

NOTE

Cicero, *Orator* 21 and Nonius Marcellus

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Ferruccio Bertini in memoriam

A collection of papers by Ferruccio Bertini was published in 2011 at the University of Trento by Paolo Gatti and Caterina Mordeglia.¹ Bertini was professor of Latin and Medieval literature in Genoa, and died in May 2012. As a friend of Bertini, and also of Francesco Della Corte, the “Lehrvater” of Ferruccio Bertini, I would like to offer this short article as a kind of last *munus* of many years of friendship.

While reading Bertini’s book *Inusitata Verba* (157-168) for review, I found a passage from Nonius’ *De Compendiosa Doctrina* in which Bertini suggests a couple of corrections of Cicero, *Orator* 21. I accept the first correction, but, as for the second one, I would like to improve Bertini’s suggestion and propose a different reading of Cicero’s text, taking as my point of departure Bertini’s corrections. Through this reading we hope to make Cicero’s text not only more coherent, but also to adapt more closely to Cicero’s point of view and *usus scribendi* the definition of the third oratorical style which Cicero acknowledged as his own, as well as typical of the Rhodian type of discourse. In addition, we can see Nonius at work. In both cases the improvement is consistent:

Non. p. 59, 30 M. = p. 83 L. *CINNUS est commixtio plurimorum; unde et concionare dicitur. Cicero in Oratore* [§21]: «*est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus, nec acumine posteriorum nec flumine utens superiorum, ut cinnus amborum, neutro excellens, utriusque particeps vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus, potius expers*». // *flumine*: *fulmine* codd. Cic. // *ut cinnus* L²FHGPE: *vicinus* L¹ cum codd. Cic.

Cic. *Orat.* 21 *Est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius* [Cicero is presenting the *tria genera dicendi* and after describing (§20) the speakers *grandiloqui* and the speakers *tenues*, he arrives at the third style as a style placed between the two extremes] *et quasi temperatus nec acumine posteriorum nec fulmine utens superiorum, vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens utriusque particeps vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus, potius expers* // *flumine* Nonius.

I agree with Bertini (160-61) in replacing *fulmine* with *flumine*.² The reading *flumine* is accepted also by W. Kroll (*M. Tulli Ciceroni Orator*, Weidmann, Berlin 1958, 33)

¹ Ferruccio Bertini, *INUSITATA VERBA, Studi di lessicografia latina raccolti in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno da Paolo Gatti e Caterina Mordeglia*, Università degli Studi di Trento, Dip. di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Filologici, Trento 2011.

² I do not ignore that both words *fulmen* and *flumen* are employed for the *genus grande* by Cicero: as for *flumen* cf. Cic. *De Or.* 2.62 *flumine* orationis (see A.D. Leeman – H. Pinkster – H.L.W. Nelson: *M.Tullius Cicero, De oratore libri III, Kommentar*, 2. Bd., Winter, Heidelberg 1985, p.265); *Orat.* 53 *flumen* aliis verborum volubilitasque cordi est; *Brut.* 326 *aliud autem genus est [...] quali est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam*

who ascribes this image of the ὑψηλὸς χαρακτήρ to Theophrastus, through comparison of Cic. *Orat.* 228 *quod ait Aristoteles et Theophrastus, ne infinite feratur ut flumen oratio.*³ On the other hand Bertini suggests also substituting the reading *vicinus amborum* with Nonius' reading *ut cinnus amborum*. However *cinnus amborum* would be an ἄπαξ εἰρημένον in Cicero and therefore cannot be accepted easily, though it is quite possible that UTCINŪS was read UICINUS in capital or uncial script as suggested by Bertini. I would like, however, to propose another reading which is very close to the reading suggested by Bertini, and not only employed by Cicero for these *genera dicendi*, but used some words earlier in the same passage: *concinus* from a possible C̄CINNUS (either with a loss of the first part of the word or a bad interpretation of the abbreviation), and in this way the whole passage would read:

Cic. *Orat.* 20-21: *et contra tenues, acuti, omnia docents et dilucidiora, non ampliora facientes; [...] in eodem genere alii callidi [...] alii in eadem ieiunitate concinniores,*⁴ *id est faceti, florentes etiam et tenuiter ornati. Est autem quidam interiectus inter hos medius et quasi temperatus, nec acumine posteriorum nec flumine utens superiorum, <con>cinnus, amborum in neutro excellens, utriusque particeps vel utriusque, si verum quaerimus, potius exers.*

The combination of *ambo* and *neuter* occurs in Plin. *NH* 20. 113.6: *vermiculos gignentis; ambo neutrum ad cibos*; Apul. *Flor.* 18, 92: *viribus contendunt ambo, vincitur neuter*; Dig. 24. 3. 39 1 pr. 3: *ea lege, quam ambo contempserunt, neuter vindicetur.*⁵ The Latin word *ambo* corresponds to the Greek ἄμφω which occurs in a Scholiast to Dionysius Thrax (*Grammatici Graeci* I, iii 449, 30 Hilgard) ἀνθηρόν τὸ μέσον ἀμφοῖν (cf. L. Calboli Montefusco: *Con. Fortunatiani Ars Rhet.* 449-50).

For their part, the adjective *concinus* and related words were employed very frequently by Cicero: 42 times distributed as follows: *concinus* 17, *concinne* 6, *concinuitudo* 1,⁶ *concinuitas* 17, *concinuare* 1. Of these 42, 23 occurrences refer to a speech, in combination with the kind of speech or with the style of a reader. Below I

exornato et faceto genere verborum; as for **flumen** cf. Cic. *Orat.* 235 *Demosthenes! Cuius non tam vibrarent fulmina illa, nisi numeris contorta ferrentur*; *Att.* 15. 1a. 2 *si recordabere Δημοσθένους fulmina, tum intelleges posse vel Ἀττικώτατα gravissime dici*. Both words, therefore, correspond to Cicero's *usus scribendi*, and yet fulmen has been said of Demosthenes' speech and it is not enough, in my opinion, that Demosthenes was placed by Cicero among the orators of the *genus grande* (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 290) because this was a specific virtue of Demosthenes, not of all speakers of the *genus grande*, whose own distinguishing feature was rather the *flumen verborum*.

³ In Kroll's text the reading is *fulmine*, but in the notes *flumine* and the "loci paralleli" and the explanation concern *flumine*.

⁴ Emphasis is mine.

⁵ On *concinus* cf. *ThLL* IV 51.60-52.40, where we read at the beginning: *inde a PLAUT.; frequentat CIC.*; J.Chr.Th. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Latinorum Rhetoricae*, 2. Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1797, Olms, Hildesheim 1983,77. It would be strange or even incredible for me that Cicero did not use this term *concinus* (a term he likes) for the middle style which he tries to show as corresponding to his own style.

⁶ This word (Cic. *Inv.* 1. 25 *concinuitudinis minimum*) is an ἄπαξ εἰρημένον (see *ThLL* IV 50.20-21 without *varia lectio*).

wish to quote all of the passages in Cicero where *concinus* or *concinuitas* occur together with *oratio* or some terms connected with *oratio*:

Cic. *De Or.* 2. 81 *alii iubent, antequam peroretur, ornandi aut augendi causa digredi, deinde concludere ac perorare. Ne haec quidem reprehendo; sunt enim concinne distribuita.*

De Or. 3. 100 *hoc minus in oratione miremur, in qua vel ex poetis vel ex oratoribus possumus iudicare concinam, distinctam, ornatam, festivam* (sc. *orationem*), cf. J. Wisse – M. Winterbottom – E. Fantham *Commentary*, Vol. 5, Winter, Heidelberg 2008, 26.

De Or. 3 207 *verborum concinna transgressio.*

Pis. 70 *poema [...] ita festivum, ita concinnum, ita elegans, nihil ut fieri possit argutius.*

Brut. 272 *tum concinnae acutaeque sententiae.*

Brut. 287 *quid est tam fractum, tam minutum, tam in ipsa, quam tamen consequitur, concinnitate puerile* (Cicero is speaking of Hegesias and his style).

Brut. 325 *sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis* (of one of the two genres of Asiatic style).

Brut. 325 *ornata sententiarum concinnitas non erat* (in the other genre of Asiatic style).

Brut. 327 *concinuitas illa crebritasque sententiarum pristinae manebat* (Cicero is speaking of Hortensius' style).

Orat. 20 see above.

Orat. 38 *datur etiam venia concinnitati sententiarum* (see W. Kroll: *M. Tullii Ciceronis Orator*, Weidmann, Berlin 1958, p.46).

Orat. 65 *concinnae magis sententias exquirunt quam probabiles.*

Orat. 81 *si aliquid concinnitatis efficiunt, quod verbis mutatis non maneat manente sententia.*

Orat. 83 *illam autem concinnitatem, quae verborum collocationem illuminat iis luminibus, quae Graeci quasi aliquos gestus orationis σχήματα appellant.*

Orat. 84 *ne elaborata concinnitas et quoddam aucupium delectationis manifesto deprehensum appareat.*

Orat. 149 *ut forma ipsa concinnitasque verborum conficiat orbem suum.*

Orat. 164 *sed finiuntur aut [...] aut quodam genere verborum, in quibus ipsis concinnitas inest.*

Orat. 165 *in huius concinnitatis consecratione Gorgiam fuisse principem accepimus* (then Cicero gives an example from the *Miloniana* (§10) with some Gorgiana σχήματα, as ἀντίθετα, ἰσόκωλα and πάρισα: «*est enim, iudices, haec non scripta sed nata lex, quam non didicimus accepimus legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus hausimus expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti sumus*»).

Orat. 167 *Gorgias, cuius in oratione plerumque efficit numerum ipsa concinnitas* (another witness that the *concinuitas* was produced by the use of figures, of which Gorgias was considered the inventor).⁷

⁷ See M.-P. Noël, 'Gorgias et l' "invention" des ΓΟΡΓΙΕΙΑ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΑ', *REG* 112, 1999, 193-211.

Orat. 201 *collocationis autem eae* [sc. *partes sunt*] *quas diximus: compositio, concinnitas, numerus.*

Orat. 202 *ita fit ut* [...] *idque quod numerosum in oratione dicitur non semper numero fiat, sed nonnumquam aut concinnitate aut constructione verborum.*

Orat. 219 *non <numero solum> numerosa oratio, sede t compositione fit et genere, quod ante dictum est, concinnitatis – compositione potest intellegi.*

Orat. 220 *formae vero quaedam sunt orationi, in quibus ea concinnitas est, ut sequatur numerus necessario.*

Fin. 5.13 *concinnus deinde et elegans huius* [sc. *unus ex posteris Lyconis*], *Aristo* (this example is important because in this case the adjective *concinnus* is employed not for a style or a speech (*oratio*), but more in general for a man, *Aristo*, i.e. *Aristo* as a speaker, like *orator* in *Orat.* 20, the case we are dealing with).

Nat. D. 2.69 *concinneque ut multa Timaeus.*

This use is typical not only of Cicero, and this adjective occurs frequently also in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (86-82 BC): 3.11.19 *concinnae verborum elocutiones*; 3.12.22 *intervalla [...] sententias concinniores divisione reddunt*; 4.12.18 *si verborum transiectiones vitabimus, nisi quae erit concinna*; 4.14.20 *Traductio est, quae facit, uti, cum idem verbum crebrius ponatur, non mod non offendat animum, sed etiam concinnioem orationem reddat*;⁸ 4.15.22 *Interrogatio non omnis gravis est neque concinna*;⁹ 4.23.32 *quae sunt ampla atque pulcra, diu placere possunt; quae lepida et concinna, cito satietate adficiunt aurium sensum fastidiosissimum: quomodo igitur, si crebro his generibus utemur, puerili videmur elocutione delectari, item, si raro interseremus has exornationes et in causa tota varie dispergemus, commode luminibus distinctis inlustrabimus orationem.*

I quote this passage in full in order to show two points, first that both Cicero and the Author *Ad Herennium* used the term *lumina* meaning the σχήματα as were the Γοργία σχήματα and secondly that an over-extended use of these σχήματα could appear *puerile* and therefore had to be avoided.

I would say in conclusion that the absence of this quality, i.e. the *concinnitas*, in the description of the middle style that we find in Cicero, *Orator* 21 would be very strange. This term should be added, even in the absence of any palaeographical support. However, Nonius does quite reliably offer such support. Yet, if my proposal is correct and we are able to read a more Ciceronian Cicero at this point, the merit must be ascribed to Bertini's attention to Nonius Marcellus' *De Compendiosa Doctrina*.

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⁸ See my commentary: G. Calboli: *Cornifici Rhet. ad C. Herennium*, Patròn, Bologna 1993², 315-16.

⁹ On the *interrogatio* (ἐρώτησις) see G. Calboli, 'From Aristotelian λέξις to elocutio', *Rhetorica* 16, 1998, 59-60.