Desiderius Erasmus
1469-1536

Desiderius Erasmus was born in Holland. The illegitimate son of a priest and a doctor's daughter, Erasmus was, from infancy, destined for holy orders. His parents placed him in a humanist school in Deventer. Agricola was a friend of the headmaster, and Erasmus saw him at the school around 1481, shortly before Agricola's death. After his parents' deaths in 1483 Erasmus was sent to a monastery school to prepare for entering the Augustinian order (the same order to which Martin Luther belonged). This he did in 1488 and was ordained a priest in 1492. Wishing to escape monastic life, Erasmus obtained a post as Latin secretary to the bishop of Cambrai in 1494, with whom he hoped to travel to Rome to further his humanist studies. Instead, however, Erasmus was sent to Paris to study theology. In Paris, Erasmus became acquainted with a group of English students with humanist interests, and one of them, Lord Mountjoy, brought him to England in 1499. From this point on, Erasmus was given considerable freedom by his order to pursue learning. He would not be formally recalled to the monastery until 1514, when the pope gave him leave to remain in the world outside of the monastery.

In England, Erasmus befriended the humanists John Colet and Thomas More and was a frequent visitor to their circle for the next fifteen years. In 1500, however, he returned to the Continent to study Greek. Erasmus greatly admired the philological work of Lorenzo Valla, and his ambition was to follow Valla's hints for the production of a textually accurate Greek New Testament. Erasmus worked on this project for more than a decade, publishing it in 1516. The book was tremendously influential for the model of humanist scholarship it presented. It also encouraged theologians to focus their study more on the early Church Fathers than on Scholastic commentaries.

Erasmus had obtained Greek manuscripts of the New Testament on a journey to England in 1504. His English friends secured him the post of tutor to the sons of Henry VIII's doctor, and in 1506 Erasmus was able to travel with the family to Italy, where he took a doctorate of divinity at Turin. Erasmus studied in Italy for the next three years, and in 1508 at Venice he published Adagia, a collection of three thousand proverbs from classical sources that first established his reputation as a scholar. When Henry VIII, of whom the humanists had great hopes of patronage, ascended the throne in 1509, Erasmus returned to England. On this journey, he may have begun writing The Praise of Folly as a gift for More, who would be his host. The work was originally composed in Latin sprinkled with Greek, including the Greek word for folly, which is Anaglptis Moria, a pan on More's name. Erasmus usually referred to the work by this title. It was published in Paris in 1511.

In England, Erasmus accepted a lectureship in Greek at Cambridge, a post held until 1514. His friend John Colet, now dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, was about to open a humanist school for boys at St. Paul's, and around 1512 Erasmus

has painfully wounded, will after this more violently assault your bitter words? Do you suppose, O most contemptible man on earth, that I think myself sprung [like Athena] from the head of Jove? I am a school girl, possessed of the sleeping embers of an ordinary mind. Indeed I am too hurt, and my mind, offended, too swayed by passions, sighs, tormenting itself, conscious of the obligation to defend my sex. For absolutely everything — that which is within us and that which is without — is made weak by association with my sex.

Therefore, who have always prized virtue, having put my private concerns aside, will point and weary my pen against chatterboxes, fuelled with false glory. Trained in the arts, I shall bleach the paths of ambush. And I shall endeavor, by avenging arms, to sweep away the abusive families of noisemakers with which some distasteful and impudent men furiously, violently, and studiously rave against a woman and a republican worthy of reverence.

January 13 [1489]
wrote *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style* (excerpted here; usually called *On Copia*) as a Latin textbook for this school. *On Copia* is generally regarded as Erasmus’s most influential work on rhetoric. It dominated rhetoric instruction throughout northern Europe for most of the sixteenth century, including application in the vernacular.

*On Copia* is intended to help the novice attain *copiae*, or abundance, in his Latin style. The work is divided into two books, the first being variously translated as *abundance of expression* or *of words* and the second as *abundance of subject matter or of ideas.* In the Toronto edition, Book I is divided into no less than 266 chapters (chapter 565 is entitled “No Farther”), which catalog a wide variety of figures, tropes, and other methods of amplification. In addition to discussing such stylistic devices as metalepsis, metonymy, and synecdoche, Erasmus lists various ways of expressing syntactic relationships. For example, chapter 129, “Nothing But,” contains the following examples: “You are nothing but a poet, you are nothing else but a poet, you are nothing other than a poet, you are merely a poet, you are nothing more than a poet,” and so on.1 Excepted here is a generally regarded as a key figure in the Renaissance, both as one who brought Italian learning north and as one who made major contributions in his own right. Historian Anthony Grafton and literary scholar Lisa Jardine argue that Erasmus attempted to professionalize humanism as a philological discipline.2

The stylistic focus of *On Copia* is typical of many rhetoric texts of the period, whether Cicero-centric or not, in its attention to the art of rhetoric as a whole. Erasmus’s own Latin style was and is generally regarded as excellent. Erasmus’s relationship to stylistic rhetoric is subtle, however. On the one hand, he uses himself as reacting against the evolution of Italian humanist rhetoric in the direction of courtly convention. He was distrustful of *spretatura*, thought the good style should not scruple to display its learning and wit, and both defended and exemplified the principle that the eloquent man of wisdom should take public stands in important issues of the day. On the other hand, as *On Copia* and his other works show, Erasmus certainly did not eschew stylistic ornamentation and rhetorical polish. Like Cicero, he believed that the most accomplished and useful rhetoric was one who could turn from amplitude to terseness as the situation required. In the period of Erasmus’s greatest influence, stylistic elaborations such as Ennius gradually began to cloy some palates. By the turn of the seventeenth century, although Neo-Ciceronian still supported a concept of *copiae*, it was increasingly under attack by advocates of the new science and of the planner, so-called Sententiae style, as they developed from Bacon forward. When Erasmus returned to the Continent around 1516, he traveled widely and also made frequent visits to England. He assisted in the establishment of another


Selected Bibliography


Biographies include Roland Baitsont's *Erasmus of Christendom* (1969) and J. Kelly's *Soward's Deisslerian Erasmus* (1975), which gives more attention to Erasmus's writings.


Discussions of the skepticism of Erasmus can veer toward either of its political or mystical implications. On the practical side is Marjorie O’Rourke’s *Brecht’s Religious Reform: Erasmus’s Civil Dispute with Luther* (1968). She argues that Erasmus’s skepticism led him to espouse a sort of deliberative rhetoric, in opposition to the judicial rhetoric which Luther was led by his Stoicism. Victoria Kahn’s *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Scrutiny in the Renaissance* (1985) studies Erasmus, Montaigne, and Hobbes as they grapple with the problem of defining right political action from a skeptical, morally relativistic mind-set.

On the other hand, Erasmus’s praise of folly connects him with a long European tradition of the fool as a licensed questioner of social convention and, at times, a forerunner on the way to spiritual transcendence of social norms. See Walter Kaisler’s *Praisers of Folly* (1961), which focuses on Rabelais, Erasmus, and Shakespeare, and W. Willeford’s *The Fool and His Scepter* (1965), which mentions Erasmus throughout while tracing the fool figure, especially his or her mystical implications, from medieval to modern times.

From Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style

**BOOK I. ABUNDANCE OF EXPRESSION**

1. Copia: Dangers Inherent in Its Pursuit

The speech of man is a magnificent and impressive thing when it surges along like a golden river, with thoughts and words pouring out in rich abundance. Yet the pursuit of speech like this involves considerable risk. As the proverb says, "Not every man has the means to visit the city of Corinth." We find that a good many mortal men who make great efforts to achieve this godlike power of speech fall into mere glibness, which is both silly and offensive. They pile up a meaningless heap of words and expressions without any discrimination, and thus obscure the subject they are talking about, as well as belaboring the ears of their unfortunate audience. In fact, quite a few persons of real education or understanding have, heaven help us, undertaken to give instruction in this very subject, and these, while professing a mastery of copia, have merely revealed their own total lack of it.

Such considerations have induced me to put forward some ideas on *copia,* the abundant style, myself, treating its two aspects of content and expression, and giving some examples and patterns. Some of my material I have extracted from works dealing specifically with rhetorical theory. I have also drawn on my own now considerable experience of the art of speaking and writing, and what I have observed in the course of wide reading over a considerable range of authors. It is not my intention to write a book dealing exhaustively with the whole subject, but rather a short treatise written merely to open up the way for teachers and students and provide the raw material for future work. One of my reasons is that I have undertaken this task solely out of a desire to be helpful, so I shall be quite content to do another for the sake of reaping the glory, so long as I am ultimately responsible for some benefit reaching the students. Also I am committed to more serious works which prevent me from expending a great deal of labor on topics which, in spite of their considerable contribution to serious subjects, themselves seem unimportant.

2. Copia: Its Invention and Practice

Now in case anyone should feel inclined to despise as such some newfangled discovery recently brought into the world within the four walls of my own study, I would have him know that this whole idea of being able to express one's meaning in a variety of ways is in a number of places touched on by that learned and thorough writer Quintilian; further, that a number of famous sophists blazed a trail, showing how to compress and abbreviate a thing that was too long, and this they could not have done without at the same time demonstrating how to expand it. If their books were extant, or if Quintilian had been prepared to quote his recommendations in full, there would not have been such need of these modest inquisitions of mine.

*In Institutio oratoria, where the importance of varietas in every aspect of speaking is mentioned in passing in many places, see frs 15. [Tr.]*

*Important teachers who traveled from city to city in Greece in the fifth century BCE, giving instruction (for a fee) which permitted to prepare students to get on in life; the system of many of them included instruction in the art of speaking. A list is given in Quintilian 3.1.88. [Tr.]*

The whole business is further recommended by the fact that men who were the intellectual leaders of their day were by no means averse from constant practice in it. We have a number of marvelous passages where Virgil tried his skill: descriptions of a mirror, a frozen river, a rainbow, a sunrise, the four seasons, the constellations. There is further evidence in Apuleius' treatment of Aesop's fable about the fox and the crow; first he skims over it briefly with a wonderful economy of words, and then he sets it out expansively and in great detail, thus exercising and displaying his talents. But after all, who could possibly regret an enthusiasm for this subject after observing that Cicero, the great father of eloquence, was so dedicated to this kind of exercise that he used to vie with his friend, the actor Roscius, to see whether Roscius could express the same material more often using different gestures, or Cicero himself applying the resources of eloquence and using different languages?

3. Copia: Delight Taken by Ancient Authors in Demonstrating It

Moreover these same writers have quite often taken delight in demonstrating their powers of expression, not only in practice pieces, but in serious works as well, first compressing the subject to such an extent that you can subtract nothing, and then enriching and expanding it so that nothing can be added. According to Quintilian, Homer is equally admirable for fullness and compression. Although it is not our intention to treat examples in detail at this point, we will nonetheless give one or two examples, using Virgil only. What could be more concisely expressed than his line: "the places where Troy once stood"? As Macrobius says, in a very few words he has here consumed and swallowed up the city without even allowing the ruins to remain. Now listen to the fullness of expression in this passage:

Cone is the final day, fate's inevitable doom.

Upon Dardanus' city, we Trojans are no more;
9. Exercises to Develop the Powers of Expression

It remains for me now to give some brief advice on the exercises by which this faculty may be developed. Once we have carefully conceived the theory to memory, we should frequently take a group of sentences and deliberately set out to express it as clearly and distinctly as possible, as Quintilian advises,[a] using the analogy of a piece of wax which can be molded into one shape after another. This exercise will be more profitable if a group of students compete together, orally or in writing on a common theme; they will all be helped individually by the suggestions made by other members of the group, and each of them will have his imagination stimulated by being given a starting point. Second, we shall treat a connected line of thought in a number of ways. Here it will be best to copy the line of thought or the main points of the speech into Latin, and then three times, and eventually, to treat it over and over again, so as to attain that facility in the end that we can vary it in our own way, or have it vary itself. In addition, we shall add greatly to our linguistic resources if we translate authors from the Greek, as that language is particularly rich in subject matter and vocabulary. We shall also provide many models to compete with these Greek authors by paraphrasing what they have written. It will be of enormous value to take apart the fabric of poetry and weave it in prose, and vice versa, to bind the freer language of prose to the rules of meter, and also to pour the same subject matter from one form of poetry contained into another. It will also be very helpful to emulate a passage from some author who is apparent and in the form of Latin, to study the faults in his manner, to take some particular thing, and endeavor in our own strength to equal or even surpass it. We shall find it particularly useful to "churn the great authors by night and day," especially those who were outstanding in the rich style of Livy, of Cicero, of Aulus Gellius, and of Apuleius. We must keep our eyes open to observe every figure of speech that we use, store it in our memory once observed, imitate it once remembered, and by constant employment develop an expertise by which we may call upon it instantly.

10. Copia: Preliminary Instructions

Having said all this by way of introduction, I must now tackle the task of actually setting down my instructions, though I have said already in the introduction that I think it will be an invaluable exercise for all Latin students if they will only write in Latin. Any words that appear to the candidate for copia that his first care must be to see that his speech is appropriate, is Latin from the point of view of style, is elegantly worded, and is stylistically uncorrupted. He should not imagine that the rich style can admit anything which is abhorrent from the unsullied purity of the language of Rome.

Elegance depends partly on the use of words selected in suitable authors, partly on their right application, partly on their right combination in phrases. An example of the first is the simile in the following translation: "He was an elephant," which according to some was never heard by Latin ears, though even this form is found in quite respectable authors; so it would be better to use as an example some other barbarous or faulty form, such as avisare "avise" instead of praeventur "be before" which is not only committed by faulty Latin, but also worse. No instigation to write, or pronouncing dicer with the accent on the first syllable instead of the second, or Christus as Crtius [without the aspirate], or perex as pcaex, or lengthening the last syllable of lego. Both these faults of diction are frequent in Latin, but it has acquired a different sense, "remove by stealth." Hence use it when talking about "slaves on the run" filling their masters' stuff," and in the lines:

That you are a good Latin word, but it has acquired a different sense, "remove by stealth." Hence use it when talking about "slaves on the run filling their masters' stuff," and in the lines:

10. [The interrupted line of text is not clear, but it seems to discuss the proper use of Latin pronunciation and its changes over time.]

11. [The text then references Greek and Latin authors, discussing the use of metaphor and the importance of understanding the context in which words are used.]
Some men use clothes as a shield to protect their pride, while others use them as a symbol of their status. In this passage, the author discusses the variety of expression that clothes can convey, emphasizing that even the simplest garments can have a profound impact on how a person is perceived.

The author begins by noting that clothes are not just functional items, but are also a form of expression. They can be used to convey a person's personality, social status, and even their mood. The author uses examples from history and literature to illustrate how different cultures have used clothes as a form of communication.

The passage then delves into the different types of clothing that are worn in different cultures. It highlights how the colors, materials, and styles of clothing can be used to convey a message. The author also notes that even the smallest details, such as the way a garment is worn, can say a lot about a person.

The author then moves on to discuss how clothes can be used to express emotions. They note that even the simplest gestures, such as the way a person holds their hands or wears a hat, can convey a great deal of information.

The passage concludes by noting that clothes are not just a matter of aesthetics, but are also a form of self-expression. They are a reflection of a person's values and beliefs, and can be used to communicate a message to the world. The author encourages readers to think about the ways in which they use clothes to express themselves, and to be mindful of the messages they might be sending to others.

Overall, the passage provides a rich and nuanced exploration of the role that clothes play in our lives, and encourages readers to think about the ways in which they use this powerful form of expression.
words are vulgar of themselves, others only in the wrong context, applied to the wrong people and circumstances. For example, *dung* and the verb to *dung* are not vulgar if you are talking about farming to farmers, but they are if you are making a speech on affairs of state in the presence of the ruler.

**Unusual Words**

At one time common usage had a great deal of authority. Horace says as much in the lines:

> "Many words that now are dead will come to life again / Words honored now will die the death, shall usage so proclaim. But nowadays we acquire our way of speaking not from the community at large but from the writings of new men; so usage does not have the same prescriptive power. Even so, words can be considered unusual when they do not occur with any frequency in those authors which provide the bulk of scholars' reading." [17]

Now we have to take care not to speak in an artificial manner, and to keep a good distance between ourselves and the aspersions of those who think to speak strangely is to speak well — a mannerism which Cicero remarked on about *Suetonius* who was in many ways a learned man. These same people also think themselves clever if one has to be clever to understand them, as Diomede wittily remarked, [18] and prefer to write something that will result in amazement rather than comprehension. [19]

An expression can be unusual in several ways, as will be made clear by what follows; to give some examples, the form of expression will be unusual if anyone says anything like "framed men" for *rogati* "wrickled", [20] the *archaic* forms *interim* "somewhat" and *interim* "in the mean" instead of *interdum* "some-times" and *interim* "somewhat;" [21] employs *trivium* "jot and title" for something of an account; [22] and the *less usual* form *vagius* for *vajtius* "wailing." [23]

**Poetic Words**

There are also words in the poets which should be used only sparingly, especially when writing prose. In Horace for example we have *eliminare* "turn out of doors" used to mean "carry a confidence to the outside world" (though Cicero does use it in the *speech of the irresponsible youth,* a word modeled on Greek verb *venizievos* or *venizievos* [with the same meaning]; *furiae; furiae; clarae; nitentes;* *intercedere* "deathlessly immortalize; *intercedere" in the form *intercitus* "pierced," instead of *inclusa* "get;" or [the passive form] *invictus* "I am for a grudge;" instead of *mihi invictum* "a grudge is felt against me;" or in Virgil *agentum [usually line] or group in motion* for *movement or course* in *laen flavi autem Thysbris* "The Tiber swells with gentle course;" or *indomitum fur* "he rages a boundless rage" instead of using the *adverb* *inomitely* "boundlessly;" also *acron* "intens" and *inagnosensness* instead of *ingest savagely;* or *espore in hope* in the sense of *feel" or "expect, foresee;* "Could I this mighty grief foresee [esperare] / Then, sister dear, can endure / The hope I have in Terence: Now as for your expectation [espera] of keeping at bay ..." Yet Cicero was quite prepared to use this turn of phrase in his letters to friends: "I had no expectation [non sperabam] that your feelings towards myself would remain so unchanged." The Greeks had a wonderful knack for forming compounds, and the Latin poets sometimes achieved a like felicity when imitating them, but the Latin orators never seemed to be quite so successful at it. The examples of such compounds are *vulniciae* "wound-infecting, *tristiciis*..." [24]

---

[17]Adagia 1r 8v: 3. In medieval fable a goblin Thibris gathered up in a cone the unconsidered trufes of quick speech [at fall by moons].

[18]Suetonius August. 86.2, where Augustus criticizes Mark Antony's style in these terms. [Tr.

[19]Plinius 3r 4. 3. (La. 19. 8.) Pictorius was a grammarian of the second century AD whose lexicon was printed at Milan in 1500. [Tr.

[20]Adagia 1r 8v: 3. In medieval fable a goblin Thibris gathered up in a cone the unconsidered trufes of quick speech [at fall by moons].

[21]There seems to be no record of Cicero using this verb. Possibly Erasmus has confused it with *expresserum* or *espore* which have a related meaning. Nonius Musaeus quotes all three (39, 27, 16), giving quotations from Cicero for *externe* and *expetrere.* [Tr.

[22]Epp. 83. 3. 31. [Tr.

[23]Jisted as expressly anthy *quidem* by *quidem* 1. 40. 39. [Tr.

[24]Hortensia ad Heronem 40. 14. 15, where this word is prove as example of affected archaisms. [Tr.


**Archaic Words**

Archaic words add charm if they are incorporated in small quantities and in appropriate places like inferior decorations: for example, *excrutare* "do dissection," meaning to bring out thoughts and feelings with words; *actuat* *sungquity" for *sungquity* "at once;" *antique* *oppiit* both meaning "very;" "in place of" *verti;" *creperum bellum* "the twilight of war;" for *dubium bellum* "double doubt or undecided war;" *hostiare, hostinamentum* "requite, requite" for *penasire, penasato" "compensate, compensate;" *victulatae* *joyful* for *gaudientes" *glas;" *for vehiculatum" for *vehiculum"; the *old words* *perudelia and perduelio" "vermin;" *duelium* an *old form of bellum" *war;" *cernece" determine the issue for pugnare" *right;" *tremum" *tremour;" *vivum" "wine;" and *Anathila* [an old name] for Thessaly.

**Obsolete Words**

Unusual words are those which appear only occasionally. Archaic ones the ones called by later texts are now discarded because of their antiquity, such as the Twelve Tables, Ennius, Lucilius, Naevius, Pacuvius. Obsolete ones have fallen completely out of use and passed into oblivion, for example, *bovitrini,* the equivalent of *tergiversarii* to "shuttle, evade;" *apudulam* *ets flocces et flocces bibit* "he eats draft and drinks the less of wine" (using *apudulam* and *flocces* and of *furfur and flocces* for chalk and dregs) — an expression that Cælius derides with good reason. The ancients used *hosts," now meaning "enemy," for "guest" and "stranger," but anyone would look a fool who tried to use it in that sense now.

I cannot see what use could arise for obsolete words, unless by way of joke and irony — if for example one wanted to stigmatize some bungling imitator of antiquity by calling him a fellow who deserves "to eat draft and drink less."

On this question of words we must take into account not only the actual date, but also the predilections and affections of writers. There is a stage of antiquity already superseded, and one still endure, as we see it at the time of Livius Andronicus; at which period the slow process of refinement began, and continued until the period of Cicero, when Roman eloquence attained such a peak of perfection that there was no possibility of further development, but, as is usual in human affairs, a gradual decline from that brilliance followed; it was inevitable that later generations should speak worse when they tried to speak differently. To write at the same period as Cicero, his style is more like Cat, the censor's than like Cicero's; and Maccenas [25] lived at much the same time, yet he falls very far short of the pure style of his age. Likewise Virgil and Catullus, who belonged to the period of the Emperor Tiberius, when the brilliance of the Ciceronian age had not yet declined, nonetheless writes more in a style peculiar to himself than in that of his contemporaries. I shall say nothing of Tacitus, Suetonius, the two Pliny, Aelianus Lampridius, and other later writers.

While one must applaud the practice of those who set the words of their age in the felicities of that great age, all the same I cannot approve of those who shudder at anything they find in the later..."

---

[25]The literary patron of Virgil and Horace, his Latin style was considered extravagant and decadent. See Sessius Epist. 114.4-6. (Tr.

[26]Historians of the fourth century AD. (Tr.
male and female recluses were at one time sing

ing their reputation for holiness.

If ever we are forced to barbaric war,
we must always préfere their introduction with an apology, as Plutus says. There are many other
words which have found their way in, taken
with the things they name, from barbarian ra

tions to the Greeks, and from the Greeks to us,
such as sapins, pipper, ziubber [mustard, pepper,
ginger], etc.

Indecent Words

Indecent words should be utterly unknown in
Church speech, and any attention should be paid
to the Cyprians (who consider no act shameful
that is not shameful to perform, and any act
that is not shameful to perform in private or
shameful to perform in public, like making war
or evanescing the bowels. On the other hand, it
is not automatically shameful to talk about an act
that is shameful to perform. One can name/pa
ricide and incest without loss of modesty, though
they would both be utterly shaming if committed.
Again there is certain parts of the body which
are not dishonorable in themselves, yet are kept
covered because of a sense of decency peculiar
to civilized man; likewise there are some actions
which in themselves are neither good nor bad
which normally are kept private for modesty's
sake. Yet it is not automatically shameful to use
the appropriate word for an act that it would be
indecent to perform openly. One can talk about
giving birth with decency, but it would be shame
ful to happen in public. To "piss" is not an
indecent word (though "to make water" is a more
decorous expression), but it is inmodest to piss
in public. On the other hand, "shit" is an im
proper word, though the action is neutral. The

"A reference to Erasans' long-standing battle with those
who applied strict canons of classical conformity and would
not pro see author as used but a model to Cicero. See Eras
Ciceronianus (1528). [Tr.

[See Cicero De oratore 3.16a; Quintilian 8.6.15 (death of Afri
Canus, not Camillus). [Tr.

[See Sallustus Nexo 33, wherein Nero says of Claudian
mariam delecto inferius homines, praising on the already
existing verb mareri with a short vowel, meaning "stay, hang
about." Erasans explains this in detail in his Extrema
pro: 1:109. [Tr.

"A collection of obscene verse in honor of Priapus, a
holiday god 3.r10 (unsubstantiated). [Tr.

[See Sallustus Nexo 33, wherein Nero says of Claudian
mariam delecto inferius homines, praising on the already
existing verb mareri with a short vowel, meaning "stay, hang
about." Erasans explains this in detail in his Extrema
pro: 1:109. [Tr.

"Sulpicius 31.1: See Quintilian 8.3.44, who comments on the
charge of meaning. [Tr.

"The drunkard," and Paeconius "Neri, repandinor

incurvisercum pecus "the snout-upturned,
neck-arching flock of Nereus," all examples
which Quintillian mentions. He long
new words created by derivations from existing
forms, like vituperiones "vituperis, amorabund
las "love-bound," nuptiae "wedding-mad,"
verbiage "word-bandy," the sort of words par
icularly favored by Aquitania, Marcius Cau
pella, Sisdomius Anphialus, and those who
model themselves on those writers. Such words
have their own charm, if they are sprinkled here
and there with discretion and in the appropriate
place. As Quintillian says, "first, in food a touch
of sharpness can at times give pleasure.
But a little charm is added by the judicious
milling of Greek forms with the Latin. This
can be when the Greek word is more expressive,
like kapeuryzax [battle of words] for "dispute
or "quarrel"; or shorter, like filie[ox (self
lover) for a man who is self-satisfied; or more
forceful, like xynonypotini [mad on women]
for a man who is in love with women; or more
expressive, like meumektodologov [star
staring] for a man prating on involving but use
less topics, or calling andoio-ephopos [foolwise]
a man who is a fool but thinks himself wise.
Not Latin expressions, of course, but the charm of a
Greek one in which we allude to a passage or
remark of some author; if, for example, in
reprimanding someone for speaking without
thinking, we quote Homer's line avnon xox
[What a word you express], in pointing
out that someone has failed to keep to the point
at issue, we say in Greek avos ay'Aro [I was
needing sickles]. If we were to say in Latin fulces
pelibam, all the attractiveness disappears.
There is an allusion here to Homer's lines:
"Anointed, thrice through Tiber's waves shalt
pass, / At eve, in liquor soaked corpus habebas," the
speaker is Trebius, a legal expert, and they
enjoy words out of the Twelve Tables, a feature that
Cicero imitates in his books on the laws.

"Quoted from Quintilian 1:5.67. [Tr.

[Author (fifth century AD) of a famous allegorical poem
on the marriage of Mercury and Philothyde; it describes the
seven liberal arts. [Tr.

[Christian Latin poet and bishop (fifth century AD). [Tr.

[69.3.27. [Tr.

[69.3.27. [Tr.

[69.3.27. [Tr.

[69.3.27. [Tr.
32. Methods 1-20: Practical Demonstration

To make it easier to understand what I have been saying, let us have a practical demonstration. We will take one or two sentences and see how far we can go in transforming the basic expression into a Protean variety of shapes — not that every sentence of non-protean shape can be applied to an active voice sentence, but we shall apply the ones that lend themselves to the example in question. Let us, for example, take this sentence: "Your letter pleased me mightily". Note all the ways we might distort the statement.

Your: There is no synonym for "your", but a peripheral possibility is your excellency. Your: In his majesty's, your majesty's. If we insert a proper name such as "Faustus" and say "Faustus letter," we employ two forms of heterosis, the substitution of a noun for a pronoun and of a third person for a second. If we say "Faustus letters," using a derivative adjective instead of the genitive of the noun, that is yet another form of heterosis.

tepper: epistle, letter, note (synonym); epistol.; letterette, notelet (heterosis, using a diminutive form); pages, lines (syncr.); what you wrote to me (peri-phrase).

tnered, delighted, refreshed, exhilarated (synonyms, though "exhilarated" is better considered a metaphor); brought pleasure, were a pleasure, were delightful (these and similar expressions illustrate periphrasis); bathed in delight, were honey-sweet, and on (transferred or metaphorical expressions); were not unwelcome, not displeasing (these result from the interchange of opposites).

me: my spirits, my heart, my eyes (peri-phrase or synecdoche); us (smallest of the number); Erasmus (heterosis of the person).

mightily: greatly, intensely, extremely, wonderfully, marvelously, extraordinarily (synonym); mightily, superlatively, exceedingly, singularly (ἀξίωμα heightening); in no scant measure, on no small scale, in no common manner (opposites and negatives); it is impossible to say how much, it is beyond belief, I could not find words to express (these and similar expressions are on the way to hyperbole).

Other points can be conveniently illustrated only in the context of a complete sentence, so let us move on to our demonstration:

Your letter mightily pleased me; to a wonderful degree did your letter please me; exceedingly did your letter please me. (So far hardly anything has been changed but the word order.)

Your letter was mightily pleased; I was exceedingly pleased by your letter. (Here only the voice of the verb is altered.)

Your epistle exhilarated me intensely; I was intensely exhilarated by your epistle; your epistle exhilarated me;

The arrangement of L 11:2-3 (for which more see the Latin word order of the specimen sentence, has been adjusted to accord with the English word order.)
You could scarce credit what relief I find in your missive. (Cicero frequently uses “find relief” in the sense “take pleasure.”) Your epistle was to us one of great delightfulness. Your letter was very sweet to me. Your letter was the source of singular gladness. Your letter made me positively jump for joy. Your letter having arrived, I was transported with joy. When your letter was delivered, I was filled with delight.

Once I had read your affectionate letter, I was carried away with a strange happiness. On receipt of your letter, an incredible delight seized my spirits. Your epistle poured the balm of happiness over me. Your writing to me was the most delightful thing possible. The fact that you had written to me was extremely pleasurable to me. Your honoring me with a letter was the most agreeable of occurrences. Your brief note made me burst with joy. How overjoyed I was by your letter! I was both pleased and delighted that you communicated with me by letter. When your letter arrived, you could have seen me jumping for all the joy I felt. That you paid your respects by letter was assuredly a satisfaction to me.

Nothing more wished for than your letter could have been brought me. Your letter has reached us, and eagerly looked for it was. Nothing more desired than your letter could have been brought us. (These last three illustrate metadels, or at any rate synecdoche, for things that we greatly desire are pleasurable when they arrive.)

Faustine letters cannot but be most delightful to Eranus. Not unpleasing was your epistle to me. Your by no means displeasing letter has arrived. Your missive by no means failed of a welcome.

Your epistle was to me the sweetest of the sweet. I read and reread your letter with great pleasure. It was not without the greatest pleasure that I received your letter.

The man who delivered your letter conveyed a wealth of joy. Wonderful to relate how your letter entranced me.

The pages I received from you sent a new light of joy stealing over my heart. Your letter promptly expelled all sorrow from my mind. I sensed a wonderful happiness in my spirits when your letter was handed me.

From your letter an uncustomed happiness swept over my spirits. Your letter caused me to rejoice to the full. Because of your letter my whole self boiled with joy.

It is difficult to say how much happiness was occasioned in me by your letter. I can hardly find words to express the extent of the joy to which your letter gave rise.

It is wonderful to tell what a ray of delight beamed forth from your letter. Good God, what a mighty joy proceeded from your epistle!

Heavens, what causes for joy did your letter provide! Ye gods, what a power of joy did your missive supply!

The happiness occasioned by your communication is greater than I can describe. Your messenger brought me a deal of pleasure.

You could scarce credit the load of happiness your letters conveyed to my mind. I cannot find words to tell the joys that your letter loaded on me. (Why hesitate to use such an expression, when Terence spoke of the day being “loaded” with blessings?) Your letter bejovied joy upon me. I rejoiced greatly at your letter.

I found singular pleasure in your letter. Your missive showered a wealth of gladness upon me.

Your epistle was most delightful to me. Your letter caused me quite to smooth my brow.

At the sight of your letter the frown fled from my mind’s brow.

As I read the words you wrote me, a marvelous happiness stole over my mind.

As soon as I looked into your letter, a strange force of joy occupied my mind. As my eye fell on your letter, an incredible tide of joy swelled in my breast.

When I received your most gracious letter, boundless happiness occupied every recess of my soul.

May I die the death if anything more delightful than your letter ever came my way.

May I perish if I ever met with anything in my whole life more agreeable than your letter.

As I aspire to the love of the Muses, nothing more gladesome than your letter has ever been this befallen me.

Never believe that fortune could cast anything more delightful in my path than your letter.

As you are dear to my soul, even so does your letter delight me.

Ye heavens, what joy your letter roused in me!

What gaiety, what applause, what exultation your letteroccasioned! Reading your tasteful letter, I experienced an uncommon joy.

Your pen stole me with delight.

Your epistle provided me with much pleasure.

Your graceful epistle filled me wholly with delight.

Your charming epistle filled every corner of my heart with delight.

Your letter cast a dew of rare joy upon me.

Your epistle bedecked my spirit with an unfamiliar delight.

Nothing more delightful than your letter ever came my way.

I never set eyes on anything more gladly than your letter.

There is not a thing that I would receive with more pleasure than the latest letter from my dear Faustus.

Can you imagine the tide of joy on which I rode as I perceived in your letter your affection for me?

When the messenger handed me your letter, my spirit immediately felt the motions of an inexpressible delight.

What need have I to tell you of the pleasure that stirred the soul of your Enanus on the receipt of your letter? Your epistle arrived.

My soul overflowed with joy when your letter was delivered.

How glad I was to receive your epistle! After your note was handed me, my spirit quite bubbled over with joy.

I was beside myself with joy when I received your letter.

The charm of your letter put shackles of delight on my soul.

I cannot but rejoice nightfall whenever a missive of yours comes flying to me.

Your letter was pure honey to me. Whatever kind of a letter leaves your hand seems to me flowing with sweetness and honey.

I was most luxuriously refreshed at the sumptuous banquet of your letter.

What you wrote is sweeter to me than ambrosia.

The pages of your dear Faustus were more splendid to me than Sicilian feasts.34

There is no pleasure, no delight, that I would willingly compare with your letter.

All else is utterly repellant compared with your letter.

In the perusal of your affectionate letter the heart of Eranus leapt for joy.

The pages scratched by your pen filled every part of me with joy.

Anything that arrives written by you is pure delight to my heart.

Your epistle exudes nothing but joy. The man who brought your letter brought a feast day.

34A proverbial expression; see Horace Odys 3.1.18: Siculici apes; also 7.3; ultimately derived, like the expressions on 354/56, 8.10, 12, from Panoraphiographi greci, a collection of proverbs originating in antiquity but given definite form in the early Middle Ages. (T.)
A triumph came with the man who delivered your letter. Nectar I would not prefer to a message from you. Could I possibly compare Attic honey with your letter? Sugar is not sugar when set beside your letter. The lotus tastes not as sweet to any mortal man as your letters do to me. Your letters are to me like wine to a thirsty man. Like clover to the bee, willow leaves to goats, honey to the bear, even so are your letters to me. Your highness’s letter was to me more a delight than any honey. Once I had received your longed-for letter, you might have said Erasmus was drunk with joy.

When your letter was delivered, you might have seen us tipsy with excess of delight. I love you as no one else, and I delight in your letters as in nothing else. Your lines seem to me pure enchantment. Sweetmeats do not so delight the palate as your letter charms my soul. No delicacies give such pleasure to the palate as your communication to the mind. The man who delivered your letter brought with him drepana, phæenomena [clerlods of pleasure]. Your messenger brought Alexander’s joy when he delivered your letter. He who handed over your pages brought with him batholaon [a sea] of joys. Your letter was to me a positive δύο ειζεργος [choice morsel] for a Persian, as the Greeks say.

If anyone thinks that some of these suggestions would hardly be tolerable in prose, he should remember that this exercise is designed for the composition of verse as well. Let us now test out our skill in variation in the same way on some other sentences, and let us choose one that is not of itself particularly fine or suggestive, so that it may be all the more apparent how effective this technique of substitution can be, when it is confirmed by practice and constant use.

So let us take this sentence: “Always, as long as I live, I shall remember you” semper dum vivam tu memorabo. In the first place, take the adverb semper from away. There is no other word corresponding to it that has the same force, and semper itself cannot generate other forms by inflection. Then vivam “live” is likewise without anything closely corresponding, and, as it is an intransitive verb, it has only forms belonging to the voice, and the only noun derived from it is vita “life.” Memini “remember” is not only an intransitive verb, but is also defective and incomplete, and almost entirely unproductive, as it has no offspring, but meminor “preserving the memory of,” and memoria “memory.” Besides, the two verbs paired with these, mori “die” and oblivisci “forget,” are both themselves defective and unproductive. All the same let us mark a start. The reader will recognize the different types of variation from the examples given earlier.

Always, as long as I live, I shall remember you.

Never, as long as I live, shall I fail to remember you.

Never during the time I yet shall life shall forgetfulness of you overcome me.

At no time while I have life shall you disappear from my thoughts.

Never while I live will you find oblivion in me.

Never, as long as I remain among the living, shall oblivion of you find us.

I will not cease to remember you before I cease to live.

The memory of you will not leave me before life itself is.

As long as I have breath, I shall be found mindful of you.

While I enjoy the light of life, you shall be fixed in my thoughts.

I would leave the fellowship of the living sooner than have the memory of you removed from my breast.

I shall myself depart from the living before More depart from my memory.

The light of day shall fail me, before I begin to be forgetful of you.

Life shall desert me not a moment later than the remembrance of one so dear to me.

The same day shall snatch from me the memory of you that shall snatch life from me.

That same dawn is destined to bring oblivion of you that shall bring our death.

There shall be the same end for our memory of you and for our life.

As long as I shall be mindful of myself, I shall never be sorry to remember you.

There shall be no other extinction of our memory of you than the extinction of the light of day.

That day alone shall quench my memory of you that quenches my life.

I shall begin to forget myself before I begin to forget you.

The memory of More will not steal from our breast before this soul steals from us.

Save only death, no mischance shall cast you forth from my heart.

Could I ever while alive forget so delightful a companion?

Only then will Erasmus prove able to forget his beloved More, when he ceases to be mindful of More.

As long as any consciousness is left to me, I shall not be present to my thoughts.

You are too dear to my heart ever to pass into forgetfulness, at least while I have life.

More is hidden deep within my heart, and nothing can cast him out from thence, save only Death.

I shall myself be delivered to Death before I consign you to oblivion.

While my spirit rules these eyes, these hands, you shall be fixed within my breast.

While the spirit directs these limbs, I shall remember you.

As long as breath remains in us, I shall be incapable of forgetting you.

While I am active in life, so long shall the memory of you live in me.

That day will end my life that begins oblivion of you.

The same fate shall tear this soul away and tear you from my love.

While the gods above grant me existence, I shall continually bear you in my thoughts.

While any spark of vital heat shall pulse within this breast my remembrance of you shall never fade away.

Life shall not be more lasting than the recollection of your services to me.

My memory of you will prove no shorter than life itself.

The remembrance of your dear head will be no less lasting than this life I live.

The day that takes away the memory of you will separate me from myself.

I shall be stolen away from myself before I cease to hold you in my thoughts.

My enjoyment of the light of day will last no longer than my remembrance of your behovement.

Life will not go on longer than your recollection of me.

I shall be outside this self before More ceases to be within this breast.

This life and my remembrance of you shall keep pace together to the goal.

Erasmus will no longer exist when he is heedless of More.

This person will not be in existence, when I prove capable of forgetting so unique a friend.

As long as I shall be active in this world, I shall not allow my remembrance of your kindness to fade away.

As long as I breathe this common air, you shall for a many a time be present in my thoughts.

It shall never be that Erasmus retain life longer than his memory of you.

I shall not make an end of thinking of you till Atropos severs the fatal thread.

As one of the three Fates presiding over the lives of...
If any day shall ever bring forgetfulness of you, it shall certainly never precede the one that deprives me of the very light. This sun that beholds everything shall never behold me unmindful of you. Death alone shall disodge from this heart the recollection of you.

As long as any portion of life shall remain in these limbs, More will never be absent from the thoughts of Erasmus. While the memory of blood retains its warmth in this feeble frame, the memory of More will never grow cold in my heart.

As long as life shall remain mine, you shall never be absent from my thoughts.

How long hence shall remain unbroken this union of soul and mortal clay, never for one moment shall you be severed from my thoughts.

Soon there shall no longer be soul within this body than you no longer in my thoughts.

Rather shall the spirit remove from this poor body’s lodging than your image be erased that I bear engraven upon my heart.

My recollection of you shall equal my course through life.

The same finishing-post shall be set for my life and my thoughts of you.

The remembrance of you shall know no narrower bounds than life itself.

As long as any vein shall pulse with vital heat, to remember you shall ever prove delightful.

However long Lachesis¹ shall draw out my thread of life, so long shall be drawn out my memory of you.

Life and thoughts of you shall have equal measure.

So long as the vital state shall maintain this body’s mass, I shall retain a mind that above all remembers you.

While heaven’s kindness grants me to enjoy the light of day, I shall always bear you in my thoughts.

While the gods above grant us life, we shall not allow carelessness of our loyal confiding ever to take us unwares.

While consciousness remains to me, I shall never lay aside these remembering graceful thoughts.

As long as heaven wills that I enjoy the circuit sun, so long shall you have in me a man who is mindful of you. He who finds Erasmus heedless of you will not find him alive.

For all the time that life shall last for me, the mind of mine shall continue full of thoughts of you.

As long as it shall be my lot to enjoy this sky above our heads, it will not be my lot to forget you.

As long as life continues, you will always be present to the eyes of my heart.

I will forget my own name before I forget so rare a friend.

I shall lose myself before I lose the image of your face.

More will never pass from Erasmus’ thoughts, while Erasmus lives.

No passage of time shall ever obliterate my memory of you.

The memory of you will only be extinguished when I am.

You will never be cast out of the doors of memory before the day that brings my destined end.

I will not stop remembering you until my death.

I will not cease to recall you until my latest hour.

Until the last threads in my web of life are spun could I be forgetful of you.

While Erasmus lives, More’s memory will never fade away.

My recollection of you no passage of time shall ever take off the statute book.

Before my final day the memory of you that I bear shall never be rescinded.

No injury inflicted by place or time shall cause me in this life not to recall you vividly.

I will remember you throughout all my life.

However long I shall have this mortal life, it will always be joined with memory of you.

My recollection of you shall follow me as far as the very grave.

You shall lose consciousness of myself before I shall lose the memory of a man most dear to me.

I shall be torn from these very limbs before you are rent from my mind.

Death shall find me sooner than forgetfulness of a head so dear.

I shall assuredly meet my end rather than cease to preserve your memory.

Your memory shall never be buried in me till I am buried myself.

My recollection of you shall perish with me or not at all.

The memory of my beloved More shall breathe within me until I breathe my last.

So long as we shall sojourn in this world, never shall oblivion of your grace assail me.

Until my end, never shall forgetfulness of you occur to my mind. (Seneca uses an expression like this.)

This mortal life can produce no fate so harsh that it can hamper your memory from this heart of mine.

Nothing so cruel can happen to me in this mortal life as to cause me to be uselessless of you.

While I live, nothing can arise that would occasion forgetfulness of your kindness towards me.

The memory of you is so deeply rooted in me that it will give way before none of those mischiefs that befall us in this life.

You are consecrated in my heart in a monument that no passage of years can demolish, save only death to which every mortal thing must yield.

Were I not mortal myself, I would not hesitate to decline this memory of you that I hold to be immortal.

If Erasmus were immortal, the memory of you that he bears would likewise be immortal.

Your kindnesses have set up a statute in the

individuals. Clotho held the distaff, Lachesis spun the thread of life, Atropos inexorably cut it off. [Tr.]

¹See preceding s. [Tr.]
The memory of you is so deeply impressed on my heart that it cannot by any means be erased from there.

All things fade and fail with time, but your memory will flourish to the close of my days.

My beloved More is so closely embraced in my soul that he cannot escape while I live.

The day that sees me mindless of you will also see me lifeless.

You have engraved such a living image of yourself on my heart that hardly death itself can erase from there.

More's memory will never perish within me, unless I perish myself.

You will always find this man mindful of you, as long as he has any share in life.

I shall be separated from life before I am alienated from my memory of you.

My recollection of you is so tenacious of life that I shall not survive it.

You are too deeply embedded in my memory for anything to be able to dislodge you from there.

You cling too tightly to my heart for anything but the mischance of death to be able to cast you out.

You are too deeply hidden in this breast of mine to be driven out by any means, as long as the fates shall not grudge me life.

You are too deeply implanted in my thoughts for me to survive if you are rooted out from there.

Your image is too firmly impressed on my heart for me to outline it, should it be torn from thence.

The picture of you is so deeply embedded in my thoughts that no passage of time will ever efface it.

While life is mine, nothing that happens will ever be strong enough to cast down the smile of More set up in my thoughts.

It will never be that I live and am heedless of you.

As long as I dwell among men, not even all the waters of Lethe will be able to dissolve my recollection of you.

As long as I feed on the breezes of heaven, I shall constantly recall you.

Provided God grants me life, I promise you will always be thoughtful of you until I forget you.

The day that sees you while I live, if that is any consciousness when life is past, I shall recall my beloved friend.

The last thing that shall befall me in this life is forgetfulness of you.

Then the river will run backwards to its source, 66 as the Greek proverb has it, 66 that Erasmus shall prove capable of forgetting his dear More.

Only that man will see me heedless of you who sees the rivers, as Horace says, 67"the plains glide backwards up the mountain steep, and Tiber reverse his stream."

Sooner shall fleet-footed deer feed among the clouds than forgetfulness of More than as Erasmus while he lives.

Your portrait is painted on the tablet of my heart in colors so vivid that no long line of years can ever make it fade.

The last day of my life will discover me still mindful of you.

My life being safe, your memory will not fail from me.

This life being preserved, my memory of you will never do so.

As long as this life bears me company, I shall the remembrance of you.

This life will depart from one still mindful of you.

Except life fly away, my memory of you will never do so.

Our recollection of you will endure to the utmost confines of existence.

In preserving your memory I shall never be untrue to my nature, unless I cease to live.

As late as I shall remember, my recollection of you will not be a briefer than my life.

I shall sooner have done with life than cease remembering you.

I will meet my end sooner than consign you to the breezes and winds.

More is fastened in my memory with adagiae that it will not break.

The memory of you shall keep pace with me to the utmost limits of old age.

Erasmus will remember More throughout his whole life.

The recollection of your kindness is preserved until my encounter with Death.

No experience in life, whether glad or sad, will ever be able to expel from my heart the scars the memory of your name.

As long as this soul is tethered to the poor frame, More shall be no stranger to my thoughts.

I am more likely to carry your memory with me to the other world than abandon it in this.

I shall cast out my own soul before I cease to keep you in my thoughts.

If the body can escape from its own shadow, then this mind will be capable of forgetting you.

Not until I conclude the very last day of my life shall I cease to carry in my thoughts your generosity to me.

However long a life is granted me, my recollection of you will equal it.

Life and memory will be granted us in equal measure.

I shall recall you as long as I breathe in the vital air.

Heaven grant my recollection of you be not briefer than my life.

As the poet says, ere I cease to recollect you.

I shall myself be borne to the grave before your memory is borne from my heart.

The recollection of you I shall follow my corpse to the grave.

Not even when I have gone hence could I forget you, let alone while I live.

The recollection of a man so deeply loved will never grow dim for me while living.

When shall it be that the memory of More fades from Erasmus' mind? Only when life shall be failing him.

I shall be mindful of you the whole time I am in this world.

As long as I breathe, I shall bear you in my heart.

As long as I shall be allowed to have the pleasure of my soul, to speak after Sallust's fashion, I will not cease to take pleasure in recollecting you.

But let us make an end, as it is not our purpose to demonstrate how far we ourselves can go in inventing alternatives, but to show students by actual example the value of this exercise for the

66 A poetic commonplace; for example, Ovid, Amor 2.1.26: in effuere fontes versus revertit aqua; Adagio i. 15. [T.]

67 Another commonplace; Adagio in i 40. [T.]

68 Stilma, the Roman goddess of death and burial; used both in Horace: Odes 3.36.7. [T.]

However long Erasmus shall survive, he will never find your memory unwelcome.

I shall be deprived of life before your memory abandon me.

I shall be bereft of this upper light, as they said in olden time, sooner than More be expanded from my mind.

This feeble frame shall chill in death before your memory grow cold within me.

I shall always maintain your memory unquenched.

For all the time that I shall have the pleasure of my soul (for this speaks Sallust), so long shall I remember you.

Without surecase shall I prove heedful of you.

Without end shall I recall you.

No event shall bring me oblivion of you, save one that takes me from the light.

I will change the world more easily than this mind that remembers you.

That event shall withdraw me from life, that introduces forgetfulness of you.

I shall find my rest among the cruel shades, as the poets say, ere I cease to recollect you.
34. How to Combine Predications of Equal Weight
est vir tum cruditus, tum probus: he is a man both learned and good.
est tuum, tuum est bine ingeniosus: he is a young man both handsome and of a fine disposition.

aeque deos atque stara vocar crudelissima mater: “Both gods and stars she heartless calls / With words proper in their own way” (aeque repeated like this is a poetic usage, here illustrated from Virgil).

vir doctus parter ac probus: he is learned even as good.
est vir doctus simul et integer: learned and at the same time upright.
est vir tum doctus quam bonus: he is as learned as good.
est est doctus laeto ac bonus: learned and together with it good.
est vir est non minus probus quam literatus: no less good than cultured.
est vir est non inferior litteris quam moribus: not inferior in learning to what he is in character.
est est aequo probus atque doctus: in equal measure good as learned.
est est aequo litteratis ac incorruptis: equally cultured as honest.

Vir doctus atque ac probus: learned equally as good.
est perinde doctus ac probus: in like manner learned and good.
est exquisite doctus est, idem et facundus: a scholar, and likewise eloquent.
est est non minus minores probatur quam doctrina praedicta: endowed with integrity of character to match his knowledge.
est est quaedamdoctus, tue in intem as learned, in like manner upright.

BOOK II. ABDUNDCE OF SUBJECT MATTER

Enrichment of Material: Method 1
We have now presented as briefly as possible such thoughts as occurred to us on the subject of abundance of subject matter, so our next task is a review with equal considerateness of subject matter. To start off this part of the work, with material as similar as possible to that used in the corresponding section in Book I, the first method of enquiring what one has to say on any subject is to take something that can be expressed in a brief and general terms, and expand it and separate it into its constituent parts. This is just the displaying some object for sale first of all through a grill or inside a wrapping, and unwrapping it and opening it out and displaying it fully to the gaze.

Here is an example of the method. Let us take the sentence: He wasted all his substance in riotous living. He has wasted his substance in sumptuous living, and is, so to speak, wrapped up. We take it open it out by enumerating all the different types of possessions and setting out the various ways of wasting them: All he had inherited either by his mother or father and by the death of other relatives, all that was added by his wife’s dowry (and that was nothing in the ordinary run of things), all the increase that accrued from various legacies (and that increase was very considerable), all he received by the prince’s generosity, all that he raked in during his military service.

All his money, plate, clothes, estates and land, together with farm buildings and stock, in short everything, chattels and real estate, even his very household, he threw away on degrading affairs with low women, revelry every day, extravagant parties, nights spent wining and dining, luxurious goods, perfumes, diceing and gambling, and in all a few days so squandered, gobbled up, and sucked it out that he did not leave himself two half-pennies to rub together. In this way the two phrases “all his substance” and “wasted in riotous living” are explicated via their constituent parts.

Here is another example: He completed a thoroughly comprehensive education. This general statement can be expanded by listing all the separate disciplines and every aspect of learning: There is absolutely no area of learning in which he is not mercifully and versed; there is no branch of knowledge in which he has not grasped down to the last detail, and so grasped that he would appear to have labored at it to the exclusion of all the rest; he has such a wonderful knowledge of all the arts and sciences, that all the arts and sciences are so richly populated with the finest turns of expression employed by the orators; he has so sifted the laborious rules of the grammarians; he is skilled in the subtleties of dialectic; he has probed the secrets of physical science and the secrets of all the sacred and unscrambled knowledge; he has penetrated the innermost recesses of the theologians; he has a thorough understanding of the demonstrations of mathematics; such is his knowledge of the movements of the stars, the numbers of the various lands, the position and name of cities, mountains, rivers, springs, the harmony and intervals of musical sounds, such is his memory of ancient and modern history, even the poorest, whether of ancient or of modern times, he has them all; add to all this an equal skill in Greek and Latin language and literature; in short, whatever learning has been generated by distinguished authors, this one man has completely assimilated and understood and holds fast in his memory.

Again, to expand the phrase Endowed with every blessing of nature and fortune, one can find every separate good of the body and then every separate gift of intelligence and spirit, and finally birth, wealth, nationality, success, and whatever comes to us from fortune. A third example is provided by Hippocrates: the object.

To elaborate on this, one may introduce all the things listed by Apuleius in his description of this person in the Florida, a passage that is incidentally not devoid of diversity and richness of expression.

There is a very good example of this procedure in Lucian’s Harmonides, where he could have said boldly τήν αὐθέντησιν ἄλλως ἐκκοιμήσας [I have thoroughly learned the art of flute-playing], but he preferred to make a display of copy by setting out the parts inherent in the total idea. The passage does not go very easily into Latin, but I will make some attempt to translate for the sake of those who do not know Greek: “You have by now taught me to tune the flute accurately and breathe into the mouthpiece gently and tunefully, to put the fingers down flexibly and in time with the constant rise and fall of the melody, to move with the beat, to play in unison with the chorus, and to observe the characteristics of the different modes, the subtle finery of the Phrygian, the Dionysiac stamping of the Lydian, the solemnity and dignity of the Dorian, the elegance of the Ionian. [All this I have learned from T—.]”

If we had decided to do with all the separate disciplines in our example above what Lucian has done here with the single discipline of music, you can see what riches of material would have been thus provided.

Here I would make what I think is a helpful suggestion: have the general statement set out right at the beginning, and then take it up again in a different form. For you can go on with the basic idea as if you were weary of enumerating details, even if in fact nothing has been omitted. Furthermore, we should take care not to throw the proper order of the various parts into confusion.

*Of Elia, a sophist (291/280 and 283/274) contemporay with Socrates; equipped with a wide if superficial knowledge of many branches of learning and of art, combined with practical skills; he professed to be able to speak on any topic, and declared that everything he was was made with his own hands. He was a celebrated figure, though criticized for arrogance and boastfulness. (Tr.)
sion by mixing everything up in an indiscriminate chaos of utterances, and piling up a boring mass of words totally devoid of argumentation; but instead we should rather permit tedium in reader or hearer by skillful arrangement, appropriate allocation, and elegant disposition.

Division of a Whole into Parts

We may include here the kind of example where some whole made up of subordinate parts rather than of a group of disparate items is separated into its parts. Take the sentence: He is a total monster. This will be filled out by first dividing the man into body and mind, and then touching on the separate parts of the body followed by the separate parts of the mind: He is a monster both in mind and in body; whatever part of mind or body you consider, you will find a monster—quivering head, rabid eyes, a dragon's gape, the visage of a Furry, distended belly, hands like talons ready to tear, feet distorted, in short, view his entire physical shape and what else does it all present but a monster? Observe that tongue, observe that wild beast's roar, and you will name it a monstrosity; probe his mind, you will find yourself weightless, no character, sheer subject, like the life, you will find all monstrosous; and, not to pursue every point in detail, through and through he is nothing but a monster.

It is clear what the speech would amount to if anyone chose to dwell on the depiction of any of these separate items.

Here is another example: He was quite drenched; he was drenched with rain from the top of his head to the soles of his shoes; head, short, and most disgusting of all in old age; Prudence is of great importance in all human affairs, but especially in war. Here the simple statement would have been: Prudence is of great importance in war. Cicero has an example of this type in his speech De domo sua, delivered before the college of priests: "Our ancestors, your relatives, invent and established many practices in their extraordinary wisdom, but nothing more striking than their decision that you, the priests, should direct both the worship of the immortal gods and the highest affairs of state."

But there is little point in quoting this one specimen when examples of the type lie ready for the finding on every side.

Variation: Method 2

The second method of variation is very like the first. It arises when we are not satisfied with the stating the fact and leaving people to deduce events to be deduced, but rehearse in detail everything which led up to the final result. Here is an example of what I mean: Cicero reskued Catiline's designs. This may be elaborated as follows: The wicked designs of Catiline, put into effect through young men of desperate characters, plotted the ruin and destruction of the whole Roman state, the consuls Marcus Tullius Cicero immediately sniffed out with his customary acuteness, brought to light with remarkable vigilance, caught by exercising great prudence, revealed with wonderful devotion to the country; convicted with incredible eloquence, broke by the force of his authority, distinguished by the use of force, and with the aid of fortune removed for ever. Here is another: He acknowledged a son born to him from the girl. You may expand this as follows: He fell passionately in love with the girl, who was extremely pretty. Unable to control his affection, he assailed her simple mind with promises, bribed her with gifts, captored her with skinny, induced her by kindness to return his love, and then himself. Finally he became intimate with her and dowered her. After some time the girl's belly began to swell as, of course, a child had been conceived. At the end of nine months she went into labor and produced a boy.

Here is yet another example: He took the city, which may be amplified as follows: First of all the heralds were sent to demand reparations and also to offer terms of peace. When the inhabitants refused to accept these, he gathered forces from all quarters, brought in a great supply of engines of war, and moved his army and the machines up to the city ramparts. The inhabitants repelled by fiercely hurling the enemy from the walls, but the general eventually got the upper hand in the fighting, and, scaling the walls, invaded the city and seized control of it.

Method 9

The ninth method consists of amplification or building up of which Quintilian61 lists a considerable number of types. We shall briefly deal with those that are relevant to our present purposes.

The first type uses augmentation, in which one advances by regular steps not only to the maximum, but even in a way beyond the maximum. An example of this may be found in Cicero's fifth speech against Verres.62 "It is an offense to tie up a Roman citizen, a crime to flog him, equal to the murder of a Roman to put him to death. What I shall say today is not as much a crime as it is not possible to find a word to fit such a heinous act.

There is also a variety of this figure in which we heap up "circumstances" while observing some kind of order; run on from another so arranged that the next thing is always greater than the one that went before, as in Cicero's passage in the Second Philippic about Antony's remonstrating. "What a disgusting thing, not only to see but to hear! If this had happened at dinner when you were quaffing those monsrous tankards of yours, who would not think it disgraceful? But it was in a formal assembly of the people of Rome, engaged in the business of the state, held in the office of Master of the Horse, for whom it would be a disgrace even to belch, that this fellow spewed up morsels of food stinking of wine all over himself and all over the spectators' table. Here each individual word has more effect than the one before. In the first place the action was disgusting in itself even if it had not been in an assembly, or if in an assembly not one of the people, or not of the Roman people, or if he had not been conducting formal business, or not formal public business, or if he were not Master of the Horse.

If anyone took these items separately and dwelt on the individual steps, he would indeed extend his material, but an amplification of this type would be less effective than the one we have.

The opposite method to this is comparison. In augmentation, we make something more impressive; a comparison gets its effect by starting from something less striking. The comparison may be based on a supposition or may employ a real event. We had a supposition, for which the Greek term is ἀφικτίσκον, in the first part of the example we quoted from Cicero, for he puts forward the supposition that it happened at a dinner party to a person holding no public office. There is another one in the well-known passage from one of the Calistinians speeches. "Upon my word, if my slaves feared me the way all your [fellow citizens] fear you, I should feel that I had better get out of my house.

When a real situation is used, we put forward a genuine circumstance that has some similarity with the thing we are boosting, and proceed to show how this is very close to it, or equal to it, or even greater. This is what Quintilian says about Pro Cluentius.63 He describes how a certain woman of Mileus received money from the revenue men in heirs in return for having an abortion. He goes on: "While Oppianus shares the crime committed, he deserves much greater punishment. She ill-treated her own body, and brought suffering on herself, but he achieved the same result through another person's suffering."

In this type we not only compare one whole situation with another, but we can compare one detail with another, as is done in this passage from the Pro Milone.64 "Scipio, that distinguished figure, when holding no public office,
killed Tiberius Gracchus when he was causing a moderately serious political upheaval in Rome; shall we, when chained with the dignity of consul, stand by while Catiline seeks to lay the whole world waste with fire and slaughter?" Here Catiline is compared with Gracchus, the situation in Rome with the world, a moderate upheaval with slaughter and burning and desolation, a man holding his hands in front of a lion, and by his结合 with those who are entrusted with the highest. Again if anyone wished to expand these sections, he would have topics full of possibility at every point.

The second method of amplification uses the rhetorical figure known as inference; in this we actually build up one thing, and this suggests the build-up of another, as in this passage: "You, with a gullet of that capacity, with the heart of that girth, with a physique which would do credit to a gladiator, swilled so much wine at Hippias' wedding that the next day you couldn't help being sick in full view of the Roman people. Here one can infer how much wine Antony drank because, in spite of his gladiator's physique, he was not able to carry so much and digest it.

Associated with this is the procedure by which we take the most dreadful deeds and cause the strongest reactions to our action, and deliberately tone them down so that what follows may seem even more serious, as in this passage from Cicero: "In a prisoner like this these crimes are trivial. The commander-in-chief of the enemy, the whole city had to pay the money to save himself from the fear of being flogged. But that's a human enough crime. We must needs expect something absolutely appalling, if deeds which are shocking seem human and normal beside it.

Another method of build-up is the piling up of synonyms and phrases meaning the same thing. This is very like συνθέωπος [accumulation of synonyms] which I discussed earlier. Cicero uses this in his speech Pro Sestio. "What was that sword of yours doing, Tubero, that you drew on the field of Pharsalus? Whose ribs was that weapon-point seeking? what was the purpose of your weapons? what was your own mind? what sort of eyes, what sort of hands did you hold, what passion drove you on? what did you seek what desire?" Here the speech grows like a help by addition. Sometimes the emotional tone of the additions rises ever higher with each one, as in this: "Present was the keeper of the prison, just in the presence, the destruction and terror of allied and Roman citizens alike, the licenturi." We can also build up by using a form of "self-correction," as Cicero does in this passage from the Verrines: "We have brought to your ears not a mere thief but a brigand, not an adulterer but a stormer of chastity, not a temple-robber but a sworn enemy of religion and all that is sacred, not a robber but a savage murderer of citizens and allies alike."

There are just as many ways of taming down what we have to say as there are of building it up.

Our utterances may be expanded by everyday and unremarkable methods such as adding adverbs, nouns, and other parts of speech, either to express approval or censure: Cicero delights me to an inordinate extent: it is beyond work - it is beyond the powers of man: the father-in-law is toward you; I cannot find words to express what pleasure I take in Cicero - but I have dealt with these methods of extension in Book 1. A well-known and common method of expansion is with a species to its genus: All the disciplines of a liberal education bestow on man either grace or advantage; eloquence does so beyond all others - though I have dealt with this method before too.

Method 10

The tenth method of expansion depends on inventing as many propositions as possible. I am speaking of rhetorical propositions or themes, which are demonstrated to be true by the expansion of arguments. As for inventing propositions, Quintilian says that this skill cannot be learned as a technique, but comes from imagination and practice. Hence we find that a group of people may have received the same instruction, and may use similar types of argument, and yet one will discover more material than another.

Propositions or themes are derived partly from generalities, partly from particularities, and partly from the circumstances of the case. We can demonstrate the method with an example chosen by Quintilian. When Alexander overthrew Thebes, he discovered documents recording that the Thebans had sold the Thessalians for a hundred talents. These documents he handed over to the Thessalians as a reward for supporting him with troops in the campaign. The Thebans later had their fortunes restored by Cassander, and demanded repayment of the debt from the Thessalians. The case was taken before the Amphictyonic Council. It was not disputed that the Thebans had lent a hundred talents, and that this sum had not been repaid — the point at issue was the claim that Alexander had given the Thessalians the money he had promised to Alexander had not actually presented them with the money they owed the Thesulians. In arguing this out we need to invent themes and sections of the following framework to provide the basis: (1) Alexander's gift was of no effect; (2) he had no power to give; (3) he did not actually give.

In the first section the first proposition on behalf of the Thebans will be that one has the right to demand back the law what has been taken away by force. On behalf of the Thessalians it will be provided that the documents were not simply removed by force but by war, and the rights of war are the most powerful ones known in human affairs; by them are determined kingdoms and peoples and the territories of nations and cities. In answer to this the Thessalians declare that not everything falls into the victor's power, and that the rights of war have no validity in matters which belong to the sphere of civil justice; that things seized by force of arms can only be retained by exercising that same force of arms; where arms hold sway, there is no place for a judge, but where there is a judge, arms have no authority. Hence the circumstances special to the case, which enables us to show why this particular case differs from others. To support this last proposition, we can put forward as a parallel a statement of general validity: Captives become free again if they regain their native land, because ownership of things acquired in war can only be asserted by exercising the same physical force by which they were first acquired. The same reasoning is equally applicable to the case of the Thesulians as was the case. The question is whether the Thesulians were to be regarded as captured or not, and the answer is: The Amphictyonic Council will determine the issue.

In the second section we can state on behalf of the Thebans that the victor had no power to make a gift of a right, because only what can be done of a right is an incorporeal thing, and cannot be physically held. To support this proposition we can bring in an argument from the dissimilarity: An heir and a conqueror are not in the same relation to the heir, the material object to the conqueror. The circumstances of the case provide the next proposition, which reinforces the previous one: Even if we concede that in other cases a right passes to the conqueror, certainly the right is attached to a state loan could not in any way pass to the conqueror, because if a loan is made by the whole people, the sum is owed to the whole people, and as long as one individual survives, because it was associated with the shrine of Apollo at Delphi, which in theory meant that the council had dignity and authority and that its decisions carried religious sanction. (Tr.)

* A court in ancient Rome dealing with property suits; Pliny held his legal career there, and speaks of it in his Letters.
he is the creditor to whom the sum is due; but not all the Thessalians fell into Alexander's power. This argument needs no further support, for it does not reside in documents. This proposition can be supported by arguments of all kinds; such as arguments from a similar case: The man who possesses documents proving inheritance does not necessarily have the right of inheritance; or if a creditor happens to lose his documentary proof, the debtor is not forthwith released from his debt. The second proposition in this section depends on conjecture: Alexander did not present the Thessalians with the documents to reward them, but to deceive them. This will have to be demonstrated by various suggestions and hypotheses. The third one is not simply a contribution to this stage of the argument, but more or less the introduction of a new issue. It depends on material proper to the case, and takes this form: Even if we grant the Thessalians all this — that the law of war has authority in civil disputes in general, and, hence, that Julian is bound in the case of a state loan, and all the other points — the same, whatever the Thessalons lost when conquered by Alexander, they should have recovered when restored by Cassander, especially when this was Cassander's express wish.

[Example Taken From Speech Discussing Court of Law]

To give a second example: anyone urging Cicero not to accept Mark Antony's proposal that he should keep his life in return for burning the Philippians could use the following propositions: No man of eminent ought to buy his life at the cost of morality. This general proposition could be reinforced by one dependent on the specific circumstances of this case: Especially Cicero, who by his labors won for himself a name and a glory that will live for ever and eloquently demonstrated in so many wonderful books that death is of no account, particularly, as being already an old man, he probably has not many years still to live. A second major proposition can be derived from the circumstances of the situation: Nothing could be more difficult than to have a fine man like Cicero indebted for his life to a villain like Antony. The third proposition will be counterintuitive: Antony is acting treacherously: when the Philippians, which he knew endures, his own life and Cicero's deathless glory, have been burned, he will then take Cicero's life and so blot out the man entirely.

[Second Example of the Same Kind]

Again, if you are dissuading someone from marriage, propositions like this may be used: (1) if you consider your duty to God, marriage is an impediment to those who follow Christ, (2) if you consider your comfort in this life, even a happy marriage brings unending cares in its train (and here a wide field opens up of comparison of the advantages of celibacy with the disadvantages of marriage). (3) if you consider your comfort in this life, many people rate higher than life itself, this above all else the bond of marriage takes away. Then you may turn to specific propositions, and these can be numerous: You should not marry this particular woman; you should not marry at this time; yet should not marry, because you are poor, old, a student, in poor health.

The number of available propositions in controversies on marriage is not large, but Cicero does in his defense of Milo. Suppose that Clodius had been killed in the ambush by Milo, Milo should nevertheless be considered worthy of the highest honors for removing, so much a pincers of society, an unscrupulous judge, and a favorite, In spectibus christiani in matrimonii, published in 1538. See De consul benefits epis. 47-8, when arguments for and against marriage do not extend at length. [Tr.]


For this example Erasmus is drawing on his experiences in Flanders. He saw the favor of his intelligence and sentiments of Pope Julius II, whose goal was to respect the temporal power of the papacy and recover lands nominally under his control by playing off the various temporal powers against each other and even resorting to war. In 1556 Erasmus was in Bologna, from which he fled to Florence in October, leaving a siege by approaching forces; the siege came to nothing, and with the departure of the tyrant Bentivoglio the city agreed to acknowledge him as a prince and to pay the arrears due by him. As a result he was back in Bologna in November at the time of Julius' triumphal entry into the city.

The arguments against war in this page of De cœptis magni in De bello bellicante (1555) and Sullæsæ (ad Apuleium 1. 2), and Querelae (1557) are also related to the treatment of sancti matrimonii, (1536). Erasmus' hatred of war is expressed in his letters, and his movements, to the Church of Flanders and the Coloniares (for example, Charon). His detestation of Julius II is found most memorably in his bitter satire, Julius Caesar. He did not publish this, but it has been published and reprinted in his works. The text is available in Opera dec. 65-124; a translation in The Julius deffects of Erasmus trans and ed. by E. J. and K. Sowden (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1966). [Tr.]

Julius Caesar, who as Pontifex Maximus was the supreme religious head of the ancient Roman republic, Erasmus on several occasions compares Pope Julius with Julius Caesar (for example below 625a); a comparison not meant to be flattering, see e.g. 640-43a (from Bologna, concerning the pope's triumphal entry). [Tr.]
The church, we must see, has forgotten the services performed time and again by that nation with grave peril to its own lives for the Christian religion; third, there is not even a satisfactory reason to justify taking up arms against those who have done nothing to deserve it. These might well be considered reasons rather than propositions, but there is nothing to prevent the same statement being a proposition and a reason.

To take yet another example: if someone were trying to persuade some king not to undertake a war against the most Christian king of France, he could construct his line of argument with propositions of this sort: first, to engage in war is not natural to man, who wishes to feel good will, but to bring beasts whom nature has supplied with weapons of a sort (a general proposition). The next proposition will reinforce this one: it is not natural to all beasts, but only to wild ones; and the next again supports this one: and not even wild beasts fight among themselves in the way that mortal men do: tiger does not war with tiger, nor lion with lion; but man does not show to any other animal the savagery that he shows to his fellow men; wild beasts only fight to defend their young, or when driven mad by hunger; man is incited by bloody wars by vain ambition and foolish and pretentious titles. The next proposition will be a new form of the same one: Granted that men do make war, it is the mark of uncivilized ones to do so, men not all that different from wild beasts, not of those that live under the rule of law. A fifth point could be that, even if civilized men make war, it is not the mark of Christian men to do so, seeing that the Christian faith is peace pure and simple. As a sixth we could say: Even if it were proper to undertake the war, it would not be your king's business, because, when all is weighted up, the evils that are endured for the sake of war are far greater in number than 80 advantages that even the victor secures. (This will have to be argued out.) Seven: Even if we were advantageous, it would not be safe, as the outcome of war is always uncertain, and always with whose arm is the better, or whose equipment is superior, and quite often the two turn their arms against their own leader.

All these propositions are for the most part general ones; one may next proceed to the particular ones derived from the issues more specifically related to the case in question: Leaving aside everything else, no war should be undertaken, especially with such an adversary. This one admits of many subdivisions: being a boy with no experience of war, or only recently come to the throne (and so on) I am only showing how one sets about it; again, you should not fight this king who is so powerful, or who did create such magnificent services, or who is bound to you by so many ties, or who has shown such regard for you; or, not on this pretext, at this time, not at this time, with these forces.

[Another Example]

Similarly, someone who was intending to convince a person that he should not study Greek literature could start off by stating that literature of any sort is no great help towards Christian happiness and that nothing has demonstrated the validity of this by argument, he can then come to the point at issue: Granted that there is reason why we should study other literatures, we should certainly refrain, from the difficulty of the man, from the brief, indefensible, as it is, not equal to the task of learning it; and even if one had years enough, it does no longer sufficient reward to make it worth acquiring the cost of even moderate told; finally, those who have devoted themselves to the literature of Greek have themselves been overset, through some fate, to that learning was suffered by that nation oppressed and land. Or we could say that even if other people should study it, this particular person should not. We have now moved on to specific propositions, and there will be plenty of these one can use. With these propositions it is important, I think, to arrange them as far as possible so that one moves comfortably from one to another as along a flight of steps. Lucian does this splendidly in Typhonida (a work which he has translated into Latin). If I had only attempted such a deed of daring do-at such risk to my own satisfactory, I should deserve a reward for that; but (he goes on) I did not only attempt it — I actually left the bodyguard and killed the son. Shall I not receive a reward? But (moving on to the next point) I also removed the father, by providing the occasion of his death. He does it again in Abdeboth, which we have also translated into Latin. It is not allowed to disinherit someone whom you have already disinherited once and received back into the family. Even if it were allowed, there is this good reason for not being allowed to do so now. Finally, even if there were very good cause for doing so now, his earlier services are so great that out of regard for them a father should overlook his fail.
of authors, in speech we intended to urge a course of action or do someone honor; finally, experience, practice, and imitation. Similar situations will readily provide provisions based on similarities, and also on dissimilarities, though general propositions will be suggested by the overall nature of the case, specific ones by a careful scrutiny of the special circumstances involved on each occasion. Finally a lively imagination will be stimulated by the precepts of the rhetoricians concerning the main types of issue, which Quintilian calls status, the Greeks τόπος [categories]. The "persuasive" type of speech has its natural topics which may act as a source of propositions — the right, the praiseworthy, the expedient, the safe, the easy, the unavoidable, the pleasant. The laudatory or vituperative type likewise has its own topics. I mean the main types of "good thing" with all their subsidiary concepts.

Method 11

The eleventh method of enriching our style depends on the accumulation of proofs and arguments. The Greek word for these is τύποι [reasons for belief]. Different reasons can be brought forward to confirm one and the same proposition, and the reasons themselves can be supported by further arguments.

Proofs fall into two classes: ĭɛγνωρ [of the art], invented or artificial proofs, and ĭδερεις [not of the art], given proofs.100 This second type is drawn mainly from previous legal judgments, heurics, evidence extracted under torture, written evidence, oracles, and witnesses. The former type is derived first from "indications," which are very like the ĭδερεις. (Of these "indications," some are "compelling," for which the Greek text uses εντολή [evidence]; some are "non-compelling," ὀμελή [signs].) Second, they are derived from "arguments" — Quintilian at any rate makes a distinction between these and "indications." Arguments can be likely, possible, and not impossible. Most of these are derived from the circumstances of the case, which are common or thing. "Persons" takes in family; nation, country, sex, age, education, profession, condition, material circumstances, state, disposition, occupation, ambition, previous actions, previous statements, motes, purpose, name; "things" includes cause, place, time, opportunity, previous contemporary and subsequent events, means, instrument, method.

Commonplaces

There are also certain topics appropriate to all types of speech or even to all sections of a speech, whereas the ones I have just been discussing, though they can on occasion be handled in other contexts, are more suited to controversial issues dealt with in a court of law, and within this class, to cases which turn on a question of fact.

Generally speaking, arguments are derived from definition or defining formulae, from description, from exposition of the meaning of a word, which is a form of definition, or from things which definition by its very nature includes: genus, species, properties, distinguishing characteristics, subdivision, classification (this last takes various forms, for example, a consideration of aspects such as commencement, completion, development, etc.); argument based on similarity or dissimilar situations; flow contraries, contradictions, consequences, relative propotions, causes, results, comparisons, (of which there are three forms: comparison with something greater, smaller, or equivalent), and from self-evident statements, and from all the others that have been suggested, since when we agree neither on the order of presentation, nor on the number, nor on the names to be used. The subject has been dealt with at length.

"Topics. [Tr.]" He translated Aristocles' Topics and wrote a comment on his books on Aristocles' Topics. [Tr.]
"Topoi" is Greek for "topics." [Tr.]
"Topoi" is a 10, a log chapter dealing with all kinds of argument. [Tr.]
"Quintilian 5.10.122. [Tr.]
"Quintilian 5.11.1. [Tr.]
"It deals with t lataer, 6ylSf: Assembling illustrative material. [Tr.]

See Quintilian 6.3.66, a section on sources of proof. [Tr.] For example, those who perform a just act, just as Quintilian 5.10.58. [Tr.] Arians and Boehmias, in fair detail but not very clearly by Cicero, briefly by Quintilian.106 Anyone training with a view to acquiring eloquence will have to look at all the possible topics in turn, go knocking from door to door107 so to speak, to see if anything can be induced to agree; but with practice the right ones will come to suggest themselves naturally, without such procees being necessary. Again, arguments can be derived from a "support," which is itself appropriate to many contexts, and finally from the circumstances peculiar to the case in question.

Illustrative examples

A most effective means of making what we are saying convincing and of generating copya at the same time is to be found in illustrative examples, for which the Greek word is παράδειγμα.108 The content of the examples can be something like, unlike, or in contrast to what we are illustrating, or something greater, smaller, or equivalent. Contrast and dissimilarity reside in features such as type, means, time, place, and style of the other "circumstances." I enumerated above. We include under "examples" stories, fables, proverbs, opinions, parallels or comparisons, similitudes, analogies, and anything else of the same sort. Most of these are introduced not only to make our case look convincing, but also to dress it up and brighten, expand, and enrich it. Anyone therefore who chooses to furnish himself with a mass of material from the possibilities here listed can make what he has to say seem as he likes, without thereby producing a meaningless accumulation of words; furthermore the variety of the material will prevent boredom. This is not the place109 to discuss how to discover such material or how to apply it, but anyone who wants this information may find it in Aristotle,110 Hermogenes,111 and Quintilian, who have written in great detail on these very topics. I shall deal with anything relevant to copya, but only briefly, so as not to appear to have written a whole book rather than a set of notes.

In the development of copya, then, Illustrations play a leading role, whether the speech is the sort that debates what action should be taken, or urges to a particular course of action, or is intended to console someone in grief, or is laudatory or vituperative; in short, whether one is trying to convince one's audience, move them, or give them pleasure. It is not enough to provide oneself with an enormous and very varied supply of illustrations, and to have them ready for use at a moment's notice; one must also be able to handle them with variety. Variety can be provided by the very nature of the illustrative examples themselves. They can be things done or said in the past, or derived from the customs of various nations. There will be a difference, but neither, since they are drawn from historians, or from poets (and poets include writers of comedy, tragedy, epigrams, epic, and pastoral poetry), or from philosophers (and again there are various schools of philosophers), or from theologies, or from the writings of the Bible. Some variety will be provided by the differences between nations: the institutions and illustrative examples of the Romans are different from those of the Greeks and the Spartans are not those of the Cretans and Athenians; nor again do we find the same habits among the Africans, Jews, Spaniards, French, English, or Germans. Or it may be a question of period: early times, or the self-sufficient periods of antiquity, recent history, and things in our own lives; or some inherent quality in the incident recorded: military or civil actions, examples of cleverness or bravery or wisdom (and so on ad infinitum, for there is
courage, there was never any act finer or more celebrated than that of Marcus Atilius.

One may invent little passages of combination like this, making them long or short according to the requirements of the context; but one should take care not to invent one that is inappropriate. For example, if one is quoting something to illustrate faithfulness, one will commend one's source for seriousness and good faith, or if one wishes the audience to see something as an example of proper feeling, one will make proper comment of one's remarks. And so with other qualities.

Second Method of Expanding [Examples]

Next illustrative anecdotes can be presented in a richer form if we expand them and bipartite the treatment by incorporating amplifications and extensions. Anyone who is concerned to be brief will find it enough merely to refer to the incident as being well known, as Cicero113 does in the Pro Milone when he says: "If it were a crime to put villains to death, we would have to view it as criminals famous men like Servilius Ahala, Publius Scipio Nasica, Lucius Opimius, and the whole senate headed by myself as consuls,"114 but the speaker whose purpose is the theme will narrate the incident in a more substantial manner, as we find Cicero doing in another passage from the same speech,115 An officer in the army of Gaius Marius, who was a relative of the speaker, made a general who had been sold by him and was tried by the army as an example of those who effectively round off a story (epiphrase). "The fine young man preferred to act incitement rather than submit and incur dis-

"The great Marius acquitted him of guilt and let him go free."

In passages introduced for display purposes one may spend even longer or elaborating such illustrative anecdotes, especially if the subject is such that sheer pleasure will induce the audience to pay attention. For example, if someone were urging the idea that foreign travel and the enlargements which are such frequent topics of conversation of a man wise, he could dwell for a time on the praise of Solon, and then launch into an extended account of the city that Solon left, his reasons for going, the sea he crossed, the foreign peoples he visited. When the listeners he encountered among them, the persons he met, the wonders he saw, how long he was away, and how much more famous and more wise he was when he returned to his native land.

Of the same sort are Jerome's anecdotes about the wanderings of Pythagoras and Apollonius in the preface to his complete edition of the Holy Scriptures. But the most convenient example of the whole procedure is to be found right at the beginning of Cicero's De inventione, where he tells the story about Zeuxis, who, when he was going to paint a picture of Helen, asked for a number of girls of outstanding beauty so that he could take the best feature from each and so produce a flawless portrait of beauty.

**Fictional Examples**

The same applies to fictional examples, for these too can be treated extensively or concisely as the subject-matter and context demand. When we use an anecdote which possibly cannot be believed, it will be best, unless we are being humorous, to preface it by saying that what those wise old men of long ago did not invent stories like this for no good reason, nor was it for nothing that they have been current by general consent for so many centuries. Then we can interpret the meaning of the speaker without explaining that he is not pursuing a purpose that for which one is not naturally suited, he can point out that those wise old writers were well aware of this truth, and demonstrated it by inventing the very apt tale the Greeks who use their attempts came to no good end. Or if he is depicting a miser, he can first say that the miser is deprived of what he actually possesses as well as what he does not possess, and then go on to the story of Tantalus. Or if he is arguing that the function of the wise man is to control his emotions by reason and judgment, he can bring in Homer's story in book 1 of the Iliad where Achilles is already laying his hand on the hilt of his sword and Pallas Athene calls him back from bellicose Appetite. If God so willed toward the idea that a genuine reputation for courage can only be won by the man who has been tossed by adversity and tested by all sorts of feeling the sort of introductory he indicated, he can bring in Ulysses as Homer depicts him.

Although the principle of the allegory or hidden meaning is not equally obvious in every case, experts in antiquity are agreed that under all the inventions of the ancient poets there does lie a hidden meaning,116 whether historical, as in the story of Hercules fighting the twin-born Achelous; or theological, as in that of Proteus turning into all kinds of shapes or of Pallas springing from the head of Jove; or physical, as in the story of Phaethon; or moral, as in the case of the men whom Circe turned into brute beasts with her cup and wand. Quite often there is a mixture of more than one type of allegory. It is not particularly difficult to grasp the sense of the allegory: it is quite obvious (I prefer to take examples of moral allegories) that the tale of Idars falling into the sea warns that no one should rise to higher than his accomplishments; and the story of Phaethon that no one should undertake to perform a task that is beyond his powers. Saloines117 cast headlong into hell teaches us not to emulate what lies far beyond our fortunes, and Marsyas118, who defy authority, are not to try to conclusions with those more powerful than ourselves. The story of Danaë tricked with gold can only mean (and this is how Horace interprets it too) than there is nothing so walled in that money

---

113Cicero during the First Punic War between Rome and Carthage, he was captured in Africa by the Carthaginians and sent to Rome to arrange an exchange of prisoners, under strict oath to return if he were unsuccessful. He dismissed the Roman Senate (accepting the terms offered and returned to the enemy, who tortured him to death; see Cicero The orations 1.3.9, Tr.)

114Pro Milone 8; Servilius Ahala as Master of [Hercules 430] is killed. Spiritual Mauclus on suspicion of treachery to tyrants; Scipio Nasica as master of Gnaeus Gracchus in 133 BC (Tr.)

115A reference to Cicero's execution of the Cardinal conscriptus when he was consul in 63 bc. A reference to Cicero's execution of the Cardinal conscriptus when he was consul in 63 bc, in the Quaestiones 8.5.11: a speech the young man is found in Quintilian Discourses. pages 1.5.22, 3.2, 4.26, 5.33.

116In Excidium (b. 70 v.) Ennius says that all of Homer's and Virgil's poetry may be read allegorically. (Tr.)

117Who made himself equal with Zeus (Virgil Aeneid 6.555-6). (Tr.)

118Cicero Metamorphoses 6.3.1/2; Marius proponents to charge Apollo to a musical contest in which the god won. (Tr.)
cannot storm the defenses, nothing of such integrity that it cannot be corrupted by bribery; the labors of Hercules tell us that immortal renown is won by effort and by helping others; the wish of Midas, that the greedy and insatiable be satisfied, is foiled by their own wealth, the judgment he gave that intellectual power is incompatible with the desire for money; Baconius set fire on heaven by the thunderbolt and plunged into the waters of the nymphs that the first son of Priapus might be quenched by the sober element: (an interpretation which we find in one of the Greek epigrams.) The story of Circe turning men into beasts by her spells can only indicate that those who will not be guided by reason, which is man's prerogative, but are inclined to a desire to bases themselves to desire no longer have any human character except the name of man, and have sunk to the nature of beasts, last turning them into bears, savagery into lions, and so on. Ulysse, who was the only one not changed after drinking the cup and being touched with the magic wand, demonstrates that firm and constant purpose characteristic of the wise man, which cannot be weakened by fear of or reflected from what is honorable by any blandomishments of the emotions. The lotus, which prevented his companions from leaving after they had once tasted it, teaches that the sweet, insidious, and seductive, from which it is not all that difficult to abstain, is very difficult to give up once one has tasted it. The songs of the Sirens teach that flattery is the most seductive thing there is, and the most pernicious. Scylla and Charybdis, separated by such a narrow space, teach that the path of virtue is a narrow one, with related vices threatening on either side, for example, the path of frugality between extravagance and meaniness; and the easy course of life between the two, in such a way that, since it is extremely difficult to pursue an exactly middle course in all things, one inclines to the side where there is less danger, as Ulysse did. And the moly, with its black root and milky-white flower, “a plant very difficult for mortals to find,” can only incline wisdom, towards which the first is difficult and full of effort, but the fruits are sweet. Similarly the golden bough in Virgil's, praeat wisdom set apart in a hidden place and found by only a few.

But when one is at too great an age, any number of interpretations of this sort can be found in Euripides, the commentator on Homer. I myself, in my young days, wrote quite a lot on this subject in the books I called The Antithetarum.

Somewhat easier are the things invented by the poets for this very purpose, like their invocations about the gods which imitate human life, such as Homer's tale about Mars being caught in his net by Vulcan, or where he makes Jupiter gyne-koureus [crooked in counsel] send out a dream which makes the Greeks think that they will capture Troy, though what he was preparing was very much more serious, it is the policy of kings to liberate to spread certain rumors among the people when they have decided on something very different in their own minds.

Even easier are stories which are so handcrafted by the poets that we speak of them as true events rather than invented ones, like the story of Orestes who murdered his mother, and the friendship between him and Pyladas. Some people think that these stories really do record actual event, like Alcestis saving her husband's life by sacrificing her own, which Valerius Mar- masius mentions as well as the poets. Likewise the deaths of Codrus and Menoeceus can be cited together with the deeds of Q. Curtius and the two Decii, and many of the friends we call Theseus and Peirithous, and Castor and Pellar. There is also the story of Arion carried to his homeland on the dolphin's back, which St. Augustin considers to be true.

Certainly there is no doubt that a good many incidents in Virgil and particularly in Lucan are real historical events—though much that Her- odotus puts into his story is quite unbelievable, and Xenophon wrote his Cyropaedia more as a treatise on the training of the young than as a genuine historical record. If the audience take these as true, they will be effective because people believe them; if they take them as inventions, since the productions of wise and re- ressed authors, they will be effective for the very reason that they were put out by men whose authority gave what they wrote the force of pre- cept.

On the other hand, poetry provides a lot of material which is taken to be genuine historical fact, dealing for example with Scipio, Hannibal, Augustus, Pompey, or Julius Caesar; again poetry also offers passages which no one would deny are fictional, but since it is generally accepted that they were invented precisely for the purpose of functioning as examples, and what is more invented by great writers, they have all the higher authority. I mean things like the godess Envy, Rumour, Discord, and Prayers which I mentioned earlier, and also characters is dramatic or mixed poetry, especially comedy, with which dialogues have much in common.

For example, if anyone were speaking to the scene that parents should take care, if they do anything wrong, not to do it so that their children know, an effective illustrative example would be provided by the son Cithiph in the play about the old man tormenting himself with remorse, when the son says:

-Blow me, when he's had a drop too much to drink. What takes me to tell me of the things to be used to do? And now he says "From another's fate take note and learn."

Little does he know my own ear are deaf. To all his proing.

Or if one were trying to convince an audience that, as the wise man replied to a questioner, a man should take a wife of the same social class as himself (since otherwise, that is if you, being poor, join to yourself a rich woman you get not a wife but a ruler), an illustration could be pro- vided by Chremes in the Phormio who fears his wife Nausisatra as if she were his owner. Again if one were saying that a man is better off with a poor man and a rich one is neither as secure as reliable, one could use as an illustration Euclio in Plautus’ Aulularia, who is trying to avoid acquiring a connection with the rich Megadorus, and says: "It occurs to me not—" (I quote no more — the passage is very well known); or if you were enlarging on the sentiment that it is unjust of fathers to be furious with their sons when they do wrong, when they themselves do worse things in their old age, you could quote the same Nausisatra I mentioned above when she says:

-Does it seem such a shocking thing to you That your son, who begins to feel himself a man, Should have one mistress while you have two wives?

Are you not ashamed? Have you the face To censure him for this? Just tell me that.

But it is foolish to give one or two examples when the whole of comedy is nothing but a picture of human life. I could have produced similar specimens from tragedy, pastoral poetry, and dialogues, but for the sake of this lecture I have sufficiently indicated to students of lively intelli- gence the way they should proceed.

In my opinion examples may be properly derived only from the sources I have discussed but also from dumb beasts and even inanimate objects, though these possibly belong rather with dyoioioi [simile or parallel case]. I mean things like holding up the industry of the ant as an encouragement to people who are hard to get what they want, or describing the social organization of the bees in order to promote respect for law and civil discipline. To discourage lack of respect for parents, one could cite the
young of the stock who are said to feed and carry
the old birds about in their turn when age has
made them weak; or when exhorting an audience
to show proper care for their children, one could
bring in the she-ass which will go through a
raging fire to rescue its foal; or if one wanted to
hold up ingratitude to obloquiety, one could use
the story of the lion which Gellius quotes from
Aion, or of the snake which, according to Pliny,
saved its rescuer when he was beaten by robbers;
or to censure a man explicitly without affection,
neither loving anyone nor being the object of
anyone’s love, one could introduce the dove
that loved a boy, or the eagle seized by a burning
passion for a girl, or the magnet that draws metal
to itself, or say more of another example or
about such topics when I get to the section on
fables. Meanwhile, to return to my subject.

Third Method of Expanding Examples

Illustrative examples of both kinds, that is
both invented and real ones, can be expanded by
yet other procedures: first, by the “parable,” also
known as ἔρωτικον [simile], which Cicero trans-
lates by collateral; second, by introducing a com-
parative order of words. In the “parable” an appro-
site simile reveals the fresh image as like,
unlike, or in contrast to the original; first, an
example of the like: Just as Camillus [15] by
his bravery repelled the barbarian foe and rescued
Romulus and Remus from the Tiber, so the Gauls
brought to the edge of disaster, so Lorenzo Valla
summoned from the grave and restored to their
former splendor Latin letters, corrupted, crushed,
and extinguished by barbarian ignorance; second,
the unlike: We should not feel the same way
towards Lorenzo and Camillus, because Camillus
was moved by patriotism to risk his own life in
saving his country from the barbarians, but Lor-
enzof the desire for fame, or rather by a passion
for attacking as many people as possible,
but to reduce it to rigid rules, when it
could be learnt more satisfactorily from the read-
ing of eloquent authors; third, a contrasting ex-

example: Marcellus [16] restored their works of art
to the Syracusans though they were our ene-
gies; Verres took them away from them when they
were our allies. (“Restore” is the opposite of
“take away,” “enemy” the opposite of “ally.”
A hero is another example: Brutus [17] slew his
son when they were plotting treason; Manlius [18]
put

ished with death his son’s bravery; and one from
Virgil: “But the great Achilles, / Whose son thou
prophesiedst shalt thyself be / Acted not thus towards
the treacherous Trojans.”

The comparison shows the fresh example in
something smaller or greater or equal: simile;
if cities have been overthrown for the sake
of broken marriages, what is the appropriate
fresh example in regard to nations? If ancestors
often fought wars because their traders
and merchant-men had been insultingly treated,
what should be your attitude when so many
thousand Roman citizens have been murdered by
evil at the one time? Your fathers were prepared
to extinguish the light of Greece, the city of
Corinth, because their ambassadors had been
insolently addressed; will you leave that king
untouched which dragged the consular
legate of the Roman people, and most
entirely tortured him to death? [19]

Ciceron is again the source for our example
of something equal: “It so happened that I stood
for election along with two men of noble family,
who were a scourge, the other a decent, good
man; yet I surpassed Catiline in standing, Galba in
popularity. Something greater is exemplified in the
Pomfret: “They deny that it can be the will of
heaven that this should happen; let us look upon
the light of day who confesses that he has slain a
fellow man. Now in what city are fools putting forward
an argument like this? Why, in that very city
where the first trial ever on a capital charge was
the trial of Marcus Horatius, who, although the

15Marcus Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse in 212
BC. (Tr.)
16Not Caesar’s murderer, but his ancestor, considered as
the founder of Roman liberty in the fifth century BC for his
part in the expulsion of the kings; he slew his sons for
attempting to restore them. (Tr.)
17Manlius Torquatus, as consul in 506 BC, executed his
son for disobeying orders and engaging (victoryously) in
sable combat; see Livy 8.5. (Tr.)
18Successful Roman general who was recalled from
exile to save Rome it had been captured by the Gauls
in 390 BC. (Tr.)
19The name means a longer sex

City itself was not as yet free, was freed from
the charge in the assembly of the Roman people,
and that though he admitted killing his sister with
his own hand.

To sum up, in the illustrative example properly
called, which is a reference to a genuine or apparently genuine occurrence
designed to induce people to accept what we are
saying, we can either produce our chosen inci-
dent in a few words, as in this example from St.
Jerome: “Remember Darces and Entellus,” 133 or
we can employ a broader treatment and bring it
in as an analogous example involving something
similar, dissimilar, in contrast, greater, less, or
equal. The point of departure may be any special
circumstance attaching to things or persons. The
element can be further improved by the artistic
language, where we deliberately toss down or
categorize different points by the use of suitable
vocabulary or figures of speech.

Anyone who wishes to give his example the
fallast treatment possible will set out all the sep-
rable points of similarity and dissimilarity and
will compare one with another. This is what
Cicero does in the example I quoted above about
the murdered legate. He deliberately sets one
feature beside another: “They did not put up with
any diminution of the Roman citizen, are you
going to ignore their loss of life? They
waged a verbal affront to the rights of ambas-
sadors; will you leave unavenged an ambassador
returned to death? Their splendid achievement
was fought in the name of a glory of empire;
take care that it is not your disgrace to be unable
to guard and preserve what you have received.”

This kind of thing can be treated very exten-
sively if the speaker compares as many of the
alluding circumstances as possible. One could,
for example, if urging someone to bear the death
of a son with controlled grief, confront him
with the woman in pagan tradition who bravely bore
the death of several sons. After telling the story,
the speaker will proceed to say the two: Can
you, a grown man, not bear what a feeble woman
could? She overcame both her sex and her feel-
ings as a parent; will you be defeated by one of
these alone? She bore with uncursed spirit the
loss of several sons; do you mourn inconsiderably
the extinction of one? Furthermore, all her sons
perished together in order to come to an end;
yours fell fighting bravely on the field of
battle. She had no one to whom she could with
honor impute the loss of her sons; you sacrificed
yours from your country, publicly and utterly; your
son will live for ever in his immortal fame. She
gave thanks to nature that once she had been the
mother of so many sons; you recall only that you have lost an
excellent son. She has no hope of a repetition of an age
past child-bearing; you have a fertile
wife, and are still healthy and virile yourself.
Can you, a Roman and a man, not evince
the qualities that a weak barbarian woman could?
She was ignorant of learning and yet she could
sow something that shatters you in spite of your
education and your great profession of philoso-
phy. Finally, will a Christian man not manifest
the firmness of spirit shown by a pagan woman?
She believed that nothing survives the pyre,
and still held grief unceasingly; you have been taught
that those who depart this life with glory have
at last truly begun to live, and yet you cry endlessly
that your son is lost for ever; you go back to God and ask
what it she calmly resigned to nature? She bravely sub-
nitted to necessity; do you rebel against God?

This specimen makes it clear enough what
method one can employ in other examples;
but in genuine lawsuits, since there is a
greater supply of circumstantial detail, it is even
easier to discover different sorts of antitheses.
One should mention, by the way, that in
attempts of this sort sententious sayings and
clining summaries can be very appropriately
worked in. To take the same example again, after
the first contrast — “Can you, a grown man, not
bear what a feeble woman could?” — one could
introduce striking sayings such as “Nature made
a distinction in sex, do you make no distinction
in mind?”: “A woman is not expected by anyone
to win praise for courage, but if a man is not
courageous he is not even classed as man.”

“The name means a longer sex

and strength of mind; it is shameless to
port a beard and be surprised by a woman in firmness
of heart." After the antithesis "She had no one to whom she could with honor impute the loss of her sons; you sacrificed yours for your country," one could invent sayings like this: "It is a great comfort in sorrow to have something or someone to whom one can with honor attribute what has happened"; "One cannot sacrifice one's son for anyone more reasonably or more gloriously than for one's country." After the antithesis, "They perished wholly and utterly; your son will live for ever in his immortal fame," one could go on "It is far better to live by fair fame than by the common breath of man. The life of the body is ill-starred, and (even without accidents) brief, and held in common with the beasts; that other life is glorious and everlasting, and carries a man into the company of heaven." Such striking sayings or maxims could be appended to each section of the compared passages, but these indications will be enough for the time being, as I shall be discussing maxims in the proper place.132

Parallels

The more pedantic may wish to distinguish the illustrative example from the parallel, taking the example as something definitely done by someone, the parallel as an analogous situation to be found in events in general, or natural or historical circumstances. Adlius' return to the enemy would be an example of adhering to principle and keeping faith; but a ship raising or lowering sail to suit the force of the wind, and tacking from one side to the other, would be a "parallelist" showing that the sensible man should yield to circumstances and accommodate himself to his situation. Even so, the methods of expanding the parallel are exactly the same as those I have illustrated for the example. Sometimes a single phrase is enough: Do you not realize you must turn your sail into the wind? or: Stop washing a brick white. In this form it will be an allegory or metaphor. Sometimes it is expanded and made more specific. We have an example of such an expansion in Cicero's Pro Maenstra: "Those just sailing into harbor after a long sea-voyage eagerly give information to those setting out about the likelihood of storms and the pirate situation and what the different places are like, because it is natural to feel kindly towards those who have gone before, which we have just escaped. What should be your feelings, my son, who am just coming into sight of land after a terrible tossing, towards this man who, as I can see, must go out to face deathly storms?" Here is another example from the same speech: "It is commonly said that among great musicians those take up the flute who cannot play the lyre, in the same way as to observe that gone a number of people who have not manifestly become orators have fallen back on the study of the technicalities of the legal system." St. Jerome imitated the first of these parallels used by Cicero in one of his letters to Hildiada: "In giving you this advice I am not like a man whose ship and cargo are unharnessed, an inexperienced sailor who knows nothing about currents. I am more like a man just cast up on the shore from a shipwreck, a frightened voice among those about to set sail. In that tide race the Charisdas of self-indulgence engulfs a man's health of soul; on the other side last smiling Scylla with fair face entices the ship of modesty onto the rocks. They run aground with broken bones; here is that pirate, the devil, with all his crew, ready with chains for those he hopes to seize. Do not trust it, do not feel at ease. The sea may smile, smooth as a mirror, and the calmness of the motionless element may hardly be ruffled by a breath of wind, yet this flat plain contains great mountains. Under the surface is danger, under the surface is the enemy. Ready the rudder, take in the sail, in the yard-arm be the signal of the Cross before you. That calls a storm." This could be greatly extended if the speaker took all the separate dangers which threaten us because of sin or wicked men or any other cause and could then parallel the various things that endanger the lives of sailors, and bring in comparisons using situations that were greater, or less, or different, or contrasting, and finally ornamented the passage where appropriate with neat sayings and striking remarks in conclusion. This is done in the following example: The most precious of all objects is, the more carefully it is guarded, the more cautiously it is spent. So one should take the greatest care of time which is the fairest gift of immortal God, on disgraceful idleness and dishonorable pursuits? When you waste time, you are wasting your life, and what can be more valuable than life? If one small jewel goes, you call that a loss; but when whole day's work has gone, that is, a good part of your life, do you not call that a loss? especially when lost things like jewels can be replaced by some means or another, but the loss of time is irreparable. Losses that you suffer are usually other people's gain, but the waste of time is no profit to anyone. There is no loss from which someone does not gain some advantage except the loss of time. Further, the loss of material possessions is often to our spiritual good, for riches only furnish the material for sin, so that it is often better to have thrown them away than to have preserved them carefully. The better the time to which a thing can be put, the more shameful it is to spend it wrongly, nothing is more splendid than the good application of good time. However carefully you preserve material possessions, you often have them snatched from you by chance or by man, so that the attractiveness that we have to other people, in fact, it does not shame you as well. But the waste of time, which happens through no fault but our own, not only brings misery in its train, but also destroys in addition. The worst kind of ill fame is that for which no one can be blamed but the sufferer. With material possessions you could buy estates and houses, you could not have bought a worthwhile mind; with time you could have acquired other graces of the spirit, but with life there is no portion of the spirit; so brief that it could not have been used to make a great stride towards happiness. Finally, possibly you would have had to account to your father for your bad use of time; for your badly spent hours you must account to God. This is only an indication of how one can expand a parallel example by comparing and elaborating the separate details, but I feel this is sufficient. One could deal in the same way with parallels based on dissimilarity: A new ship is better than an old one, but it is not so with friendship: A woman who makes free with her wealth deserves praise, but one who shares her free with her beauty.133 In a relay race the man who takes the torch is better than the one who hands it over, but in a war the general who hands over an army is better than the one who receives it from him. My earlier remarks have shown how every imaginable thing can be used as a source for the derivation of such analogous cases.

Likenesses

The ẹlọrọ, in Latin image "likenesses," is very like the parallel or simile. In fact, if it is expanded, it becomes a simile. For example, the following is a simile: As an ass will not be driven by blows from the pasture until it has had its fill, even so a warrior will not cease from slaughter until he has sated his soul. If however you were to say that someone leaped on the foe like a snake or a lion, that would be an ẹlọrọ. To say that Achilles advanced to battle glowing like fire or the sun in its altitude, is nothing more than stating that he was more splendid than the good application of good time. However carefully you preserve material possessions, you have often had them snatched from you by chance or by man, so that even the attractiveness that we have to other people, in fact, it does not shame you as well. But the waste of time, which happens through no fault but our own, not only brings misery in its train, but also destroys in addition. The worst kind of ill fame is that for which no one can be blamed but the sufferer. With material possessions you could buy estates and houses, you could not have bought a worthwhile mind; with time you could have acquired other graces of the spirit, but with life there is no portion of the spirit; so brief that it could not have been used to make a great stride towards happiness. Finally, possibly you would have had to account to your father for your bad use of time; for your badly spent hours you must account to God.

132Examples taken from Quintilian 5.11.36.17
133Example taken from Ad Herennium 4.45.59, where the explanation is given because the exhausted tramper hands over to a fresh one, whereas the experienced general hands over to an untrained one. [Tr.]
Comparisons in Epidemic Oratory

There is also a general type of comparison, used especially in panegyric or vituperative speeches, when we confront one person with another for purposes of praise or blame. If one wished to praise Pope Julius, one would say he was like Constantine, or compare the bishop, conferred by the two men; if one wished to attack him, one could compare their crimes. Likewise, one could praise Maximilian by comparing him with the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

Things can also be compared. A writer praising history could compare its uses with the benefits of those who have advanced the state by deeds of war; or if he wished to praise poetry, he could compare and balance its advantages with those of philosophy.

One thing can be compared with many; any one wishing to glorify history could compare it with all the other most highly valued disciplines. Therefore two ways of using this sort of comparison. For you may tone down the virtues or one side and build up those on the other; or you may praise the other side extravagantly while showing the other thing you are really praising to be better or certainly not inferior. In attacking, you magnify the faults, while showing the person you are assailing to be more villainous, or at least equally villainous.

In doing this you must take care that the examples used for comparison are well known and beyond question. A good ruler should be compared with Trajan[125] or Marcus Aurelius the philosopher-emperor, a bad one with Nero or Caligula[126]. A noble can be compared with Zosimus[127] or Hyperbolus,[128] a tale-bearer with a violently attacked rival political figure; see Plutarch, Copies 196.[129]

[125]Not the hero, Marcus Atilius Regulus, but a notorious field commander with the Younger Pliny, who was dead by the time the speech was written. [Tr.]
[126]A reference to the reigning German emperor, Maximilian I. [Tr.]
[127]"De inventione" 1:3–2. Aspasius gets Xenophon's wife incited to agree that she would prefer her neighbor's gold ornaments if they were better than her own, likewise her dress and other apparel; would she then prefer the other woman's husband? Xenophon likewise is led from neighbor's horse and estate to neighbor's wife. See further Quintilian 5.11.7–9. [Tr.]
[128]Contrived speeches of kings and commanders, De seculis regum ad imperatorum (Aspacioedem). [Tr.]
[129]Author of an ode to Alexander of Teos. [Tr.]
[130]The Roman philosopher-emperor, 161–80 AD, also of the famous Meditations. [Tr.]
[131]The Emperor Titus Vespasianus (71–96 AD), known usually as Vespasian; his elder son, also Titus Vespasianus, was, but in Titus. [Tr.]
[132]As Avernum, which provided one of the entrances to hell[133] (in II 55). [Tr.]
[133]Famous means books of the Bible, especially those for text Derivation and a grammatical interpretation; he mentions them in his work in Aegiplo and Kleps (I.25). [Tr.]
[134]De rebus bellicis meditationes. [Tr.]
[135]Author of an ode to Alexander of Teos. [Tr.]
[136]Author of an ode to Alexander of Teos. [Tr.]
[137]Dedicated speeches of kings and commanders, De seculis regum ad imperatorum (Aspacioedem). [Tr.]
[138]For this whole section see Quintilian 8.5.3 (Tr.]
[139]This translates the readings of 1212, 1224, 1234, and 12e necestes habet maius coactus. Modern texts of
Some sententialae are simple. Love conquers all. Some have some kind of reason incorporated: in every dispute the richer party, even if he is the victim, nevertheless seems the aggressor because he has more power. Some are double, composed of two contrasting statements, without any reason being expressed. Complainings with rhetorical questions are still will. Some consist of two distinct statements: Death is not unpleasant; the approach to death is unpleasant. If the argument is spelt out in each section, the sententialae becomes fourfold. Those who think the faults of youths should be condemned are wrong (this is the first section; now the reason is appended), because that age is not a hindrance to sound study (now the third section) those who think wisely, who wish to punish the young most severely (now the reason) in order that they may wish to acquire at the age most suitable those virtues which will assist them throughout their lives. Although this example occurs in the Rhetorica ad Herennium, I do not think much of it. However, it is not difficult to invent another one of the same sort: Hard work is a good thing in the young, because (reason) it is disgraceful to squander on idleness and base pleasures those gifts and endowments which are supplied to those ends so that we may acquire worthwhile skills; but, on the other hand, affluence is a good thing in old age, so that (reason) that period of life which is somewhat lacking in the resources of nature may at least be supplied by the props of material benefits. Or another: Old age, if destitute, is pitiable; if ignorant, disgraceful; for it is misery to be in need just when the weakness of nature especially needs the support of money, value, but to be ignorant of all that is best just at the time when not being learned is right and proper, to be instructing others particularly becoming.

A maxim can be plain:166 The miser is without any more as much as what he has not;57 it can incorporate a figure of speech: I had the power to destroy — and dost thou ask / Whether I have power to destroy?154 The straightforward way of expressing this would be: It is easier to destroy than to preserve. It may have a general reference, easier to hold, harder to hold, to be adapted to specific persons, in which case there is less clearly a maxim, as in this example from Cicero: "Caesar, your exalted position has bestowed on you no greater gift than your ability to save, nature no better gift than your willingness to do so." There is also the kind of unsophisticated and concealed maxim that we find in Virgil's Bacchides: "She is consumed with hidden fire." Ovid makes it explicit: "More fiercely burns the fire that is concealed." Another form is the type that narrates a past event: The larger party has defeated the better. If this were made explicit, it would be frequently used; that larger party defeats the better.

Another form of maxim is the type the Greeks call ἐπιχορήγημα, Quintilian's "acclamation," that is a final triumphal remark appended either to a narrative or to a single event: In Virgil's "Such was the found the Roman race"; or to the conclusion of an argument, as in this example from Cicero's Pro Ligsario: "The pardon of these people, Caesar, is the glory of your clemency. Shall he on the same language go on cruelly like their own?" Not every epichorègema is automatically a maxim, though it usually is, but anything in the closing section of an utterance which strikes on the ear as shrill and pungent can be called as ἐπιχορήγημα.

This is a particular feature of epigrams, as it is the one about the sheep feeding with her milk the cubs of the wolf: Never once is nature changed by kindness. Martial's poems very often with such a clinching remark: "Either don't proceed, Nasidius, or dream about yourself"; or this one: "Shall I tell you what you are? You're a jack of all-trades.

Valerius Maximus makes great use of this sort of thing, and Seneca also usually closes his Epistulae with a summing-up remark. There have been people so fond of using the epiphonema that they thought they must work in such an exclamationary appellation all over the place after anything they said. One should however show discretion in using all epiphenomena, including these triumphal conclusions, and only employ them where the context demands it, or at least allows it. The epiphonema is a form of terse remark which is not expressed but understood, as in the story of the man who sued his sister for damages after she had cut off his thumb while he slept, because she was tired of paying him out of the gladiatorial school: She said "you were fit to have your hand complete," implying "so that you could go back and fight as a gladiator all your days."160 Herennius Etruscus remark is much the same. I think he must have been never reconciled with his mother or sister, which gives one to understand that he had never quarrelled with them.

There are novel types of maxim based on the unexpected, on allusion, on metaphorical wish, on using two words instead of one, on contraries. Examples of these may be found in Quintilian by anyone who wants them.

Elaboration

There is a certain affinity between the type of maxim which, as I showed above, consists of four subsections and the procedure known as "elaboration." In this we come some time on the same point, vary the same maxim in all kinds of different ways, and thus enrich it. We may employ variation in language, expressing the same sentiment in different words and different figures of speech, or vary, using different facial expressions, gestures, and tone of voice; or variation in treatment, first saying something in our own person, then putting it into the mouth of someone who expresses it rather differently; or we can put forward a procedure and then produce it in a fierce and heated manner.

A complete "elaboration" contains seven parts: statement, reason, rephrasing of statement (to which it can add a conclusion restated), statement from the contrary, comparison, illustrative example, conclusion. Here is a specimen.164 The wise man will shirk no danger required by his country, because it often happens that a man who refuses to perish for the cause of his country perishes with it; and, since all blessings are received as the gift of our native land, no burden should be considered irksome when borne for our native land. (This is the first part, where the basic statement is simply set out and supported by its reasons. Next comes the rephrased statement, expanded by an equal or greater number of reasons.) For men are fools to run away from a danger that must needs be faced for the country's sake (statement — reason) because such a danger cannot be escaped, and because to do so reveals them as ungrateful to the state. (Next comes the section using the contrary statement.) The reason why more those who at peril to themselves ward off the peril of their native land — (reasons) as they both render the state the respect they owe it, and prefer to perish for the multitude rather than with it. (Now we get oppositions.) It is quite likely that he is not forced by the nature, when you are forced, that life which you indeed received from nature but preserved by means of the state, and to refuse to give that life freely to the state when you are asked; to prefer, when you could perish for the cause of the country with courage and honor, to live in shame and cowardice; to be prepared to face danger for friends and parents and relations, to be unprepared to enter into peril for the state, which holds in its every name revered it as a /Faderland. (Next we have a comparison.) Just as we rightly despise a voyager who prefers his own safety to that of the ship, so we execrate a man who, when the state is in

---

157This whole example is taken from Ad Herennium 4.44.57. Etruscus merely interposes his own comments. [Tr.

158
peril, consults his own safety rather than the safety of others. (Now we put the kind of parallel in which we move towards something bigger.) When a ship has been wrecked, many often have escaped unharmed; no one can swim away with his life from the wreck of the ship of state. (Now an illustration, for example.) This was well understood by Decius, who, according to the story, vowed his own life, and to preserve the legions buried himself into the midst of the enemy. (Next some maxims.) He parted with his life; he did not lose it. In return for something of little worth, he bought something of great value. He gave his life; he received his country. He gave his soul, and received a glory which, transmitted with renown from times long past, has grown in beauty, even more splendidly. (Finally we have the conclusion as a kind of epilogue.) If we have proved by reasoning and demonstrated by example that one should embrace danger for the sake of the state, we must consider those men wise who shirk no danger that involves the safety of their native land.

Boys being trained in copia may be usefully exercised with themes of this sort — although I do not mean for those few Fables, of this particular example either, which I have again taken from the Rhetorica ad Herennium, except that it does at least illustrate the method. It could be expanded even further if you pored in several rehearsals and memorized by with them, several similes, and several examples.

Fables

Fables are very similar to legendary tales, except that fables are more immediately attractive and make the point more effectively. Their attraction is due to their witty imitation of the way people behave, and the hearers give their assent because the truth is so vividly before their eyes. Fables are particularly effective with uneducated and unsophisticated people, and anyone else whose ways still have a whiff of the days of yore.

The most famous fables are those that go under the name of Aesop, who was numbered among the sages on their account. Quintilian

thinks they were written by Hesiod, but certainly recognizes in them the work of some outstanding intellect. If fables are thought of so highly, it is not surprising that Menenius Agrippa persuaded the Roman populace to abandon a most dangerous sedition by inventing for the occasion a fable of the parts of the body conspiring against the belly, as recorded in Livy, or that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians not to replace all their magistrates with his story of the fox covered with flies.

Each person is perfectly at liberty to invent material of this sort, according to his subject, but if you are going to invent something appropriate, you need to be a person of lively imagination, and you need to carefully consider the properties of living creatures, and these are of infinite variety.

As for using fables, they can be indicated by a single word, just as illustrative example can, especially if the fable is well known. You could for example say: if the ignorant critic your work and tear it to shreds, don't be upset. Those who know anything about the subject that highly of all. After that, the cock in Aesop's fable didn't appear as usual jewel. Or this: One should not deserve or disregard any enemy however weak and humble, seeing that the eagle in Aesop's tale had to pay for scaring the beetle. Or this: Rely on your own achievements, not on the glory of your father, and you may suffer the same fate as Aesop's crow.

Fables are expanded by an introductory paragrapg of commendation. We can commend the author of the fable, or fables as a class. This is what Aulus Gellius is expounding in the fable of the lark. He begins: "Aesop, the famous story teller from Phrygia ... the passage may easily be referred to. Or you may dwell a little on the description of the appearance and nature of the living creature, and things you introduce, since this is just the kind of thing that people enjoy, and is itself part of a liberal education, you can, for example, introduce a description of the song of the woodcock. If it is born from dung, it raises itself on its hind legs, and pushes along balls of dung, and other things of this sort; or if the eagle holds sway over the race of birds, is Jove's armor bearer, is never struck by lightning, stands unburning at the burning rays of the sun, and soars beyond the clouds on swift wings — anything whatsoever in fact that contributes to magnifying the loneliness of bees feeding or glorifying the nobility of the eagle. All this I have dealt with in a lightly hearted way in my Adagia.

We should be sure to include anything told us about the various creatures in the stories of the poet; that the first wolf originated from Lycacon, the first partridge from a young man; that the one is said to be sacred to Apollo and sung most sweetly at the hour of its death; that the crow is Apollo's messenger and was turned from white to black for dawdling on the way; and the unremarkable deed of an animal recorded in historical writings, like the eagle that fell in love with a girl in Phrygia, or Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's horse, and so on. For again I am only showing how one goes about it.

Next, when we come to the fable itself, we may tell it fairly easily and expansively. This will not prove boring if we witty transfer the characteristics of human society to the situation of the fable, especially if we invent conversations, aphorisms, and maxims to match. There is a very good example in Horace's Satires:

A country mouse once, at the story goes,
Received a town mouse to his humble hole,
A friend of old repaying a stay of long ago.
A rough sort of bird, and you may suffer the same fate as Aesop's crow.

(You can refer to the passage.)

There is an example of an expansively told tale in Apuleius about the crow and the fox, and in Aulus Gellius about the lark.

As for the so-called Envarithos [moral], that is, the interpretation of the fable, it does not matter whether you put it at the beginning or in the end. You can in fact both begin with it and end on it, provided you incorporate variety of language.

Dreams

Some people invent dreams as well, though possibly these should not be introduced except in the case of the specious dream, or when we narrate them as genuine visions in order to encourage or deter our hearers. This is the case with Prudicus' invention about Hercules debating whether he should enter on the steep uphill path of virtue, or the other path of sin; or the story of Menous finding fault with man because his creator had given him a heart full of hidden corners but no window to look into it, and with the ox because he had not put the eyes at the end of the horns so that he could see what it was butting. Of the same sort seems to be St. Jerome's dream about being flogged for being a Ciceronian. In my young days I too toyed with something on these lines.

Fictional Narratives

If entirely fictional narratives are introduced as if they were true because they will help us to get our point across, we must make them as much like the real thing as possible. The same known features, listed in the book of rhetoric, which make a story credible. As an example of this type we may mention the story about Memnus in Cicero, and possibly the one about Volusius in Horace. I observe that some people are extremely fond of this sort of thing and, relying on the gullibility of the crowd, have imported into Christian literature the most stupid miraculous events as if they were absolutely true.

Stories of the sort which are as rare as the more entertaining the further they are from the truth, provided they do not approach the non-sense of old wives' tales, and can also win the ears of the educated by learned allusions. To this type belong Lucian's GOLDEN ASS which he copied from Lucian's example, further the Icaremenippus and lots of other things by Lucian; also nearly all the plots of Old Comedy, which design for comic effect a forgetting of a real life, but by allusion and hidden meaning. The type of fiction which is deliberately constructed so as to be a representation of reality is definitely to be classed as an allegory, for eyes which see through the eyes of the cave in Plato, where men are chained and look with pleasure on shadows, taking them for reality.

166Repulsit 7,514 [TR]
Having made up your mind to cover the whole field of literature in your reading (and anyone who wishes to be thought educated must do this, at least once in his life), first provide yourself with a full list of subjects. These will be partly of the main types and subdivisions of vice and virtue, partly of the things of most prominence in human affairs which frequently occur when we have a case to put forward, and they should be arranged according to similars and opposites. Related topics naturally suggest what comes next in the list, and one remembers opposites in the same way.

Suppose for the sake of example that the first heading is “Revenge and Relevance.” To this will be subjoined the related subordinate topics. Under “Relevance” we shall have different sorts of proper feeling: reverence towards God, patriotism towards one’s country, love for children, respect for parents or for those whom one should honor as parents, such as teachers and those whose generosity has preserved us. The opposite of this is “Irrelevance,” and related to both is superstition. This must be added to the whole wide field now opens up covering outlandish forms of worship, and the different rites of various peoples, also the foolish indulgence of parents towards children, which is a misdirected love for the child.

The next heading could be “Faith,” which might subdivide into faith in God, human faith, faithfulness to friends, of servants to masters, good faith towards creditors, and “Faithlessness” could be listed subdivided. Then could “Beneficence,” and after you have listed its subdivisions, “Gratitude,” which is not a subsection of beneficence, nor its opposite, but its consequence and so naturally associated with it.

These topics can be developed through all the standard treatments: what reverence is, how it differs from other virtues, what is its particular characteristic, by what activities it is demonstrated or vitiated, what nourishes or destroys it, what advantages it brings to man. Here a whole field of illustrative examples and judgments opens up.

But each person should draw up a list of virtues and vices to suit himself, whether he looks for his examples in Cicero or Valerius Maximus or Aristotle or St. Thomas. If he prefers, he can make his list alphabetical — it does not matter much; although I would not have him putting into his list every smallest hint splitting subdivision of a topic, but only those that look as if they will often be of use in speaking. This can be discovered by looking at the topics that occur in various types of speech, epideictic, deliberative, and judicial. The writings of those such as Valerius Maximus are mostly of this sort, and quite a lot of those in Pliny.

Topics that do not come under the head of vices and virtues belong partly to examples, partly to “commonplaces.” The first group covers things like: remarkable longevity, vigorous old age, old head on young shoulders, remarkable happiness, remarkable memory, sudden change of fortune, sudden death of self-indulged death, sudden death, monstrous births, remarkable eloquence, remarkable wealth, famous men of humble birth, cunning, remarkable physical strength, remarkable beauty, outstanding mind in ugly body, and so on. To each of these heads should be attached their opposites and things associated with them: remarkable eloquence has as its opposite remarkable inarticulateness, and associated with it sweetness of voice, grace of movement, histrionicism and so on. Commonplaces” covers things like: It is very important what interests you develop as a boy; it matters what company you keep; His own is far in each man’s eyes; Offense is easy, retaliation is hard; The surest way to believe no one, Love as one soon to hate, hate as one soon to love; He gives twice who gives readily; Each man manufactures his own fortune; The wrath of kings moves slowly, The friendship of princes is precarious; War is pleasant to those who have not experienced it! A shared kingdom is insecure; The best provision for old age is learning. But what is the point of going on quoting these when there are thousands of them? One must choose from them the ones that seem most suited to their speech.

Commonplaces” also includes stock comparisons like: Is the married or unmarried state happier? private or public life? Is monarchy preferable to democracy? Is the life of the student better than that of the uneducated?

Any of the commonplaces I quoted above which seem to have some affinity with virtue or vice can be listed under the appropriate heading. For example, under “Liberality” one could include things like these: He gives twice who gives readily; Nothing costs more than the thing for which you must beg; A service given to the worthy does a service to the giver; No gift is wanted as much as one bestowed on the ungrateful; The value of a kindness is destroyed if it is made a ground for reproach.

In order to avoid confusion caused by a disorganized mass of material, it will be a good thing to subdivide according to a wide range. “Liberal”, for example, can be subdivided as follows: benefits performed promptly and quickly, suitable benefits, benefits bestowed on the worthy and the unworthy, kindness made a ground for reproach, mutual benefit; and every thing else which you may consider more suitable, for I am just giving a few examples to illustrate what I mean.

So prepare for yourself a sufficient number of headings, and arrange them as you please, subdivide them into the appropriate sections, and under each section add your commonplaces and maxims; and then whatever you come across in any author, particularly if it is rather striking, which you would not be able to notice if you had not the proper place, be it an anecdote or a fable or an illustrative example or a strange incident or a maxim or a witty remark or a remark notable for some other quality or a proverb or a metaphor or a simile.

This has the double advantage of fixing what you have read more firmly in your mind, and getting you into the habit of using the riches supplied by your reading. Some people have much material stored up so to speak in their vaults, but when it comes to speaking or writing they are remarkably ill-supplied and impoverished. A third result is that whatever the occasion demands, you will have the materials for a speech ready to hand, as you have all the pigeonholes duly arranged so that you can extract just what you want from them.
No discipline is so remote from rhetoric that you cannot use it to enrich your collection. Mathematics seems utterly remote, yet it will provide you with comparisons: the sphere totally consistent with itself, the square4 uniformly in firmness with its four right angles whichever way it falls, with which one can compare the wise man, entirely self-reliant, independent, firm, and unshaken in his virtue whatever the onslaughts of fortune. To say that, to the moment of the fact of the theologists frequently look to mathematics when expounding mysteries because of the hidden analogy between things and numbers.

Natural science provides not only similar but exemplifies that man is made for the lightening most often strikes the tops of hills, so the position of highest authority is exposed to the worst mistakes; or, as lightning liquefies bronze but leaves wax untouched, even so a prince should show the utmost severity to the rebellious and disobedient, but display clemency to all others. If one wished to inculcate modesty and reticence in pleasure even in the properly married, one could use as an example the example of those without self-respect in concealment. Or to urge the care with which parents should guard and train those first vulnerable years of childhood, one could cite dolphins, which according to their offspring's growth, do not allow their young to go anywhere unless an older dolphin is with them as tutor and chaperon.

So our student will fit like a busy bee through the entire garden of literature, will light on every blossom, collect a little nectar from each, and carry it to his hive. Since there is such an abundance of material that one cannot gather everything, he will at least take the most striking and fit into his scheme of work.

Some material can serve not only diverse but contrary uses, and for that reason must be recorded in different places. For example, if you are describing the incident of a gifted miseric, you need only put it in the tale of Chybydis; but if you are talking of insatiable gluttony or woman’s inexhaustible lust Chybydis will fit again. Likewise, Aesop's fable about the goat and the fox getting into the water-hole together will either illustrate forethought, which means that you do not embark on an enterprise without considering how you may get out of it, or exemplify false friends who appear to be consulting a friend's interest but are really doing the best they can for themselves. The death of Socrates46 can be used to show that death holds no fear for a good man, since he drank the hemlock so cheerfully; but also to show that virtue is praiseworthy and far safer than falsehood, for he did not agree to escape from prison without that chance was offered him, lest he should appear to be deserting his own principles. This is just the same story. Then when we find him engaging in philosophical discussion so calmly and unhesitatingly as his execution rapidly drew near, and drinking the hemlock as cheerfully as he would wine, and perhaps because he had so little property to keep it from arrogance; yet when fortune is hostile, it must be expanded and strengthened by courage and hope of better things to come. Again: When we cannot hold a straight course ahead through the storm, we must take a roundabout route and make for our goal just the same. When the uncontrolled violence of a storm is too much for the sailors' skill, they hurl the sails and drop anchor; in like manner, and for that reason, hunger comes to resist the raging flood until such time as it becomes ready to listen and manageable. As the sailor does not hold his sail always in the same position but raises it or lowers it, or swings it to this or that side, so armed with hunger it is not only food and drink which the wise man should not at all times and in all places and in all situations keep the tenor of his life unchanged, but should accommodate to present circumstances his expression, his words, his behavior, forming even the most experienced sailors take suggestions even from the inexperienced because in a crisis like this different ideas occur to different people, even so a good king in great national dangers will be willing to listen to anyone's advice. When the danger is slight, the steering is still done by a man who has been tossed in grave dangers; even so, the state is safest when headed by a leader who has been tested in serious situations.

All this makes it quite plain, I think, how many purposes the same illustrative example can serve.

The same is true of the simile. What a wealth of parallels can be derived from ships and sailing! Just as storms demonstrate the good helmsman, so doaways reverse the good general. No one entrusts the rudder to his closest friend but to the expert in navigation; even so no one will hand over the direction of the ship of state to his favorite, but to the man he considers most competent. Even as the crew take in the sails when a following wind blows too strongly, and spread them when the wind is less favorable, likewise the helmsman on a prosperous ship would aim to keep it from arrogance; yet when fortune is hostile, it must be expanded and strengthened by courage and hope of better things to come. Again: When we cannot hold a straight course ahead through the storm, we must take a roundabout route and make for our goal just the same. When the uncontrolled violence of a storm is too much for the sailors' skill, they hurl the sails and drop anchor; in like manner, and for that reason, hunger comes to resist the raging flood until such time as it becomes ready to listen and manageable. As the sailor does not hold his sail always in the same position but raises it or lowers it, or swings it to this or that side, so armed with hunger it is not only food and drink which the wise man should not at all times and in all places and in all situations keep the tenor of his life unchanged, but should accommodate to present circumstances his expression, his words, his behavior, forming even the most experienced sailors take suggestions even from the inexperienced because in a crisis like this different ideas occur to different people, even so a good king in great national dangers will be willing to listen to anyone's advice. When the danger is slight, the steering is still done by a man who has been tossed in grave dangers; even so, the state is safest when headed by a leader who has been tested in serious situations.

The fifth section shows the crowd immediately after Socrates' death turning its fury on his executors, and setting up a golden statue to the Lacedaemonians for whose loss they now regret. From this we may easily draw the conclusion that love of the love of the crowd; or this: Virtue's present form we hate / But when 'tis gone, in discontent / We seek it then — too late; or this: Counterfeit glory is life with the beauty, but the splendor of true virtue grows ever brighter after death.
would be crazy who allowed the vessel to be lost because of his hatred of some of the passengers, seeing that he could not survive himself if the ship founder'd; likewise, any man is insane if he does not guard the safety of his country because of some party feeling, since he himself cannot remain in safety if the country is destroyed. As sailors drop the sheet anchor only in the most violent tempests, so one should not resort to the final remedy unless in the gravest peril when all hope is entirely abandoned.

But it is foolish to go on like this, as you can see by now that this one topic can be the source of thousands of similes.

Quite often one of the similes can be applied to various purposes. For example, the frequent changes of the moon can be used for the vicissitudes of fortune, or the mutability of human life, or the irreversibility of the foolish. One basic idea can be adapted to various uses: A merry companion is a wagon in the way; Life is pleasant if one does not pass it alone, but with pleasant and cheerful friends; One should always carry a good book, so that one can always be reading. If, after all, you will, the happy spirit and a clear conscience go with you, no part of life will ever be wearisome; The best companion on a journey is one who speaks of happy things, if he constantly reminds you of unpleasantnesses, he is the best anti-joy right at the beginning.

The same is true of proverbs and sayings, and the use of these I demonstrated at the beginning of my own collection of proverb.

Some extracts must therefore be written out in slighter places, or at least jotted down, for sometimes it will be sufficient to indicate the contents by a word or two accompanied by a reference to the source, especially if it is something that cannot be set out properly in a few words.

To make the whole thing clearer by means of an example, I shall take the heading "Changeableness" or "Irruption," and see how much material I can collect under it. I shall start with the poets and take from them the god Mercury, a cunning divinity, whom we find assuming various shapes, and operating now among the gods, now in the underworld, now among men, and performing various functions, sometimes playing carrying messages, conducting the souls of the dead to Charon, giving help to businessmen and advocates, and playing his lyre or employing his wand. He has a part-colored hat, and reclines in names of all kinds. These occur in Aristophanes' <Plutus>, where he is described as [poet, ???, διόνυσιος [trading], δίδυς [wily], γυναικος [guiding], γεννανός [games-presiding]]. Homer and Hesiod is he is described by [Guide] and "Aegyptus [War] of Argos. He is also called God of Cynelle and Διόνυσος [God of Luck]. I shall also take the good Fortune, who gets his name from the fact that he is continually changing (vertere) his form, and also because he transforms himself into all kinds of incredible things. I shall take Empusa from Arista-\nopan's <Frogs>, a kind of demon continually presenting itself under different shapes, also Morphei, assuming any appearance he chooses, and Circe transforming men into various shapes with her spells and magic wand (for bad men do not act consistently but are (tisk tirring) emotions); I shall take Koyos [Promipa-nyi], the mobile god who never stays the same, and the Cypriot goddess of the Etna region, <nussian goddess.> I shall take Jove, transformed into an eagle, swan, bull, or shower of gold, and Chimaera with the head of a lion, torso of a woman, tail of a dragon, and that variegated monster which stands on the beginning of the Ar poetica. I shall bring in two-\naced Janus, and three-bodied Geryon, and Buc-\nchus, to whom the poets attribute ephiefa, the changeability, the atonce beholding (and what is now Aristophanes depicts him in the Frogs), and any other figures in the poems which exemplify prodigious variety. I shall bring in Ulysses.

"The fleeting decisive moment which must be seized in its entirety, and which is represented in Renaissance art with wings, a precociously bountiful pair of scales, a lock of hair, and, by fusion with the image of Fortune, as standing on a wheel or a ball; see <Ariadne> 70: 'Noce tempus,' where Eustaces quotes both Phoibik epigram [Anthologia palatina 16.275] on iis niirion 'I did not know."

Nemesis, so called from her celebrated shrines at Ari-\nbus in Attica, her function was to punish presumption and overconfidence by turning prosperity to misfortune, in such a way that each activity resembled those of the fickle goddess Fortuna.

adopting different characters and according to the cir-\nstances, which is why Homer, right at the beginning of his poem, calls him [polivropos] [versatile].

Next I shall turn to science, and use the image of the moon which never returns the same in appearance as before, but is half-full, or full, old, new, pale, reddish, white, which precedes the moon, so that it always precedes the moon. I shall use the image of the sky different in spring or autumn, now cloudy, now clear, now calm, now stormy with winds. I shall extract the simile of the sea continually ebbing and flowing with the changing tides, especially that the Euphrates which surges back and forth seven times each day and night. I shall add the polyp, whose changeableness has become proverbial, and the chameleons constantly changing its color, the partridge and the pard with their parti-colored quills, and any other animals of the same sort, also the slippery snake, and childhood whose moods change from hour to hour, the peculiar insatiable of the women, the veering at the slightest motion of the weather-vane, quicksilver, the reed bowing to every breeze, the flightless of the birds, feathery, shavings, the soft pliable nature of wax, the shifting images of dreams, the mobility of the bees, the weather-vane scio atop towers and church spires to record as it swings around the direction of the wind, the pans of the scale lightly dipping to this side and to that, and mosaic work with the wonderful variety of its little different stones.

Some similes can be invented, like comparing the mind of the inconstant man, thinking first of one thing then another, to a reflecting globe hung up in a busy market place, and mirroring a constant succession of differences as the crowd moves to and fro, or to a glass which appears to take on any color you put beneath it, or to an undulating spectacles to fro and without stopping under the influence of a positive and a negative magnet, or to a ball rolling about on a flat surface.

From the non-fictional writers I shall borrow the inborn light-mindedness of the Greeks, which Jacoby describes; the slippery loyalty of the Al-\n\nobrege, the changeableness of character like inconstancy of character, the Scythians changing their pas-\n\din and base on fixed shade; the roll of Moses changing into one thing after another; Ar-\nistor, playing any part you like, who was suited by every shade of life," as Horace says, wearing the Cymis' cloak or royal purple as the case may be; also the [male] man mentioned by Lucian, Catiline with his incompatible characteristics out of Salluit, Han-\nribal from Livy and Valerius Maximus (both Catiline and Hannibal displayed a quite different tenor of life in youth and old age), Tigellinus out of Horace's third satire:

No consistency that fellow had; Often he passed as if feasting for his life, More often still with solemn gait he paced Like one beating Hero's holy symbol. A Comedy will provide us with an example of female inconsistency when Sostrata in the Adel-\nphi says "Why man, you must be mad. / Do you consider this a thing to tell abroad?" and then a few lines later says "Not for all the world will I do that. / I'll tell it out." The inconstancy of lovers is demonstrated by Phaedra, who goes to the country and suddenly comes back, the inconstancy of youth by Anipho in the Pharmo. It would however take too long to pursue this topic properly.

From tragedy I shall borrow Phaedra arguing with herself and changing her mind, now willing, now unwilling; and Medea too, before she mur-\ns her children, swayed by different emotions; Bybils and Narcissus by Scopas and Dido from Virgil at the point where Aneas is preparing his departure. The poets provide us with countless characters of this type all over their writings.

From fables I shall bring in the countryman who could blow hot and cold from the one mouth to the amazement of the satyr. I could go on, but for the moment I am only illustrating the method. From proverb I shall borrow the [naphylas t\nafel [ever-waning] divinity was the name\n\n\nedon [a field for the wind], γεμενελορος κυ\n\n\n\n
[Both authors relate incidents illustrating, for example, Harrasal's skill as a general and his magnanimity, also his manhood. (Front.)]

Moses changing into one thing after another; Ar-\nistor, playing any part you like, who was suited by every shade of life," as Horace says, wearing the Cymis' cloak or royal purple as the case may be; also the [male] man mentioned by Lucian, Catiline with his incompatible characteristics out of Salluit, Han-\nribal from Livy and Valerius Maximus (both Catiline and Hannibal displayed a quite different tenor of life in youth and old age), Tigellinus out of Horace's third satire:

No consistency that fellow had; Often he passed as if feasting for his life, More often still with solemn gait he paced Like one beating Hero's holy symbol. A Comedy will provide us with an example of female inconsistency when Sostrata in the Adel-\nphi says "Why man, you must be mad. / Do you consider this a thing to tell abroad?" and then a few lines later says "Not for all the world will I do that. / I'll tell it out." The inconstancy of lovers is demonstrated by Phaedra, who goes to the country and suddenly comes back, the inconstancy of youth by Anipho in the Pharmo. It would however take too long to pursue this topic properly.

From tragedy I shall borrow Phaedra arguing with herself and changing her mind, now willing, now unwilling; and Medea too, before she mur-\ns her children, swayed by different emotions; Bybils and Narcissus by Scopas and Dido from Virgil at the point where Aneas is preparing his departure. The poets provide us with countless characters of this type all over their writings.

From fables I shall bring in the countryman who could blow hot and cold from the one mouth to the amazement of the satyr. I could go on, but for the moment I am only illustrating the method. From proverb I shall borrow the [naphylas t\nafel [ever-waning] divinity was the name\n\n\nedon [a field for the wind], γεμενελορος κυ\n\n\n\n
[Both authors relate incidents illustrating, for example, Harrasal's skill as a general and his magnanimity, also his manhood. (Front.)]
in my Adagia.) A rolling stone gathers no moss. A tree that is always being moved does not flourish. From apophthegms I shall quote the remark made against Cicero: "to sit in two seats at once," and Sallust's comment on him (written, not spoken)."He says one thing standing up and another sitting down." From Homer we have ἀλλαξάρσοναλκός [on different sides at different times] — this is the word he uses of the War God when he is favoring neither side definitely, but supporting first one party, then the other. From Ovid, "I think, "Constant only in fickleness;" from Horace, "Lighter than bark," and "Turn round to square and square again to round," and "At Rome the wind keeps change, / At Tivoli it's Rome;" from Plautus; "lighter than a water-spider;" from Terence's Phormio, "I will, / I won't — I, won't — / I will;" and Seneca writes: "It seems to me a strong indication of a well-ordered mind to be able to stay at home, / and not to be carried away by the wind. / It's Tivoli I love, but the stupid, slow, and heavy wind." Your mind does not run straight — this you think now, / but something else you thought before, and soon / Will think something else again.

By now it is clear, I should think, what a wealth of equipment in this line also we can discover out of all the writers at our disposal. The same considerations apply to maxims, which one may not only extract from authors but invent according to one's requirements. If you contrast each of these with its opposite, and select the joined relevant ideas to both headings, you can see what a vast store of speech will be laid up. As all this has so many applications (as I shall explain in detail in my work De convicribus epistola), there is nothing which you will not be able to apply somehow to the enrichment of your speech. Even opposite ideas can be brought in through irony, or by the abducting of a contrast, or by a comparison. It would be irony if one could say that the man who never agreed with himself, when throughout his whole life he was always seen with the same expression. It would be contrast if one said that Julius Caesar never regretted anything he did,13 whereas this man never decreed anything that he did before long rescind; a comparison if one said that he was just as difficult to make the famous Caro, whom Cicero calls inflexible, abandon his opinion as to make this man keep to his.

It is easy to modify related ideas and adapt them to neighboring concepts. To take Persius' phrase, "Live in your own house." This properly applies to one aiming higher than his lot in life allows, but since being discontented with one's lot has affinities with inconstancy of mind, it can be wrested in this direction, especially when Seneca writes: "It seems to me a strong indication of a well-ordered mind to be able to stay at home, / and not to be carried away by the wind. / It's Tivoli I love, but the stupid, slow, and heavy wind."

One can even twist material to serve the opposite purpose. If you were praising a man for all seasons, endowed with a versatile and desirous mind, you could dip into your "constancy" cupped hand and bring out the polyph when changes color according to the surface beneath it, and then the Eupites, saying that this idea is not so versatile as this man's mind. You could bring out the flag that cannot stand still, but which constantly presents a different face, the reed bending according as the breeze blows, and say that it is the mark of a wise man to change his views and his way of life according to events, circumstances, places. Only strong rocks and the brute earth do not move. Of living creatures, those that are most impressive are the most mobile. In the universe things are nother further they are from immobility: earth which does not move, rock which does not move, air which moves, fire which moves, storms which move, even the lightning which moves. For this reason the ancients called the mind of man wind and fire, and they called stones and lead, things to which the word "immobility" is particularly applicable.

By means of passages of this sort you will be able to discern the power of your equipment of "constancy" to purposes of blame, and that for "inconstancy" to praise. But as I said a short while ago, this will be dealt with more opportunity elsewhere.

Now I shall deal with the remaining methods of expansion.

---

13 Seneca specifically says Julius Caesar; according to Suetonius, Titius on his death-bed said: necesse est ea extremitas esse quam factum post mortem excipere domus unam [Titius 10]. (E.)


15 Murphy, Arguments, pp. 22-24.

---

Peter Ramus 1515–1572

Pierre de la Ramée, usually known by his Latinized academic cognomen Petrus, or Peter Ramus, was born to impoverished parents in Catus, Picardy. Evidently the family had some ambition for the boy, since he began the study of Latin in Catus before going to Paris at about the age of eight. And about four years later, at age twelve, he entered the University of Paris. His family was unable to finance his university studies so, like many other poor scholars, worked his way through school as a servant to wealthier students. He took his master of arts degree in 1536. While a student, Ramus heard German educator Johanne Sturm lecture on Agricola's De Inventione Dialecticae, which he later claimed was decisive in shaping his thought. Upon taking his degree, Ramus began to teach dialectic and rhetoric to the boys in the various colleges of the university. In 1543 he published two extremely controversy and influential books: Aristotelicae Animalvations, attacking Aristotelian dialectic in its classical and Scholastic avatars, and Dialecticae Paritones, advocating a new intellectual method.

These books had the effect of not only condemning the argumentative methods in use at the University of Paris since at least the twelfth century but also to argue for replacing them with Ramus's way. Led by professor of medicine Jacques Charpentier, all three graduate faculties of the university — law, medicine, and theology — successfully petitioned the French king Charles I to forbid Ramus to teach from the two books. James J. Murphy has suggested that Ramus, far from being chastened by this censure, mounted a vigorous campaign over the next several years to gain acceptance for his ideas. Between 1543 and 1549, eight books appeared by either Ramus or Orner Talon (Latinized as Audomarus Talaeus), who became Ramus's collaborator in 1544. Ramus also defended himself in several public oral disputations with other professors. The most important to Ramus's views on rhetoric is his attacks on Cicero, Brutae questions (1547), and on Quintilian, Rhetoricae distinctiones in Quintilianum (or Arguments in Rhetoric against Quintillian, 1549; excerpted here), and two books by Talaeus outlining a new program for rhetoric, Audomar Talaei Institutiones oratoriae (1545) and Audomar Talaei Rhetoricae (1548). Murphy agrees with literary scholar Walter Ong that Ramus habitually published some of his own work under the name of Talaeus to avoid the royal ban on his ideas. Both rhetorical texts and especially the second one may be Ramus's.

This ban was lifted in 1547, when Henry II became king and Charles of Lorraine, a former college classmate of Ramus's, interceded on his behalf. Thereafter, Ramus's career prospered. In 1551 he was appointed a regius professor of the university; Professor of Eloquence and Philosophy was the title he devised for