuisset confirmandum quam videtur
24, 68	Platonis mundo disputabas
26, 71	Vellei sed non vis fateri
29, 83	a nobis nominantur
23, 88	quales essent diceretur rideri te putares
32, 89	autem est istuc gradatim
90	deorum forma nascerentur
33, 93	Theophrastum scribere ausa est ¹
34, 96	solem aut mundum beatum
35, 98	sortiri quid loquere
38, 106	aeterni intelligantur
107	forma qua illi fuerunt
108	potuerunt ut Scyllae ut Chimerae

¹

Theophrastum - o long or short in doubtful position

39, 110	videam̄s nūnc dē b̄atō
111	quōrū t̄andē b̄nōrū
41, 115	beat̄s sūm cogit̄antē
42, 119	dēmōnstr̄ant̄ur dēōrū
	penit̄s t̄at̄am s̄ust̄ul̄issē
43, 120	in n̄aturā dēōrū
44, 121	ignōt̄is ēssē āmic̄os
	ā nob̄is dil̄iget̄ur
123	Epic̄ur̄i dē sanct̄itatē

Total 40

3.c. - 00-|-0--

8, 20	afficiendūm p̄riend̄osquē s̄ens̄us
9, 22	dēindē quis̄ est ass̄ec̄ut̄us
13, 32	cogn̄itiōnē dēōrū
20, 56	habēndā f̄uit̄ quam aud̄iēdi
26, 73	naturāe r̄atiō cōnt̄inet̄ur
29, 80	ēt sim̄ulacr̄is dēōrū
31, 88	cūr igit̄ur cred̄is ēssē
32, 91	patrūm sim̄ilēs ext̄it̄issē
35, 99	unō diḡitō pl̄us hab̄erē
36, 100	ēssē dēos s̄usp̄ic̄erē
38, 108	dormientē v̄eniunt̄ inv̄ocat̄ae

43, 120	Dēmōcrītō digniōrā ¹
121	aliīs aliī nēgligantūr
44, 122	ūtilitātū sūarū
<u>Total 14</u>	

3.d. -o--|-o--

11, 29	naturā dēorū sūpicārī
27, 75	linēamenta atquē formās
78	plurimū tribūtūras fūisse
29, 80	paetūlos esse arbitramūr
82	Argivā nec Romanā Iunō
31, 87	aliā nisi humanā figurā
34, 96	humanā virtū quā figurā
43, 121	religionē dignās indicārī
<u>Total 8</u>	

3.e. -oo|-o--

2, 3	hominū gēnerī tribūtū
22, 61	difficile est negārē

1

Democrito - o long or short in doubtful position.

26, 72	magīstrum hābūissē nullūm
29, 82	cālcēōlīs rēpāndīs
30, 84	ipsūm sibi dīsplicēre ¹
	ērgo etiā bēatūm
31, 88	aut rātiō nōva affert
32, 91	essemus similes deōrum
39, 109	ōmniā sempiterna

Total 9

3.f. uu-|-u--

5, 12	nihil hābēant quod sēquantur
6, 15	hōmīnibus deferebat
18, 48	quod aeternum est
36, 102	nihil habet inquit negoti
42, 118	rēligionem reliquit

Total 54

3.g. uu-|-u--

8, 20	pūtēt aeternum esse posse
-------	---------------------------

1

sibi in verse is scanned uu or u-. If it is here scanned u-, a far more common type of clausula results -

ipsūm sibi dīsplicēre

Vide 3.a.

39, 111

persequitur omnes nominatim

Total 2

3.h. uuuuu|-u--

32, 89

esse nisi in hominis figura

4.a. -u-|-u-u-

9, 23

a deo constituta sunt

10, 25

ex aqua cuncta fingeret

14, 36

annorumque mutationibus

18, 47

humana potest esse pulchrior

24, 67

veritatemque deseram

25, 69

impudenter resistere

70

leviorem repelleret

26, 73

omnibus contumeliis

ε _____ ar

37, 103

qui beatus futurus est

41, 114

imagines semper affluant

Total 10

4.b. ---|---|---

8, 20	philosophōrūm sēd sōmniāntiūm
9, 22	esse oblectatiō dēo
22, 61	et cōncēssū faciillimūm
25, 69	feratūr declinārē paulūlūm
29, 80	aliquis nōn pulcherrimū deū
30, 84	faciēs sīt plūra esse nōmīna
31, 86	quae possunt fanā cōpilānt
37, 103	id quōd vultūs beātūs est
38, 107	illi ergo et quōrum imāginēs

Total 9

4.c. ---|---|---

20, 55	fieri vidēantūr omniā
35, 97	morēs in ūtroque dispārēs
36, 101	vivae noceant nec odorē mortūae
37, 104	exitūm repērīrē nōn pōtēst
41, 116	umquām nēque āgat nēque egērit

Total 5

4.d. - 0 - - | - 0 - 0 - -

24, 67

deōrum enī nātūrā quāerit̄ur

30, 84

similem p̄tās esse aut̄ t̄uī d̄eūm

85

exhibet̄ cūiquam̄ n̄gōt̄iūm

34, 96

inferiores sūmūs formā p̄rēs sūmūs

Total 4

4.e. 0 0 0 - | - 0 - 0 - -

9, 21

fūerit̄ int̄llēgī p̄tēs̄t

4.f. - 0 - 0 | - 0 - 0 - -

33, 92

causā n̄hīl sūp̄ervacānēum̄ est̄

4.g. - 0 0 - | - 0 - 0 - -

9, 21

nūllūs ērat̄ saec̄lā nōn ērānt̄

4.h. - 0 0 - - | - 0 - 0 - -

6, 13

quae sūt earūm̄ vērā iudicēnt̄

5.a. 000-|-0-0--

27, 76

domoīliūm mēntis ēssē pōssit

6.a. -0-|-0-0-0-

5, 12

admonēndi videntur saepius

6.b. -0--|-0-0-0-

27, 77

iurē rem nullo modo probabilem

6.c. 000-|-0-0-0-

12, 31

quibus ea quae de Platone diximus

24, 67

ut Epicureus esse desinas

Extended clausulae

A -0-|-0-0-0-0-

14, 36

significationem haec docet

tributa nomina

B - u - - | - u - u - u - u -

12, 30

cū dēorūm nōtīōnē cōmprēhēndimūs¹

C - u - u - | - u - u - u - u -

16, 43

dē quībŭs hāec quāestīo ēst
hāberē dēbēat

1

This is the clausula if intervocalic h does not disappear. Otherwise - u - | - u - (double cretic) which is far more likely. See 2.a.

5. TABLE I

<u>Chief Forms of</u> <u>Clausulae</u>	<u>Approximate</u> <u>Frequency</u> %	
1.a. -u- --	17	
1.b. -u- ----	3	
1.c. -uuu --	6.3	
1.d. -u- uu-	.8	<u>Approx.</u>
1.e. uuuuu --	.4	<u>29%</u>
1.f. -uu --	1.4	
1.g. -uu- --	.2	
2.a. -u- -u-	21.5	
2.b. --- -u-	6.36	
2.c. -uu- -u-	2.05	
2.d. uuu- -u-	1.8	
2.e. -uuu -u-	1.6	
2.f. -uuu ---	.88	
2.g. -uu -u-	1.5	
2.h. uu-- -u-	.5	
2.i. --- -uu-	.5	
2.j. -u- -uu-	.2	

<u>Chief Forms of</u> <u>Clausulae</u>	<u>Approximate</u> <u>Frequency</u> %	
2.k. - u u - - -	1.02	
2.l. - u u - u u -	.2	
2.m. - u - u u u -	.2	
2.n. - u - - u u u -	.2	
2.o. - u - - - u -	.2	<u>Approx.</u>
2.p. - u - - - - -	.2	<u>39.5%</u>
3.a. - u - - u - -	6	
3.b. - - - - u - -	8.2	
3.c. - u u - - u - -	3	
3.d. - u - - - u - -	1.6	
3.e. - u u - u - -	1.9	
3.f. u u u - - u - -	.82	
3.g. u u - - - u - -	.4	<u>Approx.</u>
3.h. u u u u - u - -	.2	<u>21.5%</u>
4.a. - u - - u - u -	3	
4.b. - - - - u - u -	1.9	
4.c. - u u - u - u -	1	
4.d. - u - - - u - u -	1	

<u>Chief Forms of</u> <u>Clausulae</u>	<u>Approximate</u> <u>Frequency</u> %	
4.e. 000- -0-0-	.2	
4.f. -0-0 -0-0-	.2	<u>Approx.</u>
4.g. -00- -0-0-	.2	<u>7.7%</u>
4.h. -00-- -0-0-	.2	
5.a. 000- -0-0--	.2	<u>Approx. .2%</u>
6.a. -0- -0-0-0-	.2	<u>Approx.</u>
6.b. -0-- -0-0-0-	.2	<u>1%</u>
6.c. 000- -0-0-0-	.4	
<u>Extended Clausulae</u>		
A. -0- -0-0-0-0-	.2	<u>Approx.</u>
B. -0-- -0-0-0-0-	.2	<u>.6%</u>
C. -00- -0-0-0-0-	.2	

6. Remarks on the results of analysis.

The majority of the clausulae of De Natura Deorum I conform to the six main types which Zielinski has worked out for the speeches, and therefore prove the statement that the clausulae of the philosophical works and speeches are very similar. About 330 out of 500 clausulae belong to the types called by Zielinski V and L (verae and licitae, i.e. preferred and permitted clausulae). This compares quite favourably with the figures given for the Pro Caecina, which is necessarily more formal and regular in rhythm than a dialogue need be. Zielinski gives 330 clausulae for the speech Pro Caecina, of which 212 belong to the V class, and 78 to the L class.

In individual type frequency however, the analysis shows several not unimportant differences from the frequencies obtained for the speeches,

Zielinski¹ says that in the speeches, chief form 1. is most extensive, and together with its derivatives, forms about one third of all the clausulae. In De Natura Deorum I, about 30% of the clausulae belong to

1

Das Clauselgesetz Ch. 2.

this type, that is roughly one third, but it is by no means most extensive. Its supremacy is supplanted by chief form 2., which includes almost 40% or two fifths of the total. Cicero's use of the double cretic is one of the most striking features of this dialogue, and gives it a character of its own, making it stand apart, though not too far apart, from the stereotyped pattern to which most of the works of Cicero conform. The large number of cretic cadences seems to be due to the choice of vocabulary, which in turn, naturally depends upon the subject matter of the dialogue. The many quotations of the opinions of other philosophers on the subject of the nature of the gods often causes a sentence to end with *dicere*, *intēllēgīs*, *sentiās*, *cēnsēāt* and so on. The abstract nouns also frequently form cretics at the end of the sentence, e.g. *voluptātībūs*, *cāritās*, *dissēnsiō*.

It therefore seems that the nature of the dialogue itself rather than any deliberate artifice on the part of Cicero has caused the reversal of types 1. and 2. in the scale of importance.

Of chief form 2. in the speeches, Zielinski says that it is much more limited than type 1., not quite

one fifth of the total, and together with its derivatives, about one quarter.¹

The chief types show a steady decline in frequency from 2. to 6., that is, the figures show 40% for type 2. declining to 2% for type 6. It is noteworthy that type 2. shows by far the most derivatives both of base and cadence, although throughout, resolution and expansion occur far more frequently in the bases than in the cadences, which except in a few instances conform to type. For example, type 2. has 8 different bases:

1. - u -
2. - - -
3. - uu -
4. uuu -
5. - uuu
6. - uu
7. uu - -
8. - u - -

but only four different types of cadence:

1. - u -
2. - - -
3. - uu -
4. uuu -

¹ Das Clauselgesetz p. 651 seq.

Class 3 has a lower percentage than the average for a speech with 23%, or between one fifth and one quarter of the total. In the speeches it forms nearly one third of the total together with its derivatives ¹, but it is clear that some of the less important classes must be deprived to compensate for the high percentage of class 2. It is here interesting to note that the percentage difference of 7% occurs between class 1. and class 3., and nearly 10% between class 1. and class 2., showing again that class 2. is far more favoured by Cicero than any other in this treatise.

Type 4. comprises about one tenth of the treatise's clausulae, the same figure which Zielinski has ascertained for the speeches, and this clausula type appears to have no abnormalities.

The scale of importance is again altered in type 5. and type 6., since type 6 is about five times as frequent in the De Natura Deorum as type 5., and has several examples showing extended length for the cadence. Lines of type 6. and its extensions read very much like verse, but were apparently allowed by

¹
Ibid. Ch. 4.

Cicero even in so perfect a rhetorical exercise as the Pro Milone; for example:

quīd hāc quaestione certius ¹

From the infrequent occurrence of type 5. it must be supposed that Cicero preferred to end the trochaic clausulae in this dialogue with - ∪ - rather than - ∪ - -

A slightly more frequent occurrence of the longer trochaic clausulae is quite in accordance with the philosophical works, since they are more conversational than formal speeches, and the trochaic and iambic metres are the most characteristic of human ² conversation.

In spite of the extended trochaic cadences, and parts of hexameters which occur in this dialogue, no complete verse lines can be found, and in this avoidance of verse, Cicero's practice concurs with his theory: ³

¹ Pro Milone 60.

² Aristotle, Poetics 14.
μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστιν.

Aristotle's remarks might equally well apply to the trochaic metre, since it is difficult in prose to distinguish clearly between the two.

³ Cicero. De Or. 3, 182.

'nam cum sint numeri plures, iambum et trochaeum frequentem segregat ab oratore Aristoteles, Catullus, vester; qui natura tamen inciderunt ipsi in orationem sermonemque nostrum, sed sunt insignes percussiones eorum numerorum et minuti pedes. quare primum ad heroum nos pedem invitat: in quo impune progredi licet duo dumtaxat pedes aut paulo plus, ne plane in versum aut similitudinem versus incidamus.'

The only line resembling a verse, i.e. the dactylic tetrameter in section 71, may be deliberately cast into this form, or it may be a quotation from some unknown source, or the accidental result of the translation of a Greek original.

J. S. Reid in his edition of the *Academica Priora* suggests that no true verse line may be found in Cicero¹, except that in section 30 of the *Academica*:

mēntēm | vōlebant ēsse rerū iudicēm

which forms a perfect iambic senarius. This, however, rests only upon acceptance of Halm's reading

¹ Cicero. *Academica*, ed. J. S. Reid. p 136, note on 'esse rerum'.

esse rerum instead of rerum esse. If rerum esse is read, we find

volēbānt rerum ēssē iudicēm,

a clausula which belongs to chief type 4. with molossus base (in this classification, 4.b.). If the clausulae of Cicero are any criterion for textual criticism, it is more likely on the face of statistics that rerum esse is the correct reading than esse rerum.

Considering the close relationship between the De Natura Deorum (especially Book I, where the Epicurean view is discussed), and the De Rerum Natura of Lucretius, it is surprising to find so little evidence of hexameter construction.¹

The general conclusion reached from the analysis is that, so far as rhythm and clausulae are concerned, Cicero makes no startling innovations or departures from his usual practice in the speeches. The same clausulae types appear, and the same vices are avoided. The main differences occur in the

¹

See R. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften, Leipzig, 1877, p 10 seq. footnote.

proportion of the different clausulae forms employed, but this is dictated largely by the subject matter and nature of the dialogue itself and the subsequent effect of this on vocabulary, and thence on quantities.

Thus we may say that in the *De Natura Deorum* Cicero's rhythmical technique is not incompatible with that which he employs for the speeches.

7. Final words in the clausulae.

H. Bornecque¹ interprets as 'clausula' only the last complete word in the sentence. This is a narrow definition for purposes of rhetorical technique, but a brief survey of final word types in *De Natura Deorum* I and a comparison of their frequencies with those found by Bornecque for the speeches and a selection of philosophical and rhetorical treatises will furnish additional evidence to help decide whether the rhetorical technique of the *De Natura Deorum* I is comparable with that of the other works.

¹ Les Clausules Métriques Latines.

In a smaller table, Bornecque has calculated the percentage of final words of 2, 3, and 4 syllables. In each case, an additional column gives the approximate figures for De Natura Deorum I, in order to facilitate a statistical comparison at a glance.

TABLE II

after H. Bornecque

<u>Types of</u> <u>end words</u>	<u>Speeches</u>		<u>De Or I Brutus Orator</u>		<u>De Div.</u>		<u>De Sen.</u>		<u>De Am.</u>		<u>De N.D.I.</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>% approx.</u>
1. u-	6	4.3	16.1	10.8	8.2	9.7	12.7	14				
2. --	7	6.7	5.6	4.6	8.2	7.3	7.2	11				
3. u-u-	2	1.6	1.4	1	1.9	1.5	.8	1.6				
4. u--	8.5	7.8	9.7	4.6	8.4	5.9	7.1	10.6				
5. -u-	11	14.5	13.6	15.8	12.4	13.5	10.6	14.4				
6. ---	16	18.7	10.3	12.9	16.8	15.9	14.3	12.4				
7. uuu-	.2	.1		.1	.3	.6		.6				
8. uu--	6.3	6.6	3.7	4.4	6.8	4.5	8.2	6				
9. u-u-	.8	2	1.4	2.1	1	.9	1.5	2.1				

(over)

TABLE II

after H. Bornecque

<u>Types of</u>	<u>Speeches</u>	<u>De Or I</u>	<u>Brutus</u>	<u>Orator</u>	<u>De Div.</u>	<u>De Sen.</u>	<u>De Am.</u>	<u>De N.D.I.</u>	
<u>end words</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>% app.</u>	
10. v---	7	5.9	5.1	2.8	4.1	8.5	4.9	4.2	92
11. -vv-	2	.7	.7	1.5	1.9	1.1	1	1.1	
12. -v--	17.1	17.6	12	12.6	11.9	8.8	12.7	11	
13. -v--	11.5	9.5	.8	23.8	15.2	20	15.8	10	
14. -v--	4.6	4	2.4	3	2.9	1.8	3.2	1	

Comparison with the Speeches.

Several marked differences are at once apparent between the speeches and De Natura Deorum I.

- u - has 14.4% in De Natura Deorum I, but only 11% in the speeches, again testifying to Cicero's liking for the cretic cadence. It is seen that the average occurrence of this ending is higher in the rhetorical and philosophical works than in the speeches, with the exception of the De Amicitia.

On the other hand the heavier molossic ending - - - is less used in the De Natura Deorum, 12.4% as compared with 16% in the speeches. This seems to indicate a lighter tone in general for the dialogue, which is to be expected in a work coming midway between the solemnity of many of the speeches and the colloquialism of the letters.

There is also wide discrepancy in the use of quadrisyllabic words of the form u - - - i.e. 7% in the speeches, 4.2% in De Natura Deorum I. This again indicates a general avoidance, whether conscious or unconscious, of the heavier endings.

The use of - u - - shows another contrast - 17.1% in the speeches, but only 11% in De Natura

Deorum I. This is no doubt due to the fact that Cicero in this dialogue favours trisyllabic words for the conclusion of sentences as much as quadrisyllabic,¹ since the same statement applies to the quadrisyllabic forms -- ∪ -- (11.5% in the speeches, 10% in De Natura Deorum I) and to --- (4.6% in the speeches, 1% in De Natura Deorum I).

The general conclusion is that the final words of periods in De Natura Deorum I show differences from the speeches, but not such startling differences that we may say that Cicero employed an entirely different technique in writing the two different types of work.

Comparison with the rhetorical treatises

(De Or. I, Brutus, Orator).

The final words show a closer affinity with those of the De Natura Deorum than with the speeches, although there is a remarkable difference between the use in the Orator and De Natura Deorum I of the form -- ∪ -- (23.8% and 10%). However, the

¹
See following table, p 99.

average percentage for the use of 'this form in rhetorical and philosophical works is much higher than in the speeches, with the exception of the two above mentioned works. The rare types of ending (e.g. - - - , - - - , - - -) show about equal infrequency in all types of work.

There are only three instances of marked differences in percentages between the Brutus and De Natura Deorum I, three between De Or. I and De Natura Deorum I (- - - , - - - , - - -), and three between De Natura Deorum I and the Orator (- - - , - - - , - - -).

Generally therefore the dialogue shows as close a relationship with the rhetorical treatises as with the speeches.

Comparison with De Divinatione, De Senectute, De Amicitia.

The Technique of the philosophical works is seen from the figures to be similar in the individual dialogues. The fact is again brought out that - - - is a favourite ending in De Natura Deorum I, and - - - also has a higher percentage

than for the other philosophical treatises analysed. --- has a lower percentage in comparison. It is again noticeable that endings entailing expansion or resolution of cadence, i.e. -- , --- , are very infrequent in the philosophic works, and show extraordinarily similar averages for all the four dialogues analysed in the Tables. The De Amicitia is the most resolute in the avoidance of these endings, showing averages of only .8%, 0%, 1% respectively. This dialogue is therefore purer in clausulae types than the others, though it is not necessarily for this reason the most carefully written in other respects.

De Natura Deorum may therefore be classed as typical of those other philosophical works for which analyses may be found. In end words, there is a general avoidance of excessive resolution or expansion, and a consistent conformity with those types which form regular period endings. Variations in frequency occur only among the more normal types, and these divergences may be accounted for by the differences in characteristic apparent in the individual dialogues. For instance, the

De Amicitia and De Senectute are more serious in tone¹ than the rather ironical bantering De Natura Deorum, which does not really enter deeply into its subject until the second book. The lighter types of ending, i.e. trochees, iambs, dactyls, paeons, have a relatively higher frequency in De Natura Deorum I than the heavier spondaic types.

This partly accounts for chief type 1. being supplanted by chief type 2., and for the large variety which is to be found for derivatives of the a. types in classes 2, 3, 4, and 6. It is noteworthy that most of the base derivatives are those with two or more short syllables, i.e. the lighter types again.

De Natura Deorum I is a very 'conversational' dialogue, though not in the usual sense of the word. Although there are only two main speakers, who are not interrupted in their discourses, as in the Platonic dialogue, the rhetorical question, and the 'dialogue within the dialogue' (i.e., when

¹

Comparable perhaps to a speech such as the Pro Archia.

the speaker addresses persons not present and answers questions which he himself has put), are striking features of the treatise, so that we are entitled to presuppose the existence in it of the lighter rhythms.

8.

TABLE III

Syllables of final words. After Bornecque.

	<u>Disyllabic</u>	<u>Trisyllabic</u>	<u>Quadrisyllabic</u> <u>and over</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Speeches	13	37.5	49.5
2. De Or. I	11	42.6	46.4
3. Brutus	21.7	35	43.3
4. Orator	15.4	34.3	50.3
5. De Div.	16.4	39.5	44.1
6. De Sen.	17	36.8	46.2
7. De Am.	19.9	32.8	47.3
8. De N.D.I.	21.5	39	39.5

To some extent, the relative frequency of disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words may be taken as a guide to the general character of a work. The figures for De Natura Deorum I show a peculiar reversal of type, which helps to support previous conclusions made concerning its rhythmical technique. In all the other works analysed, it is clear that quadrisyllabic words occur more frequently than others. In De Natura Deorum I however, trisyllabic words are almost as frequent, although their actual percentage, 39%, is almost identical with that for the speeches, 37.5%, and is not unusually high compared with the figures for any of the works in the table (all between 42% and 32%). The comparatively high percentage in De Natura Deorum I is doubtless connected with the many trisyllabic cadences. Disyllabic words show a higher than average percentage, far higher than for the speeches, although there is a percentage of 21.7% for the Brutus.

Quadrisyllabic endings are comparatively infrequent - in no other work for which figures

are here given is the percentage so low, while in the Orator more than half the end words consist of 4 syllables. The fact that in De Natura Deorum I many sentences conclude with parts of dico, possum, sum, especially in the narrative sections, partly accounts for the increase in trisyllabic and decrease in quadrisyllabic endings. The paucity of 4 syllable endings also shows that Cicero did not in this dialogue write so many heavy sentences consisting of polysyllabic words. Even a cursory glance at the work shows that most of the sentences are short and therefore have less scope for the practice of this feature of rhetorical technique.

CHAPTER III

Arrangement of Subject Matter in De Natura Deorum I

A. General Arrangement of a Speech.

It has already been shown that there is close parallelism between the prose rhythms and rhetorical figures of Cicero's speeches and De Natura Deorum I; also that the object of the forensic speech and philosophical dialogue is ultimately the same, and that the outline scheme of the dialogue is rhetorical, consisting of an introduction, two contending propositions and an inconclusive summing up.

It is therefore to be expected that the dialogue will lend itself to a formal analysis such as may be traced in any of the orations, and is given in the Rhetorica ad Herennium.¹

Only one speech of Cicero's, the Pro Milone, falls perfectly into the rhetorical divisions laid down by the theorists. The others have the same general arrangement, but it is modified to suit the

¹

I, 7, seq.

II passim.

See this discussion, Chapter I, C.

particular character and subject matter which has to be handled. For example, in the Pro Cluentio, narratio and tractatio are taken together as the separate points come up for discussion, and it is impossible to trace a straightforward tractatio like that in the Pro Milone.¹

Rhetorical arrangement is therefore a flexible thing, even in the more formal works, and it is quite appropriate to a dialogue on so serious a subject as a theological discussion on the nature of the gods themselves.

Even a cursory glance at the dialogue shows that it falls into a number of definite divisions.

1. 1 - 18 Introduction
2. 18 - 57 Epicurean discussion of Velleius
3. 57 - 124 Academic discussion of Cotta, in which is included
4. Conclusion.

It is therefore probable that the dialogue will fall easily into a more detailed scheme of arrangement.

¹ Pro Milone. ed. Clark. Introduction p.xlix seq.

B. Detailed analysis of arrangement. (Dispositio).

1. Exordium. (Introduction).

It is particularly interesting to compare the introduction of this dialogue with that of a speech, because just as in an 'oratio ad iudices', Cicero states his reasons for having taken up a case, he here states his reasons for writing philosophical dialogues in Latin - to arouse the interest of the general public in philosophy.

The Rhetorica ad Herennium defines the exordium as that by which the orator should win the attention, benevolence and docility of his hearers:-

'ut auditores sese perpetuo nobis attentos, dociles, benevolos praebeant, tamen id per exordium causae maxime comparandum est'.¹

This needs some adjustment in the case of a philosophical dialogue, where the character of the facts presented is different, and the audience is not being directly addressed by word of mouth. The exordium is longer than that of a speech. cf. De Nat. Deor. I, 1 - 17, Pro Flacco 1 - 6.²

¹ Ad Her. I, 7.

² Representative figures for exordia are De Nat. Deor. I 13% of whole, Pro Milone 5.6%, Pro Flacco 5.6%.

The exordium of the *De Nat. Deor.* contains an outline of what is usually found in those divisions of a speech called *praeiudicia* (previous verdicts) and *narratio* (events up to the beginning of the main discussion). In the dialogue, *praeiudicia* and *narratio*, in combination with each other, are extended to mean previous opinions expressed on the philosophical topic, i.e. the nature of the gods. This device enables Cicero to begin the actual dialogue knowing that he has given his readers enough information to enable them to follow it intelligently, but has not expanded that information to such an extent that repetition will occur in the speeches.

Therefore the exordium is not pure exordium, but a mixture of exordium and *narratio*. Statements are made to secure the goodwill and attention of the audience, but are interspersed with explanatory paragraphs. In spite of this, it is possible to trace how Cicero makes the exordium fulfil its normal functions before the introduction of the *dramatis personae*. In the first sentences, he wins attention by claiming for his subject both interest and importance, despite its difficulty:

'perdifficilis et perobscura quaestio est
de natura deorum, quae et ad cognitionem animi
pulcherrima est et ad moderandam religionem
necessaria'.¹

The audience or reader is delicately flattered by the suggestion that all intelligent persons recognise the importance of the nature of the gods in relation to the soul and religion.

There follows a digression, giving a variety of opinions on the existence or non-existence of the gods. This in itself is clearly divisible into its own sections, each of which contains a point later to be developed in the general discussion:

a. Atheism -

'dubitare se (dixit) Protagoras, nullos
esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus
Cyrenaicus putaverunt.'²

b. Denial of divine providence -

'sunt enim philosophi et fuerunt qui omnino
nullam habere censerent rerum humanarum
procuracionem deos.'³

¹ De Nat. Deor. I, 1.

² Ibid 2.

³ Ibid 3.

c. Belief in divine providence -

'sunt... alii philosophi, et ii quidem magni
et nobiles, qui deorum mente et ratione omnem
mundum administrari et regi censeant.'¹

This illustrates Cicero's general technique in the exordium and shows that none of his digressions is made without a particular purpose in mind.

Having secured attention, Cicero now sets out to win benevolence. This he does in the orthodox manner:

- a. a sua persona
- b. ab auditorum persona
- c. ab adversariorum persona

a. is used most extensively in this dialogue. It was in any case possible to be more personal in approach in a philosophical treatise than in a speech, where the expression of personal opinion has a more specialised function.

a sua persona, Cicero first of all claims that philosophy has been his lifelong study, even when he appeared occupied with other things:

¹

Ibid. 4.

'nos autem nec subito coepimus philosophari
nec mediocrem a primo tempore aetatis in eo
studio operam curamque consumpsimus et cum
minime videbamus, tum maxime philosophabamur.'

He then asserts that philosophy has been

1. Personally expedient, because it occupied his retirement and alleviated his grief:

'cum otio langueremus,....hortata...est
ut me ad haec conferrem, animi aegritudo
fortuna magna et gravi commota iniuria.'

2. Politically expedient because he thought it his duty to dedicate his talent for writing to the glorification of his country in all spheres of knowledge. He imagined himself a kind of Roman Kipling in prose:

'ipsius rei publicae causa philosophiam
nostris hominibus explicandam putavi, magni
existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem
civitatis res tam gravis tamque praeclaras
Latinis etiam litteris contineri.'

¹
Ibid 6.

²
Ibid 7.and 9.

³
Ibid 7.

Ab auditorum persona, Cicero claims that the intelligence and response of his audience amply justify his attempt, however feeble, to put into Latin the teachings of the Greeks:

'eoque me minus instituti mei paenitet quod facile sentio quam multorum non modo discendi sed etiam scribendi studia commoverim'.¹

Ab adversarium^{or} persona, Cicero shows that the accusations of his opponents are unjustified, because they do not look the facts in the face, and see that the Academic undogmatic exposition is peculiarly appropriate to the subject of the dialogue. The arguments ab adversariorum persona are more scattered throughout the introduction than those a persona sua and ab auditorum persona. They may be collected to form the following summary:

'multis etiam sensi mirabile videri eam nobis potissimum probatam esse philosophiam quae lucem eriperet et quasi noctem quandam rebus offunderet.'²

¹ Ibid. 8

² Ibid. 6.

'qui autem requirunt quid quaque de re ipsi
sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est
..... non enim tam auctoritatis in disputando
quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt.'¹

'quod facere iis necesse est quibus
propositum est veri reperiendi causa et contra
omnes philosophos et pro omnibus dicere.'²

Cicero does not pay so much attention to securing
the docility of the reader, as this belongs rather to
the task of the orator when confronted by an audience
in the flesh. He does however flatter the reader
delicately, and so induces in him the desire to hear
more about the subject. This is achieved by an
indirect reference to the audience as 'men of active
minds':

'Carneades ita multa disseruit ut excitaret
homines non socordes ad veri investigandi
cupiditatem.'³

and then by showing that the subject has a universal
application which the readers themselves can help

¹ Ibid. 10

² Ibid. 11

³ Ibid. 4

to make intelligible to everyone:

'quo quidem loco convocandi omnes videntur
qui quae sit earum vera iudicent.'¹

The exordium proper ends at the conclusion of 14, but the general introduction continues until the first main speaker begins on his argument (Velleius in 18). 15 - 17 are inserted merely to set the scene and fix it in the readers' minds, and to introduce the main characters together with the schools of thought which they represent. The preamble to the dialogue is therefore a kind of extended form of narratio used for a special purpose.

2. Praeiudicia et narratio.

This is defined as dealing with previous verdicts, and the attitude of the prosecution to the events, or facts. In the De Natura Deorum, it is dealt with in two ways.

- a. In the introduction, as has been mentioned above.
- b. In the course of the subsequent discussion, as the several speakers bring forward their own arguments. A good example is provided by the

¹
Ibid 13.

historical section (25 - 41) where the beliefs of twenty-seven previous philosophers are given, and in the statement of popular belief as seen in the writings of the poets or in Oriental religions.

The praeiudicia are very closely connected with the narratio. There is no single narratio for the whole dialogue, but each speaker introduces his own as he discusses the separate points of his argument, bringing into the discussion such facts as are necessary for clarity. Cicero was already practised in this technique, as he had used it with great effect in the Pro Cluentio. A separate narratio and tractatio are abandoned for this speech, and instead, a judicious mixture of the two is used to obtain the best results. Cicero presents a character, retails his crimes and denounces him in a few swift sentences, and then passes on to the next victim straight away. He does not group characters, crimes and their denunciation as separate sections of the speech. Velleius' criticism of any of the twenty-seven philosophers shows the mixture of praeiudicia, narratio and tractatio in De Natura Deorum I,

'post Anaximenes aera deum statuit, eumque
gigni esseque immensum et infinitum et semper in
motu.' (narratio)

'quasi aut aer sine ulla forma deus esse possit, cum praesertim deum non modo aliqua sed pulcherrima specie deceat esse, aut non omne¹ quod ortum sit mortalitas consequatur.'

(tractatio).

Therefore, in 25 - 41 there are twenty-seven pieces of narratio, each with a corresponding tractatio.

A somewhat similar method is employed in the Pro Flacco, as T. B. L. Webster notes in his introduction:²

'The charge itself consisted of a number of small charges, each of which has its own small narratio when it is treated, but there cannot be a common narratio for the whole case.'

3. Tractatio.

This is usually the longest as well as the most important part of a speech, on the treatment of which the orator lavishes most of his skill in arrangement and choice of topic.

According to the Rhetorica ad Herennium³ the tractatio consists of two parts:

¹ Ibid. 26.

² Pro Flacco. ed. Webster. Introd. p xii.

³ Ad. Her. II, 4, 5.

- a. probabile a vita - the facts of the accused person's life. This is scarcely appropriate to a philosophical dialogue, and is not much used in *De Natura Deorum I.*
- b. probabile a causa - this consists of a detailed examination of the opponents' arguments, of which each has all or some of the following:
1. *propositio* (a statement of fact)
 2. *ratio* (first reason for the fact)
 3. *confirmatio* (confirmatory reason or reasons)
 4. *exornatio* (embellishment)
 5. *complexio* (conclusion).

After the introduction it has been seen that the dialogue has two main divisions, the statements of Velleius and Cotta respectively. 25 - 43 are taken up with the history of philosophy, of which the rhetorical technique has been discussed above. From the form and design of the dialogue it is therefore probable that two tractationes will be found, the first dealing with the arguments of Velleius, the second with those of Cotta.

Velleius' speech is mainly made up of exposition, and will therefore contain much that is *narratio*.

Cotta's reply from its very nature is likely to furnish more evidence for a tractatio in its precise sense of 'a detailed examination of the opponents' arguments'. This definition may, however, be applied to a certain extent to Velleius' speech. In his denunciation of the orthodox theology of Plato and the Stoics and in his condemnation of their systems of cosmology, he does not actually state what the Epicurean doctrines are ('de quo dicam equidem paulo post'). Something can still be gleaned of the Epicurean ideas by what is denied to be true in other systems. In other words, in 18 - 24, Cicero relies on the intelligence of his readers to piece together from his ridicule of other doctrines those of the Epicureans. Then, after the historical section, he plunges straight into the exposition of Epicureanism. In a sense therefore, 43 - 56 are an examination of opponents' arguments, since they contain a refutation of arguments expressed in 18 - 24.

Analysis of Tractatio I, (43 - 56).

The tendency of the whole series of the following arguments is to show that the gods exist and are eternal and human in form, but that nature is the creative agent. (n.b. the marginal numbers refer to sections of De Natura Deorum I).

43. propositio 1 -

The gods exist.

Solus (i.e. Epicurus) vidit primum esse deos.

ratio -

We have a preconceived notion of them.

In omnium animis eorum notionem impressisset ipsa
natura.

exornatio -

The Epicurean term for this is $\pi\epsilon\acute{o}\lambda\eta\psi\iota\varsigma$, and we
can read about it in Epicurus' own books.

Cuius rationis vim atque utilitatem ex illo
caelesti Epicuri de regula et iudicio volumine
accepimus.

44. complexio -

The gods therefore exist.

Esse igitur deos confitendum est.

45. propositio 2 -

The gods are blessed and immortal.

Deos beatos et immortales putemus.

ratio -

This too is a natural conviction.

Quae enim natura informationem ipsorum deorum
dedit, eadem insculpsit in mentibus ut aeternos
et beatos haberemus.

propositio 3 -

The gods being such are not to be feared.

Quod beatum aeternumque sit id nec habere ipsum
negotii quicquam nec exhibere alteri, itaque neque
ira neque gratia teneri.

ratio -

A being blessed and immortal cannot be feared and
cannot itself exhibit anger.

Intellegitur enim a beata immortalique natura et
iram et gratiam segregari.

complexio -

The gods cannot inspire fear.

Nullos a superis impendere metus.

46. propositio 4 -

The gods are in human form.

Habemus omnes ... speciem nullam aliam nisi humanam
deorum.

ratio -

Reason tells us that they must be in this form.

Ratio hoc idem ipsa declarat.

47. confirmatio -

The most exalted beings must, ipso facto, be most
beautiful, and the human form surpasses all others.

... praestantissimam naturam... convenire videatur
eandem esse pulcherrimam, quae species
humana potest esse pulchrior?

exornatio -

The Stoics recognise the beauty of the human form;
the Academics waver in their opinion.

Vos quidem, Lucili, soletis (nam Cotta meus modo
hoc, modo illud), cum artificium effingitis
fabricamque divinam, quam sint omnia in hominis
figura non modo ad usum verum etiam ad venustatem
apta describere.

48. complexio -

We are brought to believe in the human form of the
gods.

Hominis esse specie deos confitendum est.

49. amplificatio (this adds to the given information,
but is not essential to it) -

The form of the gods is not exactly like ours, only
something resembling it.

Non tamen ea species corpus est, sed quasi corpus.

50. This section reverts to propositio 1, and gives
additional rationes for it -

1. The infinity of nature implies a principle of
equilibrium.

... intellegi necesse est eam esse naturam ut
omnia omnibus paribus paria respondeant.

2. Equilibrium implies the existence of immortal
beings.

Si mortalium tanta multitudo sit, esse
immortalium non minorem.

51. propositio 5 -

On our view, the gods live a perfectly happy life.
ea (sc. vita) qua nihil beatius, nihil omnibus
bonis affluentius cogitari potest.

ratio -

They have no troubles, but constant joy and a
certain prospect of lasting pleasure.

Nihil enim agit, nullis occupationibus est
implicatus, nulla opera molitur ... habet
exploratum fore se semper cum in maximis tum in
aeternis voluptatibus.

complexio -

This is real blessedness.

Hunc deum rite beatum dixerimus.

52. propositio 6 -

The Stoic god has a wretched life.
vestrum (sc. deum) vero laboriosissimum.

ratio -

1. If God is the world, he is constantly rotating.
Sive ... mundus deus est, quid potest esse
minus quietum quam ... versari circum axem
caeli admirabili celeritate?
2. Even if not the world, he is ceaselessly busy.
Sive in ipso mundo deus inest, aliquis qui
regat, qui gubernet, ... ne ille est implicatus
molestis negotis ...

53. propositio 7 -

The Stoic god is unnecessary.
Nihil opus fuisse fabrica.

ratio -

The world was made by nature.
Natura effectum esse mundum.

exornatio -

Nature has made, makes, and will make innumerable
worlds.
... tamque eam rem esse facilem ... ut innumerabilis
natura mundos effectura sit efficiat effecerit.

54. propositio 8 -

The Stoic God is undesirable.
Imposuistis in cervicibus nostris sempiternum
dominum, quem dies et noctes timeremus.

ratio -

1. A busybody God is to be feared.

Quis enim non timeat omnia providentem ... deum?

55. 2. He carries with him the doctrine of Destiny,
which is silly and superstitious.

Hinc vobis extitit ... illa fatalis necessitas
... quanti ... haec philosophia aestimanda est
cui tamquam aniculis ... fato fieri videantur
omnes?

56. General complexio of tractatio I.

enumeratio (general summary of the conclusions
reached from the arguments put forward) -

- a. The gods are independent of human affairs
- b. Nature is the true creator.

Nec metuimus eos quos intellegimus nec sibi fingere
ullam molestiam nec alteri quaerere, et pie
sanctaeque colimus naturam excellentem atque
praestantem.

amplificatio -

The discussion has been long, but the subject made
it worth while.

Vereor ne longior fuerim ... erat autem difficile
rem tantam tamque praeclaram inchoatam relinquere.

There is no peroratio proper to Velleius' speech,
but the details given in 56 furnish a sufficiently
graceful conclusion.

57 - 61

These paragraphs cannot rightly be called part of the second tractatio, but are used by Cotta as an interlude between the arguments of the two main speakers. They undoubtedly provide a welcome relief from the 'debating' style, with the compliments to Velleius, the comparison of his style with that of Zeno, and the anecdote of Hiero and Simonides, which forms a kind of exornatio.

This intervening narratio is not irrelevant, since Cotta uses it to inform readers of the attitude in which he will reply to Velleius and his school - his criticism will be destructive rather than constructive -

'mihi enim non tam facile in mentem
venire solet quare verum sit aliquid quam
quare falsum'¹.

'ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus
sed maxime in physicis, quid non sit citius
quam quid sit dixerim'².

1
De Nat. Deor. I. 57

2
Ibid. 60.

Analysis of Tractatio II, (61 - end)

The general tendency is to show that, although the gods may exist, it is impossible to be certain of their exact nature, but they cannot at any rate be anthropomorphic. No alternative suggestions are offered regarding the nature of the gods. We are only asked to believe that they are not as Velleius would have us think.

Many of Cotta's statements take the form of questions expecting a negative answer or no answer at all. Therefore most of the propositiones take the form of negative statements.

62. propositio 1 -

The argument in support of divine existence from universal consent is untrue.

... quod cum leve per se tum etiam falsum est.

ratio -

All men cannot believe in such existence because we do not know what all races, especially barbarians, believe.

Equidem arbitror multas esse gentes sic immanitate efferatas, ut apud eas nulla suspicio deorum sit.

confirmatio -

Many philosophers have

1. Denied the existence of gods

2. Hesitated to affirm their existence, and have suffered extreme penalties to uphold their beliefs.

63. 1. Diagoras ... posteaque Theodorus nonne aperte deorum naturam sustulerunt?

2. Protagoras ... cum in principio libri sic posuisset 'de divis neque ut sint neque ut non sint habeo dicere' ... urbe atque agro est exterminatus.

64. exornatio -

If certain scoundrels had believed in the gods, they would have had different characters.

'Tubulus si Lucius umquam,
Si Lupus aut Carbo, Neptuni filius.'
putasset esse deos, tam periurus aut tam impurus fuisset?

complexio -

The argument from universal consent is therefore weak, and unfounded on fact.

Non est igitur tam explorata ista ratio ad id quod vultis confirmandum quam videtur.

65. propositio 2 -

There are no such things as atoms.
... quae primum nullae sunt.

ratio -

There is no empty space, therefore no void and no atoms.

Corporibus autem omnis obsidetur locus; ita nullum inane, nihil esse individuum potest.

exornatio -

The exornatio takes up 66 and 67, and is an excursus on the atomic theories of Democritus and Leucippus, together with an expression of surprise that such an intelligent person as Velleius should have been led to believe them.

complexio -

(The complexio is unexpressed, but is to be understood from what has just been argued)

The argument from atomism can be refuted because it is unscientific.

68. propositio 3 -

The gods cannot be made of atoms.

Sint sane ex atomis.

ratio -

If they were they would not be eternal.

non igitur aeterni.

confirmatio -

What is composed of atoms would have to come into existence and go out of existence, but gods must be eternal.

Quod enim ex atomis, id natum aliquando est ... si ortus est deorum, interitus sit necesse est.

exornatio -

1. The fondness of the Epicureans for talking rubbish when unable to argue

Quod cum efficere vultis, in dumeta correptis.

2. The Epicurean habit of using impossible and absurd illustrations (for example, the ridiculous doctrine of the swerve).

Hoc persaepe facitis, ut cum aliquid non veri simile dicatis et effugere reprehensionem velitis, adferatis aliquid quod omnino ne fieri quidem possit.

complexio -

(This must be understood from the above arguments)

The atomic theory of Epicurus is absurd.

70. propositio 4 -

Epicurus' logic is absurd.

ratio -

He denied the disjunctive syllogism

Totum hoc 'aut etiam aut non' negavit esse necessarium.

complexio -

Epicurus was a fool in logic.

Nihil horum nimis callide; graviorem enim plagam
accipiebat ut leviolem repelleret.

71. propositio 5 -

There can be no conception of quasi-corporeal gods.
In deo quid sit quasi corpus aut quid sit quasi
sanguis intellegere non possum. .

ratio -

Such a supposition is only conceivable in the case
of statues, etc.

Hoc intellegerem quale esset si in ceris fingeretur
aut fictilibus figuris.

exornatio -

The exornatio is long (72 - 73) because it contains
some narratio. It deals with the profession of
Epicurus that he had no learning, ~~and~~ gives some
details of his early life, and asserts that the
Epicurean theories, in spite of their modifications,
are really only copied from Democritus.

74. complexio -

The kind of gods described by Epicurus could not
exist, and if he admitted the truth, he would agree.
Quasi corpus et quasi sanguis quid sit nullo prorsus
modo intellego ,... ne tu quidem intellegis.

76. propositio 6 -

The Epicurean arguments for anthropomorphism are unsound.

Fac id quod ne intellegi quidem potest mihi esse persuasum.

The arguments summarised in 76 are

- A. Preconception of the human form (informatum anticipatumque mentibus nostris)
- B. Supremacy of the human form (nec esse humana ullam pulchriorem)
- C. No other form is suitable for a rational being (nulla in alia figura domicilium mentis esse possit).

77. ratio -

- A. 1. The idea of preconceived gods is deliberately fostered for reasons of expediency, and encouraged by the arts in consequence.

... quo facilius animos imperitorum ad deorum cultum ... converterent ... Auxerunt ... haec eadem poetae, pictores, opifices.

- B. 1. All creatures naturally prefer their own form. An putas ullam esse ... beluam quae non sui generis belua maxime delectetur?

79. 2. Not all human beings are beautiful. quotus enim quisque formosus est?

3. Human standards of beauty are unaccountable.
Nobis ... etiam vitia saepe iucunda sunt.
4. If the gods have human form, they must be
either a. different, or b. the same.
80. If different, not all can be perfect.
Si plures, aliam esse alia pulchriorem
necesse est.
If the same, they are indistinguishable.
Si ... nihil inter deum et deum differt,
nulla est apud deos cognitio, nulla perceptio.
81. C. 1. Other races have animal gods.
Firmiores videas apud eos (sc. Aegyptios)
opinionem esse de bestiis quibusdam quam
apud nos de sanctissimis templis.

exornatio -

Various gods and their appearance. (82 - 84).

85. propositio 7 -

The only logical course is to deny the existence of
gods.

... quid dubitas negare deos esse?

ratio -

But you dare not.

non audes.

86. exornatio -

The inconsistency and ambiguity of Epicurus and his
writings. (Whole of 86).

87. propositio 8 -

Reason cannot be confined to human form.

Quid est quod te impediatur aut solem aut mundum aut
mentem aliquam sempiternam in deorum numero
ponere?

ratio -

We have a limited experience of other things which
appear to act with some sort of rationality, e.g.
the sun, moon and planets. (Last half of 87.)

complexio -

We cannot deny everything unusual simply because
we have not experienced it. (Whole of 88)

89. This is really a supplement to the previous sections,
showing that rationality is not confined to human
form, and cannot be proved so by syllogism. The
Epicureans are therefore ignorant of true logic.
(This is taken up again in 94).

90. propositio 9 -

The theomorphism of mankind is equally unaccountable.
Ned vero intellego cur maluerit Epicurus deos
hominum similes dicere quam homines deorum.

ratio -

The gods did not derive their pattern from men.
Hoc dico, non ab hominibus formae figuram venisse
ad deos.

confirmatio -

If the gods are eternal, and men not eternal, the human form existed before humans.

Di enim semper fuerunt, nati numquam sunt, ... at homines nati.

complexio -

We should say our form is divine, if we follow this reasoning.

Non ergo illorum humana forma sed nostra divina dicenda est.

92. propositio 10 -

Gods can exist without physical attributes.

Omnesne tibi illi delirare visi sunt qui sine manibus et pedibus constare deum posse decreverint?

ratio -

With human form, the gods are not adaptable to their function or environment.

Ne hoc quidem vos movet considerantes, quae sit utilitas quaeque opportunitas in homine membrorum, ut iudicetis membris humanis deos non egere.

confirmatio -

Nature provides nothing superfluous.

Nihil inane, nihil sine causa, nihil supervacaneum est.

93. exornatio -

The Epicureans are quick enough to ridicule other schools, in spite of the absurdity of their own doctrines. (Whole of 93).

94. propositio 11 -

The Epicureans are unintelligent in their philosophical reasoning.

Nam ista quae vos dicitis sunt tota commenticia.

ratio 1 -

They do not look far enough. If they say that gods and men have the same form, they must admit that the gods behave in other respects like humans.

Omnis cultus et curatio corporis erit eadem adhibenda deo quae adhibetur homini.

95. ratio 2 -

Human form is not essential to divine happiness.

Quid autem obstat quo minus sit beatus (sc. deus) si non sit bipes.

96. ratio 3 -

Reason tells us that gods must be superior to ourselves mentally and physically.

Hoc te ratio non docebit, cum praestantissima natura quaeratur eaque beata et aeterna ... ut immortalitate vincamur ab ea natura sic animi praestantia vinci, atque ut animi item corporis?

complexio -

There is no need to suppose that we are similar to the gods in form, and vice versa.

Cur igitur cum ceteris rebus inferiores sumus forma pares sumus?

97. propositio 12 -

The Epicurean argument from resemblance has no point.

Ipsa vero quam nihil ad rem pertinet quae vos delectat maxime similitudo!

ratio -

Animals exist similar in form, but different in habit and character, likewise men.

Inter ipsos homines nonne et simillimis formis dispaes mores et moribus simillimis figura dissimilis?

exornatio -

Even men have animals like themselves - monkeys!

'Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis'.

98. complexio -

It is not logical on these analogies to say that reason exists only in human form.

Hoc est non considerare sed quasi sortiri quid loquare, (a repetition of 70).

99. propositio 13 -

(This really reverts to and repeats the confirmatio
of 92 - nihil supervacaneum - but it is more fully
developed here).

Nature usually only provides what is necessary to
a creature's function.

... quidquid supervacaneum sit aut usum non habeat
obstare.

ratio -

This is clear, if we think what it is like to have
more than the right number of fingers.

Quam molestum est uno digito plus habere!

complexio -

The gods do not need human physical make-up, and
their immortality does not depend on it.

Oris quidem habitus ad vitae firmitatem nihil
pertinet.

101 A digression, stating that it is illogical to think

102 of gods in human form without human activity.

Even barbarous races deify animals because of their
usefulness, and the idea of divine inactivity tends
to make men slothful (etiam homines inertes efficit).

103. propositio 14 -

Even if 'images' of the gods exist, this does not prove divine reality or happiness.

... sit sane ut vultis deus effigies hominis et imago: ... quae actio vitae? quibus rebus id quod vultis beatus est?

ratio 4 -

Happiness consists in activity (and Epicurean gods are inactive).

Utatur enim suis bonis oportet et fruatur qui beatus futurus est.

ratio 2 -

The gods are assigned no locality, like all other things. (The Epicurean gods dwell only in the vague intermundia)

Nam locus quidem iis etiam naturis quae sine animis sunt suus est cuique proprius.

exornatio -

Examples of the elements of nature and the animal kingdom which have their particular locality.

complexio -

The Epicurean argument is invalid.

Ita male instituta ratio exitium reperire non potest.

105. propositio 15 -

The Epicurean theory of the perception of gods has no meaning.

Hoc (i.e. the theory) per ipsos deos de quibus loquimur, quale tandem est?

ratio 1 -

Such perceptions are agreed by all schools of philosophy except the Epicurean to be figments of the imagination.

Omnem enim talem conformationem animi ceteri philosophi motum inanem vocant.

exornatio -

Simply to imagine an example of this theory makes its absurdity apparent. (Whole of 106).

107. ratio 2 -

The impingement of images is only the presentation of form, not of a reason for presuming happiness or eternity.

Species dumtaxat obicitur quaedam ... num etiam cur ea beata sit cur aeterna?

ratio 3 -

We have no means of telling how the images arose or whose they are.

quo modo illae ergo et quorum imagines?

108. ratio 4 -

Different images of the same person are possible.
Quid quod eiusdem hominis in meum aliae, aliae in
tuum?

ratio 5 -

Images occur to us of non-existent and impossible
things.

Quid quod earum rerum quae numquam omnino fuerunt
neque esse potuerunt, ut Scyllae, ut Chimaerae?

ratio 6 -

Images may be invented by the imagination and
without effort.

Quid quod simul ac mihi collibitum est praesto est
imago? quid quod etiam ad dormientem veniunt
invocatae?

109. ratio 7 -

It is impossible to prove the continuity or eternity
of the images.

quo modo enim probas continenter imagines ferri,
aut si continenter, quo modo aeternae?

propositio 16 -

It is impossible to prove the doctrine of ~~the~~
equilibrium.

... ais quoniam sit natura mortalis immortalem
etiam esse oportere.

ratio -

If the doctrine were true, the existence of mortal
substance necessitates that of immortal, that of
mortal man the existence of immortal men.

Isto modo quoniam homines mortales sunt, sunt
aliqui immortales.

110. propositio 17 -

Images cannot arise out of atoms.

Omnis tamen ista rerum effigies ex individuuis quo
modo corporibus oritur?

ratio -

Even if atoms collide, it is hardly conceivable
that they should do so and always form
intelligible shapes.

Pellere se ipsa et agitari inter se concursu
fortasse possent, formare, figurare, colorare,
animare non possent.

complexio -

The Epicurean theories of images and atoms do not
prove divine immortality.

Nulla igitur modo immortalem deum efficitis.

propositio 18 -

(Implied in 110 - 111)

Epicurean inactive gods cannot be happy.

ratio -

Happiness is consistent with virtue which is consistent with activity, but Epicurean gods are inactive.

Sine virtute certe nullo modo (sc. deus beatus);
virtus autem actuosa, et deus vester nihil agens;
expers virtutis igitur; ita ne beatus quidem.

conformatio -

Happiness cannot exist without pleasures of the sense, but the Epicureans recognise no pleasures but those of the body.

Nullam enim novistis nisi profectam a corpore et redeuntem ad corpus animi voluptatem.

112. exornatio (whole of 112) -

An imaginary picture of the pleasures assigned to the gods in literature.

complexio -

On this reasoning, we might say that men are more happy in their pleasures than gods, since they have a wider range of enjoyment.

Locupletior igitur hominum natura ad beate
vivendum est quam deorum quod pluribus generibus
fruitur voluptatum.

114. propositio 19 -

It is impossible to see how the Epicurean god is
not to fear destruction.

Nec tamen video quo modo non vereatur iste deus
beatus ne intereat.

ratio -

They are constantly assailed by atoms, and suffer
an endless movement of images.

Cum sine ulla intermissione pulsetur agiteturque
atomorum incursione sempiterna, cumque ex ipso
imagines semper affluent.

complexio -

Epicurean gods can be neither happy nor eternal.
Nec beatus est vester deus nec aeternus.

propositio 20 -

Epicurus is fatal to true religion.

(Epicurus) qui sustulerit omnem funditus religionem.

ratio 1 -

Their gods have no respect for men, and are entirely
inactive; there is nothing in the worship of such
gods.

Quid est enim cur deos ab hominibus colendos dicas cum dei non modo homines non colant, sed omnino nihil curent, nihil agant.

116. ratio 2 -

Piety is killed by lack of contact between men and gods, holiness by lack of interest.

Est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos; cum quibus quid potest nobis esse iuris, cum homini nulla cum deo sit communitas? Sanctitas est colendorum deorum; qui quam ab rem colendi sint non intellego nullo non accepto ab iis nec sperato bono.

ratio 3 -

There is no sense or inspiration in the worship of a nature which has no ennobling feature.

Quid est quod deos veneremur propter admirationem eius naturae in qua egregium nihil videmus.

confirmatio -

Freedom from superstition is easy to attain if the gods are powerless.

Nam superstitione ... facile est liberari cum sustuleris omnem vim deorum.

118 complexio -

119 If the Epicurean doctrines are true, one might as well be

a. An atheist

Horum enim sententiae ... non modo
superstitionem tollunt ... sed etiam
religionem.

b. Under the influence of a philosophy teaching
that the gods are political conveniences.

... ii qui dixerunt totam de dis immortalibus
opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus
reipublicae causa.

c. Under the belief that gods are functions of
nature beneficial to man.

... ea quae prodessent hominum vitae deorum
in numero habita esse.

d. Under the belief that the gods are deifications
of famous men after death.

... fortis aut claros aut potentis viros
tradunt post mortem ad deos pervenisse.

119 exornatio -

Additional details of the above.

120 propositio 21 -

Democritus, the fountain-head of Epicureanism, had no theology.

Democritus ... cuius fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos irrigavit, nutare videtur in natura deorum.

ratio -

His views on the gods are as nonsensical as they are variable. They are either a. images endowed with divinity (imagines divinitate praeditas), b. elements of the mind (principia mentis), c. animate images (animantes imagines), d. vast images (ingentes quasdam imagines).

121 complexio -

The theology of Democritus is mere stupidity.

Omnia sunt patria Democriti quam Democrito¹ digniora.

4. Conclusio.

In a speech, this has three parts:

- A. Amplificatio - where the discussion moves from a particular to a general basis.

¹

The reference is to Abdera, which in antiquity was notorious for stupidity. cf. Abderitanæ pectora plebis habes, (Mart. 10, 25, 4).

- B. Enumeratio - a recapitulation of appropriate parts of the speech.
- C. Miseratio - an appeal for pity for the defendant.
- C. is not applicable to the dialogue.

Traces of amplificatio and enumeratio can be found, but they are not definite as in a speech. Amplificatio occurs in 121 and 122, where the more particular requirements of the nature of the gods are reduced to a general principle, that of the benevolence of divine beings. This in turn is related to the importance of love in the human relationship.

'Cum enim optimam et praestantissimam naturam dei dicat esse, negat idem esse in deo gratiam; tollit id quod maxime proprium est optimae praestantissimaeque naturae.' Quid enim melius aut quid praestantius bonitate et beneficentia?'

Enumeratio (whole of 123) -

The Epicurean gods care nothing for men and are only inventions to avoid popular antagonism. They are even worse than men because they are inactive; their very existence is an impossibility which the Epicureans really recognise but are too cowardly to admit.

5. Result of Analysis.

The subject matter falls fairly easily into those divisions common to the speeches. In matters of arrangement, very few of the speeches follow the standard pattern laid down by theory; with the exception of the Pro Milone, all deviate, generally in the narratio or tractatio.

The main difference between the general arrangement of the speeches and De Natura Deorum I is that the latter, especially in Cotta's speech, has constant repetition and recurrence to a point which has been previously mentioned, but not developed. e.g. 99 refers to the subject matter of 92. The logical development of subject matter does not follow a straight line, as usually happens in a speech. Cotta's whole speech has only one real propositio - 'The gods cannot be anthropomorphic'. The other propositiones are in a sense subsidiary to this, although for clear analysis they must be treated as separate entities. The Academic argument is therefore at first sight illogical and tends to revolve in circles, but it can be reduced to a pattern.

The fact that these divisions apply to the dialogue so closely is proof in itself that when writing this dialogue, Cicero voluntarily or involuntarily adopted the technique of forensic oratory.

CHAPTER IV

The Use of Rhetorical Figures in De Natura Deorum I.

The following discussion is based on Ad. Herennium
IV.¹ See Chapter I, page 31.

1. The Function of Rhetorical Figures.

Prose may be written in note form (as in Aristotle's extant work), narrative form and rhetorical form. Only in the latter are figures of speech and thought used to give heightened colouring and effect. Rhetorical prose ranges from the florid bombastic style of Gorgias to the simplest Ciceronian narrative, according to the degree of artificial colouring employed. The simple style, if unvaried, is monotonous, but not so destroying as excessive rhetoric 'often chilling the thought and almost crushing out its life'.² The ancients, who were far more conscious of rhetoric than we are, realised that the margin between the rhetorical and inflated styles was a small one:

¹ Cicero's own treatment of rhetorical figures in De Or. III, 206 seq. is less comprehensive and therefore less suitable for the analysis than the account in Rhetorica ad Herennium.

² Jebb. Attic Orators, Vol II, p. 62.

'nam gravi figurae quae laudanda est
propinqua est ea quae fugienda, quae recte
videbitur appellari si sufflata nominabitur'.¹

The true function of rhetorical figures is
therefore to improve the natural beauty of language
without making it appear ridiculous. The exercise
of the function depends upon

- a. The ability of the author or speaker and his
psychological insight
- b. The character of the audience or readers
- c. The subject matter under discussion.

An analysis of the rhetorical figures in any prose
passage will show how far that passage is rhetorical
and how far the author has succeeded in setting out
his subject matter in a suitable and attractive manner.

Such an analysis of *De Natura Deorum I* enables a
further estimate to be made of how far this dialogue
may be called rhetorical in technique, and how far
that rhetoric is akin to that manifested in the
speeches of Cicero.

¹

Rhetorica ad Herennium, IV, 10, 15.

2. Rhetorical Figures in the Speeches.

Cicero himself states that figures of speech are weapons as well as adornments.¹ In the orations, they are generally hostile weapons, heightening the effect of invective: otherwise they are used for mere show, to create a desired impression. In short, they are part of the equipment of any skilled barrister-at-law, used to sway the emotions of the audience.

As the orator is dealing with a live audience, those devices involving symmetrical arrangement or musical sound are prominent, e.g. repetitio, conversio, antithesis, alliteration, onomatopoeia. The public orations also limit to some extent the range of metaphors, which are mostly related to the state and politics, the most prevalent metaphors in this subject being derived from the sea (maris - sc. civitas - laborat), fire (faces subicere - to instigate rebellion), light (lumen illud curiae - an illustrious senator), and rivers (influere in aures contionis - to win the hearing of the crowd).

Again, such figures as conduplicatio, ratiocinatio

¹
De Or. III, 206.

and dubitatio are only tricks of the speaker to make himself impressive, and have less effect in the written word than in the spoken. They neither add to the sense nor contribute to the progress of the argument, but are a necessary part of public speaking.

It is sometimes thought that Ciceronian oratory depends largely on the above figures: this is not true, for the theories of rhetoric set down no such requirement. They state rather that a speech should be restrained and elegant:

'videamus nunc quas res debeat habere
elocutio comoda et perfecta; quae maxime ad
modum oratoris accommodata est tres res in se
debet habere: elegantiam, compositionem,
dignitatem.'

It is therefore not unlikely that an analysis of one of the philosophical dialogues will show sufficiently close affinities in the use of rhetorical figures with the speeches. The same figures may be expected to occur in different proportions and with different functions.

¹
Rhetorica ad Herennium IV, 12, 17.

3. The Use of Rhetorical Figures in the Philosophical Dialogues.

To Cicero the orator rhetorical figures are weapons; to Cicero the philosopher they are the friendly means of driving home a point in attractive form and language.

The informal loose structure of the dialogue, both in language and thought, calls for rhetorical figures as aids to lucidity. The dialogues are for reading, and there is no necessity for the tricks of public speaking. Therefore figures dealing with arrangement and sound are more infrequent, whereas those involving the giving of illustrations and explanations occur more often.

Rhetoric is brought into use to help overcome Cicero's chief difficulty in the dialogues - the presentation of fact without making the narrative monotonous. It is therefore to be expected that metaphor, simile and comparison will be frequent, and the examples drawn from a wide range. The philosophical dialogues were originally written for circulation among a group of Cicero's contemporaries interested in the current philosophies: these men were more highly educated than the heterogeneous lawcourt audiences, and

hence more appreciative of literature, music and the arts, thus making these sources available for illustration.

The necessity for the introduction of a new Latin philosophical terminology gives a higher occurrence than is usual for the figures definitio, and nominatio, and circuitio is frequent as a means of translating Greek terms.

The dialogues for the most part show a noticeable lack of antithesis; this figure involves that terseness and balance in both language and thought which, from an examination of periodic structure, is seen to be lacking in the philosophical dialogues in comparison with the speeches. The antithetical expressions are therefore those involving contrast of thought rather than contrast of language.

Of the other figures, asyndeton is the most important: varied with conjunctive clauses, it provides a concise method of expressing a catalogue of names or a mass of examples. Here again the chief function of rhetorical figures is the avoidance of tediousness.

The order of words is mostly normal, as might be expected in a style only moderately rhetorical; the

most usual irregularity of order is the suspension of an important word, and the reversal of relative and antecedent. These devices in the dialogues are for the purpose of emphasis rather than of rhetorical symmetry.

The figures most common to any rhetorical prose, i.e. metaphor, simile, asyndeton, ellipse, expansion, are therefore most frequent in philosophical prose as well.

4. Analysis of Rhetorical Figures in De Natura Deorum I.

The analysis is based, but by no means exclusively, on the account of 'verborum exornationes' and 'sententiarum exornationes' in the Rhetorica ad Herennium, Book IV. A list of the figures examined is given at the end of Chapter I of this discussion. The analysis is not exhaustive, although it deals with a few rhetorical devices not mentioned in Ad Herennium.

A. Figures of Speech (Verborum exornationes).

1. Repetitio. (Repetition of same word at beginning of clause)

There are no examples of this at the beginning of consecutive long clauses, but numerous

instances of it at the beginning of parts of clauses, especially if rhetorical questions.
e.g. 14¹ quid three times: 108 quid quod five times.²

2. Conversio (Repetition of same word at end of clause)

The repetitions are those which might be expected in a treatise of this sort, i.e. deus, est, potest; such as might naturally occur. None of the repetitions shows deliberate artifice.

- 24 rotundo deo molestum in deo
32 naturam deorum cognitionem deorum
33 designavit deum caelum deum
33-34 et beatus potest intellegi non potest
103 beatus est beatus futurus est
119-120 quam deorum in natura deorum

3. Complexio. (Union of repetitio and conversio)

This device is more rhetorical and complicated than repetitio and conversio, and therefore occurs less often.

¹ Numbers in the examples refer to sections of De Natura Deorum I.

² See Anaphora.

79 'naevus in articulo pueri delectat', Alcaeus,
at est corporis macula naevus.

121 optimam et praestantissimam naturam
optimae praestantissimaeque naturae.

4. Traductio. (Emphatic re-introduction of same words)
No examples.

5. Contentio. (Antithesis)

This is not frequent because it is not suited to
the style or subject of the treatise. There is
a natural tendency to treat a theological subject
diffusely, and Cicero was a naturally diffuse
writer.

Antithesis of language alone is almost absent.
Most examples show a mixture of antithesis of
thought and language. For antithesis of thought
only, see under Figures of Thought.

Antithesis of Language and thought.

3. haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda
deorum numini ita sunt, si animadvertuntur
ab iis et si est aliquid a deis immortalibus
hominum generi tributum.

5. qui admonent amice docendi sunt, qui inimice
insectantur repellendi.

16. re concinere, verbis discrepare.
17. velim nolim.
18. non disserentium philosophorum sed somniantium
23. nec vitare venientia possint nec ferre
praesentia.
24. partim ardentia partim refrigerata
27. mortalibus rebus immortalitatem dare
36. recta imperantem prohibentemque contrarium
70. urgebat Arcesilas Zenonem cum ipse falsa omnia
diceret quae sensibus viderentur, Zenon autem
nonnulla visa esse falsa, non omnia; timuit
Epicurus ne si unum visum esset falsum nullum
esset verum: omnis sensus veri nuntios dixit
esse ... graviorem enim plagam accipiebat ut
leviorem repelleret.

This is one of the few examples of sustained
antithesis in this treatise.

85. verbis reliquisse deos, re sustulisse
91. tam facile vera invenire quam falsa convincere
98. simillimis formis dispares mores et moribus
simillimis figura dissimilis
101. nec morsu vivae noceant nec odore mortuae
123. re tollit oratione relinquit deos

6. Exclamatio. (Indignant, or pathetic exclamation)

This properly belongs to forensic oratory of which pathos was a recognised feature; it was merely used to arouse the sympathy of the jury, and is not needed in philosophical discussion.

The indignant exclamation is inappropriate to the friendly tone of this dialogue. Most exclamations take the form of irony or are put into rhetorical questions (q.v.)

7. Interrogatio. (Question summing up results of ^{previous} ~~arguments~~ ^{arguments}.)

No examples. The dialogue is loosely constructed and most of the arguments are left without summing up. This device is proper to legal speeches where formality is necessary.

8. Ratiocinatio. (Questioning addressed to self)

This device is also common to forensic oratory for the purpose of drawing attention to the speaker. In a philosophical dialogue the speakers have no need for such tricks.

9. Sententia. (Moral reflection)

Cotta's sententiae are uttered in a slightly mocking tone, as if he is quoting jeeringly from the

κρίσιμα δόγματα

or Golden Maximæ of

Epicurus:

85. hæc prima sententia est, 'quod beatum est
immortale est, id nec habet nec exhibet
cuiquam negotium'.

89. beatum esse sine virtute neminem posse.

Velleius' maxim is of course spoken in seriousness:

52. nisi quietum autem nihil beatum est.

10. Contrarium. (Antithetical expression in argument)
See under Contentio (5).

11. Compar. (Balancing of two clauses of equal length)
There are no examples of exact balance of length;
the figure belongs to carefully constructed
rhetorical prose which is absent from the dialogue.
Both examples of something approaching this device
occur in the introduction, which Cicero did not
derive from another source, but wrote in his own
natural style.

5. et benivolos obiurgatores placare / et invidios
vituperatores confutare.

6. cum minime videbamus / tum maxime
philosophabamur.

12. Similiter Cadens. (Consecutive clauses ending with words of same inflexion)

This occurs frequently, considering that the treatise is not symmetrical in structure of clause. On the other hand, it is likely to occur involuntarily in a heavily inflected language with only a limited number of word endings.

- 20. fuerunt potuerunt
- 44-45. putemus haberemus
- 77. vaccae suae
- 82. Aegyptis repandis
- 82-83. Jovis veritatis
- 84. deum beatum
- 88. dicamus vidimus
- 95. venerit sit
- 103. beatus est futurus est
- 104. est potest
- 106. referantur intellegantur⁴
- 114-115. aeternus Epicurus.

13. Similiter Desinens. (Consecutive clauses ending with words similar but not of same inflection)

6. cum minime videbamus tum maxime philosophabamur
11. profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila,
confirmata a Carneade
98. nisi in eo qui adoleverit, nisi in eo qui didicerit.

14. Adnominatio. (Pun)

For this analysis, adnominatio is assumed to include double meanings, anagrams, and play on words.

Cicero was fond of puns, but could only use them to a limited extent in the speeches. The jocular bantering tone of the dialogues enabled him to indulge his love. In this respect the dialogues have close affinity with the letters.

a. Double meanings.

22. signis et luminibus tamquam additis ornare
(The constellations of the sky and the illuminations with which the aediles adorned the city for festivals)
28. commenticium
1. something fabricated or made
 2. something invented or false

32. vim et naturam
vim means 1. essence
2. vital force, i.e. god

37. delirans - 1. mad
2. in one's dotage.

115. deos ab hominibus colendos dicas, cum dei non
modo homines non colant.

b. Play on words.

13. aut erit inventus - aliquis qui quid verum sit
invenerit.
17. nolo me existimes adiutorem huic venisse sed
auditorem.
35. nec audiendus auditor Strato
79. huic deo pulchrior; at erat ... perversissimis
oculis; quid refert si hoc ipsum salsum illi
et venustum videbatur.
93. Chrysippum numquam nisi Chrysippam vocabat
94. si nemo verum vidit de natura deorum, verendum
est ne nulla sit omnino
97. simia similis

c. Anagram.

38. omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu.

15. Subiectio. (Suggestion of reply to opponent)

Most suggested replies are turned into rhetorical questions which help to enliven the narrative, or are ironical.

60. roges me quid aut quale sit deus

67. in mundis credo innumerabilibus omnibus ...

90. quaeres quid intersit

16. Gradatio. (Taking of closing word of one clause as starting point of next)

No examples. This is a device of intensely rhetorical prose.

17. Definitio. (Statement of the force of a word)

All Greek words are fully translated or explained, sometimes twice if they occur several times.

Cicero leaves no new philosophical technicality unexplained. Even the titles of books (e.g.

Hesiod's Theogony, 35), of which most educated Romans would know the meaning, are translated into

Latin. Most Romans would have heard of the

κύβηται δόξαι, but Cicero even gives a Latin equivalent for this (85).

18. πρόνοιαν quam Latine licet providentiam dicere

20. physiologiam, id est naturae rationem

25. quiddam coronae simile (στεφάνην appellat)
30. sine corpore ullo deum vult esse (ut Graeci dicunt ἀσώματον)
36. Hesiodi Theogoniam, id est originem deorum
43. anticipationem quandam deorum, quam appellat πρόληψιν Epicurus, id est anteceptam animo rei quandam informationem ...
44. sive anticipationem ... sive praenotionem ... ut Epicurus ipse πρόληψιν appellavit.
49. nec soliditate quadam nec ad numerum, ut ea quae ille propter firmitatem στερέμνια appellat.
50. hanc ἰσονομίαν appellat Epicurus, id est aequabilem tributionem
55. illa fatalis necessitas quam εἰμασμένην dicitis. sequitur μαντική vestra, quae Latine divinatio dicitur.
83. non pudet igitur physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque naturae.
85. in illis selectis eius brevibusque sententiis quas appellatis κυρίας δόξας.
109. confugis ad aequilibratam (sic enim ἰσονομίαν si placet appellemus)

18. Transitio. (Summary of results and statement of next point)

No examples. This device is too formal for philosophical discussion.

19. Correctio. (Substitution of more suitable word for one just used)

In this dialogue, Cicero modifies correctio by offering only suggestions for a substitution, without asserting which term should be used. Such questions of terminology are left to the choice of the reader.

44. sive anticipationem ut ante dixi sive
praenotionem deorum (sunt enim rebus novis
nova ponenda nomina)

95. aut ista sive beatitas sive beatitudo dicenda
est (utrumque omnino durum sed usu mollienda
nobis verba sunt)

20. Occupatio. (Implied assertion of something by expression of speakers' intention to omit it)

This is a very favourite device in the speeches, where it is used to impart information without appearing to do so. There is no need in philosophical dialogue to hide the fact that the

author wishes to supply information, and so the device is not much used. In De Natura Deorum it is used to introduce a repetition of what has already been said, i.e. it is used for emphasis.

30. de Platonis inconstantia longum est dicere,
qui in Timaeo ... in Legum autem libris ...
idem et in Timaeo dicit et in legibus ...

64. sed quia commune hoc est argumentum aliorum
etiam philosophorum, omittam hoc tempore.

(Several philosophers have been dealt with in
the preceding paragraphs)

21. Conduplicatio (Emphatic repetition of one or more
words)

This also belongs to the extremely rhetorical style,
such as is found in perorations (cf. Philippic II).

It is inappropriate to the modified dialogue style.

22. Interpretatio. (Repetition of same idea in
different words).

There is no precise example of this, but it may be
applied in a general sense to the two main sections
of the dialogue. The whole of Velleius' is a
repetition in different words of the idea

'The gods are anthropomorphic'; Cotta's of the idea 'The gods are not anthropomorphic'. This device is therefore not used in its true rhetorical sense.

23. Permissio. (Surrender of will to another)

This is used in De Natura Deorum to sustain the general tone of polite conciliation and friendliness. It was never Cicero's intention to be dogmatic; his aim was to state different views and allow the reader to decide between them. Permissio adds nothing to the sense or argument, but helps to make the dialogue more attractive.¹

80. detur id vobis

89. concedimus ... id quoque damus et libenter quidem.

90. verum hoc quidem ut volatis.

24. Dubitatio. (Assumed hesitation)

No examples. Dubitatio is a mere trick of rhetoric to draw attention to a speaker.

1

In the speeches, the main object of permissio is to move the pity of the jury - '... ad misericordiam commovendam vehementissime est accommodatum'. Ad. Her. IV. 29, 39.

25. Expositio. (Refutation of all but one of various alternatives)

No examples. The figure belongs to formal rhetoric.

In a general application, the whole of Velleius' speech refutes all alternatives to anthropomorphism, the whole of Cotta's all alternatives to non-anthropomorphism.

26. A. Dissolutio. (Asyndeton)

This has a variety of uses in this dialogue:

- a. for catalogues of names or objects -

11. profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila,
confirmata a Carneade

19. quae molitis, quae ferramenta, qui vectes,
quae machinae, qui ministri

22. caelum, ignes, terrae, maria

41 Orphei, Musaei, Hesiodi, Homeri

65 unde sint ubi sint qualis sint

66 corpuscula quaedam levia, alia aspera, rotunda
alia

81 Iovem Iunonem Minervam Neptunam^u Vulcanam^u
Apollinem reliquos deos

88 terra mari paludibus fluminibus

93 Pythagoram Platonem Empedoclem

107 Homeri Archilochi Romuli Numa Pythagorae
Platonis

108 ut Scyllae ut Chimaerae

- b. for amplitude (mostly consists of repetition)
2. (di) nihil agant, nihil moliantur, omni
curatione vacent
14. religione pietate sanctitate caerimoniis fide
iure iurando
20. ministros machinas omnem totius operis
designationem
35. gignendi augendi minuendi
51. nihil agit, nullis occupationibus est implicatus,
nulla opera molitur, sua sapientia ... gaudet
54. latitudinē^u longitudinē^u altitudinē^u
55. haruspices augures harioli vates coniectores
59. distincte graviter ornate
65. corpore animo vita
73. atomos inane imagines ... ortus interitus omnia
pura levis perlucida
77. poetae pictores opifices
80. silos flaccos frontones capitones
83. Iovem ... Apollinem ... caesios ... caeruleos
92. dentes palatum fauces
94. ingressus cursus accubitio inclinatio sessio
comprehensio
99. capite collo cervicibus lateribus alvo tergo
poplitibus manibus pedibus feminibus cruribus
cerebrum cor pulmones iecur
100. caelum terras maria

- 100. maturitates mutationes vicissitudinesque
moveret regeret gubernaret
- 101. arcum sagittas hastam clipeum fuscina fulmen
- 110. formare figurare colorare animare
- 119. colere precari venerarique

c. for connection without conjunction.

- 25. aquam dixit esse initium rerum, deum eam mentem
quae ex aqua cuncta fingeret
- 60. roges ... utar
- 65. nullum inane, nihil esse individuum potest
- 71. The whole section is in asyndeton from
'mirabile videtur'
- 86. tot milia ... adiungis
- 90. First part of section in asyndeton
- 93. cum Epicurus Aristotelem vexarit ... Phaedoni
Socratico male dixerit ... Timocratem
concliderit ... in Democritum ... fuerit
ingratus ... Nausiphanen male acceperit
- 102. delectantur: deum ...
- 103. quod domicilium, quae sedes, qui locus, quae ...
actio vitae
terra infirmum teneat, hanc inundet aqua,
superior aeri aetheriis ignibus altissima ora
reddatur

- 109. ... quae sunt: deos istos esse non sentio
- 113. ... tibi sunt: proferrem ...
- 121. in deo gratiam: tollit id ...

d. for contrast (adversative asyndeton)

Adversative asyndeton is like the Greek construction with μέν ... δέ ; Cicero may have used it as a means of translating this when working from an original source.

- 2. dubitare se Protagoras nullos esse omnino
Diagoras Melius ... putaverunt
- 10. desinunt ..., id habent ratum
- 12. consecutum esse me non profiteor, secutum esse
prae me fero
- 16. gradibus non genere
- 20. cui principium aliquod sit, nihil sit extremum
- 21. repente exstiterint, innumerabilia saecula
dormierint
- 24. pars exarserit pars obriguërit
- 57. roges me ... quaeras
- 74. cum quidem Velleius intellegere possit, Cotta
non possit.
- 85. verbis reliquisse, re sustulisse
- 93. Socratem ipsum parentem philosophiae ...
dicebat, Chrysippum nunquam nisi Chrysippam
vocabat.

101. beluas ... propter beneficium consecratas,
vestrorum deorum non modo beneficium nullum
exstare, sed ne factum quidem omnino
123. re tollit oratione relinquit deos

This list of examples is not exhaustive, but shows the various uses to which asyndeton is put.

B. Anaphora

14. quid de religione ... quid de templis ... quid
de auspiciis
28. qui bellum, qui discordiam, qui cupiditatem
30. careat sensu ... careat prudentia careat
voluptate
33. modo ... modo ... modo
47. quae compositio ... quae conformatio ... quae
figura ... quae species
52. qui regat, qui gubernet, qui cursus astrorum ...
conservet
63. quid de sacrilegis, quid de impiis
67. nulla natura, nulla ratione
75. nihil concreti, nihil solidi, nihil expressi,
nihil eminentis
82. cum pelle, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis
84. idem in Italia Volcanus, idem in Africa, idem
in Hispania

92. quid pedibus, opus ... quid manibus ... quid
reliqua discriptione omnium corporis partium
nihil inane, nihil sine causa, nihil
superuacaneum
99. quid haec ... quid ipsa facies
101. de ichneumonum utilitate, de crocodilorum,
de faelium
104. quo modo ... quo modo
107. cur beata sit, cur aeterna
115. de sanctitate, de pietate
nihil curent, nihil agant
120. tum ... censet ... tum ... dicit, tum animantes
imagines ...
121. quis comprehendere ... quis admirari ...
neminem ab eo amari, neminem diligi vultis

27. Praecisio. (Aposiopesis)

This is used in rhetorical prose on the assumption that what is only hinted or left unsaid can at times be more effective than a statement.

In this dialogue Cicero uses aposiopesis as a means of inserting more information than he appears to; i.e., he breaks off a subject, inserts a parenthetical clause, and reverts again to the main or first topic.

44. ... praenotionem deorum (sunt enim rebus novis nova ponenda nomina, ut Epicurus ipse $\pi\rho\acute{o}\lambda\eta\psi\omega$ appellavit, quam antea nemo eo verbo nominavat) - hanc igitur habemus ut deos beatos et immortales putemus
90. illud quaero, quae fuerit tanta fortuna (nihil enim ratione in rerum natura factum esse vultis) - sed tamen quis iste tantus casus ...
95. sive beatitas sive beatitudo dicenda est (utrumque omnino durum, sed usu mollienda nobis verba sunt) - verum ea quaecumque est cur ...

28. Conclusio. (Syllogistic summing up)

The syllogism was important in Stoic and Epicurean theorising, and so it was especially appropriate for Cicero to use it in a dialogue concerned mostly with Epicurean theology.

80. num etiam una est omnium facies? nam si plures, aliam esse alia pulchriorem necesse est: igitur aliquis non pulcherrimus deus. (igitur in emphatic first position shows summary)

89. nec rationem esse nisi in hominis figura: ...
si enim ita esset, quid opus erat te gradatim
istuc pervenire? ... nam a beatis ad virtutem,
a virtute ad rationem video te venisse
gradibus: a ratione ad humanam figuram quo
modo accedis?

(Sorites syllogism)

110. sine virtute certe nullo modo; virtus autem
actuosa, et deus vester nihil agens; expers
virtutis igitur; ita ne beatus quidem.

(Sorites syllogism)

110 is really a double syllogism:

All that is virtuous is active

All that is happy is virtuous

Therefore All that is happy is active

No Epicurean god is active

Therefore no Epicurean god is happy.

29. Nominatio. (Coining a word)

It does not come within the range of this discussion
to ascertain which of the many coined abstract
nouns in De Natura Deorum I were invented for this
treatise. A few examples show Cicero's method of
inventing new terms or translating from the Greek.

- 1. assensio (Greek συγκατάθεσις)
- 18. providentia (πρόνοια)
- 33. replicatio (ἀνείλιξις)
- 41. accommodare (συνουκειῶσαι)
- 43. anticipatio (πρόληψις)
- 109. aequilibratas (ἰσονομία)
- 113. quasi titillatio (Epicurus' γαργαλισμοὶ σώματος)

30. Pronominatio. (Descriptive epithet for proper name)

This device belongs only to the poetic language of flowery rhetoric.

31. Denominatio. (Metonymy)

No examples.

32. Circuitio. (periphrasis and pleonasm)

Circuitio occurs as hendiadys as a means of translating or paraphrasing Greek terms.

Pleonasm is frequent because of Cicero's desire to be clear. Never a terse writer, he tends to be lengthy in explanation.

a. Hendiadys.

27. vim et notionem (vim noscendi)

29. imagines earumque circuitus (imagines circumeuntes)

29. scientiam intellegentiamque nostram (animum scientem et intellegentem)
 36. usitatas perceptasque cognitiones (usu perceptas)
 37. animi notione (intellegantia)
 52. rerum vicissitudines ordinesque
 53. in animi securitate ... in omnium vacatione munerum
 65. regno et licentia
 113. Epicuri collega sapientiae
 122. vim et naturam deorum (τὸ θεῖον)
- b. For periphrastic and pleonastic phrases.
16. magnitudine et quasi gradibus (The distinction between degree and kind was not clear to the Romans)
 18. futils commenticiasque sententias opificem aedificatoremque
 23. animi natura intellegentis
 35. signis sideribusque
 36. rationem quandam per omnem naturam rerum pertinentem (i.e. lex naturalis, κοινὸς λόγος)
 39. eius animi fusionem universam (animum ubique fusum)
 43. quae gens aut quod genus hominum
 60. caerimonias religionesque publicas

62. omnium gentium generumque hominibus
73. infinitatem locorum innumerabilitatemque
mundorum
76. ita sit informatum anticipatumque mentibus
nostris
88. tam multa possunt quam sunt multa
94. desipere delirare dementis esse
cultus et curatio
sermo et oratio
98. caduco et infirmo
100. ex operibus magnificis atque praeclaris
maturitates mutationes vicissitudinesque
moveret regeret gubernaret
102. motu et actione divina
103. effigies hominis et imago

33. Transgressio. (Unusual order)

A plain style without excessive rhetorical colouring
follows the normal order of words

- a. Order to throw emphasis on a particular word
(end of sentence)
4. una excellentissima virtus iustitia
10. valeret auctoritas
16. vacaret locus
17. tuenda sententia

24. reget ... Plato
25. si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore
42. delirantium somnia
43. ipsa natura
52. sive in ipso mundo (Mayor in his notes calls ipso 'careless repetition', and says that this clause should have preceded its correlative 'sive mundus deus est'. But the humour of the passage depends on the order. The god has to work as well as be whirled round).
60. Simoniden arbitror ... desperasse (excessive suspension)
80. igitur - first position, to draw a final conclusion
97. similitudo
110. igitur - final position

All other instances of transgressio consist of the reversal of relative and antecedent, for emphasis. The examples are too numerous for classification.

34. Superlatio.

There is no occasion for this figure in a philosophical dialogue except in a mocking style.

3. fictae simulationis
89. lepusculus vulpeculas ... leones et pantheras (contrast by exaggeration, helped by diminutives)

103. hanc inundet aqua (ⁱⁿ mundo is usually used only
of violent floods)

120. ut universum mundum complectantur extrinsecus

35. Intellectio. (Synecdoche)

No examples.

36. Abusio. (Transference of epithet)

Only one example.

9. animi aegritudo fortunae magna et gravi commota
iniuria (The adjective goes with aegritudo,
not with iniuria as might be expected)

37. Translatio. (Metaphor)

Metaphors are very numerous, and help to enliven the
narrative. Their sources may be classified to
some extent.

a. from reading a book (roll)

7. explicare

9. explicare

33. at replicatione quadam mundi motum regat atque
tueatur. (This metaphor is tempered by quadam)

53. explicare

119. explicatis

1

explicare appears to be a favourite metaphor in this
treatise.

b. from art - drawing, painting, sculpture.

This is an appropriate choice of metaphor when Cicero is discussing atoms engraving images on the mind.

39. ne coniectura quidem informare.

cogitatione ... depingere

43. notionem impressisset ipsa natura

45. informationem.

insculpsit in mentibus

47. conformatio liniamentorum

75. adumbratorum deorum liniamenta atque formas.

98. modo liniamenta maneant

100. insitam informationem

123. liniamentis extremis

c. from music

1. discrepantes sententiae

16. re concinere, verbis discrepare

d. from the stage

15. primas (sc. partes) ... deferebant

59. Zenonem, quem ... coryphaeum appellare

Epicureorum solebat

e. from pouring liquid

3. permanare

6. fluxisse

29. imagines fundat
40. quique aer manaret
42. poetarum vocibus fusa
effusas ... libidines
51. nihil omnibus bonis affluentius
55. fluxisse
tanta imbueremur superstitione
66. nunc physicorum oracula fundo
105. permanare
112. ut eos perfundas voluptatibus
- f. from boxing or fighting
66. priusque te quis de omni vitae statu quam de
ista auctoritate deiecerit
67. nihil repugno
70. graviolem plagam accipiebat ut leuiorem
repelleret
75. pugnare te
93. totis voluminibus conciderit
- g. from legal terminology
7. praescripserit
13. convocandi omnes ... qui vera indicent
29. negat habere quod liqueat.

h. from light

- 6. philosophiam quae lucem eriperet
- 11. lucem auctoris
- 79. hoc lumen videbatur

i. from nature

- 6. domus nostra floruit
- 11. usque ad nostram viguit aetatem
- 44. insitas ... vel potius innatas cognitiones
- 80. florere in caelo Academiam necesse est

j. from military tactics

- 65. corporibus ... omnis obsidetur locus
- 106. pellantur animi
- 114. sine intermissione pulsetur agiteturque
atomorum incursione

k. from building

- 4. fabricor
- 44. fundamentum ... iactum
- 47. cum artificium effingitis fabricamque divinam
- 53. nihil opus fuisse fabrica

l. from physical locomotion

- 24. ubinam mens ... possit insistere
- 57. adgrediar

69. ambigebatur
89. quid opus erat te gradatim istuc pervenire?
praecipitare istuc ... non descendere
98. genus hoc argumenti, attende quo serpat
- m. miscellaneous
1. prudenterque Academicos a rebus incertis
assensionem cohibuisse (cohibuisse, 'to
keep off')
3. haec ... pure atque caste tribuenda deorum
numini (transferred from usual use of white
garments and ceremonial washings of sacrifices)
6. orationes ... refertae philosophorum sententiis
9. alia ex alia nexa et omnes inter se aptae
conligataeque
20. illa palmaria
hunc censes primis labris gustasse physiologiam
27. animum ... intentum et commeantem (from weaving)
28. infixus aut infusus (from spear throwing and
pouring)
29. Empedocles ... labitur
32. evellere animis
34. refersit libros
38. morte deletos)
41. ^{siu}divingit a fabula) 'dead' metaphors

42. exposui fere non philosophorum iudicia sed
delirantium somnia
49. in eas imagines mentem intentam infixamque
51. nullis occupationibus implicatis (from trapping)
52. implicatus molestis negotiis (from trapping)
54. imposuistis in cervicibus nostris sempiternum
dominum
65. quodcumque in solum venit (metaphor tempered
by 'ut dicitur')
68. in dumeta conreptis
70. omnes sensus veri nuntios dixit esse
71. si in ceris fingeretur (if fingeretur is read,
not diceretur)
72. quae Epicurus oscitans halucinatus est
nihil olet ex Academia ... ex Lycio ... e
puerilibus disciplinis
76. domicilium mentis
77. arripere mihi videmini ... rem nullo modo
probabilem.
quam blanda conciliatrix ... natura (This
metaphor is softened to a simile by 'quasi
sui lena')
83. physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque
naturae (from hunting)
92. delirare visi sunt

93. istisne fidentes somniis?
tantum Epituri hortus habuit licentiae
figebat maledictis (hunting)
99. domicilia vitae
104. quidquid horum attigeris ulcus est
107. totaque res vacillat et claudicat
109. confugis ad aequilibritatem
120. cuius fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos inrigavit
De^oφ^omc^obitus ... nutare videtur in natura deorum
121. Epicurus ... extraxit radicibus religionem

38. Permutatio. (Extended metaphor and irony)

None of the metaphors is long enough to be called allegory. The most extended metaphor is that from travelling, 54 -

interminatam ... magnitudinem ... in quam se iniciens animus et intendens ita late longeque peregrinatur ut nullam oram ultimi videat in qua possit insistere.

Irony is frequent; it is not the biting irony of the speeches, but a gentle mocking.

22. si ut (deus) ipse melius habitaret, antea videlicet tempore infinito in tenebris tamquam in gurgustio habitaverat.

(The whole of 22 - 23 is ironical)

24. quae vero vita tribuitur isti rotundo deo?
nempe ut ea celeritate contorqueatur ...
26. quasi aut aer sine ulla forma deus esse
¹
possit.
67. sed ubi est veritas? in mundis credo
innumerabilibus ...
86. credo aut illos mortis timor terret aut hos
religionis
91. deorum cognationem agnoscerem non invitus
111. quorum tandem bonorum? voluptatem^u credo
nempe ad corpus pertinentium
117. nisi forte Diagoram aut Theop^{d r}odum qui omnino
deos esse negabant censes superstitiosos esse
potuisse.

B. Figures of Thought (Sententi^arum exornationes)

1. Deminutio. (Disparagement of the speaker himself)

No Examples.

2. Divisio. (Statement of alternatives with refutation
of each)

Cotta's speech has ~~four~~^{five} main divisions, each refuting

1

For this use of quasi, cf. Pro Plancio 62 -
'quasi quisquam sit qui sibi hunc falsum de iure
respondisse dicat'.

an argument. This figure is therefore only used generally in the dialogue.

- a. Argument from universal consent is unfounded (62)
- b. Atomic doctrine is unscientific (65)
- c. Quasi-corporeal gods are inconceivable (71).
This has many sub-divisions.
- d. Images prove neither the existence nor the happiness of the gods (103)
- e. Epicurean principles are fatal to true religion
(115)

3. Frequentatio. (Accumulation of charges)

No examples.

4. Expolitio. (Dwelling on same topic in different ways)

Cotta's main topic is that the gods cannot have human form. The whole of his speech is an example of expolitio.

5. Sermocinatio. (Putting language into the mouth of another)

This device is especially useful in the Ciceronian dialogue, where there are few speakers, and little conversational interchange as in many Platonic dialogues. By making an imaginary opponent speak, Cicero introduces a dialogue within the dialogue, and to some extent prevents the reader from

forgetting that the account is in dialogue form.

61. 'difficile est negare'
67. 'nihil equidem' inquis 'ut rationem vitae
beatae veritatemque deseram'
87. 'numquam vidi' inquit 'animam rationis
consiliique participem in ulla alia nisi
humana figura'
96. 'numquam vidi solem aut mundum beatum'
'ratio docuit'
100. 'habemus' inquis 'in animo insitam informationem
quandam dei'
102. 'nihil habet' inquit 'negotii'
109. 'innumerabilitas' inquis 'suppeditat atomorum'
111. 'suppeditatio' inquis 'bonorum nullo malorum
intervent^u'
114. 'at dolore vacant'
'cogitant' inquiunt 'adsidue beatum esse se;
habet enim nihil ali^uid quod agitet in mente'
'mihi pulchre est'
'ego beatus sum'
115. 'at enim de sanctitate, de pietate adversus
deos libros scripsit Epicurus'
116. 'at est eorum eximia quaedam praestansque
natura, ut ea debeat ipsa per se ad se
colendam allicere sapientem'
123. 'at etiam liber est Epicuri de sanctitate'

6. Commoratio. (Dwelling on strong point of case)

No examples.

7. Contentio. (Antithesis of thought only)

34. ex dispersis quasi membris simplex deus

65. nullum inane, nihil esse individuum

96. cum ceteris rebus inferiores simus, forma
pares sumus

122. prata et arva et pecudum greges diliguntur ...
quod fructus ex iis capiuntur, hominum caritas
et amicitia gratuita est.

8. Similitudo. (Simile)

This is used when Cicero feels that a metaphor would be too strong. It is introduced by the apologetic quasi, ut, tanquam, or has the uncertain quidam attached to the noun.

4. quasi noctem quandam rebus offunderet

16. magnitudine et quasi gradibus, non genere
different.

18. tanquam modo ex deorum concilio et ex Epicuri
intermundiis descendisset

22. deus mundum signis et luminibus tanquam aedilis
ornare?

antea ... in tenebris tanquam in gurgustio
habitaverat.

- 25. quasi animal aliquod
- 28. commenticium quiddam coronae simile
- 32. ut replicatione quadam mundi
- 34. dispersis quasi membris
- 37. quasi delirans
- 40. vim legis, quae quasi dux vitae et magistra officiorum Iovem dicit esse ...
- 66. corpuscula quaedam ... quasi adunca
- 77. quasi vestro iure
quasi sui sit lena natura (This simile begins as a metaphor - blanda conciliatrix)
- 94. cum tanquam senatum philosophorum recitares
- 98. quasi sortiri quid loquere
- 103. bestiarum ... partim aquatiles, aliae quasi ancipites
- 113. quasi titillatio adhibetur sensibus

9. Exemplum. (Examples)

The whole dialogue contains a wealth of examples too numerous for classification. Three are given to show example by comparison.

- 75. dicemus idem quod in Venere Coa (comparison of the human form of the gods and statues)
- 88. si Seriphi natus esses ... in qua lepusculos vulpeculasque saepe vidisses, non crederes leones et pantheras esse ... (form is no indication of rationality)

106. ut igitur Ti. Gracchum cum videor contionantem
in Capitolio ... (images cannot be believed)

10. Imago. (Brief comparison)

This differs from (g) in being shorter and a definite
likening of two things.

27. in animi notione tamquam in vestigio volumus
reponere
49. sic tractet ut manu
53. ut tragici poetae ... confugitis ad deum.
55. quanti haec philosophia aestimanda est cui
tanquam aniculis ... fato fieri videantu r
omnes^{ia}?
72. quod etiam non praedicanti tamen facile equidem
crederem, sicut mali aedificii domino glorianti
s^e architectum non habuisse
75. sic in Epicureo deo non res sed similitudines^{i, 1a}
rerum esse.
82. tam hercle quam tibi illam vestram sospitam
86. nec quemquam vidi qui magis ea quae timenda
esse negaret timeret
90. si ... hoc illi simile sit, esse illud huic
91. utinam tam facile vera invenire possem quam
falsa convincere
96. ut immortalitate vincamur ab ea natura sic animi
praestantia vinci, atque ut animi item corporis

88. quicquam tam puerile dici quam si ...

115. nec manibus ut Xerxes sed rationibus ... templa ...
everterit

11. Confirmatio. (Personification)

This is very rare in the dialogue

22. Pronoea vestra

12. Significatio. (Suggestion of more than is asserted)

This device is much used in the speeches for casting covert aspersion on moral character: it is unnecessary in philosophical discussion, as there is no case to win or lose; only once does Cotta suggest that Epicurus' life was not that befitting a philosopher.

93. sed meretricula etiam Leontium contra

Theophrastum scribere ausa est? scito illa
quidem sermone et Attico, sed tamen: tantum
Epicuri hortus habuit licentiae.

13. Brevitas. (Rapid narration. Ellipse)

This occurs mostly in the more conversational parts of the dialogue, and is a relief from the diffuse narrative style. Ellipse is not so exaggerated as in some of the letters, as it was always Cicero's primary concern to be clear.

Most examples of brevitās consist of the omission of a verb or part of a verb, but the sense may always be supplied from the preceding words. There are many examples: a selection is given.

47. nam Cotta meus modo hoc modo illud (dicit)
58. quam solent vestri (dicere)
59. non ... ille ut plerique, sed isto modo ut tu,
distincte graviter ornate (dicere)
60. etiam ceteroqui doctus sapiensque traditur (fuisse)
70. nihil horum nimis callide (dixit)
71. negat esse corpus deorum sed tamquam corpus
(dixit esse, to be supplied from negat)
ne tu quidem, Vellei (intellegere potes)
75. dicemus igitur quod in Venere Coa (dicimus)
84. non magnus numerus re in pontificiis quidem
nostris (libris)
86. tam aperte quam paulo ante te (ante tu locutus es)
98. nisi in eo qui natus sit ... (rationem ⁱⁿ ~~esse~~ esse non
posse)
100. quanto melius (facit)
109. isto modo ... sint aliqui immortales (si hoc ⁱta
sit)
117. ego ne Protagoram ^{quidem.} (censeo)
121. quanto Stoici melius (faciunt)

14. Demonstratio. (Vivid description of scene)

This belongs to forensic oratory, and is best seen in a speech such as Pro Cluentio 192 - 194, ^{e.g.} the description of Sasia's journey to Rome.

15. Litotes. (Softening of expression by denial of opposite idea)

In the dialogues, Cicero more than in the speeches, wishes to be quite sure of his ground. The apologetic tone of his use of simile is re-echoed in his use of litotes.

1. tu minime ignoras (i.e. you know best of all ..)

10. nec probare soleo id quod de Pythagoreis
accepimus (I disapprove of the Pythagorean
doctrine)

33. a magistro suo Platone non ¹ dissentiens
(agreeing with Plato)

62. non satis firman (weak)

77. non facile (difficult)

84. non magnus numerus (a few)

91. non invitus (willingly)

111. non erubescens (brazenly)

16. Oxymoron. (Putting together two contradictory ideas)

5. benivolos obiurgatores

¹ Non is ~~a~~ probably ^{an} emendation: a. because Peripatetic and Platonic doctrines were identified by Antiochus b. the identification occurs elsewhere in Cicero (May ~~DD~~)

17. Chiasmus. (Cross-over construction of words or ideas)

Chiasmus is most frequent and elaborate in very rhetorical prose. Its occurrence in this dialogue is another indication that Cicero adapted the forensic style to suit philosophical subject matter. It will be noticed that the examples are brief and simple.

6. qui admonent amice docendi sunt, qui inimice
insectantur repellendi¹
36. recta imperantem prohibentemque contrarium
66. alia aspera rotunda alia
98. dispares mores et moribus paribus
108. in meum aliae, aliae in tuum

C. Figures of Sound.

1. Alliteration. (Repetition of the same letter)

There are numerous examples of two or more consecutive words of the same sound, but few sustained passages of alliteration. The most important examples are classified. Figures of sound are not so important in a work not intended for oral delivery. Alliteration is only used occasionally in this dialogue for artistic effect. Otherwise it is involuntary.

1

This example is really a combination of chiasmus and correspondence - a b c d, a' c' b' d'.

1. quid ... temeritate turpius ... quid tam
temerarium tamque indignum ...
7. publicis ... privatis ... praestitisse ...
praescripserit
9. potuissem ... potissimum
12. iudicandi et adsentienti nota (repetition of
dentals d and t)
18. praeditum rotundum ardentem (repetition of
dentals d and t^h and of r).
29. semper suo statu
42. discidia discordias
49. innumerabilibus individuis
54. aliae alias apprehendentes
71. fingeretur aut fictilibus figuris
82. tam hercle quam tibi illam vestram sospitam¹
quam tu numquam ... (-am 7 times in 10 words)
94. desipere delirare dementes esse dicebas
99. capite collo cervicibus
100. maturitates mutationes
101. beluas a barbaris propter beneficium
121. bonitate et beneficentia

¹ This repetition of syllables is more strictly assonance

2. Onomatopoeia. (Sound resemblance)

1. discrepantes
16. concinere, discrepare
113. titillatio

3. Figura Etymologica. (Words of kindred origin, but different meaning)

8. me minus instituti mei paenitet Graecis
institutionibus eruditi
institutum - undertaking
institutio - method of training

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The age of Cicero saw the necessity for the simplification and re-adaptation of current philosophies to satisfy the different mentality and outlook of the Romans. Purely theoretical interest in the Post-Aristotelian schools was waning, and philosophy was regarded as an end to practical living.

The exposition of philosophy had therefore to be in a familiar style: philosophical handbooks for the layman were a new departure in Latin literature, but cloaked in the disguise of forensic oratory would be placed immediately on a familiar footing. Only Cicero had that flexibility of mind which saw that persuasion was the main factor in his forensic and philosophical writing, and which could adapt what was appropriate in legal oratory to hitherto untouched material.

If *De Natura Deorum* I may be taken as a typical example of the dialogues, a true and close affinity between speeches and dialogues is established by comparative analysis. The 'parts' of rhetoric (i.e. rhythm, formal arrangement and rhetorical colouring) are much in evidence. Generally speaking, there is a

loosening up of the rigid formality of forensic oratory; in essentials, a close correspondence, reducible to numbers, exists between the rhythms, and the dialogue falls easily into a modified version of the formal arrangement of a speech. Approximately two-thirds of the figures common to the prose of the speeches find their way into the dialogue, although the function and proportional representation of individual devices is found to be conditioned by the divergence in subject matter.

It is impossible to treat here the extent of the contribution to the Ciceronian philosophical style of external Greek sources. But it is not too much to say that as Cicero was actuated by motives of eclecticism in his choice of a personal philosophy, so he transferred what was best in his forensic technique and diligently applied it to the expression of the philosophies popular in Rome. It was partly by their attractive presentation that Cicero's philosophical dialogues were ultimately regarded as the primary agent in bridging the gap between Post-Aristotelian and early Christian thought.

APPENDIX A (to Chapter II)

Periodic Structure

1. General Remarks.

Periodic structure involves the same type of principle used in rhythmical clausulae exercised on a larger scale. Balance of clause takes the place of balance of syllable, and symmetry is the essence of the period.

As its name indicates, the period is a rounded whole; it is also climactic, the climax occurring either at the end, or in the middle, in which case there is some strong correspondence between the beginning and the end.

All Cicero's works show traces of the period, though it is naturally most frequent in the speeches; it is true to say that all Latin prose is in a sense periodic because of the inflected nature of the language - 'La construction grammaticale facilitait l'usage des *περίοδα* et ne l'imposait pas'.¹

The Latin period is also a flexible structure;

¹ Laurand. Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron. Bk. II, Ch. 1, p. 128.

there is harshness and monotony if all the clauses are mathematically exact, and Cicero himself adds that a long final clause makes a graceful conclusion:

'Aut paria esse debent posteriora
superioribus et extrema primis, aut, quod¹
etiam est melius, et iucundius, longiora.'

2. 1. The Period in the Speeches.

'La symétrie des constructions est un des traits les plus caractéristiques du style cicéronien.'²

M. Laurand refers to the speeches, where symmetry is one of the elements of music with which to charm the ears of the audience. It is therefore to be expected that the speeches show a more elaborate and extensive use of the period than the dialogues, where the persuasion of a visible audience is not the primary consideration. Symmetry is essentially one of the weapons of 'pulpit' oratory where an immediate effect is required.

¹
De Or. III, 48, 186.

²
Laurand. op. cit. p. 127.

'Une phrase large prépare l'impression, la fortifie et la conserve ... elle est surtout indispensable à celui qui veut remuer par la parole une multitude'.¹

In his use of the period Cicero was neither pedantic nor conventional. The character of the audience always influenced the style he adopted in addressing it. Those who heard the Pro Cluentio were mainly country townsmen and peasants, to whom the grand oratorical period would have no meaning or appeal. The structure of this speech is therefore quite simple, with comparatively short sentences and a vocabulary which has been shown to be colloquial on occasions.²

The defence of Archias the poet on the other hand appealed to the more cultured sections of the community and thus enabled Cicero to employ the cumulative period with marked effect from the beginning -

¹ E. Havet. Étude sur la rhétorique d'Aristote
p. 109 - 111.

² Pro Cluentio ed. Fausset. Introduction p. xxxvi.

'si quid est in me ingeni iudices / quod sentio quam sit exiguum / aut si qua exercitatio dicendi / in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum / aut si huiusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta / a qua ego nullum confiteor aetatis meae tempus abhorruisse / earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me¹ repetere prope suo iure debet.'

The more formal the speech, the more likely Cicero was to exploit the fullest possibilities of symmetrical construction. Those who listened to a political harangue whether in the senate or elsewhere, were as critical of the rhetorical technique as they were of the actual subject matter. A speech such as that de Provinciis Consularibus, addressed to the senate and involving political issues, has long elaborate periods,² with the clauses balanced against each other. The Philippics, in which the personal

¹ Pro Archia, 1, 1.

² e.g. 11, 27.

element is more prominent, show a mixture of the periodic and disconnected styles.¹

Almost all the speeches have periodic introductions and perorations; the Pro Cluentio, however, proves that on occasions dramatic vividness is not necessarily dependent on involved symmetry.

2. 2. The Period in the Philosophical Dialogues.

Any discussion of the Ciceronian period necessarily involves the complicated question of the extent to which Cicero may be said to have used original Greek sources. This question is yet to be solved.² There are two prevailing schools of thought. The one maintains that the philosophical dialogues are mere transcripts from other works, the other that they are only based on a general understanding of the Greek sources. It is even possible to find two conflicting statements in introductions by the same editor.

¹ Or. 62, 111. transferenda tota dictio est ad illa quae ... nos ... incisa et membra dicamus.

² See De Nat. Deor. I. ed. Mayor. Introduction, 'The Sources of the Dialogue'.

J. S. Reid, in his edition of De Finibus, says:

'The hypothesis that he (Cicero) resorted to some Greek to give him an epitome of the Epicurean philosophy for the De Finibus is in no way demonstrable, nor is it even probable.'¹

On the other hand, his introduction to the *Academica* states:

'When Cicero wished to set before his readers the view taken by any school about any particular topic, he selected some work relating to it, by an acknowledged master of the school. This he kept to very closely indeed: his writings are, in fact, to a great extent translations, though free translations, from the Greek sources.'²

Until further light has been thrown on this question, it seems best to presume that Cicero certainly employed Greek sources, but not so slavishly that parts of the dialogue are not his own. The introductions certainly show the Ciceronian style, but the technical discussion most probably is derived from external sources.

¹ J. S. Reid. De Fin. 7.

² *Academica*. Introduction p. 24.

The dialogue, being more informal and conversational, has less of the 'grande genus dicendi', more of the short elliptical sentences used in discussion. Complicated structure and excessive artistry were outside Cicero's object: 'philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi'.¹ The intellectual type of readers who would be interested in the dialogues would at the same time demand an artistic framework for any subject.

It is therefore to be expected that any of the philosophical dialogues will show evidence of periodic structure in the exordium and peroration, and at scattered intervals throughout the discussion when Cicero is not closely following his sources.

2. 3. The Period in De Natura Deorum I.

The dialogue as a whole shows a pleasant mixture of the tenue, medium and grande genus dicendi.²

¹ De Nat. Deor. I, 7.

² See Ad Herennium IV, 11.

The introductory chapters, which are undoubtedly Cicero's own, since they give his reason for and method of philosophical writing, show a similarity with the introduction to any of the speeches.

The first sentence is cumulative, and contains the polysyllabic words beloved by Cicero in the speeches -

'cum multae res in philosophia nequaquam
satis adhuc explicatae sint / tum perdifficilis,
Brute, et perobscura quaestio est de natura
deorum / quae et ad cognitionem animi
pulcherrima est et ad moderandam religionem
necessaria.'¹

Amplitude is given by phrases joined with the conjunctions cum ... tum, et ... et, giving paired balanced constructions. It is true that the sentences are shorter and less smooth than in the introduction to Pro Archia, but the general similarity to the true rhetorical style is there.

¹

De Nat. Deor. I. 1.

It is to be noted that the amplitude of the introduction, for example such a phrase as 'curatione et administratione rerum',¹ is not always of the same character as that of the technical exposition, where fulness of expression is hendiadys used to give an adequate translation of a Greek term, e.g. vim et naturam deorum,² a periphrastic expression for τοῦ θεῶν .

This is one of the reasons for the more extensive vocabulary and greater length of the dialogues.³

After the discussion proper begins in section 18, it is rare to find such bursts of eloquence as occur in the introduction. At first the descriptions of nature are reminiscent of Lucretius:

1 Ibid. 2.

2 Ibid. 122.

3 Laurand. Études sur le Style de Cicéron p. 78. 'les ouvrages philosophiques contiennent plusieurs centaines de mots de plus que les discours'.

'nam et fruges et reliqua quae terra
pariat, et tempestates et temporum varietatem
caelique mutationes quibus omnia quae terra
gignat maturata pubescant, a dis immortalibus
tribui generi humano putant multaque ...
colligunt, quae talia sunt ut ea ipsa dei
immortales ad usum hominum fabricati paene
videantur.¹

This lofty style is not maintained.

The catalogue of philosophers (sections 25 seq.) is in the plain narrative style; it would have been unsuitable for Velleius the Epicurean to speak with excessive oratorical flourishes (the Epicureans were not noted for their appreciation of the niceties of literary style); Cotta's criticism consists mostly of a statement of doctrine, and a series of rhetorical questions refuting it. There is little room for consistent exercise of periodic structure. Rhetorical devices, such as asyndeton, metaphor and simile have more possibilities in the discussion, since they can be effectively employed in a few words. The period on the other hand is restricted

1

De Nat. Deor. I, 4.

by its very nature to a series of groupings leading to a definite conclusion. This is not to say that the period is entirely absent from the discussions of Velleius and Cotta. Here and there occurs a carefully built up sentence in the manner of the speeches. The phenomena of nature seem to appeal to Cicero as the subjects of such sentences:

'Cleanthes autem qui Zenonem audivit una cum eo quem proxime nominavi / tum ipsum mundum deum dicit esse, / tum totius naturae menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen, / tum ultimum et altissimum atque undique circumfusum et extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum qui aether nominetur, certissimum¹ deum indicat.'

Occasionally, Cotta refutes the Epicurean theory of anthropomorphism in a quasi-periodic style:

'primum quod ita sit informatum anticipatumque mentibus nostris ut homini, cum de deo cogitet, forma occurrat humana, / deinde quod quoniam rebus omnibus excellat natura divina, forma quoque esse pulcherrima

¹ Ibid. 37 (Velleius)

debeat, nec esse humana ullam pulchriorem, /
tertiam rationem adfertis quod nulla in alia
figura domicilium mentis esse possit.¹

Each of these sentences has a studied symmetry,
but none is so true a period as that introducing
the speech Pro Archia.

According to the Rhetorica ad Herennium,² the
three main stylistic divisions of a speech are
tenue, medium et grande genus dicendi. Roughly
speaking, in a speech the exordium is in the medium
genus, and the peroration in the grande genus, with
all three styles used at intervals for the other
parts of the speech.

In De Natura Deorum I, the divisions are not
distributed in the same way. The grand oratorical
style is absent; it is most nearly reached in the
exordium. There are occasional examples of the
medium genus in the course of the dialogue, as in
the course of a speech, though a brief rather
elliptical style interspersed with many oratorical
questions is predominant. It is not so colloquial

¹ Ibid. 76 (Cotta)

² Ad Her. IV, 11 seq.

as that of the letters, but more conversational than is usual in the speeches.

The most remarkable phenomenon is the peroration, which may hardly be said to exist at all in this dialogue. Book I is only one third of the work *De Natura Deorum*, but Books II and III have even briefer concluding sentences. The peroration to Book I has some symmetry, but is very insignificant when compared with that of a speech, for instance, the Second Philippic. It may be said to belong to the medium genus, but certainly not to the grande:

'*quae natura primum nulla esse potest,
idque videns Epicurus re tollit oratione
relinquit deos; / deinde si maxime talis est
deus ut nulla gratia nulla hominum caritate
teneatur, valeat; quid enim dicam 'propitius
sit'? / esse enim propitius potest nemini,
quoniam ut dicitis, omnis in imbecillitate
est et gratia et caritas.'*¹

The conclusion reached from an examination of periodic structure in *De Natura Deorum* I is that

¹ De Nat. Deor. I, 124.

the dialogue stylistically occupies a position midway between the speeches and the letters. It contains modified examples of the oratorical and epistolary style, adapted to fit the special requirements of the readers, the subject matter and the author's purpose.

A more specific conclusion cannot be made until more light has been thrown on the extent to which Cicero's dialogue style resulted from his use of Greek originals: analysis at least proves that Demetrius' definition of the dialogue period is true in its general application:

διαλογικὴ δ' ἔστι περίοδος ἢ ἔτι ἀνεπιμένῃ καὶ
ἀπλουτέρα τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ μόλις ἐμφαίνουσα
ὅτι περίοδος ἔστιν.¹

¹ Demetrius. On Style 19. See Chapter I, section 4.

APPENDIX B (to Chapter III)

Rhetorical analysis of subject matter of Pro Flacco ¹

This analysis, abridged slightly from that of Prof. Webster, shows exactly how the system of arrangement, described for De Nat. Deor. I in the previous chapter, is used in a speech. Even a casual comparison shows that in the case of both the speech and the dialogue, the subject matter falls into the same general divisions.

Pro Flacco

1. Exordium.

1, 1 secures the audience's attention

2, 11 seq. secures their benevolence -

a. a sua persona (patriotism of Cicero himself
and Flaccus, 63 B.C.)

b. ab auditorum persona (patriotism of jurors
in 63)

c. ab adversariorum persona (accusation befits
a revolutionary rather than Laelius)

3, 6 secures their docility - the summa causa is
the condition and safety of Rome itself

¹

Pro Flacco, ed T. B. L. Webster. Introduction p xii seq.

2. Praeiudicia.

5, 5 - previous verdicts, and attitude of prosecution
to events

3. Narratio.

There is no common narratio. Each separate charge
has its own.¹

4. Dispositio.

1. A man must be judged according to the whole of his
life.
2. The accusations must be formed in the light of
events prior to the praetorship.

5. Tractatio.

- A. Probabile a vita - His past life makes the
accusations unlikely.
- B. Probabile a causa -

I. Propositio Flaccus not damaged by witnesses.

- 6, 29 Ratio 1 No need of witnesses
30 Confirmatio His praetorship blameless
7, 5 His private life knew no financial difficulties
8, 11 His private life showed positive virtues

¹
cf. Pro Cluentio

- 9, 17 Complexio You ought to be his witnesses
- 18 Ratio 2 The witnesses are worthless
because they are Greeks
- 24 Confirmatio Greeks at the trial are all
bad Greeks
- 9, 3 Greeks have never understood responsibility
of witnesses
- 10, 14 Exornatio Comparison of Greek and Roman
witnesses
- 12, 13 Complexio All Greeks are irresponsible
- 13, 16 Ratio 3 Witnesses are tools of the accuser;
their testimony is not testimony
- 20 Confirmatio He used force in collecting
testimony
- 14, 5 Pompey's name was used
- 15 He threatened the rich, bribed the poor
- 15, 20 Voting of decrees depended merely on show of
hands
- 23 Exornatio Comparison of Roman, Greek and
Asiatic witnesses
- 17, 16 Comparison of Laelius' inquisitio and that of
Cicero (In Verrem)
- 18, 28 Complexio Is this to be regarded as evidence?
- Ratio 4 No reliance to be placed in their
public documents

- 20, 22 Confirmatio The relevant documents are not
produced
- 25 In Pompey's case, false entries were made
without so much cause
- 21, 5 They were sealed up too late to have authority
- 11 Ratio 5 These are not witnesses
- 22, 18 Confirmatio They sit with the accusers in
court and live in his house
- 21 He interrogates them without fear
- 23, 29 Nothing for the defendant to refute them with

Complexio of I

- 23, 5 Enumeratio Recapitulation of rationes
2, 3, 4, 5
- 24, 15 Amplificatio Precedent dangerous
- 20 Miseratio Unthinkable for such a man as
Flaccus to be damaged by such
witnesses.

II. Propositio 1 Money rightly demanded for maintenance
of fleet

- 27, 21 Ratio 1 It was lawful
- 23 Confirmatio Senatus consultum
- 26 Ratio 2 It was necessary
- 27 Confirmatio It was an 'ornatio imperii'

- 29, 12 The precedents of Pompey and others
- 31, 10 There were pirates, and only ill-luck
prevented their being caught
- 32, 27 Ratio 3 The fleet did in fact sail
11 The arrangements for collecting money had
precedent
- 33, 14 No charge can be made out of his not having
entered the money
- 19 Q. Cicero's change of policy casts no slur
on Flaccus
- Propositio 2 People of Acmona did not give money to
Flaccus
- 34, 8 Ratio No reliable authority for this
charge
- 14 Confirmatio No public documents produced
- 35, 20 No private documents of witnesses
- 36, 8 Witness admits that Greek testimonials are
not to be trusted
- 37, 27 His evidence not sealed with right seal
- 38, 28 Exornatio This might be made a great point of
- 9 Complexio Testimony and witness worthless
- Propositio 3 People of Dorylaeum did not give money
to Flaccus

- 39, 15 Ratio 1 Excuse that public documents are
lost is untrue
- 17 Confirmatio They had good reason for not
producing forged documents
- 40, 24 Ratio 2 Private documents quoted not
produced
- 40, 4 Confirmatio Same witness not believed in a
much less trustworthy case
- Propositio 4 Flaccus did not murder this witness nor
is he proposing to murder Mithridates
- 41, 15 Ratio Advantage lies with Laelius, not
and 25 Flaccus
- Propositio 5 People of Temnus did not give Flaccus
money
- 42, 3 Ratio The deputation consists of entirely
worthless persons
- 44, 23 Confirmatio No documents produced explaining
details of transaction
- Propositio 6 Important citizens of Temnus were not
unjustly sentenced
- 45, 17 Ratio 1 Heraclides cannot be called an
important citizen
- 48, 16 Confirmatio Examination of the facts shows
condemnation was entirely just

- 49, 24 Verdict supported by other Roman officials
- 51, 18 Ratio 2 Lysanias' evidence determined by
his private relations with Decianus
- Propositio 7 Flaccus was right in taking away his
father's money from the people of Tralles
- 52, 3 Confirmatio Tralles not likely to have
entrusted its cause to a worthless
man
- 54, 5 There was a previous cause for annoyance
- 55, 15 The lost money was not theirs
- 57, 5 Exornatio Comparison of Asiatic and Roman
contiones
- 59, 27 Ratio Flaccus' right that of heredity
- 5 Confirmatio Mithridates not likely to have
robbed them of the money
- Conclusio
- 60, 9 Memory of Mithridatic war ought to save us from
believing Asiatic witnesses
- 62, 6 Best Greeks on side of Flaccus
- 64, 1 We can stand by Greeks' own condemnation of
Asiatics
- 66, 26 Complexio Asiatic witnesses utterly worthless

III. Propositio Flaccus right in forbidding export of Jewish gold

- 66, 3 Confirmatio Reason for this charge to cause invidia against Flaccus
- 67, 14 Ratio Opinions of senate
- 19 Confirmatio Pompey's precedent does not apply
- 68, 26 Collection of money impeccable
- 69, 7 Exornatio Value of Jewish religion judged by its effects
- 70, 14 Complexio Charge is a praise of Flaccus

IV. Propositio 1 Flaccus right in his decree against Decianus

- 70, 17 Confirmatio Decianus' life was not creditable
- 73, 26 Amyntas here bears testimony to his crimes
- 74, 6 Decianus' tool Polemocrates unanimously condemned
- 15 Pergamenes refused to register the sale
- 75, 21 Pergamenes' honorific decree not serious
- 76, 12 Orbius made a decree against him
- 77, 16 Alleged cause of Flaccus' enmity not valid. You were his assessor.
- 78, 27 Ratio Decree was just, supported by senate, legal.

- 79, 4 Confirmatio This view of the case supported
by letters of Q. Cicero
- 80, 3 Claims not supported by jurisconsults
- Propositio 2 Decianus and Luceius corrupted by Flaccus
- 82, 60: Ratio Flaccus had no reason for it
- 83, 3
- 82, 10 Confirmatio The charge arises from your envy
- Propositio 3 Flaccus right in claiming inheritance
from Sextilius Andro
- 84, 16 Ratio It was legally his, because Valeria
was his ward
- 85, 25 Confirmatio Precedents for praetor receiving
legacies, and it is legal
- 2 Flaccus not praetor when he claimed legacy
- 87, 19 Roman witnesses were incensed against Flaccus
- 24 Exornatio Difficulties of provincial governor
- 89, 14 Confirmatio Judges were men above reproach.
Flaccus had no cause to do wrong,
as he did not take inheritance
for himself
- 28 Complexio His liberality shows him not to
have acted illegally

- Propositio 4 Falcidianus did not give money to Flaccus
- 90, 6 Ratio Letters of unsworn man not evidence
- 7 Confirmatio He was a worthless person
- 91, 12 He wanted to clear himself before his mother
- 92, 20 Alleged reason for gift would not warrant
capital expenditure
- 24 Better evidence would have been available if
charge had had foundation
- 93, 11 Complexio Contents of letter false

6. Conclusio

Amplificatio

- 94, 15 Whole state affected by case
- 19 Relation of previous condemnations
- 96, 13 Authors of events of 63 being used as tools
- 98, 5 Other defences of mine successful
- 15 Case concerns all

Enumeratio (résumé)

Miseratio

- 102, 15 Nobody thought in 63 that Flaccus would be
accused
- 104, 16 Flaccus will not repent, whatever happens
- 22 His patriotic example
- 106, 3 His son deserving of pity

APPENDIX C (to Chapter IV)

Other Rhetorical Devices

I. 1. The meaning of these devices and their nature.

Besides the common figures of rhetoric, e.g. metaphor, asyndeton, antithesis, there are other devices by which an author can heighten the effect of his writing. Their use is conditioned by individual taste and dexterity, since they consist for the most part in the actual methods of presentation.

2. Their psychological basis.

A detailed study of any of Cicero's speeches shows that he had a sound knowledge of psychology. He could assess beforehand the reactions of the jury, and adjust the form and content of his speech to meet particular conditions. This was not possible in the same way in a written treatise. Whereas the object of forensic oratory is to establish a certain interpretation of facts, without regard to veracity, that of a philosophical dialogue is didactic - the presentation of facts without distortion or perversion of the truth.

Therefore Cicero's knowledge of psychology is directed in the dialogues to increasing the interest of the subject and preventing the presentation from becoming monotonous, mainly by the creation of humour.

3. The function of the devices in speech and dialogue.

Cicero himself realised the different approach to forensic and philosophical subjects:

'iudici^s est semper in causis verum sequi, patroni nonnumquam veri simile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere, quod scribere, praesertim¹ cum de philosophia scriberem, non auderem'.

In a speech, everything was subordinated to securing an acquittal or condemnation: facts were misstated in order to impress the jury. This was an accepted part of the technique of legal pleading, and the barrister was trained to present only those facts favourable to his cause. For example, in the Pro Cluentio, Cicero used the complexity of the plot to draw successfully across the trail a series of red herrings, and so secure the acquittal of Cluentius.²

¹ De Off. II, 51.

² Quintilian attributes to him the boast that he hoodwinked the jury. 'se tenebras offudisse iudicibus in causa Cluenti'. (Quint. II, 17, 21)

Clearly it was not in Cicero's interest to employ such devices in the dialogues. His aim was not acquittal or condemnation, but the presentation to the Romans of a clear account of the tenets of the most important philosophical schools.

An analysis of the devices in De Natura Deorum I should therefore prove that the devices are similar but fulfilling a different function - that of enlivening the narrative.

II. The Devices used in De Natura Deorum I.

1. Characterisation. Its special use in dialogue.

In the speeches, characterisation is one of the weapons which Cicero uses to increase support for the defendant or antagonism towards the prosecutor.

Nowhere has he drawn more lifelike portraits than those in the Pro Cluentio of Sassia, Oppianicus and the triple entente of Staienus, Bulbus and Gutta, in order to prove the innocence of Cluentius.

In the dialogues, intentional delineation of character is used to a smaller extent; the very nature of the Ciceronian dialogue, consisting usually of long unbroken speeches, prevents much characterisation.

Yet in De Natura Deorum I, Cicero conveys to the reader in a few introductory sentences, enough about the

characters of the two main speakers to enable the reader to learn beforehand how they will make their statements.

It is expected that Velleius' exposition of Epicureanism will be blunt, straightforward and self-confident, because he plunges straight into the subject thus:

'tum Velleius fidenter sane, nihil tam
verens quam ne dubitare aliqua de re videretur'¹

The character of the speaker thus matches the character of the school which he represents, and the reader already knows that the Epicureans were self-assertive and dogmatic in exposition.

It is made equally obvious that the Academic criticism is to be negative, merely finding fault with the Epicurean views without supplying remedies to fill the defects: Cotta even introduces himself with hesitation and circumspection:

'mihi enim non tam facile in mentem venire
solet, quare verum sit aliquid, quam quare
falsum'²

¹ De Nat. Deor. I, 18

² Ibid. 57

If Velleius' motto is 'nihil dubito', Cotta's is 'semper dubito'; that in a nutshell sums up the respective attitudes of the two representatives and their schools.

The characters of Velleius and Cotta give the whole dialogue a pleasant informal atmosphere; we may feel at times that Velleius is over-confident or that Cotta criticises weakly, but the ill-feeling which might exist between the two opposite schools of thought nowhere spoils the general geniality.

Velleius apologises gracefully for the shortcomings of his exposition:

'sed elatus studio vereor ne longior fuerim'¹
and Cotta makes his way through an even lengthier speech 'comiter ut solebat'.² Both speakers play their parts 'distincte, graviter, ornate', as Cicero claims is the ideal method in philosophical discussion.³

The character given to the main speakers and the human spirit of the whole discussion are therefore, in a sense, rhetorical devices used by Cicero to make the dialogue delightful and attractive for the reader.

¹ Ibid. 56

² Ibid. 57

³ Ibid. 59

In their own sphere, they are just as important as the cruel villains and innocent victims who fill the speeches.

2. The Rhetorical Question.

Rhetorical questions have a special function in the philosophical dialogue. Interspersed with ordinary statements of fact, they help to relieve the monotony which always threatens a lengthy exposition of doctrinal subjects. The dialogue is less like an essay and more like a conversation if an occasional question, whether answerable or not, reminds the reader that an actual discussion is supposed to be taking place. The Ciceronian dialogue does not admit the 'question and answer method' which is common in the Platonic dialogue, because the statements of each speaker are made without conversational interchange. Therefore, unless the answer is supplied by the speaker himself, most of the questions are necessarily rhetorical.

The following examples show the main uses of rhetorical questions in *De Natura Deorum* I.

¹ It is found occasionally, cf. *Tusc. Disp.*

- a. The question containing a suggestion which is immediately refuted -

quaero cur Pronoea cessaverit. labore mne
fugiebat? at iste nec attingit deum nec erat
¹
ullus.

- b. The question which suggests its own answer, affirmative or negative -

ne hoc quidem vos movet considerantes, quae
sit utilitas quaeque opportunitas in homine
membrorum, ut iudicetis membris humanis deos
non egere? (affirmative reply)²
quid enim pedibus opus est sine ingressu, quid
manibus si nihil comprehendendum est ...?
(negative reply)³

The questions occur mostly in that part of the dialogue which contains the Academic criticism. It was easier for Cotta to suggest some non-committal answer by asking a question than to make a definite statement of fact. Most of Velleius' questions are really emphatic statements cast into interrogative form, e.g.

¹ Ibid. 22

² Ibid. 92

³ Id. Ibid.

'quae est enim coagmentatio non dissolubilis?'¹
is only another way of saying 'every composite whole
is capable of dissolution'; and

'quid est cui principium aliquod sit, nihil
sit extremum'² an alternative method of saying
'everything which has a beginning must also have an
end'.

c. The question to which an answer is supplied by
the speaker. This is really a form of
'sermocinatio'.

'quid, mundum praeter hunc umquamne vidisti?
negabis. cur igitur non sescenta milia esse
mundorum sed innumerabilia, ausus es dicere?
Ratio docuit'.³

3. Devices involving flattery.

A Appeal to reason.

The appeal to reason is a common feature of any
type of argument, especially when the stock of more
concrete proofs is running low. It may also be used
as a means of flattering the intelligence of an

¹ Ibid, 20

² Id. Ibid.

³ Ibid. 96.

opponent by insinuating that his reasoning powers are so well developed that they must inevitably lead him to agree with the speaker. The appeal is closely linked with the rhetorical question, the form in which it is most frequently found, and is most characteristic of Cotta: the Academics have no definite doctrines which they can use, and so frequently appeal to reason as a criterion for or against an argument.

In showing that the doctrine of anthropomorphism is due partly to the vanity of man, Cotta appeals to Velleius' reason by saying that so good a natural philosopher as he must have considered the question -

' sed tu hoc, physice, non vides, quam

blanda conciliatrix et quasi sui sit lena natura?'¹

B. Extension of 'permissio'.

The actual granting of certain points to the opponent properly belongs to the figure called 'permissio'. An extension of this figure is the device of leaving the decision of the correctness of an argument in the hands of the opponent. This is of course especially appropriate to the Academic Cotta. The general effect

¹ Ibid. 77.

is that of the speaker relinquishing an argument,; in reality it gives him a fresh opportunity for attacking it from another angle, and so refuting it. For example, Cotta leaves the question of divine form to the Epicureans - 'verum hoc quidem ut voletis'¹. He then approaches it from the point of view of the atomic theory, and ultimately reaches the conclusion that the divine form is not necessarily human.

C. Direct Flattery.

This is a prominent feature of the speeches, but there is no need for it in dialogue, as there is no client or jury to be placated. Cotta's praise of Velleius' eloquence and style is the nearest example in this dialogue, but the flattery is not fulsome; it merely adds to the pleasantness of the dialogue -

'etsi vereor laudare praesentem, iudico tamen
de re obscura atque difficili a te dictum esse
dilucide'².

¹ Ibid. 90

² Ibid. 58

4. Devices involving humour and anecdotes.

A. Reductio ad absurdum

The dialogue afforded special opportunities for the use of 'reductio ad absurdum', since logical statements could be examined in such a way as to bring them to ridiculous conclusions which are still apparently logical.

In his attempt to show the absurdity of the doctrine that nothing can be believed unless seen, Cotta shows that on this reasoning, if a man lived in a remote part of the world, and knew only small animals, he would be unable to believe in the existence of larger ones, and the idea of an elephant would be beyond his comprehension -

'si Seriphi natus esses nec unquam egressus
ex insula in qua lepusculos vulpeculasque saepe
vidisses, non crederes leones et pantheras esse ...
si vero de elephanto quis diceret, etiam rideri¹
te putares'.

B. Humorous anecdotes.

The more discursive style of the dialogues makes it possible to use the humorous anecdote as a means of

¹
Ibid. 88

keeping the reader interested, and at the same time giving the philosophical ideas dealt with a humorous turn.

Admittedly, the Roman brand of humour now appears ponderous and forced rather than spontaneous and light, but Cicero has succeeded in making *De Natura Deorum* I an exceptionally attractive dialogue by using it.

There are more anecdotes in Cotta's speech, since Velleius, being 'rudis dicendi',¹ goes straight to the point without side-tracking. The more subtle Cotta arrives at a conclusion by circumlocution; for example, the story of Simonides and Hiero is told at considerable length, because the climax 'quanto diutius considero, tanto mihi res videtur obscurior'² is more effective if prolonged.

More humour is provided by the insertion of brief ironical comments which provide a summary of the preceding arguments, e.g.

'deorum cognationem agnoscerem non invitus'³

'I'd be glad to meet my divine relations'.

¹ Or. III, 78

² De Nat. Deor. I, 60

³ Ibid. 91

'quotus enim quisque formosus est?'¹

'The percentage of beauties in the world is very low'.

C. Diversity of illustration.

To demonstrate the falseness of a doctrine by illustrating it with unusual examples is to make it appear all the more unreal. In discussing the impossibility of conceiving a god who has no participation in human affairs, Cicero refers to the Egyptians, who, he says, even though barbarians, show some sense at least in deifying animals which are useful to them. He then marshals a select menagerie in illustration:

'ipsi qui irridentur Aegyptii nullam beluam nisi ob aliquam utilitatem ... consecraverunt; velut ibes ... possum de ichneumonum utilitate de crocodilorum de faelium dicere'.²

Thus by showing that even such peculiar animals as the crocodile are deified from some sensible motive, Cotta makes the inactivity of the Epicurean gods appear more inconsistent.

¹ Ibid. 79

² Ibid. 101

Cicero is particularly fond of using animals for illustration in this dialogue. They appear again to show the weakness of the argument from resemblance as a proof of divine anthropomorphism - shape is no criterion, because man is like monkey -

'simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis'¹

The elephant is a wise beast, but certainly no beauty -

'elephanto beluarum nulla prudentior; at
figura quae vastior?'²

The illustrations are humorous as well as apt, and show attractively the results of Epicurean logic if it is taken to its extreme conclusions - 'si suscipimus
genus hoc argumenti, attende quo serpat'.³

Again, the practical application of the anthropomorphic theory is demonstrated with a vivid picture of the snub-nosed gods who would inhabit heaven -

'redeo ad deos equos si non tam strabones at
paetulos esse arbitramur, equos naevum habere,
equos silos flaccos frontones capitones, quae
sunt in nobis?'⁴

¹
Ibid 97

²
Ibid 97

³
Ibid 98

⁴
Ibid 88

Cicero never divorces theology from humanity, and the theories concerning the anthropomorphism of gods provide him with the ideal link for illustration in this dialogue.

De Natura Deorum I is notable for the frequency and diversity of the illustrations, particularly in the criticism of Cotta. In the speeches, this device has the effect of making an argument more convincing; the more examples which can be brought forward in proof, the more the audience tends to trust the veracity of the speaker. It is forced to concentrate on the matter in hand, and is thus prevented from thinking of counter-arguments: worn down by examples, it thankfully and readily acquiesces with the speaker. Furthermore, if the examples are drawn from a wide range of source, they give the impression of learning, and so increase respect for the speaker.

In a dialogue, illustrative examples have not these purposes: it is not Cicero's intention to play upon the emotions of the readers. The examples are in the nature of digressions which please and instruct. The illustration of the same argument with more than one instance is part of Cicero's plan to endow the Romans with some kind of philosophical education. If he

repeated the same arguments too often, they became stale and unattractive: yet the Romans were not natural philosophers, and so required the repetition of the same facts in a different guise -

'quia nimis indociles quidam tardique sunt
admonendi videntur saepius'¹

The practical Romans would more readily learn from a wealth of examples showing the application of a theory than from a discussion which remained purely theoretical.

It may be noted that Cicero is not lacking in ingenuity in selecting a wide range of subjects for his examples. Among other subjects touched upon are sculpture², architecture³, natural history⁴, astronomy⁵, mythology⁶, literature⁷, and geography⁸. The fault of monotony is almost entirely eliminated by Cicero's skilled handling of illustrative material.

¹
Ibid 12

²
Ibid 75

³
Ibid 19

⁴
Ibid 77

⁵
Ibid 87

⁶
Ibid 83

⁷
Ibid 97

⁸
Id ibid.

D. Quotation.

Quotation is far more frequent in the dialogues than in the speeches. The sources of the Epicurean, Stoic and Academic philosophies were Greek, but it was Cicero's task to give them a Roman colouring in order to please his patriotic fellow-citizens. He achieves his purpose by inserting into the narrative extracts from the works of the old Roman poets, Ennius especially, which most well-educated Romans would have studied in youth. The familiar quotations made the Roman readers feel that they were on secure ground, and the Greek doctrines appeared less strange if reflected in the national poets.

Characteristically, quotations are avoided by Velleius (the Epicureans were not noted for their learning), and used fairly profusely by Cotta. The poets he selects are Lucilius,¹ Quintus Catulus,² Ennius,³ and Accius.⁴ No authors can be assigned to the quotations in sections 79 and 119.

¹
Ibid 63

²
Ibid 79

³
Ibid 97

⁴
Ibid 119

5. Inaccuracies.

The whole question of the many minor inaccuracies in the philosophical dialogues is a vexed one, and will remain unsolved until more is known of Cicero's methods of writing the dialogues and his use of Greek sources. Misrepresentation of fact has a definite function in the speeches, but it is unlikely that the inconsistencies of Velleius' miniature encyclopaedia of philosophy (25 - 43) are deliberate. First, there was no motive for the distortion of the truth, as there often was in the lawcourts. Cicero's work in philosophy was to benefit all the Romans, not one particular client -

'philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi, magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis res tam gravis tamque praeclaras, Latinis etiam litteris contineri'¹.

Secondly, it is clear from the speeches and letters that Cicero was a great reader of philosophical works, and he must have been one of the most learned philosophical amateurs of his time even to attempt the translation of Greek originals. The errors may be involuntary, due to haste in composition; this is all

¹
Ibid 7

the more likely because several of the faults in this dialogue are corrected elsewhere. The theory of Xenophanes is an example. Velleius says:

'... Xenophanes, qui mente adiuncta omne
praeterea quod esset infinitum deum voluit esse. '1

This is given more correctly in the *Academica*:

'Xenophanes unum esse omnia, neque id esse
mutabile, et id esse deum, neque natum unquam et
sempiternum conglobata figura'.²

Therefore, as far as may be ascertained, the inaccurate statements in this dialogue are not deliberate, as often in the speeches, but accidental, and misrepresentation is not employed as a rhetorical device.

6. Proof of incorrect source.

A successful method of proving that an argument is incorrect is to show that its source is wrong. If the basis of a fact is inaccurate, all deductions from that fact are false also, so that an accumulation of inconsistencies results. Cotta insinuates that the whole of the Epicurean doctrine is based on the idle babblings of an unlettered founder, who had not

¹
Ibid. 28

²
Acad. II, 118

received the elementary education common to the normal schoolboy:

'ista enim a vobis quasi dictata redduntur
quae Epicurus oscitans halucinatus est ... nihil
olet ex Academica, nihil ex Lycio, nihil ne e
puerilibus quidem disciplinis'¹.

Epicurus was regarded with almost godlike awe by his
followers,² therefore if, as the founder of his school,
he is proved guilty of inconsistencies, his
philosophical system appears based on futility.

The function of this device, which depends on
insinuation, has a closer affinity with the devices of
the speeches than those previously examined.

7. Personal Invective.

The invective of the dialogue is softened and
treated in what might almost be called a jocular
fashion. None of the bitter invective of the speeches
is found, but Cotta once casts aspersions on the
character of Epicurus in a covert way: he makes
allusion to the writings of Leontium, who was said to

¹
De Nat. Deor. I, 72

²
Lucr. V, 8. 'deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memmi'.

have been Epicurus' mistress. This would not be to the credit of Epicureanism, as blue-stockings were not admired by the Romans. However, Cotta uses ironic ridicule rather than direct attack:

'istisne fidentes somniis ... meretricula
etiam Leontium contra Theophrastum scribere ausa
est? scito illa quidem sermone et Attico, sed
tamen: tantum Epicuri hortus habuit licentiae'¹

The English version helps to show the gentleness of the invective - 'Was it on the strength of such dreams as these that even a loose woman like Leontius had the audacity to write a book refuting Theophrastus? I'm sure it was in the best Attic style, but still - so this was the sort of freedom permitted in the garden of Epicurus'.

The analysis shows that the devices used to carry conviction in the speeches appear also in the dialogues. Modification occurs in their function and exercise: there is no need for suggestio falsi or suppressio^{veri}, and their main motive is to please as well as to carry conviction.

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De Nat. Deor. I, 93

The devices are brought to bear on the illustration and embellishment of the dialogue rather than on affecting the feelings of the reader. Even those devices which involve invective are softened, and not permitted to intrude upon the attractiveness of the dialogue as a whole.

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