

Between Grammar and Rhetoric

Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language, Linguistics, and Literature

PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN

DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR AAN DE UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN,
OP GEZAG VAN DE RECTOR MAGNIFICUS DR. D.D. BREIMER,
HOGLERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER WISKUNDE EN
NATUURWETENSCHAPPEN EN DIE DER GENEESKUNDE,
VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN HET COLLEGE VOOR PROMOTIES
TE VERDEDIGEN OP DINSDAG 27 JUNI 2006
KLOKKE 15.15 UUR

door

Casper Constantijn de Jonge

geboren te Leiden in 1977

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Conventions and Abbreviations	ix
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Dionysius on language, linguistics, and literature: aims and methods.....	1
1.2. Classicism and Atticism.....	8
1.3. Dionysius' rhetorical works: their relative order and intended audience	17
1.4. Dionysius and the network of intellectuals in Augustan Rome	22
1.5. Rhetoric, philosophy, philology, grammar, musical and poetical theory	29
1.6. Dionysius' <i>On Composition</i> as a synthesis of ancient language disciplines	36
2. DIONYSIUS ON THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE.....	43
2.1. Introduction.....	43
2.2. The hierarchical structure of language	44
2.3. Language, thought and reality	46
2.4. Greek and Latin.....	52
2.5. Philosophy of language in Dionysius' <i>On Composition</i> ?.....	57
2.5.1. The alleged inconsistency in Dionysius' views on names and things	58
2.5.2. Objections to modern interpretations.....	60
2.5.3. Dionysius on mimetic words (<i>Comp.</i> 16).....	62
2.5.4. Dionysius on mixing mean and beautiful rhythms (<i>Comp.</i> 18).....	68
2.5.5. Dionysius on the pleasing combination of common words (<i>Comp.</i> 3).....	74
2.5.6. No inconsistency in Dionysius' views on language.....	79
2.6. Conclusion	79
3. DIONYSIUS ON THE GRAMMATICAL THEORY OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH.....	81
3.1. Introduction.....	81
3.2. <i>Logos, lexis</i> , and their parts in the various language disciplines.....	85
3.3. Dionysius' knowledge of earlier and contemporary theories	92
3.3.1. Dionysius' knowledge of earlier views on the parts of speech	94
3.3.2. Dionysius' knowledge of contemporary views on the parts of speech.....	98
3.3.3. Dionysius on the grammatical school curriculum	100

3.4. The double character of Dionysius' μόρια λόγου	103
3.5. Words, word classes and parts of the phrase: Dionysius' terminology	104
3.6. The word classes according to Dionysius	110
3.6.1. ὄνομα and προσηγορικόν (and ἐπίθετον)	110
3.6.2. ῥῆμα and μετοχή	115
3.6.3. ἄρθρον and ἀντονομασία	116
3.6.4. πρόθεσις and σύνδεσμος	123
3.6.5. ἐπίρρημα	125
3.6.6. Does Dionysius use a system of nine word classes?	126
3.7. The <i>accidentia</i> of the parts of speech: συμβεβηκότα versus παρεπόμενα	129
3.8. Dionysius on the <i>accidentia</i> of nouns and verbs	137
3.9. Conclusion	143
4. LINGUISTICS, COMPOSITION, AND STYLE: DIONYSIUS' USE OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH	147
4.1. Introduction	147
4.2. Dionysius as a historian of linguistics	148
4.2.1. Dionysius' history of the theory of the parts of speech	149
4.2.2. Dionysius' approach to the history of linguistics	154
4.2.3. Quintilian's history of the theory of the parts of speech	157
4.2.4. Dionysius, Quintilian and modern historians of linguistics	160
4.3. Dionysius as a rhetorician: the parts of speech in the theory of composition	161
4.3.1. The parts of speech as building blocks: text as architecture	164
4.3.2. The parts of speech in the description of composition types	179
4.4. Dionysius as a literary critic: the parts of speech and the analysis of style	188
4.4.1. Dionysius on the style of Thucydides	188
4.4.2. Dionysius' grammatical notes on Thucydides	194
4.5. Conclusion	219
5. <i>NATURA ARTIS MAGISTRA</i> . DIONYSIUS ON NATURAL STYLE, SYNTAX AND WORD ORDER ...	221
5.1. Introduction	221
5.2. Dionysius on natural style, ἀκολουθία and ὁ κατάλληλος λόγος	223
5.3. Dionysius' experiment concerning natural word order (<i>Comp.</i> 5)	240
5.3.1. The Stoic treatises and Dionysius' natural starting point	241
5.3.2. Natural word order	247
5.3.3. Nouns precede verbs	249
5.3.4. Verbs precede adverbs	258

5.3.5. Prior in time is prior in word order	263
5.3.6. The remaining principles of natural word order	266
5.3.7. Stoic logic and Dionysius' experiment concerning natural word order.....	276
5.4. Natural word order according to 'Demetrius', 'Longinus', and Quintilian.....	279
5.4.1. Natural word order according to 'Demetrius'	279
5.4.2. Natural word order according to 'Longinus'	281
5.4.3. Natural word order according to Quintilian	284
5.5. Conclusion	290
6. <i>THE INITIATION RITES OF STYLE. DIONYSIUS ON PROSE, POETRY, AND POETIC PROSE</i>	293
6.1. Introduction.....	293
6.2. The magic of poetic speech: Gorgias, Dionysius and 'Longinus'	296
6.3. Dionysius on Demosthenes' poetic prose: practice and theory	302
6.4. Aristotle and Dionysius on the different styles of prose and poetry	309
6.5. Blurring the boundaries: Dionysius' views on poetic prose	315
6.6. Prose-writers as 'poets': Dionysius and the <i>kritikoi</i>	321
6.7. Conclusion	324
7. <i>REWRITING THE CLASSICS. DIONYSIUS AND THE METHOD OF METATHESIS</i>	325
7.1. Introduction.....	325
7.2. Metathesis in Philodemus' <i>On Poems</i> and Dionysius' <i>On Composition</i>	327
7.3. The versatility of Dionysius' method of metathesis.....	331
7.3.1. Metatheses correcting alleged faults of the original	331
7.3.2. Metatheses bringing out virtues of the original	335
7.3.3. Metatheses illustrating alternative compositions or particularities.....	340
7.4. Conclusion	344
8. GENERAL CONCLUSION.....	347
Sources.....	353
Bibliography	357
Index Locorum.....	383
Samenvatting.....	399
Curriculum Vitae.....	408

PREFACE

Why would one spend more than four years of one's life on Dionysius of Halicarnassus? This question has been asked to me innumerable times (normally by friends who pronounced the rhetorician's name as slowly as possible), and I must admit that there have been periods when I had trouble finding the correct answer. Now that the work on my dissertation is coming to an end, I would not hesitate to state that Dionysius has been worth every minute that I spent on him. Dionysius was a multitalented intellectual of wide reading, who lived in one of the most interesting periods and in one of the most fascinating cities in western history, namely in Augustan Rome. Besides, he was in many respects our predecessor: because of his interest in classical Greek literature (rhetoric, historiography and poetry), Dionysius can rightly be considered the precursor of modern students of ancient literature. It is not surprising, then, that Dionysius has often been interpreted as if he were a colleague of modern classicists: scholars of various disciplines are ready to state that they agree or disagree with Dionysius' verdicts on Plato, Thucydides, and Herodotus, or with his ideas on the origins of Rome. But here is another reason why it has been worth studying the works of Dionysius: it is exactly the modern tendency to interpret Dionysius as someone with whom we can discuss classical literature or history that has resulted in misunderstanding of his works. Traditional scholarship, which treated Dionysius as a colleague of modern classicists, has often failed to appreciate the practical purposes of this teacher of rhetoric. I hope that this book will contribute to a better understanding of Dionysius' views by interpreting them within the historical context of his rhetorical theories.

Since I started working on my thesis in September 2001, I have been able to present my views to several audiences. I am very grateful that I had the opportunity to discuss my work with colleagues and friends of the *International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, in particular during our meetings in Madrid, Calahorra (at the feet of Quintilian's statue) and Los Angeles. Furthermore, I was very fortunate that I was given the opportunity to spend seven months in Oxford, where prof. Chris Pelling welcomed me most friendly in the wonderland of Christ Church. I learnt many important things both about Dionysius and about life while spending this fantastic period in Oxford.

It would have been impossible to write this dissertation without the heart-warming support of my colleagues at the Classics Department of Leiden University. The homey and yet challenging atmosphere of our department has been very important for the progress of my research. Since academic tradition forbids me to name some of the senior staff members who guided me, I will direct my words of

gratitude to the many colleagues and friends who constitute the unique group of junior staff in the Leiden Classics Department. I thank my colleagues of the research school OIKOS for many inspiring conversations in Athens, Rome, and Katwijk. I am also grateful to Maartje Scheltens for correcting my English — all the mistakes that remain are mine.

For Dionysius, oratory is ‘a kind of music’. Perhaps it is this view that has connected us somehow, for without music I would not have persisted. I wish to thank those musicians with whom I was allowed to play; in particular, I express my warm gratitude to Nina for the sublime harmony that our four hands have produced so far.

I would never have finished this dissertation without the constant support of my parents and brothers, and my dear friend Joris, who has always been near to me during the last decade. Almuth, my guide in wonderland: I am extremely grateful that you have never lost faith in me. Regine, Tazuko, and Maaïke: thank you for your presence, prudence, and patience in different periods. Finally, I thank my friends Adriaan, Colin, Hugo, Mark, Michel, Pieter, Susanna, Susannah, Wouter, and many others who have encouraged me. I hope that you will now understand why I spent these four years with Di-o-ny-si-us-of-Ha-li-car-nas-sus.

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. References to the rhetorical works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (DH) are to the chapter, page, and line number of the edition by H. Usener & L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant* 5 and 6, Stuttgart / Leipzig 1899 and 1904-1929. The English translations of passages from Dionysius' rhetorical works are based on S. Usher, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Critical Essays* 1 and 2, Cambridge, MA / London 1974 and 1985. In many cases, however, I have adapted Usher's translations.

2. References to the *Antiquitates Romanae* are to E. Cary, *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, with an English translation, London / Cambridge, MA, 1937-1950. The English translations of passages from Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities* are adapted from Cary.

3. Unless indicated otherwise, English translations are borrowed and adapted from the Loeb Series.

4. Abbreviations for Greek and Latin authors generally follow LSJ and *OLD*, but Thuc. is Thucydides. 'Demetrius' (between inverted commas) is the unknown author of the treatise *On Style* (*De elocutione*). 'Longinus' (between inverted commas) is the unknown author of the treatise *On the Sublime* (*De sublimitate*).

5. Abbreviations for the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus are as follows:

	Latin	English
<i>Amm. I</i>	<i>Epistula ad Ammaeum I</i>	<i>First Letter to Ammaeus</i>
<i>Amm. II</i>	<i>Epistula ad Ammaeum II</i>	<i>Second Letter to Ammaeus</i>
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>	<i>Roman Antiquities</i>
<i>Comp.</i>	<i>De compositione verborum</i>	<i>On Composition</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>De Demosthene</i>	<i>On Demosthenes</i>
<i>Din.</i>	<i>De Dinarcho</i>	<i>On Dinarchus</i>
<i>Imit.</i>	<i>De Imitatione</i>	<i>On Imitation</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>De Isaeo</i>	<i>On Isaeus</i>
<i>Isoc.</i>	<i>De Isocrate</i>	<i>On Isocrates</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>De Lysia</i>	<i>On Lysias</i>
<i>Orat. Vett.</i>	<i>De oratoribus veteribus</i>	<i>On the Ancient Orators</i>
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Pompeium</i>	<i>Letter to Pompeius</i>
<i>Thuc.</i>	<i>De Thucydide</i>	<i>On Thucydides</i>

6. Abbreviations for collections of texts and works of reference are as follows:

- DAB I* Friedrich Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit. Erste Abteilung: Von Gorgias bis zu Lysias*, Hildesheim / New York 1979³ (first edition Leipzig 1868).
- DAB II* Friedrich Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit. Zweite Abteilung: Isokrates und Isaios*, Hildesheim / New York 1979³ (first edition Leipzig 1874).
- DAB III* Friedrich Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit. Dritte Abteilung, Erster Abschnitt: Demosthenes*, Hildesheim / New York 1979³ (first edition Leipzig 1877).
- DAB IV* Friedrich Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit. Dritte Abteilung, Zweiter Abschnitt: Demosthenes' Genossen und Gegner*, Hildesheim / New York 1979³ (first edition Leipzig 1880).
- DGB* Friedrich Blass, *Die griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus*, Berlin 1865 (reprint Hildesheim / New York 1977).
- DNP* *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart 1996-2003.
- [*D. Thrax*] *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica*, ed. G. Uhlig in *G.G. I 1*, Leipzig 1883.
- FDS* Karlheinz Hülser, *Die Fragmente zur Dialektik der Stoiker, Neue Sammlung der Texte mit deutscher Übersetzung und Kommentaren*, Stuttgart 1987-1988.
- G.G.* *Grammatici Graeci*, ed. R. Schneider & G. Uhlig, Leipzig 1878-1910.
- G.G. I* *Grammatici Graeci, Pars prima: Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica et Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam*, ed. G. Uhlig & A. Hilgard, Leipzig 1883-1901.
- G.G. I 1* Volumen primum: *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica*, ed. G. Uhlig, Leipzig 1883.
- G.G. I 3* Volumen tertium: *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam*, ed. A. Hilgard, Leipzig 1901.
- G.G. II* *Grammatici Graeci, Pars secunda: Apollonii Dyscoli quae supersunt*, ed. R. Schneider & G. Uhlig, Leipzig 1878-1910.
- G.G. II 1* Volumen primum: *Scripta minora*, ed. R. Schneider, Leipzig 1878.
- G.G. II 2* Volumen alterum: *De constructione libri quattuor*, ed. G. Uhlig, Leipzig 1910.
- G.G. II 3* Volumen tertium: *Librorum Apollonii deperditorum fragmenta*, ed. R. Schneider, Leipzig 1910.

- G.L.* *Grammatici Latini* Vol. I-VIII, ed. Heinrich Keil, Leipzig 1857-1880.
- GRF* *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, Volumen prius, ed. H. Funaioli, Leipzig 1907.
- GRFAC* *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta Aetatis Caesareae*, Volumen primum, ed. A. Mazzarino, Augustae Taurinorum 1955.
- Lausberg Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, München 1960². [References are to Lausberg's paragraphs.]
- L&S A.A. Long & D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, Vol. I-II, Cambridge 1987.
- LSJ H.G. Liddell & R. Scott, rev. H.S. Jones (with revised supplement 1996), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996.
- MSS Manuscripts
- OCD* Simon Hornblower & Antony Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Third Edition, Oxford / New York 1996.
- OLD* P.G.W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1982.
- Sch. Scholia
- Sch. D. Thrax *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam*, ed. A. Hilgard, Leipzig 1901 (= *G.G.* I 3).
- Sch. Homer *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia vetera)*, ed. H. Erbse, Vol. I-VII, Berlin 1969-1988.
- Spengel *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, Vol. I-III, Leipzig 1853-1856.
- Suda *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, Vol. I-V, Leipzig 1928-1938.
- SVF* *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, ed. H. von Arnim, Vol. I-IV, Leipzig 1905-1924.
- Walz *Rhetores Graeci*, ed. C. Walz, Vol. I-IX, Stuttgart / Tübingen / London / Paris 1832-1836.

