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Constructive Rhythm in Cicero's Speeches *Der constructive Rhythmus in Ciceros Reden*. Th. Zielinski. Leipzig: Dieterich. 1914.

Albert C. Clark

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AUS DER OFFENBARUNG JOHANNIS.

Aus der Offenbarung Johannis: hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse. Von FRANZ BOLL. Gr. 8vo., VIII., 151. Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1914. Geh. M. 5: geb. M. 5.60.

THIS is the first instalment of a new series, entitled *Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft*, of which Franz Boll is to be the editor. The series opens well with this lucid and convincing study of the popular science that forms the background of the Apocalypse.

The author accepts the work of Gunkel, Bousset and others who find in Oriental mythology the main key with which to unlock the mysteries of the book, and attaches little importance to explanations drawn from contemporary history. Where he parts company from these authors is in maintaining that many intervening stages separated the Apocalypse from Babylonia. The immediate source was the popular astronomy and astrology of the first century. When the action is said to take place in heaven, the writer means what he says, and his readers would naturally understand him to be speaking of the visible starry heavens. It is a veritable kingdom of heaven that is offered to the faithful.

Thus, the number 12 (12,000 stades in xxi. 16, 144 in v. 17) is the number of the signs of the Zodiac. (So in xiv. 20 the 1,600 stades are the number of the stars of heaven as given in Pliny, *N.H.* ii. 110). The precious stones are astral; see Hermes Trismegistos, where one precious stone corresponds to each of the thirty-six divisions of the Zodiac. The stream of the water of life is the Milky Way—in Empedocles the fixed stars are bound together with crystal. The twelve fruits of the tree of life, one for each month, correspond to the Zodiac signs, one of which, the

sun traverses each month, cf. Plutarch, *de def. orac.* c. 21.

Another example of the author's method may be taken from his treatment of Apoc. xii., where he shows that the description of the woman in heaven is suggested by the constellation Virgo.

At times the arguments are weak, and the method of treating a few only of the passages of the Apocalypse—those that fit the theory best—renders caution necessary in the reader, but the value of the book is not seriously impaired by these criticisms. One important *obiter dictum* is expressed. The astrological myth is at home in the Apocalypse, but in the Synoptic Gospels we are in another world, where such ideas are quite out of place; so there is nothing to be said for the recent attempts to resolve Jesus into an astrological myth. The question of authorship is not discussed, but if Herr Boll's results stand, the attribution of the book to a Galilean fisherman seems in the highest degree improbable. Or at least, if Palestinian Jews were such as this writer must have been, many books on the New Testament are ludicrously wrong.

A valuable appendix gives in adjacent columns the eschatological discourses of Mark xiii. and parallels, with illustrations from astrological treatises, from which it would appear that the language of the Greek Testament coincides with that in which ancient 'Old Moore's Almanacks' prophesied 'bad' years. The resemblance is specially close in the places where Luke introduces his own modifications into the Markan matter. It is doubtful if this proves much. Those who prophesy bad times must always employ more or less similar language.

W. K. LOWTHER-CLARKE.

CONSTRUCTIVE RHYTHM IN CICERO'S SPEECHES.

Der constructive Rhythmus in Ciceros Reden. TH. ZIELINSKI. Leipzig: Dieterich. 1914.

THE eminent Russian scholar, Prof. Thaddaeus Zielinski, of Petrograd, in

his work upon the Ciceronian clausula, promised to follow this up by a study of what he terms the 'constructive' rhythm, *i.e.* the rhythm which pervades the sentence. It is not possible here

to set before the reader the methods adopted by Zielinski in his former enquiry, and, as some knowledge of them is necessary, reference may be made to a review which appeared in the pages of this Journal (Vol. XIX., No. 3, April, 1905).

The existence of a pervading rhythm is affirmed by various ancient authorities. Thus Cicero (*Orat.* 203) says, *si numerus orationis quaeritur quo loco adhibeatur, in tota continuatione verborum*. So also Quintilian (IX. 4. 61) remarks, *in omni quidem corpore totoque, ut ita dixerim, tractu numerus insertus est*. It is to be noticed that illustrations of particular rhythms quoted by ancient critics are taken from the body of the sentence as well as from the clausula. Thus Quintilian (IX. 4. 63) gives as a specimen of Demosthenes' manly rhythms (*severa compositio*) the beginning of the *de Corona*, τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις. Here he is treading in the footsteps of Dionysius (*περὶ συνθέσεως* 205), who says that the cretic rhythm pervades the whole of this passage (τὸν κρητικὸν ῥυθμὸν . . . δι' ὅλου τοῦ κῶλου πλεκόμενον τούτου).

While rhythm pervades the whole of the sentence, there are certain places at which it becomes more manifest. These are the pauses where the speaker draws breath, viz. at the end of the κόμμα (Lat. *incisum*), of the κῶλον (Lat. *membrum*) and of the περίοδος (Lat. *ambitus*, etc.). At each pause the speaker punctuates by a rhythm. There is thus a close connexion between rhythm and the articulation of the sentence, and it is significant that Thrasymachus, who is said by our authorities to have invented the use of *numeri*, also, according to Suidas, πρῶτος περίοδον καὶ κῶλον κατέδειξε καὶ τὸν νῦν τῆς ῥητορικῆς τρόπον εἰσηγήσατο. The best known Latin passage is Cic. *Orator* 223-4:

'Sed quae incisim aut membratim efferuntur, ea vel aptissime cadere debent, ut est apud me, *Domus tibi deerat? at habebas. Pecunia superabat? at egebas. Haec incise dicta sunt quattuor; at membratim quae sequuntur duo. Incurristi amens in columnas, in alienos insanus insanisti.*'

Here the κῶλα exhibit two well-known rhythms, viz. Zielinski's iii and

S ii.¹ In the κόμματα there is nothing to notice besides the rhetorical figures of antithesis, parallelism and homoeoteleuton. With this we may connect an interesting passage in Quintilian (IX. 4. 67-8). After saying that the *membra* and *incisa* must begin and end well, he goes on to speak of *occulti gradus*, even where there is no break in the sense, and the speaker does not stop to breathe. He takes as an example the beginning of the *Cluentiana*, which he arranges thus:

animadverti, iudices,
omnem accusatoris orationem
in duas
divisam esse partes.

He says that these *particulae* have 'a sort of rhythm' (*suos quasi numeros habent, spiritum sustinentes, et sicut apud rhythmicos aestimantur*). Quintilian goes on to remark that certain clausulae are halting and limp, if taken by themselves, but that they are propped up and supported by the succeeding clauses. Thus the faulty ending is set right by the context. He gives as an example Cic. *Verr.* V. 117:

'Non vult *populus Romanus* obsoletis criminibus accusari *Verrem* (S ii), durum, si desinas, sed cum sit continuatum iis quae sequuntur, quamquam natura ipsa divisa sunt, nova postulat, inaudita desiderat (V. 2) *salvus est cursus.*' Here the harsh rhythm, S ii, is set right by the tuneful ending, V 2.

It is to be noted that Quintilian uses clausula of the κῶλα as well as of the period. We are wont to use the word of the period only. There is no reason why it should not be extended to the smaller divisions of the sentence. If so, we may speak of the clausula of the period, the clausula of the κῶλον, and the clausula of the κόμμα. Zielinski in his previous work dealt with the clausula of the period, he is now concerned with that of the κῶλον and κόμμα.

The difference between these clausulae is one of quantity, not of kind. This distinction is implicit in Quintilian's analysis of *Verr.* V. 117. The end of

¹ Roman numerals are used in this notice for forms with a *Molossus* base, and Arabic for those with a Cretic base.

the sentence is the place for tune; in the *κῶλα* discordant notes are permissible. It follows that in the *κόμματα* the measures will be harsher still. Zielinski puts the point well when he compares the final *numeri* to 'cream,' those of the major divisions in the sentence to the ordinary 'milk' of commerce, and those of the minor to 'skimmed milk.' It is obvious that the difficulties in the way of the present enquiry are very great, not only because the material is vast, but because the evidence is blurred and confused as compared with that furnished by the final clausula.

Zielinski's greatest achievement in his *Clauselgesetz* was to shew that Cicero was unconscious of the secret principles which governed his own prose. Rhythmical composition is originally a matter of the ear, and, although in course of time it becomes partially conscious, it rests in the main on instinct. The natural laws on which it is based can only be discovered by statistics. Zielinski answers those critics who refuse to recognise his laws, on the ground that the ancients knew nothing of them, by saying that one might as well say that the blood of the ancients did not circulate, since they knew nothing about the circulation of the blood.

The first chapter in the present work deals chiefly with what is termed 'Colometry.' Zielinski applies the term *Satz* to the major divisions of the sentence and calls the endings *Satzschlüsse*. The minor divisions (*Glieder*) are termed *Cola* or *Binnencola*. He seldom mentions the ancient term *Comma* (e.g. on p. 31), and appears to include the *commata* among the *Binnencola*. It cannot be said that this nomenclature makes for clarity. In ancient technique there is no term exactly corresponding to *Satz*, but *κῶλον* is the nearest equivalent. Zielinski, however, uses *Glied* or *colon* for the smaller divisions, which the ancients would have called *commata*.

Zielinski's first question is, 'What is a *Glied* or colon?' It is obvious that the answer must be largely subjective. His own method has been to read aloud all the speeches of Cicero, and to mark the divisions accordingly. In his tables

given at the end of the volume he enumerates 62,434 *Sätze* and 124,790 *Glieder*. All of these he has classified, and he is ready with figures and percentages on all occasions. His ingenuity is inexhaustible, both in meeting difficulties and in inventing new terms for the phenomena which he discusses. It must be confessed that there is much in his work which will sorely try those who believe in the validity of his method and the value of his results, and still more which will scandalize the weaker brethren.

Some *cola*, if we may use the word in Zielinski's sense, contain one of the well-known forms with nothing over, e.g. *Lig. 5* :

ipsa legatio (V 2)

plena desiderii (V 2).

These he terms autonomous. They are not common in Cicero, but become so in later writers, e.g. Symmachus. Zielinski says that 'if this autonomy were necessary, we should have before us not prose, but a poem, and that possibly as strictly constructed as those of Horace. We are, however, concerned with rhythmical prose.' This remark is clearly just. More frequently the colon contains extra syllables before the cadence. We may take as examples the first two lines in Quintilian's arrangement of *Clu. I.*, viz. :

animadverti, iudices, (V ii)

omnem accusatoris orationem (V 3).

Frequently, however, the colon is short of a syllable. Thus, if we were to deny hiatus¹ after *divisam* in the fourth line of Quintilian's arrangement, we should have

divisam esse partes.

Here an extra syllable would have to be supplied in order to complete V iii.

In such cases Zielinski supplies an extra syllable (*Stützsilbe*) from the preceding colon. Various difficulties arise, e.g. if there is a short syllable at the end of the previous colon, or if it ends with a vowel before a vowel at the beginning of the next colon—which

¹ Hiatus appears to be allowed after the diaeresis in Form 3. Cf. *Clauselgesetz*, p. 95.

lead him into a number of subtleties which it would take time to discuss.

It would have been simpler to recognise these *cola* as imperfect. The essential characteristic of prose rhythm is that it is broken and incomplete. If so, a half rhythm from time to time, e.g. a cadence with a base which lacks one syllable, or even a cadence without a base at all, such as Quintilian's *in duas*, is not without rhythmical effect. It produces what Quintilian calls a *quasi numerus*. The defect of this simple method from Zielinski's point of view is, without doubt, that the recognition of imperfect *cola* would complicate his figures, and make it difficult to draw conclusions. The difficulty is real, but it is necessary to enter this caveat before stating his results.

After this preliminary chapter, the rest of the work falls into two parts. The first (pp. 36-88) deals with Rhythm and the second (pp. 89-283) with Symmetry. In the first part Zielinski deals with certain laws, which are formulated thus:

(1) *The Law of Constancy.*

If a speech of Cicero is divided into equal parts, each consisting of about twenty paragraphs, it will be found that the various rhythmical forms (VLMSP) occur in about the same proportion in all the parts. This Zielinski terms the 'chief secret' of Ciceronian prose. It is true not only of the forms, but also of the types, i.e. the varieties of caesura within the form, e.g. 1 γ, 1 δ, etc. Here we are dealing with something which is wholly unconscious. Zielinski says, 'If anyone could exhibit to Cicero his law of Constancy with all its ramifications, he would be somewhat astonished, but not more than an ordinary layman, to whom one wished to shew how many muscles he had to set in motion, one after the other, in order to put one foot before the other.' The enquiry is concerned with psychology as well as with philology.

(2) *The Law of Gradation.*

In the *cola* the harsher rhythms compete on equal terms with the more musical. In the *Sätze* the musical

cadences get the mastery over their rivals, and at the end of the period they become predominant. The percentage rises in the case of larger divisions, where the pause is more marked, viz. at the end of a paragraph, and at the end of a speech. Each form has its special value for a final clausula (*Schlusswert*). Zielinski calls those which increase in frequency, as we advance from the *colon* to the period, 'positive,' while those which diminish in frequency during the progress are termed 'negative.' Thus the V class is strongly positive, while the S and P classes are strongly negative. The same method is applied to the various types. Thus in V 1 and 2 the γ caesura is positive, and in V 3 the diaeresis (δ). They are predominant in the final clausula, but not in the *cola*.

This result agrees with the general principle that in the sentence discordant notes are succeeded by tune.

(3) *The Law of Development.*

We have seen that the Law of Constancy prevails within a speech of Cicero. We have now to ask whether Cicero's system became modified in the course of time. Zielinski had already shewn in his *Clauselgesetz* that in Cicero's later speeches the cretic base (V 2) tends to drive out its rival, the molossus (V ii). Quintilian (IX. 4. 104) actually condemns V ii as bad. In later writers the cretic base becomes normal in V 3, as well as in V 2. In the present work Zielinski shews that the Law of Development is of wider application, and that Cicero exhibits a steadily increasing preference for the more harmonious forms and types, alike in the *cola*, *Satzschlüsse*, and final clausulae. Thus the V class increases in frequency, and in it the favourite types, viz. V 1 γ, V 2 γ, V 3 δ become predominant.

(4) *The Law of Collision (Complosiongesetz).*

This was previously laid down by Zielinski in *Philologus* LXV. (1906), pp. 610 sqq. The chief point is that Cicero seldom places an iambic after a trochee, which is generally followed by a long syllable and two shorts.

This observation does much to explain Cicero's use of synonyms: thus his practice is to write *multum minari* or *multa minitari*, not *multa minari* or *multum minitari*. The dactyl appears to be avoided in Ciceronian prose.

The second part of Zielinski's volume is concerned with Symmetry. It is to be noticed that here also he employs the device of *Stützsilben*. His general method, when dealing with instances of various figures, is to group them under the heads of (a) strict, (b) free symmetry. Here by 'strict' he means combinations of the same form, e.g. V 1 and V 1: by 'free,' combinations of a 'strong' and a 'weak' form, e.g. V ii and V 2, or of a form and a resolution of the same form, e.g. V 1 and V 1². His boldest equation is that of the same form in various classes, e.g. V 1, S 1, P 1. It is obvious that such points are highly controversial.

It is impossible to discuss here the various figures which Zielinski discloses. Two of the most interesting are the repetition of a rhythm at the beginning of a sentence (*Doppelanschlag*) and the similar repetition at the end (*Doppelschluss*). Zielinski gives 157 examples of the first as against 752 of the second. He says that rhythmical figures are comparatively rare at the beginning of the sentence, since they tend to draw the attention away from the end, which is of chief importance as the seat of *numeri*. On the other hand, the beginning of the sentence is the proper place for rhetorical figures, or *σχηματα*, as opposed to rhythms. In other words, the beginning of the sentence is the realm of Gorgias, and the end that of Thrasymachus. In the case of the *Doppelschluss*, it is noted that where the symmetry is 'free,' the tendency is for the harsh rhythm to come first, and to be succeeded by the smooth. A striking example is *Phil.* XIV. 38:

si vivi vicissent (S 1 γ)

qui morte vicerunt (V 1 γ).

The function of the penultimate colon

is to prepare the way for the clausula, hence we have a discord before the tune.

The most important of all rhythmical figures is that of *congeries* (*Häufung*). This is especially appropriate to *commiseratio*, and the list of instances includes some of the finest passages in Cicero. Strong symmetry is incompatible with length, since the effect would be tedious, and where the figure is extended beyond three cola we find free symmetry, and even a combination of two rhythms.

The last chapter deals with the Strophe. In the previous figures we were concerned with the repetition of a single colon. In the strophe at least two cola are repeated. The minimum number, therefore, of cola in a strophe is four. In this case the different combinations are: (1) aabb, (2) abab, (3) abba. Other strophes contain as many as seven or more cola.

The strophe is said to be especially suited for *sententiae*, i.e. reflections and aphorisms. It is concerned with *ῥηθός*, while *congeries* has to do with *πάθος*. It is assisted by various rhetorical figures, e.g. repetition, parallelism and antithesis.

Zielinski concludes with a dignified and eloquent address to posterity. He sets forth the method which should be followed by anyone who wishes to conduct a similar enquiry. Cicero is only a subject upon which he has experimented. It is possible to treat other authors in the same way. The laws by which their prose was governed may be quite different, but they can only be ascertained by statistics. He indicates fascinating problems presented by Livy, Seneca, Tacitus, and not least by Plato. Had Plato a law of development? If so, we shall be able to fix the order of the dialogues. His last words are a plea that a work which is so serious may be taken seriously by his successors. It is to be hoped that this tribute may be granted to so bold and indefatigable a pioneer.

ALBERT C. CLARK.