

IRONY AND HUMOUR
IN THE VERRINE ORATIONS

by Sister M. Wilfreda, I.B.V.M.



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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Margaret Frances O'Flaherty was born on June 1, 1922 in Toronto, Ontario. On admission to the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary she received the name Sister Mary Wilfreda. She received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of St. Michael's College of University of Toronto, in 1944.

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Introduction

The intention of presenting irony and humour as found in the Verrine Orations poses a few preliminary problems. What is Cicero's concept of irony and of humour? If he makes a distinction between them, on what basis does he do so? How is a modern reader to identify his irony and his humour? Can one be sure of grasping the comic and laughable in the trial of Verres? For what purpose does Cicero employ them?

Cicero comes to his own defence, as well as to the assistance of his readers, by furnishing the blueprints for the basic interpretation of irony and humour in general. In the De Inventione I, XIX, 27 Cicero presents jest and laughter as a method for winning one's audience and narration as a means of amusing the audience.

This was the only guide which Cicero drew up that antedates the Verrines. However a source book on humour and rhetoric of the preceding decade, the Ad Herennium, which is often attributed to Cicero, provides the dictionary of terms with examples to clarify them in context. After the composition of the Verrines Cicero wrote more rhetorical handbooks which serve as tools for this study. The De Oratore is a comprehensive study of wit and humour. The De Optimo Genere Oratorum picture the perfect orator. In the Brutus Cicero gives, together with the history of Roman oratory, a defence of his own, and he notes his success at

jesting. Finally his Orator provides more definitions and more clarifications of irony and humour as he had employed them and as other orators would do for he was setting the pattern for the perfect orator. Frequently his correspondence contributes to his rhetorical theory as well as to his personal reflections on his achievement. Cicero's theory of the laughable is rather sparse and inadequate in comparison with his varied and extensive application of it. Quintilian has compiled in the Institutio Oratoria Cicero's theory of irony and humour and expanded it in the light of the orator's own practice. However this study has made no clearly defined distinction between irony and humour. Auguste Haury makes a fine contribution to the solution of the problem in L'Ironie Et L'Humour Chez Cicéron in which he studies the two in parallel. Laurand¹ studies Cicero's pleasantries and Canter² reviews the meaning and use of irony in Cicero's works. Saint-Denis³ compares Cicero's humour as evidenced in De signis with his theory as in the De Oratore. And he remarks "Plus dommage peut-être la difficulté, parfois même l'impossibilité d'entendre et

1 Laurand, Louis, Etudes Sur Le Style Des Discours De Cicéron, Avec Une Esquisse De L'Histoire Du "Cursus", Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1931, Vol. 3, 416 p.

2 H. V. Canter, "Irony in the Orations of Cicero", American Journal of Philology, 1936, Vol. 57, p. 457 - 464.

3 E. De Saint-Denis, Essais Sur Le Rire et Le Sourire Des Latins, Paris, Société Les Belles Lettres, 1965, 302 p. p. 23.

d'expliquer la plaisanterie, surtout en langue étrangère."

Mr. Rapp helps clarify what Haury refers to as "siamese twins"⁴ in his study of the historical development of wit and humour.⁵

What is the distinction between irony and humour? Cicero declares in the De Oratore II, 54, "Duo genera facetiarum". One is a pointed and concise jesting which is interpreted as irony; the other runs regularly through the whole speech. The former, says Orator XXVI 87, sallies against the speaker's antagonist and requires a bolder talent. But irony Cicero declares in De Oratore II, 67, is an elegant kind of humour, satirical with a mixture of gravity and adapted to oratory as well as to polite conversation. It points out something offensive in an inoffensive manner, (De. Or. II, 58) in such a way that the point steals into the minds of men, (De Or. II, 69; III, 53 and 203; II, 270) so as to provoke to anger, scorn and hatred against the adversary (Or. XXXVIII, 131). Humour is allied to "urbanitas" in its most expanded concept, and for Cicero is synonymous with all that is charming and delightful (De Or. I, 17; II, 54, 58, 67, 71, 269, 287; Orator, 89; Brutus

4 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 1.

5 Albert Rapp, the Origins of Wit and Humour, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1951, 208 p.

167, 273; De Fin. II, 103, I, 104). The De Inventione I, XVI, 22 shows (and Ad Her. II, 7, 11 reechoes) that humour which requires a greater art is used to win the audience's favour so that it will be moved to agree with the facts as presented. In pursuing this problem through Cicero and Quintilian the student concludes, if he is willing to risk an over-simplification, that any distinction that is observed is on the plane of operation.

Cicero has noted prerequisites, a bolder talent for irony and a greater art for humour; no doubt these are required also in one who would discover irony and humour each as distinct from the other. As irony implants facts and moves the receiver to respond while humour moves the receiver to oneness with the speaker and so to agreement, then irony operates on the level of reason and intellect, while humour aims at the emotions and appeals to the senses and sensitivities. Mr. Haury⁶ supports this concept of irony as he maintains "Its first object of attack is at the most vital and most sensitive point, the intelligence."

In a modern⁷ study of wit and humour the problem of distinction between the two is seen to be highly volatile

6 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 42 - 3.

7 Albert Rapp, Op. Cit. p. 53.

or elusive. Humour is described as pitying what it smiles at and yet loving what it taunts. So whereas it is amused, it is tolerant. While it laughs at the pretences and inconsistencies of men, it does not reflect bitterness or aggressiveness of hate, but nonetheless they are there. In short⁸ humour is a mixture of ridicule and love. This compares very favourably with Cicero's "sal urbanus", "facetiae", "hilaritas", and "humanitas". Rapp's⁹ attempt to trace the genealogy of wit locates the key in the phrase "a duel of wits". This contest, he claims, involves the intelligence, and imagination and ingenuity. "For wit", he continues, "is a duel fought on the intellectual not the physical level". As a duel of wits is a struggle of mental and verbal skills, it is intellectual. So in his attempts to distinguish between the two he warns that one must compare simple examples, for humour in its complicated examples contains almost every variety of tone and technique including irony. Complicated examples of wit, too, provide a similar mixture. However, he finally includes irony as one of the varieties of humour. For Saint-Denis

8 Albert Rapp, Op. Cit. p. 57.

9 Albert Rapp, Op. Cit. p. 73 - 4 and 152.

Nous sommes allés du calembour le plus facile à l'ironie la plus subtile et au sarcasme le plus virulent. Il faudrait maintenant relire une narrative piquante pour apercevoir comment tous les genres de plaisanterie peuvent s'associer et s'harmoniser, concourant à la déconfiture de l'adversaire.¹⁰

Irony and humour might be considered as two sides of the same coin. The oneness is essential for man must be considered as a total person whose respective parts play and respond and interplay and harmoniously work together. If the two faces of a coin are considered, who is to say where one ends and the other begins? Another figure which may serve as an analogy would be the two sides of one face. While irony may render one side motionless, the beam of the smile of humour softens the lines of the whole face. The tone of irony also reveals some of its deliberation even in the naturalness and spontaneity of humour. Even this analogy limps as it fails to convey the subtlety of both. Saulnier¹¹ puts it this way, "l'ironie et l'humour sont deux attitudes qui se compénètrent souvent: il y a ironie humoristique et humour ironique". In this dissertation the spotlight will single out in turn the irony, then the humour in so far as these can be isolated.

¹⁰ E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 122.

¹¹ Cl. Saulnier, Le Sens Du Comique, Paris, 1940, p. 21.

Taking Cicero's lead this paper discusses his concept of irony, as given in the De Oratore, followed by his purpose in using it. A survey of the variety of its forms of expression shows the whole spectrum from the most bitter to its genial tone. The study of humour parallels that of irony, except that a variety of form rather than tone is exhibited.

Now all of this is related to the Verrine Orations by which Cicero deftly convicted Verres in the first two brief speeches leaving the rest undelivered for us to examine. In his task the prosecutor deliberately chose the weapons which would effectively in his hands or rather on his lips accomplish its purpose. He taught that every orator must put his case so clearly that his hearers learn the lesson. Since irony is directed at the intellect it is a deft tool for effecting this role. Yet we also learn through our senses, so the elements of humour contribute to the exposition of the case.

To teach a member of the court without winning his support is pointless. So Cicero's second aim is to wrest the audience's favour. "Delectare" and "placere" are the verbs which express this point for him. By his various forms of humour the lawyer as it were, molds or prepares his hearers to receive the point of his irony. Then he has entertained or delighted and has also been agreeable

or at least acceptable to them. Even the most pointed darts of irony can be acceptable for one who has become an opponent with the speaker against the real target, the culprit. The third aim of the orator is to move his hearers to consent to his measures and to act accordingly. Here humour joins hands but irony by its taunts and jolts can rouse even violent reactions against the criminal.

Laurand capable summarizes Cicero's use of irony and humour as applicable to the Verrines.

Cicéron, comme Plaute, a toutes les sortes d'esprit depuis le jeu de mots le plus vulgaire, jusqu' à l'ironie a plus fine; il les manie toujours avec une égale dextérité. [...] Quelques traits des Verrines ont déjà plus de finesse; [...] la plaisanterie est entre ses mains une arme qu'il manie avec une sûreté parfaits; tantôt elle fait des blessures profondes tantôt elle effleure, égratigne à peine; mais toujours elle frappe juste.¹²

¹² Louis Laurand, Op. Cit. p. 240.

Chapter One

Irony In The Verrines

In his De Oratore Cicero presents irony under the term of laughter, as wit in eloquence. There are five phases of irony which he considers:

unum, quid sit; alterum, unde sit; tertium sitne Oratoris, velle risum movere; quartum, quatenus; quintum, quae sint genera ridiculi. [...] Locus autem et regio - nam id proxime quaeritur - turpitudine et deformitate quadam continetur. Haec enim ridentur vel sola vel maxime, quae notant et designant turpitudinem aliquam non turpiter.¹

for those sayings are laughed at solely or chiefly which point out and designate something offensive in an inoffensive manner. Wit and irony are used very often as synonyms. In this paper irony will be explored under the five phases which Cicero outlines.

I Cicero's Concept of Irony

What then, does Cicero mean by irony?

Tum illa, quae maxime quasi irrepit in hominum mentes, alia dicentes ac significantis dissimulatio, quae est periuncunda, cum orationis non contentione, sed sermone tractatur.²

By the word "dissimulatio" Cicero expresses the humour of saying one thing and signifying another, "quae

1 Cicero, De Oratore II, 58.

2 Cicero, De Oratore III, 53, 203.

maxime quasi irrepit in hominum mentes, alia dicentis ac significantis dissimulatio, quae est periuncunda cum orationis non contentione sed sermone tractatur."³

The rational appeal of irony is essential. Through it Cicero has access to a tool for exposing his victim to a literary radiology whereby he may bring to light what is obscured by defence or pretence on the part of the defendant, or what is inconclusive because of lack of knowledge of Verres' motivation. There are two properties of X-rays which parallel effectively those of irony. An X-ray reveals the nature and shape of certain solid matter which is otherwise concealed. On the other hand the X-rays penetrate or purify by the destruction of harmful cells in diseased tissue. Irony, for the orator, serves two similar ends at once. While the actual words express one thing, the very opposite impression is made on its hearers; as in, "Haec est istius praeclara tutela. En cui tuos liberos committas, en memoriam mortui sodalis, en metum vivorum existimationis."⁴ Verres had assumed the guardianship of the young Malleolus upon the death of his father, Gaeus Malleolus, Dolebella's quaestor. To launch an attack on

3 Cicero, De Oratore, III, 53.

4 Cicero, The Verrine Orations, with translations by L. H. G. Greenwood for Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959, Vol. I, II, I, 27, 93.

the property of one's ward, as Verres did, is a strange way to offer him protection.

With a very different effect Cicero announces that Verres experienced fear once in his life, and that was on the occasion of his impeachment as a criminal. Then the lawyer goes on to say: "quod, cum e provincia recens esset, invidia-que et infamia non recenti sed vetere ac diuturna flagraret, tum ad iudicium corrumpendum tempus alienum offenderet".

(Ver. I, 2, 5). Yet this seems to be a two-edged sword. As Cicero imputes long-standing crimes to Verres with corresponding suspicions of the same on former occasions, he also pins the judges with his ironical declaration of their impeccability. Hence irony, at Cicero's command, ranges all the way from biting ridicule and sarcasm through invective and innuendo to light, playful tongue-in-cheek mirth at the expense of the victim.⁵ At times it is difficult to say whether the intellectual or emotional impact is greater.

Why does Cicero use it? Mr. Canter expresses it very succinctly.

Its purpose is to summarize and to arouse or to calm the emotions of the audience, usually to stir feelings of pity, disgust, or anger. Its character is liveliness and boldness.⁶

5 H. V. Canter, Op. Cit. p. 457.

6 H. V. Canter, Op. Cit. p. 464.

Haury claims that it is "démâsqu^{er} l'erreur donner une leçon".⁷ As an effective prosecutor Cicero must convince three parties, the defence, the jury and the readers of all time, that Verres is guilty of extortion to the highest degree. In the De Inventione the means of winning his auditors is set forth:

Benivolentia quattuor ex locis comparatur, ab nostra ab adversariorum, ab iudicum persona, a causa. Ab nostra, si de nostris factis et officiis sine arrogancia dicemus; si crimina illata et aliquas minus honestas suspiciones iniectas diluemus; si, quae incommoda acciderunt aut quae instent difficultates, proferemus; si prece et obsecratione humili ac supplicii utemur. Ab adversariorum autem, si eos aut in odium aut in invidiam aut in contemptionem adducemus. (Ver. II, V, 13, 32). In odium ducentur si quod eorum spurce, superbe, crudeliter, malitiose factum proferetur; (Ver. II, III, 33, 76 - 7) in invidiam, si vis eorum, potentia, divitiae, cognatio, proferentur atque eorum usus arrogans et intolerabilis, ut his rebus magis videantur quam causae suae confidere (Ver. II, IV, 23); in contemptionem adducentur si eorum inertia, neglegentia, ignavia, desidiosum studium et luxuriosum otium proferetur (Ver. II, V, 70, 180). Ab auditorum persona benivolentia captabitur sires ab eis fortiter, sapienter, mansuete gestae proferentur, ut ne qua assentatio nimia significetur, si de eis quam honesta existimatio quantaque eorum iudici et auctoritatis expectatio sit ostendetur (Ver. II, IV, 64 - 71-72); ab rebus, si nostram causam laudando extollemus, adversariorum causam (Ver. II, IV, 7 - 8), per contemptionem deprimemus. (Ver. II, IV, 154 - 159).⁸

Quintilian reflects that sayings designed to raise a laugh are generally untrue (and falsehood always involves a

⁷ Auguste Haury, L'Ironie et L'Humour, Chez Cicéron, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1955, xii - 328 p. p. 237.

⁸ Cicero, De Inventione, I, XVI, 22.

certain meanness) and are often deliberately distorted, and further, never complimentary, while the judgements formed by the audience on such jests will necessarily vary, since the effect of a jest depends not on the reason, but on an emotion which it is difficult, if not impossible, to describe.⁹

In the Verrines Cicero claims that praise is due to himself and to Verres for the splendid and illustrious court that is assembled than which no finer can be provided. (I, 16, 49) "Quam iste laudem communem sibi ait esse mecum". (Ver. II, I, 7, 18). He also commends the jury itself, one which history notes as being exceptional.¹⁰ One ironical appeal to the court shows how he abides by his own dictates.

Neque enim salus ulla rei publicae maior hoc tempore reperiri potest quam populum Romanum intellegere, diligenter reiectis ab accusatore indicibus, socios, leges, rem publicam senatorio consilio maxime posse defendi: neque tanta fortunis omnium perniciēs potest accedere quam opinione populi Romani rationem veritatis, integritatis, fidei, religionis ab hoc ordine abiudicari. Itaque mihi videor magnam et maxime aegram et prope depositam rei publicae partem suscepisse; neque in eo magis meae quam vestrae laudi existimationique servisse. (Ver. II, I, 2, 5)

9 Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, VI, III, 6.

10 John E. Granrud, "Was Cicero Successful in the Art Oratorical?", Classical Journal, 1913, Vol. 8, p. 237, During 81-70 all the jurymen were senators. Of the jury of about 15 or 20 trying Verres in 70 B.C., 13 of them are known by name. Two were ex-consuls, one had been praetor and governor of Sicily, the presiding magistrate was urban praetor, etc. only one was a mere senator. This was, however, not a typical jury and after 70 B.C. two-thirds of the jurors were of lower political and social rank.

Later on Cicero renews his ironical commendations of the members of this court for being more concerned over an injustice done to other men than to themselves. "Certe huic homini spes nulla salutis esset, si publicani, hoc est si equites Romani iudicarent; minor esse nunc, iudices, vobis disceptantibus debet, et tanto minor quanto est honestius alienis iniuriis quam re sua commoveri." (Ver. II, III, 72, 169).

In his De Inventione (II, 46) Cicero taught that an orator is to use to advantage any point, even the least suspicious, in his adversary's conduct.

In causa coniecturali narratio accusatoris suspiciones interiectas et dispersas habere debet, ut nihil actum, nihil dictum, nusquam ventum aut abitum, nihil denique factum sine causa putetur.¹¹

To prove that he has fine-combed the whole field of Verres' crimes Cicero acts as if the opposition will have sufficient grounds for disproving every piece of his evidence. He is confident that the trial is but a formality in his assertion: "Tametsi de absolutione istius neque ipse iam sperat nec populus Romanus metuit." (Ver. II, I, 2, 6). Yet, "Nam istum paucis horis primae actionis omnium mortalium sententiis condemnavi." (Ver. II, V, 69, 177), is an ironical reflection of its effectiveness.

¹¹ [Cicero] Ad C. Herennium De Ratione Dicendi, II, II, 3.

Cicero's¹² trump card as Solmsen calls it, is his full exploitation of the emotional side of his presentation. Verres' scandalous behaviour in his private life with regard to wine, women and song, is matched by his disrespect for things sacred, (Bk. IV), and by his wasteful desecration of temples and shrines for his own aggrandizement. In his use of irony Cicero is not satisfied with pleasing and convincing his hearers of Verres' crimes. No, each auditor must be aroused to a loathing¹³ hatred for this "Pig" (Cicero's pun on Verres' name) who seeks to satisfy an insatiable thirst for wealth. Here is a cause to move Romans; "portus munitissimi, maximae tritissimaeque urbes, piratis praedonibusque patefactae nau-tae militisque Siculorum socii nostri atque amici, fame necati". (Ver. I, 5, 13). Cicero says that Verres thought that the Romans would not be concerned about the wrongs done to the Sicilians and that the latter would seek satisfaction themselves. (Ver. II, III, 23, 58). Is this not his technique for stirring up support for his cause, or at least, for prompting the senate to self-defence? Clearly he claims in the De Oratore man's judgement is more often formed by passion or emotion than by truth, justice and courts of law.¹⁴

12 Friedrich Solmsen, "Cicero's First Speeches, A Rhetorical Analysis". Transactions and Proceedings Of The American Philological Association, 1938, Vol. 69, p. 542-56, p.544.

13 Cicero, Orator XXXVIII, 131.

14 Cicero, De Oratore, II, 42, 178.

When and where does irony appear in the Verrines?

Cicero sets the guide for its appearance in De Oratore, "nullum ut sit vitae tempus in quo non deceat leporem humanitatemque versari."¹⁵ and in the De Inventione; "Insinuatio est oratio quadam dissimulatione et circumitione abscurae subiens auditoris animum."¹⁶ In difficult cases, and as prosecutor, Cicero employs it as a convincing method of portraying character in a certain light (Ver. II, IV, 29, 66) in the elucidation of facts of the cases, in quoting the speech or thoughts of others (Ver. II, I, 9, 26) and in drawing conclusions (Ver. II, II, 78, 192) from suspicions. As he declares in Brutus in the prosecution of Verres he "crossed swords with Hortensius" and "a duel of great magnitude" ensued; then "the din of the forum call[ed] for an orator of animation, of fire and action and full voice."¹⁷ (Ver. II, I, 58, 153 - 4). The challenge was too great for Cicero to resist and he would not lay down his pen after the championship had been conferred, until he had revealed for history the whole case as he might have handled it. Haury commends him with "Sa densité [of irony]

15 Cicero, De Oratore II, 67.

16 Cicero, De Inventione, I, 15, 20.

17 Cicero, Brutus XCII, 317 - 319.

accroît son pouvoir de pénétration".¹⁸

II Variety of Expression

Although Cicero's definition of irony is somewhat nebulous, his application of it in its wide variety of expression and of tone is precise and pointed. The study of Cicero's irony from here on will present a variety ranging in tone from bitterness to a genial tongue-in-cheek quip.

1. Ridicule, Absurdity, Sarcasm, Invective

Aristotle claims that the orator who employs irony puts "the hearers into the frame of mind of those who are inclined to anger and [shows] that his opponents are responsible for things which rouse men to anger and are people of the kind with whom men are angry".¹⁹ Such occurs in the judgement of Sopater (Ver. II, IV, 39 - 40, 84 - 86). In the many roles in which Cicero presents Verres he is a despicable character. Now he is a merchant for Rome evidently sent to engage in statue and picture trade:

Hic ego non arbitror illum negaturum signa se plurima,
tabulas pictas innumerabiles habere; sed, ut opinor,
solet haec quae rapuit et furatus est non numquam

¹⁸ Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 42.

¹⁹ Aristotle, The Art of Rhetoric, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959, 251 p., II, 2, 24.

dicere se emisse quoniam quidem in Achaïam, Asiam, Pamphylïam sumptu publico et legationis nomine mercator signorum tabularumque pictarum missus est. (Ver. II, I, 22, 60).

As Haury²⁰ states that irony often precedes the explosion and prepares for it, in Ver. II, I, 2, 6 it is ironical to think that the thought of retribution would distract Verres and expel his good sense and sanity. Thief that he is, he adds sacrilege to stealth and Cicero, converting the ridicule to hatred, insists that Verres must be kept for a Roman commander, "[...] sit, fur, sit sacrilegus, sit flagitiorum omnium vitiorumque princeps; et est bonus imperator, at felix et ad dubia rei publicae tempora reservandus" (Ver. II, V, 1, 4). The state needs good luck in this critical time. Compare the reports of Verres' accomplishments:

O praeclarum imperatorem, nec iam cum M. Aquilio, fortissimo viro sed vero cum Paulis Scipionibus, Mariis conferendum! tantumne vidisse in metu periculoque provinciae! Cum servitiorum animos in Sicilia suspensos propter bellum Italiae fugitivorum videret, ne quis se commovere auderet quantum terroris iniecit! Comprendi iussit; quis non pertimescat? causam dicere dominos; quid servo tam formidolosum? [...] Hisce omnibus suppliciis sunt liberati. Quis dubitet quin servorum animos summa formidine oppresserit cum viderent ea facilitate praetorem ut ab eo servorum sceleris coniurationisque damnatorum vita vel ipso carnifice internuntio redimeretur? (Ver. II, V, 6, 14).

"Salsa sunt etiam, quae habent suspicionem ridiculi absconditam", (De Or. II, 69). When Caecilius was quaestor,

20 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 13.

he appointed a court to try Agonis. She lost the case, her property and all her belongings. However Verres came to the rescue - an upright governor is he.

Ubi hoc quaestori Caecilio, viro optimo (Compare XVII, 60) et homini aequissimo, [...]. Iste in possessionem bonorum mulieris intrat; ipsam Veneri in servitutem adiudicat; deinde bona vendit, pecuniam redicit. Ita dum pauca mancipia Veneris nomine Agonis ac religione retinere vult; fortunas omnes libertatemque suam istius iniuria perdidit. Lilybaeum Verres venit postea, nem cognoscit, factum improbat; cogit quaestorem suum pecuniam, quam ex Agonidis bonis redigisset, eam mulieri omnem adnumerare et reddere. Est adhuc id quod vos omnes admirari video, non Verres sed Q. Mucius. (Div. Caec. XVII, 55-57).²¹

A proud victor, Verres, whose battle scars are the marks of women's teeth (Ver. II, V, 13, 32)! To make sure that he is hailed as a victor, even while he lives, the Verria festival (Ver. II, II, 63, 154) replaces the Marcellia in honour of the real and historical conqueror of Syracuse; who defeated Hannibal at Nola and slew Viridomarus, king of the Insubres with his own hand. The Messanians are able to describe his treatment of the conquered. The symbol of servitude is lurking in their treaty with Verres, as they realize they are caught coming and going. Yet a privilege -

²¹ Note: Q. Mucius Scaevola, the eminent jurist, pro-consular governor of Asia, where his just rule made his name a synonym for an upright governor. Note of H.G. Greenwood Translator of Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Loeb Classical Library, p. 50.

Quod tua, recentibus suis officiis integra re, nullis populi Romani difficultatibus, a maioribus nostris foedere assequi non potuerunt, id nunc, nullo novo officio suo, tot annis post, iure imperii nostri quotannis usurpatum ac semper retentum summa in difficultate navium a C. Verre pretio assecuti sunt. (Ver. II, V, 20, 51).

His true colours reveal him as a pirate in his dealings with the people of Herbita and Agyrium, for pecks of wheat and wealth through the agency of Apronius "ipse Herbitam cum illa sua praedonum copia Manuque venisset [...] ad istum praedonem frumentarium." (Ver. II, III, 32, 76).

Haury²² reminds us that Cicero vainly condemned sarcasm (Orat. 88 - 89) yet his wit makes fun of dignity and hence gives rise to laughter. This is Verres the praetor:

Homo scilicet aut industria aut opera probata aut frugalitatis existimatione praeclara aut denique, id quod levissimum est, assiduitate qui ante quaesturam cum meretricibus lenonibus vixisset, quaesturam ita gessisset quem ad modum cognovistis, Romae post quaesturam illam nefariam vix triduum constitisset, absens non in oblivione iacuisset sed in assidua commemoratione omnium flagitiorum fuisset: is repente, ut Romam venit, gratis praetor factus est? (Ver. II, I, 39, 101).

In the De Oratore Cicero linked absurdity with sarcasm.

Valde haec ridentur, et hercule omnia, quae apud prudentibus quasi per dissimulationem non intellegendi subabsurde salseque dicuntur. Ex quo genere est etiam non videri intellegere quod intellegas. (De Or. II, 68).

22 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 187.

As Verres tries to interpret the will of Publius Annius Asellus in favour of Lucius Annis, instead of the daughter, the rightful heir, Cicero can't resist sarcasm: "quid tam remotus fuit a cupiditate? Dic, quaeso, cetera; delectat enim me hominis gravitas, scientia iuris auctoritas." (Ver. II, I, 41, 106). However, that is only meaningful in the light of the preceding passage: "Quis umquam crederet mulierum adversarium Verrem futurum? An ideo aliquid contra mulieres fecit Chelidonis arbitrium scriptum videretur? Cupiditate hominum ait se obviam ire." (Ver. II, I, 41, 106). When mothers are suggested as the best protection for children against the rapacity of magistrates, Cicero cites the fruitlessness of Annia's efforts: "Perfacile vero apud istius modi praetorem, a quo M. Marcelli tutoris in causa pupilli Iunii et oratio et voluntas et auctoritas repudiata est." (Ver. II, I, 58, 153).

Bribery is the target of Cicero's scorn and invective. Foreign subjects request the repeal of the extortion court because they could satisfy the cupidity of a very greedy man but they could never manage to win, by payment, victory over the law. (Ver. I, 14, 51). Cicero claims that the whole senatorial rank has been disgraced in Verres and his colleagues, since Verres won the day by paying off the judges. (Ver. II, III, 62, 145) and he goes further to provide evidence of Alba, made judge, so that he will be unable to decide anything except that "Verres is guilty!" (Ver. II, III, 63, 151-2).

However, Verres forfeits one opportunity for bribery as the court was too honest to be bribed for the sum promised. (Ver. I, 6, 16.)

Now the effrontery of Verres is telescoped in his Greek slaves, who judging from their name, are related to the famous Cornelii family. Is this Roman Royalty in Verres' realm? "Ingerebat iste Artemidorum Cornelium medicum et Tlepolemmum Cornelium pictorem et eius modi recuperatores, quorum civis Romanus nemo erat, sed Graeci sacrilegi iam pridem improbi, repente Cornelii," (Ver. II, III, 28, 69). Earlier "Cornelius medicus" was presented as a regular member of his staff of "hounds" (Ver. II, III, 11, 28). A "Jack of all trades" is he under Verres for Ver. II, III, 21, 54 "is est Artemidorum Pergaeus, qui in sua patria dux isti quondam et magister de spoliandum Dianae templum fuit."

Even in the expression of absurdity, irony, as Haury²³ notes, excels in charming its hearers provided that its eloquence or elegance compensates for its spitefulness or that it turns to polite teasing. Here now is an absurdity begins Cicero, "si de hereditate ambigetur, et tabulae testamenti obsignatae non minum multis signis quam e lege oportet ad me proferentur, secundum tabulas testamenti potissimum, possessionem dabo." Then Verres adds, "se ei daturum qui se

23 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 252.

dicat heredem esse." (Ver. II, I, 45, 117). It is in a similar vein that Verres composed most of his edicts, particularly when he would make them retroactive. (Ver. II, I, 41, 106).

Cicero does not spare Verres' person. It is with great emphasis that he ironically suggests that his victim might be too ashamed to look his judges and the Roman people in the eye:

Quae fama non idcirco solum emanarat quod iste certe statuerat ac deliberaverat non adesse, verum etiam, quod nemo quemquam tam audacem, tam amentem, tam impudentem fore arbitrabatur qui tam nefariis criminibus, tam multis testibus convictus ora iudicium aspicere aut os suum populo Romano ostendere auderet. (Ver. II, I, 1, 1).

Even in his own home Verres' behaviour provides plenty of fuel for Cicero's invective. (Ver. II, III, 23, 56). As Polemarchus, a respectable inhabitant of Murgentia refused to pay a tithe that was impossible from his "quinquaginta medimna" of land, he was marched off to Verres, who as yet had not risen. Hence the prisoner was given the privilege, that is extended only to collectors and to women, of being admitted to Verres' bedroom. His moral degradation is evident in Cicero's account, (Ver. II, II, 47, 116), of Verres' conscientiousness in expressing his gratitude to Verres for his trade of loyalties from Sthenius' to his new mistress Callidama. It is Sthenius' fortune which provides for the erection of this token of gratitude. Evidently Verres wished to have

this breach of friendship remembered by posterity. Haury summarizes Cicero's art of ridicule as "aussi bien la pratique de Cicéron montre qu'il use habituellement de l'ironie pour vaincre et non pour convaincre ou instruire [...]. En revanche qu'il s'agisse de berner, de séduire, de ridiculiser ou d'indigner, l'ironie lui inspire maint stratagème."²⁴

In the absence of the facial expression, stance and tone of the original delivery the ironical interpretation of a sentence announces itself by the insertion of a particular adverb or interjection. "Videlicet" is used with great profusion and seems to shadow the central character as in "Tu videlicet solus" (Ver. II, IV, 44, 97). Or it may be sandwiched to separate two key ideas. Verres and Apronius are related with the ironical interjection, "te praetore videlicet aequo iure Apronium" (Ver. II, III, 11, 28). Sometimes as an after-thought which has all the bitterness of invective, it takes up a statement. For example, "palam licebat enim videlicet legibus," (Ver. II, II, 55, 137) if Verres is to be honoured as a liberator, then the orders are given for an act, we must not doubt is legal. Of course pirates have heard of the beauty of Syracuse - videlicet - (Ver. II, V, 36, 95). "Scilicet" seems to be a good synonym for "videlicet",

24 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 274.

"Homo scilicet" (Ver. II, I, 39, 101). However, it even introduces a sentence (Ver. II, I, 58, 153). There are some colourful adverbs which are used with a similar effect, "aut fecisse quippiam" (Ver. II, III, 31, 74), "toreumata sane nota ac pretiosa" (Ver. II, II, 52, 128). Frequently "credo", "mihi credo", "ut opinor" (Div. Caec. XV, 48), "ut ille putat" and "ut tu dicis" are key words in launching the whole impact. Speaking of the refuge Verres was offering the pirate captain, Cicero uses it to fine purpose as he reveals Verres' dreams: "Vivum tu archipiratam servabas - quo? Per triumphum credo quem ante curram tuum duceres;" (Ver. II, V, 26, 67 and Ver. II, IV, 26, 60.)

2. Dissimulation

Ironical dissimulation has also an agreeable effect, when you say "Urbana etiam dissimulatio est cum alia dicuntur ac sentias [...] cum contraria dicas [...] sed cum toto genere orationis severe ludos, cum aliter sentias ac loquare."²⁵ Depicting Verres as the guardian of the peace in Sicily, Cicero is employing the kind of dissimulation which he defines in De Oratore II, 67, "cum honesto verbo vitiosa res appellatur", so he presents Verres, "ipse tamen praetor, qui sua vigilantia pacem in Sicilia dicit fuisse, in hac officina

25 Cicero, De Oratore II, 67.

maio^rem partem diei cum tunica pulla sedere solebat et pallio."
(Ver. II, IV, 24, 54).

Irony is at its peak in the employment of regal terminology, for Verres is "king of Sicily" (Ver. II, III, 33, 76 - 7). In applying this term, which is detestable to the Romans, Cicero implies that perhaps Verres has earned the title because he has won the hatred of the Sicilians. Through the association of ideas and the juxtaposition, "reges barbaros", the barbarian habits of Verres are revealed in his consideration and treatment of the Sicilians as "barbari". It appears that Cicero is developing a sense of values akin to Verres'.

Deinde sunt testes viri clarissimi nostrae civitatis, quos omnes a me nominari non est necesse: eos qui adsunt appellabo, quos, si mentirer, testes esse impudentiae meae, minime vellem.
(Div. Caec. IV, 13).

No doubt this form of dissimulation (De Orat. III, 53) "quae maxime quasi irreperit in hominum mentes alia dicentis ac significationis dissimulatio, quae est periucunda, cum in oratione non contentione, sed sermone tractatur."²⁶

After a long list of crimes, now these little ones not worth mentioning are added: "Iam illa quae leviora videbuntur ideo praeteribo, quod mensas Delphicas e marmore, crateros ex aere pulcherrimas, vim maximam vasorum Corinthiorum ex

26 Cicero, De Oratore, III, 53.

omnibus aedibus sacris abstulit Syracusis." (Ver. II, IV, 59, 131). Why too, would the selection of Cicero as defender of the Sicilians be an obstacle to his being the prosecutor of Verres? "Nescio cur hoc obiciatur, me potissimum, esse delectum". (Div. Caec. IV, 15).

Besides pretending to think in the same strain as another, Cicero enjoys a laugh in his game of pretence. Quintilian²⁷ assures us that everything is laughable which is obviously pretended. To present the wealth of evidence, which he had accumulated, Cicero needed every possible device for securing variety.

Nec ea dico quae, si dicam tamen infirmare non possis: te antequam de Sicilia decesseris in gratiam redisse cum Verre: Potamonem, scribam et familiarem tuum, retentum esse a Verre in provincia cum tu decederes: M. Caecilium, fratrem tuum lectissimum atque ornatissimum adolescentem, non modo non adesse neque tecum tuas iniurias persequi sed esse cum Verre et cum illo familiarissime atque amicissime vivere. (Div. Caec. IX, 29).

Now he pretends to pass over the vices of his victim. "Multa enim quae scio a te esse commissa, quod aut nimium turpia aut parum credibilia sunt, praetermittam." (Ver. II, II, 73, 180). In a previous passage (Ver. II, II, 48, 118), he claims that he cannot prolong his tale of the cases Verres tried indefinitely for his misdeeds of this kind are without

27 Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, VI, III, 70.

number, so to end his speech he cuts short the presentation of details. However, there follows a long series of questions which reveal the same information which he feigned to withhold. A clever instance of antiphrasis (his refusal to proclaim while he actually reveals the truth) is his denial of charging Verres for sentencing Apollonius with undue severity. He denounces Verres' clemency as laxity in an attempt to expose cruelty as the motivating factor, wherever he tempered justice with mercy. (Ver. V, 8, 19). On the contrary he prefers to use Verres' own pronouncement, "tua sequar iudicia, tuam defendam auctoritatem quoad tu voles". With great variety Cicero affects the same thing, as by "Relinquo haec omnia: [...] "Ver. II, V, 8, 21); or "certe nihil sciens praetermisi (Ver. II, V, 10, 25) or again "ac iam illa omitto quae disperse ac me multis in locis dicentur ac dicta sunt:" (Ver. II, IV, 52, 116) but then he proceeds to list his series. The orator even warns the audience not to expect a house to house inventory of the silver plate Verres appropriated. He starts an enumeration to show it is impossible and here is the reason why - "Qui cum in convivium venisset, si quicquam caelati aspexerat, manus abstineri, iudices, non poterat." (Ver. II, IV, 22, 48). After reciting a few more examples, he claims that it is impossible to recite all: "neque ego nunc istius facta omnia enumerare conor neque opus est nec fieri ullo modo potest." (Ver. II, IV, 22, 49). Frequently expressions like "nihil loquor" (Ver. II, III,

44, 106) and "non tibi obicio [..] taceo" (Ver. II, IV, 17, 37) and their synonyms prelude a host of interesting tidbits; perhaps only the typical instances are mentioned. (Ver. II, III, 20, 53). A humorous disinterestedness is found in "non quaero unde cccc. amphoras mellis habueris, unde tantum Melitensium, unde quinquaginta tricliniorum lectos, unde tot candelabra: non, inquam, iam quaero unde haec habueris, sed quo tantum tibi opus fierit, id quaero: Omitto melle." (Ver. II, II, 74, 183). Ver. I, V, 15 shame prevents Cicero from speaking of one type of crime and yet he discusses it for twelve more lines and ends the passage with the wish the crowd has of reviewing the case with him. Lest his audience will be disappointed he agrees to add just one of the points which he intended passing over. (Ver. II, I, 47, 125). How notable is the attention drawn to the facts being omitted as Ver. II, III, 24, 59 "mitto [..] mitto [..] mitto [..] mitto [..], [..] praetermitto, [..]: mitto [..] in aluid dicendi tempus reicio!" Canter recalls²⁸ that this is the method Cicero uses to call into question Verres' election to the praetorship.

Cicero can be more dramatic yet. Irony²⁹ is used when he is at a loss for words, or for a starting point, and

28 Canter, Op. Cit. p. 460.

29 Canter, Op. Cit. p. 460.

for the termination of his catalogue of crime. "In sartis tactis vero quem ad modum se gesserit quid ego dicam?" (Ver. II, I, 49, 128). Again as Cicero is defining the nature of the offence, "Facinus est vincere civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare: quid dicam in crucem tollere?" (Ver. II, V, 66, 170). Cicero continues by saying that it is the universal principle that Romans are free men that Verres was putting to death, not an individual Roman. "Comme le pathétique en général et à l'occasion l'humour, cette ironie, vise à combler les lacunes de l'argumentation et à faire passer les sophismes, en aveuglant l'esprit critique ou en détournant insidieusement l'attention."³⁰

By a series of questions the dilemma of how to classify the use of the statue of Gaius Marcellus in Verres' crimes is posed. (Ver. II, IV, 41, 87). In Book V, 1, 2 Cicero repeatedly asks for advice of the judges. "quid agam, iudices? quo accusationis meae rationem conferam? quo me vertam?" A fine pretence of fear at the anticipation of Hortensius' line of defence. How to handle the bribery of the senatorial judges, (Ver. I, 13, 40) is another illustration of an impasse. Exasperation and futility are expressed in the deliberation of what to do with a man like this (Ver. II, II, 16,40)

30 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 270.

and of how to protect young children against him and his henchmen. (Ver. II, I, 58, 153). Irreverence posed quite a problem. (Ver. II, I, 49, 129). This is on the lips of men, so Cicero says. Now how is he to deal with it? His lengthy exclamation extolling the temple of Castor provides expression for his feigned indignation.

His vices, as Haury states³¹ are some of the means of reaching his adversary better since the prosecutor dreams of inflicting a correction on him rather than of correcting him. A passage of irony deftly handled shows Cicero pondering Verres' reason for deserting his job perhaps out of eagerness to support the aristocracy, his own party, as his inability to endure political upstarts and his unconcern for financial matters. (Ver. II, I, 13, 34).

Cicero often interrupts his own narrative to make a correction which enhances the irony. Why did Verres not want the statue of Good Fortune? He was stealing all that Heius possessed. "Nullum, inquam, horum reliquit neque aliud nullum tamen praeter unum pervetus ligneum. Bonam Fortunam, ut opinor; eam iste habere domi suae noluit." (Ver. II, IV, 3, 7). Even though it would bring good luck it was not of value to Verres since it had little monetary value. A very subtle correction in terminology (Ver. II, III, 13, 33) "decumanis,

31 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 43.

sociis tuis" expressed as an apposition then, further clarified by "atque adeo procuratoribus" allows Cicero to show the reality of the farce in Verres' hearing of claims, as he describes it in his edict. So, too, "regie" must be corrected. "Regie seu potius tyrannice" describes Apronius' treatment of farmers. (Ver. II, III, 48, 115). A contradiction is in need of correction. Cicero shows that Verres is a Greek at heart, yet he knows not a word of Greek. This is the only excuse that can be offered for a connoisseur of Greek art and culture removing the statue of Sappho but leaving behind its pedestal bearing the Greek inscription. (Ver. II, IV, 57, 127).

3. Misrepresentation

Verres a Greek at heart! This is misrepresentation as Cicero defines it in De Oratore II, 67, "acutum etiam illud est, cum ex alterius oratione aliud excipias atque ille volt." If Verres appreciates these treasures (Ver. II, IV, 60, 134), he must have the same mentality as the Greeks is Cicero's interpretation. Even the senate is the target for Cicero, as he hears there are enemies favouring Verres' acquittal in order to deprive this noble body of its judicial rights. Yet he assures them that "non timor meus de vestra fide". (Ver. II, I, 8, 23). Though Verres finds that justice, uprightness and an honest plea are no match for money, (Ver.

II, I, 48, 125) still Cicero warns "multum te ista fefellit opinio, et quidem multis in locis". (Ver. II, I, 35, 88). This should illustrate that point as he speaks for Diodorus, "Ille, qui illa non invitus haberet, respondit Lilybaei se non habere." (Ver. II, IV, 18, 38). Cicero refers to the "contemptible scraps of paper" which give evidence of the whole list of possessions Verres acquired free from export tax as "hi pusilli et contempti libelli indicant furta praetoris [...]". (Ver. II, II, 75, 185). Cicero seems to be complimenting Verres for being gracious. How is this? Verres can afford to be gracious about losing opposition when he invites all Petilius' friends to accompany the latter on his departure: "Iste homo liberalis negat se quamquam retinere eorum qui Petilio vellent adesse". (Ver. II, II, 29, 71). Is Cicero suggesting that we send the younger generation to Verres for training in civil law? "dum est unde ius civile discatur, adulescentes ei in disciplinam tradite; mirum est hominis ingenium, mira prudentia." (Ver. II, I, 45, 115). Cicero proceeds to carry this idea a step further and shows in Verres' regime in Sicily the confusion of roles, farmer and slave, slave and master. (Ver. II, III, 38, 87). A eulogy is proposed for Verres. How artfully Cicero reveals a perfect satire. (Ver. II, IV, 64, 66). According to Quintilian³² misrepresentation is at its best when pretence is

32 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 92.

met with pretence, as when Cicero describes the spot full of glorious memories for Verres' crew as "honestissimo loco et apud illos clarissimo". (Ver. II, II, 21, 50). The silver-plate must have sparkled.

"De même l'euphemisme, par litotes, apuie-t-il une accusation",³³ says Mr.Haury, and in another section he adds that irony rarely serves to give weight.³⁴ On the other hand it tends to cut one down to size. Verres "tum vero in magistratu contra illus ipsum edictum suum sine ulla religione decernebat". (Ver. II, I, 46, 119). In his presentation of Verres' infamous courts of retribution Cicero climaxes the whole effect in the use of "sed etiam imprudentia". (Ver. II, III, 12, 29). A farmer could take an appeal against the excessive charge of Apronius to a court of retribution, - if -, and if you knew what was the actual method of hearing such a case. Would you expect a collector to demand more than his due? - even inadvertantly? Haury's remark: *Cet artifice rehausse doublement celui qu'il semble ravalier: il l'exalte et rabaisse l'adversaire*",³⁵ makes one appreciate Cicero's comment about Verres. "Valda sit mirum nemimen fuisse qui istius se

33 Haury, Op. Cit. P. 86.

34 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 241.

35 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 242.

similam dici vellet". (Ver. II, I, 45, 117). Hence the In Verrem is only to mention the crimes worthy of Verres' dignity (Ver. II, I, 40, 103) as a man "cui parvum aut mediocre abici nihil oporteat". In fact poor Verres is suffering, not so much from his own but from his relative's misdeeds, so they say, "Et tamen aiunt eum queri solere non numquam se miserum quod non suis sed suorum peccatis criminibusque prematur." (Ver. II, II, 20, 49).

The De Oratore states, "Movent illa etiam, quae coniectura explanantur, longe aliter atque sunt, sed acute atque concinne". (De. Or. II, 69). The Agyrian brothers won their case - and left the court impoverished and broken men. (Ver. II, II, 10, 26). Yet Verres did not receive this money from a case including a charge and a trial which he trumped up, presided over and concluded! It is in the name of the law that every man's property and fortune is at his disposal. (Ver. II, II, 27, 67). Then why would Sicilians voluntarily come to Rome to sing his praises? "Si te publice laudarent, tamen id more potius suo quam merito tuo facere viderentur." (Ver. II, II, 64, 155). The thought of praising Verres is so preposterous that Cicero had to provide an explanation. In truth the Sicilians were abandoning their usual custom of suffering in silence to bring official letters, instructions and evidence against Verres. "Parumne multa mercatoribus sunt necessario pericula subeunda fortunae, nisi etiam hae formidines ab nostris magistratibus atque in nostris provinciis

impendebunt?" (Ver. II, V, 60, 157). Here Cicero is suggesting possible reasons for Verres' mad behaviour. Yet why did the Governor of Sicily set up on the island of Melita a woman's dress factory, keep it operating for three years, and yet never visit it? (Ver. II, IV, 46, 103). It is quite understandable from the role which women play in Verres' life. Cicero seems to be overwhelmed by Verres' immorality. (Ver. II, III, 34, 78; I, 5, 15 and II, III, 68, 160).

Innuendo goes a step further than conjecture for by a mere hint, however indirect, it causes a hurtful impression. Quintilian claims³⁶ that the essence of all wit lies in the distortion of the true and natural meaning of words. See how Cicero hints that the judges may be judged: "Hic si quid erit commissum a quoquam vestrum quod reprehendatur, aut populus Romanus iudicabit de eo homine quem iam ante iudiciis indignum putarit, aut ii qui propter offensionem iudiciorum de veteribus iudicibus lege nova novi iudices erunt constituti." (Ver. II, V, 69, 178). In discussing the pirates Cicero shows how anxious they were to see the highlights of Syracuse, now the governorship of Verres gives them the opportunity with admission free: "qui videlicet saepe audissent nihil esse pulchrius quam Syracusarum moenia ac portus, statuerant se, si ea Verre praetore non vidissent. Numquam esse visuros." (Ver.

36 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 89.

II, V, 36, 95). Verres was busy about a ship also. Cicero hints at several purposes, (Ver. II, V, 18, 46) and declares that he will be willing to take it all back, if Verres can claim that his own account is providing the wherewithal. His real attitude is suggested in "Verres, qui non Honori neque Virtute, quem ad modum ille, sed Veneri et Cupidini vota deberet." (Ver. II, 55, 23). Timarchides is presented with a golden ring by Verres, (Ver. II, III, 80, 185), an act which indicates that he has reached the standard of equestrian rank through the profitable service rendered to Verres. Even the young Verres seems to be a "chip off the old block". (Ver. II, III, 68, 159). So often Cicero hints at the "freedom" which Verres' workers enjoy. "Quid facerent miseri, aut quid recusarent?" (Ver. II, III, 34, 79). Should the reader forget the real reason for Cicero's conscientious efforts he declares (Ver. II, III, 1, 1) that there is only one reward, patriotism, the burden of being faithful. As he stresses the legitimacy of Climachias' return as high priest elect (Ver. II, II, 52, 129) the suggestion of foul play is evident. It has almost the opposite effect of the smooth way in which he says that "toreumata sane nota ac pretiosa auferuntur." (Ver. II, II, 52, 28) (just a transfer of valuable goods). A gentle scent of bribery wafts in "quando autem homo tantae

luxuriae atque desidiaei nisi Februario mense aspirabit in curiam?" (Ver. II, II, 31, 76).³⁷

Closely related to innuendo is illusion, which may be defined as an appearance and nothing more, or as a false show, or even mockery. As Verres is supposed to have changed his plans and come to trial a previous rumour is reported: "Nonnulli suspicati non sine causa illius consilium tam repente esse mutatum." (Ver. II, I, 8, 23). As Carbo's quaestor Verres made his get away with the money as soon as he saw the opportunity deserting his post, and the proconsul. Cicero's reflection is ironical: "cognoscite hominis principium magistratuum gerendorum et rei publicae administrandae." (Ver. II, I, 13, 34). Since Verres counted on having new judges, he kept the stolen goods in his home. That would be safer, he thought, Cicero seems to mock as he shows a change of plans:

Cur ea quam diu alium praetorem cum iis iudicibus quos in horum locum subortitus es de te in consilium iturum putasti, tam diu domi fuerunt: posteaquam nostris testibus nos quam horis tuis uti malle vidisti, nullum signum domi reliquisti, praeter duo quae in mediis aedibus sunt quae ipsa Samo sublata sunt? (Ver. II, I, 19, 51).

What a puzzle Cicero unearths in the Malleolus' account! At first Verres hesitates to give an account; then he

³⁷ Cicero, The Verrine Orations, translated by L.H.G. Greenwood, Translator's note: the regular month for receiving petitions from subject or foreign communities, which venal senators could secure bribes to support.

finally answers in reply to repeated requests, but, the account book shows an erasure and a sum written over it. "Strange" Cicero remarks, "the total now noted just equals the balance in the Carbo account!" (Ver. II, I, 36, 92). Again the authenticity of a report is questioned. An entry designated as left at Ariminum was never handled or seen by Carbo, Sulla or the Treasury. (Ver. II, I, 14, 36). Since Syracuse was such a friendly town, why should Verres not have been able to go away openly? "Miramur istam de provincia decentem clam Syracusis profugisse". (Ver. II, I, 44, 113). Verres is surely no Roman citizen when he murders other Roman citizens. Real Romans are "homines honestos". (Ver. II, I, 5, 14). So, too, he grants our allies rights but they do not even include the permission to complain of their sufferings. (Ver. II, II, 27, 65).

4. Concession, Permission and Command

The figure known as concession³⁸ occurs when some things are left to the judgement of the jury or even to the opponents. It is ironical when we assume the tone of command or concession.³⁹ Properly included here are examples of

38 Quintilian, Ibid, IX, II, 25.

39 Quintilian, Ibid, IX, II, 48.

ironical concession, permission or command, e.g. Cicero concedes that Verres may have inflicted offence on Caecilius by reversing his decision on Agonis, but injury? "Hic tu si laesum te a Verre esse dices, patiar et concedam: si iniuriam tibi factam quereris, defendam et negabo." (Div. Caec. XVIII, 58). Ver. II, I, 17, 44, "ne sit hoc crimen in Verrem (Ver. II, II, 19, 47) eripe hereditatem propinquis, da palaestrites, praedare in bonis alienis nomine civitatis, everte leges, etc." ⁴⁰ Cicero tells Caecilius that he may certainly bring evidence against Verres if such can be done legally, "Quapropter si tibi indicium postulas dari quod tecum una fecerit, concedo, si id lege permittitur." (Div. Caec. XI, 34). Yet he concedes that Verres has ornaments adorning the city and forum (Ver. II, I, 22, 58) because he is so prudent and experienced (Ver. II, III, 7, 17) and in addition he has one good thing, hope. "An iste numquam de se bonam spem habuisset, nisi de vobis malam opinionem animo imbibisse." (Ver. I, 14, 42). His humanity is conceded in Ver. II, V, 46, 117 when the commander of a ship from a distinguished city paid down a sum of money to rid himself of fear of a scourging which hung over his head. Varro and Philodamus agree with Cicero that "fortuna non tam ex illo periculo eripere voluerit quam ad vestrum iudicium reservare." (Ver. II, I, 28, 71). Sometimes, too, says Quintilian⁴¹

40 Canter, Op. Cit. p. 461.

41 Quintilian, Op. Cit. IX, II, 52.

our opponent may be praised. Ver. II, IV, 17, 37, Apollonius of Drepanum deserved it, "nay it is a real pleasure to me to think that you took something from him and I say that you never did a more just action in your life."

"Saepe etiam facet concedes adversario id ipsum, quod tibi ille detrahit."⁴² Verres is an energetic governor. (Ver. II, IV, 26, 60). Often this is accomplished by the ironical⁴³ repetition of another's words or by putting words into the mouth of the opponent. Cicero puts this speech on Hortensius' lips and smilingly answers his objection. "Causam enim", inquit "cognosci oportet." "Ea re quidem quod aliter condemnari reus, quamvis sit noceus non potest." (Ver. II, I, 9, 25). Verres' proud boast stems from his low opinion of the upper class.

ut hoc palmam dictitet, non sine causa se cupidum pecuniae fuisse, quoniam in pecuniae tantum praesidium experiatur esse: sese, id quod difficillimum fuerit, tempus ipsum emisse iudicii sui, quo cetera facilius emere postea posset; ut, quoniam criminum vim subterfugere nullo modo poterat procellam temporis devitaret. (Ver. I, 3, 8).

Truly ironical is his speech, "eis esse metuendum qui quod ipsi solis satis esset surripuissent". (Ver. I, 2, 4). However, he was an impartial judge "erat in consilio

42 Cicero, De Oratore, II, 71.

43 Canter, Op. Cit. p. 461.

etiam aequissimus iudex ipse Verres." (Ver. II, I, 29, 73). His edicts are masterpieces of irony. See how he exercises his control over courts: "Si qui perperam iudicasset, se cogniturum cum cognosset, animadversurum." (Ver. II, II, 13, 33). "Di approbent!" (Ver. II, V, 19, 49).

5. Self-Depreciation

Upon occasion Cicero too, indulges in an act of self-depreciation,⁴⁴ feigning ignorance or lack of ability "non possum disposite istum accusare, si cupiam; opus est non solum ingenio verum etiam artificio quodam singulare." (Ver. II, IV, 40, 87). "À n'envisager que ces formes essentielles de l'humour, on y trouver le germe de qualités rares, indispensables au savant comme au sage et à l'honnête homme et d'abord l'objectivité et l'intelligence d'autrui."⁴⁵ As he contrasts himself unfavourably with Hortensius he says, "ego autem aedilis, hoc est, paulo amplius quam privatus." (Ver. I, 12, 36). Also "Sin mecum in hoc prolusione nihil fueris quem te in ipsa pugna cum acerrimo adversario fore putemus?" (Div. Caec. XIV, 47). In this case he has his role confused. "Ita est; sed ego defensorem in mea persona, non accusatorem, maxime laudari volo" (Ver. II, I, 38, 98) "mea eloquentia

44 Canter, Op. Cit. p. 461.

45 Hauray, Op. Cit. p. 228.

quae nulla est." (Ver. II, V, 61, 159). He underestimates his own oratory.

Verum id mihi non sumo, iudices, et hoc non modo in oratione mea non pono sed ne in opinione quidem cuiusquam relinquo, me omnibus patronis esse praepositum. ... Mea fuit semper haec in hac re voluntas et sententia, quemvis ut hoc mallet de iis qui essent idonei suscipere quam me, me ut mallet, quam neminem. (Div. Caec. IV, 16).

In Book IV he seems to express the futility of his attempt to trip Verres. (Ver. II, IV, 24, 53).

Affecting ignorance⁴⁶ on certain points as part of his ironical self-depreciation. This is Cicero's fashion as he discusses works of art; "tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intellego quam multa vidi." (Ver. II, IV, 43, 94). In another place he needs the promptings of his audience. (Ver. IV, 3, 5). "But who was the sculptor who made these statues? Who was he? Thank you for prompting me. You are right, they said it was Polyclitus." As Quintilian⁴⁷ points out, in discussing this passage, Cicero while taunting Verres with a lustful passion for acquiring statues and pictures, succeeds in creating the impression of his own detachment. By the admission of his inability to distinguish charges (Ver. II, IV, 41, 88) "Unum hoc crimen videtur esse [...] plura sunt,

46 Quintilian, Ibid, IX, II, 61.

47 Quintilian, Ibid, IX, II, 61.

sed ea quo pacto distinguere ac separare possim nescio" and his searching for the right word, e.g. "civilis enim dissensionis seu amentiae seu fati seu calamitatis" (Ver. II, V. 58, 152) is another touch of irony. "Ce plaidoyer où l'ironie oratoire réalise peut-être son Idée, nous offre un exemple hardi entre tous d'auto - accusation ironique qui enveloppe dans l'aveu du même dessein le juge, l'accusateur, l'avocat et l'accusé."⁴⁸ To this effect Cicero's volley of questions addressed to Hortensius and the whole court in the closing chapter of his speech are very fruitful. (Ver. II, V, 70, 179).

6. Genial Kind

The variety of irony in the oration as presented here is steadily becoming more genial. Now Cicero adopts a tone of pretended familiarity. In fact he is expressing his concern in anticipation if Hortensius should put Caecilius on the spot.

Qui tibi aestus, qui error, quae tenebrae, di
 immortales, erunt homini minime malo! [.]
 poterisne eius orationis subire invidiam?
 Mihi enim videtur periculum fore ne ille non
 modo verbis te obruat, sed gestu ipso ac
 motu corporis praestringat aciem ingenii tui
 teque ab institutis tuis cogitationibusque abducat.
 (Div. Caec. XIV, 45).

48 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 238.

Laurand⁴⁹ reflects on this passage that at one and the same time he is ridiculing Hortensius and Caecilius pretending to praise the one and to have for the other a lively commiseration. Verres' accomplices in robbery could give authentic witness. "Quo ex genere mihi testium, qui cum isto furati sunt si uti voluissem magna copia fuisset." (Ver. II, I, 38, 97). Cicero's mention of that famous infamy which is peculiar to Verres rings a note of familiarity, "suum scelus illud pristinum renovavit et instauravit." (Ver. I, 4, 11). The ironical comparison of Scipio and Verres suggests a pretence of familiarity, a point which no doubt, slipped Verres' attention. "haec Scipio ille non intellegebat, homo doctissimus atque humanissimus, tu sine litteris, intellegis et iudicas." (Ver. II, IV, 44, 98). "Quis hunc attingere audeat," (Ver. II, II, 67, 168) concludes a passage in which Cicero is teasingly complimenting Verres on his achievements. So too, in Div. Caec. XVII, 57 Verres merits the highest praise, claims Cicero, for he relieved a woman in distress, is very honest, checked a delinquent subordinate.

Feigned familiarity assumes a more realistic air when it demonstrates interest and proffers advice.

49 Laurand, Ibid, p. 237.

"iam mehercule hoc extra hanc contentionem certamenque nostrum familiariter tecum loquar" (Div. Caec. XII, 37) is Cicero's counsel to Caecilius (See also VII - IX, 27). By a series of questions the lawyer also recommends that Caecilius watch his step and not be putting his foot in where he is really not wanted - as prosecutor for Sicily's case. (Div. Caec. VI, 21 - 22). At the same time if Cicero wins the case, he offers advice to Hortensius for his methods of defence. (Div. Caec. VIII, 25). Haury says⁵⁰

L'emploi de l'ironie pathétique s'explique d'autant mieux à cette place qu'elle s'allie volontiers à l'intimidation, telle la menace de la vindicte populaire et l'évocation de Marius⁵¹, terreurs des nobles de naissance, en finale de la seconde action contre Verrès.

Cicero dramatically makes a plea to save Verres and keep him safe on the grounds of his efficiency and his objectivity:

Retinete, retinete hominem in civitate, iudices parcite et conservate, ut sit qui vobiscum res iudicet, qui in senatu sine ulla cupiditate de bello et pace sententiam ferat. (Ver. II, II, 31, 76).

Verres had best be silent for what alternative has he, according to Cicero: "Quae si dices, tenebere; sin alia dices, ea quae a me dicta sunt non refutabis." (Ver. II, V,

50 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 270.

51 Cicero, Id., II, I, 58, 153 and II, III, 83, 193; II, III, 96, 223; II, V, 69, 178.

51, 135. When Verres became quaestor to accompany the proconsul Gnaeus Carbo, Cicero said that there was civil strife and he would not say anything about what side he should have taken. But he does say,

unum hoc dico, in eius modi tempore ac sorte statuere te debuisse utrum malles sentire atque defendere Carbo [...] tamen ornabat eum beneficiis officiisque omnibus. Ne diutius teneam, pecunia attributa, numerata est; profectus est quaestor in provinciam venit expectatus in Galliam ad exercitum consularem cum pecunia. (Ver. II, I, 13, 34).

On the mention of Verres' son Cicero shows genuine sympathy and attempts to advise the father to save his future. (Ver. II, III, 68 - 69, 159 - 161). Upon occasion Cicero consults Verres on his successful methods. "Quibus rebus id assecutus es? innocentia? [...] Diligentia? [...] Ingenio? [...] Quae re igitur id quod ais assecutus es? (Ver. II, III, 16, 41).

Before concluding this discussion on irony we must show Cicero enjoying himself, or rather his wit, as he speaks, tongue-in-cheek. After Heius' evidence Cicero threatens to call in other Messanians but Verres must have suggested that there is no use, they would not say anything. Listen to the prosecutor.

Heius est laudator: laesit gravissime. Producam ceteros: reticebunt quae poterunt libenter dicent quae necesse erit ingratis. Negent isti onerariam navem maximam aedificatam esse Messanae? Negent, si possunt. Negent ei navi faciundae senatorem Mamertinum publice

praefuisse? Utinam negent! (Ver. II, IV, 9, 19).

In his explanation of irony⁵² Cicero advises a comment which is peculiarly applicable to the character of a particular person. There are times when Verres is generous in sharing, this time was with Caecilius,

sunt alia magis occulta furta, quae ille, ut istius, credo, animos atque impetus retardaret, benignissime cum quaestore suo communicavit. (Div. Caec. XI, 33).

Speaking of Verres he says, "Quae enim eius auctoritas erit? quando iste sententiam dicere audebit aut poterit?" (Ver. II, II, 31, 76). However, as he does hold the office of city praetor he is, of course, co-inheritor of every estate. "Nihil levius quam praetorem urbanus hoc iuris in suo magistratu constituere, omnibus quibus hereditas venerit coheredem praetorem esse oportere." (Ver. II, I, 48, 127). Or else he should be shouldn't he? However, he did defeat Harper of Aspendus at his own proverbial game, by wresting it for himself: "sustulit et in intimis suis aedibus posuit." (Ver. II, I, 20, 53)⁵³. Teasingly Cicero asks Verres to

52 Cicero, De Oratore, II, 60.

53 Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Vol. I, p. 176. L.H.G. Greenwood has a footnote explaining that the proverb, "all his music inside", as applied to those who do things for their own pleasure and not that of others. The lifelike figure appeared to be enjoying his own music, inaudible to everyone else.

identify Verrucius, "quem esse hunc tuum paene gentilem Verrucium putes. Fieri non potest ut, quem video te praetore in Sicilia fuisse, et quem ex ipsa ratione intellego locupletem fuisse, eum tu in tua provincia non cognoveris." (Ver. II, II, 77, 190). See Cicero pointing his finger at Verres' audacity upon removing the image of Jupiter, called Urios⁵⁴ by the Greeks. "Quid? ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Urion nominant. pulcherrime factum nonne abstulisti?" (Ver. II, IV, 57, 128). Cicero implies that now that Verres has taken over there is no room for the fair winds of Jupiter. Surely it is with his tongue-in-cheek that the orator makes his sincere request of the court; "Vos quaeso, date hoc et concedite pudor meo ut aliquam partem de istius impudentia reticere possim." (Ver. II, I, 11, 32). Mr. Rapp ties it up this way:

[.] in Socratic irony, we are laughing at the character of the dissembler the person who feigns ignorance in order to trap his opponent. And in the more common variety of comic irony we are amused by the straight-faced fabricator who says the opposite of what he means; but we have caught him at it. And in understatement, the one who says less than what he means. In all these we are primarily laughing at the narrator whose comic flaw is lying.⁵⁵

54 Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Vol. II, p. 438. Translator L.H.G. Greenwood notes: Urios is a cult title of Zeus as giver of fair winds.

55 Albert Rapp, The Origins of Wit and Humour, New York, E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1951, 208 p. p. 149.

Yet we have to admit that we got his point; his lesson reached its target.

Aristotle says⁵⁶ that one's appreciation of a verbal witticism is accompanied by the feeling. "How true it is! but I missed it." Commenting on this remark Roger Peck⁵⁷ sights a certain connection that error and deception are the natural antecedents to discovery and in the case of verbal wit, it is the listener who suddenly discovers some amusing relationship which he previously missed. This opposition of sense and words, which Haury calls the touchstone of irony⁵⁸, may be used not only to signify, as this chapter has shown, just the complete opposite of what is said, but also to reveal what is hidden and to suggest the obscure. Cicero must always aim at his purpose and win over and hold the attention of his audience. For this reason his irony varies in degree from bitter ridicule invective and sarcasm, through dissimulation, innuendo, concession and self-depreciation to genial, tongue-in-cheek familiarity. Each of these is dressed in tones and hues varying ironically with the character, situation, or communication. For

56 Aristotle, Rhetoric III, II, 1412.

57 Roger A Peck, "Errors as subject of comic mirth", Classical Philology, 1938, pp. 405 - 10, p. 409.

58 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 22.

Cicero defines irony "Tum illa, quae maxime quasi irreperit in hominum mentes, alia dicentis ad significantis dissimulatio, quae est periuncunda, cum orationis non contentione, sed sermone tractatur,"⁵⁹ It is in a letter to his brother Quintus that he adds under the heading of irony⁶⁰ a pleasing self-depreciation and emphatic praise and raillery. Employing irony in a hundred different ways Cicero illustrates⁶¹ that his use of it is much richer than his theory.

59 Cicero, De Oratore, III, 53, 203, Also II, 67, 269, and 272, II, 71, 289, II, 76, 310.

60 Cicero, Ad Quintum Fratrem III, 4, 4.

61 Haury, Op. Cit. p. 21.

CHAPTER II

Humour In The Verrines

Quintilian, the adjudicator of the art oratorical, extends the gold medal for humour in theory and practice to Cicero. He "regards him as being the possessor of a remarkable turn of wit. For his daily speech was full of humour, while in his disputes in court and in his examination of witnesses he produced more good jests than any other."¹

I Cicero's Concept of Humour

In order to group Cicero's concept of humour as distinct from that of irony, it is advisable to review its nature and purpose, and the rules for its application before studying the wide variety in its usage. The De Oratore, II, 54 distinguishes the two by claiming that humour runs regularly through the whole speech, while irony is pointed and concise. Cicero's terminology for humour includes "cavillatio" (De Oratore II, 58), "hilaritas", "urbanitas", (Brutus 167, De Oratore I, 17), "ridiculum" (De Oratore II, 71),

¹ Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 3 - 4.

"humanitas" and "lepor" (De Oratore II, 67), "sal facetiae" (Oratore 89) and synonyms for these. In short humour is synonymous, for Cicero, with all that is charming, delightful and laugh-provoking, as indicative of an educated, refined city-dweller, provided that the city is Rome in Cicero's day. These appellations point out the attributes of a good orator, namely a certain charm of wit, brevity of reply and attack coupled with graceful poise and culture. It is in De Finibus II, 103 that the "homines faceti" are shown to be characterized by a restrained wit in harmony with gentility.

Cicero's meaning of "urbanus"² ranges from purity and correctness of speech to elegance and refinement, both in wit (De Off. I, 104; Brutus 273; De Oratore I, 17) and in manners. These were the distinguishing characteristics of the educated Roman, and they recall Cicero's precept³ that man's conduct be governed by the law of Decorum which is based on the Golden Mean, that is the foundation of every virtue, but is seen in its highest manifestation is the virtue of temperance, as he shows in the De Officiis I, 100. This explains why Cicero classifies Demosthenes as humourous

2 J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, A Study In Tendencies, New York, Russell and Russell, Inc. 1962, 608 p., p. 366.

3 Cicero, Orator, 73.

and he claims that such a qualification presupposes a greater art than is needed for irony. Quintilian in agreement adds to Cicero's remark that "it depends mainly on nature and opportunity [...] Since there are no specific exercises for the development of humour nor professors to teach it, hence oratorical wit is rare [...] but must adapt itself to the ways of the world."⁴ Mr. Haury⁵ applauds Cicero for his excellence in this art.

From the discussion of Cicero's concept of humour it is evident that the orator is to be aware of the reaction of his audience. If one were to rely solely on Cicero's theory of humour, one might equate it with empathy.

L'humoriste nous apparaît encore, malgré son originalité et souvent à cause d'elle, comme naturel et sympathétique. Il semble se classer dans l'humanité moyenne ou plutôt dans l'humanité tout court.⁶

This is the point on which humour is contrasted with irony, namely, that its plane is the emotional; it plays on man's senses and sensitivities. As such it finds its source (De Oratore II, 67) in the whole of life in the law courts and in all discourses and excludes only (De Off.

4 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 11 and 14.

5 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 248.

6 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 34.

I, 104) obscenity, vulgarity and crudeness. Humour is essentially a form of communication. In his use of it Cicero is less interested in an appeal to the head than in one to the heart. For this reason he declares in the De Oratore II, 42, 178.

Nihil est enim in dicendo [.] maius, quam ut faveat oratori is, qui audiet, utque ipse sic moveatur, ut impetu quodam animi et perturbatione, magis quam iudicio aut consilio regatur. Plura enim multo homines iudicant odio aut amore aut cupiditate aut iracundia aut dolore aut laetitia aut spe aut timore aut errore aut aliqua permotione mentis, quam veritate aut praescripto aut iuris, norma aliqua aut iudicii formula aut legibus.

Humour has a more popular appeal,⁷ says Mr. Haury, because it is more incarnate, and makes its appeal to the senses of sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell.

Cicero prefers graphic developments since they are more apt to captivate his audience and even make his communication "visible" for the blind. Saint-Denis evaluates Cicero's humour for our contemporaries as follows:

[...] de l'humour cicéronien qui fut si varié si admiré et si discuté par les anciens, nous nous demandons parfois où est la plaisanterie et s'il y a plaisanterie. Cicéron en a commis beaucoup et de toutes sortes; on lui en a prêté beaucoup; et beaucoup nous échappent sans doute, faute de connaître certaines institutions,

⁷ August Haury, Op. Cit. p. 41 and 43.

habitudes ou allusions contemporaines. Comme nos orateurs et journalistes d'aujourd'hui, Cicéron devait, insérer dans ses propos des formules populaires, des slogans, et des scies amusants; bien malin, celui qui les découvrirait (misprint for découvrirait) toutes! Rien n'est plus propre à chaque temps, à chaque nation, à chaque milieu que l'esprit. En outre de ton plaisant ou énigmatique, le regard malicieux ou grave dont Cicéron accompagnait ses bons mots nous manquent. Enfin la plaisanterie est faite pour être saisie tout de suite;⁸

From this point of view humour has an advantage over irony in that it does appeal to all its recipients and then do doubt, does prompt them to think. (Brutus, 49, 187).

For what purpose does Cicero use humour? He anticipates this question in the De Inventione I, XVI, 22.⁹

Attentos autem faciemus si demonstrabimus ea quae dicturi erimus magna, nova, incredibilia esse aut ad omnes aut ad eos qui audient, aut ad aliquos illustres homines aut ad deos immortales aut ad summam rem publicam pertinere; et si pollicebimur hos brevi nostram causam demonstraturos atque exponemus iudicationem aut iudicationes si plures erunt. Dociles auditores faciemus si aperte et breviter summam causae exponemus, hoc est, in quo consistat controversia. Nam et, cum docilem velis facere, simul attentum facias oportet. Nam is est maxime docilis qui attentissime et paratus audire.

⁸ E. De Saint-Denis, Essais Sur Le Rire Et Le Sourire Des Latins, Paris, Société Les Belles Lettres, 1965, 302 p., p. 23.

⁹ Also [Cicero], Ad C. Herennium II, 7, 11.

"Sauvius autem est et vehementer saepe utilis iocus et facetiae; quae etiamsi alia omnia tradi arte possunt, naturae sunt propria certe neque ullam artem disiderant." (De Or. II, 54). Cicero did entertain them with vivid descriptions and dramatic discourses and he caused peals of laughter by his inexhaustible humour. Yet he warns that an orator should not strive for this.

If the hearers have been fatigued by listening, the Ad C. Herennium (I, VI, 10) recommends that the speaker provoke laughter to win their interest. As he recommends to Caecilius,

Dicenda, demonstranda, explicanda sunt omnia; causa non solum exponenda sed etiam graviter copioseque agenda est. Perficiendum est, si quid agere aut perficere vis, ut homines te non solum audiant, verum etiam libenter studioseque audiant. (Div. Caec. XII, 39).

With intense feelings he aroused all the passions of the human heart so that his hearers fully responded to his process.

On the other hand there is another distinct purpose to be served by humour and the art of laughter.¹⁰ This gift Cicero maintains in the De Oratore II, 58, "quod ipsum oratorem politum esse hominem significat quod eruditum, quod

¹⁰ Albert Rapp, The Origins of Wit and Humour, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1951, 208 p. Mr. Rapp agrees with Cicero on the purpose of humour without making any reference to our orator, p. 154 - 5.

urbanum, maxime quod tristitiam ac severitatem mitigat et relaxat odiosasque res saepe quos argumentis dilui non facile est ioco risuque dissolvit." Quintilian compares it to salt, an apt simile since "sal" is used for humour, and he says that the salt of wit arouses in its hearers the "thirst to hear". (I. Q. VI, III, 19). For this tactic wins more success than a continued serious strain, notes Haury¹¹, and Cicero De Oratore II, 236 advises its use as an effective weapon in serious cases in preference to a violent diatribe.

And yet another purpose is served, "l'humour mâtiné d'esprit devait s'employer à sauver les inconsequences de la parole."¹² In the De Oratore II, 67 Cicero maintains that there is no time in life in which wit and polite humour may not be properly exercised. It will vary in tone¹³ with the matter, the situation, the character of the speaker, of the audience and of the judges, from free and lively to abusive, bitter or gentle. To illustrate this Saint-Denis refers to De Signis

obligeait l'orateur à exciter, le rire des judges,
 Les judges avaient essuyé déjà trois discours;

11 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 263.

12 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 281.

13 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 27.

au Forum, le soleil de septembre était implacable: tout autour, beaucoup de brouhaha et de poussière. L'orateur pouvait réveiller l'attention des juges par des appels directs; il n'y a pas manqué. Il pouvait encadrer par des récits, des descriptions de villes et d'objets d'art l'exposé des vols; les digressions abondent dans le De Signis.¹⁴

Hence Quintilian adds, (Institutio Oratoria, VI, III, 37) that laughter may be provoked from the physical appearance of the opponent or from his character as revealed in his words and actions or from any external sources. Mr. Haury sums up, "Nous ne soulignerons jamais assez le rôle bienfaisant de l'humour. Il n'a cessé de croître et de compenser les excès du sarcasme."¹⁵

Since Cicero has indicated humour under the patronage of good taste, or "urbanitas", he adds a few don'ts to his directives. In the De Oratore, II, 58

Nam nec insignis improbitas et scelere iuncta nec rursus miseria insignis agitata ridetur; facinorosos maiore quadam vi quam ridiculi vulnerari volunt: miseros inludi nolunt, nisi se forte iactant. Parcendum autem maxime est caritati hominum ne temere in eos dicas qui diliguntur.

This clears up the way for a full scale landslide of every type of humour against Verres for he is insolent, as

14 E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 111 and 112.

15 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 278.

Cicero presents him, and how could such a man be beloved? It is never a mark of a gentleman¹⁶ to take advantage of a man when he is down, either because he is the innocent victim of misfortune or because such attacks may recoil on those who make them. However gentle raillery can save the situation and make the "battles of the courts" more interesting. Quintilian continues to warn against the unrelenting use of wit. The orator must sacrifice a jest sooner than sacrifice his dignity. Again no one will put up with a lawyer who tries to glaze a really feeble case, nor with one who being insensitive attempts to draw mirth instead of the pity demanded by the case. Spontaneity will characterize the jests that are suited to the situation.

II. Variety of Expression.

Cicero was well aware of his mastery of humour as his weapon for on several occasions he remarks upon it.¹⁷ In the Brutus 93, 322 he claims that "no one [of his competitors at the bar] with brief and pointed jest at his opponent's expense was able to relax the attention of the court

¹⁶ Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 28 - 33.

¹⁷ Cicero, De Oratore II, 216 - 289; Orator 87 - 90, Epist. IX, 16, 3 - 4.

and pass for a moment from the seriousness of the business in hand to provoke a smile or open laughter." However, when he is exercising his talent for humour he goes far beyond the horizons which his most liberal blueprint has provided.

For he does not just aim to please the audience (De Oratore II, 54) but Mr. Bennett adds, "serious was the fact that he had experienced the power of humour, had tasted the ecstasy of swaying the crowd to sympathetic laughter: for this intoxication produces a pathological condition that is well-nigh incurable."¹⁸ Cicero admits this passion in a letter to his family. (Fam. IX, XVI, 3).

As Quintilian reflects "the number of ways in which one may speak wittily are of no less infinite variety than those in which one may speak seriously, for they depend on persons, places, time and chances which are numberless."

(I. O. VI, III, 101). Consider now the variety of modes of humour as illustrated in the Verrines.

1. Hyperbole.

Hyperbole is a very common one for it agreeably surprises. (De Oratore II, 66, 267). Cicero notes in Topica X,45

¹⁸ H. Bennett, "The Wit's Progress - A Study In The Life of Cicero", Classical Journal, Vol. 30, 1935, No. 4., p. 193 - 202, p. 193.

that "oratoribus et philosophis concessum est, ut multa etiam loquantur, (Ver. II, V, 67, 171) ut mortui ab inferis excitentur, ut aliquid quod fieri nullo modo possit augendae rei gratia dicatur aut minuendae." Cicero suggests that Verres imagine that Malleolus Senior returns from the underworld and orders the Governor to restore the stolen goods - or at least what he admits stealing: "Ipsum putato adesse. Homo averissime et spurcissime, redde bona sodalis filio, si non quae abstulisti, at quae confessus es!" (Ver. II, I, 37, 94). Cicero claims to be able to produce a telstar performance in covering his case, "ita res a me agetur ut in eorum consiliis omnibus non modo aures hominum, sed etiam oculi populi Romani interesse videantur." (Ver. I, XVI, 48). Even the gods have intervened at a most important crisis of the republic to put an end to the injustice of the court and to allay the unpopularity of the order of the judges - the senate. "id non humano consilio sed prope divinitus datum atque oblatum vobis summo rei publicae tempore videtur." (Ver. I, I, 1).

Cicero states in the De Oratore II, 66 "Etiam illa, quae minuendi aut augendi causa ad incredibilem admirationem efferuntur." All favours that had been conferred on the

Sicilians by the Romans are lost by one man: "Cum omnia sua commoda iura, beneficia senatus populi que Romani unius scelera ac libidine perdidissent." (Ver. II, II, 3, 9). See the whole contingent which Verres has for a clean sweep.

Videte quid potuerit qui quattuor in una provincia quaestores studiosissimos defensores propugnator-
esque habuerit, praetorem vero cohortem totam sic studiosam ut facile appareret non tam illis Sicilia, quam inanem offenderant, quam Verrem ipsum qui plenus decesserat, provinciam fuisse. (Ver. II, II, IV, 12).

Cicero was not the only one collecting evidence!

"Itaque L. Piso multos codices implevit. [...]" (ver. II, I, 46, 119).

When more is said than the truth warrants, so as to give greater force to the suspicion, hyperbole is producing emphasis, notes Ad C. Herennium IV, 53, 67. Referring to his anticipation of the great trial Cicero claims that he trembles from head to foot. [...] Cum illius temporis nihil venit in mentem quo die citato reo mihi dicendum sit, non solum commoveor animo, sed etiam toto corpore perhorresco." (Div. Caec. XIII, 41).

Cicéron exagère plaisamment la peur qui s'est emparée de lui; quand il est venu enquêter à Syracuse: il a redouté les assauts des jolies femmes de la haute société, dont la caprice avait exercé la préture pendant trois ans, et dont les maris avaient été pour le préteur debonnaires à l'excès [...]¹⁹

19 E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 120.

There was never a minute that Verres did not spend in sin, "Cum iste punctum temporis nullum vacuum peccato praeterire passus sit." (Ver. II, I, 40, 103).

A case conceived by Verres and is expressed metaphorically: "Dubiumne est quin ista omnis improbatio cogendae pecuniae causa nata sit?" (Ver. II, III, 74, 172). Cicero teaches that when something obscure is illustrated by a single word it is evidence of acuteness. Does this verb "nata sit" imply that Verres did suffer - birth pains - for his schemes?

Even before the advent of television the slaying of Verres' lictor was considered by the whole of Asia as a just deed. "Quod toti Asiae iure occisus videbatur istius ille verbo lictor, re vera minister improbissimae cupiditatis, pertimuit iste Philodamus Neronis iudicio liberaretur." (Ver. II, I, 29, 72). In marked contrast with this sample is Cicero's impressive presentation of the one crucifixion in the whole history of Messina and Verres was the instigator. (Ver. II, V, 66, 169). Italy on the other side of the water from Verres is personified as the mother of a nursling, the crucified. Yet she cannot reach him to offer consolation, so narrow is the line between slavery and freedom. Irony and humour are shown in a perfect blend here. The extravagance of Verres may be glimpsed in his passion for

tapestry. More than enough for thirty couches for each of his homes and accommodation of his guests! But he supplied the purple as he kept countless weavers busy. (Ver. II, IV, 26, 59). Cicero has to add that he personally hesitated to use the facts which had been supplied to him because they seemed so unbelievable. (Ver. II, V, 61, 158).

Incredible is the list of Verres co-adjutors, "hounds", and craftsmen, real and fictitious. (Ver. II, V, 56, 146) "personarum ficta inductio vel gravissimum lumen augendi;" (De Or. II, 53). Who is Verrucius? (Ver. II, IV, 61, 137). Cicero pursues Carpenatius for an explanation of the erasures and the identification of the so-called Verrucius - and demands an explanation, too, for the error always occurring at the same point in the man's name after the two r's. The reaction "haerere homo, versari, rubere". (Ver. II, II, 76, 187). Who were the candidates for the office of High Priest of Jupiter at Syracuse, all bearing the same name? (Ver. II, II, 51, 127). How was it arranged that Verres' candidate, Climachias, was elected to the office of High Priest at Cephaloedium? (Ver. II, II, 52, 129 - 30).

Is Cicero making Metellus show his second side when he changes his name to Lucius Laetilius? He must have been happy under Verres' regime. "Nam L. Metellus, qui posteaquam ego inquirendi causa in Siciliam veni, repente Laetilii adventu istius non modo amicus verum etiam cognatus factus

est [..] (Ver. II, II, 55, 138).

There is not the slightest possibility that the audience would fail to recognize Verres and even his "hounds" even if they met in the dark. Cicero's caricatures are indelible. "Nam ipsum Verrem tantum avaritia semper hiante atque imminente fuisse. (Ver. II, II, 54, 134). Besides his greed which hung open-mouthed over his prey is replete with very keen scent to track down the prey should it be at a distance. In contrast Cicero invites us to Verres' cage, "For the sake of brevity and clearness, step forward, gentlemen, and unroll this facsimile transcript of accounts, so that instead of following out the tracks of his voracity the world may now see it at home in its lair" (Ver. II, II, 77, 190). Like qualities are possessed by the whole pack; look at Cicero's sketch of Timarchides. "Haec vero huius erat ars et malitia miranda quod acutissime tota provincia quid cuique accidisset, quid cuique opus esset indagare et odorari solebat." (Ver. II, II, 54, 135). The madness of Apronius is exposed in his humiliation of the Roman citizens as he revels in the city square. (Ver. II, III, 26, 65). Yet his madness is the explanation for his mistake in demanding 36,000 bushels as tithes in Leontini - "Erravit aut potius insanivit Apronius? Immo tum insanisset, si aratoribus id quod deberent licitum esset et non quod Apronius imperasset necesse fuisset dare." (Ver. II, III, 47, 113). But, the wild

beast is trapped "Nunc tibi ego ullam salutem, ullum perfugium putem, cum te implicatum severitate iudicum, circumretitum (caught in a net) frequentia populi Romani esse videam? (Ver. II, V, 58, 150).

Saint-Denis' reflection offers a résumé:

Peu importe, dans cet art très gros mais très gai la finesse psychologique ou l'unité des caractères: le comique est gaillardement cherché, irrésistiblement obtenu, par la déformation et la caricature; comique deviant l'asymétrie qui défigure une harmonie, un contraste qui rompt une unité, une syncope qui déséquilibre un rythme.²⁰

[.] language is primarily a matter not of logic, but of psychology and psychology must take account of emotion.²¹ "Mehercule", "hercle" and "mechercules" are explosives that convey Cicero's emotion. (Ver. I, 17, 50, II, III, 72, 169). Emphatic forms of pronouns are another sign of passionate speech. "ecquem" and "vosmet" occur as Cicero states the futility of going to court over a question of excessive taxation, particularly under Apronius. (Ver. II, III, 12, 29). As the emotion rises sarcasm is obvious in "ex hisce ternis medimnis", (Ver. II, III, 48, 115). Only exclamations are possible as Cicero describes Apronius officiating in one of his hang-over's. "O Praeclarum et commemorandum iudicium! O severum edictum! O tutum

20 E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 83.

21 E. W. Nichols, "Single Word Versus Phrase", American Journal of Philology 1922, Vol. 43, p. 146 - 163, p. 156.

perfugium oratorum! (Ver. II, III, 12, 28).

2. Ambiguity.

Quod facete dicatur, id alias in re hoc habere, alias in verbo, facetiis autem homines maxime delectari, si quando risus coniuncte re verboque moveatur [...]. Ex ambiguo dicta vel argutissima putantur. (De Or. II, 61)

Was Cicero attempting to confuse the issue by suggesting that Verres would not give orders to remove the statue of Aristaeus - "non tuo imperio palam ablatum est?" (Ver. II, IV, 57, 128).

"Sed non saepe magnum risum movent; magis ut belle et litterate dicta laudantur." (De Or. II, 62). "Locupletem" serves this purpose in Cicero's pursuit of the identification of "Verrucius". (Ver. II, II, 77, 190). The double meaning wealthy and trusty incorporated in the adjective when associated with Verres is amusing in its antithesis. "The solution of the pun", according to Mr. Rapp,²² "is in itself a sudden success in a contest of wits, a sudden grasping the point. But [...] on the chief plane of combat he has been, not fairly defeated, but fooled, cheated, disappointed." Is this perhaps Cicero's method of explaining the preponderance of puns in the Verrines and of reinstating

22 Albert Rapp, Op. Cit. p. 84.

their effectiveness?

Le jeu des sobriquets, cher aux campagnards, fut pratiqué de très bonne heure, par les Latins, et c'est encore un aspect de l'antique causticité.

Les Latins prenaient plaisir à forger sur les surnoms des plaisanteries nouvelles.²³

The versatility of his adversary's name greatly tempted Cicero's sense of humour to capitalize on it in its varied kaleidoscopic forms. (Ver. II, IV, 25, 57). "Ridiculum est me nunc de Verre dicere cum de Pisone Frugi dixerim [. . .] nimirum ut hic nomen suum comprobavit, sic ille cognomen." The advocate plays on the double meaning of names: Verres, a hog for silver and gold while Piso, exaggeratedly honest, he called, "Frugi". A little more pointed pun appears in Ver. II, I, 46, 121. This is the type he attributes (Fam. VII, 32, 1) as his complaint in a letter indicates, as being other people's jokes that are palmed off as his.

Hinc illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore; quorum alii, id quod saepe audistis, negabant mirandum esse ius tam nequam esse verrinum: alii etiam frigidiores erant, sed quia stomachabantur ridiculi videbantur esse cum Sacerdotem exsecrabantur qui verrem tam nequam reliquisset. (Ver. II, I, 46, 121).

Cicero's rival to the right to prosecute Verres was Caecilius, a man who had some Jewish connections. This circumstance played right into the hand of our prosecutor as

23 E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 42 and 43.

he asks "Quid Judaeo cum Verre?" (Att. I, 16, 10) for a Jew's abhorrence of pork would have him steer clear of this "verres"²⁵ (Also Div. Caec. XVII, 57).

Ius Verrinum,²⁴ Verres' administration of the law, is readily taken as pork gravy and Verres' predecessor, "Mr. Priest", who ought to have sacrificed this particular animal would have prepared the sauce from the "hog" itself the product of Cicero's goblet perhaps. (Div. Caec. XVII, 57.)

Mr. Alienus is a versatile character. Cicero implies that Caecilius would be the most indebted to another or perhaps the most foreign to the role of prosecutor of all the bribed or uninitiated, even more than Mr. Alienus. (Div. Caec. XV, 48 - 50). It was the Sicilians' redeeming sense of humour, Cicero suggests, which saved them. When Verres had his men slave in vain in an attempt to appropriate Hercules, a huge bronze image from Agrigentum, they declared that he should be classed among the labours of Hercules, "Non minus hunc immanissimum verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere". (Ver. II, IV, 43, 95). The play on his name is accentuated by the synonym "aprum" balancing "verrem". Cicero explains that in the amount of

24 Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Loeb Classical Library, translator's note, Vol. 1, p. 252. Ver. II,I,46,121.

25 H. M. Kingery, "The Human Element", Classical Journal, Vol. 16, Nov. 1920, p. 67 - 80. p. 79.

work he had to do to trace all the evidence against Verres, he was assisted by the tracks and odour of his prey. (Ver. II, IV, 24, 53).

What can be funny in a name? Cicero answers, "Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen cum ad ridiculum convertas, quam ob rem ita quis vocetur." (De Or. II, 63). Another extension of his name serves as an excuse for his generous housecleaning of Sicily. It does mean broom since "verrere" means to sweep and it contains the word, spring. So Cicero is away! "videte satisne paratus ex illo omine urbano ad everrendam provinciam venerit." (Ver. II, II, 7, 19). Now it's **Spring Cleaning Festival** for Verres.

O Verria praeclara! quo accessisti, quaeso, quo non attuleris tecum istum diem! Etenim quam tu domum, quam urbem adiisti, quod fanum denique, quod non eversum atque extersum reliqueris? Quare appellantur sane ista Verria, quae non ex nomine sed ex manibus naturaque tua constituta esse videantur. (Ver. II, II, 21, 52).

It is not only a hog and a broom but also a dragnet that are related to Verres' name. This tool will permit a clean sweep in town, in country and even in the sea. "Quod umquam, iudices, huiusce modi everriculum ulla in provincia fuit? (Ver. II, IV, 24, 53).

Not only does Verres' name supply the material for play on words, but also almost any word supplies the opportunity for Cicero's punning. Clarifying the notion that the

Sicilians' choice of him as their defender is a declaration of their desire that he be Verres' prosecutor, Cicero puns on "obiciatur". The double meaning to "throw up protection" and to "throw up opposition" serves as a surprise and jolt to Caecilius. (Div. Caec. IV, 15). This gives proof of his remark in the De Oratore II, 61 "ingeniosi enim videtur vim verbi in aliud, atque ceteri accipiant posse ducere:".

Verres was nearly a goner - burned up by hatred for Junius. "Nam qua invidia C. Iunius conflagravit, ea, nisi providisses, tibi ipsi tum pereundum fuisset." (Ver. II, I, 61, 157). The double meaning of "conflagravit" is emphasized by the sequel "pereundum". Verres' flames of passion and his affinity for women prompt Cicero to ask the court whether it feels that this devotee of Venus, who came to the province fresh from Chelidon's arms has used the name of Venus to secure enough wealth for himself. (Ver. II, II, 9, 24). It is the resemblance of the words "venerius" and "Veneria" with a mere change of letter which constitutes²⁶ the ambiguity. There is reason for some misunderstanding for the husbands here, "hi autem quidam erant affinis istius quorum iste uxores numquam alienas existimavit Cleomanes et Aeschrio" (Ver. II, II, 14, 36). Verres considered the wives of Cleomanes and Aeschrio as his but in reality they belong to others. Perhaps the two men saw that they did belong to him.

26 Cicero, De Oratore, II, 63.

There is another notable play on names. Phylarchus of Haluntium, who had been caught and captured by the pirates, was able to be present at the trial through an act of mercy. Then a second distinguished witness of Centuripa is introduced as being in agreement with the evidence of Phylarchus. His name is Phalacrus, (Ver. II, V, 45, 122), but they agree in every other detail.

Even when Verres turns to athletics he comes out "richer". "verum ita palaestritas defendebat ut ab illis ipsi unctior abiret." (Ver. II, II, 22, 54). The literal meaning refers to the oiling practised by athletes but for Verres being "more anointed" must be interpreted "more blessed" in the same sense as men know Verres. It is a simple pun on the word "copia" that signifies the abundance of arguments and of bribes involved in the defence of this remarkable scoundrel. (Ver. I, IV, 10). In "Comites illi tui delecti manus erant tuae" (Ver. II, II, 10, 27) Verres can be seen by hook or by crook, or rather both, with his hands, as well as with his bands of henchmen, collecting wealth. As Ad C. Herennium IV, 53, 66 recommends that ambiguity be used for emphasis, a regular pun serves that function. Frequently Cicero fittingly depicts Verres as a pirate (Ver. II, V, 25, 64) or as a military commando. "Ille ex Sicilia iam castra commoverat et vasa collegerat" (Ver. II, IV, 19, 40). "Haec copia quam dico iudicum cohors."

(Ver. II, II, 13, 34). The terms of war are being applied to Verres' staff and retinue. How his supporters increased in number can be seen from another example, "Adventu L. Metelli praetoris, cum omnes eius comites iste sibi suo illo panchresto medicamento amicos reddidisset." (Ver. II, III, 65, 152). In the battle of love Verres "gesserat" and "conflarat". (Ver. II, II, 47, 116). After the victory? Verres erects a statue of Cupid with a torch on Mt. Eryx as a symbol of his own cupidity? questions Cicero (Ver. II, II, 47, 115). "Interpres" means "interpreter" and "go-between"; its use is exploited in this passage, "A. Valentius est in Sicilia interpres [interpreter], quo iste interprete non ad linguam Graecam, sed ad furta et flagitia [both meanings] uti solebat. Fit hic interpres [second meaning] homo levis atque egens repente decumanus". (Ver. II, III, 37, 8). One last play on a name as a friend of Verres is introduced (De Or. II, 63). Meet Theomastus, a name which is interpreted as remembered²⁷ by the gods. However, the townsfolk nicknamed him Theoractus, one blasted by the gods. (Ver. II, IV, 66, 148).

"elocutio est idoneorum verborum ad inventionem accommodatio;"²⁸ So a single word is effective, if it is

27 Cicero, The Verrine Orations, Translator's note p. 460.

28 Cicero, De Inventione, I, III, 9.

rare, newly coined or metaphorical. (De Or. III, 152). Cicero finds a coined word for Verres, feminine to cut to the quick, SOTERA. It is impossible to render it into a single Latin word so "soter" is supplied to mean "the Giver of Deliverance" for Syracuse. (Ver. II, II, 63, 154). Timarchides is termed a "libertus" in the service of Verres (Ver. II, II, 54, 134). No doubt Cicero is using the word in its moral sense as of one freely choosing to do this service, rather than as one released from servitude. In his greeting to Verres Cicero uses the word "renuntio" (Ver. I, 7, 19) implying that with the results of the elections goes the announcement of Verres' acquittal. In the De Oratore II, 66 Cicero praises the role of a single word well chosen. "Arguta est etiam significatio cum parva re et saepe verbo res obscura et latens inlustratur;"

A form of word play which contributes to the humour of a speech is Interpretation (Ad C. Her. IV, 28, 38), a figure which replaces a word which has been used by another of the same meaning. This is particularly effective when a ridiculous reason or explanation is incorporated into the statement. A temple slave Diognetus was sent as a tax collector for Verres. Cicero asks why they are not tax-farming in Rome, "Ad quos tu decumanum Diognetum Venerium misisti, novum genus publicani - cur hoc auctore non Romae quoque

servi publici ad vectigalia accedunt?" (Ver. II, III, 38, 86). A very striking passage illustrating this technique is seen in Ver. II, III, 66, 154 - 8 where Timarchides' letter giving instructions to Apronius is read with Cicero's commentary. The assignment of the pirates to a prison is another effective passage.

Itaque hominem huic optimae tutissimaeque custodiae non audet committere, denique Syracusas totas timet, amandat hominem - quo? Lilybaeum fortasse? Video: tamen homines maritimos non plane reformidat, minime, iudices. Panhormam igitur? Audio, quamquam Syracusis, quoniam in Syracusano captus erat, maxime, si minus supplicio affici, at custodiri oportebat. Ne Panhormum quidem. Quo igitur? quo putatis? Ad homines a piratorum metu et suscipione alienissimos, a navigando rebusque maritimas remotissimos, ad Centuripinos, homines maxime mediterraneos, summos aratores, qui nomen numquam timuissent maritimi praedonis, unum te praetore horruissent Apronium, terrestrem archipiratem. (Ver. II, V, 27 69 - 70)

Verres has a new way of working out a plan for "securing plunder".

Cognoscite nunc praedandi rationem ab hoc primum excognitatum [...] accipere a civitatibus pecuniam ne nautas darent, pretio certo missos facere nautas, missorum omne stipendium lucrari reliquis quod deberet non dare [...] iste quod eius nautae nomine pro stipendio frumentoque acceperat lucrabatur. (Ver. II, V, 25, 62).

Cicero uses interpretation in showing ambitious Verres as his own competitor, striving to break all his previous records. " [...] improbitate [...] certet [...] multumque improbitate superabit: secum ipse certat [...] [...] novo scelere vincat. (Ver. II, V, 44, 115 - 6).

3. Narrative

Mr. Haury explains why Cicero, who calls this art the "ornamenta" of an oration (De Or. III 52, 201 and Ora-
tor, 40, 137 - 8) is such a gripping story-teller. "Le cursus de l'ancien préteur offrait à l'humoriste en puissance une matière d'autant plus riche qu'il pouvait désormais, tel un romancier, l'exploiter à loisir dans le cadre d'une seconde action imaginaire."²⁹ Lampsacum is the site for a lively short story which entertains the reader for two chapters. (Ver. II, I, 24 - 27, 63 - 70). Cicero's ingenuity is displayed in his fitting of names to his characters. His host, the doorman, "Ianitor", welcomes Verres, and his accompanying attendant who should continually blush is Rubrius. The latter has his accommodation transferred. Enter the good father who seems destined to offer his daughter as a target for Verres' lust for his name is Philodamus, a Love-Giver. The plot thickens as the plan to abuse the daughter after dinner backfires. Confusion results and the neighbours fly to the rescue. Picketeers muster outside Verres' home planning to burn it and to carry Verres away. A few Roman citizens come to the rescue and admitting Verres' bad reputation plead for the life of this criminal, on the

29 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 118.

grounds that it is a smaller mistake to spare a criminal than to take the life of a governor. Yet the story concludes that Verres was burned but rescued. Now it is to be noted as Mr. Haury says, that with Cicero "Il s'agit moins de cingler que de stimuler et d'intimider".³⁰ Of all the orations the Verrines provide the greatest wealth of narrative. The explanation lies not only in the subject to be presented, but also in the contest for supremacy as the orator of Rome. As a consequence of this performance, "Cicero was recognized as the first orator in Rome [...] the prince of story-telling."³¹

The foregoing examples illustrate Cicero's dictates for narrative of the De Inventione I, XIX, 27, as an exposition of events that have occurred or are supposed to have occurred. (Ver. II, I, 7, 20). There are three kinds: one which contains just the facts of the case and the whole reason for the dispute (Ver. II, I, 8, 23); a second in which a digression is made beyond the strict limits of the case (Div. Caec. XV, 48 and Ver. I, 8, 21) for the purpose of attacking somebody (Ver. II, I, 3, 7); or of making a comparison (Ver. I, VII, 18 - 19), or of amusing the audience in a way not incongruous with the business in hand (Ver. II,

30 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 118.

31 See also Elizabeth Hazelton, Haight, The Roman Use of Anecdotes in Cicero, Livy and the Satirists, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1940, viii - 189 p., p. 8 and 25 and 36.

III, II, 12, 28) or for amplification. (Ver. II, V, 49, 128).

Saulnier puts it this way:

L'humour est une attitude d'esprit faite de réflexion et d'observation sympathiques, et qui consiste à regarder l'univers ou ses propres sentiments sous un angle comique. Il cultive par jeu l'opposition entre le réel et le fictif, et il constitue le type de rire comme activité spécifique.³²

Of such narratives, the Ad C. Herennium I, VII, 13 declares there are two kinds, one based on facts, the other based on persons. The kinds of narrative based on the exposition of the facts presents three forms, legendary, historical, and realistic. The legendary tale comprises events neither true nor probable like those transmitted by tragedy. Cicero introduces the story of Dio (Ver. II, I, IX, 27) to implant his point that evidence is better than a record of it. Verres' greed is compared to Eriphyle's betrayal of her husband to death for a necklace. (Ver. II, IV, 18, 39). The artistic insertion "ut opinor, ex auro et gemmis" is climaxed by the succession of "istius cupiditas [...] acrior atque insanior quod illa cupiebat id quod viderat, huius libidines non solum oculis sed etiam auribus excitabantur." The return of the Trojan Horse to Haluntium (Ver. II, IV, 23, 50 - 52) is a legendary summation of a very good melodrama. Perhaps this is an illustration of a joke "in re", as Cicero describes it in the De Oratore II, 59.

32 Cl. Saulnier, Le Sens du Comique, Paris, 1940, p. 138.

Re, si quando quid tamquam aliqua fabella narratur
[. . .] sive habeas vere quod narrare possis, quod
tamen est mendaciunclis aspergendum sive fingas.
In re est item ridiculum, quod ex quadam depravata
imitatione sumi solet.

Irene Nye³³ comments that the humour of this technique consists of the telling of an amusing incident (real or fictitious), the humourous characterization or description of an individual or may be made up of exaggerated imitation of something easily recognized. The case of Quintus Lollius as conducted by Apronius reads like real comedy. (Ver. II, III, 25, 61 - 62). Commenting on narrative Rapp says that it "not only adds 'story' interest, but as far as the laugh is concerned it has one big advantage, it throws the laugh (in part) on a fictitious character in the story."³⁴ Cicero in Ver. II, IV, 23, 51 - 2, has brilliantly allied symbolism, association of ideas and legend to present an account vastly out of proportion with reality as the noblest citizen is the only man worthy to scale the heights to pour a sea of silver down to Lord Mayor Verres, as he basks on the seashore or was he taking precaution against a heart attack? The incident, is at any rate, a renewal of the admission of the Trojan horse whose capacious bulk is

33 Irene Nye, "Humour Repeats Itself", The Classical Journal, 1913 - 14, Vol. 9, p. 154 - 164, p. 160.

34 Albert Rapp, Op. Cit. p. 85.

filled but not satisfied with silverware. Quintilian cites Cicero's witty retort as a way of displaying culture (Inst. Or. VI, III, 98) by drawing on legend. When Hortensius said to him as he was examining a witness, "I do not understand these riddles". "You ought to, then," said Cicero, "as you have got the Sphinx at home." Hortensius had received a bronze Sphinx of great value as a present from Verres. (Inst. Or. VI, III, 98). It is obvious that Cicero's contribution to his narratives are the most humorous element. This, Quintilian, says, is essential (Inst. Or. VI, III, 39). Similarly the supposed explanation of Verres' sudden transformation from a man into a "boar" is "tamquam aliquo Circaeο Poculo". (Div. Caec. XVII, 57).

The historical narrative³⁵ is an account of exploits actually performed, but removed in time from the recollection of our age. By the insertion at appropriate times and in the proper light incidents of Rome's battle for victory, the orator establishes a point with a weight that is due to the aurora rather than the account. The reference to Quintus Catulus' opinion on tribuitian power and Pompey's intention to restore it, is an introduction of a plea for honest law courts (Ver. I, 15, 44) in the time of Pompey. A clever parallel for the present need of good judges and

35 [Cicero] , Ad C. Herennium, I, VIII, 13.

jurors is obvious. Great Roman leaders are cited as comparing unfavourably with Verres (Ver. II, I, 20, 55 - 6 and II, I, 27, 70). Pompey's previous intervention in the affairs of Sicily presents a parallel situation with marked contrasting response. (Ver. II, II, 46, 113). How royalty returns regal hospitality supplies plenty of scope for Cicero's ingenuity and humour. Verres' puzzle of how to transfer the whole of the wealth of the Syrian princes, sons of King Antiochus, shows temptation on display. (Ver. II, IV, 27, 63). Frequent references to Scipio (Ver. II, II, 2, 3, 14, 28 -9, II, I, 4, 11) and the Marcelli³⁶ very subtly remind the hearers of Roman grandeur of the past. Lucius Metellus goes to the rescue! Of whom? The survivors of Verres' governorship in Sicily (Ver. II, III, 53, 123 - 4). Cicero readily reveals the facts of the past through a series of questions and wonderfully creates suspense until Metellus successfully collected the farmers from flight and gave them new life.

There is but a short step from the lively narrative already presented to the realistic accounts of imaginary

³⁶ Cicero, The Verrine Orations, other references to Scip. Vol. I, p. 322, 384-6, 424, Vol. II, p. 256, 306, 370-386, 396, 402, 482, 496, 600 - 2, 672, References to Marcelli, Vol. I. p. 330, 350, 422, 132, 178, 296, 348, 266, 276, 286, Vol. II, p. 388 - 394, 48, 260, 324, 390 - 394, 424 - 432, 438 - 440, 560.

events or plausible incidents. Here is the display of the³⁷ diverse traits of character, such as austerity and gentleness (Ver. II, IV, 17, 37; 18, 38, in fact all of Book IV), hope and fear (Ver. II, IV, 23, 52) distrust and desire, (Ver. II, IV, 61, 138) hypocrisy and compassion and the vicissitudes of life. (Ver. II, V, 29).

Il faudrait citer toutes les anecdotes du De signis, ou les narrations sont l'essentiel ou la plaisanterie, et la bonne humeur sont partout répandues. [...] Le lecteur sourit lorsqu'il apprend que les Siciliens superstitieux ont usé, à force de baisers, le menton et la bouche de leur statue d'Hercule (94); [...] que, depuis les rapines de Verrès les guides des voyageurs ont dû changer leurs boniments: avant, ils montraient les oeuvres d'art; maintenant ils en montrent l'emplacement (132).³⁸

Cicero confesses in the De Oratore II, 66

rerum plura sunt eaque magis, ut dixi ante, ridentur; in quibus est narratio, res sane difficilis. Exprimenda enim sunt et ponenda ante oculos ea, quae videantur et veri similia quod est proprium narrationis, et quae sint quod ridiculi proprium est, subturpia

"On note aussi", states Mr. Haury³⁹, "entre autres procédés humoristiques des anecdotes depuis longtemps classiques souvent coiffées de leur mot d'esprit (Ver. II, V, 7; 32; 95; 149)." Cicero has recreated almost with the

37 [Cicero] Ad C. Herennium, I, VIII, 13 and Elizabeth H. Haight, Ibid, P. 36.

38 E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 119.

39 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 121.

exactitude of a tape-recorder or rather through his artistic skill the humourous dialogue between a farmer and the governor. (Ver. II, III, 85, 195 - 198). For Verres the commutation tax meant his livelihood! D'Iraeli claimed that "a well-chosen anecdote frequently reveals a character more happily than an elaborate delineation: as a glance of lightning will sometimes discover what had escaped us in a full light."⁴⁰

An allegory is the communication medium presenting the departure of Hercules from Agrigentum. Cicero pantomimes Timarchides and his army of pirates, the night crew, seemingly by the hundreds invading the town by night. The delight is complete when as a consolation prize two tiny statues are ravaged in hopes of calming the chief pirate in his disappointment on their return. (Ver. II, IV, 43, 94 - 5). A similar conclusion is given to Assorus' story but with only one very small bronze statue. (Ver. II, IV, 44, 96). The whole description of Verres' performance as governor in terms of his campaigns both as a lover and as a gambler illustrate another use of allegory. (Ver. II, V, 13, 33-4). Cicero can't resist the temptation to ask Verres if in buying Heius' statues, he forgot to include the gold-brocade

40 George Daniel, editor, A Book of Anecdotes Illustrating Varieties of Experience in the Lives of the Eminent and the Obscure, Bath, Hulton Press, 1958, xii - 445 p. 1 p. v.

tapestries renowned throughout Sicily? Perhaps, he suggests Verres wished to save writing paper. (Ver. II, IV, 12, 27). Saint-Denis adds, "La malice est dans le comment, tout comme si le fait de la restitution était hors de doute."⁴¹ Pathetic is the story of Pamphilus of Lilybaeum for his escape from Verres through the influence of the latter's colleagues is a case of "out of the frying pan into the fire". (Ver. II, IV, 14, 32).

So ironical is the request Verres makes of the Syracusans, a eulogy for himself, if you please! It required the pressure of authority to produce one, Cicero notes. (Ver. II, IV, 63, 141). The petulant and whining reply of Verres, "The Sicilians hate me, yes; for I have acted largely in the interests of the Roman section" (Ver. II, II, 69, 165 - 6) is an instance of Cicero's delightful banter. What has Verres done for Rome? That too, is presented in the form of a parable. (Ver. II, III, 50, 119). Apronius' action in Sicily - a profitable servant for Verres!

L'éloquence de cette époque tend à former un art dramatique complet, avec mimique, musique, répliques.⁴²

41 E. De Saint-Denis, Op. Cit. p. 121.

42 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 279.

According to Mr. Rapp⁴³ the more clearly the person can be visualized the more humorous is the story.

In the account of Verres' punishment of Sopater, the leading citizen of Tyndaris, Cicero appeals to all senses in turn as if he were plucking the strings of a musical instrument. Even pathetic fallacy is operative in the punishment due for being an honourable citizen (Ver. II, IV, 39 - 40, 84 - 87) until his stiff, frozen body is exchanged for a statue of Mercury. Mr. Haury⁴⁴ exclaims,

Quel sentiments peut éprouver un Quirite au spectacle de cet affranchi onctueux et parfumé qui tient le milieu en marchant avec des citoyens, de cette flotte qui, sous les regards d'un prêteur en sandales, pallium pourpre et tunique tombante appuyé sur une courtisane, s'essoufle à suivre un amiral, ivre, tremblant et trompé dont les derniers à fuir se trouvent les premiers, au danger, de ce défilé sur les quais de Syracuse de va-nu-pieds vainqueurs jetant des racines de palmiers sauvages. (Ver. II, V, 27, 69 & 38, 99).

Cicero's declaration of Verres as a brilliant astronomer is a delightful masterpiece. (Ver. II, II, 52, 128-31). The vignette of Cicero's encounter with Theomnastus is as

43 Albert Rapp, Op. Cit. p. 145.

44 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 271.

vivid as reality itself. (Ver. II, IV, 65, 148 - 9)⁴⁵. In the De Oratore II, 59, 241 Cicero grants the orator leave to colour his story with fabrication, a privilege which he used in the account of Sisenna. (Ver. II, IV, 15, 33).

4. Unexpected Turn

"Sed ex his omnibus nihil magis ridetur, quam quod est praeter expectationem." (De Or. II, 70). At times Cicero seems to be favouring Verres.

Dicet aliquid. Quid ergo in hoc Verrem reprehendis, qui non modo ipse fur non est, sed ne alium quidem passus est esse? Attendite; iam intellegetis hanc pecuniam, quae via modo visa est exile ab isto, eam semite revertisse.

Now follow the story through to the end. There is a grand sweep of Epicrates' property, his original 50,000 sesterces, and an additional fifteen.

An is homo Verres, ut haec quae dixi gratis facta esse videantur? [. . .] Et Heraclius ille Syracusanus et hic Bidinus Epicrates expulsi bonis omnibus Romam venerunt: sordidati, maxima barba et capillo, Romae biennium prope fuerunt. (Ver. II, II, 23, 57 - 62).

45 Note also E. Thomas, Cicéron De signis, Paris, Hachette, 1894 p. 12. "Le prêteur tour à tour ingénieux et impérieux, pour s'assurer la possession de ce qu'il convoitait, menaçait, de l'exil ou du supplice; il empruntait, sauf à ne jamais rendre, il achetait, sauf à ne pas payer; mais le Grec, fait à ce manège, avait ses ruses, pour ne pas perdre ses meubles de prix, il voyageait, ou les faisait voyager; il les cachait ou les décrivait, et même avec un Verres il parvenait parfois à garder son bien." (Other anecdotes Ver. II, 4, 32 - 5, 72 - 9; II, 4, 49, 107 - 111. Ver. II, I, 17, 45.)

This same type of unexpected turn is evident as Cicero presents one act of mercy on the part of Verres as he spares the citizens of Herbita by a reduction in their corn tithe. (Ver. II, III, 33, 77). However, two chapters later Cicero mentions that he passed over a point about reduction. First, though, he introduces Sulla, from whose like he begs the gods to deliver Rome. Then point by point he depicts this tyrant's method of handling reductions. Our advocate handles his account in such a way that Verres is blackened by contrast. Sulla, he adds, was condemned for allowing deductions from a revenue he was collecting for the state; Verres was acquiring from the state and for his own pleasure the actual reductions. Will he be acquitted, then? Cicero leads his audience to think that there was one point in Verres' favour for a while. Then, like ten pins, he knocks down all possibility of good and blackens his whole character.

The surprise element has been recurring as a characteristic of humour. (Ver. II, IV, 56, 125), when we expect one thing and another is said. Cicero claims in the De Oratore II, 63, "Sed scitis esse notissimum ridiculi genus, cum aliud exspectamus aliud dicitur; hoc nobismet ipsis nos-ter error risum movet. Quodsi admixtum est ambiguum etiam fit salsius". Our own disappointed expectation makes us laugh in the paradox, "myoparone piratico capto dux liberatus." (Ver. II, V, 28, 73). This combination is produced in

lively repartee. Cicero claims that the Syracusans have to mourn the loss of more gods through Verres than of men through the victory of Marcellus. (Ver. II, IV, 58, 131). When the vote rescinding Verres' eulogy had been recorded, there was an appeal to the governor.

At quis appellat? Magistratus aliqui? Nemo. Senator? Ne id quidem. Syracusanorum aliqui? Minime. Quis igitur praetorem appellat? Qui quaestor istius fuerat P. Caesetius, O rem ridiculam! O desertum hominem desperatum, relictum! A magistratu Siculo, ne senatus consultum Siculi homines facere possent ne suum ius suis moribus, suis legibus obtinere possent, non amicus istius. Non hospes, non denique aliquis Siculus, sed quaestor populi Romani praetorem appellat! Quis hoc vidit, quid audivit? Praetor aequus et sapiens dimitti iubet senatum. Concurrit ad me maxima multitudo. (Ver. II, IV, 65, 146).

There is an about face in the story of Gavius, a Roman prisoner of Verres. (Ver. II, V, 61, 160 - 170). On his escape he indiscreetly shared his plans for revenge with people in Messana; a town that was Verres' right hand. Shortly after Gavius' arrest Verres happened to arrive. "Agit hominibus gratias, et eorum benivolentiam erga se diligentiamque collaudat. Ipse inflammatus scelere et furore in forum venit; ardebant oculi, toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat." Then after six pages of description of procedure and of reaction, Cicero sums up the whole process. "Non tu hoc loco Gavium, non unum hominem nescio quem, sed communem libertatis et civitatis causam in illum cruciatum

et crucem egisti." This is a fine epigrammatic close to the whole incident.⁴⁶

Haury observes⁴⁷ that the frequency of epigrams⁴⁸ and proverbs are evidence that Cicero has wedded his sense of humour to his powers of observation and popular zest. The basis of a choice of a prosecutor hinges on two antithetical statements which form a kind of epigram in Div. Caec. III, 10-11. Cicero's evaluation of this type of statement is given in the De Oratore II, 65, "ornant igitur in primis orationem verba relata contrarie; quod idem genus saepe et etiam facetum." Then, the comparison of Verres and Marcellus previously referred to shows the same technique "sic, habetote, pluris esse a Syracusanis istuis adventu deos quam victoria Marcelli homines desideratos." (Ver. II, IV, 58, 131). Aristotle remarks that "hearers are delighted when

46 Also II, IV, 4, 7; II, IV, 38, 83; II, IV, 55, 123.

47 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 34.

48 Edmund Fuller, editor, Thesaurus of Epigrams, New York, Crown Publishers, 1943, x - 382 p. p. v.

" 'What is an epigram? a dwarfish whole
Its body brevity, and wit its soul!

He quotes the Oxford dictionary's definition and it is "a pointed or antithetical saying". So he adds that they should be witty, but where does wit begin and end? They should be paradoxical but one man's paradox is another man's faith."

a speaker succeeds if expressing as a universal truth the opinions they hold about particular cases."⁴⁹ It is because the saying is drawn from life and is expressed very concisely that it is charming provided it is used prudently and rarely. (Ad C. Herennium IV, 17, 24). The delight provoked may be attributed⁵⁰ to the surprise that the hearer enjoys as he perceives that an indisputable principle drawn from practical life is being applied to a cause and he must give it tacit approval.

In Cicero's humorous explanation of how Verres' "bought" the statues of Heius, he notes that the bargain prices set by the dealer are in marked contrast with the value set on the goods because of the reputation of the Greek artist-creators. The last reflection is, "Malo emere quam rogare". (Ver. II, IV, 6, 12). Haury⁵¹ maintains that epigrams, proverbs and quotations "Par leur caractère impersonnel et cette forme savoureuse qu'aime à emprunter la sagesse des nations [...] tirent sur l'humour. Autre mine d'esprit ils conviennent à la détente et caractérisent le style familier, voire populaire." As C. Heius the leader of the delegation which came to Rome to praise Verres, reveals

49 Aristotle, Rhet. 2, 21, 1395 b.

50 Quintilian, Ibid., VIII, V, 15.

51 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 90.

that the latter had robbed him of all his heirlooms including his household gods, Cicero reflects, "Praeclara laudatio cum duabus in rebus legatorum una opera consumitur, in laudando atque repentendo!" (Ver. II, II, 4, 13).

In his presentation of Sthenius as the champion defender of Thermae against Verres, the roles are reversed and in the end Verres is celebrated as a champion. Cicero in a tongue-twister summarizes in an epigrammatic antithesis, "ita tamen novo more ut legati laedant, legatio laudet;" (Ver. II, II, 46, 114). Caecilius' hopes for the role of prosecutor are succinctly dispelled by Cicero's "non potest in accusando socios vere defendere is qui cum reo criminum societate coniunctus est." (Div. Caec. X, 32). So, too, the ends of the Lampsacum tale are tied up in "levius eorum peccatum fore si homini scelerato pepercissent quam si legato non pepercissent." (Ver. II, I, 27, 69).

The Verrines present many quotations in a variety of ways. As Haury notes, "Mine familière et voisine, elles présentent la même incertitude [...] à caractériser le genre iocosum, les apparente davantage à l'humour."⁵² After a long discussion of Verres' new version of the Voconian Law Cicero terminates with "C. Verres sua sponte instituisset,

52 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 92.

id neminem metuisse, ne quis reperiretur qui istius institutum sequi vellet." (Ver. II, I, 43, 111). The brief quotations are gems, touched with irony, Note the inscription glorifying Verres in Rome. "A COMMUNI SICILIAE DATAS". (Ver. II, II, 63, 154). The report of Verres' edicts and financial accounts are either laughable in themselves⁵³, or when they fail to be per se, then Cicero produces them in a humourous light.⁵⁴

When the words of a quotation are slightly altered⁵⁵ in a line or when verses are invented which resemble well-known lines, the trick styled parody by the Greeks is being employed. Verres seems to be moved by his new romance to phrase Sthenius' sentence in this way, "OB EAM REM HS D. VENERI ERYCINAE DE STHENII BONIS SE EXACTURUM." (Ver. II, II, 38, 93). By way of anticipating Verres' defence, Cicero recites the excuse the adversary would make. He claims that Verres did not transfer the tithes to Minucius because he had already knocked them down to Apronius. (Ver. II, III, 64, 151).

53 See Ver. II, I, 56, 148; II, III, 54, 126; II, IV, 64, 144.

54 See Ver. II, III, 75, 175; II, IV, 24, 54; II, V, 24, 62; Div. Caec. XIII, 43.

55 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 97.

The adoption of verses is not evident. However, there is the poetic strain found in the choice of words occasionally, as the use of "moenia". When Mamertine is selected as Verres' vessel, "Phaselis" brings with it the association of Catullus IV - a speedy ship. (Ver. II, IV, 10, 21). On the other hand the recall of Horace Ode III, 2 would be too ironical.

Another dramatic element which Quintilian⁵⁶ notes in Cicero's methods of humour is impersonation. By this means the orator voices the inner thoughts of his adversary as though he were talking himself. (Ver. II, III, 25, 62). Cicero takes up the reply which Verres would give, "Malus civis, improbus consul, seditiosus homo Cn. Carbo fuit." (Ver. II, I, 14, 37). In the Prima Actio III, 7 - 9, there is a complete exposé of Verres' thinking, attitude, and reaction to this case. For the audience such a revelation is more impressive than a personal confession by Verres himself, since Cicero can manipulate the effects through the causes which he presents. Popular is this technique for frequently Cicero presents to his audience a dialogue between himself and his opponent, after the fashion of a ventriloquist.

56 Quintilian, Ibid, IX, II, 58.

How clever is Cicero's supposed interview with Hortensius (Ver. II, I, 9, 24) in which the method of handling this court case is well justified. By the same device he effectively polishes off Caecilius. (Div. Caec.passim). Even when the conversation revolves on himself as in Div. Caec.XVI, 50 - 51, Cicero enjoys the repartee of Caecilius' supporters, as he construes it. To be effective the conversation or at least the replies must ring true. (Ver. II, III, 29, 70). There may be some doubt about the sincerity of Verres' reports to the investigation of the Lampsacum incident. (Ver. II, I, 32, 81). However, it must be admitted that the humour is delightful. Yet the introduction of his panel (Ver. II, III, 11, 28) is humourous because of its realism.

Impersonation may be the only means Cicero can employ to have Verres admit guilt of any kind. In the opening discourse he gives Sicily a chance to speak,

Quod auri, quod argenti, quod ornamentorum in meis urbibus, sedibus, delubris fuit, quod in una quaque re beneficio senatus populi que Romani iuris habui, id mihi tu, C. Verres, eripuisti atque abstulisti: quo nomine abs te sextertium milliens ex lege repeto. (Div. Caec. V, 19).

Then Verres may be seen standing, head down, seemingly overwhelmed with shame, silence gives consent to his obvious culpability as the lawyer reviews the criminal's relationships with the farmers. (Ver. II, II, 62, 151 - 3). The

climax is reached as Cicero puts into the mouth of Verres' father, supposing him to be a judge at this trial, practically every charge to be brought against his son. (Ver. II, V, 52, 136 - 8).

Depraved imitation and mimicry is a form of jesting, but Cicero warns in the De Oratore II, 59 that it should be used with caution. Can't you see Cicero strutting across the platform aping Verres in stride, stature and stammer as he vocalizes Verres' defence of the possession of all Heius' treasures. (Ver. II, IV, 4, 8)? Later the prosecutor is trying to probe the shelter Verres offered the pirate-in-chief. Even without mention of the physiognomy, the facial expression and tone of voice with which Cicero presented it, Verres' alibi is clear. Listen as the interrogation proceeds.

Apud me habitavit, mecum fuit; ego illum ad iudicium mecum, quo facilius crimen inimicorum diluere possem, vivum atque incolumem reservari, Itane vero? tu tua pericula communi periculo defendes? [. . .] Et nunc cuiquam credo esse dubium quin tu id commissurus non fueris, praesertim cum statuisses, ut ais, tibi causam esse dicendam, ut ille archipirata non potius securi feriretur quam, quod erat ante oculos positum, tuo periculo viveret! [. . .] (Ver. II, V, 30, 77 - 79).

Impersonation leads into imitation, says Quintilian (I.O. IX, II, 58), of another's characteristics to excite gentler emotions through either words or deeds. Such is the true nature of banter.

5. Insinuation

The preceding definition could be repeated as applicable to insinuation as Quintilian presents it.⁵⁷ For the kind of jest whose point is obvious, though it is not expressed in so many words. Verres and Caecilius seem to be the traditional "birds of a feather", "vobis inter vos non modo voluntatem fuisse coniunctam, sed ne praedam quidem adhuc esse divisam." (Div. Caec. XI, 34). This concept is somewhat different from the distortion of truth presented under the ironical figure De Oratore II, 69 and as discussed in Chapter I, Cicero suggests that Verres is a hero for "hic primus instituta omnium consuetudinem a maioribus traditam, condicionem amicitiae, ius societatis convellere et commutare ausus est." (Ver. II, III, 6, 15). Clever is his way of flattering the senators so that they come to agree that Verres is the only Roman citizen who deserves to be crucified on the one cross erected in Messana's whole history. (Ver. II, V, 67, 171). However, he has a double. The only man in the province who is like Verres, Apronius, is presented for he is destined to become "The famous Apronius". (Ver. II, III, 9, 22 - 3).

57 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, II, 88.

Combining allusion and comparison the following sample of insinuation presents Verres as a greater threat than the Cyclops, Charybdis and the Scylla.

Non enim Charybdim tam infestam neque Scyllam nautis quam istum in eodem freto fuisse arbitror: hoc etiam iste infestior, quod multo se pluribus et immanioribus canibus succinxerat: Cyclops alter multo importunior, hic enim totam insulam obsidebat, ille Aetnam solam et eam Siciliae partem tenuisse dicitur. (Ver. II, V, 56, 146).

Association with Verres makes one like Verres. This fact is embodied in Cleomenes. After the fleet put in at Pachynus, this fellow was all set. He was out of sight and could be a second Verres especially since he had the power to command, so he pitched his tent on shore - open for revelry. (Ver. II, V, 33, 87). In marked contrast with that scene Cicero presents a prelude to the very dramatic entrance of the Roman allies as mourners. The orator provokes the question in his hearers. "Why are the allies not attempting to recover their treasures?" by his declaration.

Sed haec, ut dico, omnia iam socii vestri relinquunt et neglegunt, iudices. Ne publice a populo Romano spoliarentur officiis ac fide providerunt; paucorum cupiditati tum cum obsistere non poterant, tamen sufficere aliquo modo poterant; (Ver. II, V, 48, 127).

In this illustration insinuation and understatement join forces, for Cicero implies that no one could do justice to Verres' cupidity. He capitalizes on this point as he

gives a report of the goods smuggled by Verres as the haul of only a few months' operations. Cicero adds "facite ut vobis triennii totius veniat in mentem." (Ver. II, II, 74, 184). To prove that Verres had profited from the service of Apronius Cicero again anticipates. (Ver. II, III, 16, 40 - 41). After putting the retort on Verres' lips, Cicero proceeds to refute his stand by a whole host of queries.

6. Anticipation of Opponent's Argument

All forms of argument, maintains Quintilian (I. O. VI, III, 65), afford equal opportunity for jests. Cicero declares that Hortensius is being very meticulous about the voting for the selection of a prosecutor for Verres.

Videt enim si a pueris nobilibus, quos adhuc elusit, si a quadruplatoribus, quos non sine causa contempsit semper ac pro nihilo putavit, accusandi voluntas ad viros fortes spectatosque homines translata sit, sese in iudiciis diutius dominari non posse. (Div. Caec. VII, 24).

As a prosecuting attorney Cicero anticipates Verres' self-defence (Ver. II, III, 16, 40) and Hortensius' pleadings. (Ver. II, V, 13, 32). In fact he hopes that they will take up a certain line of defence.

ut etiamsi tibi hoc concedam Minucio te adeo non tradidisse quod iam addixisses Apronio [..], quod ego exspecto cupioque te illud defendere. (Ver. II, III, 64, 151).

At one point he advises his adversary not to attempt to defend his own handling of the fleet through the counter-charging of Cicero with a misuse of terms or of irrelevancy.

me culpae fortunam assignare, calamitatem crimini dare, me amissionem classis obicere, cum multi viri fortes in communi incertoque periculo belli et terra et mari saepe offenderint. Nullam tibi obicio fortunam, nihil est quod ceterorum res minus commode gestas proferas; nihil est quod multorum naufragia fortunae colligas. (Ver. II, V, 50, 131).

7. Argument and Refutation.

An instance has already been cited under impersonation which exposes as it refutes the argument Verres might propose for a Roman governor's protection of a pirate chief. (Ver. II, V, 30, 77). "Et in hac causa scribarum ordinem in me concitabit Hortensius, et eorum commoda a me labefactari atque oppugnari iura dicet?" (Ver. II, III, 78, 182). In this manner Cicero introduces his refutation of Verres' argument re deductions. In brief Cicero maintains that if deductions are necessary they should be made to those who bear the burden of the work, not to the clerks. Cicero thereby makes light of Verres' arguments.

This is a technique which he uses successfully against Caecilius, "Si id audebis dicere quod C. Verres, cui te inimicum esse simulas, maxime existimari vult, Siculos hoc a me non petisse, primum causam inimicitui

sublevabis." (Div. Caec. IV, 12). His self-defence for filling the role of prosecutor in preference to Caecilius is an interesting volleying of argument and firm refutation. (Div. Caec. II, 4 - 6). After refuting Caecilius' claim to any part in the trial of Verres, Cicero asks his disappointed victim for his reply; then the lawyer suggests it himself.

Quid enim dices? an id quod dictitas, iniuriam tibi fecisse Verrem? Arbitror; neque enim esset viri simile, cum omnibus Siculis faceret iniurias te ille unum eximium cui consuleret fuisse. Sed ceteri Siculi ultorem suarum iniuriarum invenerunt: tu, dum tuas iniurias per te, id quod non potes, persequi conaris, id agis ut ceterorum quoque iniuriae sint impunitae atque inultae. (Div. Caec. XVI, 52).

8. Comparisons

In addition to the exposition of facts through argument and refutation, a similarly humorous effect may be produced by a comparison. Caecilius and Alienus, Cicero says, will be like two actors on the stage - the latter will be playing up to the former.

sic faciet Alienus: tibi serviet, tibi lenocinabitur, minus aliquanto contendet quam potest. Iam hoc considerate, cuius modo accusatores in tanto iudicio simus habituri cum et ipse Alienus ex ea facultate, si quam habet [touch of irony] aliquantum detracturus sit, et Caecilius tum denique se aliquid futuram putet si Alienus minus vehemens fuerit et sibi primas in dicendo partes concesserit. (Div. Caec. XV, 48).

Note how Syracuse is readily passed off as an accomplice of Verres: "primum existimabam, ut Romae ex istius amicis acceperam, civitatem Syracusanum propter Heraclii hereditatem non minus esse isti amicam quam Mamertinam propter praedorum ac furtorum omnium societatem. (Ver. II, IV, 61, 136). In one sentence Cicero pictures Heraclius before and after the meeting of Verres, "pecuniosissimus [...], nulla alia calamitate nisi istius avaritia atque iniuria, pauperrimus." (Ver. II, II, 14, 36). Laughing to scorn the argument that Verres is not guilty since "Non accepit ipse" (Ver. II, II, 10, 27), the lawyer declares that no guilty man hereafter could rival him, "quis erit umquam posthac reus tam peritus qui non ad Q. Mucii innocentiam referatur si cum isto conferatur?" This is why the Sicilians have asked Cicero to come to their protection, since now they have no gods.

Venisse tempus aiebant, non iam ut commoda sua, sed ut vitam salutemque totius provinciae defenderem: sese iam ne deos quidem in suis urbibus ad quod confugerent habere, quod eorum simulacra sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris religiosissimis sustulisset. (Div. Caec. I, 3,).

How Cicero must have enjoyed comparing himself with Verres as an efficient prosecutor. (Ver. II, I, 60, 156). The latter can accomplish in three hours what our author manages in nine days. Is it true that Verres was extravagant in spending? Well he paid more money for white-washing four of the pillars of the temple of Castor than Metellus paid for building all

of them. (Ver. II, I, 59, 154).

The variety of comparisons which paint Verres in a darker hue are as numerous as the people and places with whom he is involved. A preview of Verres' company is given in the light of comparison with honourable members of the court.

si paulatim haec consuetudo serpere ac prodire
coeperit, per homines honestissimos virosque
fortissimos, non imperitos adulescentulos aut
illius modo quadruplatores, leges iudiciaque
administrentur. (Div. Caec. XXI, 68).

The choice of verbs "serpere" and "prodire" has helped to suggest the kind of associates in Verres' employ. So Cicero compares him to a hunter and his hounds (Ver. II, III, 11, 28) or to a roaring lion (Ver. II, I, 38, 96) or other wild beast (Ver. II, I, 38, 96). In his attack on Delos he is compared with the Persians attacking Greece. (Ver. II, I, 18, 48). It is readily understandable how he would fare badly up against Servilius, (II, I, 21, 57), Pompey (II, V, 58, 153), Marcus Marcellus (II, IV, 52, 115), Sacerdos (II, III, 92, 214 - 5) and Piso (II, I, 46, 121). Yet even when when compared with the harlot Chelidon, Verres comes off badly. (Ver. II, I, 52, 138).

It is humorous to consider the father-son relationship which Cicero parallels with Verres, the praetor, and Caecilius, the quaestor, especially at a time when the latter is seeking to prosecute the former.

Sic enim a maioribus nostris accepimus, praetorem quaestori suo parentis loco esse oportere; [...] Quam ob rem si iure eum posses accusare, tamen, cum is tibi parentes numero fuisset, id pie facere non posses; cum vero neque iniuriam acceperis et praetori tuo periculum crees, fatearis necesse est te illi iniustum impiumque bellum inferre conari. (Div. Caec. XIX, 61).

In addition a real note of irony is grasped in the fact that Caecilius is seemingly a true son of Verres in many respects.

9. Interruptions

Quintilian⁵⁸ advises that in place of the original charge the addition of something more biting or perhaps it is even better to make light of a charge by throwing cold water on it or by suggesting a reason somewhat irrelevant to the thought expressed. Cicero succeeds in doing this effectively by using interruption. Take the comparison that he draws between Verres' and the Persians' attack on Delos (Ver. II, I, 18, 48), the utter lack of human feeling and reverence in his victim is the point Cicero makes. On the other hand explanation of the reverence due to Delos is followed by the display of respect offered by a foreign nation, the Persians. So that the reader will grasp what

58 Quintilian, Ibid, VI, III, 75.

is really implied Cicero interrupts to stress all the reasons which would normally permit them to disregard the famous shrine, "Cum bellum toti Graeciae dis hominibusque indixissent et mille numero navium classem ad Delum appulissent," It is the asides which relieve the drastic, dramatic accounts and almost turn them to comedy. As mothers in distress plead for the release of their young sons, who as "captured" naval captains are there bound and chained, Cicero reports, "Ad sunt, defendunt, proclamant, fidem tuam, quae nusquam erat neque umquam fuerat implorant." (Ver. II, V, 42, 108). The fact that they are pleading for something that did not exist shows how he has inserted a reason as an interjection to show the futility of their efforts. In the same section he breaks off his reprimand of Verres for his taking advantage of Dexo, to ask "Sed quid ego hospitii iura in hoc immani belua commemoro"? (109). Clearly his incidental reflections move the audience far more than the logic of his arguments. In his own case he is not too sure that justice has a chance to operate for he reminds his audience, "tametsi vosmet ipsos eadem audire certo scio" and the reason follows, "cum iudicia fiebant." (Ver. II, IV, 59, 132 - 3). Courts in Rome do not really administer justice, but there was a time when they did.

10. Recapitulation

Mr. Kelsey⁵⁹ reminds us that

if we wish to picture to ourselves Cicero as he appeared to his contemporaries we must conceive of him not merely as a man of letters and of affairs with an extraordinary power of persuasion, but also as endowed with an acute sense of the ridiculous and a gift of repartee unequalled among Roman orators.

In his recapitulation Cicero reveals his skill for he succinctly digests and directs the pith of the arguments presented and trims it with effective overtones. He gives an emotional overtone⁶⁰ to his recapitulation by putting it into the mouth of Verres' father, an ingenious device. (Ver. II, V, 52, 136 - 8). Powerful, too, is the imaginative summation of the devastating work of Apronius and his troop. (Ver. II, III, 26, 66). Like a consuming fire all opposition is fed to their flames of destruction, then a series of questions provokes a determined response. How ridiculous is Verres' handling of the property of a man who dies intestate as Cicero sums it up. (Ver. II, I, 45, 117)! A résumé of Verres' excuse for his behaviour toward Carbo is terminated in a reflection, "Commune est hoc malum, communis metus,

59 Francis W. Kelsey, "Cicero As A Wit", The Classical Journal, 1907-8, Vol. 3, p. 3 - 10, p. 3.

60 M. L. Clarke, Rhetoric At Rome, A Historical Survey, New York, Barnes and Noble Inc., 1963, 203 p., p. 59.

commune periculum." (Ver. II, I, 15, 39). Each one must consequently act to protect himself.

But on which side is Caecilius? - a friend or a traitor to Verres?

Denique de iniuria quae tibi facta sit neminem nostrum graviorem vindicem esse oportet quam te ipsum cui facta dicitur. Si tu cum illo postea in gratiam redisti, si domi illius aliquotiens fuisti, si ille apud te postea cenavit, utrum te perfidiosum an praevaricatorem existimari mavis? Video esse necesse alterutrum; sed ego tecum in eo non pugnabo quo minus utrum velis eligas. (Div. Caec. XVIII, 58).

Obviously the choice will make no alteration in Cicero's conclusion about Caecilius.

In an attempt to abbreviate his presentation Cicero declares "nolite exspectare, dum omnes obeam oratione mea civitates; hoc uno complector omnia, neminem isto praetore senatorem fieri potuisse nisi qui isti pecuniam dedisset." (Ver. II, II, 51, 125). It is like having a ride on a merry-go-round to become senator; just pay your money to Verres first. Regarding all the cruelty inflicted on Roman citizens by Verres, Cicero maintains there is always the question of the infringement on a citizen's rights, wherever he is, "ubicumque terrarum et gentium violatum ius civium Romanorum sit, statuitis id pertinere ad communem causam libertatis et dignitatis." (Ver. II, V, 55, 143). After showing that Verres had insulted a senator incurring the hostility of all senators, had despoiled the people of

Sicily, had humiliated Roman knights by their subjection to Apronius, Cicero summarizes with a neat little question "[...]" ne hoc quidem retinebimus, iudices, ut magistratibus nostris in obtinendo iure nostro ne contemptissimi ac despicatissimi esse videamur?" (Ver. II, III, 41, 98). A wretched prospect dressed in a rhythmical finale, is bound to stir up a reaction. Cicero sums up his request that the judges of Rome by their honour rid Sicily of fear by condemning Verres. (Ver. II, V, 49, 130). In a dramatic display of consternation at the conflagration of the Roman fleet set by a pirate chief, metaphorical and realistic language fuse as one.

O tempus miserum atque acerbum provinciae Siciliae!
O casum illum multis innocentibus calamitosum atque
funestum! O istius nequitiam ac turpitudinem singularem!
Una atque eadem nox erat quo praetor amoris turpissimi
flamma, classis populi Romani praedonum incendio conflagrabat.
(Ver. II, V, 35, 92).

In one grand finale the concluding prayer to all the gods and goddesses artistically reviews Verres' varied crimes. (Ver. II, V, 72, 184 - 9).

Cicero has provided his own conclusion for this chapter on his humour in the De Oratore II, 71.

Concliguntur a Graecis alia non multa, exsecrationes admirationes, minationes. Sed haec ipsa nimis mihi videor in multa genera descripsisse. Nam illa, quae verbi ratione et vi continentur certa fere ac definita sunt: quae plerumque ut ante dixi, laudari magis quam rideri solent. Haec autem, quae sunt in re et ipsa sententia, partibus sunt

innumerabilia generibus pauca. Expectationibus enim decipiendis et naturis aliorum inridendis [ipsorum ridicule indicandis et] similitudine turpioris et dissimulatione et subabsurda dicendo et stulta reprehendo risus moventur. Itaque imbuendus est is, qui iocose volet dicere, quassi natura quadam apta ad haec genera et moribus, ut ad cuiusque modi genus ridiculi voltus etiam admodetur:

Such is not only true of his theory but also the contents of this chapter illustrate his success as a practitioner. In fact, "Cicéron," praises Mr. Haury,

ne manque jamais d'adoucir la mercuriale par le badinage et les protestations d'amitié. [...] A plus forte raison Cicéron en use-t-il quand il craint d'avoir passé la mesure ou désire, après une vigoureuse leçon, se ménager le repentir, nous allions écrire la reconnaissance du cor-pable [...].⁶¹

Always he keeps the pulse of his audience and guided by its accelerations and decelerations he leads them on to form conclusions imperceptibly while they enjoy their laughter and entertainment.

Cicero has been crowned as the⁶² Dean of Roman wits. "It would not be easy to find another writer on wit who by his witticisms so well illustrates his treatment of the subject."⁶³

61 Auguste Haury, Op. Cit. p. 249.

62 H. Bennet, "The Wit's Progress - A Study In The Life of Cicero", p. 194.

63 Francis W. Kelsey, "Cicero As A Wit", p. 10.

Conclusion

The Verrine Orations provide a wide range of samples of irony and humour. However, their identification and distinction are not totally evident in the light of Cicero's own theory, not even as it is expanded by Quintilian to include the orator's practice. Modern scholarship has helped to clarify and to provide distinctive norms for classifying excerpts as illustrative irony or humour. Although the latter are only one of Cicero's techniques, they are, however, very effective in the removal of opposition to his election as prosecutor and then in his conviction of Verres followed by the approval of his contemporaries and of his readers. By this feat Cicero enjoyed his victory in oratory and his freedom from fearful competition, in the person of Hortensius.

This study has made no attempt to compare the effect, the use or the preponderance of irony with that of humour in the Verrines. A discussion of the length of passages that are ironical has likewise been left untouched. Any consideration of types of oratory, and their style or even of parts of a speech or of figures have been outside the field of this report.

Three problems which are related to this project may be considered for further study. A study of the stylistic devices in the Verrine Orations and whether they make the irony and humour any more effective than other

phases of the speech, would contribute to a greater understanding and appreciation of Cicero. Furthermore to trace the development in his oratorical skill in the realm of irony and humour one might compare the irony and humour of the Verrines with that of later orations such as the Philippics. Cicero's debt to, or development of, Greek humour and irony would prove a fruitful study.

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Bennett, H., "The Wit's Progress - A Study In The Life of Cicero", Classical Journal, Vol. 30, 1935, p. 193 - 202.

The article shows Cicero's fondness for the application of humour to his pleading. Bennett appreciates Cicero's humour.

Canter, H.V., "Irony In The Orations Of Cicero", American Journal of Philology, Vol. 57, 1936, p. 457 - 464.

Canter notes the distinction between Cicero's definition of irony and his practical application, which range through all varieties and tones from bitter sarcasm and invective to irony that is genial and playful. This study has clarified the various kinds with examples and shows, too, that Cicero uses irony as a tool for offensive and defensive activity.

- - - - - "The Impeachments of Verres and Hastings: Cicero and Burke", Classical Journal, Vol. 9, 1914, p. 199 - 211.

Cicero has skill in vituperation and even in effective caricature. Brief treatment but good.

Clarke, M.L., Rhetoric At Rome, A Historical Survey, New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1963, 203 p.

This is a fair survey of Roman oratory. The kinds and purpose of humour are introduced as contributing to effective speech, according to Cicero and Quintilian.

D'Alton, J.F., Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, A Study In Tendencies, New York, Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962, 608 p.

A brief review of irony and humour in oratory as presented by Cicero and Quintilian. It is more concerned with literary style.

Eulenberg, Herbert, Cicéron, 106 - 43 or J.-C., Paris, Payot, 1935, 255 p.

Small contribution to this study but there is more for the study of rhetoric.

Granrud, John E., "Was Cicero Successful In The Art of Oratorical?", Classical Journal, Vol. 8, 1913, p. 234 - 243.

Good background for understanding Cicero's task in presenting the case against Verres, and his successful oratory.

Haight, Elizabeth, Hazelton, The Roman Use Of Anecdotes In Cicero, Livy and The Satirists, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1940, viii - 189 p.

A good presentation of Cicero's art of narration, his theory and purpose is given then illustrated with reference to the Verrines.

Haury, Auguste, L'Ironie Et L'Humour Chez Cicéron, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1955, xii - 328 p.

This is a very extensive study of irony and humour of Cicero, in which Mr. Haury has made a distinct study of the two. All terms are clearly defined and exemplified with illustrations from a wide variety of Cicero's works. The relationship of irony and humour to the three-fold aim of the orator follows a review of irony and humour as it exists in all his works which have been studied chronologically, It has set down guidelines for a thorough investigation of the irony and humour in the Verrines.

Kelsey, Francis W., "Cicero As A Wit", Classical Journal, 1907 - 8, Vol. 3, p. 3 - 10.

This is a discovery of Cicero's wit as appreciated by his contemporaries. It has made the discovery through a study of Cicero's theory and writings as well as through a study of Quintilian.

Kingery, H.M., "The Human Element", Classical Journal, Vol. 16, Nov. 1920, p. 67 - 80.

A sense of humour is considered briefly as part of Cicero's humanness. He labels Cicero as a punster and a humourist.

Laurand, L. Cicéron, Collection D'Etudes Anciennes, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1938, 531 p.

A good study of oratory, style and language with some passing treatment of irony and the Verrines.

- - - - - Etudes Sur Le Style Des Discours De Cicéron, Avec Une Esquisse De L'Histoire Du "Cursus", Paris, Hachette, 1907, 388 p.

Laurand has made a careful study of Cicero's theory and art. He illustrates Cicero's variety in style with its technique and purpose. So, too, irony, jesting, humorous tales and play on words are given extensive treatment. The Verrines are frequently used for illustration.

Levens, R.G.C., Cicero The Fifth Verrine Oration, London, Methuen, 1946, 206 p.

There is a splendid introduction to the text which helps one understand the problem of the case, its launching and downfall of Verres. It offers no contribution toward irony and humour.

McKinley, A.P., "Ancient Bon Vivant", Classical Journal, Vol. 22, April, 1927, p. 525 - 32.

This article shows that Cicero's attraction as an entertainer is due to his sense of humour and wit. Brief but pointed.

- - - - - "Cicero's Conception of Literary Art", Classical Journal, Vol. 21, 1925 - 6, p. 244 - 259.

A summary of Cicero's literary theory and his application of it provides brief discussion of his variety of expression of humour and techniques of style.

Nye, Irene, "Humour Repeats Itself", Classical Journal, Vol. 9, 1913 - 14, p. 154 - 164.

A good presentation of Cicero's kinds of humour and a test for distinguishing a joke as in "dicto" or in "re".

Pack, R.A., "Errors As Subject Of Comic Mirth", Classical Philology, 1938, p. 405 - 10.

An interpretation of Aristotle's Rhet. I, 13, 1374b and Cicero's De Oratore II, 58 - 9, 237 - 239.

Ramage, E.S., "Urbanitas: Cicero and Quintilian, A Contrast in Attitudes", American Journal of Philology, Vol. 84, 1963, p. 390 - 414.

Clarifies Cicero's idea of refined humour.

Rapp, Albert, The Origins of Wit and Humour, New York, Dutton, 1951, 208 p.

In his genealogy of wit and humour, Mr. Rapp attempts to distinguish between the two. He points out the difficulty encountered in studying complicated passages, where wit and humour occur together. It is in the level of operation of each that the distinction is clear. This is a good history of the subject but makes very little reference to Cicero.

Saint-Denis, E. De., Essais Sur Le Rire Et Le Sourire Des Latins, Paris, Société Les Belles Lettres, 1965, 302 p.

A presentation of Cicero's and Quintilian's theory of humour with a comparison of Ciceronean jesting in De signis and his theory of the laughable in De Oratore is well done. Then a discussion of "urbanitas" and wit in the speeches of Cicero follows. There is a review of rhetoric from the Ad Herennium to the De Oratore. It also contains some bibliography. Its limitations are due to the vast scope of the subject. Hence while it is good, it is brief and selective.

Showerman, Grant, "Cicero's Appreciation of a Greek Art," American Journal of Philology, Vol. 25. 1904. p. 306 - 314.

Cicero's knowledge of Greek art serves as a tool for his oratory. Hence his irony and humour in the mention of it is meaningful.

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An evaluation of Cicero's attitude toward rhetorical theory as applicable to his early orations, and the influence of Greek and Roman oratory on Cicero.

Sprott, S.E., "Cicero's Theory of Prose Style", Philological Quarterly, Vol. 35, 1955, p. 1 - 17.

This shows that the united effect of form and content when expressed well is the orator's tool for teaching, moving and delighting his hearers. Particularly good for style.

Stevens, Ed. V., "A Ciceronean Witticism", Classical World, Vol. 38, 1944 - 5, p. 154 - 5.

Throws some light on the extent and kind of Cicero's humour.

Thomson, J.A.K., Irony, An Historical Introduction, London, Allen and Unwin, 1926, 242 p.

A study of the development of irony from its beginnings among the Greeks, It claims that irony was not native to the Roman mind. However, Mr. Thomson refuses to define irony and ironical for he claims, it depends on its author. Hence he shows the development of the concept through Tragedy, Comedy, then Intellectual and Rhetorical - each taking its interpretation from the author. He shows very little appreciation of Cicero's use of this technique.

APPENDIX I

ABSTRACT OF

Irony and Humour In The Verrine Orations

Cicero's theory of irony and humour as presented in his own hand and clarified by Quintilian is studied in the light of modern scholarship in order to provide a means of distinguishing clearly between the two. Then the Verrines provide a mine for exploration of their application in the accusation of Verres.

The pattern followed is parallel for the two-fold study. Cicero's concept of irony in Chapter I and of humour in Chapter II discusses the nature and purpose of each. Then the variety of modes of expression exemplify the effect of their use in the account of the actual or would-be speech against Verres. Six tones of irony each having its own subdivisions range from invective and ridicule to the tongue-in-cheek type. Then, humour in ten varieties starts with the overwhelming hyperbole through ambiguity, narration, surprise to phases of logic tying up in recapitulation.

Three problems remain as a challenge for Cicero scholars: one the effect of stylistic devices on the irony and humour of the Verrines; secondly, a comparison of the irony and humour of the Verrines with that of later speeches, such as the Philippics and a final one, Cicero's debt to or development of Greek humour and irony.

Index of References From Cicero And Quintilian

References are listed as they occur in the dissertation. The numeration is that used in the Loet Classical Series. Hence the *Secunda Actio* against Verres bears the numeral II. Other texts which are not contained in the thesis but might be added are designated *.

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