

## List of Panels

This list contains the panel descriptions only. The abstracts of the panel papers are included in the List of Abstracts.

### **1. Special Panel: the Cambridge History of Rhetoric**

Panel chair: Peter Mack

Panel speakers: Rita Copeland, Harvey Yunis, Henriette van der Blom, Virginia Cox, Jennifer Richards, Dietmar Till, Steven Mailloux, Daniel Gross and Lu-Ming Mao

This session will introduce the new Cambridge History of Rhetoric, a comprehensive history in five volumes planned for publication in 2024. General editors Rita Copeland (Pennsylvania) and Peter Mack will introduce some general principles of the work, before moderating six short papers by several of the volume editors. Henriette van der Blom (Birmingham) and Harvey Yunis (Rice) will describe the coverage, structure and scope of Vol. 1, Rhetoric of the Ancient World. Virginia Cox (Cambridge) and Jennifer Richards (Newcastle) will discuss the way in which Vol. 3, Rhetoric in the Renaissance will analyse rhetorical principles in action across a wide range of institutions, texts and cultural practices in the renaissance. Dietmar Till (Tübingen) will outline the issues involved for Vol. 4 in considering rhetoric across the globe in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with particular attention to its interactions with philosophy, politics, religious controversy and the development of science. Daniel Gross (UC Irvine) will consider the historiography of rhetoric and the new possibilities to be explored in Vol. 5, Modern Rhetoric. LuMing Mao (Utah) will show how Vol. 5 will develop a global perspective which can be attentive to specific, situated, and emergent meaning-making practices outside West-centric frameworks or ideologies. The third editor of volume five, Steven Mailloux (Loyola) will be present to assist in answering questions from the audience.

### **2. Special Panel: Book Presentation of Global rhetorical traditions, edited by Hui Wu and Tarez Samra Graban**

No chair

Panel speakers: David Blakesley, Hui Wu and Tarez Samra Graban

From the publisher's website: "GLOBAL RHETORICAL TRADITIONS is unique in design and scope. It presents, as accessibly as possible, translated primary sources on global rhetorical instruction and practices of Asia, Africa, the Near East, the Middle East, Polynesia, and precolonial Europe. Each of the book's chapters represents a different rhetorical region and includes a prefatory introduction, critical commentary, translated primary sources, a glossary of rhetorical terms, and a comprehensive bibliography. The general introduction helps contextualize the project, justify its organization and coverage, and draw attention to the various features, characteristics, and/or philosophies of the rhetorics included in the book. The book's significance lies in its contributions to both studying and teaching global rhetorical traditions by offering representative research methods and primary sources in a single book. It can be read as scholarship, as reference, and as textbook."

### **3. Topoi vs. Commonplaces: The Place of Culture in Graeco-Roman Rhetorical Theory**

Panel chair: Thomas Blank

Panel speakers: Thomas Blank, Karen Piepenbrink, Thierry Hirsch, Tobias Dänzer

This panel is dedicated to the memory of Christoph Leidl.

The term *topos* can be used in different, even contradictory ways. When used in the context of rhetorical theory and technical handbooks, it is applied to describe strategies of argumentation that are based on general structures and issues of human or social experience, arguments which can be employed universally and adapted according to the *kairos* of a given speech. In a pragmatic sense (usually applied in historical and cultural studies) the term denotes sets of narratives that transport implicit arguments effective within the framework of a given rhetorical culture. 'Cultural

commonplaces' of this type are determined by various external factors such as political systems, social structures, ideologies and spatial settings. Three interconnected panels trace the correlation of rhetorical theory/training and practical oratory in Graeco-Roman *topoi*: regardless of the relevance of *technē* for rhetorical training, the remnants of genuine oratory contain mostly such *topoi* that were composed with a view to spatiotemporal circumstance and thus do not simply reproduce handbook knowledge. On the other hand, rhetorical theory cannot be underestimated in its impact on oratorical standardisation.

This panel is focused on the treatment of the problem of cultural determination in rhetorical theory from 4th century BCE Athens to 1st century CE Imperial Rome. How did technical authors tackle the antithesis of abstract *topos*-doctrine and the contingency of *kairos*? How did they attempt to make their doctrines independent from cultural determinants? To what degree did they conceive their own theories of *topoi* to be universally applicable in oratorical practice? From what perspective were *topos*-doctrines developed: from that of the practitioner (sc. based on empirical induction) or from that of the theorist (noetical deduction)? Finally, whom did their theories address as their original audiences—rhetoricians or orators? Questions like these will be at the heart of the papers presented in this panel, to answer them should be helpful to better qualify how rhetorical *topos*-theories were conceptualized in different Greco-Roman cultures, and what they had to do with the remnants of oratorical practice that we can study in the oratorical corpora.

#### **4. Topoi vs. Commonplaces: Places and Spaces as Cultural Determinants in Greek Oratory**

Panel chair: Christoph Michels

Panel speakers: Christoph Michels, Craig Cooper, Sophie Mills, Jon Hesk

Description of the panelThe term *topos* can be used in different, even contradictory ways. When used in the context of rhetorical theory and technical handbooks, it is applied to describe strategies of argumentation that are based on general structures and issues of human or social experience, arguments which can be employed universally and adapted according to the *kairos* of a given speech. In a pragmatic sense (usually applied in historical and cultural studies) the term denotes sets of narratives that transport implicit arguments effective within the framework of a given rhetorical culture. 'Cultural commonplaces' of this type are determined by various external factors such as political systems, social structures, ideologies and spatial settings. Three interconnected panels trace the correlation of rhetorical theory/training and practical oratory in Graeco-Roman *topoi*: regardless of the relevance of *technē* for rhetorical training, the remnants of genuine oratory contain mostly such *topoi* that were composed with a view to spatio-temporal circumstance and thus do not simply reproduce handbook knowledge. On the other hand, rhetorical theory cannot be underestimated in its impact on oratorical standardization.

This panel will analyse *topoi* in Greek, i.e. primarily Athenian rhetoric of the Classical period, from a specific point of view: *topos* in its significance as place – to be understood both as physical space and non-material *lieu de mémoire*. On the one hand, concerning the role of places as element of historical references it is important that recent research has shown that they were not rigid *exempla* but rather – as part of the social memory of the *polis* – quite controversial in their applicability and interpretation. On the other hand, various studies have examined the situation- and thus also location-bound nature of speech acts. The panel combines lectures on the rhetorical use of monuments and of urban spaces of communication, the importance of local knowledge as a rhetorical resource as well as the repercussions of the places of the 'performance' of speeches on their composition. This multi-perspective approach promises to shed light on the interrelations and dependencies of space, *topoi* and rhetoric in an exemplary way.

#### **5. Topoi vs. Commonplaces: Roman Society as Framework for Commonplaces**

Panel chair: Jan-Markus Kötter

Panel speakers: Jan-Markus Kötter, Wolfgang Havener, Henriette van der Blom, Nephelē Papakonstantinou

The term 'topos' can be used in different, even contradictory ways. When used in the context of rhetorical theory and technical handbooks, it is applied to describe strategies of argumentation that are based on general structures and issues of human or social experience, arguments which can be employed universally and adapted according to the kairos of a given speech. In a pragmatic sense (usually applied in historical and cultural studies) the term denotes sets of narratives that transport implicit arguments effective within the framework of a given rhetorical culture. 'cultural commonplaces' of this type are determined by various external factors such as political systems, social structures, ideologies and spatial settings. Three interconnected panels trace the correlation of rhetorical theory/training and practical oratory in Graeco-Roman topoi: regardless of the relevance of *technē* for rhetorical training, the remnants of genuine oratory contain mostly such topoi that were composed with a view to spatiotemporal circumstance and thus do not simply reproduce handbook knowledge. On the other hand, rhetorical theory cannot be underestimated in its impact on oratorical standardisation.

The panel "Topoi vs. Commonplaces 3: Roman Society as Framework for Commonplaces" looks at the field of Roman rhetoric, in particular at rhetorical theory and practice in the Roman republic. The focus is on the strongly hierarchical social structure of Rome, which is to be examined as a main (context-dependent) determinant for the effectiveness of rhetorical commonplaces – and thus as an a priori limiting factor for the effectiveness of topoi in the narrower sense. If, for example, Cato the Elder criticizes the use of Hellenistic rhetoric for the Roman sphere because of its potential to undermine a typical Roman obedience of inferiors towards leaders who dispose of greater *auctoritas*, the problem gets obvious. Thus, how does Roman rhetoric deal with this tension? Does its specific "topic" follow a social structure, which determines its effectiveness a priori – or is it able to free itself from such determinations? Four lectures will contribute to the clarification of these questions regarding the relationship between rhetorical theory and practice in Rome: Presentations focus on Cato and the adherence of early Roman rhetoric to social hierarchies as well as on the consequences of his position for later orators, for the use of topical elements like (above all) *exempla* and for the area of jurisprudence. The panel covers a time range between middle republican and early imperial times.

## 6. The topoi of (dis)unity in Attic oratory

Panel chair: Andreas Serafim

Panel speakers: Andreas Serafim, Jasper Donelan, Alessandro Vatri

In his book, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, K. Burke argues that rhetoric is divisive: it focuses on appealing to core groups and defining oneself against others. A speaker gives signs to the audience, mainly through language, indicating that his "properties" are the same or similar to those of the audience, thereby affirming a shared community. Rhetoric also generates division, alienation or dissociation, or prolongs hostility, denigrating individuals against the background of societal preconceptions, with the aim of isolating them from the community, and persuading the audience by setting up people, matters or ideas as antithetical to the listeners. This panel examines Attic oratory, with the aim of exploring the potential of topoi (i.e. the stock formulas used by the speakers to produce or strengthen the force of arguments) to create unity or generate division between the speaker, his opponent(s) and the audience both in forensic and deliberative forums of public speaking.

The four papers this panel consists of explore a variety of linguistic features and contextual aspects (i.e. historical, socio-political and moral dimensions) of rhetorical topoi. Jasper Donelan explores the potential of the topos of shamelessness (*anaideia*), as manifested in Attic forensic oratory, to generate division by distancing the target of criticism from the citizen judges in the lawcourt. Andreas Serafim examines the features (e.g. references to the polis and the constitution, patriotism, military service, religion and sexuality) and the persuasive ways in which addresses to the audience are deployed in forensic public and private speeches. Alessandro Vatri examines the recurring topos, in rhetorical

theory and in oratorical practice, of referring to age with the aim of determining an individual's social identity.

### **7. Oltre la bellezza. Topoi e luoghi comuni su Elena dall'epica arcaica alla produzione letteraria del IV secolo**

Panel chair: Maddalena Vallozza

Panel speakers: Maddalena Vallozza, Dino De Sanctis, Cecilia Nobili e Andrea Capra, Sabina Castellaneta

Nella cultura occidentale, da sempre la bellezza di Elena è un elemento cardine che ne sembra caratterizzare il personaggio. Ma, al di là di questo elemento tanto connotante, si sviluppa da subito intorno a Elena una serie di luoghi comuni destinati ad assumere una funzione centrale nella riflessione letteraria dei Greci a partire dal periodo arcaico. Nel panel che proponiamo, intendiamo ripercorrere le fasi principali nelle quali questi luoghi comuni si dipanano e si intrecciano e si fissano come canonici nella cultura occidentale. Nell'epos di Omero ma anche di Esiodo, nella storia di Elena è centrale il dissidio tra colpa e innocenza in rapporto ai luoghi comuni della moglie fedifraga o fedele, collegato al motivo del biasimo e della riabilitazione. Nella successiva produzione lirica è possibile ricavare il contesto socio-culturale, nell'ambito prevalentemente di Sparta, nel quale Elena, collegata al rapimento di Teseo attratto dal suo fascino assoluto, influenza anche il contesto artistico. Tramite Teseo Elena entra nella dimensione di Atene nella quale, a partire dal V secolo, è associata alla sfera del matrimonio, quale paradigma positivo delle nozze. Elena rafforza ad Atene il suo peso anche sulla scena drammatica con interessanti potenzialità. Nella produzione di Euripide, ad esempio, assistiamo a un decisivo riesame dei luoghi comuni relativi a Elena: le diverse connotazioni etiche associate alla provenienza da Sparta del personaggio, riconoscibili nella 'imagerie' attica di fine quinto secolo, sono chiaramente collegate ai rivolgimenti politici che segnano Atene. Non stupisce, per tutto ciò, che, dopo la grande stagione teatrale, nel IV secolo Elena diventi simbolo dei topoi del discorso di lode, tanto da motivare scelte letterarie, paideutiche e politiche, come rivelano il Fedro di Platone, con Elena vista quale Musa, e l'Encomio di Elena di Isocrate, nel quale la rete dei topoi costruita intorno a Elena assume il valore di un vero e proprio sistema di valori non solo politici, ma anche retorici e paideutici.

### **8. Invective Topics in Cicero's Works**

Panel chair: Antje Junghanß

Panel speakers: Antje Junghanß, Bernhard Kaiser

Ancient rhetoric theory offers very little advice on how to deliver a blame speech. It is usually limited to saying that blame should proceed in the opposite way to praise. The recommendation is to draw on the same aspects that can be referred to in the awarding of a person (the so-called *loci a persona*) and to interpret them in reverse. There is not much more to the ancient theory of blame; Cicero, for example, leaves it at one single sentence. (De or. 2,349).

Given the observation that the ancient rhetorical theory of blame speech is unsatisfactory, it should be investigated whether the practice of blame speech does not perhaps follow its own rules and is more than a mere reversal of praise. Cicero is in fact an excellent example to follow this question because in addition to his theoretical reflections numerous invectives against individual persons have come down to us.

The proposed panel will thus examine Ciceronian invectives, and its leading questions will be the following: Which topics does Cicero use in which context? What role do they play in his argument? Are there limits of blame and derision in Ciceronian invectives (and, if so, which ones)? The panel will present examples of Cicero's attacks on juridical opponents in his speeches (1) and the mockery against philosophy in De oratore (2). Finally, the results will be summarised systematically (3).

This proposal was developed within the context of the Collaborative Research Centre "Invectivity. Constellations and Dynamics of Disparagement" which started its work at the Technische Universität Dresden in 2017.

## **9. Commonplaces in Slavic Medieval Literature**

Panel chair: Lucia Baroni

Panel speakers: Lucia Baroni, Irena Plaovic, Aleksandra Ivanovic

Our panel aims to bring together some fundamental aspects of our research projects. Through the analysis of certain encomia and liturgical hymns belonging to the medieval Slavic literature (written in South Slavic recensions of Church Slavonic), we would like to underline the importance of biblical and ancient Greek topoi in the medieval epideictic oratory and liturgical poetry.

In these texts, the presence of motifs, rhetorical figures, and loci communes inherited from Byzantine and classical literature considerably enriches the inner structure of their composition. As a matter of fact, medieval authors often emphasized the superior (or spiritual) meaning of their works by using direct or indirect references to the Bible and Sacred Scripture: these specific references were used to help the reader/listener interpret and understand the cardinal principles of Christianity, pointing out at the same time the moralistic function of these compositions. Commonplaces were likewise used to illustrate (and abstract) a specific type of sanctity, as an ethical role model – martyrs, apostles, holy monks / ascetics, holy bishops, or the so-called „enlighteners“, holy kings, and warriors.

On the other hand, commonplaces which came to Old Church Slavonic texts from classical antiquity, make up a considerable part of the rhetorical heritage of Slavic Middle Ages, functioning as an inevitable communication code, as well as a rhetorical device of the so-called “abstraction of reality” in a literary text.

The purpose of our panel is to compare different works written at different times and places, but united by a common rhetorical (biblical and classical) literary substrate, which demonstrates how we can actually refer to a unique medieval Slavic world.

## **10. E. R. Curtius : Topoi and Commonplaces for Europe**

Panel chair: Peter Mack

Panel speakers: Rita Copeland, Peter Mack

This panel is dedicated to the memory of Marc Fumaroli.

The proposed panel concerns the German philologist and critic Ernst Robert Curtius (1886-1956) and especially to his famous book *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (1948 ; English translation *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 1953). In this book, Curtius identifies conceptual schemes and literary themes that have existed from antiquity to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. He considers these schemes and themes to have been formed by rhetoric and calls them topoi: for example the Goddess nature, certain metaphors, the notion of the hero, the ideal landscape, and so on.

The aim of the panel is to analyse Curtius' conception of the topoi in relation to the history of rhetoric and to show how productive and inspiring this conception was, and still is today. For Curtius, topoi had a European meaning: they had been lines of force in the cultural history of Europe and could contribute to defining a European identity..

The papers proposed in this panel offer a critical study of Curtius' ideas and their reception, considering both innovative features and weaknesses. They raise the issue of the place of rhetorical topoi in literary criticism and intellectual history.

## **11. Topics in Political Argumentation: Early Modern to the Enlightenment**

Panel chair: Mark Longaker

Panel speakers: Mark Longaker, Gary Remer, Rodney Herring

Following the Latin tradition, best represented by Cicero, of approaching argumentative topics based on the generic subject of the discourse, each of these presentations explores an active rhetor seeking to influence people in political circumstances. Each case study explores deliberative topics for arguing about particular political actions. Whether theorizing the relationship between rhetoric and the polis, advocating for peace in a newly republican government, promoting centralized banking, or arguing against radical democracy, the subjects of these case studies were all engaging in the same genre of deliberative rhetoric, yet their variety of approaches demonstrates how fruitful the topical approach to argumentation has been as both an inventive and as an analytical strategy.

## **12. Shakespeare's topical theater: plays, places, arguments**

Panel chair: Vanessa Lim

Panel speakers: Vanessa Lim, Kirk Dodd, Nick Moschovakis

Three papers will be presented by scholars who have all published prior work on subjects related to Shakespeare and the early modern humanist rhetorical tradition. Each paper will focus either on Shakespearean drama and dialectical-rhetorical topics (places, loci, topoi), or on Shakespearean drama and the Renaissance culture of argument. The three papers, and resulting discussion, will convene ISHR attendees around the theme of how rhetoric and argumentation underpin Shakespeare's dramatic invention and the psychology, politics, and ethics of his plays.

## **13. The (Re)Invention of Africa: Uncommon Commonplaces in the Colonial Past and Postcolonial Present**

Panel chair: Kermit Campbell

Panel speakers: Kermit Campbell, Adedoyin Ogunfeyimi

In this panel presentation, the speakers discuss Africa's rhetorical commonplaces in its precolonial and colonial past as prologue to its postcolonial, independent present. A close examination of these commonplaces, we believe, will shed light on African subjectivity in Africa's political and social history. Speaker 1 will discuss the rhetorical practices of the Kingdom of Kongo and how these highly developed practices were diminished or denigrated because of the power and believability of the rhetoric of empire. Speaker 2 will focus on time or the passage of time from the precolonial to the colonial and postcolonial periods as a commonplace for reclaiming African subjectivity.

## **14. Oratio figurata: Greek and Latin theory and practice**

Panel chair: Jonathan Thiessen

Panel speakers: Jonathan Thiessen, Giovanni Margiotta, Diederik Burgersdijk,

Description of the panel: "Figured speech" (oratio figurata, λόγος ἐσηματισμένος) is a technique of Graeco-Roman rhetoric in which the speaker says one thing while meaning another. Through concern either for his own safety or for appropriateness, he communicates through innuendo and allusion a message that, spoken openly, would give offence. This technique was described by the ancient rhetorical treatises (Demetrius, Quintilian, Ps.-Dionysius, Hermogenes, Apsines) and its use was mentioned by Greek and Latin writers (Seneca the Rhetorician, Suetonius, Tacitus, Philostratus, Dio Chrysostom). The theory as presented by these main sources has been widely studied. References to "figured speech" outside these five sources have received much less scholarly attention, as has its actual use in ancient literature. The papers in this panel seek to advance our understanding of this difficult and slippery technique by looking for it in ancient texts, discussing analytical criteria for identifying it, and examining references to it beyond the five well-known sources describing it.

## **15. How to praise (or blame) an emperor? The evolution of the βασιλικὸς λόγος through laudatio and vituperatio**

Panel chair: Mattia Chiriatti

Panel speakers: Mattia Chiriatti, Ernest Marcos Hierro, Alberto Quiroga Puertas, Nicola Rose Ernst Holm

Far from waning during Late Antiquity and the Christian era, the ἐγκώμιον, both in prose and in verse, in Greek and in Latin literature, persisted until the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire and even beyond. By means of the exposition of rhetorical precepts and the schematic classification of topics and commonplaces, the treatise Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν (On epideictic speeches), attributed to Menander of Laodicea, formed the basis for the canonization of a flexible literary genre named βασιλικὸς λόγος, a form of ἐγκώμιον that was readily adapted to meet changing social and political requirements.

The Tetrarchic and Constantinian ages, as well as the Christianization of the Empire, saw the profile of epideictic rhetoric boosted when, developing from its origins as a political vehicle in the civic and military panegyrics of Classical Antiquity, it was integrated into displays of imperial power. The emperor had become a sacred entity to praise: the basilikós lógos became therefore the perfect instrument with which to pay tribute to the honour of the ruler, emphasizing his/her virtues (via laudatio/ἐγκώμιον). The ‘topoi of praise’ (τόποι ἐγκωμιαστικοί) used in the composition of the basilikós lógos were directly related to subdivisions (κεφάλαια), which, as the genre evolved, began to be arranged in a biographical order. Beyond the imperial speech itself, these rhetorical topoi were also utilized to shape the portraits of sovereigns in parallel literary genres such as historiography and hagiography, with authors even going so far as to use them to describe the vices of emperors and empresses (via vituperatio/ψόγος), or to apportion blame to the βασιλεία.

The aim of this panel is therefore to reconstruct and trace the roots of this versatile, performative and literary genre, as well as to present its religious and historical development into the Byzantine era.

#### **16. Rhetorical Genre and Metaphor: Comparative Perspectives from China and India**

Panel chair: Hui Wu

Panel speakers: Hui Wu, Keith Lloyd

Comparative rhetoric has yet to study rhetorical artifacts and argumentation from perspectives of genre and metaphor, which, until recently, have been mostly considered literary approaches. The panelists present their case studies of Chinese and Indian rhetorical development and practices to propose rhetorical genre and metaphor as viable research methods. The first speaker will track the transformation of Chinese rhetoric and its study from orality to writing by examining some key rhetorical terms already identified by scholars (Garrett; Lu; Wu) to argue that rhetorical genre study serves as an indiscriminate method in comparative rhetoric. The second speaker will piece together a network theory contained in court historian Sima Qian’s (145BC – 86BC) Records of the Grand Historian. In his biographies, Sima portrayed many historic figures as orbiting around the ruler and skilled in assisting the latter with words, describing their discourses as forming genre networks. This study suggests that the network theories provide additional framework in our studies of rhetorical activities in the early Chinese court. The third speaker applies Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black. J. 244) to corona and post-corona speeches from India, Nepal, the US and Europe to consider how differing metaphors shape rhetorical approaches, and how we could use perceptual metaphors argue in more connected ways. For example, Hindus in Southeast Asia developed an alternate model of argument, Nyaya, based in perception, which is used to create and test chains of reasoning leading to shared conclusions. Rather than staking claims and applying warrants as in Western rhetoric, argument is about sharing perceptions.

#### **17. Common Place of Jesuit Meditation: Imitatio Christi**

Panel chair: Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail

Panel speakers: Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail, Michael Raley, Ana Isabel Correia Martins

For a long time, the Society of Jesus kept their founder Ignatius of Loyola’s work The Spiritual Exercises only for its members, and published it only in Latin. On the other hand, from the early days of its creation in 1540, the Society of Jesus used the Imitatio Christi as a guide toward meditation to a larger public. This latter book that Loyola described as his “favorite small book” had circulated widely since the middle of the 15th century in Europe; and as a book of meditation probably authored

collectively in the movement of *devotio moderna*, the *Imitatio* was translated into multiple languages since its inception. The Jesuits participated in this movement of translating the *Imitatio Christi*, and used it as the more popular alternative for the guidebook of meditation to a wider and international body of literate readers. The translators of the *Imitatio Christi* range from the Dominican Luis de Granada to the anonymous Jesuit translators who published it from the Jesuit mission Press in Japan. The *Imitatio* presents, as its exemplary topos, the life of Christ, and cutting across all Christianity, this book enjoyed popularity in Catholic southern Europe as well as Protestant northern states. By promoting the *Imitatio Christi* as a popular version of their meditation that constitutes the Jesuit core identity, the Jesuits participated in the commonplace of meditation. We propose to analyze the *Imitatio Christi* as the Jesuit rhetoric of persuasion that presents a familiar and exemplary topos aiming at a large and international audience through its languages accessible to all.

In our panel Michael Raley presents a complex prehistory of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* through Spanish Benedictine abbot of Montserrat Garcia Jimenez de Cisneros' *Ejercitorio de la vida espiritual* to argue that the *Imitatio* came to Loyola directly as well as indirectly from Cisneros who is quoting the core texts of the *devotio moderna* Mombaer's *Rosary* and Zerbolt's *Spiritual Ascensions*, this latter being published in Cisneros' Abbey of Montserrat in 1499. Aiko Okamoto-Macphail will work on two books, both published in 1596 in Japan, the *Imitatio* in Japanese and Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* in Latin, to methodically set the topos of the life of Christ as common place of meditation to persuade people in Japan. Ana (Anita) Martins will focus on Luis de Granada's Spanish translation of the *Imitatio* in the total body of his work. The Jesuits in Japan used Granada's *Guia de Pecadores* in Japanese translation as a text that explains the exercises assigned to the first week in *The Spiritual Exercises*. The fact that the legation of Japan sent by the Society to Rome went to see Granada as soon as they arrived in Europe, shows how popular he was in the Society of the sixteenth century. A. Martins will explain why in her paper.

#### **18. Common and Uncommon Places: Archival Perspectives on Continuity and Accommodation**

Panel chair: Cinthia Gannett

Panel speakers: Cinthia Gannett and John Brereton, Steven Mailloux

This panel calls on both available scholarship and unpublished archival materials to examine aspects of the theories, practices, and pedagogies related to the enduring Jesuit rhetorical tradition of "*eloquentia perfecta*." Speaker one examines the concept of "bodies in space" as connected commonplaces in both rhetorical and spiritual training, using the Jesuit writings of Cypriano Soarez, Walter Ong and Gaston Fessard. The other speakers each address questions of commonality/continuity and accommodation/ distinctive variation in US Jesuit rhetorical education in the service of more nuanced panhistoriographic understandings. While "*eloquentia perfecta*," with its distinctive fusion of the sacred (or moral) and secular elements remained a common aim of rhetorical education, each study offers a glimpse into the ways in local circumstances and histories, and larger forces of continuity, and change marked US Jesuit rhetorical education well into the 20th century.

#### **19. Relationships between music and rhetorics in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries**

Panel chair: Cassiano Barros

Panel speakers: Cassiano Barros, Mônica Lucas, Gabriel Persico, Stefano Paschoal

In the former European absolutist monarchies context, symbolic forms of representation, such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture and others, were used to relate to civilians and faithful communities by institutions who wielded political and religious power. This relationship was hierarchically unequal and rhetorically controlled, managed and regulated. The places and positions of power, their interests and ends, were thus reaffirmed and preserved, both for a religious principle and in the name of a social contract. In this sense, artistic productions were conceived as instruments of persuasion, aimed at producing the most spectacular effects in the audiences for which they were designed. Music, for example, should put the ideas of the texts with which it was associated before the

eyes of the listeners, constituting wonderful and efficient evidence and proof for the defended cause. In those times the word seemed to have a creative force, and its sound was amplified and figured in a musical gesture to generate the image of the thing represented in the mind of the listener, and to materialize the very thing said and sung, as sound and act, as well as desire and potency. In this panel, we propose the creation of a space dedicated to researches devoted to the relationship between rhetoric and music between the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. It should contribute to the understanding of this relationship, both from the perspective of its context and references; from the materiality of its devices, techniques and productions; as well as its agents and institutions. That way we seek to contribute to the production and dissemination of this knowledge and its insertion in a broader set of discussions with scholars from related areas, gathered at this congress.

## **20. The Eloquent Musician**

Panel chair: Marcus Held

Panel speakers: Marcus Held, Roger Ribeiro, Luiz Fiammenghi

This panel aims to provide a broad discussion on eighteenth-century music and musicians and its close relationship with Rhetoric. Focused on violin music and/or violin-preceptors, our papers eye on the musical discourse in a rhetorical approach, analyzing its connection to inventio, elocutio and pronuntiatio.

## **21. Fragments, Breakdowns, and Incongruity in Interdisciplinary Scholarly Rhetorics**

Panel Chair: Robert Gilmor

Panel speakers: Robert Gilmor, April Chapman-Ludwig, Ashlynn Stewart, Asheten Scheller

This panel takes as its focus material outside the “neat and tidy” narratives created by scholarly histories of rhetoric: failures, breakdowns, fragments, and suppressed voices, that might enrich and expand scholarship on histories of rhetoric and their role in interdisciplinary examinations of various cultural contexts.

To do this work, we explore Kenneth Burke’s “Beauty Clinic,” a tendency in discourse to dress up “ugly” or “problematical” terms in euphemism or suppress them outright, ultimately valuing beautified and “smooth” language over the more “messy” reality. Debra Hawhee sees this as an apt description of scholarly work: “our writings are expected to comprise smooth narrative arcs, obscuring our jagged, halting scholarly processes.” The result is a trend in scholarly rhetorics that only values the “pristine,” that scrubs away the “grime” and messiness of research and scholarship, and cleanses them of their own production.

To counter the Beauty Clinic tendency, Burke suggests adopting a “perspective by incongruity,” a means to get out from underneath the strictures of established attitudes and establishing new views or “vistas got by a stylistic device for bringing disrelated categories of things together.” Hawhee suggests an approach derived from Burke and her own experience: “historiography by incongruity,” a means to “draw out--and to encourage productive use of--the necessary unevenness of archival work.”

Taking the enactment of historiography by incongruity as a goal, this panel seeks to recover the terms that are suppressed, overlooked, downplayed, or replaced by euphemisms across a variety of interdisciplinary discourses. This approach offers a chance to revive terms, ideas, individuals, groups, and “stuff” that have been consigned to the margins, hidden under (figurative) rugs, and buried in the archives.

Individual presentations on this panel will explore a range of “messy” and “fragmented” discourses, from the suppression and recovery of women’s voices in the study of fairy tales to the role of failure in the histories of US universities, from the rhetorical force of remnants of public Soviet art to 19th-century periodicals that unravel historical myths of the United States’ Reconstruction era.

Our panel looks to do some disruptive, incongruous work that uncovers or recovers fragments, dead-ends, and failures in an effort to, as Burke suggests, “see around the edges of our customary

perspective” and invigorate our examinations of material that too often falls through the cracks of scholarly production.

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List of Abstracts, in alphabetical order by author’s last name

**Don Abbott, University of California, Davis (retired), dpabbott@ucdavis.edu - John Swett: Elocution, Education, and the Topics of Democracy**

John Swett (1830-1913) came to California in 1853 for the same reason thousands of others had come in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century: to search for gold. Swett found no precious metals during the “Gold Rush” and so turned from mining to teaching and became an accomplished teacher, author, and educational administrator. As the Superintendent of Public Education in California he established free public education for all California children. While Swett is recognized as the founder of public education in California his role as a proponent of elocutionism has been overlooked. Swett wrote two elocutionary texts: *Common School Readings* (1868) and *School Elocution* (1884) and edited, with philosopher Josiah Royce and educator Charles H. Allen, a series of elocutionary anthologies called collectively (after the publisher) *Bancroft’s Readers* (1883). As an elocutionist, Swett addresses technical aspects of oral reading, including what he calls “orthophony” and “orthoepy.” But his greatest concern is the potential of elocutionary readings he included in his texts support this end: “The prose declamations, selected from American orators, are patriotic and national in their character; and the poetical selections, mostly from American poets, are full of that fervid devotion to freedom which constitutes the life of the nation” (*Common School Readings* v-vi). Swett, California Superintendent of Public Education during the U.S. Civil War, became convinced that the potential disintegration of the Union was due, in part, to inadequate education. Swett saw oral readings emphasizing constitutionalism, citizenship, responsibility, duty, and character as an antidote to the fragmentation threatening America. In a time of renewed populism, nativism, isolationism, and authoritarianism it might be well to remember Swett’s message of the unifying power of social reading.

**Whitney Jordan Adams, Berry College, Georgia, USA, wadams@berry.edu - Civic Rhetoric: The Role of Isocrates in a Post-Truth World**

The International Society for the History of Rhetoric’s 2022 call for proposals and papers invites rhetoricians to consider the role of commonplaces. As the call reminds us, commonplaces are part of topical invention, yet they can also play a role in suggesting or creating consensus. In 2021, consensus seems to be a far-off abstract – an ideal no longer reachable. How might we, as scholars, suggest consensus moving forward?

Using classical pedagogical strategies of Isocrates as a framework, this presentation investigates how a renewed focus on civic rhetoric in the classroom will allow for increased dialogue between those both inside and outside of the Academy. Although Isocrates did not use the word “rhetoric” himself, reading his translated texts through a current lens allows the application of rhetoric through renewed frameworks. As we find ourselves largely existing in a post-truth world, there is a proclivity among many to replace facts with pathos. As Lee McIntyre (2018) explores in his work *Post Truth*, heightened reliance on emotion, social media, and fake news represents a dangerous form of nihilism. Connected to this is the abandonment of traditional media, the dismissal of evidence, and a blatant disregard for the truth. As individuals become more and more distanced from others through a reliance on the digital, they retreat into what McIntyre terms “information silos” (2018). Active discourse production,

building on Isocrates' notion of classical pedagogy, can challenge these information silos. Hart (1993) argues for a turn back to classical pedagogy in the writing classroom – this presentation builds on this work, again suggesting that pedagogy steeped in ideals put forth by Isocrates can directly challenge post-truth nihilism.

**Jaewon Ahn, Seoul National University, South Korea, numeniu@snu.ac.kr, “Loci Communes” in Cicero’s rhetoric**

In this talk, I would make a closer observation on the function of *loci communes* in Cicero’s rhetoric. For this, the talk will begin with reading of the passage “*C.F. Quibus rebus fides fit? C.P. Argumentis, quae ducunt ex locis aut in re ipsa insitis aut assumptis.*”(Partitiones Oratoriae 4). The “loci in re ipsa insiti” verbatim are “enthymemes.” By the way, one can raise two questions here: what to find and how to find? Regarding this, interestingly to see, Cicero compared “loci” with *thesaurus* in *Partitiones Oratoriae* 129. More interestingly to see, however, is that Cicero divided *loci* in two parts: *loci communes et loci proprii*(Orator 126). Cicero demonstrated various forms of *loci communes* in *De Oratore*(2.166: *genera, partis generibus subiectas, similitudines, dissimilitudines, contraria, consequentia, consentanea, praecurrentia, repugnantia et causas, maiora, paria, minora*). What to demonstrate in my talk is that these forms are considered to be a formal principle that plays a rule of a map for road guiding or a net for hunting. Firstly, this is corroborated by Cicero’s understanding of *communes*(Orator 126: *locis... qui communes sunt appellati eo quod videntur multarum idem esse causarum*). The remark “*multarum idem esse causarum*” here is identical with “*idea universalis.*” Secondly, it is also supported by the fact that the question-forms of *status* doctrine are based on the *loci communes*: *quis quid ubi quibus auxiliis cur quomodo quando?* (Matthieu de Vendrome). From these, what to conclude is that “how to find” is more important than “what to find” in the invention. The “how to find” is a proper thing of *loci communes* like a net, while the “what to find” is an item of *locus singularis* like a fish.

**Eleni Alexandri and Konstantinos Stefou, University of Ioannina, Greece, elealexan@gmail.com, kostasstefou@yahoo.gr - Socrates and Isocrates in defense of justice: Common topics in Plato's Apology of Socrates and Isocrates' Antidosis**

This paper takes as its starting point the idea expressed by scholars who study Greek ethical values as well as Greek oratory, that from Homer onwards the basic problem of Greek ethical thinking was the need to discover the means of establishing justice as a fundamental virtue despite the seeking of personal advantage and gain. In this context, the philosophers and orators of the 5th and 4th century BC developed and used common topics in their discourses to answer the questions that the conflict between justice and personal interest had set in the historical reality that they lived in. Two discourses, Plato's Apology of Socrates and Isocrates' Antidosis, have been studied comparatively by scholars (Wolf, Orelli, Spengel, Blass, Vollnhals, Vasold, Papanikolaou and Nightingale), but there are still some specific questions to be answered regarding the commonplaces and topics that Plato and Isocrates both used, either reflecting commonly accepted views or providing arguments to suggest otherwise. It will be argued that under the guise of a speech composed for a trial, Isocrates employs the same arguments and commonplaces that reflect ethical ideas treated in the Apology, such as that justice was equal to personal interest, or that one had to be just in order to effectively contribute to the well-being of the individual and the polis as well. As both thinkers and their work have contributed significantly to the shaping of the western sociocultural intellectual tradition, it is crucial to discuss in a systematized manner the ways in which they shaped their arguments as parts of topical invention and, vice versa, how their arguments were developed and used as commonplaces in oratory.

**Amy Anderson, West Chester University, aanderson@wcupa.edu - Rhetorical Light: Monreale Cathedral and the Persuasive Power of Light**

This presentation falls within the field of visual rhetoric, which addresses the ways that images persuade and argue. Drawing on sources in rhetoric, theology, and art history from the fifth century to the present day, I make a case study of the rhetorical use of light in Monreale Cathedral, a twelfth-century Sicilian cathedral with Byzantine mosaics.

The field of visual rhetoric encompasses a wide variety of visual arguments, from pictures to buildings, yet the role of light in these arguments has been overlooked. Light has long been relegated to the realm of art and aesthetics, and its ability to act as a persuasive medium, working in concert with but also separate from visual imagery, has been understudied. More than other disciplines, scholars of Byzantine art and architecture have focused on the use of light in sacred spaces, iconography, and religious rituals (James 1996; Lidov 2006; Ćurčić 2010; Saradi 2010; Pentcheva 2011; Parani 2013). The attention to light is grounded in the medium's spiritual significance within Byzantine Christianity, established in the works of Pseudo-Dionysius and John of Damascus. The persuasive potential light itself has nevertheless not been closely examined, even by these scholars.

This presentation draws on Rickert's (2013) work in ambient rhetoric and Edbauer's (2005) and Chaput's (2010) theories of rhetorical ecologies to show how light makes a clear argument about the truth of Christianity to visitors to Monreale Cathedral. Byzantine Christians would have encountered the cathedral from within a rhetorical ecology of theological beliefs that highlighted the space's use of light, giving certain architectural features and mosaic images heightened importance. More than an aesthetic feature, light becomes a rhetorical tool in this space, even affecting contemporary visitors. Ultimately, I argue that the field of visual rhetoric will be enriched by a better understanding of light's capacity for persuasion.

**Andreas Avgousti, Simon Fraser University, andreas.avgousti@gmail.com - Counsels to the Athenian Democracy: on Isocrates' Cyprian Orations**

The intuition we share with ancient Athenians is that reputation matters in an everyday sense. Reputation is pertinent to making a name for oneself or for one's online persona, to the ranking of a university, to the prosperity of a corporation, and to the perception of a nation-state on the international stage. That we attribute such importance to reputation in thought and in practice, coupled with the fact that we may use ancient democratic Athens in a normative way – as a resource we modern democrats can critically study to better understand our own dilemmas – suggests it is worthwhile to demonstrate how this intuition materialized in that milieu. A good candidate for doing so is the orator Isocrates (436-338BC), an ancient thinker who expresses concern with, and reflects upon, reputation. As a theorist of *doxa*, the polysemic Greek noun meaning opinion, belief, appearance, judgment, and reputation, Isocrates pays special attention to *doxa-as-reputation*.<sup>1</sup> The orator claims that Athenian democracy falsely allocates reputation because it divorces public judgment from private, warping the moral psychology of those who pursue a good reputation and those who attribute it to them. Isocrates also charges his contemporaries with betraying the high reputation their ancestors earned for Athens, jeopardizing the city's freedom. Nonetheless, Isocrates assumes that it is possible for the democratic regime to correct its errors. I argue that the ameliorative resources are found in his writings to Cyprian monarchs which, in form as well as content, are characterized by demotic emphases.<sup>2</sup> In these counsels to the Athenian *politeia*, Isocrates portrays the ruler as being at once a public and private figure who must be especially wary of the corruptive effects of wealth, his nature always being expressive of the regime. Taken together, these writings also demonstrate to the Athenians what it is to live up to one's ancestors. For Isocrates, a democracy which allocates

reputation correctly succeeds in watching over itself: this is the achievement of the Athenian ancestors and, I argue, it remains open to his contemporaries.

1. De Romilly is emphatic that Isocrates' 'philosophy of opinion' encompasses doxa-as-reputation and reports that the word for a good or high reputation (eudokimein) occurs eighty-seven times in his oeuvre; De Romilly 1958, 96. A TLG search reveals fifteen instances plus three of eudoxia (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae last accessed November 1 2019).

2 'In Isocrates' thought, and in his teaching, form and content are inseparable'. Marrou 1956, 88.

### **Satoru Aonuma, International Christian University, aosatoru@icu.ac.jp - Beyond Marxian Commonplaces?: The Case of Japanese Proletarian Elocution**

This paper will analyze the teaching and practicing of dissident political rhetoric in early 20th century Japan. The paper will specifically attend to critical reading of Proletarian Elocution (Proletaria Yubengaku), a 1930 Japanese publication by Eizo Kondo, an inaugural member of the Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party. Proletarian Elocution is a unique rhetorical handbook blending the teaching of classical rhetoric and Marxist-Leninist strategy of agitation and propaganda or "agitprop." The particular analytical focus of the paper will be on commonplaces (loci, topics) discussed in this handbook. Richard W. Wilkie (1974) once noted that in the works of European Marxist rhetoric, such as the one by Angelica Balabanoff, there observed some distinctively Marxian commonplaces (e.g., capitalism necessarily and systemically sets human society in disarray and disharmony, the opportunity to profit by the few is necessarily bought at the deprivation and suffering of the great majority, etc.). This paper will first explore if the discussion of such "special" commonplaces (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) is equally observed in the teaching of Japanese proletarian elocution. In addition, the paper will also seek to discern if what Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) called "general" commonplaces have any utility for Marxian rhetoric and, if so, how (successfully) Eizo Kondo incorporated them into his theoretical and praxical conceptualization of Japanese proletarian elocution.

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### **Bartosz Awianowicz, Nicolaus Copernicus University, bartosz.awianowicz@uni.torun.pl - Loci de historia in central-European Jesuit handbooks of rhetoric in 17th and 18th centuries.**

Cicero claimed several times in his *De oratore* that the orator has to know „the whole past with its storehouse of examples” (1.18: „omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis”; cf. 1.158-159; 1.165; 1.187) and that only orator can „invest history with immortality” (2.36: „historia vero (...), qua voce alia nisi oratoris immortalitati commendatur?”). He used a lot of historical examples in his speeches too. So it is not surprising that Jesuits in their rhetoric, based mainly on Cicero, not only noticed the argumentative value of history, but also developed its theory. Carlo Reggio dedicated a separate chapter in *Orator Christianus* (1612) to the fluency of historical and political topics (cap. XIII: *Historiarum et rerum politicarum peritia*) and Nicolas Caussin in his *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (1617) called history the first source of rhetorical invention (liber IV: *De inventione et locis*, cap. III: *Primus fons inventionis, historia*). The aim of my paper is, however, to discuss the development of the historical examples in rhetorical argumentation in Jesuit schools and universities in Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth and in the Habsburg Monarchy in 17th and 18th century. Particularly relevant to this topic are works by Jan Kwiatkiewicz: *Suada civilis* (1672), *Phoenix rhetorum* (1690) and *Eloquentia reconditior* (1698), the most original Jesuit rhetorician in 17th-century Poland, as well as *Institutio eloquentiae sacrae* (1758) by Stephan (István) Kaprinai, professor of the Košice Jesuit Academy, who devoted in his work a separate chapter to the use of argumentative loci de historia specifically in sermons (cap. III: De inventione argumentorum ex locis concionatoriis, articul. IV: De historia).

**Timothy Barr, Northeastern University, ti.barr@northeastern.edu - Humanist Dialectic and the Nature of the Mind in Early Modern Europe**

Perhaps the most popular conception of Renaissance humanism is the opposition of humanist scholars to scholastic method. While modern scholarship has done much to trouble this received image, many humanists did make common cause against scholastic methods of disputation as they were transmitted through the art of university dialectic. Nowhere was this opposition voiced more strongly than in the humanist treatises on scholastic dialectic, as in Valla's *Dialectical Disputations* and Vives' *Against the Dialecticians*. However, these works, alongside other, more conciliatory humanist treatises such as Agricola's *Three Books on Dialectical Invention*, did not dismiss dialectic but sought to radically reform it, reorganizing its in accordance with classical texts on the topical system of invention. One important idea in this reform movement was that dialectic was a natural faculty of the human mind, as when Melanchthon called dialectic a "certain natural power, by which we may give the order of things in their relations." The conception of dialectic as an innate faculty constitutes a significant relation between the tradition of rhetorical and dialectical topics and the philosophy of mind emerging in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European thought. I examine the traces of this humanist conception in the work of Descartes, Herbert of Cherbury, and Vico. I argue that these developments transformed the topical tradition into the study of natural inference and in doing so were decisive for early modern philosophies of mind.

**Natalie Bennie, Penn State University, nbennie@psu.edu - Orienting Ideology: Holocaust Metaphors as Topoi in American Public Discourse**

In June, 2019, U.S. Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez found herself embroiled in controversy over statements linking Trump administration immigration detention centers with Holocaust imagery of the concentration camp. Her comments opened the doors to a longstanding debate about the ethics of Holocaust comparisons. This paper takes this debate as its exigence, arguing through a rhetorical analysis of both Ocasio-Cortez's comments and the media response that Holocaust imagery functions as a topos of American immigration debates that carries ideological appeal for disparate political audiences.

Moreover, I wish to narrow the multidisciplinary debate on Holocaust metaphor by conceiving of such appeals as examples of orientational metaphor, which I argue function not just spatially, as originally theorized by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), but also ideologically. Through the analysis of Ocasio-Cortez's statements as well as an exegesis of the media response, I suggest an uptake of orientational metaphor within ideological rhetorical criticism. This paper first overviews relevant literature on metaphor and ideology before moving on to analyze Ocasio-Cortez's comments and a selection of the media responses. I conclude with a brief discussion on the affordances of ideological orientation within the purview of metaphor.

This paper is positioned within current discussions in Holocaust Studies and rhetorical theory, linked through analysis of metaphor. While studies in Holocaust literature have posited the existence of specific topoi in Holocaust narratives, I wish to broaden their claims by situating rhetorical appeals to the Holocaust in general as a topos in the context of contemporary American immigration debates. Through a focus on the ideological components to topoi, this study is of interest to any scholar of twentieth and twenty-first century rhetoric and political discourse. As the Biden administration has

largely continued Trump era immigration policies, the case study continues to inform the function of Holocaust metaphor in public discourse.

**Lucia Baroni, University of Udine, baroni.lucia@spes.uniud.it - Topics and Biblical Motifs in Clement of Ohrid's Encomia**

Clement of Ohrid, direct pupil of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and “first bishop of the Bulgarian nation” - as it is written in his Greek Life composed by Theophylact of Ohrid - is considered by the scholars to be one of the most significant and original authors of the so-called Slavia Christiana. His literary production includes homilies, liturgical hymns and encomia, different religious compositions, which share a common biblical and rhetoric substrate. The use made by the author of rhetorical figures, loci communes (commonplaces) and literary topoi, directly taken from Byzantine and ancient literature, is a compositional technique useful to guide the reader/listener through the correct interpretation of the spiritual (or superior) meaning hidden in the text - in particular -, and in the Sacred Scriptures - in general. My presentation, entitled “Topics and Biblical Motifs in Clement of Ohrid’s Encomia”, intends to analyze the inner structure of three compositions: Encomium for Cyril, Encomium for Demetrius of Thessaloniki and Encomium for the prophet Zacharia and the birth of John the Baptist. In these literary works, dedicated not only to biblical characters, but also to historical ones, the Slavic author includes rather a large number of topoi: i.e. the “light” (which is also a very productive metaphor), the “sterility”, associated to flowers, natural elements and fertility, and the “divina grace”, a theological concept which frequently appears in Medieval literary production. The aim of my presentation, as well as highlighting the poetical beauty and elegance of Clement of Ohrid’s compositions, is to focus my attention on the specific function of these biblical and rhetoric motifs, which are essential for a total comprehension of the work itself.

**Cassiano Barros, Santa Catarina State University, cassianobarros@hotmail.com - Las convenciones del estilo exuberante teatral para la música luterana seiscentista de acuerdo con Christoph Bernhard**

Durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII, los músicos luteranos se dedicaron en general a sistematizar los artificios y técnicas musicales en textos y publicaciones, con el objetivo de elaborar un material didáctico que contribuyese a una formación musical general y a otra especializada. A partir de ese conocimiento, difundido principalmente por las Lateinschulen, se consolidó una comunidad de músicos y oyentes que tenían referencias en común, en consonancia con las instituciones de poder. En ese sentido, esos manuscritos y publicaciones, así como el repertorio musical producido y practicado, constituían una forma de representación simbólica de ese mismo poder civil y religioso al que servían, y tenían la función de reafirmarlo y preservarlo. Cerca de 1657, estando al servicio de la Corte de Dresde, el músico Christoph Bernhard escribió un tratado sobre composición musical en el cual describe esos artificios y declara que la finalidad de la producción musical es la adhesión de las audiencias a las diversas causas para las cuales se usa la música. Esas causas, definidas en términos estilísticos, se materializaban en el repertorio de la época siguiendo las convenciones de uso del lenguaje musical y de sus técnicas. Así, el dominio de ese texto, convenciones y artificios tornaba posible, en ese entonces, no solo la comprensión de los discursos musicales producidos sino también su replicación. Por su parte, hoy en día, nos posibilita comprender las ideas y repertorios más allá de aquello que las convenciones de nuestro tiempo nos revelan. Sin embargo, pese a tal constatación, ese texto de Bernhard sigue siendo poco conocido y explorado, ya sea en una perspectiva musicológica o retórica. Por eso, este trabajo se propone presentarlo y analizarlo, no en su totalidad, sino en lo que respecta a su aspecto más propiamente retórico, o sea, relativo al estilo exuberante teatral. Este último, según el autor, es el más adecuado para mover los afectos, dado que sus licencias musicales

características tornan la expresión sonora más apta para acompañar al texto al cual se relaciona, mejorando la calidad del efecto.

**Skirmantė Biržietienė and Gabrielė Gibavičienė, Vilnius University, skirmante.birzietiene@khf.vu.lt, gabriele.navikaite@knf.stud.vu - The Rhetoric of Repentance in Journey to Jerusalem by Mikołaj Krzysztof "the Orphan" Radziwiłł**

Since ancient times people have decided to leave safe and familiar place and traveled to explore foreign lands for a variety of reasons. More often than not that reason is some kind of turning point in their personal or social lives – transformation, conversion, war, death, the loss or discovery of the self. One of these travelers was a noble from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Mikołaj Krzysztof "the Orphan" Radziwiłł (Mikalojus Kristupas Radvila Našlaitėlis (1549–1616) who traveled to Jerusalem thanking God after recovering from serious illness. But thanking God was not the only reason for traveling and not the only eminent motive in his travel book *Journey to Jerusalem* (1601). Raised as a Calvinist Radziwiłł "the Orphan" converted to Catholic faith with a great support from Jesuits. Guilt, gratitude and repentance are significant parts of his travel text therefore rhetoric of Repentance in *Journey to Jerusalem* is researched in this paper as well as how this turning point – conversion to other faith and aftermath of it – is treated by a Renaissance man and how it is presented to the other. Enthymeme and topics of invention are the key objects of analysis. Historical and social context – Jesuits influence and Radziwiłł "the Orphan"’s life as a student, noble and an influential member of Lithuanian society – is also introduced in the research. KEY WORDS: travel literature, rhetoric, topics, repentance, Jesuits.

**David Blakesley, Clemson University, david.blakesley@gmail.com - In the Garden of Forking Aristotles**

Most appreciate that when we write of rhetoric, we have in mind the plural rhetorics. We teach histories of rhetoric, not THE history of rhetoric. We have more than one rhetorical tradition (Western, non-Western, European, Eastern, Islamic, Asian, and so on), each defined in canonical terms (what belongs, what doesn't). In this presentation, I cite Aristotle to argue that global, cross-cultural rhetorical traditions expand or refine the canon but also reveal the interpretive (hermeneutic) nature of tradition itself. Once identified and reinforced through transmission and dissemination, a tradition tells one story, a particular flavor. Eventually, its hegemony can be mistaken for the tradition, the history, the Aristotle. In the case of the Western rhetorical tradition and for a number of reasons echoed through time by Western readers, the technical, scientific Aristotle (the Aristotle of the Lyceum) has largely won. Aristotelian rhetoric means classifications: five rhetorical canons, three parts of an enthymeme, twenty-eight common topics, three kinds of proof, and so on. He pronounces about rhetoric prescriptively (even if thoroughly). Ambiguity in the system only proves its fragmentary nature. As McKeon, Burke, and Covino show, however, the "Aristotelian" may not track to Aristotle. It may instead reflect the exigencies of a historical moment, a singular rhetoric, such as one for composition pedagogy or literary analysis. Rereading Aristotle through the terministic screens of non-Western rhetorical traditions illuminates just how reified these interpretations have become. The Muslim philosopher and rhetorician Al-Fārābī brings the philosophical, rhetorical, and technical Aristotles together, finding the one in the others and vice versa. Al-Fārābī's re-presentation of Aristotle suggests that, as in the Borges story alluded to in my title, one Aristotle becomes many, one rhetoric becomes rhetorics, one rhetorical tradition becomes the multiverse of traditions, one with us all along, even if its presence is always already absent.

**Thomas G. M. Blank, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, tblank@uni-mainz.de - Dirty Rhetoric. The Disjunction of Argument and Audience in Plato and Isocrates**

‘Dirt is matter in the wrong place’—a familiar saying (first coined by Lord Palmerston) that prompted the anthropologist Mary Douglas to define dirt as a ‘contravention of ordered relations’. “Where there is dirt,” she wrote in *Purity and Danger* (1987), “there is system.” This paper addresses Plato’s and Isocrates’ subversive reflections on arguments directed at the wrong audiences, which can but (but have not yet been) read as presystematic treatments of the persuasive power of epideictic commonplaces and its relation to culture. In *Menexenus* (235d), Plato’s Socrates notoriously claims that encomiastic oratory only impressed him if it proved persuasive to the enemies (Peloponnesians) of those who are being praised (Athenians). Isocrates seems to take up that challenge in parts of *Panegyricus*. In *Panathenaicus* he even introduces a Laconophile as *advocatus diaboli* to give his opinion on an utterly pro-Athenian panegyric speech—and in the eyes of this reader that speech is not as persuasive as it is to Isocrates’ Athenian affiliates. Both authors furthermore fashion their own intellectual personae as political thinkers whose ideas and arguments did not find the right audience in the Athenian public. Thus, awareness for the necessity to direct arguments at the right recipients—i.e. audiences sharing in the cultural premises of the argument—is prominent both in the general scope of their writings and in specific remarks on oratory and persuasion. These reflections on culturally displaced arguments presuppose the notion of correct placement. In Plato and Isocrates this does not take the form of a rhetorical system. Instead, they even distance themselves from commonplace arguments by presenting displaced arguments themselves. Nonetheless, the dysfunctional effect of such ‘dirty’ rhetoric underscores the rhetorical power and cultural relevance of commonplaces—as long as the ‘matter’ is brought forward ‘in the right place’.

**Johannes Breuer, Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, breuerj@uni-mainz.de - Topik und Theologie: Die Christologie des Arnobius von Sicca im Spiegel der genera dicendi**

Der Vortrag widmet sich dem Werk *Adversus nationes*, das der im fortgeschrittenen Alter zum Christentum konvertierte Rhetoriklehrer Arnobius von Sicca um 300 n.Chr. in lateinischer Sprache verfasste. In diesem Werk wird das Christentum gegen zahlreiche Vorwürfe von paganer Seite verteidigt; seine Ausführungen hat der Autor in die literarische Form einer Gerichtsrede gekleidet. Im Vortrag soll der Themenkomplex „Christus im Vergleich zu antiken paganen Magiern und Heilgöttern“ im Hinblick auf seine argumentative und rhetorische Gestaltung analysiert werden. Eine Studie zur rhetorischen Praxis des christlichen Apologeten Arnobius war bis vor kurzem ein Desiderat; nun liegt eine Monographie des Referenten vor, die zur Schließung dieser Forschungslücke beitragen möchte und aus der ein Aspekt im Rahmen des Vortrags präsentiert werden soll. Der Fokus wird auf der konkreten Nutzung der antiken paganen Arten der Rede (*genera dicendi*) für die apologetischen Absichten des Arnobius liegen. Da der zu untersuchende Text dem frühen vierten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert entstammt, also einer Epoche, in der die Christen um den „richtigen“ Umgang mit paganen Bildungsgegenständen rangen und sie für ihren eigenen Gebrauch transformierten, verspricht die Fragestellung ganz entscheidende Einblicke in die Geschichte der spätantiken Rhetorik. Zunächst sollen die drei *genera dicendi* (*deliberativum*, *iudiciale* und *demonstrativum*) kurz in Erinnerung gerufen und einige topische Ansatzpunkte des *genus demonstrativum* (der Lobrede) vorgestellt werden. Dann wird an einigen Passagen des ersten Buches von *Adversus nationes* aufgezeigt, wie stark die theologischen Ausführungen, die Christi Wunder von den (scheinbar vergleichbaren) Taten antiker Magier, Heroen und Heilgötter kategorial abgrenzen sollen, auf die Topik des *genus demonstrativum* zurückgreifen. Es wird deutlich werden, dass Arnobius die Topik der paganen *genera dicendi virtuos* zu nutzen versteht und traditionelle Elemente der Gerichts- und Lobrede geschickt zu theologischen Zwecken verknüpft. Die Analyse dieser Aspekte stellt mithin einen fruchtbaren hermeneutischen Zugang zur literarischen und apologetischen Praxis dieses oftmals unterschätzten Autors dar.

**Artemis Brod, Stanford University, artemisbrod@hotmail.com - The Commonplaces of the Harbor and Initiation in Aelius Aristides**

This paper investigates two commonplaces in the work of Aelius Aristides. In *Concerning Concord* (Or. 23.17) and *Regarding Asclepius* (Or. 42.1), Aristides compares Pergamum to a harbor. In the latter, moreover, the harbor is synonymous with the site of his speech and with a community of initiated. These two commonplaces—salvation as a harbor and oratory as initiation—pervade Greek literature, including the second sophistic (the movement in which Aristides was active) (for which, see Korenjak 2000, chapter 8)). But for Aristides, these interlocking metaphors do not only express the culminating moments of healing or declamation. They represent the pain and work leading up to those moments.

In the beginning of his *Hieroi Logoi* Aristides employs a metaphor comparing his experience in illness and therapy to swimming under water, asserting that he avoided describing the god's interventions because of the impossibility (HL I.2-3). What is often overlooked about this metaphor is how physical it is. Time is synonymous with the effort of persevering. In this paper, I argue that the material encounter with water—either in contexts of bodily immersion or sailing on ships—reflected this effort back to him. Furthermore, a mock shipwreck prescribed by Asclepius restored a sense of delineated time to Aristides (HL II.13). It did so by representing his experience as a form of initiation. This affective sense of his own fate, finally, gave Aristides a narrative mode to express his experience. Drawing on ecocritical approaches to new materialism, I argue that the affordances of water provided Aristides with the ability to move through his experience, reflect on it and emerge from the most overwhelming aspects of it. Drowning, swimming, and shipwreck recede as he reaches the still waters of the harbor to declaim.

These metaphors have been treated to varying degrees by Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis (2008) and Janet Downie (2013, chapter 3), but not as the constellation I argue they comprise. Behr first suggested the importance of water in Aristides' life (Behr 1968, 163); but remained baffled by it. He hesitantly suggests that the symbolic approaches of psychoanalysis might offer an explanation. I suggest we look to the source itself.

**Diederik Burgersdijk, Radboud University Nijmegen, diederik.burgersdijk@ru.nl - *Oratio figurata* in the panegyrici latini XII**

The panegyrics assembled in the late antique collection of *Panegyrici Latini XII* (389 AD) are held in different historical timeframes and situations, from Pliny's address to Trajan in 100 AD to Pacatus' speech in honour of Theodosius in 389 AD. Most of the speeches do have the common objective to praise a ruling emperor, on varying occasions, such as thanks for given benefactions or favours, or an imperial birthday of various types. In doing so, the orator has his own agenda, accounting for the interests of the people on behalf of whom he speaks (a city, an institute - such as a school, or a governing body - or a social group). Praise is rarely, as has often been supposed in previous scholarship, a simple matter of downward propaganda, but mostly an intricate negotiation between the sake of the addressee and the message of the sender. The complex language that panegyric discourse by definition is, often hides an agenda under the surface of the spoken words, that is not easily identifiable in the superfluous praising of panegyric speech. Often, the orator provides a so-called 'mirror of princes' (or *simulacrum principis*), in which the addressee is not described in the way he actually acts, but as he is supposed to act in an ideal situation. Approaching panegyrics from this angle, praise is a way of capturing the audience's attention, and at the same time bringing a message (a request, or an encouragement) that will not by definition please the addressee. This contribution will

analyse possible conflicts between the orator's interests and the addressee's mindset, thus approaching the Latin Panegyrics as a manifestation of *oratio figurata*.

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### **Martin Camargo, University of Illinois, mcamargo@illinois.edu - "The Five Parts of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages"**

The classical concept of the five parts of rhetoric (key sources: *De inventione* 1.7.9, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 1.2.3) proceeds from the assumption that the goal of rhetoric is to produce persuasive speeches delivered to a live audience. Each part represents a stage in the process from conception to performance of such a speech. Medieval writers understood the logic behind the sequence and recognized in the set of five a basic constituent of rhetoric as a theoretical discipline. At the same time, as they adapted the theory and practice of classical rhetoric to different ends, they often changed the characteristics of a part or gave it much greater prominence than the others.

As a first step in tracing this combination of continuity and change, I will examine a variety of medieval engagements with the five parts of rhetoric as a coherent group. These include interpretive accounts in medieval summaries of classical rhetoric, such as Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, and in commentaries on *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, such as those by Thierry of Chartres. Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* and Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* provide especially interesting examples of the traditional five parts coexisting with new models of rhetoric. In his *Rhetorica novissima*, Boncompagno da Signa takes the more radical approach of rejecting the traditional five parts of rhetoric and replacing them with an alternative set of three parts. Bene of Florence, Boncompagno's contemporary and rival in thirteenth-century Bologna, takes the opposite approach: he foregrounds the traditional five parts in his *Candelabrum* and attempts to incorporate them into the medieval theory of the *ars dictaminis*. Whether embraced, rejected, or merely acknowledged, the grouping together of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery persisted during the Middle Ages, long after the demise of classical oratory.

### **Kermit Campbell, Colgate University, kcampbell@colgate.edu - Imperial Commonplaces and the (Re)Invention of Africa**

In his recent HBO documentary series, *Exterminate All the Brutes*, Raoul Peck has resurrected Swedish author Sven Lindqvist's magnum opus by the same name. Peck's series is extraordinarily wide ranging, but, like Lindqvist, his point of departure is Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, particularly the part of the book in which Mr. Kurtz pens in his report on the Congo the line "Exterminate All the Brutes." What did Kurtz mean by this in the context of *Heart of Darkness*? What did it mean for the Congo in particular and for Africa more generally? For Lindqvist and Peck it means or suggests a commonplace in Europe's relationship with, not just Africa, but much of the non-western world. It is, one might say, an imperial commonplace, one that is summed up in, as David Spurr argues, the rhetoric of empire, western language like "darkest Africa" and "the seduction of the

primitive.” While we can’t alter or erase the long and brutal history of imperialism and colonialism from the historical record, I argue that we can in the case of the Congo and Africa invent or re-invent the African past before the colonial powers arrived with their own perceptions, their own fabricated inventions of Africa. In this paper, I will show that before the influence of the Portuguese and later the Belgians, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the Kingdom of Kongo was far from the primitive brutes they were constructed as being. They were, in fact, a politically sophisticated and rhetorically savvy Central African people. Though they may have employed at times their own rhetoric of empire among the peoples that they conquered, they simply weren’t prepared for a rhetoric that was so audacious and so savage as “exterminate all the brutes.”

**Lillian Campbell, Marquette University, [lillian.campbell@marquette.edu](mailto:lillian.campbell@marquette.edu) - From Audience Taxonomies to Patient Personas: Reinventing Audience Commonplaces in the Health Professions**

In late 2017, Pearson revoked its textbook, *Nursing: A Concept-Based Approach to Learning*, due to online backlash to a section titled “Cultural Differences in Response to Pain.” This section identified different ethnic and racial groups and included bulleted lists describing how those groups respond to pain with generalizations like, “Native Americans may prefer to receive medications that have been blessed by a tribal shaman.” While certainly an extreme example of the genre, pedagogy in the health professions frequently relies on similar audience commonplaces to help educate students on the ways that race, gender, and cultural background might influence patient care. The alternative approach – glossing over these differences and acting as though patient care will be consistent across groups – is certainly untenable as well. Meanwhile, rhetors have relied on broad-stroke stereotypes to define their imagined audience since the days of Aristotle’s taxonomy of audience emotions that included details on an individual’s state of mind, who elicits that state, and on what grounds (Herrick 1997). Rose & Tenenberg (2018) provide an updated analysis of these driving stereotypes in their recent discussion of personas in technical communication. The authors argue that in their design and animation, personas reveal as much about their creators as they do about potential users. This presentation will begin by analyzing how audience commonplaces appeared in ancient rhetorical texts including Aristotle’s taxonomies and Cicero and Quintilian’s updates to these heuristics. Then, I will turn to two contemporary examples of audience commonplaces that emerged during my fieldwork in nursing and physical therapy experiential classrooms. Drawing on Barad’s (2007) framework of “diffractive debriefing” I will show how audience commonplaces can provide a starting point for health students to have multi-dimensional conversations about the intersections of culture and patient care.

**Martin Camper, Loyola University Maryland, USA, [kmcamper@loyola.edu](mailto:kmcamper@loyola.edu) - Reforming the Bible’s Stance on Usury: An Interpretive Stasis Analysis of Early Protestant Rhetoric on Loan Interest**

In 1545, Protestant Reformer John Calvin declared that usury, charging interest on loans, was not a mortal sin but a morally acceptable practice. This declaration was remarkable because it represented a reversal of centuries of Christian thought. Ultimately, Calvin’s position became the predominant Christian view of usury, thus securing religious sanction for a key component of modern capitalism then on the rise, the result of a complete change in interpretation of several biblical passages.

The paper begins by reviewing the standard biblical arguments against usury circulating in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. I then turn to the writing of John Calvin, who with *On Usury* became the first major Christian figure to argue against this prohibition. By narrowing the scope of the term *usury* to refer exclusively to excessive interest and by arguing that the ancient Jewish economic situation significantly differed from that of Early Modern Europe, he opened up space for more economically

innovative practices. I contrast his arguments with those by critics like Martin Luther, as found in such texts as *On Trade and Usury*, which defended the traditional view and on the whole were less favorable to emerging capitalist practices. I conclude by hypothesizing why arguments like Calvin's ultimately were more persuasive from a rhetorical perspective as the capitalist revolution in Europe took off.

To analyze the biblical arguments in this debate, I employ the *interpretive stases*, a neglected part of ancient Greco-Roman stasis theory that classifies the types of issues that can be at center of debates over textual meaning and catalogues the lines of reasoning that can support competing interpretations. While scholars have examined this Reformation debate from historical, theological, and economic perspectives, little scholarly attention has been made to the arguments that shaped the Bible's meaning to lend religious justification to this ecclesial about-face.

**Federico Capizzi, University of Bari - Aldo Moro (Italy), federico.capizzi@uniba.it - Quintilian and topical invention: between argumenta and quaestiones.**

The paper will focus on the topical system outlined by the Roman rhetorician Quintilian in the *Institutio Oratoria* (I AD), as compared with Cicero's rhetorical works. I will argue that Quintilian conceived loci in an innovative way: i.e., as sources not only for argumenta, but also for quaestiones—the key points of a controversy which are singled out through status-theory in the preliminary diuisio of a case and are subsequently developed by argumentative reasoning. Previous treatments of Quintilian's topical system did not envisage its relationship with status-theory at all (Kopperschmidt, *Quintilian de argumentis*, «Rhetorik» 2, 1981, 59-74) or only considered it in a generic way, following the idea – dating back at least to Cicero's *Topica* – that the status of an already defined quaestio will suggest the most appropriate loci to develop arguments and thereby handle the quaestio itself (e.g. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart, 1993, 202ff.; Saiz Noeda, *Proofs, Arguments, Places: Argumentation and Rhetorical Theory in the Institutio Oratoria*, Book V, in TellegenCouperus [ed.], *Quintilian and the Law*, Leuven, 2003, 107). By working on some crucial passages in inst. 5, 10 (especially §37) and comparing their terminology with Cicero's *Topica*, I will argue that in Quintilian's rhetorical doctrine locus can sometimes help in defining and therefore framing a quaestio, before 'solving' it through arguments. Then I will show how some practical advice concerning diuisio in inst. 7, 1, 22-33 can be traced back to this new approach. In conclusion I will suggest that Quintilian's extended application of topics is an original attempt to attain a more coherent bond between loci- and status-theory, two former independent systems. It will emerge that Quintilian is not simply a compiler of past knowledge – as often assumed –, but an insightful thinker.

**Antonella Carbone, University of Liverpool, carbonea187@gmail.com - The Encomium in Late Antiquity. The Rhetoric of Praise in Late Antique Greek Poetry**

Il mio intervento consiste nella presentazione del mio progetto di Dottorato all'Università di Liverpool, il quale ha come obiettivo indagare la retorica in una selezione di testi poetici encomiastici greci di età tardoantica (IV-VII secolo d.C.). La scelta di indagare questo genere letterario nasce dalla consapevolezza che, sebbene fosse già praticato prima della tarda antichità, è proprio in questo periodo che esso acquista particolare rilevanza e fascino: la poesia panegirica, in particolare, rispondeva alle richieste sia della corte imperiale che del pubblico e divenne uno dei più importanti veicoli per trasmettere un messaggio proveniente da un'autorità e per acquisire consenso. Il progetto nasce dalla necessità di supplire alla mancanza di un nuovo studio sulla retorica dell'elogio nella poesia, tenendo conto di tutte le fonti che sono apparse su papiri e iscrizioni negli ultimi decenni e incorporando gli studi più recenti. Il mio intento è quello di impiegare un metodo innovativo, sperimentato da Miguelez Caverio (*Poem in Context* 2008) ma finora mai applicato prima su larga scala, che parta dalle nostre

conoscenze sulla retorica e sull'educazione scolastica antica forniteci dai trattati di retorica a noi noti (come Menandro Retore, Nicola da Mira) e indagare in che modo questa trattatistica, che ha posto le basi su come realizzare un elogio, dialoga con i testi selezionati. Gli antichi esercizi scolastici (chiamati progymnasmata) erano utilizzati per insegnare agli allievi, alcuni dei quali futuri poeti, i dispositivi retorici. Si insegnava agli studenti a fare discorsi più persuasivi, sia in poesia che in prosa. Il confronto tra la teoria scolastica e pedagogica (gli antichi manuali di retorica) e le sue applicazioni (la poesia encomiastica e la sua vicinanza stilistica ai progymnasmata) è una via di ricerca che può permetterci di approfondire queste pratiche di insegnamento e l'impatto che potevano avere all'interno della società.

**Valentina Caruso, Università degli Studi di Sassari, [vale.caruso@inwind.it](mailto:vale.caruso@inwind.it); [vcaruso@uniss.it](mailto:vcaruso@uniss.it) - Il *topos* tragico dell'oro: fr. 129 adesp. Kn.-Sn.**

Il frammento lirico annoverato come 129 del vol. 2 dei *TrGF* identifica nell'oro, simbolo della ricchezza, ciò che è più caro agli uomini e, affascinandoli, li domina. Il testo è trådito da Diodoro Siculo 37, 30 in accostamento ad altri due frammenti di analogo contenuto, uno certamente euripideo (324 Kn., dalla *Danae*) e un altro tragico adespoto (181 Kn.-Sn.), e in opposizione ad altri versi lirici, pure ritenuti tragici (fr. adesp. 130 Kn.-Sn.), che esaltano la superiorità della virtù sul censo. Il dibattito sulla ricchezza, il cui riconoscimento sociale come simbolo di potere non sempre implica la saggezza e la rettitudine di chi la possiede, è diffusamente richiamato nell'opera di Euripide: in tragedie conservate per intero (e. g. *Medea*, *Ecuba*, *Troiane*) e in *sententiae* tratte da numerosi drammi frammentari, il poeta costruisce una simbologia 'negativa' dell'oro, strumento o movente di azioni delittuose, idolo al quale viene sacrificata l'etica personale e civica. Alla luce di tali considerazioni, l'analisi linguistica, metrica e retorica del fr. adesp. 129 Kn.-Sn. permetterà nuove considerazioni sul contesto culturale in cui si inserisce e sulla sua attribuzione tragica.

**Sabina Castellaneta, Università degli Studi di Bari "Aldo Moro", [sabina.castellaneta@uniba.it](mailto:sabina.castellaneta@uniba.it) - A 'Maiden' from Sparta: Helen between Rhetoric and Folklore in the theatre of Euripides**

In Euripides' *Andromache* (429-425) Peleus harshly criticises Menelaus, accusing him of cowardice and mediocrity for succumbing to the charms of Helen who, although now a mature and married woman, is portrayed with the typical features of the athletic, scantily-clad – hence brazenly provocative – Spartan *korai*. And it is to the 'Spartan charm', as well as to the power of speech, that Helen, with her love of luxury and the trappings of Asian royalty, resorts in the well-known episode of *The Trojan Women* (415) dominated by the debate with Menelaus. Peleus' point of view is reversed in *Helen* (412), in which the innocent heroine, repeatedly referred to as *parthenos*, experiences her *charis* – the cause of a senseless war – as a burden: the theme of regression to the prenuptial state, far from being associated with shamelessness, is here wholly positive, a continuation of the Laconian cult of Helen, in whose honour competitive-ritual contests were held involving soon-to-be-married *parthenoi*. It is not surprising then that in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* of the following year Helen became the model for the Spartan married woman Lampitò, who was involved in a similar regression to the state of athletic girlhood; and it is no coincidence that the comedy ends with a hymn to Helen, described as a chaste chorus-leader of maidens dancing along the Eurotas. The proposed paper aims to re-examine, through Euripides' plays, the different *clichés* associated with Helen's Laconian origin in Attic *imagerie* at the end of the fifth century B.C.

**Laura M. Castelli and Jean H.M. Wagemans, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, University of Amsterdam, laura.castelli@gmail.com, J.H.M.Wagemans@uva.nl - Formulating a rationale for categorizing arguments: The case of Aristotle's general topoi in Rhet. II 23**

Aristotle regards topoi (or 'elements') as a tool for classifying arguments, but he does not always provide a rationale for the identification and classification of topoi. In the introduction to his collection of dialectical topoi, he mentions the type of predicate of the conclusion as its main organizational principle, but it is unclear whether, within the topoi for each type of predicate, further criteria play a role. The list of general topoi in Rhet. II 23 is similarly unclear. In this paper, we analyze the topoi in Rhet. II 23 from the present-day perspective of the argument categorization framework of the Periodic Table of Arguments (PTA). This framework conceptualizes an argument type as a unique combination of values attributed to a limited set of parameters (features, key characteristics). We discuss, in particular, the following issues: 1) whether and to what extent we can ascribe to Aristotle an approach to argument categorization based on a set of parameters; 2) if so, what these parameters are and how they are formulated; 3) whether the approach in terms of parameters may help in sorting the materials gathered in Rhet. II 23. An interesting feature of the parameter-approach is that it provides at the same time a method to classify and to analyse arguments. One broader issue we would like to discuss is to what extent this approach may reflect Aristotle's views in his original plan of coming up with a general account of *sullogismos* - an enterprise which Aristotle in Rhet. I 1, 1355a8-10 ascribes to dialectic - and, accordingly, how the approach to the classification of topoi in the Topics relates to the list in Rhet. II 23.

**April Chapman-Ludwig, University of Denver, April.Chapman-Ludwig@du.edu - Salons, Spinning Rooms, and (Burkean) Parlors: Finding Space on the Margins**

This talk examines the rhetorics of fragmentary folktales (1) to productively disrupt what Debra Hawhee calls "smooth narrative arcs" and (2) to embrace incongruous folk histories. Folktales and fairytales began in female-dominated spaces such as spinning rooms and French parlors, spaces where women could tell their stories with nods to smart female protagonists who outwit wolves, bears, and dangerous men. Male writers, such as Charles Perrault and the Brothers Grimm, heard and pilfered fragments of these stories, changing their morals to suit their own exigencies. Consequently, stories such as Little Red Riding Hood shifted away from smart female heroines to reflect cultural ideologies more suited to French aristocracy – ideologies that, according to folklorist Maria Tatar, "eliminated the vulgarities, coarse turns of phrase, and unmotivated plot elements." In this way, the more "pristine" narrative fragments became the ones universally told. But what if we disrupt these common folktale tropes and instead peek beneath the proverbial sheets? What if we scrub away the Grimm and leave the "grime" that predated these male voices?

The history of folktales is ultimately a history of rhetorical omissions and revisions, of fragmented stories by women pushed to the margins. While 20th century scholars are already uncovering and highlighting lost voices from female folk tale writers, Kenneth Burke's critiques of "Beauty Clinic" narratives, or a tendency to "smooth over" problematic or "ugly" language, and Hawhee's concept of historiography by incongruity are useful ways to examine narrative fragments consigned to the margins. I argue that the work of examining these fragments is a way to "see around the edges of our customary perspective," as Burke suggests. This presentation will engage with emerging folktale scholarship by applying Burke's critiques of "Beauty Clinic" narratives, and Hawhee's historiography by incongruity to develop a rhetorical understanding of fragments on the margins, especially those fragments of female voices too long consigned to the "parlor."

**David Charney, University of Texas at Austin, dcharney@austin.utexas.edu - Performative Commonplaces: The Verbal and Gestural Repertoire of Jewish Liturgy**

Prayer is unusual among the genres of persuasive discourse in seeking to move the speaker as well as the explicit addressee and any spectators. The Abrahamic religions all emphasize the need for a worshipper to be fully engaged in prayer. Engagement is rarely an issue when an individual prays spontaneously in a moment of need or composes a prayer to be delivered on a specific occasion. Rather, the challenge arises in organized prayer services in which congregants recite a fixed liturgy. Islam and Judaism both mandate multiple daily services for the laity, so worshippers recite same set of prayers several times every day. Repetition is double-edged: creating a sense of unity and familiarity but also dulling active engagement. The problem is exacerbated for worshippers who are not fluent in the language of the liturgy, be it Hebrew, Latin, or Arabic. But even for the fluent, constant repetition raises the danger of reciting prayers by rote, "paying lip service" with little intellectual or emotional engagement. Concern about "sincerity" in Christianity is usually dated to the Reformation. But the concern arose earlier in Judaism. After the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, Judaic leaders were faced with replacing the sacrificial system. The early rabbis developed a loose framework for Jewish prayer services and used both Talmudic exhortations and directives to prescribe praying with intentionality, or *kavvanah*. In this talk, I set out and illustrate a taxonomy of verbal and embodied practices associated with Judaic prayer from active reenactment of biblical practices to small-scale gestures intended to refocus or intensify attention. Over the centuries, innovations intended to capture attention become routinized and folded into an increasingly fixed liturgy. I conclude that repetitive selfpersuasion is addressed more productively from the perspective of Chaïm Perelman than Kenneth Burke.

**Francisco Chico-Rico, University of Alicante, francisco.chico@ua.es - El t3pico como categor3a ret3rica y literaria: aportaciones desde la Ret3rica Cultural y la Ret3rica Constructivista**

El estudio que se propone aborda primeramente el concepto de 't3pico' desde un punto de vista lingüístico y comunicativo para, desde esta perspectiva te3rica, general y abstracta, describirlo y explicarlo tanto en el contexto del discurso ret3rico como en el contexto del discurso literario. Se trata, pues, de una contribuci3n que contempla el t3pico como categor3a ret3rica y como categor3a literaria y, por tanto, en los espacios disciplinares de la Ret3rica y de la Po3tica. Desde esta perspectiva general, y en el marco de la Rhetorica recepta, el t3pico se concibe como una unidad de naturaleza semántico-extensional o referencial que es conscientemente seleccionada por el orador/autor (*inventio*) para su incorporaci3n semántico-intensional en la macroestructura del discurso (*dispositio*) y su conformaci3n léxico-semántica en la microestructura del mismo (*elocutio*) con vistas a hacer realidad un determinado prop3sito comunicativo explicable en t3rminos de convicci3n o de persuasi3n. La metodolog3a que sobre estos presupuestos iniciales se aplicar3 seguidamente para la descripci3n y explicaci3n del t3pico ret3rico y literario es doble, aunando los planteamientos te3rico-metodol3gicos de la Ret3rica Cultural y de la Ret3rica Constructivista. Desarrolladas en el 3mbito espaol a lo largo de los últimos años para dar cuenta la primera del car3cter cultural de la Ret3rica —y de todos sus instrumentos, algoritmos y estrategias— y del discurso y la segunda de la naturaleza constructiva de este en relaci3n con nuestra realidad intersubjetiva, nos servir3n para realizar nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento del t3pico ret3rico y literario desde expl3citas perspectivas socio-culturales —en íntima relaci3n con la consideraci3n de la tradici3n textual como contexto— y cognitivas —sobre la base de la posible consideraci3n del t3pico como pilar fundamental para la construcci3n de la realidad—.

**Mattia Chiriatti, Universitat de Barcelona, mchiriatti@ub.edu - The basilikoi logoi of Gregory of Nyssa**

This paper aims to cast light upon the rhetorical production of the Cappadocian writer between 379-386, a period in which Gregory alternately dedicated himself to giving imperial speeches as official preacher of the court (such as those dedicated to the empress Flaccilla, the princess Pulcheria and the patriarch Meletius) to others of a more celebratory character (for the anniversary of a saint or martyr). Despite the diversity of their topics, occasion and literary genre, these λόγοι have in common two essential elements, the ἐγκώμιον and the θρῆνος, leading factors for the construction, according to Menander of Laodicea, of the βασιλικὸς λόγος. Both elements constitute essentially a whole in the elaboration of a monody: “What then is the purpose of the monody? To lament and express pity. If the deceased is not a relative, it is simply to lament the departed, mixing encomia with the lament, and to stress the element of lamentation continually, so that the piece is not just an encomium, but the encomium is the occasion for the lament”<sup>1</sup>. Starting from this definition, we pursue to demonstrate how Gregory of Nyssa and the Christian panegyrists rigorously resorted to the rhetorical canons of the Second Sophistic about the composition of an imperial speech according to its occasion and the character itself, as well to delve into the evolution of the most recurrent ‘topoi of the praise’ (τόποι ἐγκωμιαστικοί) such as pietas (εὐσέβεια), humilitas (ταπεινοφροσύνη) and humanitas (φιλανθρωπία). Through this analysis, it can be consequently deduced how the Christian discourse recontextualized the Second Sophistic rhetorical past, converting “a simple rhetorical technique into a powerful rhetorical message shaped in political terms, seeking to legitimize their newly found political power”<sup>2</sup>. 1 Menand., Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II 434, 18-23 (D. A. Russell - N. G. Wilson 1981: 203). 2 A. Cameron 1991: 123.

1. Menand., Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II 434, 18-23 (D. A. Russell - N. G. Wilson 1981: 203).
2. A. Cameron 1991: 123.

### **Adam Cody, Virginia Military Institute, axc1069@gmail.com - Concepts of Koinos in the Rhetoric to Alexander**

The summer of 2021 marks the ten-year anniversary of *Rhetorica*'s special issue on the *Rhetoric to Alexander*, a fourth-century BCE Greek treatise concerning the art of effective discourse. Prior to *Rhetorica*'s 2011 special issue, scholarship on the *Rhetoric to Alexander* had generally taken the text as an example of the crude, effect-oriented practices associated in Plato's *Gorgias* with the figure of Callicles, as in Goebel (1989), Braet (1996, 2004), Kock (2006), Bayer and Spohr (2007), and Reinhardt (2010). Following *Rhetorica*'s 2011 special issue, scholarship on the *Rhetoric to Alexander* has tended toward comparative analysis in conjunction with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, as in Pepe (2013), Konczol (2013), Žmavc (2015), Fredal (2016), and Piazza and Piazza (2016). In addition to illustrating the roles of the two fourth-century BCE treatises in the development and reception of classical rhetoric, these comparative analyses have advanced the theorization of several concepts related to topics and commonplaces, including topos, stasis, pisteis, syllogismos, enthymema, semeion, tekmerion, and the genres of speech. One concept in the *Rhetoric to Alexander* related to topics and commonplaces that has not received focused study is that of koinos (“common”). This paper (delivered in English) offers a treatment of koinos as a term of art within the *Rhetoric to Alexander*'s program of effective discourse. The notion of koinos—along with associated concepts like homos (“same”), idios (“specific”), and demos (“people”)—is complicated by the *Rhetoric to Alexander*'s effect-oriented disposition and aristocratic tone. This paper's reading of koinos in the *Rhetoric to Alexander* continues ongoing historical investigations of the text and offers a fresh perspective on topics and commonplaces as component elements in the theory and practice of rhetoric.

### **Sophie Conte, Université de Reims (France), sophie.conte01@gmail.com - Amplification and commonplaces in post-Tridentine Jesuit rhetoric**

Roman rhetoricians agree that amplification resides in both words (*verba*) and things (*res*). According to the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, it is based on the use of a commonplace for the purpose of moving (*Amplificatio est res quae per locum communem instigationis auditorum causa sumitur*, Her. 2.47), and Cicero describes it as “passionate argumentation” (*Est enim amplificatio uehemens quaedam argumentatio, ut illa docendi causa, haec commouendi*, Part. or. 27). Quintilian gives it great importance (*uis oratoris omnis in augendo minuendoque consistit*, Inst. or. 8.3.89) and devotes a chapter to it within *elocutio* (Inst. or. 8.4). In the Renaissance, the sacred rhetoricians assimilated the theory of topics and adapted its resources to their specific needs. They put the emphasis on amplification in an unprecedented way, giving it substantial developments. There are two decisive stages in this phenomenon: two treatises of Erasmus, *De Copia* (1512) and *Ecclesiastes* (1535), and Louis of Granada’s *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae* (1576), in which one entire book is devoted to amplification. However, these rhetoricians and their successors do not all put the same content under this heading. Focusing on the relationship between amplification and topics, I will compare three post-Tridentine Jesuit rhetoric, Louis Carbone’s *Divinus Orator* (1597), Carlo Reggio’s *Orator Christianus* (1612) and Nicolas Caussin’s *Eloquentiae sacrae et humanae parallela* (1619). Heirs of Antiquity but also of the reflection carried out during the 16th century, these scholarly treatises flourish at the dawn of a century that will favour a new way of thinking and challenge rhetorical invention: they thus occupy a strategic place in the history of rhetoric.

**Brad Cook, University of Mississippi, [blcook@olemiss.edu](mailto:blcook@olemiss.edu) - Blackballing the Sophist-Lawyer, from Aeschines to Engelbert Drerup**

The ancient Athenian orator Aeschines did not invent the sophist-lawyer topos—Demosthenes had used it decades earlier, suing his guardians. But Aeschines turned a generic topos into a detail-packed and personalized attack. Aeschines’ use of such rhetoric has been studied (Fisher 2001, Hesk 2000, Harris 1995), as has the influence of modern politics on the publications of scholars of fourth-century Greek history (Pernot 2006, Harding 2000, Knipfing 1921), but how this ancient topos influenced modern scholars, Demosthenic in particular, has not been studied. To what extent did Engelbert Drerup, in his 1916 “warbook” against Demosthenes and the Athenian “lawyer-republic,” depend on Aeschines’ ingenious and repeated deployment of this topos against Demosthenes over 2,200 years earlier? My comparison of the respective methods and motives of Aeschines and Drerup reveals similarities in the particulars of their use of the sophist-lawyer topos but also demonstrates a profound difference in their motives and goals.

Like Aeschines, Drerup complains of sophistry (and of the Sophists proper) and accuses Demosthenes of piling “sophism upon sophism” in speeches constructed through his “lawyerly” craft. It becomes clear, though, particularly from his praise of Isocrates, that Drerup has imitated specific arguments of Aeschines but not his ideology. Aeschines attacked Demosthenes with this topos to save Athenian democracy; Drerup did so to destroy not just Demosthenes but democracy itself. Drerup’s additional, modern goal of driving Demosthenes out of the German classroom would not have appalled Aeschines, perhaps, but his expansion of this attack against democracy itself would have. My comparison of Aeschines’ and Drerup’s methods and motives deepens not only our understanding of the rhetoric deployed, and its history, but additionally refines our assessment of the wielders of this topos, ancient and modern.

**Craig Cooper, University of Lethbridge, [craig.cooper@uleth.ca](mailto:craig.cooper@uleth.ca) - The Rhetoric of “Voice” in the Athenian Courtroom**

In the *Works and Days* (220-224) Hesiod describes how an outcry is raised whenever *dike* is violated by crooked, judicial decisions. This idea that justice and even the law itself speaks out against injustice

become part of Athenian legal parlance, reflecting the Athenian judicial process itself, much of which was given over to hearing speeches delivered by litigants. The idea was that the law could only be enforced, and justice could only be served, when the voices of the opposing litigants were heard. Each litigant was given an equal time to speak measured by a water-clock under the supervision of one of the jurors; jurors swore an oath to vote according to the laws and decrees of the Athenian people and Council, after hearing both sides. Litigants themselves, particularly defendants, would remind the jurors that they had sworn to give an impartial hearing. Laws introduced into the courtroom were themselves persuasive evidence that were read out in court and supported by voiced arguments to show their relevancy to the case. Prevalent throughout is a notion that the administration of equal justice and its corollary, the rule of law, depended on unencumbered speech. Speech is thus an essential feature of the Athenian conception of the rule of law, so much so that it forms an important metaphor for describing the administration of justice. The jurors are sometimes presented by litigants as the voice of the law. The laws themselves (or the lawgiver) can be imagined to speak out in court. In this paper, I would like to explore the rhetorical use of this metaphor of the voice in a number of courtroom speeches as an expression of Athenian judicial ideology.

**Rita Copeland, University of Pennsylvania, rcopelan@sas.upenn.edu - Medieval Rhetoric and the Coherence of Tradition: Literary Criticism after Curtius**

Can we trace the effect of the 1953 English translation of Curtius' book on Anglo-American critical approaches to medieval literature? How did it open the way to studying literary rhetoric, along with the history of medieval rhetoric, as fields of aesthetic coherence?

We have now moved far beyond Curtius' rough sketch of *topoi* and his even rougher historical sketch of ancient and medieval rhetoric. But for Anglo-American critics up through the early 1950's, thinking about the rhetorical tradition as a resource that was aesthetically enabling for medieval poets would have been mostly an alien idea. Manley's "Chaucer and the Rhetoricians" (1926) cast a huge shadow over literary criticism: on Manley's terms, rhetoric was a mechanical system which all good poetry must transcend and which Chaucer's best poetry left far behind. The rhetorical tradition was conceived as resistant to cohesive aesthetic values; one had to know about it in order to understand how great poets overcame its rigidities.

But in the wake of the English translation of Curtius' book, the 1950's and 1960's were to see a turn towards rhetorical criticism of medieval poetry. Curtius presents rhetoric, not as a rigid and routinized system, but as an aesthetic coherence that was handed over smoothly from antiquity to the Middle Ages, and as a site where medieval formal ideals met their ancient equivalents. The critical work that emerged in the early wake of the 1953 translation of Curtius' book was distinctive for its vision of rhetoric as an integrating tradition. Leading examples include Muscatine (1957), Payne (1963), and Kelly (1966 and later). These works of the 1950's and 1960's opened the floodgates to the rhetorical criticism of the 1970's and later. I will suggest that Curtius' arrival in Anglo-American scholarship was a watershed moment for rhetorical criticism of medieval poetics.

**Ana Isabel Correia Martins, University of Coimbra (Portugal), anitaamicitia@hotmail.com - The Process of *translatio* and *variatio*: *Contemptus mundi* of Fray Luis of Granada**

The polyphonic production of the Dominican Frei Luis of Granada (1504-1588) was profusely widespread – in Europe, America and Asia –, and he was one of the most translated authors by Jesuits in Japan. Despite his childhood in poverty, he had the opportunity to grow up surrounded and guided by prominent humanists and educators. Due to his noble reputation, he was invited to move to

Portugal by Cardinal D. Henrique (1512-1580), where he lived for more than 40 years, until his death. Fray Luis was admired not only for his solid knowledge and clear-sightedness, concerning the interplay of shadow and light in spirituality, but also for his ethos and oratory skills. He exerted an undeniable influence on his contemporaries and successors and developed close connections with other religious orders. The main matrix of his spiritual and catechetical program involved methodical oratio, deepening the meditation, the acquisition of sapientia and prudentia throughout the practice of a virtuous life. His literary and spiritual production not only systematizes the procedures and theories of meditation and oratio but also presents practical examples, inspired by several hypertexts and following the philological method of imitatio, aemulatio et renouatio. The richness and the value of Dominican's translations is his encyclopedic knowledge, promoting a fruitful dialogue between the original and new paradigms and ideas. Fray Luis incorporates his own critical thoughts, others points of view and personal convictions. This paper aims to study the last edition during Granada's life of *Contemptus mundi*. Nuevamente romançado y corregido. Añadiósele un breue tractado de Oraciones y exercicios de devociõ muy provechosos recopilados de diversas y graues autores por el R. P. Fray Luys de Granada dela orden de S. Domingo. (Lisbon 1573). Our methodology is to analyse its structure, the imitatio and variatio process, and specially the presence of two important Jesuit matrixes: the spiritual exercises and imitatio Christi.

**Doug Coulson, Carnegie Mellon University, [dcoulson@andrew.cmu.edu](mailto:dcoulson@andrew.cmu.edu) - Judicial Paeans: Using Epideictic to Legitimate Legal Decisions**

Although previous commentators have noted that Aristotle's division of rhetoric into deliberative, judicial, and epideictic genres sought to discipline the epideictic rhetorical practices of the ancient Greek sophists, this paper explores the concomitant importance of Aristotle's effort to discipline judicial rhetoric by separating it from epideictic rhetorical practices and what that disciplinary effort suggests about attitudes toward legal discourse in ancient Greece and today. To challenge the usefulness of the genre boundaries posited by Aristotle and often uncritically perpetuated in rhetorical scholarship, and to consider the broader relevance of epideictic rhetoric in both ancient and contemporary speech, I will identify a series of pervasive features of epideictic and examine how these features figure in contemporary judicial opinion writing in the United States Supreme Court, revealing an epideictic dimension of judicial writing recognized by judges themselves insofar as they often refer to judicial opinions as panegyrics, paeans, encomia, eulogies, epitaphs, homilies, and the like. After identifying features of epideictic rhetoric, including observations about the role of linguistic aspect and modality in epideictic, the paper will illustrate the epideictic features of judicial opinions by examining several examples of the United States Supreme Court's fundamental rights jurisprudence. I argue that many forms of amplification performatively converge in such writing to serve an honorific function with important legitimation implications for the judiciary, a rhetoric through which judges intensify emotional identification with certain ideas in order to enhance public acceptance of their decisions.

**Marissa Croft, Northwestern University, [croft@u.northwestern.edu](mailto:croft@u.northwestern.edu) - Anticomanie [Antiquemania]: Ancient Dress as Topic in the Costume Reform Debates of the French Revolution**

Karl Marx remarks in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that when a group of revolutionaries wish to re-invent themselves, "they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honored disguise and borrowed language."<sup>1</sup> Rhetorical scholarship on the French Revolution has addressed these borrowed names and battle slogans at length, but

underestimated the role that costumes played in the revolutionary state's rhetorical project of self-mythologization. Between 1793 and 1796, revolutionary artists and members of the Directory both undertook projects to create mandatory civic uniforms for both ordinary citizens and government officials. They legitimized their proposals for these uniforms by utilizing the topic of the costumes of ancient Greece and Rome. In official meeting minutes from both the Société Populaire et Républicaine des Artistes [Popular and Republican Society of Artists] and the representatives of the newly formed Directory, proposals for new uniforms extensively referenced the garb of ancient Greece and Rome. I posit that in these persuasive texts, the costumes of antiquity served as a commonplace that captured three distinct ideas: 1) the need for a different aesthetic vocabulary from that of the ancien régime, 2) the opportunity to efface class-based differences in appearance, 3) the notion of an enduring, Republican legacy. Building on the work of Elizabeth Liris, Richard Wrigley, and Lynn Hunt, I argue that these arguments about adopting the clothing of ancient Greece and Rome reveal that the clothing of antiquity was an essential, rhetorical element of the French Republican state-building project.

1. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," trans. Saul K. Padover (Marx/Engels Internet Archive, 1995), <https://marxists.architexturez.net/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/18th-Brumaire.pdf>, 5.

### **James Crosswhite, University of Oregon, [jcross@uoregon.edu](mailto:jcross@uoregon.edu) - Rhetoric as Dignity**

1. This proposal addresses the question of exactly what rhetoric is and how it is to be defined. It draws carefully and selectively from different periods in the history of rhetoric—from the ancient Greek origins of rhetoric to contemporary studies of the social and legal functions of rhetoric.

2. The origins of a theory or definition of rhetoric come from around the time of Plato. One of the word's early appearances is in the *Phaedrus*, where Socrates proposes a definition to which Phaedrus immediately objects. So the problem is ancient, and it is partly definitive of rhetoric itself.

3. To address this problem, I will use a related concept—the concept of dignity. I will argue that we increase our understanding of each of these terms, in their historical and contemporary meanings, when we understand the ways they overlap and interact with each other. I will show that there is dignity before the word "dignity" by showing how Isocrates' "Hymn to Logos" describes the process of self-creation and self-determination in cities. Plato's Protagoras has a similar story. This rhetorical humanism is also found in Heidegger's gloss on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Politics*. It is found, too, in different shapes in Pico, in Kant, and in contemporary US Supreme Court cases. This rhetoric distinguishes us from animals. The human dignity we thereby achieve, we preserve through education, and we become transformed—we gain dignity—when we learn to deliberate inwardly, thinking for ourselves. It is finally this power of self-determination that aligns rhetoric with dignity, as a kind of liberty and self-determination.

4. The conclusion is that, though there are many senses of "rhetoric," there is also a powerful way to define a specific notion of rhetoric by comparing and contrasting and finally aligning this notion with the idea of dignity.

### **Tobias Dänzer, University of Würzburg, [tobias.daenzer@uni-wuerzburg.de](mailto:tobias.daenzer@uni-wuerzburg.de) - „The orators created the art“: Quintilian's topoi between system and forum**

Scholars have long regarded Cicero's *Topica* as part of a comprehensive attempt to turn casuistic Roman jurisprudence into an art, a *techne* or, as his lost work on the matter suggests, an *ars iuris civilis*. Abstract *topoi* such as definitions and various sets of arguments (*a repugnantibus*, *a causis*

etc.), which work as premises for different forms of syllogisms, could act as tools for transforming case law, often acknowledged obscure and unaccountable, into a deductive, logical system of law.

While Cicero addresses the jurist Trebatius, Quintilian teaches topics to the future orator, relying, however, strongly on Cicero's *Topica*. The change of addressee from jurist to orator, which implies a change from theory to practice, necessitates a different approach with regard to didactics, content, and focus. Quintilian's punch line, *artifices illi qui dixerunt* (*inst.* V 10,121), intends to disparage the subtle and systematic science of topics and to stress their heuristic, culturally determined value for argumentation.

In my contribution, I want to discuss points of friction between Cicero's systematic and Quintilian's practical approach that show how *topoi* could be used for both deductive and inductive reasoning within the same cultural context.

**Julie Dainville, Université libre de Bruxelles, Julie.Dainville@ulb.be - Le thème du πατροτύπησ dans un papyrus rhétorique d'Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. LXXII, 4855)**

Cette communication aura pour objet principal un papyrus en provenance d'Oxyrhynchus et daté du 3ème siècle de notre ère : le P. Oxy. LXXII, 4855. Ce document, au bas duquel figure la mention explicite « technè rhétorikè », présente des considérations théoriques sur les critères de classification de la personne (πρόσωπον), du fait (πράγμα) et de la cause (θέσις). Si les rapprochements possibles avec les théories existant par ailleurs dans l'Antiquité ont déjà été étudiés avec grand soin par D. Colomo dans son édition commentée du papyrus en question, cette communication se propose d'aborder un aspect qui n'a pas encore été exploré à ce jour : l'exemple choisi dans ce document pour illustrer la théorie et les recoupements possibles avec la pratique rhétorique antique. En effet, le rhéteur du P. Oxy. LXXII, 4855 illustre son propos en partant d'une loi fictive stipulant qu'un fils qui bat son père doit être puni par l'amputation de ses deux mains. Or, ce thème est par ailleurs bien connu de la déclamation ancienne, tant grecque que latine (voir par exemple Sénèque le Rhéteur, Controverses IX, 4 ; ps.-Quintilien, Petites déclamations, 358 ; 362 ; 372 ; Sopatros, Sur la division des questions, LXXVIII [W 375-377]). Concrètement, cette communication consistera en une analyse des développements de cette loi dans la déclamation antique et en une comparaison avec son traitement dans le P. Oxy. LXXII, 4855. Elle visera ainsi trois objectifs : proposer une étude extensive d'un cas précis de la déclamation ; aborder sous un nouvel angle le P. Oxy. LXXII, 4855, en étudiant son rapport avec la pratique déclamatoire attestée par ailleurs ; poser des pistes de réflexion pour l'étude de la pratique rhétorique en Égypte en comparaison avec les autres provinces de l'Empire romain pour lesquelles nous avons de la documentation.

**Marco Dehnert, Arizona State University, marco.dehnert@asu.edu - Reimagining Phronesis: Rhetoric through Performance, Embodiment, and Critical Perspectives**

Among the many conceptualizations of rhetoric, one can find the understanding of rhetoric as communicative management of contingencies. Scholars ranging from Aristotle, Isocrates, to Robert Hariman have made a case for the importance of phronesis for rhetoric, often translated as prudence. Set apart from other types of knowledge (i.e., episteme and techne), phronesis describes praxis-oriented knowledge, a sense of practical wisdom on which the rhetor draws in crafting their rhetorical communication. Such prudence or phronesis relies on contingency and an informed understanding of being in a given context that can only evolve through continued, lived involvement. In this piece, I build on classical notions of phronesis as well as recent scholarship outside of rhetorical studies, which acknowledges the importance of prudence for social science writ large, thereby extending Bent Flyvbjerg's take on phronesis which attends to issues of power. In light of recent events surrounding

#RhetoricSoWhite in the U.S. and beyond, I call for rhetorical scholars there and abroad to revisit phronesis as foundational to sustained rhetorical criticism. I thus outline three key avenues for reimagining phronesis in rhetorical scholarship: understanding phronesis from an inherently critical perspective that attends to issues of power where there is no neutral ground in context-dependent rhetorical action, being committed to embodiment (rhetoric-in-the-body/the-body-as-rhetoric), and attending to the performative aspects of rhetoric, rhetors, and their lived experiences in the context. Ultimately, reimagining phronesis in the rhetorical enterprise as critical, embodied, and performative contributes to the examining of what makes commonplaces “common,” and how the contingencies of given contexts evolve in/through/of rhetorical action. It also speaks to recent calls for rhetorical scholarship to (re)turn to the body, contributes to an understanding of rhetoric as performative, and shows how rhetoric can lead to (radical) imagination

**Dino De Sanctis, Università degli Studi della Tuscia (DISUCOM), dinoendesantis@gmail.com - Non solo biasimo: sguardi su Elena nell’epos arcaico**

Nel variegato panorama degli studi sull’epos Elena è stata da sempre al centro di interessi eterogenei. Una disanima antropologica ha messo in luce nelle scelte di questo personaggio tendenze femministiche ante litteram (Maegher 2002). Fertile è stata la focalizzazione sulle tematiche erotiche nel plot che ha Elena quale protagonista (Blondell 2013). Perspicaci indagini comparative, infine, hanno individuato la componente folklorica connatura alla saga della figlia di Tindaro (Edmonds 2016). Scopo del mio intervento è indagare i luoghi comuni riconducibili alla colpa e all’innocenza di Elena a partire dall’epos arcaico. Nell’Iliade e nell’Odissea, Elena è diffamata e riabilitata ad un tempo. Tra terzo e sesto libro dell’Iliade, ad esempio, Elena censura il suo operato ma, allo stesso tempo, si rafforza nell’ottica dei personaggi che interagiscono con lei una vivace prospettiva di assoluzione. Questa riabilitazione raggiunge il culmine nel quarto libro dell’Odissea (219-235), dove Elena è connessa al potere farmacologico del logos. Dopo Omero, nel Catalogo delle Donne di Esiodo, i luoghi comuni su Elena diventano più specifici. Al termine del poema, Elena appare come la seducente e inconsapevole figlia di Tindaro, pronta alle nozze (fr. 196 M.-W.). Ma nello sviluppo narrativo del Catalogo, Elena, insieme alle sue sorelle, è la traditrice per eccellenza, colpita dalla kakè pHEME dell’adulterio dopo aver disonorato il talamo di Menelao (fr. 176 M.-W.) e, allo stesso tempo, un pretesto irreprensibile della guerra di Troia attraverso il motivo dell’eidolon che probabilmente risale allo stesso Esiodo (fr. 358 M.-W.). Nella produzione arcaica in Elena agisce sempre il dissidio tra colpa e innocenza in una costante tensione ideologica. Sullo sfondo di questi luoghi comuni, dunque, cercherò di mostrare che la tradizione epica tende a presentare e a costruire il profilo di Elena non in modo contraddittorio ma attraverso consonanti approcci molteplici.

**Lucía Díaz Marroquín, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, ldiazmar@ucm.es - Suárez's De arte rhetorica in its Ratio studiorum context. Loci, strategies, and style.**

De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue deprompti by Cipriano Suárez (or Soarez) is one of the most coveted and plentiful handbooks in the history of rhetoric, as the number and variety of its editions and reprints certify. From the editio princeps (either Coimbra 1560 or Cologne, 1557) to those published in Seville (1569), Cologne, once more (1570, 1591 and 1604), Paris (1573 and 1576), Antwerp (1575), Salamanca (1577), again Coimbra (1583), Ingolstadt (1596), and Venice (1609), it was widely distributed and read on a global scale in the period 1560-1773. A significant part of its success had to do with the fact that it was recommended by the first Ratio studiorum (1599), the programme of studies to be developed in humanities schools managed by the Society of Jesus all across Europe and in several provinces and virreinatoes of the Portuguese and Hispanic Americas. Besides proposing a definition of rhetoric, along with a systematic survey of its

goals (“Quid sit rhetorica, quod eius officium et finis”) it explores the main logical strategies and commonplaces which students who would form the ranks of the civil and diplomatic services, the Army and the Navy, the Counterreformation Church, and the University, as well as those who would eventually become tradesmen, scientists, or explorers should be able to master as part of their education. Besides presenting a general outline of the book’s organization and some hypotheses on the reasons for its success, in my address I propose to pay detailed attention to the chapters entitled “De usu et utilitate locorum” (Ch. XXX) and “De affectibus” (Ch. XXXII).

**Yun Ding, PhD, Tennessee Tech University, USA, yding@tntech.edu - In Praise of Self-indulgence: Atopical and Un-commonplaces in Plato’s Gorgias**

In Gorgias, Socrates describes the life of a rhetor as one that involves “manly activities of addressing the assembled people” (500c). As Callicles testifies in the dialogue, what makes a rhetor’s life “manly” and “authentic” is his unbridled desire to flout convention, including topical conventions that “hinder or restrain the expansion of one’s desires” (492a). Callicles rejects what he calls “pointless trumpery” of “the unnatural, man-made conventions” (492c), insisting that rhetors should be “putting courage and cleverness at their service and satisfying every passing whim” (492a). The ultimate goal of a rhetorical life is, therefore, to achieve “a good state of existence” (492e) that is not defined or confined by existing social conventions. Good rhetors, instead of viewing “self-indulgence” as contemptible, should embrace it. Philosophers are contemptuous of rhetorical “self-indulgence” because they want to “enslave those who are naturally better than them” (492a). Callicles avers that philosophers praise self-discipline and justice because “their own timidity makes them incapable of winning satisfaction for their pleasures” (492a).

Callicles’ immoralist and hedonistic retort prompts us to reconsider the putative disciplinary consensus of rhetoric – a categorical imperative, almost – that rhetors as social agents should be primarily concerned with audience appeal and that rhetorical invention must tailor itself to the demand of the masses. It is Callicles’s position that nature and conventions are invariably at odds with each other. He dismisses conventional social and moral rules as helplessly out of touch with practical life (484d-e). Callicles justifies human behaviors by the natural law, not conventional or normative rules. For him, rhetoric is not to appeal to the public, but to conquer them. A good rhetor should defy the idealistic social conventions that Platonic moral philosophers uphold.

**Salvatore Di Piazza, University of Palermo, salvatore.dipiazza@unipa.it - Reasons to dissent: on the Greek notion of eikos**

Any theory of argumentation cannot but deal with the notion of truth and, actually, it is shaped by the way it conceptualizes the notion of truth. Ancient Greek rhetoric used to deal with a peculiar form of truth specific of the argumentative and persuasive processes, eikos. Traditionally translated into English as “likelihood” or “plausible”, eikos is form of truth which deals with what is difficult (or even impossible) to know with certainty, what Aristotle calls “what can be otherwise”. In a sense, eikos is at the beginning and at the end of any argumentative process: we argue starting from eikota (probable, likelihood) premises, and we conclude our argumentation reaching always an eikos truth. The specific characteristic of this kind of truth is that it is by nature questionable, that it is always possible to challenge the truth attained. This aspect of eikos was clear in classical Greek culture, with several consequences on the conception of argumentation. One of these is represented by the way of conceiving the role of dissent in human linguistic interactions: actually, it is because every truth attained is always questionable that, in principle, we have to take into account the potential unavoidability of dissent. A theory of argumentation implicit in rhetoric framework – used to deal with this kind of truth and, by consequence, with the persistence of (potential) dissent at the end of every

argumentative process – seems to provide useful tools to understand the reasons to dissent, in contraposition to other perspective where the consensus seems to be the only aim of argumentative practice. Briefly, introducing the notion of eikos in the current debate on argumentation should allow us to highlight the awareness of the difficulty (or even the impossibility) of reaching a definitive truth and the intertwining with the agonistic dimension of any argumentative process.

**Kirk Dodd, University of Sydney, doddzim8@yahoo.com.au - Shakespeare's inventio and the (universal) topic of adjuncts**

When Helen from *All's Well that Ends Well* tries to hide her love from the Countess, this scene appears to have been invented with help from the “topics” of circumstances from the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*—because Helen blushes (*erubescere*), she turns pale (*expallescere*), and she staggers in her speech (*titubare*); exhibiting the forensic signs of guilt (Skinner 2014, 201-2, 247-50). While it appears that Shakespeare was employing his training in forensic rhetoric, these precepts are identical to the precepts of Cicero’s universal topic of adjuncts in *Topica* —“*pallor, rubor, titubatio*” (XII.52). Might Shakespeare, then, have been drawing on the universal topics? Helen’s concealed affections relate also to Erasmus’s treatment of (Cicero’s) topic of adjuncts in *De conscribendis epistolis*—“He is pale, he sits deep in thought, and frequently changes his mind, therefore he is in love” (1985, p. 125). Similarly, Thomas Wilson’s topic of *contingentia* (borrowed from Agricola) has been used to account for Iago’s deceptive accusations against Bianca in *Othello*, where Bianca is said to look “pale”, to “stare”, and her “tongue [fall] out of use” (Altman 2010, 128). Yet might Cicero’s precepts for adjuncts in *Topica* account for this also? While the topic of adjuncts in Cicero’s scheme from *Topica* serves as the forensic topic of “circumstances” within that scheme, its application as one topic among many makes its *praxis* rather different from the specific topics of forensic rhetoric. Alert to other topical schemes that have evolved from Cicero’s, this paper explores the conceptual link between the forensic circumstances and the different *praxis* of the universal topic of adjuncts. Where Agricola divided Cicero’s adjuncts into seven different subspecies (and Wilson’s topics are an Englished version of Agricola’s), an evaluation of Shakespeare’s engagement with adjuncts can help to establish which strands of rhetoric were perhaps most prominent in his process.

**Jonathan Doering, independent scholar, jdoering@uwo.ca - The Jesuit Legacy and the Fortunes of Rhetoric in France: Topoi of Decline and Continuity**

The immense impact of the Jesuits on the long-term priorities, cultures, and architectures of education leaves behind numerous questions for historians of rhetoric. Although Marc Fumaroli, François de Dainville, and other historians detailed the rise of Jesuit rhetoric and humanism, the corresponding decline—and what remained after the decline in various national contexts—poses significant historiographical challenges. In France, these challenges are complicated by the factious reception of Jesuit pedagogy, particularly in the Third Republic. In this paper, I will explore various *topoi* of decline and continuity as they relate to the Jesuit impact on rhetorical teaching in France and situate them amidst key institutions and conflicts.

Since the 1960s, scholars have proposed numerous causes and factors at play in rhetoric’s “decline” (for lack of a better word) between about 1600-1900. Some of these are of a highly intellectual nature (Ramusism, the Enlightenment, Romanticism, scientific orientations toward evidence, excessive interest in trope). Others partake in more social and material factors (capitalist nation states, democratic and egalitarian processes, etc.). As I argue, the reception history of the Jesuits offers certain tight correlations with that of rhetoric, and thus yields a valuable perspective that can ground the more intellectual explanations of decline within social and religious history (among other trajectories). To achieve this more integrated and interdisciplinary vantage, however, new

historiographic approaches will be required. I will highlight the sociology of education as one such refreshing approach.

**Jasper Donelan, University of Nottingham, jasper.donelan@nottingham.ac.uk - The topos of shamelessness in classical Greek oratory**

Shame, in the words of Bernard Williams (*Shame and Necessity*, Berkeley 1993: 78), results from ‘being seen, inappropriately, by the wrong people, in the wrong condition’. Crucial to this process, according to Williams, is the ‘gaze of another’ (p. 82), an invisible force that checks and regulates behaviour with value judgments that are external to, and more powerful than, one’s own desires. A lack of shame, conversely, represents a failure to acknowledge, understand, and ultimately act in accordance with the ethical and moral standards of others. It represents, in other words, an inability or unwillingness to respect the social codes of the majority.

In this paper, I wish to explore the trope of accusations of shamelessness (*anaideia*) in the speeches of the classical Greek orators, and especially Demosthenes. The topos appears over fifty times in the surviving corpus. Athenian litigants regularly accuse their opponents of lacking shame and link this to brazen, if not outright illegal, deeds. Accusations of shamelessness seem also to be a way of distancing a target from the citizen jurors, although this is not consistently emphasised. Finally, as an inhibitor of bad behaviour, feelings of shame can, as Pericles implies in his funeral oration (Thuc. 2.37.3; cf. [Dem.] 60.25-6), stand alongside the law as a cornerstone of a well-functioning, democratic society. This paper will look at the extent to which that sentiment is reflected in the fourth-century speeches and/or used to vilify one’s opponents.

**Mike Edwards, Royal Holloway, University of London, edwardsmike509@gmail.com - Topics and Commonplaces in the Speeches of Isaeus**

Eleven speeches survive of the fourth-century BCE Attic orator Isaeus, all concerned with inheritance. For centuries Isaeus has been notorious for the deceptive cleverness of his argumentation, and in this paper I shall examine one aspect of that argumentation that has contributed to this (now rightly disputed) picture, his use of *topoi*. These commonplaces consist both of legal arguments that are found in the speeches of other orators, notably his justification of the reliability of slave evidence extracted under torture (Is. 8.10-13; cf. Ant. 5.) and of wills (Is. 2.1), and rhetorical devices such as appeals to the judges to give a verdict in accordance with their oath (Is. 6.65) and remarks such as ‘I do not know what more I need say’ (Is. 7.45). The commonplaces, I shall argue, indicate clearly that Isaeus was a consummate logographer, who has been much and unfairly maligned by scholars from antiquity (the essay by Dionysius of Halicarnassus) to the modern day (notably the 1904 commentary by William Wyse).

**M. Carmen Encinas / Javier Bilbao, University of the Basque Country, mcarmenencinas@gmail.com - Términos técnicos en la antigua retórica griega. El concepto de *epicheirema* desde Aristóteles hasta Minuciano**

El surgimiento de una nueva visión del mundo o de un nuevo ámbito de estudio va acompañado siempre de una transformación paralela del lenguaje y, específicamente, se vincula a la aparición de nuevos términos o bien a la ampliación o concreción del campo semántico de los ya existentes. Así, por ejemplo, los filósofos presocráticos cambian la concepción del mundo y, para expresar dicho cambio, se valen de ciertas innovaciones lingüísticas (por ejemplo, el artículo neutro aplicado a ciertos adjetivos o el uso metafórico de ciertos términos).

Pues bien, en el ámbito concreto de la antigua retórica griega, el surgimiento de esta *techne* en el siglo V a. C. va acompañado del desarrollo de un vocabulario técnico específico. Muchos de los términos que aparecen en la más temprana retórica conservada, los manuales retóricos de Anáximenos de Lámpsaco y Aristóteles, son términos preexistentes dotados de un significado hasta cierto punto diferente al ser introducidos dentro de esos sistemas retóricos, e inicialmente ni los nuevos conceptos son designados en ambos textos con los mismos términos, ni los términos coincidentes tienen exactamente el mismo significado.

Con el tiempo ciertos términos y su significado se van consolidando. Pero en otros casos, la evolución de la retórica implica también la evolución de algunos términos y/o su sustitución. Por ejemplo, el término *epicheirema* lo utiliza Aristóteles para designar una inferencia dialéctica basada en probabilidades (*Tópica* 162a16), pero en época tardía se utiliza en referencia a una prueba retórica en general, es decir, lo que Aristóteles denominaba *pistis*.

En este trabajo se va a realizar un estudio de la evolución del término *epicheirema* y de su significado desde la obra aristotélica hasta la retórica griega tardía, y específicamente hasta el manual retórico de Minuciano titulado precisamente *Περὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων* o *De argumentis* (s. III d. C.).

### **William E. Engel, The Univ of the South, USA, wengel@sewanee.edu - Repurposing and Repackaging the Commonplace Book in Elizabethan England**

John Day's shrewd business sense, coupled with an unwavering commitment to promoting the English Reformation through print, led him to respond vigorously and swiftly to the need for a wide range of evangelically oriented books in the wake of Elizabeth's accession. These included Protestant adaptations of the catechism and metrical psalms, four editions of Foxe's Book of Martyrs, and a book of Calvinistically inflected emblems. His program to fabricate what amounts to a Protestant Memory Art in Elizabethan England—consistent with the principles of the commonplace book method of composition—is especially evident in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569, with dozens of editions thereafter).



My paper focuses on Day's ingenious border illustrations—including a series of virtues triumphing over their corresponding vices, right out of the commonplace book tradition. The last series of images depicts the Dance of Death (first of men and then women) and the four last things of Christian eschatology. This assemblage of commonplace representations to create seven separate visual narratives, I argue, was designed to reinforce distinctively Protestant themes notwithstanding Day's having coopted the format of standardized commonplace collections, such as the *Biblia Pauperum*, *Hortulus Animae*, and *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*. One contemporary reader of Day's work, William Burke, copied out the panels in his own commonplace book (Canterbury Cathedral Archives (Lit Ms/A/14); dated 20 Aug 1590). This procedure strikingly evokes the prescriptions for setting up and storing stirring and lively images to adorn one's own memory theatre, clearly based on a range of well-circulated commonplaces. Day's images have no direct link to the prayers on the page but, instead, create a deliberate visual program, making a kind of "commonplace book within the prayer

book,” with the aim of offering readers a ready-made Protestant devotional mnemonic itinerary. Although there are many textual transcriptions from other works in Burch’s vade mecum, he reproduced only the images (and clarifying mottos) from Day’s book, thereby making them part of his own evangelically oriented inner sanctum.



**Johannes Engels, Universität zu Köln, johannes.engels@uni-koeln.de - Argumentation based on *loci a persona* in selected court speeches of Hyperides (*In Defence of Lykophron, In Defence of Euxenippos, Against Athenogenes, and Against Demosthenes*)**

It has not been possible to demonstrate with certainty any clear influence from Aristotle's earliest rhetorical treatises on the use of *topoi* and commonplaces (*Rhetoric* and *Topika*) on the art of invention and argumentation in Hyperides' court speeches in the late 330s and 320s B.C. However, a thorough analysis of his only completely preserved forensic speech *In Defence of Euxenippos* and of additional sections taken from three other almost contemporary court speeches written by this orator (as a *logographos*) or actually delivered by him (*In Defence of Lykophron, Against Athenogenes, and Against Demosthenes*) shows that Hyperides was fully capable of making effective use of the persuasive power of motifs and arguments based on *topoi*, knowledge which he had acquired through his rhetorical practise before Athenian courts over decades. I shall argue in this paper that Hyperides may have been even more fond of the so-called *loci a persona* (in Quintilian's terms) which derive from certain individuals or groups of people (and, for instance, are based on their origins, ethnical characteristics, prejudices, their home-land, gender, age, physical attributes, profession or occupation, personal predilections or hobbies etc.) than of the equally popular *loci a re*. The peculiar way how Hyperides uses *topoi* and commonplaces in his forensic speeches in the presence of great numbers of his fellow-citizens as judges (esp. in *Eisangelia*-cases) reflects well the intellectual climate and the cultural and social context of oratory in late-classical Athens.

This lecture continues my earlier studies on Hyperides and other Attic orators and discusses scholarly opinions on Hyperides' use of *topoi* held by important commentators of Hyperides' forensic speeches like D. Whitehead.

**Anders Eriksson, Lund University, Lund University, Anders.Eriksson@kom.lu.se - *Topoi* in the progymnasmata**

The rhetorical exercises in the progymnasmata are built around *topoi* in a very intriguing way. This presentation will try to explain the role of the different types of *topoi* in the texts from Theon, Ps-Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus.

The moral of the fable, *parenesis*, is the first step for the student to think abstractly with a kind of *topos* to find the thesis in the text.

The *stoicheia* are the basic elements of the narration; person, act, time, place, manner and cause. The *stoicheia* are one way to categorize the circumstances in the case, *peristaseis*. The *stoicheia* are search formulas for finding arguments.

*Topos* is used by Theon as a kind of mediation between the speaker and reality. *Topos* becomes a technical term for points of departure to develop a thought. In Theon we find the first long lists of *topoi* in the *progymnasmata*.

The *kefalaia* in Hermogenes, Aphthonius, and Nicolaus are connected to the elaboration, *ergasia*, of the argumentation into inductive proof, *epicheiremes*. For almost all the exercises there are headings that function both for the *inventio* and the *dispositio*. The term *kefalaia* is part of Hermogenes theory of *stasis*.

The *telika kefalaia* in the common place, thesis and proposal of a law are special headings connected to the final purpose of the argumentation concerning generalities, *causa infinita*. These exercises train the students to think not just on the specifics of the case but more importantly on the generalities.

The exercise *koinos topos* trains the students to amplify the general aspects of an argumentation based on common opinions held by the audience. In a political or juridical declamation, *suasoria* or *controversia*, the speaker will just add circumstances, *persistaseis*, and the generalities will become a speech in a particular case.

### **Nicola Rose Ernst Holm, University of Exeter, ne285@exeter.ac.uk - Julian's Letter to the Athenians and the Subversion of the Basilikos-Logos**

The Emperor Julian's ascendancy to power in A.D. 361 was simultaneously legitimate and an usurpation. His requirement to denigrate his immediate predecessor, his cousin Constantius II (r. 337-361) was a necessity in the face of the near civil war of 361. Julian was ultimately required to rely upon the legitimacy that came with his link to the Constantinian house, but also found it necessary to remove himself from the actions of his predecessor, whose reign is not remembered favourably. This resulted in his Letter to the Athenians, which can be understood as an anti-basilikos logos due to its bizarre political context. The Letter has received relatively little scholarly attention, despite its importance as a document for legitimising an usurpation. The possibility of reading the text as an autobiographical basilikos logos for Julian himself, as well as an anti-basiliko logos in relation to Constantius II, leads to some tension surrounding the genre and purpose of the letter, especially when one compares it to Julian's two early panegyrics addressed to his cousin. This paper will consider how the Letter to the Athenians subverts the traditional aspects of the basilikos logos in order to legitimise Julian and his reign and further denigrate Constantius II.

### **Wanda Little Fenimore, University of South Carolina Sumter, wandalittlefenimore@gmail.com - Breaking the Code: Racism in News Media's Coverage of 1964 National Democratic Party Convention**

After a 1,200-mile bus trip, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegates arrived in Atlantic City, New Jersey, to attend the National Democratic Party Convention slated to commence on August 24, 1964. Their goal, after months of meetings and planning, was to challenge the all-white Mississippi delegation at the national convention on the grounds that the state's Democratic Party had systematically excluded African American citizens. MFDP's strategy involved protesting at Convention Hall, testifying before the Credentials Committee, and securing the necessary votes to force a roll call vote.

The MFDP's challenge unfolded in the news media across seven days. I analyzed articles about the MFDP challenge in twelve white newspapers from the South: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Four primary rhetorical strategies emerged in the articles. The first strategy classified the MFDP delegation as marring the peace and unity of the Convention in the same way as direct action sit-in campaigns. The second strategy, often deployed in conjunction with the first, was the insinuation that the Freedom Democratic Party was extremist, violent and/or Communist. These strategies framed the MFDP as out of step with

mainstream society. The delegates were not seated because they were un-American, not because they were Black. The third strategy situated the MFDP as an illegal imposter which justified refusing the challenge. The last strategy reduced or omitted the testimony before the Credentials Committee that revealed how Black Mississippians were excluded from the Democratic Party.

The newspapers' rhetorical strategies veiled racial biases which I argue are more dangerous than outright racist language. The strategies provided seemingly race-neutral rationalizations to dismiss and exclude MFDP's delegates and their claims as American citizens.

**Camilo Fernández Cozman, Universidad de Lima (Perú), crferna@ulima.edu.pe - Los lugares comunes en la obra del poeta peruano José Watanabe**

José Watanabe (1946-2007) es un poeta peruano de los años setenta del siglo XX. Fue hijo de un padre japonés y de una madre de origen andino, de manera que es un ejemplo indiscutible de hibridez cultural en América Latina. Nuestra propuesta busca estudiar los lugares comunes en la poesía de Watanabe. Según Michel Meyer, “los lugares comunes son premisas comúnmente admitidas por los protagonistas de un debate y con ayuda de las cuales intentan convencerse entre sí”. El propósito de nuestra ponencia es analizar dos lugares comunes: la solidaridad hacia el desvalido y el retorno a una vida más humana en armonía con la naturaleza, sin caer en una visión romántica del siglo XIX. Para ello, analizaremos dos textos de Watanabe que están contenidos en *El huso de la palabra* (1989), su poemario más representativo. Nos referimos a los poemas “El envío” y “Como si estuviera debajo de un árbol”. El primero describe a un enfermo que necesita una donación de la sangre y la recibe como un obsequio de toda la humanidad. Veamos un fragmento: “¿Cuál es el nombre de mi dador?/ A ese solo y preciso hombre le debo agradecimiento. Sin embargo, la sangre que está entrando/ en mi cuerpo me corrige. Habla, sin retórica, de una fraternidad más vasta. Dice que viene de parte de todos/, que la reciba como un envío de la especie”. El segundo poema tiene una temática amorosa y describe a la amada como si fuera un ave que está encerrada injustamente en una oficina trabajando ocho horas diarias. Se trata de un poema ecologista que defiende una vida auténticamente humana en armonía con la naturaleza. En síntesis, los lugares comunes en la poesía de Watanabe tienen una valía universal.

**Luiz Henrique Fiaminghi, Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina (UDESC), lhfiaminghi@yahoo.com.br - The violin as Rhetoric Weapon: Bach's sei solo, libro primo**

Johann Sebastian Bach's collection for solo violin is considered a landmark of the eighteenth-century instrumental music. It appeared in an autograph manuscript in 1720, with the title “Sei Solo a violino senza Basso accompagnato, Libro Primo”, that has in itself a double meaning: it indicates the number of pieces in the collection – sei soli (six solos - 3 sonatas and 3 partitas) – and at the same time, emphasizes the soliloquizing character of the violinist, implying him to “be alone” (sei solo), as an orator in the original rhetorical sense.

The polyphonic texture of this music is expressed in an ample range of musical genres: fugues, preludes, arias, dances, variations upon a ground, moto-perpetuo. It is implicit also in single parts melodies throughout the inherent counterpoint technique. The fundamental matter here is to persuade the listener through a multi-vocal language that operates in diverse topics such as high style (fugues and counterpoint), medium style (arias, accompanied melodies) and low style (dances).

Since its emergence in the musical scene, the violin was distinguished by its capacity to emulate the voice, therefore to conduct effectively a rhetorical discourse permeate of articulation and contrasts. In the Bach perspective, however the rhetorical violin should also be able to make multiple voices polyphony, as bigger instruments such as the organ does, emulating the legendary organists and improvisers of the past, the masters of the *Stylus Phantasticus*. Earlier descriptions of the violin in the seventeenth-century, in fact emphasizes its exceptional proprieties in relation to its small size, painting a panorama that emancipate it of a voice guided discourse towards an instrumental rhetorical

discourse. "A thing of wonder" as Doni said in his description of the violin, the "meraviglia" desired by the orator and expected by the audience, was captured by Bach as a powerful Rhetoric Weapon.

**Maria Flávia Figueiredo, Universidade de Franca, Brasil, mariaflaviafigueiredo@yahoo.com.br and Ticiano Jardim Pimenta- Correlations between rhetorical topics and proverbs**

In this work, we sought to establish a correlation between rhetorical commonplaces and proverbs, as well as to analyze their rhetorical/argumentative characteristics. For this purpose, firstly, a bibliographical research was carried out on Paremiology and Rhetoric. Then, we analyzed ten English-Portuguese semantic-equivalent proverbs in ten different videos from the platform YouTube. The analysis enabled the hypothesis that proverbs can be classified as general matrixes of arguments due to three main reasons. The first one is because proverbs are essentially rhetorical. The second one considers the fact that proverbs were categorized in multiple paremiological works as general categories with subdivisions, the same way topics of argumentation have been categorized in rhetorical works. Thirdly, the rhetorical notion of the commonplace – a mnemonic model of argument accessible and available to any speaker/cause – applied to the proverbs expands its relevance and argumentative perspective. These characteristics, especially the third one, allow proverbs to function as general templates for the formulation of arguments mainly during the invention (*inventio*) of the speaker's speech. The results showed that proverbs are true sources of argument supported by characteristics such as traditionality, impersonality, and timelessness. Furthermore, they can be analyzed and understood by the theory of Aristotelian topics.

**Joseph Fisher, Independent scholar, josephwf@gmail.com - "Through Discourse We Educate the Ignorant and Appraise the Wise": The Relationship Between Episteme and Rhetoric in Isocrates' Antidosis**

As scholarly interest in Isocrates has grown over recent decades, a commonplace of discussion about this Attic orator has been his position on episteme and its relationship to rhetoric. According to the traditional interpretation, Isocrates the rhetor eschews episteme (wellgrounded knowledge) in favor of rhetorically produced doxa (opinion or judgment), and this is a key point of distinction between Isocrates the rhetorician and his more traditionally philosophic rivals in the Academy and the Lyceum. Although this position is intuitive enough and provides a simple characterization of Isocratean rhetorical theory, it is not without both critics and complicators. One of the most fascinating contemporary arguments comes from Professor Tarik Wareh, who proposes that Plato and Isocrates may actually have very comparable views on the relationship between episteme and rhetoric. Wareh musters surprising yet convincing evidence that Isocrates is far friendlier to episteme than the traditional view supposes. Wareh's observation of Isocratean reliance on episteme is astute, but also merits countervailing arguments. Isocrates' use of the term episteme has indeed been wrongly neglected and has led us to carve too wide a chasm between Isocrates and the philosophers. However, Isocrates does not precisely see episteme as a foundation for rhetoric, as Wareh argues: rather, he sees the two as mutually produced by the other. For Isocrates, rhetoric is the child of knowledge and knowledge of rhetoric, rapidly and reciprocally informing each other--arguably the very essence of Isocrates' *paideia*. As scholarly discussion continues to map the contours of an Isocratean theory of rhetoric, episteme will be a key commonplace of the landscape, and as we attempt to parse the relevance of Hellenic oratory to our modern (and post-modern) age, lessons regarding the relationship between responsible rhetoric and well-grounded facts will be no less significant.

**Ide François, KU Leuven, ide.francois@kuleuven.be Consolatory Commonplaces in Antiquity and Renaissance Humanism**

Fifteenth-century Italian humanists, well-educated and erudite intellectuals, who devoted themselves to the discovering, reading, interpretation, translation, and editing of the works of ancient Greek and

Latin writers, resorted to Greek and Latin literature and often incorporated ideas, quotations, and commonplaces from Antiquity in their own writings. They fiercely sought to emulate the ancient authorities, but at the same time they realized that the content of their writings had to be adapted to the culture and time in which they lived. In my paper, I will illustrate this tension between the humanists' admiration for Antiquity and the inevitable distance from it, by discussing their use of ancient commonplaces in the rhetorical genre of

consolation, more specifically, the consolation on bereavement. In this genre, which had a prominent place in Renaissance humanism and had a distinct socio-communicative, rhetorical function, the consoler attempted to comfort his addressee for the loss of a beloved person and to convince him to stop mourning, often availing himself of an extensive argumentation. For this purpose, the author incorporated many consolatory tropes from ancient sources – typical solacia (consolatory arguments), as well as exempla (examples and precedents) – in his consolation and, when necessary, adapted them to the specific circumstances. I will give an overview of the consolatory commonplaces and argumentation used in Antiquity and in the Renaissance, indicating not only the numerous similarities, but also the – sometimes striking – differences. Illustrations will be taken from the various consolatory writings composed by the Italian humanist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481). This examination will thus show how ancient commonplaces were adapted to the new sociocultural context of Renaissance Humanism and accordingly contributed to a new rhetorical approach to death and grief.

**James Fredal, Ohio State University, fredal.1@osu.edu - Logos as Narrative in Ancient Greek Rhetoric.**

Argument is understood to be a rational activity “aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint” (van Eemeren 2004). Rhetorical approaches to argument (as logos) tend to highlight the importance of audience, of the argument partner, of argument as process, and of context. Narrative has been understood to be a part of a speech (as narratio or diegesis) or as a “mode” of discourse (Kinneavy) or as a paradigm of human understanding alongside the “rational” paradigm (Fisher), but not as itself a way to argue.

In this paper, I will argue that narrative was an important mode of rhetorical argument for early oratory. I will define rhetorical argument (logos) not in terms of propositions put forward to justify or refute a standpoint, but in terms of the inferences that audiences are led to make by a text. Logos refers to how any text, including narrative, prompts inferences that lead to a standpoint. Thus, unlike traditional definitions of argument, which emphasize putting forward propositions as reasons or premises, logos would apply to any text that prompts an audience to make inferences that lead them to a standpoint, whether or not they are given as reasons or premises. This approach allows us to appreciate how ancient orators argued via narratives. Logos as a rhetorical appeal includes telling a story to an audience in a situation to elicit inferences that lead them to the speaker's preferred conclusion. In this paper, I'll explore the range of inferences that audiences make when listening to rhetorical narratives. I propose to demonstrate the value of treating logos as narrative by tracing the inferences that Andocides initiates and that audiences are prompted to make in *On the Mysteries*.

**Michael Gagarin, University of Texas, gagarin@austin.utexas.edu - From Oral to Written Communication: The example of the Sophists**

Greek culture was primarily oral until the mid 5th century, but the second half of that century saw a gradual and uneven transition to written communication. I plan to sketch out some ideas about the effects this transition had on the work of the Sophists, especially those who would have begun their work before 450. I stress that these thoughts are somewhat speculative and preliminary.

I begin with Gorgias, whose *Helen* and *Palamedes*, were clearly written for oral performance. *Palamedes* is in fact a pleading in court, and *Helen* is partly a defense speech and partly an encomium. Both are well known for oral stylistic features such as antithesis, *isocolon*, balanced clauses, and *homoiooteleuton*, as well as signposts, ring-composition, parallelism, parataxis, and a relatively simplified sentence structure. *On Not Being*, on the other hand, is completely different. Its style is suitable for reading but not for oral performance.

Protagoras' man-measure saying also has clear oral rhythmic features – Of all things the measure is humans, of things that are that they are and of things that are not that they are not. At some point this was written down as the opening words of his book entitled *Truth* or *Overthrowing Arguments*, as we know from several references. We know nothing more about the contents of *Truth*, but it appears that no further explanation or discussion of this saying followed. This leads me to wonder if *Truth* might have been a compilation of such aphorisms, rather like Heraclitus' work.

Following these two figures, I will look more briefly at Prodicus, Hippias, Antiphon and Socrates; the latter, famously, only communicated orally, and I will speculate on how Plato's writings may have changed the message Socrates was delivering.

### **Robert N. Gaines, The University of Alabama, robert.gaines@ua.edu - Hunting the Snark in Cic. *Inv.* 1.8**

At *Inv.* 1.8 Cicero criticizes Hermagoras for allocating *theses* to orators. He then comments on Hermagoras's whole work: "Not that the treatise he published seems very faulty, for he appears to have succeeded at assembling materials that he had selected with cleverness and care from earlier treatises, and to have brought forward something new himself . . ." (my trans.) Some scholars believe these remarks are "ungenerous" or "ungrateful," because they do not respect the "inventor" of stasis theory (Hubbell 1949, Achard 1994/2018). Other scholars see the remarks as simply factual. Nüßlein (1998) interprets Cicero as observing that Hermagoras and he followed the same method in composing their respective works (see *Inv.* 2.4 and Barwick 1961). Heath (1993, 1995, 2004) and Braet (1999) trace early contributions to stasis theory and document theories among Hermagoras's rivals. Neither reception explains the apparent snarkiness of Cicero's comment (see Walker 2011), because the one posits a dubious motivation, while the other ignores a seemingly fractious tone. In the alternative I argue that Cicero's comment is snarky, and that this reflects his (or his teacher's) impatience with Hermagoras's apparent lack of mastery over a central example that Hermagoras used to explain stasis, the myth of Orestes (see Thiele 1893). Orestes examples in *Inv.* and *Rhet. Her.* (and arguably Hermagoras) are very similar to Aristotle's treatment of an argument in Theodectes' *Orestes* (*Rh.* 2.23.3, 1401a; see Wright 2016). Evidently working from different literary sources for this myth, Cicero (or his teacher) was able to extend Hermagoras's theory of stasis in two instances. One extension, consistent with Euripides' *Orestes*, reconceived *firmamentum* as the strongest defensive argument directed to the *iudicatio* (cf. Adamietz 1960). The other extension created a fifth type of *controversiae scripti*, namely definition of a word, which amounted to the winning issue in Aeschylus's *Eumenides*.

### **Cynthia Gannett and John C. Brereton, Fairfield University, cinthiagannett@gmail.com, jbrereton@gmail.com - Continuity and Accommodation in US Jesuit Rhetorical Education: 1789-Vatican II**

Recent scholarship addresses European Jesuit rhetoric from the Old Society, but less inquiry considers Jesuit post-Suppression efforts to renew/ re-invent rhetorical education in new global sites where it was permitted (tenuously) to develop schools. The United States, mission territory until the early 20<sup>th</sup>

c, primarily serving marginalized Catholic immigrants, offers insight into this understudied history. Along with JCRC, we are identifying/ inventorying archival materials at Jesuit colleges and provincial archives to create a more complete record of rhetorical texts, figures, and curricula in American Jesuit education.

We examine the dynamic, hybridized rhetorical curricula of selected Northeastern Jesuit colleges, some of the oldest in the U.S. These schools continued their multi-century devotion to studying primary classical works and progymnasmata long after American higher education abandoned that intensive language study, a clear indication of their commitment to the common course of study they cultivated from their mid-16<sup>th</sup> c origins. They also fostered a rich tradition of writing their own textbooks, integrating classical and Christian traditions with current rhetorical work, joining secular and sacred rhetoric, and adapting to local circumstances as in centuries past.

Balancing continuity and accommodation, a chief feature of Jesuit ministries, is clear in curricular and program records that demonstrate complex interactions between Jesuit-produced rhetoric texts and larger rhetorical traditions, continental and “homegrown.” Martin du Cygne’s *Ars Rhetorica*, (St. Omer, 1619, republished Baltimore MD, 1866) was used at Georgetown, Fordham and Holy Cross all the way into the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. Interestingly, the same classes used major British (Protestant) texts like Hugh Blair’s popular *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), and Quackenbos’ pragmatic American compilation, *Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric* (1855) that dominated in U.S. rhetorical education. It is this fascinating cultural/rhetorical hybridity that we want to document and understand as part of the Jesuits’ ministries of the word.

### **Robert Gilmor, University of Denver, robert.gilmor@du.edu - Incongruity and Institutional Ethos in University Archives**

Archives in US universities are often replete with the records of the institution, documenting the university’s finances, its organization, and the triumphs and struggles of its sports teams. But as Debra Hawhee contends, archives are “furtive things,” as full of “records of breakdowns and failures” as priceless insight into intellectual, social, and cultural thought. And university archives are no exception: mixed in with carefully curated materials of university success are many records of breakdown and failure, including unrealized plans for the future of the university.

The realities of higher education in the United States drive universities to cultivate an attractive institutional ethos, and promotional materials must necessarily apply what Kenneth Burke called the “Beauty Clinic,” a tendency to suppress or “smooth over” problematic or even “ugly” language. The same can be said of institutional histories, and how universities tell their own stories helps to define who they appear to be today. University archives, then, collect materials such as funding campaigns, master plans, and other “visions” of the future that all contribute to a set of rhetorics aimed at engaging and inviting identification with civic entities and constituencies--and, of course, their capital.

But I suggest that *failed* visions and plans contribute to a university's ethos and that analysis of *unrealized* futures disrupt and enrich our understanding of university identity and identification. Using Burke’s concept of perspective by incongruity and Hawhee’s historiography by incongruity, this presentation emphasizes *failure* as a means to interrogate the neat, polished narratives of identity and history that institutions craft. I focus on capital campaigns and master plans from the 1940s through the 1960s, a time of massive expansion and growth in higher education in the US. Ultimately, I suggest that an incongruous look at *failure*--at the aspects of institutional ethos that are understated or glossed over--can enrich our understanding of the complex rhetorical relationships between universities and their civic neighbors, constituencies, and partners, thus lending valuable insight into the rhetorics of institutional histories.

**Marina Salvador Gimeno, Complutense University of Madrid, marisalv@ucm.es - Claudius Claudianus (4th-5th centuries): literary topics in his references to time**

Many references to time have been found in the work of Claudius Claudianus, who was born in Alexandria around the year 370 and became the official poet of the Western Roman Emperor Honorius. However, studies focused on the literary topics that underlie these temporal references have not been conducted so far. Thus, an analysis addressing this topic is essential. The main objective of this study is to comprehensively assess the verses in which the Latin poet refers to time in order to analyse the literary topics that appear in them. To achieve this aim, the temporal references found in the work of Claudius Claudianus were divided into three categories: A) the phases of the day (sunrise, sunset, dusk), B) the stages of human life (childhood, youth, maturity, old age) and C) seasons of the year (spring, summer, autumn, winter). The main findings of this study suggest that for each temporal category, at least, one literary topic was repeated: A) mythological dawn, B) tempus fugit or brevity of life, and the young and the old, C) locus amoenus. Moreover, these literary topics were evaluated in detail from a double approach: lexical, examining the Latin terms and expressions in which they are formulated, and comparative, detecting similarities and differences with previous authors, both Greek epics and Latin lyrics and elegiacs. This study confirms the survival of literary topics in temporal contextualizations of this author.

**Adam J. Goldsmith, Northwestern University, adamgoldsmith2024@u.northwestern.edu - Prudence Allied with Justice: A Reading of Judgment Guided by the Identity of Honestum & Utile**

I argue that a principle of appropriate judgment is essential to understand Cicero's approach to rhetorical eloquence. Drawing upon the concept of "decorum", that rhetorical scholar Robert Hariman describes as the idea "that speech will not be effective unless it fits in with the characteristic features of the speaker, subject, audience, occasion, or medium," I extend this idea to consider what a Ciceronian theory of prudential judgment would look like.<sup>1</sup> By prudential judgment, I mean the exercise of appropriate decision-making that proportionately considers the morally good (honestum) and useful (utile) for a particular situation. Reading Cicero's theoretical works, such as *De Officiis* and *De Oratore*, in tandem with his political speeches, such as *Pro Murena* and the *Philippics*, and alongside contemporary Ciceronian scholars, such as Joy Connolly and Gary Remer, I interpret Cicero's belief in the identity of goodness and usefulness as a "rule" to guide how one makes practical judgments.<sup>2</sup> However, because of the difficulty of reconciling these often-opposing goals, this rule is not a rule in the strict sense. Rather, belief in the identity of honestum and utile encourages one to wrestle with how to accommodate apparently contradictory ends through attention to a situation's uniqueness and the invention of novel solutions.

To demonstrate this, first I look to *De Officiis* to show how judgment is at the center of "the conflict between the right and the expedient."<sup>3</sup> Then, I compare this theoretical reading with Cicero's practical navigation of right and expediency in *Pro Murena*.<sup>4</sup> Finally, following Connolly, "I treat these texts as prompts that make ideas available for our active use," and suggest how this understanding of prudential judgment may be helpful for contemporary issues.<sup>5</sup>

1. Robert Hariman, "Decorum," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
2. Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1913).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Cicero on the Ideal Orator (De Oratore)*, trans. James M. May, and Jakob. Wisse. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Pro Murena," in *Defense Speeches*, trans. D. H. Berry, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Philippics*, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, J. T. Ramsey, and Gesine Manuwald. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Joy Connolly, *The Life of Roman Republicanism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).  
Gary Remer, *Ethics and the Orator : the Ciceronian Tradition of Political Morality*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017).

3. Cicero, *De officiis*

4. Cicero, *Pro Murena*

5. Connolly, *The Life of Roman Republicanism*

### **Pilar Gómez, Universidad de Barcelona, pgomez@ub.edu - Egipto y los dioses griegos: pervivencia de un tópico en el s. II d.C.**

Egipto fue referente destacado en el imaginario griego y, desde época temprana, la cultura griega entabló con el país del Nilo un constante diálogo para delimitar su propia idiosincrasia frente a la alteridad que Egipto representaba.

La religión tradicional de los griegos se basa en el culto a unos dioses antropomórficos, nacidos de la creación poética. Sin embargo, ya en el pensamiento arcaico griego hubo voces críticas sobre esa concepción de la divinidad, y el relato etnográfico de Heródoto presta atención al culto y a los dioses de Egipto tanto para señalar las semejanzas entre el panteón griego y el egipcio como para destacar sus diferencias.

Luciano de Samosata (s. II d.C.) es un representante ilustre de la Segunda Sofística y en sus obras son habituales las referencias a Egipto. Su atención por las divinidades egipcias refleja un interés semejante al de Heródoto y justifica, desde una óptica satírica, cómo son los dioses griegos, qué culto reciben o cuál es su origen, por afinidad o por contraste con las prácticas religiosas de los egipcios.

También del s. II d.C. el apologeta cristiano Atenágoras de Atenas en su *Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν* (*Legatio pro Christianorum*) retoma como argumento la vinculación de los dioses griegos con Egipto para denostar el culto pagano desde un punto de vista teológico y doctrinal en defensa del Cristianismo.

La similitud de imágenes y razonamientos entre dos autores coetáneos, pero tan dispares en su pensamiento o en la intención de sus escritos como Luciano y Atenágoras, permite concluir que en la tradición literaria griega el origen egipcio de los dioses griegos adquiere el carácter de lugar común; y, además, esa correspondencia funcional y cualitativa confirma cómo los autores-sofistas del s. II, paganos o cristianos, comparten un mismo patrimonio cultural, basado en la *paideía* retórica griega, de la que también la religión forma parte.

### **Timothy P. Green, Defiance College, Ohio, USA, tgreen@defiance.edu - Language as a Source of Invention: Roots of Renaissance Rhetorical “Copiousness” in the Medieval *Ars Praedicandi***

This paper explores the connections between English Renaissance-era rhetorical theories of “copiousness” and earlier, language-based strategies of invention taught in the Medieval tradition of *Artes Praedicandi*. In brief, the paper aims to connect these two typically disparate approaches, and in so doing, demonstrate the Scholastic roots of many Renaissance approaches to language and rhetorical invention strategies. The tradition of rhetorical “copiousness,” or the primacy of multiple approaches to linguistic variation as a key to rhetorical invention strategies, was a well-known feature of Renaissance-era rhetorical pedagogy, especially in England, as exemplified in the *De Copia Rerum Ac Verborum* of Desiderius Erasmus and other manuals. In most scholarly descriptions of this important feature of Renaissance rhetorical instruction, the development and pursuit of copiousness as a desired rhetorical ability is typically linked to the renewed interest in Classical Latin and the techniques of classical rhetoricians such as Quintilian. Usually, this story is told as one of a re-discovery of a long-

disregarded approach to rhetoric, arriving as a sort of rhetorical “rebirth” in the Renaissance era. While there is a great deal of truth to this story, the disjunction between Renaissance and the more recent Medieval approaches is often over-exaggerated in standard Rhetorical histories. This paper thus aims to connect these two eras to demonstrate a greater synthesis and connection between works such as Erasmus’s *De Copia* and Medieval/Scholastic works of preacher training, specifically by showing the affinities between 15th-century advocates of linguistic variation with 13th-century guides to preaching strategies of the *sermo modernus* style. Both groups of texts, spanning over three centuries, show a remarkable attention to language and its structures – usually Latin, but sometimes Greek as well – as a resource for invention in itself. Both approaches to rhetorical training feature a number of similar linguistically-based approaches to an attitude of “expansion” as a key to rhetorical effectiveness, using wordplay, puns, and other rhetorical figures as not only curiosities of language structure but also as fertile ground for true rhetorical invention. Specifically, by drawing on recent scholarship into the sermons of Thomas Aquinas, especially in recent works of Robin Hoogland and Randall Smith, this paper will demonstrate that their insights into the intricate linguistic approaches to preaching invention can and should be read as an important forerunner to the later work of Erasmus and other influential Renaissance rhetoricians. Therefore, the work of Erasmus is resituated in a form of continuity with the exercises and theories of the more recent Medieval past, rather than a form of “rupture” more indebted to long-lost Classical ideals. Finally, this paper argues for the key to this consistency of rhetorical approach as based ultimately in a Christian understanding of language, which combines a Scholastic/Aristotelian understanding of causality combined with St. Augustine’s theory of signs and signification as expressed in the *De Doctrina Christiana*. Such an analysis can move our understanding of rhetoric into a greater connection with the deeper, underlying philosophy of language itself which motivates and underlies both the Medieval and Renaissance efforts to marshal linguistic resources in service to rhetorical invention.

**Caio Griman, Universidade de São Paulo - USP, caiogriman@gmail.com - Music as part of rhetorical instruction in Jesuit schools in 17th-century Austria**

Looking into the history of Austrian music produced before the notorious First Viennese school one can easily see that a large number of the most prominent composers in Austrian courts from the 17th century completed the lower studies - also known as the humanist curriculum - of one of the educational institutions of the Society of Jesus, which were founded throughout Austria. Jesuit schools were undeniably the main centers for the training of musicians in Catholic Europe at the beginning of the Modern Era. However, music, as well as other relevant areas of study for the humanists and Lutherans of the period (such as poetry and history), was not taught as an autonomous discipline in the educational system of the Society of Jesus. Music was used in the Jesuits’ lower studies as a means of exemplifying the rhetorical procedures exposed in class, and was considered an indispensable component of the erudition necessary to achieve the Ciceronian ideal of the perfect orator, who should be able to speak about any proposed topic indefinitely. This paper aims to evaluate how music was approached in Jesuit schools in 17th-century Austria, focusing on demonstrating the dependence of the study of music on the teaching of rhetoric in the humanist curriculum. To this end, we will discuss one of the main treatises that addressed the *Musica Rhetorica*, used by Austrian Jesuit teachers in the 17th and early 18th centuries: the *Musurgia Universalis, sive Ars Magna Consoni et Dissoni*.

**Estrella Guerra Caminiti, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, eguerra@pucp.pe - El sermón de evangelización en el Perú colonial y el mundo de los muertos**

La conquista de América y, específicamente la del territorio peruano, no solo fue un hecho de armas, sino también epistémico. Esto último implicó la imposición violenta de un sistema de creencias y de una religión, la cristiano-católica. La herramienta de conversión más importante que se utilizó en dicha empresa fue el de la predicación, primero en una forma muy sencilla a la que se llamó plática, y, luego, en una forma más compleja que constituye propiamente lo que llamamos “sermón de evangelización”.

Así, el propósito de esta ponencia es poner en evidencia la violencia epistémica que significó para el mundo andino la reinterpretación del mundo después de la muerte y cómo este replanteamiento se convirtió en una estrategia para lograr la sumisión del hombre andino a partir de la dicotomía cielo-infierno. Con este objetivo, se rastrearán los tópicos clásicos asociados a la temática escatológica en el sermón cristiano y se contrastará con lo propuesto para la evangelización en el Perú, principalmente, a partir del III Concilio Limense y el sermonario elaborado por dicho sínodo (1585) y del sermonario trabajado por Francisco de Ávila, *Tratado de los evangelios* (1647), con el objetivo de consolidar la extirpación de idolatrías en los Andes. Asimismo, daremos cuenta de las estrategias retóricas utilizadas para presentar dichos tópicos con el objetivo no solo de enseñar la nueva doctrina (*docere*), sino, y aún más importante, despertar las emociones de la audiencia (*movere*). Se configura, en consecuencia, un sermón con características singulares, ya que debe mantener un registro humilde, pero, a la vez, mover los afectos de la audiencia con el objetivo último de lograr su sumisión y sometimiento.

**Derek Handley, UW-Milwaukee, dghandley@gmail.com - Rhetoric of Return: African or American?**

In September 2018, Ghana's President Nana Akufo-Addo visited Washington DC where he announced the "Year of Return, Ghana 2019," a call for those persons of African descent living in the diaspora to visit Ghana during a year-long celebration. On that occasion, President Akufo-Addo said, "We know of the extraordinary achievements and contributions they [Africans in the diaspora] made to the lives of the Americans, and it is important that this symbolic year—400 years later—we commemorate their existence and their sacrifices" (UN.org). Akufo-Addo's announcement underlines a consistent question asked by African Americans living in the Americas since—where is home? In other words, do African Americans have an African, or an American, identity? The rhetorical history of Americans of West African descent is punctuated by repeated arguments over national, cultural, racial, and ethnic identity. Many of those arguments, as they advanced theories of citizenship, nationalism, and democracy, struggled to reconcile the tension between "black alienation" and "black solidarity." Attending to those conflicted arguments, this presentation investigates the "Back to Africa" arguments as first expressed by Martin Delaney in the 19th century and then again by Marcus Garvey in the early 20th century, and why Ghana's call still resonates within the African Diaspora in present day. In particular, I examine the arguments concerning whether African Americans should remain in the United States or move to Africa, "the land of opportunity." This presentation brings together recent work in rhetorical, transnational, and African American studies in order to make our understanding of African American identity more robust and more useful, and to show how African Americans have used common places and common visions of "Back to Africa" to compose, authorize, and lend force to their arguments freedom, upward mobility, and human dignity for African Americans

**Dana Harrington, independent scholar, harrindana1@gmail.com - Descartes' *Passions of the Soul* and the Rhetorical Tradition**

Traditional intellectual histories have read Descartes' view of the passions through a framework that posits a rigid distinction between emotion and reason, body and mind. Within this framework, passions are seen as bodily entities that obscure the perception of clear ideas and often lead to irrational action. Recently, however, scholars have begun to reassess this received view. Anthony Beavers argues that in *Passions of the Soul* (1649) Descartes endeavors "to overcome a strict reading of his own dualism through an account of the human passions" (*History of Philosophy*, 1989). John Sutton also illustrates how body and mind are integrated in Descartes' physiological discussion of the passions (*Philosophy & Memory Traces*, Cambridge UP, 1998).

In light of these studies, I reread Descartes' *Passions* within a rhetorical tradition in which the passions played an integral role in cognitive and moral development. I begin by situating his discussion of the physiology of the passions in the context of commentaries on Aristotle's *On Memory* (Averroes, Albertus Magnus, Aquinas). These commentaries articulate the significance of bodily sensations (*pathe*) in the act of perception and memory storage (based on the premise that all knowledge is gained through the senses). In this tradition, associations between felt sensations (movements in the body) and ideas were forged through habits that worked to create physiological links essential to memory storage and recall. While Descartes draws on this earlier tradition, I illustrate how he modifies it by arguing that reactive habits (e.g. habits created by continuously associating feelings of fear with the act of flight) can be modified by using techniques of rhetoric. One can, Descartes insists, break forged links formed through the association of previous thoughts and actions through self-persuasion, including drawing on the passions. I end this paper by suggesting how Descartes situates the passions not as the enemy of reason but as a means to gain a sense of agency in a turbulent time.

**Rosalia Hatzilambrou, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, rosahatz@phil.uoa.gr - Arguing in inheritance cases in classical Athens**

In this paper I am presenting an account of the arguments advanced in the corpus of the Attic inheritance speeches, which consists of eleven speeches by the orator Isaeus (Isae. 1-11), two pseudo-Demosthenic speeches, namely [Dem.] 43 and [Dem.] 44, several fragments by Lysias and Isaeus, and the fragment 'Against Timandrus' by Hyperides attested in the Archimedes Palimpsest. Isocrates 19, written for an inheritance case in Aegina, is also considered, for it shares some features with the Attic speeches. Topics addressed in my study are the classification of arguments into types, their variations, their distinction between rational, emotional and character arguments, their adherence to the rule of law, their structure and placing within the speech, their support by evidence, tactics and other rhetorical means, and fallacies involved. Additionally, I am discussing the absence of some expected (at least to the modern audience) arguments. Since no systematic study of this topic has been undertaken before, the paper aims to contribute to the understanding of the argumentation advanced in Attic inheritance oratory, a significant sub-corpus within Attic oratory, which has provided students of rhetoric with principles and model arguments since classical antiquity.

**Wolfgang Havener, University of Heidelberg, wolfgang.havener@zaw.uni-heidelberg.de - Auctoritas in Serie – Die Konstruktion von exempla-Reihen in der römischen Rhetorik**

Die *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4,62) definiert das exemplum als „Berufung auf irgendeine Tat oder einen Ausspruch aus der Vergangenheit, verbunden mit der namentlichen Nennung ihres Urhebers“. Im rhetorischen Kontext konnte eine solche Kombination von historischer Leistung und herausragender Persönlichkeit in einer möglichst einprägsamen Geschichte dazu dienen, durch Verweis auf einen bekannten Präzedenzfall eigene Argumente zu stützen oder gegnerische zu widerlegen. Ein weiterer zentraler Aspekt römischer Exemplarität, der zugleich die Leitfragen des Panels berührt, wird in der zitierten Definition jedoch nicht thematisiert: exempla illustrierten spezifisch römische Leitbegriffe wie *virtus*, *pietas* oder *clementia*. Sie waren mithin weit mehr als bloße rhetorische *topoi*; das Konzept der Exemplarität stellte im Rahmen der römischen Gesellschaft ein zentrales Instrument zur Etablierung und Vermittlung gemeinsamer Normen und Werte dar. Die einzelnen exemplarischen Episoden bildeten eine Art Kanon positiver und negativer Präzedenzfälle, die nicht nur im Rahmen spezifischer rhetorischer Argumentationen verwendet werden konnten, sondern Denk- und Handlungsmuster in umfassenderer Weise prägten. Nur aufgrund dieser tiefen Verwurzelung im *mos maiorum* konnten exempla auch im rhetorischen Kontext ihre volle Wirkung

entfalten. Insbesondere Angehörige der senatorischen Elite verinnerlichteten diesen Kanon in einem Maße, das es Rednern ermöglichte, solche Episoden und die mit ihnen verbundenen Wertbegriffe allein durch die Nennung eines Namens aufzurufen. Der Vortrag fokussiert auf eine Extremform dieser Technik: die exempla-Reihen, d.h. die serielle Aneinanderreihung von Namen ohne detailliertere Angaben zu den jeweils erbrachten Leistungen und ihren Kontexten. Eine solche Technik konnte sich nur dann als funktional erweisen, wenn die Redner auf allgemein verbreitete Assoziationsketten ebenso wie auf etablierte Wertvorstellungen zurückgreifen konnten. Anhand ausgewählter Fallbeispiele soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, nach welchen Prinzipien und zu welchem Zweck die „Protagonisten“ solcher exempla-Reihen ausgewählt und gereiht wurden. Eine derartige Analyse kann Aufschluss darüber geben, wie die spezifischen soziopolitischen und kulturellen Rahmenbedingungen Roms sowohl die rhetorische Theorie als auch die konkrete Praxis beeinflussten.

**Marcus Held, University of Sao Paulo, mvheld@usp.br - The 18th Century Musical Orator - delivery, pronuntiatio and musical performance**

During 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, Rhetoric was a prime factor in both musical composition and performance. The comparison of the latter with oratory - delivery - is frequently found in many treatises throughout those years, especially on eighteenth century writers, such as Geminiani (1751), Quantz (1752), L. Mozart (1756) and C.P.E. Bach (1762). According to primary and secondary sources, an effective delivery of (musical) discourse aims to move the audience's emotion. This kind of thinking is precisely alike - and almost verbatim to - what Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian had also defended in their works, many centuries before. This paper discusses and analyzes, in order to clarify the notions of this rhetorical style of music, various correspondences on the subject of performance and its relation to the so-called pronuntiatio among the Greek and Roman philosophers mentioned above. Since contemporary sources lack on summarizing them, this paper will contribute to parallel and further studies on the usage of Rhetoric throughout the 1700s, above all on music. Firstly, the concept of delivery - found in the theoretical oeuvre of Francesco Geminiani (an influential eighteenth-century musical thinker, yet not thoroughly regarded by musicological surveys), and of pronuntiatio - found in those rhetorical tomes - will be defined. Secondly, the various evidence that relate to the classical writers will be shown, compared, deliberated and scrutinized. This will lead us to provide a clear notion of eighteenth-century musical performance. It will be evident that its conception is intrinsically related to oral speech: both discourses must arouse, move and delight the listener's passions.

**William Rodney Herring, University of Colorado Denver, rodney.herring@ucdenver.edu - Thomas Paine's Occasional Audience**

In most of his writing, Thomas Paine quite explicitly played with his audiences. He often “addressed” one obvious and famous target—for example, Admiral Richard Howe in the second pamphlet of his *American Crisis* series in 1777. There he insulted Howe, telling him that the “character you appear to us in is truly ridiculous.” He addressed Edmund Burke similarly in *The Rights of Man* (1791). To Burke’s claim that a people cannot overthrow a form of government legitimately chosen (even if chosen by a prior generation), Paine responded, “A greater absurdity cannot present itself to the understanding.” But in neither case was the addressee Paine’s actual audience, as is suggested by what we must conclude would be poorly chosen rhetorical strategies of ridicule. It was not the minds of Howe and Burke he sought to change but those of other readers. Howe and Burke (and other addressees elsewhere) presented something like exigencies—occasions upon which Paine felt compelled to put pen to paper. But these addressees were only merely exigencies: They served other

purposes in Paine's writing, thus shaping his arguments about the nature of popular sovereignty, and they fulfilled common criteria, which we can discuss as constituting an "occasional audience." The relation among those purposes and Paine's view of the public and how those relations constituted his occasional audience are the subject of this presentation.

**Jon Hesk, University of St Andrews, [jph4@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:jph4@st-andrews.ac.uk) - 'This is not the place'. The constitutive dynamic of Athenian deliberative prologues**

The prologues of Athenian (mostly Demosthenic) assembly speeches and the fifty-six Demosthenic deliberative exordia which are collected separately, are replete with rhetorical commonplaces of content and form: the *captatio benevolentiae*, the justification for speaking despite inexperience, the hypothetical inversion, and so on. And their recurring themes have been mined for what they seemingly tell us about the real reactions and expectations of Athenian citizens in the Assembly. In this paper, I will take a different approach by asking how and why some of these prologues always (re)constitute their audiences as deliberators in this place, this institutional space and on this policy question. That approach will disclose a different set of recurring strategies to those which we normally notice. The question of what types of behaviour, thinking and discourse on the part of both speakers and audiences are appropriate to each of Athens' democratic-rhetorical places of performance is consistently central to these constitutive strategies. But we will also see that no two prologues are particularly similar when read as a whole. That impression of distinctiveness is also crucial to a correct appreciation of Athenian deliberative oratory's negotiation with its audience.

**Mika Hietanen, Lund University, [mika.hietanen@kom.lu.se](mailto:mika.hietanen@kom.lu.se) - The Nature and Role of Non-Rhetorical Arguments**

The Aristotelian *pisteis* are considered to be the absolute core of classical rhetoric, alongside the *partes rhetorices* and the *genera causarum*. However, modern textbooks tend to either confuse the difference between *logos*-arguments and *pisteis atechnoi* or to ignore the latter altogether by subsuming them under the heading of *logos*-arguments. This indicates a problem in the difference in definition and usage of these two.

Since Aristotle, the division into *probationes inartificiales* and *artificiales* has been widely accepted. The difference is that the former do not require the art of rhetoric whereas the latter can only be found through the use of rhetoric.

However, when it comes to *logos*-arguments, this division is sometimes tenuous. First, rhetoric is not superfluous for non-artistic arguments either. According to Quintilian, also these proofs should be used *summ̄is eloquentiæ viribus*. A case in point is the *præiudicia* in the *genus iudiciale*, which stands close to the artistic proof *exemplum* (one of three sub-groups of *logos*-arguments: *signa*, *argumenta*, *exempla*).

Beginning with Aristotle and moving onwards through Cicero, Quintilian, and a few other sources in both Greek and Roman times, and ending with Isidorus, this study offers an overview of how inartificial proofs have been dealt with in antiquity. The purpose is to offer (academic) educators and textbook authors of today a source-based overview and understanding of the *pisteis atechnoi* and thereby a deeper understanding of the *logos*-argument as well.

This topic is not a narrow one and therefore the main thoughts can be covered in a limited study.

**Thierry Hirsch, Luxembourg/University of Oxford, thierry.hirsch@outlook.com - Topos/Locus: From Aristotle to Late Republican Rome**

The concepts of topos/locus and koinos topos/communis locus that we find in Aristotle's extant works, notably in his Rhetoric, somehow found their way to Rome, where they appear in the first two extant Roman handbooks on rhetoric, the anonymous Rhetorica ad Herennium and Cicero's De Inventione. However, alterations seem to have been made in Hellenistic rhetoric as the concepts found in these Roman sources do not exactly correspond to their Aristotelian counterparts. Decades after his De Inventione, Cicero will return to these concepts in his De Oratore, his Partitiones Oratoriae, and, most extensively, in his Topica. This paper will analyse how much of the Aristotelian concepts we find in these two Roman handbooks, how they are presented in Cicero's later works, at whom they are aimed (the orator, the rhetorician, ...?), and whether or not they are presented as universally applicable.

**Michael Hoppmann, Northeastern University, m.j.hoppmann@gmail.com - George Campbell's topics and contemporary humor theory**

George Campbell's opening chapters of the Philosophy of Rhetoric (POR I,ii) are a famous milestone in the history of humor in rhetoric. They offer an interesting combination of classical advice about the types, origins and aims of the laughable in a Ciceronian tradition mixed with curious idiosyncrasies (such as Campbell's adamant rejection of the "spurious bantling called fun" POR I,ii,3). Even though they are his most famous contribution to the history of humor, they might not be the most relevant part of the Philosophy of Rhetoric for humor theory. One of the central contemporary theories of humor is McGraw and Warren's so-called Benign Violation Theory (McGraw & Warren, 2010; McGraw & Warner, 2014). The Benign Violation Theory postulates that humor occurs, when three conditions are met: 1) An act, utterance or situation is perceived as a violation of a norm; 2) this violation is judged to be benign; and 3) both judgements occur simultaneously. McGraw and Warren clarify that in their view just about any human norm can be violated to trigger humor, as long as the violation is benign. (McGraw & Warren, 2014, 76; Warren & McGraw, 2016, 410). While the kinds of norm are easy enough to identify, the BVT is less clear on the exact conditions that determine the benignity of a violation. I argue that Campbell's famous seven "circumstances that are chiefly instrumental in operating on the Passions" (POR I,vii,5), the model that Innocenti Manolescu describes as "as a topical inventional system for emotional appeals" (2007, 172) fill in the gap in the Benign Violation Theory. By providing a simplified rhetorical psychology, Campbell supplies the categories that allow us to use the BVT to predict and critique humorous success in persuasive texts.

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**David Isaksen, University of South-Eastern Norway, david.e.isaksen@usn.no - Early Georgian Rhetoric: The Rhetoric School at Phasis and Debate Culture in the 6th Century Laz Assembly**

This presentation attempts to trace the influence of the School of Rhetoric and Philosophy at Phasis on the art of eloquence and debate culture on display in the Laz Assembly debates following the murder of King Gubaz II. Many sources attest that there was a famous School of Rhetoric and Philosophy at Phasis (Poti) in Georgia, with Themistius being one of the most famous students and teachers to have emerged from it. It is likely that this school had a great influence on the debate culture in the West Georgian kingdom of Lazica that it belonged to. According to Agathian Scholasticus, the Laz Assembly was summoned in 555 to decide whether they should break their allegiance to the Byzantine Empire. This assembly provides vivid signs of a rich culture of debate and eloquent speeches and may indicate the pedagogical preferences that could be found at the school in Phasis.

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**Aleksandra Ivanovic, University of Belgrade, aleksandraivanovic@outlook.com - Topoi and Tradition in Serbian Medieval Hymnography**

The aim of this paper is to examine and classify commonplaces used in Serbian medieval hymnography. Strongly grounded in the translations of Byzantine liturgical poetry, early Slavic hymnography adopted and transformed biblical and ancient Greek topoi present in Byzantine texts. The main role of these commonplaces in medieval Slavic literature was to provide an exegesis of biblical texts and at the same time persuasively present a model of Christian ethics, embodied in the life of a saint. In the last few decades, literary historians have widely examined the typology and function of topoi in Byzantine and East Slavic medieval literary works, firmly relying on the philological method of E. E. Curtius. Nonetheless, the topics of Serbian medieval hymnography, spanning several decades (13th – 17th century), remain an almost unexplored field. In this paper, we focus on four different liturgical hymns – *Service for St. Simeon* by Sava Nemanjic, *Service for St. Sava* by Theodosius of Hilandar (13th century), *Service for St. Prince Lazar* by an unknown writer, and *Service for St. King Stefan of Decani* by Gregory Tsamblak (15th century). These hymns are all dedicated to different types of saints – *hagiotypes* (martyrs, holy bishops, or the so-called „enlighteners“, holy monks and holy warriors). By analyzing the Old Church Slavonic texts of these hymns in comparison with Byzantine rhetorical and poetical models, one can discover the way different topoi have been transformed in the new sociocultural context (the independent Serbian statehood and church organization, during the rule of the Nemanjic dynasty), and the way they were applied in portraying a specific category of sanctity. The examination of commonplaces in medieval poetry thus sheds new light on the Byzantine rhetorical heritage in Slavia Orthodoxa, as well as the relationship between rhetoric and poetics, liturgical and cult practice.

**Jeroen Jansen, University of Amsterdam, j.jansen@uva.nl, ‘It’s all about the reader’. Book dedications (1616) by Gerbrand Bredero**

In the past century, historians of literature have studied early modern book dedications mainly as an expression of career criticism and patronage relationships. Recently, the focus has been on prefatory rhetoric, also on the importance of strategies used in dedicatory letters to guide a book from a private to a public sphere. In the same way, commonplaces in prefatory material such as modesty and praise,

the traditional quest for protection, for gifts or money, references to the interest of the dedicatee and the taking advantage of the dedicatee's authority and status might indicate strategies of the writer to increase his social power by way of rhetorical skills. In my contribution, some dedicatory letters by the Amsterdam author Gerbrand Adriaensz. Bredero (1585-1618) are analyzed. He was a successful playwright as well as a writer of several poems. But he was also 'an illiterate' writer, who had not passed a Latin school education and presented himself to his readers more than once as a simple Amsterdam man. The first publishing of Bredero's plays in 1616 – four within a few months - was a statement. In my paper I will slalom between the countless *topoi* in Bredero's dedications in order to reach the next step, by looking at the way in which these dedicatory letters show the artistry with which he could have developed reader loyalty. The focus is on the context of these letters, on its topics and commonplaces, especially on those in that remarkable dedication to the world-famous Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). In its interplay between individual and public sphere the letter offered Bredero an important tool in self-representation and self-authorisation. Moreover, it indicates how an 'illiterate' writer used rhetorical instruments to increase social power.

**Madison Jones, University of Rhode Island, madisonjones@uri.edu - Carrying Owls to Athens: Deep Mapping Platonic *Topoi***

This presentation showcases a public-facing digital project which maps a material history of Athens to understand the relationship between Plato's spatial theories and the Attic environment. This presentation is situated within the sub-disciplines of digital rhetoric and rhetorics of space/place to demonstrate how emerging location-based technologies can help put spatial theories into innovative practice. Building from place-based research conducted in Greece, this project challenges commonly accepted views of Plato's theories as purely abstract, formal, or otherwise separate from the physical world by visualizing the role mining plays as a complex rhetorical *topos* in the *Critias* and *Timaeus* dialogues. Mapping a material history of the Laurium mines through a digital project further situates *topoi* as both "place" and "topic" for rhetoricians interested in the role of the environment in spatial theories of invention (such as Rickert 2013).

In classical Greece, the commonplace "carrying owls to Athens" referred to the owl of Minerva found on the Athenian tetradrachm. The silver from these coins was mined by slave labor at Laurium, and it provided a major revenue source which helped make Athens an imperial naval power (Jones 2016). In the *Critias*, Plato turns to place as a *topos*, connecting ecological degradation alongside the moral degeneration of the Athenian citizenry. He unearths a crisis of the ontology discussed in the *Timaeus*, asking "How shall I establish my words, and what part of it can be truly called a remnant of the land that then was?" (*Critias*, 110e-111a). This *topos* evokes what Melissa Lane characterizes as the classical relationship between *polis* and *psyche* or "city and soul" (Lane 2012). This project not only unearths historical connections between place and theory in Plato's dialogues, it also situates these theories for contemporary practice by mapping relations between environmental concerns, digital invention, and spatial theory.

**Emma C. de Jong, Emory University, University of Groningen, edejong@emory.edu - Translating Biblical loci into allegorical prints: Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert's commonplace books as sources for generative imagemaking**

The five hundredth anniversary of the birth of prolific printmaker and writer Dirck Volkertszoon Coornhert (Amsterdam, 1522 - Gouda, 1590) provides a fitting occasion to consider his two commonplace books, which have heretofore received little attention. Coornhert's *Ninety passages of the Holy Writ* (Negentich plaetsen der H. Schriftueren, 1585) is a collection of loci taken from the writings of St. Augustine. In the introduction Coornhert posits a defence of allegory, a position which

is supported by the book's loci. Coornhert's life work is the *Loci Communes* (1630), a collection of Biblical loci which was partly published posthumously. The *Loci Communes* is a manifestation of Coornhert's desire to provide a methodological approach to the Bible which is free from human interpretation, as he believed only objectivity would reveal the truths contained within the Bible. Both commonplace books are in Dutch, as Coornhert aspired to reach a local audience. My research focuses on the use of rhetorical devices, especially personification and allegory, in visualizing an argument in sixteenth century prints. For this paper, I will try to answer how Coornhert relied upon his commonplace books to craft his visual arguments. His highly original four part print series 'Allegories of wrong conviction ruining the world' will serve as a representative example. Its images visualize carefully selected Biblical verses and I hypothesize that Coornhert sourced these from his own *Loci Communes*. By considering Coornhert's prints in combination with his commonplace books, I intend to discern the ways in which Coornhert relied upon his own collections of loci for his creative printmaking process.

**Casper de Jonge, Leiden University, c.c.de.jonge@hum.leidenuniv.nl - Migrant Rhetoricians in the Early Roman Empire**

The Early Roman Empire (27 BC – AD 68) was an age of migration. The city of Rome attracted numerous migrants from across the Mediterranean. Among them were many rhetoricians from Hellenized provinces like Egypt, Syria and Asia, who wrote in Greek. Leaving their native regions and travelling to Rome, they moved between cultures, responding in Greek to the new world order. How does Greek rhetoric of this period present, reflect and construct the complex interaction between Greek, Roman and local identities? This paper will examine the migrant status of Greek rhetoricians from the emperor Augustus to the emperor Nero. While cultural mobility was not new in this period, the foundation of a globalized empire gave a decisive impulse to migration, with an unprecedented impact on rhetoric and literature. Early imperial rhetoricians include Apollodorus of Pergamon, Theodorus of Gadara, Caecilius of Caleacte, Aristodemus of Nysa, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. We have only fragments of most of their works (Woerther 2013, 2015), Dionysius being the exception (Connolly 2019). But we have fascinating reports of their lives between cultures. What connects these rhetoricians, coming from present-day Turkey, Jordan and Sicily, is indeed migrancy. The modern concept of migrant literature is therefore particularly useful for analysing this rhetorical corpus. This paper is part of a larger project on 'Migrant Literature in the Early Roman Empire'. The working hypothesis is that ambivalence, polyphony and in-betweenness, notions that are central to the concept of migrant literature, are essential to our understanding of Greek responses to Rome in the Early Roman Empire. This paper will (1) give voice to the understudied perspectives of migrants in the Early Roman Empire; (2) cast new light on Greek rhetoric in the Roman Empire; and (3) develop new insights into the role of rhetoric in periods of migration, then and now.

**Antje Junghanß, Technische Universität Dresden, antje.junghanss@tu-dresden.de - ... ipsi se compungunt suis acuminibus. Invective Topics in philosophos**

One of the guiding questions in Cicero's dialogue *De oratore* is to define the relationship between rhetoric and philosophy. It is hardly surprising that Cicero (mediated by the figures of the dialogue) repeatedly concludes that (even if both disciplines should belong together) rhetoric is after all superior to philosophy. The paper shows that this superiority is partly emphasised by critical or mocking comments against philosophers, which always refer to the same topics: In an analysis of relevant passages in *De oratore* the paper works out that (and in what way) philosophers are mainly blamed or mocked for their hair-splitting, dry, incomprehensible language and their unworldliness. The paper illustrates that some of the topics Cicero draws on were already used in Plato's *Gorgias*, especially in

the attacks of Callicles against Socrates. The paper shows that Cicero, who pursues a different objective of representation, completely abstains from attacks and polemics, and it argues that Cicero's discussion of Plato's *Gorgias* and the philosophical schools that emerged after Socrates is mostly moderate: There is no explicit criticism of Socrates; among the later philosophers, especially the Stoics are blamed and ridiculed, but at the same time they are generally treated with expressions of esteem. The paper will briefly discuss Cicero's criticism of Cato's hardline Stoicism in his speech *Pro Murena*, and it will be stated that even there, the rebuke remains moderate. As a comparison, reference will be made to Quintilian, who is in many respects following Cicero. But in his criticism of the philosophers he is far sharper, and he also uses topics, which Cicero refrained from. Based on this analysis, results are to be derived for the rules of blame speech, especially for the spectrum it can cover between sharp invective and moderate mockery.

**Kirk W. Junker, University of Cologne, [kirk.junker@uni-koeln.de](mailto:kirk.junker@uni-koeln.de) - Foundations in Rhetoric Steered Common Law Practice Through the Liberal Arts, Not the Social Sciences**

Although the European university had taken root at Oxford in the twelfth century, the taught law was canon law and civil law, not the common law. Nevertheless, there were independent common law professionals—the coif-wearing “pleaders”—already in the English royal court by the thirteenth century. A person wishing to be a pleader was trained in law through something more akin to the medieval guild system than the university lecture. At first, there was only this training, during which apprentices attended court to observe the pleaders (and later, barristers), with whom they would confer in the evening in the Inns of Court. The 1422 Black Books of Lincoln's Inn records settled social routines and formal training, but it was still not a university education. Apprentices reported feeling inundated with disorganized lectures and texts and struggled for methods to systematize their understanding of law. They were forced to fall back on their previous formal schooling and sometimes, education, in the trivium of logic, rhetoric and grammar, both to organize their study of legal norms, oral pleading and document drafting, and to supplement the mechanics of law with humanistic understanding. There is little direct evidence of rhetoric made explicit in legal practice, but rhetoricians, working with an eye for it, can see and hear rhetorical concepts and practices throughout the common law to this day. This paper provides examples from rhetoric, such as commonplaces, *dialexis*, motive, circumstantial evidence, artificial proofs, the issue, and presumptive signs in the practice of the common law. The author concludes that these rhetorical concepts and practices can explain the difference between the common law and civil law practices, not in the traditional focus on sources of law, but rather in common law practices founded in liberal arts, while the civil law strives to be social science.

**Bernhard Kaiser, TU Dresden, [bernhard.kaiser@tu-dresden.de](mailto:bernhard.kaiser@tu-dresden.de) - Invective topics at the edge of rhetoric theory. Systematic reflections**

For the speech of reproach as for its charming sibling, the eulogy, the *loci a persona* are of special importance. This is in the nature of things. Rhetoricians therefore treat both types of speech together when dealing with these particular topics. Thus, it can first be noted that the invective speaker apparently orients himself in the same way as the eulogist using the search formulas provided by the so-called biographical scheme: origin, natural disposition, external goods, lifestyle, etc. However, in the concrete arrangement and weighting of these typical aspects, it is part of the characteristics of an invective – so the thesis of these systematic considerations - to set its own accents, which cannot simply be derived from the inversion of praising topics. While the eulogy, for example, will discreetly omit considerations of the love life of the person to be praised, the invective places an emphasis on this area and has developed a whole arsenal of monstrosities in this regard. At the same time, these

concrete manifestations resist topical fixation, because they are often on the limit of what can still be considered decent. It seems, therefore, that in the case of the invective, it depends to a much greater extent on the creativity of the speaker, who, for the sake of effectiveness, must even accept dangers for his own ethos. The paper will examine the special conditions of invective speech with its implications for the development of genus-specific topics. At the same time, it attempts to systematize the observations presented in the other two papers of the panel.

**Allannah Karas, University of Miami, akk87@miami.edu - Appeals to Peithō in Ancient Greek Oratory**

When ancient Greek orators bring Peithō into their speeches, what precisely are they trying to accomplish? From within her rich mythopoetic tradition, Peithō (often translated, Persuasion”) emerges as an erotic deity who straddles both the private and public realms to provide individuals with the power of making others “willing to submit.” At times, moreover, Peithō operates without recourse to an open process of fair argumentation or even the use of words. As such, she is perhaps best understood as a goddess of “Agreeable Compulsion” or “Inducement” rather than “Persuasion.” In the lawcourts and in the theater of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., however, ancient Greek orators would often refer to Peithō at the beginning, end, or middle of their speeches. This paper, then, examines such references in order to determine their precise purpose and effect. For example, Demosthenes (Exord. 54.1), Aeschylus’ King Pelasgus (Aesch. Suppl. 523), Aristophanes’ Lysistrata (Ar. Lys. 203-4), and much later Dio Chrysostom (Or. 1.9.10) all invoke Peithō at the beginning of their speech acts, in order to procure buy-in from their target audience. Themistocles (Hdt. Hist. 8.111) and Aeschylus’ Athena (Aesch. Eum. 885), on the other hand, appeal to Peithō at the end of their speeches, to secure final acquiescence. By contrast, Isocrates (Antid. 15.249. 1-6) and Aeschines (In Ctes. 256) explicitly refer to Peithō in order to disparage those seeking to harness her power for civic persuasion. Through a close examination of these and other speeches, I argue that appeals to Peithō function as a significant and self-conscious power play on the part of the orator. At the same time, they reveal attempts either to control or condemn the semi-divine, pre-rational force present in all acts of human persuasion and civic rhetoric.

**Curry Kennedy, Virginia Military Institute, currywkennedy@gmail.com - Rhetorical Listening and the Early Modern English Art of Hearing**

Scholarship that advocates and theorizes rhetorical listening (see, for example, Ratcliffe 2005 and Glenn and Radcliffe 2011) has argued that listening has been relegated in the western rhetorical tradition, a tradition, it is claimed, that privileges speech. In my presentation, I complicate this sweeping historical narrative and contribute to literature on rhetorical listening by examining a body of early modern English sermons, pamphlets, and treatises that historian Arnold Hunt has dubbed “art of hearing” literature (2010). Previous scholarship on this literature has not taken full stock of the comprehensive practical and theoretical understanding of listening that it exhibits. Largely written by godly ministers in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, these works combine Christian ideas and rhetorical practices to teach parishioners the proper way to participate in sermons. What emerges is an auditory imaginary that, like latter-day works on listening, encourages active, open-minded, selective, and passionate reception. Far from inert patients of oratorical activity, auditors co-construct the sermon through practices of memorization, meditation, and adaptation. Listening is framed as the means by which a person— indeed, all of society—can be made new. These works claim that with enough practice, the art of hearing can be applied not just to the Sunday speech of ministers but to all experience, making the whole creation a homiletical masterwork and all of life an act of listening. My presentation suggests that the history of rhetoric, especially when it is paired with

the history of religion, contains much under-explored material about what philosopher Gemma Fiumara calls “the other side of language.”

**Michele Kennerly, Penn State University, [kennerly@psu.edu](mailto:kennerly@psu.edu) - Making a Place for Atopia in the History and Theory of Rhetoric**

Atopia (strangeness; literally, the condition of being “without a place”) is one of many ancient concepts revived by 20th-century theorists, including theorists of rhetoric. But neither it nor its adjectival form, *atopos*, enjoys much familiarity, and certainly nothing like that enjoyed by *kairos*, *pathos*, *logos*, or *topos*, the term of which it takes alpha-privative form. This talk familiarizes *atopia/atopos*, starting with their use in 4th-century-BCE rhetoric texts, moving into their uptake in 20th-century theory, and pointing toward their potential future use. *Atopia* is a broad-spectrum concept and counterpart of *topos*, the latter of which has underwritten much contemporary work on physical, social, and discursive space and place. *Topos*, however, does not lend itself to the study of the “out of the place,” the exceptional, the eccentric, or the strange, perhaps giving the impression that those areas fall outside of rhetoric’s range. *Atopia* suggests otherwise.

**Rebecca Kiderlen, Seminar für Allgemeine Rhetorik, Universität Tübingen, [rebecca.kiderlen@uni-tuebingen.de](mailto:rebecca.kiderlen@uni-tuebingen.de) - Topical Argumentation in Migration Politics 2015–2016: A Comparative Perspective on Parliamentary Debates in Germany and Sweden**

After numerous refugees sought asylum in Europe in summer 2015 both Germany and Sweden first took particularly large numbers of refugees before soon enacting stricter measures in asylum legislation. In Germany, the controversial measures were passed by the grand coalition and harshly attacked by the opposition. In contrast, in Sweden, known for its frequent minority governments, six of the eight parties represented in the Riksdag banded together to determine migration policy with the *migrationsöverenskommelse* (migration agreement). How did the parties in both parliaments argue for and against the stricter measures? Are there different frequently occurring argument schemes in both countries? Do the arguments reflect the degree of consensus orientation in the parliaments? *Topoi*, in Aristotle’s conception a heuristic to find arguments, can also be used as an instrument to analyze arguments. Based on Aristotle’s description of *topoi* resting upon *endoxa* (accepted opinions) (Aristotle, *Topics* 100a18ff.) and Bornscheuer’s (1976) structural feature of ‘habituality’, I assume that *topoi* as commonly occurring argument schemes reflect and shape social, cultural and political contexts and that it is possible to conclude from the used argument schemes on backgrounds, values and norms forming their basis. Based on this understanding of *topoi*, I analyze the occurring *topoi* in parliamentary debates on asylum policy in Germany and Sweden in 2015 and 2016. The focus of my work is to compare topical argumentation in both countries and evaluate potential differences. Of particular interest is whether collaborating parties use more similar *topoi* than opposing parties and if therefore the patterns of *topoi* usage correlate with the degree of consensus orientation in the parliaments.

**Kihoon Kim, Seoul National University, South Korea, [daniel12@snu.ac.kr](mailto:daniel12@snu.ac.kr) - On the connotations of *loci communes* in Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria***

Topics or common places are well known concept, but it is not unarguably understood these days as well as in the antiquity. Already before Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, the sophists such Gorgias and Protagoras had used the word *τόποι* and had taught some topics, topical strategies in specific context. It is Aristotle who firstly settled down to this somewhat undifferentiated term. He defines the *τόποι* as ‘forms’ of argument or formal ‘principles’, on the basis of which arguments could be formed (Rh.

1358a7ff.; 1396b22; 1403a18ff.) and he provides a list of κοινὸι τόποι (Rh. 1397a7ff.) which could be used in the argument. On the other hand, the rhetorical term loci communes has more specific connotations, which functions as a kind of set argument applicable in various rhetorical situations. This rhetoric term seems to have philosophical and educational aspects, especially in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. He was accustomed to Cicero's rhetorical theory and he seems to have been aware of the spectrum or gap of the connotations which τόποι and loci communes had. Because Quintilian was a rhetorician-educator, one should have in mind the tradition and history of ancient rhetoric for understanding his terminology. By studying related concepts, e.g. προϋμνάσματα and θέσις, with the loci communes of Quintilian, especially in the Book 2, Chap. 4 of *Institutio oratoria*, one could be well-informed of this sophisticated concept. Thus, in this paper, it is to be showed how Quintilian used the term loci communes in his scheme of the rhetoric education and how the topics, common places had been settled as a technical term in the 1st century CE. Moreover this study has a goal to examine the usual, but unusually multidimensional term, commonplaces on the basis of understanding its history of concept. Quintilian's work may have a clue for the discussion.

**Tschong-Young Kim, Faculty of Liberal Education, Seoul National University (Korea),  
yesora@snu.ac.kr - Topoi in Hitlers Reden**

Hitler gewann Einsicht über die gesamte Krise der deutschen Gesellschaft und begriff nicht nur instinktiv die Sehnsucht und das Verlangen des Volkes, sondern beherrschte die Fähigkeit, es zu seinem Vorteil auf seine Seite zu ziehen. Mit den Szenarien seines Lieblingsrepertoires über den Versailler Vertrag, die Außenpolitik der Weimarer Republik, den Parlamentarismus, den Kapitalismus, den Kommunismus und die Weltverschwörung der Juden, trat Hitler in seinen Reden auf die Bühne.

Das in Hitlers Reden auftretende Topos ist angefangen vom negativen Topos, bis hin zum Topos der Hoffnung, sehr vielfältig. Diese Vielfalt an Topoi und die von Hitler beherrschten verschiedenen Ausdrucksmittel passten angemessen zueinander und entfalteten sich lebhaft vor der Öffentlichkeit. Seine Topoi verleumdete das Objekt, kurz und treffend und hatten die Funktion, den politischen Gegnern, die vernichtet werden mussten, ein Brandmal aufzudrücken. Mit Vorliebe gebrauchte Hitler zum Beispiel folgende Topoi: 'Bande des Novembers', 'November - Staat', 'hinter dem Rücken einen Dolch stechen', 'der jüdische Bösewicht', 'rote Bürokratie'. All diese Topoi waren organisch miteinander verknüpft, und dienten dem Zweck, den von Hitler verfolgten Aufbau einer starken Volksgemeinschaft zu verwirklichen.

Hitlers Propaganda-Methode sammelte von überall Gedanken und Mottos auf, diese wurden zu einem Kampfwort vereinigt, so dass ihre Besonderheit zum Vorschein kam. Hitler flößte der durch Niederlage, Inflation, politische Labilität und Wirtschaftskrise schockierten deutschen Gesellschaft Selbstbewusstsein ein und veränderte das Bewusstsein der Volksgemeinschaft, was wiederum eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung und die Stärkung der nationalen Macht mit sich brachte.

Die durch verschiedene Topoi hervorgerufenen verletzten Volksgefühle griff Hitler auf, stellte sie leicht verständlich dar, und sicherte sich damit die Zustimmung des Publikums. Er erweckte an den Zorn über die Niederlage und die Unfähigkeit des politischen Systems. Dadurch hetzte er das Volk zum Widerstand auf und vereinigte es.

**Jan-Markus Kötter, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf (Germany), jan-  
markus.koetter@hhu.de - Cato und der 'optimus orator': Auctoritas als Grenze und Bedingung  
für die Wirksamkeit von Topoi in Rom**

Der Tugendkatalog der berühmten *laudatio funebris* auf L. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 251, 247) zeigt, dass der *optimus orator* bereits im Jahr 221 v. Chr. zu den maßgeblichen Prominenzrollen eines römischen Adligen gehörte (Plin. nat. 7,139 f.). Diese Rolle stellte aber eine spezifisch römische Kategorie dar: Der römische *optimus orator* war keineswegs vergleichbar mit seinem hellenistischen Pendant, und so war der ältere Cato (immerhin der erste Römer, der seine Reden publizierte) gut 70 Jahre später einigermaßen unglücklich darüber, dass der Athener Karneades in Rom vorführte, wie sich mithilfe rhetorischer Brillanz an einem Tag für und am anderen Tag gegen ein und dieselbe Sache argumentieren ließ. Die römische Rede sollte in den Augen Catos nicht auf Überredung durch die Form zielen, sondern auf Überzeugung durch die Sache und (das war das eigentliche entscheidende) die *auctoritas* des Redners. In diesem Sinne war schon Metellus seinerzeit nicht in erster Linie deshalb zum wichtigen Staatsmann geworden, weil er der *optimus orator* war. Im Gegenteil: Er konnte nur deshalb überhaupt *optimus orator* sein, weil er ein wichtiger Staatsmann war. Wir greifen damit im Hinblick auf den Einsatz topischer Argumente ein spezifisch römisches Problemfeld: Die Tätigkeit des Redners war an die soziopolitische Hierarchie der herrschenden Aristokratie gebunden, weshalb es ‚Topoi‘ im eigentlichen Sinne kaum geben konnte: Die Wirksamkeit von Argumenten hing immer davon ab, dass diese der gesellschaftlichen Struktur und den römischen Werten (die wiederum auf die Sozialstruktur verwiesen) entsprachen, sie blieben also stets kulturspezifisch; gleichzeitig wurde die Sozialstruktur damit in Rom aber zu einer Art ‚Meta-Topos‘. Die Konsequenzen und (performativen) Probleme dieses Denkens sollen in meinem Vortrag herausgearbeitet werden, womit gleichzeitig der (chronologische wie inhaltliche) Ausgangspunkt des Panels ‚Roman Society as Framework for Commonplaces‘ gelegt wird.

**Andrei Kostin, Research University 'Higher School of Economics', a.al.kostin@gmail.com - Theory of Fiction and Emergence of Rhetoric Manuals in Russia**

The first Russian printed manual in rhetoric, Mikhail Lomonosov's 'Short introduction to eloquence' [Kratkoe rukovodstvo k krasnorechiju] was issued in St. Petersburg in 1748. It remained the basic schoolbook for rhetoric well into 19<sup>th</sup> century. Throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century "modern" literature (based on Western European models) developed in Russia; nevertheless this development, no systematic treatises on poetics were issued till the end of the century. To some extent this position was taken by Lomonosov's rhetoric, not least due to the way theory of fiction was presented in it.

Lomonosov started working on his rhetoric manual in about 1743; its first version produced in manuscript by the end of this year included only one paragraph describing *fictio* in its *elocutio* part, which was quite consistent with the rhetorical tradition he was following. This approach was completely changed in the final version which saw the print. Here theory of fiction is developed in a special chapter of 16 paragraphs, set in the *inventio* part. The chapter was initially printed in spring 1747. But it was so important for Lomonosov that he decided to rewrite the first 8 pages (containing all the basic theoretical notions) in 1748, at the final stage of the print.

In the course of our work on critical edition of Lomonosov's Rhetoric we came to a conclusion that Lomonosov's treating *fictio* as a part of *inventio* (which is uncommon for Early Modern European rhetoric) and his rewriting the chapter are interconnected. They reflect the new Lomonosov's notion of rhetoric and poetry. According to this notion theory of fiction becomes a key element of both the rhetorical theory and poetics. In our paper we will try to set comparative context for this conclusion.

**Manfred Kraus, University of Tübingen, manfred.kraus@uni-tuebingen.de - A Topical Reading of Aristotle's Concept of the Enthymeme in Rhetoric I 2**

The paper analyzes the concept of the enthymeme in Aristotle's Rhetoric against the background of the Topics and Analytics respectively and aims to develop a unified theory that would cover all those works.

In Rhetoric and Analytics alike, Aristotle defines the enthymeme as a deductive inference (συλλογισμός) from probabilities or signs. The latter category is further subdivided into three modes. At first sight, Aristotle's description of the enthymeme in Rhetoric I 2 appears to be pretty close to the later account given in the Analytics, but curiously at variance with his treatment of topical enthymemes in Rhetoric II 23-26 and with the concept of deductive inference in his earlier Topics. Recently the standard view that Rhetoric I 2 represents a later textual stage influenced by the mature syllogistics of the Analytics has been contested in favour of an entirely topical understanding of the Rhetoric. While this view saves the Rhetoric's unity, it fails to account for the obvious parallelism of the examples given in Rhetoric I 2 and Prior Analytics II 27.

In Prior Analytics, Aristotle associates the three modes of enthymemes from signs with the three figures of a categorical syllogism. Based on observations made by Charles S. Peirce, it will be argued that these three modes can be interpreted as describing the deductive, inductive and abductive modes of reasoning respectively. Judging from the examples given, in Rhetoric I 2 the same three modes appear, but are categorized differently, namely according to the criterion of inference from universal to particular vs. from particular to universal.

The paper will propose a reading of the concept of enthymemes in Rhetoric I 2 that is entirely based on topical principles of inference as developed in the Topics, but nonetheless compatible with examples anticipating those of the Prior Analytics.

**Audronė Kučinskienė, Vilnius University, audrone.kucinskiene@gmail.com, audrone.kucinskiene@flf.vu.lt - Loci as subject of criticism and derision in Cicero's speeches**

There is no doubt that commonplaces, so called *topoi*, or *loci communes*, played a very important role both in the Roman rhetorical theory and in practice. They conform the main part of invention in the rhetorical treatises, such as *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De Inventione*, *Topica* etc., and they enable an orator to develop his argument, or, sometimes become the main tool of rhetorical strategy. In his *Orator* Cicero claims, that an accomplished speaker, whom he tries to delineate as an ideal, will be perfectly familiar with commonplaces and able to treat them critically and manipulate according to his purposes (*Or.* 49).

In this paper, I shall look at Cicero's Verrine speeches to analyze how the orator presents his opponents' *topoi* in a different light and by criticizing or even by mocking it diminishes them in order to strengthen his own arguments. In some cases, e. g. the Fifth book of the Second Session, *De Suppliciis*, this becomes the main strategy of the speech, and corresponds the methods delineated in the *Orator* 49: "<...> or distract the attention of the audience, or bring up some other point which if brought forward can be established more easily than the one which he feels will stand in his way ?".

**Haixia Lan, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, hlan@uwlax.edu - Reason by Consequence: A Difference between Aristotle and Laozi?**

To address the question, we need to understand two (13 & 14) of the commonplaces related to reasoning by consequence in the *Rhetoric*. While these commonplaces may seem straightforward on their own, they become more complex when examined together with a logical fallacy (9) Aristotle discusses later. Aristotle first illustrates reasoning by consequence with examples like the following:

To persuade someone not to take on public speaking, the orator can argue, “if you say what is right, men will hate you; if you say what is wrong, the gods will hate you”; to make the opposite argument, “if you say what is right, the gods will love you; if you say what is wrong, men will love you” (1399a21-25). These are commonplaces because, Aristotle explains, “any given thing usually has both good and bad consequences” (1399a11). While this view regarding the good and bad consequences of anything can sound sophisticated, Aristotle later also criticizes the Sophists for committing a logical fallacy (1402a29) when they conclude that the opposites are the same and probability is all humans can know, i.e., when they absolutize probable consequences in particular situations. In the end of his criticism of the fallacy, interestingly, Aristotle concludes that this fallacy has a place in rhetoric.

This complex relation between Aristotelian and sophisticated rhetoric has consequences for comparative rhetoric, so the second part of the paper will examine a Daoist teaching. While the view that “any given thing usually has both good and bad consequences” seems to resonate with the Daoist teaching of the yin/yang, Laozi sees the reason for it as that the opposites inevitably return to each other: “Return is the movement of Way” (*Daodejing* 40). Therefore, understanding Aristotelian rhetoric itself may shed light on whether Laozi is Aristotelian or Sophistical.

**Jameela Lares, The University of Southern Mississippi, Jameela.Lares@usm.edu - There Is No Way but *Or*: Different Methods in Milton and Bunyan**

Two important seventeenth-century English works, *Paradise Lost* by John Milton and *Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan, can be usefully compared in terms of *method*, a key term in the seventeenth century with explicit links to the commonplace of the road or path as a metaphor for intellectual or spiritual progression. Milton's method, marked by the either/or bifurcating tendency of Pierre de la Ramée (1515-1572), is evident in the pervasive bifurcations of *Paradise Lost*, where Milton often provides contrary options by means of *or*, positioning the second option as the correct one. By contrast, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* already has a defined direction that does not admit an *or*. There is only one viable road to the Celestial City, the King's Highway. In Bunyan's allegory, the difficulty is not making choices but in staying on the road. In contemporary terms, Bunyan's allegory is *path dependent*, or one that bases current decisions on past ones. Milton's method is based on *topoi* as described by Aristotle's *Rhetoric* II.23, logical procedures on which a rhetorical reason can depend, especially Aristotle's topic of contraries discussed at the beginning of that chapter. Bunyan's method depends on biblical commonplaces argued as authoritative proofs rather than from the more neutral topics of Aristotle, though Bunyan sometimes puts the two methods in conversation. In this paper, I will first summarize my findings from my comparisons these two major texts. I will then come to some conclusions about what their methodologies might say about different religious discourses in the period.

**Melody Lehn, Sewanee: The University of the South, mjlehn@sewanee.edu - Surrogate Correspondent: Crafting a Trans-Pacific Intelligence Network in the Letters of Edith Roosevelt and Cecil Spring Rice**

In 1906, U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize for helping negotiate the Treaty of Portsmouth, which signaled the end of the Russo-Japanese War. First lady Edith Roosevelt played a key, yet largely unrecognized rhetorical role in this diplomatic episode. Through a carefully prearranged system, Edith corresponded with British diplomat Cecil Spring Rice. In these letters, Spring Rice conveyed sensitive information to the U.S. first lady, who in turn passed this information on to her husband. When more formal, public, or official communication between the U.S. president and the diplomat would have entailed great risk to both parties if discovered, this covert channel informed Theodore Roosevelt's decision to get involved in the war. Departing from the view that she

served as a mere “go-between” or “conduit” and more closely aligning with scholarly treatments that characterize her actions as “secret diplomacy,” I have recovered Edith’s letters with Spring Rice about the Russo-Japanese War from the archives of Churchill College in Cambridge, U.K. These letters, I argue, evidence the creation of a transPacific intelligence network through which Edith served in the critical and subversive role of what historian Allida M. Black calls a “surrogate correspondent”—a term Black poses yet does not fully define or explore as a kind of private, inventive, and potentially dangerous rhetorical practice. My study theorizes Edith’s surrogate correspondence as epistolary rhetoric that advances at least three purposes. First, she exercised hidden influence as a valued translator and helped shape presidential decision-making about the role of U.S. involvement in foreign relations. Second, she cultivated her intellect through the exchange of ideas and opinions with Spring Rice, who treated her as a political equal. Third, she anticipated subsequent rhetorical opportunities for U.S. first ladies to participate in transnational decision-making about global peace and conflict.

**Roberto Leon, University of Maryland College Park, rleon1@umd.edu - Between Arrangement and Style, or, Is Digression a Part or a Figure?**

Digression (*parekbasis, egressio*) is one of a unique class of rhetorical elements. Some Renaissance rhetoricians, such as Agostino Valier in *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* (1574), consider digression a part of an oration as substantial as the exordium or the narration. Other rhetoricians, such as Francisco Terrones del Caño in *Arte de Predicar* (1617), reduce digression to a figure. This issue would seem a quibble unless we acknowledge that digression is just one of many elements that oscillates between being a larger and a smaller compositional unit, including *prokatalipsis/prolepsis, diegesis/diegma, and partitio/enumeratio*. Using the example of Valier’s *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica*, I argue that digression belongs to this unique class of figures of organization that can operate as both sentence-level and passage-level discourse moves and are theoretically accounted for as such. My paper will discuss Greco-Roman precedents for this meta-category of figures and explore how parts of the oration begin to appear in Renaissance figure lists. I will then present a close reading of relevant passages in *Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* that illustrate the importance of the digression and its relation to the amplification.

**Vanessa Lim, Maynooth University and the Institute of English Studies London, vanessaodettelim@gmail.com - Brutus’s Soliloquy in the Orchard as a Locus Communis Oratio**

Critics of Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* have broadly fallen into two camps: those who see Brutus as the noble, tragic hero of the play, and those who try to correct what they believe to be an excessively idealised view of his character. Unsurprisingly, Brutus’s soliloquy in the orchard on the murder of Caesar is a crucial interpretative crux. Many commentators (sympathetic or otherwise) have suggested that Brutus’s reasoning here is somehow faulty or defective. What seems particularly troubling is the way Brutus argues from ‘common prooffe’, a strategy which causes his reasoning to appear morally dubious, since it is not based on his personal experience of Caesar, but rather on generalisations. A different picture of the speech emerges, I argue, when we consider what classical and Renaissance rhetoricians have to say about commonplaces. The speech is far from faulty or defective, but rather follows a standard rhetorical means of argumentation. In this paper, I demonstrate how Brutus’s soliloquy is structured according to the rhetoricians’ recommendations for how to construct a locus communis oration, a method which unsurprisingly relies on the invocation of loci communes. By situating the speech against rhetorical handbooks such as Aphthonius’s *Progymnasmata* and commonplace collections such as Francis Meres’s *Palladis Tamia*, the paper is able to account for many of Brutus’s arguments and perhaps even the dramatic significance of Caesar’s deafness in the play. Notably, the rhetoricians suggest that the locus communis oration is used to augere an

individual's blameworthy characteristics, in the same way Brutus acknowledges that only an 'augmented' account of Caesar will serve to justify his murder. Reading Brutus's speech as a locus communis oration thus has much to tell us about Shakespeare's rhetorical construction of Julius Caesar, attesting to the importance of the history of rhetoric to early modern literary studies.

**Keith Lloyd, Kent State University Stark, kslloyd@kent.edu - Metaphors Be with You: Argument and Rhetoric as Western Warfare or Hindu Bridges**

In their book, book *Metaphors We Live By*, linguists Lakoff and Johnson note that the most common metaphor for argument in West is ARGUMENT IS WAR. Conversely, political theorist John Dryzek offers "bridging rhetoric," where "the idea is to represent a discourse on one's own side that has some compatibility with a discourse on the other side" (Dryzek, John. "Rhetoric in Democracy: A Systematic Appreciation" 328). While most rhetors would ethically favor bridging, the war metaphor may still guide our language and practice. We win or lose

- Interlocutors are opponents
- We attack and defend positions
- Plan and use strategies
- Gain and lose ground
- Indefensible positions are abandoned for "new lines of attack" (Lakoff and Johnson, 5)

Hindus in Southeast Asia developed an alternate model of argument, *Nyaya*, based in perception, which is used to create and test chains of reasoning leading to shared conclusions. Rather than staking claims and applying warrants, argument is about sharing perceptions.

As Lakoff and Johnson observe, "Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. ..." (1980, p. 3). Thus, arguers in the West are more likely to reason within a war metaphor, while persons in India or Nepal would likely reason from a more Nyaya perspective (Lloyd *Rhetoric Review, Rhetorica*). Public discourse in the West has gotten more and more divisive, and India shares similar problems, complicated by colonization. The Hindu perceptual argument could prove beneficial in both contexts.

This presentation applies Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black. J. *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, 244) to corona and (hopefully) post-corona speeches from India, Nepal, the US and Europe to consider how differing metaphors shape rhetorical approaches, and how we could use perceptual metaphors argue in more connected ways.

**Mark Longaker, Department of Rhetoric and Writing, UT Austin, longaker@utexas.edu - Edmund Burke and the Conservative Sublime**

Twentieth-Century scholars shy away from drawing close connections between Burke's early rhetorical theory and his later political writings, claiming that his ruminations on the sublime and the beautiful at best presage a dedication to natural law and at worst display a precocious intellect. In contrast to this separation of Burke the rhetorical theorist from Burke the political rhetor, this presentation argues that the rhetorical sublime, theorized in his early writings and performed in his writings on the French Revolution, gave Burke a rhetorical topos where he could suggest without demonstrating the grand order that he saw assaulted by modern revolutionaries. Unable to specifically describe the complex arrangement of customs, laws, and institutions that he wanted to preserve, Burke instead made sweeping statements about the royalty's majestic appearance, prescription's vaulted antiquity, and the church's tinsel glamour. The conservative sublime elicited terror from its

audience, a fear of the “chaos and dark night” that could result from order’s dissolution and a veneration for the beautifully ordered ancien regime of church and state. Burke’s detractors, such as Thomas Paine and Mary Wollstonecraft, saw this soaring oratory as empty, purple prose. But recent conservative political theorists--such as Patrick Deneen and Yuval Levin--resuscitate Burke’s political vision based in large part upon this view of sublime authority and beautiful civil society, which they repeat in their own contemporary works. Audiences today are drawn to Burke’s rhetoric, accepting the conservative sublime as viable political theory.

**Domenico Losappio, Università Ca' Foscari - Venezia, domenico.losappio@unive.it - The role of recitatio in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova***

In Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* (written at the beginning of the thirteenth century) all the five parts of rhetoric are explained, but not the same space is reserved to each of them. In particular, in the *Poetria nova* *pronuntiatio* or *recitatio* (the latter is the word used by Geoffrey in his poem) is treated in a short passage of 35 lines (2031-2065) of the 2121 of Geoffrey's work. The aim of this paper is to give a short survey of what ancient commentators say about *recitatio* in their analyses of the *Poetria nova*; I will try to highlight if, in these commentaries, there are more information on the *recitatio* than in the *Poetria nova* and which sources are used by commentators. The comparison between the treatment of *recitatio* in the different commentaries will allow to make some hypotheses about possible connection between the little space dedicated to this part of rhetoric in the *Poetria nova* and the use of Geoffrey's work in specific geographical areas.

**Monica Lucas, University of São Paulo - Brazil, monicalucas@usp.br - Commonplaces of musical *inventio* in Johann Mattheson (1739) and their relation with Christian Weise (1696)**

*Der vollkommene Capellmeister* [“The perfect master of chapel”, 1739], by Johann Mattheson (1681–1767), is undoubtedly a model work. Already in the Eighteenth century, it was considered as an indispensable work in a complete musical library, and was present in the personal book collections of composers such as Haydn, Beethoven and Brahms. Mattheson’s treatise was studied throughout the 19th century. This large work is an ingenious imitation exercise of Latin rhetoric treatises, and is divided into 3 parts. The first deals with music, understood as a science; the second discusses the first three stages of musical composition, based on rhetorical principles: *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*. The third part develops the latter subject, discussing the technique of polyphony, followed by three chapters dedicated to musical delivery (*actio*) and to the direction of a musical chapel. Mattheson's treatment of *inventio* (chapter 4 of the second part of the treatise) is the most comprehensive eighteenth-century musical discussion on the subject. In its 85 paragraphs, Mattheson applies logical and rhetorical *loci communes* to the invention of melodic themes. This subject by Mattheson has been little studied, as it is often considered an artificial transposition of rhetorical principles to music, with no real interest for composition or for a better understanding the principles of eighteenth-century music. In order to justify our disagreement in relation to this position, we propose the investigation of Mattheson's *loci communes* based on the systematization proposed by one of Mattheson's sources, the *Logic* by Christian Weise (1696), as a way of showing the relevance of the theory presented by Mattheson.

**Edgra Lyra, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, lyranetto@gmail.com - Digital World and Aristotelian Rhetoric**

The purpose of this presentation is to suggest that Aristotelian rhetoric, read on a phenomenological basis, can be especially useful in discussing the ecology of digital media. Martin Heidegger opened up

this path in 1924 in a book titled *Basic Concepts of Aristotelian Philosophy*. The text of Aristotle should not be understood as a treatise of argumentation but as a "hermeneutics of daily existence." Some of its central concepts help us, in this sense, to reconstruct our being in the world on a basis at the same time ontological and discursive. Notions like *Pistis* and *Topos* afford to rethink our relationship with meaning structures, customs, and affections. In fact, at Aristotle's time, the only known interface was the bodily experience in the Agora. Nevertheless, our discursive practices continue to be ruled by a possible paraphrase of the *Rhetoric*: every speech is a speech on a certain issue, addressed to a specific audience, under a given circumstance, and by a determined speaker, capable of mobilizing a certain repertoire for the consummation of particular purposes. In short, we intend to show, using explanations and examples, how these concepts can help to understand our algorithmic world better.

**Michael J. MacDonald, University of Waterloo, m2macdon@uwaterloo.ca - Weapons of the Weak: Jean-François Lyotard and Sophistic Thought**

For all their veneration of *logos* and persuasive speech, the ancient Greeks also experienced a fear of discourse and its power to produce effects in the soul and the world. This *logophobia*, as Michel Foucault calls it, was associated above all with the figure of the sophist, thanks in part to the polemical efforts of Plato and Aristotle to expel the sophists from the order of reasonable, ethical discourse. Plato's *Gorgias* initiates the war between philosophy and sophistry ("*polemon*" is its first word) with an attack on sophistic thought that has repercussions even today: the art of sophistics (*sophistike*) is flattery, deception, cosmetology, captious reasoning, phantom wisdom, empty verbiage, cookery in the soul, and demagoguery.

In light of this diatribe, one of the most remarkable trends in the humanities in recent years has been the resurgence of scholarly interest in the ancient Greek sophists and their *Nachleben* in Western culture. One of the most sustained and complex—but also most widely misunderstood—challenges to this anti-sophistic tradition is the work of Jean-François Lyotard. Drawing on Lyotard's extensive writings on the sophists, including unpublished seminars at the University of Paris VIII, this essay examines how Lyotard mobilizes the discursive apparatuses of Protagoras and Gorgias—their "diabolical little machines"—against the universalizing ("totalizing") tendencies of modern philosophy and capitalist technoscience. I propose to examine the following topics: *kairos* and temporal logic; *dissoi logoi* as a prototype for *le differend*; sophistic paralogic and the critique of propositional logic; agonistics as an alternative to universal consensus; Protagorean reversible arguments as weapons of the weak and a means of achieving justice; Gorgias and the critique of speculative dialectics (Hegel); sophistic *doxa* as a model for knowledge and political judgement; the role of sophistics in Lyotard's late "philosophy of phrases"; and others. In general, this essay seeks to show how Lyotard deploys sophistic thought to "wage war on totality" in philosophy and political life.

**Peter Mack, University of Warwick, p.w.d.mack@warwick.ac.uk - E. R. Curtius: Topos, Rhetoric and Audiences**

As an undergraduate I was overwhelmed and inspired by *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. I shall take the opportunity of the panel on Curtius for a critical re-reading of his major book and some of his essays. I shall focus on the way in which he uses the idea of the *Topos*; on his only partially confessed obsession with rhetoric; and on the problems as well as the advantages of writing a book which aims to discuss comprehensively what he saw as the whole of Western culture. I expect to continue in my admiration for the breadth of Curtius's knowledge, his comprehensive philological acumen, and the originality of his strategies of synthesis, but to temper this admiration with an awareness of some of what he missed or mistook.

**Eric Macphail, Indiana University, macphai@indiana.edu - The Praise of Folly as Erasmus' Commonplace Book**

Erasmus collected a lot of adages, many of which he stored in his *Praise of Folly*. This paper will examine the commonplace rhetoric of Erasmus' most famous work, which can be seen as a kind of performance of the *Adagiorum Chiliades*. Before the composition of the great essay-length adages of Froben's 1515 edition, the *Moria* of 1511 served as a setting for the adages—the curt, compact, and uncensorable ones—and also as a parody of proverbial wisdom unhinged from any sense of decorum. The genius of *Folly* is to use adages even and especially where they don't belong: *etiam si nunc non erat his locus*. Adages also serve to unify a work whose coherence has challenged most interpreters and to mitigate the personal responsibility of the author for his own words through an uncommon use of commonplaces.

**Ana Lucia Magalhaes, PUC-Catholic University of Sao Paulo, almchle@gmail.com - The path of pathos applied to pedagogical discourse**

In *Rhetorical Art*, Aristotle devised a system, including concepts that had been commented and taught for centuries, about the ability to convince and persuade through discourse. *Rhetorical Art* became a source of continuous discoveries, even after countless readings and more than 2400 years of research since its conception. The philosopher saw great civic importance in rhetorical art and, therefore, criticized his predecessors who identified it as persuasive art and reduced it to legal procedures, forgetting the political aspect. For Aristotle, rhetoric had as its object the study of words rather than the study of things. He established a difference, for example, between poetics and rhetoric, the former defined as the art of producing narratives, while the latter as the art of speeches, namely the art of delivering persuasive speeches. The words "persuade" and "convince" imply the existence of the other, the one to whom the speaker addresses. The central question of this research is: how is pathos installed in educational discourse? The research purpose is to verify the breadth of the concept of "path of passions". It is evident that the objective does not include diminishing the importance of logos and ethos, but conceptualizing passion is an eternal approach without a definitive answer and, despite knowing these limits, and both inconclusions and unanswered questions remain to this day. They stimulate constant search for knowledge. The Classical Greeks brought important contributions to the understanding of pathos. The article seeks, out Aristotle's work, to establish a path for passions, that is, to define its phases: availability, identification, awakening of passion, change of judgment and action. As a corpus of analysis, we applied the model path to the process of winning students' adherence to the pedagogical discourse exercised in the classroom and introduced intermediate phases: memory, imagination and fantasy between availability and identification, plus deliberation, choice and disposition between judgment and action:

**Steven Mailloux, Loyola Marymount University, sjmaillo@uci.edu - Bodies in Space as Commonplace in Jesuit Rhetoric**

"I am my body in the world . . . but within this body, I am also a consciousness." So begins Edouard Pousset's commentary on a fellow Jesuit's dialectical reading of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*. My paper proposes to explore the role of this Jesuit commonplace—bodies in space—within topical invention practiced and theorized by Jesuit rhetoricians and philosophers. I start with an argument that the Jesuit rhetorical tradition of *eloquentia perfecta* begins with sixteenth-century Jesuits combining their experience of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* with their Roman Catholic adaptation of Renaissance rhetorical humanism. I then discuss three aspects of Jesuit rhetoric focused on commonplaces and topics: (1) the trope of bodily exercise used in teaching rhetorical invention and in

learning spiritual meditation (Quintilian's comparison of exercising the body with practicing rhetoric and Ignatius's comparison of physical exercises with spiritual exercises); (2) the explicit theorizing about the use of commonplaces within Jesuit rhetorical treatises, such as the Christian adaptation of Greco-Roman rhetoric by Cyprian Soarez in his *De arte rhetorica* (1562); and (3) the twentieth-century uses of the commonplace of bodies-in-space by Jesuit rhetoricians to interpret the philosophy and theology of the *Spiritual Exercises*. I focus on the rhetorical theory of Walter Ong, first in his discussions of *loci communes* in *The Presence of the Word* (1967) and *Orality and Literacy* (1982) and then his earlier interpretations in "St. Ignatius' Prison-Cage and the Existentialist Situation" (1954). I also discuss Ong's unpublished lecture praising Gaston Fessard's *La Dialectique des Exercices spirituels de saint Ignace de Loyola* (1956) and correspondence regarding his failed attempt to get Fessard's book translated into English. My discussion of Fessard and Ong is based on archival research done in the French Jesuit Provincial Archives outside Paris and the Walter Ong Papers at St. Louis University.

**Julia Major, University of Oregon, majjulia@gmail.com - Hermeneutics, Alienation, and the Common Theological Topics (Loci Communes) of Philipp Melanchthon**

This paper investigates connections between the hermeneutical method of Melanchthon's Loci Communes and the presence of alienation in his work. Alienation is defined here in terms of Gadamer's work on fore-understandings, bias and prejudice in texts. The first publication of Melanchthon's Loci Communes in 1521 announced a Protestant manifesto for a new method of understanding Scriptures. It has been established that along with creating the basis for Protestant scriptural exegesis, Melanchthon's system of dialectical rhetoric helped foster the emerging discipline of German hermeneutics. Melanchthon, Wittenberg University's first professor of Greek, took his cue from the bold forays of Erasmus as biblical translator to apply the humanist insistence on studying the entire text in its original languages with key elements of dialectical rhetoric drawn from the Dutch humanist Rudolf Agricola to create his own system for the hermeneutic analysis of scripture. The power of Melanchthon's synthesis is evident in his authorship of the first statement of Protestant theology, among other works. The manner in which Melanchthon deployed his Loci Communes, both in its first and later editions, as a means of reading and interpreting scripture dovetailed with his educational methods, as outlined in his many works on rhetoric, dialectic, and ethics, which in turn became the foundational system of higher German education. It is evident Melanchthon's system of textual hermeneutics, established in the Loci Communes and promulgated by the educational system of higher education he launched, penetrated so deeply into the work of later scholars in Germany and elsewhere in Europe that it is difficult to distinguish the complete arc of his influence. This paper draws on the wealth of existing scholarship of Melanchthon, including that of Gadamer, and more recently, Günter Frank, Lawrence Green, Sachiko Kusukawa, Peter Mack, Kees Meerhoff, Timothy Wengert, and Sandra Bihlmaier, to investigate the connections between the rhetorical/dialectical framework of the hermeneutical method Melanchthon created in the Loci Communes and places of textual alienation in his work.

**Giulia Maltagliati, Royal Holloway, Cambridge University, gm716@cam.ac.uk - Andocides and the archē of many evils: the productive ambiguity of a literary motif**

From Homer onwards, the motif of the "beginning of evils" (archē kakōn) occurs in a number of texts throughout Greek literature and beyond. This paper will discuss the way in which the Attic orator Andocides exploits this topic in his *On the Peace with the Spartans*. I will argue that the significance of the archē kakōn for Andocides' argument is not confined to its epic allusiveness. Andocides' use of this motif, I will show, is born out of, and participates in, his wider attempt to reframe the discourse around the Athenian empire and the Athenian past more generally. In the second part of his speech,

Andocides laments the Athenians' 'usual error' of 'always abandoning powerful friends in preference for weaker ones' (3.28). One of his examples is that, in the past, the Argives persuaded the Athenians to make war against the Spartans even though they were at peace with them, which Andocides calls 'the archē of many evils' (3.31). Whilst the Homeric echo of Andocides' phrase has been recognised (Grethlein 2010), the productive ambiguity of both archē and kaka, and its implication for this passage, has not yet received attention. Owing to their polysemy, I will argue, these terms engender a less epic and more contemporary reflection on the Athenian 'empire' (archē) itself. By resorting to this expression, Andocides not only dramatises the consequences of choosing the wrong allies – and war instead of peace – but also raises fundamental questions of responsibility for such choices. This paper therefore argues that recognising the ambiguity of this motif allows us to explore the ambiguities and contradictions of the Athenian past, which Classical orators could minimise or emphasise for their own political and rhetorical objectives.

**LuMing Mao, University of Utah, luming.mao@utah.edu - Thinking with Un/Commonplaces: Shifting Meanings, Distributed Agencies, Fluid Contexts**

Central to studying other rhetorics is how researchers focus on local terms and local contexts and how they recognize and give agency to the relationships between the knowledge being created and the local communities upon which such knowledge is based. However, much work remains on understanding, let alone mobilizing, the multi-dimensional dynamics of local terms and local relationships in the meaning-making process. To respond to this lack, Speaker 1 appeals to commonplaces or "seats" of argument (*sedes argumentorum*) in the Chinese context, where local practitioners frequent and patterns of meaning-making emerge. Specifically, Speaker 1 asks: Where are the commonplaces that Chinese writers "visit" and what are the local terms and local contexts that give rise to these commonplaces, some of which may be "uncommon" to the uninitiated? Meanwhile, how do researchers account for the heterogeneous resonances that Chinese local terms and contexts may share with other local terms and contexts in the formation of their respective commonplaces? For example, appeal to authority was apparently shared by both Western medieval thinkers/preachers and ancient Chinese writers. But where did they part ways, and why? Did their partings lead to uncommonplaces that so far have been overlooked or deemed out of order altogether? How should researchers take into account the evolving nature of local terms and contexts as well as the agencies they entail? What happens when they stop being "useful" or decide to "go on holiday" (Wittgenstein)? Speaker 1 will use an example from the *Zhuangzi*, an ancient Chinese text, to engage these questions and to offer some advice on ethically thinking with and studying un/commonplaces in other, non-dominant, or emergent rhetorics on their own terms and in their own contexts.

**Ernest Marcos Hierro, Universitat de Barcelona, emarcos@ub.edu - The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787): contrasting views on Constantine V**

On the 6<sup>th</sup> October 787, in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea, a theological refutation (*ἀνασκευή*) of the iconoclastic doctrine was read aloud to the assembly of the VII Ecumenical Council. In the proceedings of that session, structured in 64 parts by means of a methodical succession of a heretical opinion and its orthodox objection, an important document has survived, the *Horos* or Decree of the iconoclastic Synod of Hieria of 754. This council was summoned and presided by the Emperor Constantine V (741-775), the second sovereign of the Syrian Dynasty, whose infamous nickname, *Copronymus*, has marked him out as one of the most vilified emperors in the historical memory of the Byzantine Empire. Not only the Acts and the Canons of the Second Council of Nicaea portrayed him as an impious tyrant and, as a result, the perfect object of a classical rhetorical exercise of vituperation (*ψόγος*), but also some iconophile historical sources like the *Chronography* by Theophanes the

Confessor and the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* by Stephen the Deacon. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Conciliar decree of 754 into the Nicæan Acts depicts how Constantine himself aimed to be portrayed as a worthy successor of those emperors who had previously summoned ecumenical councils, such as Constantine the Great (Nicaea 325), Theodosius I (Constantinople 381), Theodosius II (Ephesus 431), Marcian (Chalcedon 451), Justinian I (Constantinople 553) and Constantine IV (680-681). In fact, in the first and the last sections of the *Horos*, all the “topoi of praise” are used to characterize the emperor as an “equal to the apostles” because of his zeal for the definition of the orthodox faith. The aim of this paper is hence to compare both narratives about the emperor —the iconoclastic Decree of Hieria’s praising one and the blaming of its Nicæan iconophile refutation— as well as to analyze the rhetorical effects of their coexistence in the same document, in order to better understand the uses of the topoi of the βασιλικὸς λόγος in the Byzantine imperial propaganda of the eight century.

**Giovanni Margiotta, Radboud University Nijmegen, g.margiotta@let.ru.nl - Cicero’s oratio figurata? Assessing the Rhetorical Strategies in the Caesarian Orations**

In September 46 BC Cicero returned to public life in a Rome dominated by Julius Caesar. After six years of silence, he delivered in the Senate a thanksgiving speech to Caesar, who had pardoned his old-time enemy, the former consul M. Claudius Marcellus. In the following months Cicero also resumed his role as an advocate in the defence of the legate Quintus Ligarius and the Galatian ruler Deiotarus who, during the civil war, had opposed Caesar as well. These three public speeches (known as *Orationes Caesarianae*) have provoked a vigorous academic debate. Their unusual tone, together with the unstable relationship between two of the greatest statesmen of Rome, has raised sharp disagreement: while some critics regard Cicero’s rhetoric as obsequious and overblown, other argue for a ‘figured’ reading which implies ironical or even subversive messages.

This paper wants to contribute to the debate by investigating some of the rhetorical strategies employed by Cicero throughout the *Caesarian Orations*. Since Caesar’s autocracy was somewhat curtailing freedom of speech, Cicero had to resort to particular arguments in order to be persuasive as well as efficient for the welfare of the state. A rhetoric of praise and ambiguity emerges, but what functions does it perform within this context? What are the purposes of this new rhetoric? How does it shape and, at the same time, adapt to the spectacle of Roman oratory in Late republic? In my paper I will answer these questions, arguing that praise cannot always be taken at face-value, and ambiguity does not always imply harsh disapproval. Thus, the *Caesarian Orations* may be seen to offer evidence for a “Ciceronian” *oratio figurata* springing from exceptional circumstances, but still fitting the duties of the Roman orator.

**Daniel Markovich, University of Cincinnati, daniel.markovic@uc.edu - Cicero artium laudator**

A speaker who wishes to praise an action, an art, or a discipline, can construct the praise by using both epideictic topoi a persona, such as the age and the virtues associated with the art, and deliberative or final topoi, such as the usefulness, pleasure, and honor that the activity brings to those who engage in it (Pernot 1993, 241–245). This paper compares Cicero’s praises of eloquence (*De inventione* 1.1–5 and *De oratore* 1.30–34) and his praise of philosophy (*Tusculanae disputationes* 5.5–11) in light of these two sets of topoi; the goal of the comparison is to offer further insight into the author’s views on the relationship between the two disciplines. While each praise includes an account of cultural history, the praise of philosophy tends to follow the epideictic or hymnic schema, celebrating the art first in a personified form and then through its practitioners; the praises of rhetoric, on the other hand, use the standard set of deliberative or final topoi. Although the two different strategies can be connected with

Cicero's immediate context and purposes in each of these works, they also confirm the vision of the unity of philosophy and rhetoric that informs the author's entire political and literary career.

**Chiara Martinelli, MIUR, Italian Ministry for University and Research,  
stellachiarahotmail.com - Francesco da Buti's *Ars dictaminis***

This paper aims to present a text of *ars dictaminis*, written in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the grammarian Francesco da Buti from Pisa (1324 – 1406). It constitutes the final section of his *Regule*, a book of grammar and rhetoric reserved for intermediate level–students and it is interesting as a link between the Middle Ages and Humanism.

The text is in fact indebted to the Bolognese tradition, in particular to Giovanni di Bonandrea's treatise, but there are also signs of a new sensitivity, according to Petrarch's lesson. It is significant, in this regard, that in the definition of the epistle Buti says it serves to narrate plausible things, not necessarily true. The game of fiction, of the art of inventing, enters therefore the drafting of the epistles.

According to the tradition, the author analyzes the five sections of the epistle and he devotes a large part to the first two, the *salutatio* and the *exordium*.

The *salutatio* contains an extensive list of greetings, and it is relevant because, alongside the traditional leading figures of medieval society, particularly the pope and the emperor, we can also find new categories belonging to the citizen microcosm, in particular people who reached a social distinction for their studies and professional skills: judges, notaries, merchants, men of science and literature.

The *exordium*, for its side, is noteworthy for the search for topical invention and the use of rhetoric for persuasive purposes, in order to make the audience docile, benevolent and attentive. The topical invention plays here a very important role, given that, sometimes, it is necessary to convince the audience also of the goodness of unfair causes: only a wise and functional use of rhetorical devices can attract the audience on the speaker's side.

**Christina Matthiesen, University of Copenhagen, cm@hum.ku.dk - Baumgarten and the Creative Act: The Obscure and the Body**

The German philosopher Baumgarten (1714-1762) is known for his coinage of the term *aesthetica* and for his contention that beauty resides in the act of cognition. He argues that aesthetics deal with sensuous knowledge as distinct from logic. Sensuous knowledge is Baumgarten's groundbreaking, positive designation of indistinct and obscure concepts. His aim was to expand the horizon of rationalism, acknowledging that logic alone had limits to serve by itself as a method of invention. Thus, to Baumgarten aesthetics is not an alternative but a complement to logic. The German critic Herder called Baumgarten "Aristotle of the age", and indeed, Baumgarten in his major works on aesthetics, his dissertation *Meditationes* (1735) and his main work, the uncompleted *Aesthetica* (1750-58), explicitly draws on the rhetorical tradition, both by seeking union – as Cicero ("a marvelous agreement and harmony underlines all branches of knowledge", *De Oratore* III, vi, 21) – but also by leaning on structural and substantive affinities with treatises of ancient rhetoric. Therefore, it is of no surprise that Baumgarten unfolds both the theoretical and the practical side of aesthetics, including not only principles, but also, in *Aesthetica*, the aesthetic character, exercises and teaching. The theoretical side of Baumgarten's work is widely discussed. The exercises and teaching, on the other hand, are rarely the object of scholarly attention, despite the fact that these aspects are placed in the forefront of *Aesthetica* (§28-103). Here, Baumgarten pays attention the role of the body, its movements and energy. In this paper I examine the essence of Baumgarten's passages on exercises and teaching,

especially with regard to the relationship between invention and the creative act, the obscure and the body.

**Guillemette Mérot, université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, guillemette.merot@sorbonne-nouvelle.fr - Limping Comedy (Quint. Inst. 10.1.99-100): Rhetorical and Metrical Issues of a Critical Metaphor**

The importance of the metaphorical way of thinking in Greco-Latin rhetorical and critical discourse has been highlighted by recent works (see in particular LEIDL 2003; CHIRON 2010; WORMAN 2015; CONTE & DUBEL 2016; PRIOUX, KLEIN & GUEZ – forthcoming). The use of metaphors for literary criticism in the reading list of chapter 10.1 of the *Institutio oratoria*, composed in Rome by Quintilian at the end of the first century AD, has not yet been the subject of in-depth case studies (for a survey of the main metaphors used in the reading list of chapter 10.1, see in particular GREBE 2000; for a survey of the main metaphorical domains used in the whole treatise, see ASSFAHL 1932). In particular, the rhetorical and critical implications of the metaphor that opens in 10.1.99 the entry on comedy, where the Latin genre is associated with a limping gait, have not, to my knowledge, been studied in detail. In my paper, I will show that the metaphor of limping comedy, far from being an isolated and “gratuitous” metaphor, functions as an image capable of conveying a precise critical and doctrinal content on several levels, in connection with both 1. Horace's poetic reflections and his reconstruction of the history of Roman theatre in the *Epistula ad Augustum* 2. the Ciceronian theory of rhythm in the *Orator*. Relying on the lexical and conceptual connections that can be made between these three texts, I will show that by mentioning the limping way of walking of Roman comedy Quintilian exploits both a Horatian critical metaphor applied to Plautus' artistic flaws and a rhetorical terminology well attested before him in the field of the *compositio uerborum*. In doing so, Quintilian suggests the artistic incompleteness of republican comedy and its inability to implement certain aesthetic standards, while at the same time making his own critical judgment on the level of verbal and rhythmical arrangement.

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**Mati Meyer, The Open University of Israel, matim@openu.ac.il - Classical Beauty and Rhetoric in Byzantine Art**

The ideal of human beauty and its visualization originated in Classical Greece; during Hellenic times, it acquired further and more realistic understandings. The peripatetic notions of beauty were later transmitted to and perpetuated in medieval Byzantine culture.

The present paper proposes to explore this issue through the survival of the imagery of Aphrodite in Byzantine illuminated books. This imagery, that appears also on Byzantine ivory and bone luxury objects, has been the subject of an array of studies, possibly because these works of art are associated with the imperial court. In contrast, the goddess' iconography in illuminated books has been hardly addressed. The paper will take a close look at the visual "afterlife" of the Knidian type of Aphrodite in the latter medium. The parallels traditionally associated with this lost Classical work of art—the appearance of feminine beauty, desire, and the male gaze—is rendered in a range of post-iconoclastic Byzantine illustrations of the goddess and other female figures, partially disrobed or completely naked. The figurations examined also suggest a visual kinship with Hellenic-Roman copies of the original statue.

These images bear the stamp of a specific artistic agency, predominantly male and learned. Hence, the suggestion that the construction of a rhetorical discourse on issues of female beauty, love, and erotic desires was created by men for their own benefit. Moreover, the appropriation of the Hellenic visual heritage of Aphrodite, primarily through the bonds of beauty and desire, reveals that this imagery should be seen as a means of the Christian contemporary elite and artists to reflect on their "paedia" or erudition. This male audience understood the historical importance of its past culture for structuring its identity and tried to achieve a peaceful coexistence among the principal streams of Byzantine culture—biblical, patristic, and Hellenic.

**Christoph Michels, WWU Muenster, christoph.michels@uni-muenster.de - The local sources of knowledge in the Attic orators**

In order to shape politics in ancient Athens, it was vital for a demagogue to prevail in an "agonal" competition with the other rhetors by effectively communicating his ideas to the large audiences gathered in the assembly or in the public courts. The orator had a set of rhetorical resources at his disposal to persuade the audience. Among these resources was knowledge, which is understood here not in the strict sense as episteme but more broadly as including expert knowledge as well as "common sense" knowledge and valuation knowledge. Rhetoric itself was of course a sort of knowledge, too. But the manipulative art of persuasion was rather not emphasized in the speeches themselves. Knowledge was essentially instrumentalized in 3 ways: 1) claims to knowledge, 2) the attribution of knowledge, and 3) knowledge transfer. While Aristotle discusses in his Rhetoric the orator's task to advise and educate the audience using his expertise, he does not mention that knowledge could also be employed for "character-creation", that is to establish authority. It was thus part of the orators' performance that has been the subject of several recent studies. The diverse fields of knowledge apparently "functioned" in quite different ways. While it was, for example, important to demonstrate expert knowledge in financial matters, this does not apply to historical examples. Here, it was important not to appear as an intellectual detached from his audience. It was therefore a common topos to name family members or generally "the elders" as sources for historical events. This paper focuses on a similar rhetorical strategy: to generate authority by connecting knowledge with groups of people in specific places. These knowledge attributions both illuminate the relationship between orator and audience expectations and contribute to the ongoing debate on orality and literacy in Athens' political culture.

**Lorenzo Miletto, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, lorenzo.miletto@unina.it - The Frustrated Blame. The Myth of Momus and Aphrodite as Rhetorical Argument**

According to Hesiod (Th. 214), the minor god Momus is the son of Nyx. In his literary fortune (and consistently with the meaning of his name: μῶμος = ‘blame’, ‘reproach’), he acts as a personification of blame, sarcasm, and irreducible criticism, as witnessed by an Aesopic fable (100 P = 102 HH), in which he criticizes the inventions of the bull, the house, and the man, made by, respectively, Zeus, Athena, and Prometheus, finding weaknesses in each of them. His fame grew at the time of the Second Sophistic, when his ‘hateful’ nature was frequently evoked to denote malevolent and envious reproach. It is in this period that Lucian of Samosata offers a radical reassessment of Momus, by representing him as a personification of free speech and independent judgement, though his ‘alternative’ vision remained quite isolated (Jouanno 2018). In this paper I will deal with an episode of Momus’ rhetorical fortune, namely the myth, first attested in a speech by Aelius Aristides (or. 28 K), in which he tries unsuccessfully to blame Aphrodite: frustrated by the goddess’ perfect beauty, which leaves no room for criticism, Momus can only mock her sandal. Regardless of whether this account is to be considered a proper myth (Aristides labels it as an ‘ancient logos’) or a late mythological-like anecdote, in its rhetorical use it works as an amplification of the topical evocation of Momus as a symbol of extreme criticism, witnessed by such antonomastic and quasiproverbial expressions as “Momus himself could not criticize it” et sim., already found in Plato’s Republic (487a6). I will explore the myth of Momus and Aphrodite as an instrument to defend and/or to refute arguments, focusing on Aristides and its later reprises, from the late antiquity (Julian, Philostratus, etc.) to the modern period.

**Sophie Mills, UNC Asheville, smills@unca.edu - Imperial Lessons: Commonplaces of the Athenian Funeral Oration**

One of the richest sources of commonplace topics in ancient Athenian thought was the funeral speech. Every year, one speaker, considered especially representative of the excellences of the city, would offer a public speech to commemorate the Athenian war dead of that year. The speech was designed both to console its audience for the losses of beloved family members, and to justify Athenian war-making by sketching a picture of Athens as a city worth dying for. The best-known surviving speech is that of Pericles, recorded by Thucydides, but other specimens from the fourth century and later are also extant. Taken as a body, they are a treasure trove of commonplaces reflecting a highly idealized view of Athens in relation to other Greek cities. Many of the claims about Athens made by the funeral speeches surface in other genres, suggesting that what they say about Athens reflect broadly-held standard beliefs about Athens and what it meant to be Athenian, especially during the time of the archē (empire) in fifth century Athens. This paper will explore several of these commonplaces, and argue, inter alia, that their content is even reminiscent of the rhetoric of other imperial nations. For example, Pericles’ funeral oration emphasizes that Athens is the “only” city which follows certain practices or beliefs. His claims are sometimes demonstrably untrue, since what he considers Athenian practices are in fact standard in Greece, but these claims of exceptionalism are a vital means of proving that Athens is worthy of the power that it has gained over its allies and worthy of retaining it at all costs.

**Maria Cecília de Miranda Nogueira Coelho, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, deltos@gmail.com - Gorgias, Godard and the place of the eloquent body.**

The aim of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of the famous text *Encomium of Helen* by Gorgias (5th century BCE) and the film *Une Femme Mariée* by Jean-Luc Godard (1964). Past and

present are put together through the investigation of some *tópoi* used by the *rhetor* and the filmmaker in praise and defense of the adulterous women. In the former, I will focus on the careful exercise of language in poetic prose, exploring the meanings of the word “body” (*soma*); in the latter, I will emphasize how the concreteness and uniqueness of Charlotte's body (actress Macha Méril) are portrayed in a complex dialectical montage to defend her at the same time her censurable actions are shown. The reception of Greek literature in the work of Jean-Luc Godard is not unknown. Let us remember *Le Mépris* (1963, adaptation of the eponymous novel by Moravia), inspired by Homer's *Odyssey*, and *Hélas pour moi* (1993), a peculiar retelling of the myth of Alcemna and Amphitryon. If these films allow us to explore the articulation between word and image with explicit references to Greek myths, something different occurs in *Une Femme Mariée*. I argued that it is fruitful to explore the striking similarities with the *Encomium*, less because it involves a love triangle (commonplace in so many narratives), and more because of the rhetorical strategies of presenting the theme combined with persuasion by beauty and the impact of vision in the production of emotions in which desire (*eros*) and speech (*logos*) determine the protagonist's actions. Finally, I try to show how Godard, using text and images, parallels what Gorgias did with words, presenting (with a powerful *enargeia*) Helen's body as an element to show the power of discourse – a resource also discussed in *Against Rhetoricians* by Sextus Empiricus.

**Sethunya Mokoko, Clemson University, SMokoko@clemson.edu - Writing, Forgetfulness, Distraction: An African Reading of Plato's Phaedrus and the Allegory of the Cave**

English saved my life when, orphaned at twelve, I taught myself to read and write. I used an English dictionary, National Geographic, and a Sesotho dictionary—uttering words I hoped could be heard in my forgotten Kingdom of Lesotho, Southern Africa. Before migrating to America, my life in Africa required mindfulness and imagination to survive. My “canons of rhetoric” were what my grandmother called the spears of a future storyteller. She instructed me to put a broomstick in my hair and told ancient stories to teach me to keep our culture intact generationally. Now 29, I have taught writing and rhetoric in American universities for five years. I see that what passes for Western knowledge often stems from Eastern/African epistemology. In courses, I ask students to recall an important person's phone number, but most cannot. Has memory faded? In *What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains*, Nicholas Carr cites Plato's attitude toward writing and memory in *Phaedrus*. Socrates bemoaned writing because it would substitute for knowledge. People would “cease to exercise their memories and become forgetful.” His fear, which also motivated my grandmother's praise of storytelling, is traceable to the Egyptian god Thoth, who invented writing and gifted it to his African King, who criticized writing because he believed it would make people forgetful. When teaching Plato's *Allegory of the Cave*, I approach it from a Non-Western perspective, attentive to the Eastern epistemology that informs Socrates's anxiety. How do media/images portray a ghostly version of reality? How do advertising and the entertainment industry reinforce or distort social norms? Do they cause forgetfulness or distract people from what's real? In this presentation, I trace the influence of Eastern epistemology on Socrates's attitudes toward writing and knowledge, with an eye for exposing the (sometimes) dangerous technologies of writing and rhetoric.

**Nick Moschovakis, Independent scholar, moschovakis@gmail.com - Inventing the Shakespearean moral crisis: \*maius minus\* in the plays and poems**

I demonstrate the unique importance to Shakespeare of “more” and “less” arguments: those that modern English conveys in phrases such as “all the more then,” or “so much the less therefore.” Known today by their legal name “a fortiori,” these dialectical and rhetorical loci were distinguished by Renaissance theorists using the classical terms *maius* and *minus*. Scholars have missed the

centrality of *maius minus* in the early modern teaching and learning of argumentation, in part because these loci are not typically discussed at greater length than other loci in handbooks of invention. But *maius minus* occupies a place in the practical tradition that dwarfs its modest place in theoretical discussions, as seen in the examples from Cicero's orations that are constantly cited in treatises from Quintilian to Agricola, Erasmus, and Melanchthon. Even where the particular locus is not explicitly at issue, the ubiquity of these examples attests to the perception of a distinctive forcefulness in *maius minus* (a force noted by Renaissance theorists) and to a compelling interest in this enigmatic locus. Enthymemes using *maius minus* can be deceptively brief verbal constructions, often forming rhetorical questions and exclamations; but as modern authorities such as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca observe, their seemingly perfunctory expression can conceal various grounds of reasoning, differing in complex ways that are challenging to explain. This conjunction of compression and complexity explains why both early modern and modern theorists tend to lump all *maius minus* arguments into one class, without trying to analyze their underlying logic (though Aristotle had tried to enumerate several logically distinct subtypes). For Shakespeare, the pointedness and often passionate urgency of these loci of comparison, alongside their density and opacity of reasoning, made them ideal vehicles for critical reflections on value—and, especially, the relativity of value—in key passages from his greatest plays.

**Bess Myers, University of Memphis, brmyers@memphis.edu - Re-Placing Plato's *Chora*: A Rhetorical Paradox**

The *chora*, a concept that has seen increased interest of late, is a paradoxical *topos*. Unlike Aristotelian *topoi*, which exist metaphorically in a physical place, Plato's *chora*, the "third kind" or receptacle, is decidedly immaterial and unspatial. Modern rhetoricians have taken up this concept to explore invention and dissemination, particularly in digital spaces (see, for example, Ulmer, *Heuretics*; Rice, *Rhetoric of Cool*; Rickert, "Toward the *Chōra*"; Arroyo, *Participatory Composition*; Alford, "Creating with the 'Universe of the Undiscussed'"). In this talk, I aim to re-place the *chora*—literally (and ironically) "space," specifically outside of the *polis*—into the *Timaeus*, the Platonic dialogue where it originates. My work is motivated by this question: what could we learn about the rhetorical significance of the *Timaeus* if we considered the *chora* as a rhetorical *topos* in its dialogic context? Following the circular narrative structure of *Timaeus*' speech, we have ventured away from the dialogue proper; now, it is time to return home with new knowledge in tow.

The *chora* denotes an articulation point, both in a narrative sense—it is introduced at the midpoint of the dialogue, when *Timaeus* begins his *eikos logos* ("likely account") of the universe for a second time—and as a metaphysical meeting place between the formless and the formed. Recontextualizing the *chora* within its *Timaeus* origins reveals how the *chora* allows for, even "makes space for," the ultimate (also immaterial) *topos*: the *hyperouranios topos* (*Phaedrus* 247c), the "place beyond heaven," i.e. the realm of the Forms. The *hyperouranios*, like the *chora*, is extra-logical, and *logos* is needed to mediate between the apprehensible and the sensible. Re-placing the *chora* ultimately encourages a *choric* reading of the *Timaeus* itself as a dialogue that negotiates Being and Becoming, and a reading of Plato's corpus as a decentralized network of dialogues.

**Cecilia Nobili, Università degli Studi di Bergamo, cecilia.nobili@unibg.it, e Andrea Capra (Durham University/Università di Milano - Elena tra Sparta e Atene)**

La prima parte di questo intervento (C. Nobili) intende ricostruire il contesto spartano che vide la nascita del mito del rapimento di Elena da parte di Teseo nelle opere di Alcmane (PMG 21-22), Stesicoro (fr. 86 Finglass) e Pindaro (fr. 243, 258 Sn.-M.), nonché nella pittura vascolare coeva. La figura di Teseo costituì poi un tramite fondamentale per la trasmissione del mito ad Atene, dove venne

recepito in ambito prevalentemente iconografico, mantenendo alcune caratteristiche 'spartane' del mito (ad esempio gli elementi vegetali connessi col culto di Elena dendrites); non mancano tuttavia i tentativi di adeguare questa vicenda poco edificante della vita di Teseo all'immagine di eroe nazionale che questi assunse ad Atene nel corso del V secolo, come la conversione del rapimento in una cerimonia nuziale legittima. La seconda parte dell'intervento (A. Capra) esplora un altro aspetto della fortuna attica di Elena spartana. La prima metà del Fedro platonico è modellata sull'Elena di Stesicoro, culminante in una riabilitazione dell'eroina, probabilmente con funzioni paragonabili a quelle di una Musa ispiratrice. La quasi personificazione del platano alla cui ombra si svolge l'intera conversazione fra Socrate e il suo amico può collegarsi con il culto di Elena arborea, noto grazie al teocriteo Epitalamio per Elena. I primi lettori di Platone tendevano a sovrapporre l'ambientazione del Fedro con l'Accademia, famosa per i suoi platani, una sovrapposizione che Platone stesso pare suggerire. E' allora cruciale ricordare che l'Accademia fu risparmiata dagli Spartani durante la guerra del Peloponneso perché l'eroe eponimo, Academo, aveva restituito Elena ai Dioscuri dopo il rapimento di Teseo. La precoce associazione di Elena con il logos illumina il senso delle scelte letterarie e politiche di Platone, nonché certe consonanze fra il Fedro e l'isocrateo Encomio di Elena. In questo contesto, i topoi reali si fanno topoi retorici

### **Arjan A. Nijk, Leiden University, a.a.nijk@hum.leidenuniv.nl - Iconicity in Classical Greek rhetorical practice?**

One of the central tenets of Greek rhetorical theory from Aristotle onwards is that form should match content. Stylistically, this is achieved through iconicity, which means depicting the communicated content through sound, rhythm and similar formal features. Especially later critics such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus have high praise for such effects.

The question is to what extent such considerations of iconicity actually motivated the ancient Greek orators when they wrote their discourses. Critical discussions of iconic uses of meter, phonological elements and word order tend to be rather *ad hoc*, and scholars usually avoid to raise the question as to what extent it is likely that a perceived correspondence between form and meaning is more than a statistical accident. Quantitative studies in stylometry and prose rhythm tend to focus on general differences between authors (e.g. Manousakis 2020); the study of specific effects remains essentially anecdotal, even in a thorough study like Hutchinson's (2018).

This paper proposes a quantitative methodology for investigating correlations between form and content in Classical Greek rhetoric, specifically in the works of Demosthenes and Lysias. I will investigate three hypotheses:

- a.) Clauses containing descriptive words associated with 'heaviness', 'roughness', etc., will feature more rough phonological and prosodic features (as defined by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other critics; e.g. aspirated plosives, long syllables, hiatus) than clauses containing their opposites.
- b.) Clause length will be greater in static descriptions (where time 'stands still') than in dynamic descriptions.
- c.) Periods will end with a long syllable more often than would be expected by chance, as suggested by Aristotle, who argues that a long syllable at the end of a period functions somewhat like a punctuation mark (*Rhetoric* 3.8).

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**Adedoyin Ogunfeyimi, Dartmouth College, adedoyin.ogunfeyimi@gmail.com - African Temporality as African Subjectivity: The Rhetorical Commonplaces of Loss, Gain, and Flux**

This paper locates African temporality or temporality in African thoughts as a rhetorically complex commonplace for different reasons: 1) It constructs Africans as rhetorical agentive beings because Africans produce—rather than—consume or obey any existing, mathematical dimension of time, and 2) It relocates Africans as transcendental or immortal subjects in the sense that those who die still live in and with African community in the “now” or what Mbiti calls Sasa. While temporality in African thoughts affirm African human subjectivity, an affirmation that does not translate into a utopian perfect place, the colonial and postcolonial temporality subverts Africans as sub-humans, as ethically unfit to be humans or, as Frantz Fanon describes it in zoological terms, as “animals”, a description that constitutes the fixed optics for casting Africans. This paper turns to African temporality that does not fixate on a single time-period or locate African bodies within a specific historical period, a linear emergence of time, or even in fixed contemporary moments, but one that constantly sees Africans in every now—dynamic, changing, and continuous temporal state.

**Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail, Indiana University, macphail@indiana.edu - Common Place of Jesuit Meditation through its Exemplar Topos**

Common Place of Jesuit Meditation through its Exemplar Topos When three Portuguese drifted to the southern island of Japan in 1542, it was with surprise that they discovered a land known in Europe only through Marco Polo's hearsay. Seven years after, the Society of Jesus came to spread Christianity. The Jesuits structured a methodic mission plan that shows at the same time the transmission of their spiritual core and its flexible adaptation to the population. The direction taken by the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan shows the sometimes forgotten network of associations in Europe that constitutes the common place of meditation. Published in the same year of 1596, the *Imitatio Christi* (translated into Japanese presumably from Jean Gerson's Latin) and *The Spiritual Exercises* by Ignatius Loyola (in Latin), represent the core of Jesuits' meditation. Loyola's book was for the missionaries who read Latin and proctored the meditation by applying the spiritual exercises, while the *Imitatio*, integrally translated into Japanese, was used to guide the literate population (ex. Hosokawa Gracia) to Loyola's method of meditation and to Christianity at large. Besides the *Imitatio*, the Society also used Luís de Granada's books to implement Loyola's Exercises to a larger public. For, the translation of the sinner's guide *Guia de Pecadores* (1599) and two partial translations of *Introducción del simbolo de la fe* (1592, 1611) were published in Japanese. The *Imitatio* was translated twice, and the second abridged translation in 1610, written in an elaborate high literary style, shows a peak of meditation assimilated into Japanese mental scenery. My paper proposes to read how, through the *Imitatio* and Loyola, the *devotio moderna* from the Protestant northern Europe and the Catholic southern Europe meet in Japan through an exemplar topos of Christ to form an international common place of meditation.

**Ana Lucia Oliveira, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, analuciamachado54@terra.com.br - The topic of death in Antonio Vieira's sermons**

Taking into consideration the prominent place of the topic of death in the Catholic Counter-Reformation, this paper proposes to focus on the sermons of the relevant Portuguese baroque orator:

Father Antônio Vieira. My presentation will begin with a brief overview of the place of death and the flourishing of the macabre in the social imaginary between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, dialoguing with the works of Delumeau, Arriès, Mâle and Chanu, among others. To address the place of the pulpit in the dissemination of the concept of death propagated by Catholicism, I will analyse Antônio Vieira's sermonistic work, focusing on his construction of a *memento mori* from the resumption of the biblical commonplace that man is dust and to dust will return, so recycled by preachers and poets of the period. This scriptural theme is developed in the three Vieirian sermons of Ash Wednesday, which will be discussed in the final part of my presentation.

Following in the footsteps of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, Jesuits tended to see death as very fertile source of imagination, which could be exploited to raise awareness of the disillusionment with worldly goods and the consequent conversion in favor of a rational and pious life. In summary, as I will try to point out, in such a perspective what exists in life is only deceit and vanity, since existence invariably leads to death, where everything crumbles: riches, vanities, glories. Then, in Vieira's point of view, to live would be to prepare oneself to die.

**Thierry Oppeneer, Ghent University, Thierry.Oppeneer@UGent.be - Topical Invention, Political Self-Fashioning and Civic Ideology in the Assemblies of the Imperial Period**

This paper investigates the political uses of topical invention in Dio Chrysostom's speeches addressed to the popular assembly of his hometown Prusa at the end of the first century AD (Or. 40, 43-49, 51). Although it has been argued that the rhetorical handbooks of the imperial period still imparted students with skills that could be applied in civic life (Heath 2004a: 279, 2004b; Webb 2009: 15), the assembly remains largely overlooked as an important forum for the use of rhetoric. With recent studies stressing the vitality and political importance of the assembly (Zuiderhoek 2008; Fernoux 2011; Oppeneer 2018, 2020), this oversight deserves to be remedied. As a first step in this process, this paper examines how Dio makes use of the *topoi* for character construction (*loci a persona*) that were developed in imperial Greek technography (e.g. Theon Prog. 109-112 Sp. II; Ps.-Hermog. Prog. 11-12 Sp. II; Men.Rh. 368- 377 Sp. III; cf. De Temmerman 2010) for purposes of political self-presentation. Although these *loci a persona* are often associated with epideictic oratory, Dio's speeches testify to their characterising potential in the communication between politicians and the people. An analysis of the three most frequently occurring *topoi* –personal achievements (*πράξεις*), social descent/family (*γένος*) and reputation (*δόξα*)– shows how Dio employs topical invention to provide his popular audience with a coherent set of character proofs that demonstrate his adherence to communal values and ideals. This analysis not only improves our understanding of the political culture of imperial Prusa but may also stimulate further research on how public oratory and rhetorical theory continued to shape local politics in the Greek city under Rome.

**Sean Patrick O'Rourke, Sewanee: The University of the South, sporourk@sewanee.edu - Rhetoric and Legal Education in 18th-Century Britain**

Standard histories of 18th-century British rhetoric note the enduring presence of neo-classical rhetoric and tend to emphasize the innovations marked by the belletristic, philosophical, and psychological approaches popular over the course of the century. They also focus on the era's expansion of the modes and contexts of rhetoric to include conversation, criticism, and elocution. Relatively little work, however, has studied the connection between rhetoric and law in 18th-century Britain, in part because the period marks a low point in legal education. The argument of this paper is that, partly because of the deficiencies in legal education, rhetoricians and lawyers sought to fill the gap with treatises designed specifically for law students, barristers, and advocates. A close study of three of these works [George "Bluidy" Mackenzie's *An Idea of the Modern Eloquence of the Bar, Together with a Pleading* (Edinburgh, 1711), B.D. Free's *Tyrociniium in hospitii curiae, or, Exercises for the First Year, in the*

Inns of Court, Preparatory for the Study of Law (London, 1782-83), and Hortensius's *Deinology: Or, The Union of Reason and Elegance: Being Instructions to a Young Barrister* (London, 1789)] reveals common topics, approaches, and concerns, and demonstrates the perceived importance of rhetoric in legal education at the time. The paper compares and contrasts these works and offers an assessment of what they add to our understanding of 18th-century rhetoric in Britain.

**Jonathan Osborne, Ithaca College, jonathan.osborne86@gmail.com - Finding a Commonplace for Race and Conservatism in American Political Rhetoric**

Over the past twenty years, scholarship in the field of African American rhetoric(s) has become more receptive to differences within the culture. Black women (Moss 2013; Royster 2000), Afrocentrists (Alkebulan 2003; Asante 2003), and queer Black people (Pritchard 2017) now receive attention concerning how their voices contribute to understanding African American rhetorical practices. Additionally, religiously conservative Black voices hold positions within the discourse on African American rhetoric(s) when those Black voices also speak to resisting oppression (Moss 2003; West 2014). One voice of difference typically left out of the discourse, though, belongs to politically conservative African Americans, such as Alan Keyes, Condoleezza Rice, and Colin Powell. Conservatism, particularly within its modern construction since the presidential run of Barry Goldwater, reads as perpetuating racist and restrictive practices by many people of color. While I do not deny this reading of conservatism, I believe analyzing conservative rhetorical practices offers scholars as well as citizens insight into the arguments and perspectives articulated by politicians on the Right. In my presentation I focus on speeches delivered by Condoleezza Rice to surface how she and other Black conservatives craft an ethos built on conservatism and race. My analysis focuses on enthymemes Rice employs in her speeches designed to convince her audience of her authority, as well as the notion that conservatism and race work together. My presentation reveals the commonplace of conservatism and race generally overlook in traditional African American rhetorical theory – the desire to connect to the audience irrespective of their understanding of race. All rhetors require a credible ethos to persuade audiences; my work shows the implications of race in conservative settings.

**Olga Osipova, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russian Federation, osipova.ov@philos.msu.ru - Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke* as an exemplary historical work**

The *Bibliothēke*, a 1<sup>st</sup> century BC universal history in forty books based on the previous historical works, is composed by Diodorus Siculus as a reader-oriented literary work aiming at the moral education of its audience – the Greek-speaking people of the Roman Empire.

The *Bibliothēke* has been considered a typical Hellenistic historical work that combines moralisation and universality (Sacks 1990, Engels 2018, Meuss 2018) and a product of the “culture of spoliation” (Yarrow 2018), which implies a redeployment of the narrative segments of predecessors’ work in new contexts. It has been also demonstrated that the *Bibliothēke* consists of repeating patterns – “stock situations” (Hau 2014) written in standardised language of formulaic expressions (Sacks 1990, Chamoux 1993).

This paper is an attempt to examine Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliothēke* as a collection of commonplaces connected with topics of Greek historical works. This analysis can contribute to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus’ place in the history of Hellenistic rhetoric.

It is argued that the historical narrative of the *Bibliothēke* demonstrates Diodorus Siculus’ rhetorical skills. He creates his work as a series of uniformly structured narrative units where combinations of historical material and rhetorical commonplaces can be discovered: battle descriptions, speeches, digressions (geographical, ethnographical, moralising), and paratextual elements (prefaces and

conclusions). Commonplaces are found in the passages, firstly, where Diodorus Siculus elaborates on the account by amplifying it in order to create stereotypical images in accordance with the rhetorical requirements and, secondly, where he expresses his views on the content and structure of the most useful historical work as a source of morally edifying examples.

To conclude, the study of Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliothēke* can shed light on the relationship not only between rhetoric and history, but also between the theory and the practice of rhetoric in the Hellenistic literature.

**Daniel P. Overton, Pepperdine University, [daniel.overton@pepperdine.edu](mailto:daniel.overton@pepperdine.edu) - Dragging the Kitchen Table to New York City: Martin Luther King's Mobilization of his Prophetic Calling and the Civil Rights Movement as Commonplaces**

On April 4, 1967—exactly one year before his assassination—Martin Luther King Jr. publicly denounced the Vietnam War at the Riverside Church in New York City. He opened by telling his audience and specifically his many critics that “my conscience leaves me no other choice,” relying on an important component of effective prophetic ethos: his prophetic call narrative. For King, his experiences during the Montgomery bus boycott required his public denunciation of the war, despite the likelihood and eventual reality of significant backlash. In this sermon, “Montgomery” served as a symbolic moment of transcendence providing him not only the ethos required for the task but also providing an inventional resource to present his entire rhetorical trajectory as inevitable. The prophetic call narrative form, recognized widely among scholars of the Hebrew Bible, is an underexamined rhetorical resource by scholars of rhetoric. Drawing on Max Weber, a priest becomes a prophet precisely because he or she interacted with the divine and walked away unable to keep quiet. Without a visceral transcendent experience, the prophet might fail to deliver the all-important revealed message. In this paper, I identify King's famed kitchen table experience in Montgomery as a standard prophetic call narrative, considering a rhetorical theory of the call narrative form, and I provide a reading of his “Beyond Vietnam” address in light of his kitchen table experience, noting the way the former relies on the latter as justification to “break the silence” (the subtitle associated with King's Riverside sermon). King can be understood as mobilizing a commonplace associated with the American Civil Rights Movement to provide him the authority necessary to address the Vietnam War, especially for critics wondering why he felt the need to speak out against “injustice anywhere as a threat to justice everywhere.”

**Janika Päll, University of Tartu, [Janika.Pall@ut.ee](mailto:Janika.Pall@ut.ee), Following the teacher's precepts: loci in the Marginalia of University orations from 16th-17th century Wittenberg and Great Sweden**

One of the means of learning in Early Modern Universities was to prepare and deliver speeches on different topics. The Professors of Rhetoric had to give the students not only the topics of the speeches, but often also the dispositions for them.

This paper explores possible traces of the professor's precepts in student orations (both verse and prose), based on the corpus of the Greek and Latin orations from the *Academia Gustaviana* and *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* (17th century Tartu and Pärnu in Livonia, present Estonia). It will also compare this corpus to selected model examples from Uppsala and Wittenberg (similarly in Greek and Latin).

I am going to focus on speeches, which include printed marginalia, and ask, whether and how the marginalia reflect the dispositions of speeches, possibly given by the professors of Rhetoric: Which are the main types of the marginalia? What is their function? How this function changes during the period from the middle of the 16th century to the end of the 17th century? Finally, I am going to

establish the patterns of usage of most eminent groups of the marginalia: the ‘loci’, the ‘causes’, the parts of orations, and the sources. I hope that as a result, in spite of great variation, which appears to characterize the University orations, the role of the Professor of Rhetoric might become a little bit clearer.

**Alessandra Palla, University of Hamburg, [alessandra.palla@uni-hamburg.de](mailto:alessandra.palla@uni-hamburg.de) - The *topoi* of the encomium: an example in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*?**

In the period of the High Empire (I-III centuries AD), which corresponds to the period designated the Second Sophistic, Greek rhetorical culture developed a strong interest in the art of the encomium. From the first “preparatory exercises” (*progymnasmata*) to more extensive treatments – such as the first treatise attributed to Menander Rhetor – Greek literature transmits not only different kinds of praises (for example of gods, men, animals, cities) but also many works on the *topoi* necessary for composing rhetorical encomia.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the employment of such *topoi* in the anonymous text *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, which can be dated earlier than the Hadrian period thanks to an in-text mention of the emperor (ll. 32-43 Allen<sup>1</sup>). Much has been said about this compilation, for example its relation to the biographical tradition and to material from the sophist Alcidas. What my proposal suggests is a new approach to analyzing the section on Homer’s birthplace (ll. 7-17), parents (ll. 18-27), name (ll. 27-32) and chronology (ll. 44-53). The homeland, the cities, the genealogy of Homer: this section, as articulated in the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, seems to display a structure that reflects the rhetorical praise of the imperial age, in particular its *topoi* and their order in the encomium.

On the basis of these considerations, it would be useful to investigate not only this structure but also other aspects – such as the use of specific rhetorical terms – which may help to define the relationship between the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* and the *topoi* of rhetorical encomia of the second century AD.

1. Homeri Opera recognovit Th.W. Allen. Tomus V Hymnos Cyclum Fragmenta Margiten Batrachomyomachiam Vitas Continens, Oxonii 1912, pp. 225-238.

**Nephele Papakonstantinou, Sorbonne University / National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, [nephpap@phil.uoa.gr](mailto:nephpap@phil.uoa.gr) - « Context-embedded functions of rhetorical topoi in Roman legal culture »**

This paper focuses on Roman law and legal practice under the Late Republic and Early empire, when the status of jurisprudence was far from assured. It acknowledges the integrity of Roman law as specialist discipline, and suggests that the law as laid down in the sources was the result of legal practice (Tellegen-Couperus 2009). It sets to understand how law - an inherently societal discourse - reflects and impacts context, by exploring the display of legal understanding among elite Romans, non-jurists. This is not to maintain that what jurists did could be done without expertise, or that they allowed the legal culture of the elite to influence the administration of justice, but to show that the changing shape of law and legal practice itself was a social phenomenon that acquired meaning only in and for a specific social context (Harries 2006). In his pedagogical anthology of *controversiae* and *suasoriae* (beginning of the 1st century AD), Seneca the Elder bequeathes to us a rich testimony on the cultural stakes of late republican and early imperial oratory. By taking a pragmatic approach to reading the works of Seneca the Elder, this paper proposes to address the rhetorical enactment of law, the transmission of legal knowledge, as well as the relationship between knowledge, speech, and power from a different angle : the context-embedded functions of rhetorical *topoi* in legal reasoning and interpretation. The purpose is to strengthen our perception of the interrelation of law and rhetoric, by

asking how rhetoric as a specific exercise of power over meaning was connected to legal practice concomitantly with the rise of the jurists.

**Fiammetta Papi, Università di Siena, fiammetta.papi@unisi.it - Aristotle's Rhetoric in Italy (1300-1400): Three Unedited Translations**

This paper deals with the medieval reception of Aristotle's Rhetoric in Italy and focuses on three unedited Italian translations dated to the fourteenth century. The oldest one is attested by Vatican Library MS Chig. M.VI.126. The second version appears in Vatican Library MS Chig. M.VIII.162, and in Padua, University Library MS 1402. The third version is attested by MS Siena, Intronati I.VI.22. It is a compendium of the Rhetoric which, to my knowledge, is hitherto unknown. It comments on the Rhetoric sometimes adding standard quotations from Cicero, but also less common passages from Aristotle's Poetics. The vernacular reception of classical rhetoric in Italy has long been investigated, especially with regard to the impact of Cicero's theories from the Duecento onwards. As far as Aristotle's Rhetoric is concerned, however, the attention given to the vernacular tradition has been more limited. Advances have been made in recent research into vernacular Aristotelianism in medieval and Renaissance Italy, but many of the oldest texts still lie unedited and have not yet been studied in detail. Such is the case of the Rhetoric's translations under consideration here. Against this background, I will present the most relevant features of the three versions, pointing to their significance as first evidence of full translations of Aristotle's treatises in Italy. I will put them into context, and I will demonstrate that they were all composed in Siena. This proves a strong connection to the oldest translation of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* – a treatise drawing on Aristotle's Rhetoric, Nicomachean Ethics and Politics – which was also composed in Siena in 1288. Advances in research include: new evidence of the dissemination of Aristotle's Rhetoric in medieval Italy; new results in the history of vernacular rhetoric; new insights on the connections between the Ciceronian and Aristotelian traditions in the period 1300-1400.

**Stéfano Paschoal, Federal University of Uberlândia, Brazil, stefanotranslatio@gmail.com - Art of gesture as a condition to be regarded as a perfect musician: consequences of the approximation between Rhetoric and Music in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* by Johann Mattheson**

Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) can be considered one of the most significant authors who wrote on Music in the first half of 18th century, mainly if one takes in account his work *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), in which he sets out the minimum knowledge a perfect musicus/musician (or a perfect chapel master) should have. Mattheson represents the tradition of Rhetoric in Music, i.e., relations and approximation between Rhetoric and Music resulting firstly from educational reform proposed by Martin Luther in the German *Lateinschulen* in 1528. A great evidence of this approximation between Rhetoric and Music can be seen in the 6th chapter, in which Mattheson exposes the art of gesture as a condition for someone to be regarded as a perfect musicus/musician. If we consider texts one have written about gestures over the centuries, we will realize that the art of gestures pertains originally to Rhetoric and takes place in the fifth and last part of itc, according to its classical division: the *actio* or *pronuntiatio*. In our presentation, we intend to point out excerpts from the 6th chapter (First part, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*) in which these relation between both arts is evident and then – in order to enlighten this idea – to compare them to excerpts of *Teutsche Rhetorica oder Redekunst* (1634) by Johann Matthäus Meyfart (1590-1642).

**Gianluca Pasini, Università “La Sapienza”, Roma, [lucapaso71@libero.it](mailto:lucapaso71@libero.it) - Corrispondenze di alcuni *topoi* aristotelici con la *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* e con la prassi degli oratori attici.**

Si intende mostrare come alcuni di quelli che Aristotele nella *Rhetorica* (II 23) classifica come *topoi* di entimemi siano stati trattati in modo differente da Anassimene di Lampsaco nella *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* e siano stati impiegati negli oratori attici. Saranno illustrati il I topos (“dai contrari”), il IV (“dal più e dal meno”), il XV (per cui ciò che in pubblico è presentato come giusto e nobile sarebbe invece, da un’altra prospettiva, utile o dannoso), il XX (per cui gli uomini sono sospinti da ciò che è possibile, facile e utile per loro o dannoso per i nemici), il XXI (consistente nel mostrare che l’inverosimile può essere vero), il XXII (consistente nel far dedurre l’inaffidabilità di chi ha azioni o parole contraddittorie).

Si illustrerà altresì come il *topos* per cui, tra un forte e un debole, è il primo ad avere aggredito il secondo, sia stato trattato in modi differenti e originali da Platone (*Phaedr.* 273 b–c) e da Aristotele (II 24), e, in modo più standardizzato, da Anassimene e dagli oratori attici. L’accusa secondo cui chi percuote è il più forte viene da Aristotele mostrata come basata un *topos* che è fondato sulla verosimiglianza assoluta e che Corace cercò di mostrare come inverosimile, in realtà in senso relativo. Sarebbe stato invece Tisia, secondo Socrate, a trattare questo stesso *topos*, ma in modo differente – ma sempre per confermare la verosimiglianza del *topos* stesso – con l’aggiunta del riferimento alla forza d’animo di colui che è fisicamente debole e alla debolezza d’animo di chi è fisicamente forte. La verosimiglianza del *topos* è ripresa dagli oratori in sede argomentativa, ma da Anassimene di Lampsaco nella trattazione degli esordî.

**Jagadish Paudel, The University of Texas at El Paso, [jpaudel@miners.utep.edu](mailto:jpaudel@miners.utep.edu) - The Rhetoric of the Bhagavad Gita: Unpacking Rhetorical Maneuvers from a Non-Western Perspective**

The Bhagavad Gita, an acclaimed and venerated ancient sacred religious and philosophical text integral to the Hindu faith tradition, shows a vast number of rhetorical maneuvers. In this presentation, I discuss some of the rhetorical maneuvers that are deployed in their dialogue by the two main characters of the Gita, Lord Krishna and Arjuna. The dialogue that goes on is honest debate, and Lord Krishna employs the revelatory method in attempts to coax Arjuna to make war against the Kauravas and to devote to him.

Going through available English-language works on the rhetoric of the Gita, I note that the vast majority of existing published studies are written from a Western perspective, rarely or never from the committedly non-Western point of view from which this text arose and to which it still most legitimately belongs. Therefore, in this presentation, I intend to bring to light some rhetorical maneuvers as found in that text: ontological argument, revelatory/religious argument, axiological argument, and repetition strategy. In order to discuss rhetorical strategies employed in the Gita by primarily unraveling the rhetorical strategies of the text from a non-Western perspective, this paper is centered on the Nyayasutra argument which involves “a proposition, a reason, an explanatory example, an application of the example, and statement of the conclusion” (Sinha 171).

This paper can make a distinctly different and useful contribution to the ongoing worldwide academic discussion of non-Western, particularly Hindu rhetorical traditions. Additionally, this study is of great importance for Western scholars to learn the basics about rhetorical maneuvers employed in this historic and world-revered text.

I first present the background information of the Gita, and then I discuss briefly the theory of Nyayasutra for analyzing the text. I then present some arguments found in the text: ontological argument, revelatory argument, axiological argument, and repetition strategy.

**María Violeta Pérez Custodio, The University of Cádiz, violeta.perez@uca.es - Academic life as rhetorical topic in Early Modern Spain: from secular to Jesuit rhetoric**

In Early Modern Spain, university life provided a social and cultural context where rhetoric kept alive its old essence. On a variety of occasions (such as celebrating festivities and applying for a degree or a position) speeches were delivered by orators who had to give proof of their command of eloquence in front of an academic audience. A number of these pieces, which were usually composed by rhetoric professors or advanced disciples and mainly aimed at praising the university and its authorities, were printed as independent short booklets (such as the speeches by L. Alfonso de Herrera in 1530 or A. García Matamoros in 1558) or included in rhetoric handbooks (such as the speech by A. de Torres in 1579). They were real orations, actually delivered. Nevertheless, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, fictional academic speeches, which were aimed at teaching students how to compose these oratorical pieces, became part of the repertoires of models included in rhetoric manuals. My paper will analyse the presence of these kinds of speeches in secular and Jesuit handbooks, as well as in assignments by Jesuit students. In order to do so, firstly it will deal with the *Rhetorica Institutio* by Martín de Segura (Alcalá, 1589) and secondly with the *Vsus et exercitatio demonstrationis* by M. de la Cerda, S. J. (Seville, 1598). It will finally focus on some examples of these academic speeches by Jesuit students, which are kept in manuscript 6513 of the Spanish National Library. The aim is to show that these oratorical pieces, concerning both secular and Jesuit teaching, provide us with a remarkable source of information which complements what we know of academic life through official and administrative documents.

**Gabriel Pérsico, University of the Arts, gabrielpersico@gmail.com - Rhetoric and Wit: A Fantasy for Flute**

In this work we intend to use the tools of textual rhetoric applied to music by the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the analysis of some aspects of the Fantasy in E minor for flute without bass by Georg Philipp Telemann. The analysis is posed not only as a valid description of the sound construction but also as a non-normative hermeneutic oriented to praxis. Its ultimate goal is to help build the real-time performance process and communication with the listener. The musical genre of Fantasia is related to the concept of "wit" (*conchetto, argutezza, spirito, vivezza; argúcia; ingenious concept; Witz; pointe*) in the pre-Cartesian description of the mechanisms of the mind (Hansen). We turn to Kircher and Mattheson to clarify the scope of the term. According to the thinking of the early eighteenth century, music imitates passions, or in Cartesian terms, the somatic and gestural response to them. The subject of the Fantasy speech to be studied focuses on the representation of melancholic affection as an artistic survival of the old theory of humors. We start from the *dispositio*, which is not reduced to a mere formal arrangement but is integrated with the *inventio* and *ornato* to display a meaningful speech. To the *dispositio* related to the forensic genre such as we find it in Quintiliano and Mattheson, it is added the one used by Logic, called *Chria*, which sources of the time associate with the genre of fugue. The rhetorical analysis then reveals the resources used to characterize the antithetical, depressive and manic traits of melancholic affection. The understanding of an adequate semiosis of the tropes and the structure of the piece makes it possible to efficiently construct the *pronuntiatio* and the *actio* of the performer.

Keywords:

Musical rhetoric - analysis – Eighteenth century music - wit - affections

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**Caroline Petit, University of Warwick, C.C.L.Petit@warwick.ac.uk - Cruelty, Commonplace, and the Scientific Gaze. Anatomizing imperial discourses on vivisection and live experiments.**

This paper will contrast and explore ancient discourses on vivisection and other live experiments in the Roman Empire. Using a variety of texts ranging from declamation to philosophy and medicine, in Greek (Plutarch, Galen) and in Latin (Celsus, Pliny the Elder, Ps.-Quintilian, Tertullian), I will show how two parallel rhetorical traditions developed around the popular, yet divisive phenomenon of medical experiments on the living. In the wake of lively public performances of vivisection, one aims at vilifying doctors and scientists in their ruthless quest for knowledge; the other constructs live experiments as a legitimate, truthful process of investigation.

Some of the topics of vituperation aimed at physicians (greed, incompetence, pedantry, dishonesty...) are shared with other professionals, such as seers and astrologers. In the case of physicians however, vivisection and live experiments feed an additional, distinctive category – the cruelty embedding their quest for knowledge. The concrete details and visual power of such experiments, the evocation of pain and suffering, allow for very effective pathetic developments. In contrast (and in response?), ancient medical authors have created a no less powerful scientific rhetoric focusing on observation, facts, and deduction – in which the pain experienced by patients, animals, or slaves used in such experiments all but disappear. The scientific gaze, as constructed by ancient doctors, evacuates emotion – does it mean it also goes around the commonplaces of rhetoric?

This paper will analyse both rhetorical traditions, asking whether the two operate in dialogue (a question seldom considered), and whether commonplaces can be identified in scientific discourse as clearly as in anti-medical rhetoric.

**Francesca Piazza, University of Palermo, francesca.piazza@unipa.it - Dissent and deliberation: the Aristotelian framework**

The aim of this paper is to show that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* can give us a theoretical framework to bring out the inherently agonistic nature of the argumentative practices in the public sphere. I will focus on the link between human deliberation, dissent and rhetorical discourses following these four steps:

1. *Rhetorical discourses aim at a deliberation*. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is a reflection on discursive practices oriented to deliberation. [Aris. Rhet. 1357a 1-2; 1377b 7]. Therefore, firstly we need to investigate the nature of human deliberation.
2. According to Aristotle, *we deliberate only about things that can be otherwise and depend on us* (EN, 1112a 21-b10; 1143a 27-32; Rhet. 1357a 2-7). This means that the issue at stake in rhetorical discourses are *intrinsically disputable*.
3. In Aristotle's perspective deliberation *is a complex intertwining of logos, pathos and orexis*. *Logos* alone cannot move anything and therefore the principle of human action is the *orexis* (DA 433a 21-434a 7). This means that rhetorical discourses can never exclude the emotional dimension and this always makes human choices potentially conflictual.
4. From this derives that *conflict is inherent to every rhetorical practice*. Dissent is not a disturbing

factor that we must overcome but the real start of every argumentative practice in the public sphere. Moreover, given the intrinsically disputable nature of the issue at stake and the unavoidable involvement of the emotional dimension, we never have guarantee that the argumentative process will lead us to dissolve the disagreement. If this is true, Aristotle's Rhetoric can give us the conceptual tools to try to address the role of conflict in political interaction.

**Karen Piepenbrink, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, Karen.Piepenbrink@geschichte.uni-giessen.de - Topoi vs. Commonplaces in Aristotle's 'Rhetoric'**

By asking about the relation between *topoi* and commonplaces in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* the paper will have a look at the relationship between universal approaches and historical determination in Aristotle's concept of *topos*. Thereby it will differentiate between Aristotle's own reflections and the positions of modern research. According to modern perspectives, the differentiation between material and formal *topoi* might be instructive in this context; Aristotle's own perspective seems to be slightly different: His intention is not so much to ask for universal principles, but for those who meet practical needs and fulfil a theoretical claim as well. By doing this, he develops a special position to the question of cultural dependency. This is due to his general concept of rhetoric, which tries to overcome the supposed deficiencies of Plato's ideas concerning rhetoric as well as those of the sophists.

**Massimo Pinto, Aldo Moro University of Bari, Italy, pasqualemassimo.pinto@uniba.it - 'nonumque prematur in annum'. Slow literary composition and delayed publication as commonplaces in ancient and byzantine authors.**

This paper proposal concerns ancient Greek and Byzantine literature (selected authors and texts from ancient Athens to the 13<sup>th</sup> century will be addressed). The proposed paper aims to explore the commonplaces of slow composition and delayed publication of a text by its author that is recurrent in Greek and Latin literature and was evidently revived in Byzantine times. A comprehensive reconsideration of the origin and evolution of these commonplaces is lacking; however, a first survey may contribute to a better understanding of their use and adaptation for different purposes. After a brief introduction, the paper will deal with cases and traditions concerning ancient authors (e.g. prose-writers of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE), especially in the light of current knowledge of literary composition, book production and circulation in antiquity. At the same time, the paper will point to connections with other rhetorical commonplaces (such as author's modesty). A couple of significant examples from authors of the Comnenian period (Johannes Tzetzes and Michael Choniates) will also be discussed, in order to show the meaning of the use of these subjects in byzantine literary circles. Conclusions will try to shed some light on the transformation of the commonplaces of slow literary composition and delayed publication over the centuries and their inclusion in the tradition of the teaching of rhetoric itself that persisted until Byzantium.

**Irena Plaović, University of Belgrade, irena.plaovic@gmail.com - Topics and Rhetoric of Serbian Medieval Encomia**

The subject of my presentation will be Serbian medieval encomia studied from the standpoint of topics and commonplaces as an integral part of rhetorical invention. In Serbian medieval literature (12<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> century) we find three major literary forms: hagiography, hymnography and encomium, which remains the only "rhetorical" genre *sensu stricto*. Within the history of Serbian rhetoric, the Middle Ages developed only epideictic oratory, while the other types of rhetoric emerged much later. In view of this, my PhD thesis (*Rhetorical heritage of the Serbian Middle Ages: orations and encomia*) aims to

research and analyze this genre as a basis for the study of the history of Serbian rhetoric as a whole. One of the chapters of my thesis will be dedicated to the hermeneutic of Serbian encomia based on the classic rhetorical analysis, with *inventio* being one of the major study topics within it. In this paper I will focus on three representative literary works: *Encomium to St. Simeon and St. Sava* by Theodosius of Chilandar (14th century), *Encomium to St. Prince Lazar* by Andonius Raphail and *Encomium to Demetrius of Thessaloniki* by Demetrius Kantakuzen (15th century). These texts have been chosen because of the different categories of sanctity to which their subjects belong, namely a ruler-ktetor, a holy bishop "enlightener", and two martyrs, as well as because of specific inter-national relations they form – Theodosius was a Serb living on Mount Athos, while the other two authors were of greek origin, living in medieval Serbia and writing in Serbian Slavonic.

The study of commonplaces on the corpus of Serbian medieval texts still remains extremely rare, although it is of great importance for understanding the worldview of the authors of the period. Furthermore, it helps us comprehend the concepts of the history of ideas, which can be clearly seen in the topoi that form a communication horizon of Slavic Middle Ages within the so-called Byzantine Commonwealth.

**Christine Plastow, The Open University, christine.plastow@open.ac.uk - Secrets and scandals: unspeakable topics and the circulation of knowledge in the Athenian courts**

In Aeschines 1, Timarchos is tried as a result of sex acts he allegedly performed for money as a younger man. In Andocides 1 and Lysias 6, Andocides is tried as a result of his alleged participation in the performance of the rites of the Eleusinian Mysteries, known only to initiates, in a private home in mixed company, including slaves. These two rather different trials are connected by the unspeakable topics at their cores: though both charges relate in fact to actions performed after the events in question, nevertheless these events form the cruxes of the cases, and in neither case are the litigants able, within the bounds of propriety or law, to explain in detail what happened. This is a problem in a legal system without real evidence, where success relied in part on a convincing narrative of events. In this paper, I examine some rhetorical strategies employed in these scenarios: focus on events leading up to and surrounding the offending moment; consideration of the effects of the actions; and attempts to provide as much detail as allowable, particularly about the participants in each situation. I pay close attention to the way the speeches use ideas of seeing, hearing, and knowing in their narratives, considering the roles of physical presence, rumour, and the circulation of knowledge in a city the size of Athens in rhetorical strategy. I assess the role of space—public and private, city and hinterland—in who has access to knowledge that can be brought to the courtroom, and the ways in which orators' perception of audience knowledge of events affects their rhetorical strategies. I suggest that orators could create a persuasive perception of knowledge among jurors even where actual knowledge did not exist.

**Megan Poole, University of Louisville, megan.r.poole@gmail.com - Francis Bacon, Susanne K. Langer, and the "Idols" of Science**

Francis Bacon, Susanne K. Langer, and the "Idols" of Science The Royal Society of London's epistemological foundation was inspired by Francis Bacon, who argued in *The Novum Organon* (1620) for a new system of logic that opposed Aristotelian probable truths and championed empirical technologies like the microscope. If, as Tina Skouen (2015) reports, "Bacon served as the Royal Society's lodestar" (244), then early modern "scientists" set out to correct Bacon's "idols of the mind." These idols, or "illusions" as is often translated from the Latin, were errors from sense perception (tribe), from sociocultural biases (cave), from language (marketplace), and from systemic knowledge systems like religion and philosophy (theatre). Because these metaphors of the tribe, cave,

marketplace, and theatre have been examined as quasi-medical diagnoses of “universal madness” (Corneanu and Vermeir, 2012; Weeks, 2019), more recent scholarship has queried the commonplace of the “idol” itself. The Baconian “idol” has been traced to various origins, from Judeo-Christian teachings (Cooper, 2019) to ancient Greek “skeptical schools” (Eva, 2012). In addition to its origins, this presentation queries the longevity of the Baconian “idol” as a commonplace in the modern era and asks: what role has the “idol” played in histories and rhetorics of science? To answer that question, this presentation will proceed in two parts. First, I will consider how Bacon’s “idol” derives from the Greek εἶδος and presents a revised notion of Platonic “forms” that invites the resources of imagination into a radical push for empiricism. Second, I examine the lasting influence of the Baconian “idol” in the work of Susanne K. Langer, a student of Alfred Lord Whitehead who called for a return to the more “imaginative” stages of science when she identified modern “idols of the laboratory” in *Mind* (1967), an evolutionary study of human cognition. At stake in this study of the “idol” as a commonplace in rhetorics of science is a fresh understanding of the centrality of imagination in new scientific paradigms.

**Josie Portz, The University of Arizona, josieroseportz@email.arizona.edu - “That Which is Not to be Shown”: Jesuit Letter-Writing in Colonial Sri Lanka**

In the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionary efforts spread across Asia, as did readership of missionary letters, intended to report conditions of mission work to spiritual superiors as well as to deliver spiritual examples and edifying exhortations. Jesuits also used these letters to standardize mission efforts, combatting suspicions against their adaptationist missionary methods. Despite the Jesuit’s success in missionary work and reputation for a strong pedagogical tradition, their practice of accommodation (*accommodatio*) towards local cultures earned them no shortage of criticism. Jesuits did not take up the same strategy of accommodation in seventeenth century Sri Lanka, however, finding it a difficult mission field, partially due to the deeply coercive and violent colonization efforts of the Portuguese, which co-opted Catholic spirituality to envision a “New Portugal.”

Sri Lankan historian and Jesuit priest S. G. Perera’s series “The Jesuits in Ceylon,” published in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* provides many translated Jesuit accounts and letters. Perera additionally published letters from local Sri Lankan authorities back to the Portuguese crown and even the pope. Adopting conventions similar to those that founder Ignatius of Loyola recommended to the Jesuits, these letters from local Sri Lankan elite focus on what is appropriate for a public versus private audience, conceptualizing a divide between *nostrum* and *alienum* (Zúpanov 10), with the in-group notably comprising both local and mainland Europe Catholics.

This study seeks to explore in English the Jesuit commonplace of letter-writing that some matters are “to be shown,” while others are best kept within the Order. Here, I survey letters of Jesuits and rarely examined letters of local Sri Lankan elites, using Jesuit letter-writing practices as a heuristic to show the unique challenges that the Jesuit order faced in missions during Portuguese colonization of Sri Lanka, a little-considered context in global Jesuit studies to this point.

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**Alberto Quiroga Puertas, University of Granada, aquiroga@ugr.es - Astrology, prostitution and a jewel. Libanius of Antioch's defense of the emperor Julian in "To Polycles"**

Libanius of Antioch, in his oration 37 (“To Polycles”), harshly reprimands certain individuals for spreading the rumour of Julian’s commission to poison Helena, his own wife. In this short *psógos* (“rhetorical blame”), composed by one of the most famous sophists of the late antique period in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire and emperor’s close friend, Libanius chose to defend and to extol Julian by composing an invective where the *basilikós lógos*’ elements were subtly intertwined with *psógic* motifs and not reeled off in an encomium *per se*. Libanius’ gibes against the rumour-mongers, in fact, were based on topics which, according to the sophist, were the exact opposite of Julian’s ethos —e.g., while the latter was precisely known for his “self-control” (*egkráteia*) and his wisdom, the former are accused of prostitution and of resorting to magic and astrology. Therefore, by putting into a dialogue topics and strategies related to two rhetorical antagonistic subgenres —*basilikós lógos* and *psógos*—, Libanius’ strategy in this oration seemed to have not particularly followed Menander of Laodicea’s prescriptions for the praise of an emperor but Aristotle’s instructions for the composition of a blame (*Rh.* 1368a 10-37).

**Shawn Ramsey, Nazarbayev University, ramseys@bgsu.edu - Honestas and the Angevin Queen: Eleanor of Aquitaine’s Medieval Letters and Their Classical Rhetorical**

In 1193, King Richard III of England joined the Third Crusade and was famously made the captive of Emperor Henry VI for a proverbial king’s ransom. Eleanor of Aquitaine exhorted Pope Celestine III with the aim that he rhetorically intercede on her son’s behalf in the middle of a very public international conflict. The specific topics she draws upon are appeals to the ancient concepts within *honestas*, or virtue. These topics traditionally derived from deliberative argumentation and had entirely subordinated under the virtue of justice in medieval culture. In Eleanor’s letters, justice possesses an anatomy of subordinate parts including friendship, pity, the body politic of her kingdom. Her appeals illustrate the medieval significance of ancient virtues in political persuasion which can be traced from Ciceronian thought, particularly *Rhetorica ad Herrenium*, *de Inventione*, and *de Officiis*. In political rhetoric, which had a consular but deliberative character, these works found their twelfth century expression of statecraft in John of Salisbury’s *Politicraticus*. They illustrate how women as civic actors implemented argumentative strategies deriving from topics in classical deliberative rhetoric.

**Amedeo Alessandro Raschieri, Università degli Studi di Torino, amedeo.raschieri@gmail.com - History of rhetoric and Digital humanities: the case of Cicero**

I intend to present some remarks on the use of computer tools for the study of the history of rhetoric. In particular, I will discuss the first results of my research project *Digital Lexicon of the Ancient Rhetoric* (DiLAR), and I will consider two examples from Cicero’s rhetorical lexicon and some of his speeches.

Digital humanities have produced sophisticated resources for the study of Latin authors. I can mention *Musisque deoque* ([www.mqdq.it](http://www.mqdq.it)) for poetry, *Pede certo* ([www.pedecerto.eu](http://www.pedecerto.eu)) for prosody, *Opera Latina* (<http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/lasla/>) for linguistic analysis. On the contrary, we do not have similar software focused on the rhetorical aspects of the Greek and Latin works. Moreover, there is no TEI (Text Encoding Initiative, <http://www.tei-c.org/>) standard for the textual encoding of the rhetorical features. Even the scholarly literature is quite scarce: at the moment the only volume on this subject is the book edited by J. Ridolfo and W. Hart-Davidson, *Rhetoric and the Digital Humanities* (Chicago 2015).

By collecting and structuring a digital *corpus* of rhetorical works, such as DiLAR, it is possible to analyse with high effectiveness two elements that are important for the history of rhetoric: the

rhetorical terminology and the rhetorical structure of the works. For the first aspect, I intend to present some characteristics of the terms *traiectio* (*transiectio*), *transgressio* and *transitio* in Cicero's rhetorical works. Through the use of DiLAR, it is possible to study the evolution of these words and their relationship with the Greek rhetorical lexicon. For the second aspect, I plan to show how the rhetorical tagging of a homogeneous group of Cicero's speeches (the Caesarian speeches *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Ligario*, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*) can improve their comparative study from a structural point of view.

**Roger Ribeiro, Universidade de São Paulo- USP, roger.ribeiro@usp.br - Italian free ornamentation of baroque music and the virtues of elocution**

Free ornamentation is a way to embellish melodies, particularly in the 18th century Italian style. The ornaments are not marked in the score, but it is expected that the performer adds them, in most cases, in the slow movements melodies. Free ornamentation, known also as Italian ornamentation, was one of the most important peculiarities of the Italian national style.

In the 18th Century, music was understood in rhetoric terms, as a "discourse of sounds" (Mattheson 1739), and musical performance was compared to the delivery of an orator (Quantz, 1752). Considering this relation, it is possible to understand free or Italian ornamentation in the broader spectrum of *elocutio*.

The verb to ornate is derived from the Latin verb *ornare*, which means to garnish an army or fleet. Quintilian compares the *Ornatus* with the brilliance of a weapon or a lightning. Is the brilliance that scares the people and not the real potential of hurts or kill. The Brilliance convinces the audience, so a discourse without ornaments is like a ray without brilliance.

In terms of rhetoric, ornamentation (*ornatus*), belongs to the *virtutes elocutiones*, together with *puritas*, *perspicuitas* and *decorum*. According to Bartel (1997: 78) "It is in this [last] 'Virtue,' *ornatus*, that the rhetorical figures and tropes find their home." Garavelli (1988) highlights "its enormous range of distinctions and its autonomous historical development" emphasizing the especial attention given to this subject in 18th Century music.

The main aim of this paper is to consider free ornamentation in the music of the Italian composer Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713) within the scope of *elocutio* considering its relation to the remaining virtues – especially *decorum*. This is the subject of my dissertation (master degree), concluded in 2021.

**J. Michael Raley, Hanover College, raleyjm@hanover.edu - Imitating Christ: The Devotio moderna, García de Cisneros's Book of Exercises for the Spiritual Life, and Ignatius Loyola's Spirituality**

As Ignatius Loyola first began to draft his Spiritual Exercises while in residence at Manresa in 1522, two works that he had close at hand were the Imitation of Christ, attributed today to Thomas à Kempis, and García de Cisneros's Book of Exercises for the Spiritual Life. Thomas numbered among the members of the Dutch religious movement known as the Devotio moderna, one branch of whom practiced their faith as unprofessed religious and the other as professed Augustinian Canons and Canonesses Regular while earning their living as book scribes and seamstresses and sharing a communal life of spiritual devotion. García de Cisneros came under the influence of the Devotio moderna while serving as a monk and then as abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat in Spain. Though hardly an original work, García's Book of Exercises skillfully combined and reworked the writings of his sources to bear his own mark as well as those of the authors whose works he was quoting. Some of the latter included Devotio moderna founder Geert Grote's "Letter on the Imitation

of Christ,” Florens Radewijns’s *Treatise on Spiritual Exercises*, Gerhard Zerbolt’s *The Spiritual Ascensions*, Jan Mombaer’s *Rosary of Spiritual Exercises*, and the early Spanish editions that mistakenly attributed the *Imitation of Christ* to Jean Gerson, when in fact the work was closely tied to Thomas à Kempis and the *Devotio moderna*. Following his religious conversion, Ignatius Loyola adopted the *Imitation of Christ* as an authoritative Jesuit text to be read and studied by all Jesuits. Meanwhile, his own *Spiritual Exercises* drew heavily upon García de Cisneros’s *Book of Exercises* and the spiritual works of the *Devotio moderna*, a close reading of which illustrates the degree to which Loyola’s spirituality was heavily indebted, both directly and indirectly, to the *Devotio moderna*’s emphasis upon imitating Christ.

**Gary Remer, Tulane University, gremer@tulane.edu - The Jewish Reinterpretation of the Hebrew Prophet: Judah Messer Leon and the Renaissance Prophet-Statesman**

The Hebrew prophet in the Jewish tradition, for the most part, stands in opposition to the classical orator of ancient Athens and Rome. As envisioned in classical rhetoric, the orator fashions his speech to accommodate the audience he addresses; his oratorical success is established by persuading his listeners. In contrast to the classical orator, the verbal creativity of the Hebrew prophet is largely understated or even denied, and the realization of his goal is determined independent of whether he persuades his audience or not. Thus, in the Hebrew Bible, the true prophet—from Moses until Malachi—is portrayed as speaking God’s words, not his own, and the most “successful” prophets, in practice, nearly always fail to persuade their audiences; rather, the prophets’ success is implicitly defined in the Hebrew Bible by whether they have faithfully transmitted God’s message to the intended audience, regardless of the outcome. We find a shift away from this understanding of the Hebrew prophet during the Italian Renaissance, when some Jewish humanists, like their Christian counterparts, resurrect the Ciceronian ideal of the rhetor engaged in the *vita activa*, applying this ideal to the biblical prophet. The most noteworthy example of one such Jewish humanist is Judah ben Jehiel Messer Leon (ca. 1420-ca. 1498), author of the rhetorical classic *Nofet Tzufim* or *Book of the Honeycomb’s Flow*. Contrary to how earlier Hebrew/Jewish authors conceived of the authentic prophet, Messer Leon imagines him along the lines of the Ciceronian/humanist ideal orator, that is, as the paradigmatic political speaker, fully engaged in the life of the political community. The Hebrew prophet, according to Messer Leon, makes full use of the panoply of rhetorical principles and techniques, thereby (against a straightforward reading of the biblical narrative) effectively moving his audience to act as he (speaking for God) demands of them. Messer Leon further describes this prophet *qua* political orator using Quintilian’s terms, as a moral man speaking well. Although Messer Leon describes the prophet in classical rhetorical terms, he refuses to subordinate the Hebraic tradition to the classical. Therefore, Messer Leon contends that the characteristics of the classical orator are derived from the Hebrew Bible. Because the rhetorical character of the Hebrew Bible, however, has been largely forgotten, Jews must first turn to rhetoricians like Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian to familiarize themselves with the guidelines of rhetoric, after which they will discover that these precepts and methods are located, in their purest form, in the books of the Hebrew Bible.

**Roger Ribeiro, Universidade de São Paulo- USP, roger.ribeiro@usp.br - Italian free ornamentation of baroque music and the virtues of elocution**

Free ornamentation is a way to embellish melodies, particularly in the 18th century Italian style. The ornaments are not marked in the score, but it is expected that the performer adds them, in most cases, in the slow movements melodies. Free ornamentation, known also as Italian ornamentation, was one of the most important peculiarities of the Italian national style.

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**Hanne Roer, University of Copenhagen, roer@hum.ku.dk - *Ite inflammate omnia: Topoi of love, fire and flames in early Jesuit rhetoric.***

*Ite inflammate omnia: Topoi of love, fire and flames in early Jesuit rhetoric.* In the earliest Jesuit rhetoric, topics were abstract sources for argumentation in the Aristotelian-Ciceronian tradition (Suarez, *De arte rhetorica*, 1560), but soon Jesuit rhetoricians produced new systems of topical thinking. A central set of commonplaces were created from Ignazio de Loyola’s exhortation: *Ita inflammate omnia*. I argue that Jesuit rhetoricians such as C. Reggio and F. Strada accommodated classical metaphors of light (*lumen verborum, claritas*), turning them into topoi of love, fire and flames. Reggio, for example, defined sacred rhetoric as “the ardent eloquence of the heart” in *Orator christianus* (1612), his original theory of sacred rhetoric. The Jesuit topoi of love and fire referred to the Bible, Church Fathers and renaissance mysticism, while also legitimating the missions of the Society. They are figures in the broadest sense: metaphors, commonplaces as well as *sententiae*, central to Jesuit emblem books. In *Imago saeculi primi Societatis Iesu* (1640, an emblem book celebrating the first 100 years of the Society), the missionary work is presented as one of the prime merits of the Society. There are several celebrations of the missions in India, Brazil, Japan, in the introductory prose texts as well as the emblems (e.g., *Unus non sufficit orbis*). The metaphors of flames and burning hearts serve as justifications of the Jesuit missions: it is their ardent faith that take Jesuit to distant parts of the world. Thus, the topics of love and fire are also crucial to the visual propaganda of the Jesuits.

Literature: J. O’Malley 1993, 2013, 2015; P. Mack 2011; W. S. Melion 2009, 2016; M. Fumaroli 1980; M. A. Bernier et al., 2001, 2019; S. Tutino 2014; A. Régent-Susini, 2011, 2019; G. Imbruglia 2017; C. Casalini 2019.

**Alessandra Romeo, Università della Calabria, alessandra.romeo@unical.it - *Il topos retorico della veste insanguinata***

Il contributo si incentra su un topos che può essere chiamato ‘ostensione della veste insanguinata dell’ucciso’, a partire dall’Antichità fino all’età contemporanea. Alla base c’è una realtà materiale (l’oggetto stesso) e l’uso di tale oggetto per conseguire effetti di pathos, persuasione, comunicazione

emotiva. In epoca contemporanea, per esempio, abiti insanguinati sono stati esposti al pubblico in relazione a personaggi che avevano subito, o rischiato, una morte per assassinio, quali John Lennon o Giovanni Paolo II. La teoria retorica latina tratta questo soggetto per illustrare i casi in cui il gesto dell'ostensione è finalizzato a consolidare un discorso oratorio, e annovera il gesto fra i topoi della perorazione patetica (l'Auctor ad Herennium, Cicerone, Quintiliano nel libro VI dell'Institutio). L'esempio famoso studiato da Quintiliano è quello della veste indossata da Cesare nelle Idi di marzo, di cui si serve Marco Antonio durante la cerimonia funebre. Le potenzialità retoriche di questa situazione sono state sviluppate nella scrittura drammaturgica di età rinascimentale (Jacques Grévin per primo, Shakespeare in una celebre scena del Julius Caesar). Il mio contributo indaga in particolare su quella che è probabilmente la prima formulazione del topos, finora poco esaminata dal punto di vista retorico: il discorso con cui Oreste, nelle Coefore di Eschilo (980-1017), esibisce la veste in cui fu avvolto e ucciso Agamennone. Questa rhesis adempie a una piena funzione retorica avvalendosi dell'"oggetto veste" da tre angolazioni: probatoria (la veste è testimonianza tangibile dell'assassinio), patetica (la descrizione della veste suscita orrore e pietà), rituale-simbolica (la veste assolve alla funzione di oggetto vicario del defunto: Oreste parla alla veste come se fosse il padre morto). Il presente contributo dimostra che il topos retorico non è un mero stereotipo, ma che possiede un'efficacia persuasiva fondata sulla logica e sulla psicologia.

**Abraham Romney, Michigan Technological University, aromney@mtu.edu - Revising the Decline Narrative in 19th Century Mexican Rhetoric**

That Catholic writers from various orders (e.g. Dominican Louis de Granada and Franciscan Diego Valadés) promoted adaptations of rhetoric in the Americas has been the object of significant study. It is likewise well-known that the Jesuits further propagated the teaching of rhetoric in the region until the society's suppression, which in Spanish territories began in 1767. In Mexico, the overall loosening of the power of the church after independence (1810) led to significant changes in rhetorical instruction, often seen as having declined. As Gerardo Ramírez Vidal has observed, "internal wars and political and economic instability during the nineteenth century led to a decline in the teaching of rhetoric" only to find a partial revival in public debate in the latter part of the century. This narrative of decline parallels views of Mexican education put forth by Jesuit historian Gerardo DeCorme at the beginning of the 20th century, blaming the Jesuit suppression for what he saw as the failure of 19th Mexican education with education centers falling into "decay until they were almost reduced to a shadow of what they had been formerly." This paper suggests, however, that rhetoric in the first half of the 19th Century in Mexico is more nuanced. It is now known that the work of Hugh Blair in translation enjoyed a significant reception in the region, and this fact is explored alongside the work in rhetorical education and the publication of rhetorical manuals by secular priest Antonio José Martínez in the Northern reaches of independent Mexico and Bishop Clemente de Jesús Munguía in central Mexico. Whether or not rhetoric saw a period of decline vis a vis the previous century, this study points to another perspective in which rhetorical instruction can also be seen as shifting toward belletristic theories.

**Wojciech Ryczek, Jagiellonian University, wojtek.ryczek@interia.pl - Socolovius's *Partitiones ecclesiasticae* (1589): Loci and the Art of Preaching**

The main purpose of the presentation is to discuss the list of topics enumerated in the dialogue *Partitiones ecclesiasticae* (Krakow 1589) written by Stanislaus Socolovius (1537–1593), a professor of rhetoric at the Academy of Krakow, an admirer of Ciceronian style, and a preacher at king Stephen Bathory's court. The title of this manual of preaching makes a clear reference to Cicero's dialogue

*Partitiones oratoriae*, treated sometimes as “catechism of rhetoric”. Using Ciceronian ideas and divisions, Socolovius composed or “re-invented” a new dialogue on the principles of preaching.

Following Cicero’s method of rhetorical exposition (dialogue between the author and his son, Marcus), Socolovius structured the text as a dialogue between the author and his student, Andreas. The question concerning the divisions of Cicero’s loci and their reinterpretation proposed by the court preacher can be answered in terms of adaption or “adjustment”. Taking into consideration one of the most significant divisions of topoi (loci insiti, loci assumpti), Socolovius listed and discussed “ecclesiastical” loci, but sometimes in a cursory manner, for instance locus e Scriptura, e traditione, ex consensu patrum.

Socolovius paid much attention to enumerate topics useful for the preachers. First of all, his manual needs to be interpreted in the context of Catholic Reformation. He aimed at reminding the reliable patterns of argumentation for constructing and refuting arguments. In this way Cicero might be also the master of eloquence for the preachers involved in the religious disputations or polemics. My presentation rise some questions about the ways of Cicero’s re-interpretation, the rhetorical dimensions of Socolovius’s dialogue, and its meaning in the history of rhetoric.

### **Maria Asuncion Sanchez Manzano, Universidad de Leon, asanm@unileon.es - Vavasseur's De ludicra dictione and the Jesuit Humanism**

The discourse *De ludicra dictione* was both an invective and a defence of humanistic literary heritage in the face of new trends in vernacular literary production. Imitating Cicero’s techniques, François Vavasseur compared Greek and Roman versions of the laughing muse. Vavasseur’s criticism of the foundations of a new style, inspired by ancient scholarly texts, set out an approach to classical imitation, whether in content or in literary form, that rejected archaisms and rudeness in either Neo-Latin or French satire. In this approach, the main argument focused on constructing a classically moderate attack against personal or artistic foes, by writing of one’s disappointment in another’s literary production and behaviour; something that was worth managing with a certain humorous courtesy. Every lightly mocking sentence was to be expressed in a typically witty style, and so contemporary writers were advised to avoid any sarcasm. Furthermore, it is worth comparing Vavasseur’s proposals for this kind of style with his ancient sources — Cicero, Quintilian and Neo-Latin handbooks like those by Giraldi, Scaliger, Correas, Rader, Pontano, Donato and Vossius, as well as the work of Caussin and Le Brun’s *De eloquentia* — just to gain a deeper understanding of Vavasseur’s valuable contribution.

### **Benoît Sans, Université libre de Bruxelles, Benoit.Sans@ulb.be - De Polybe à Tite-Live, en passant par la rhétorique**

On sait que pour écrire les nombreuses pages de son *Ab Vrbe condita*, Tite-Live a puisé sa matière dans les œuvres de ses prédécesseurs, parmi lesquelles figurent les *Histoires* de Polybe. Les recherches menées pendant de nombreuses années par les Quellenforscher ont permis de dresser la liste des sections de l’*Ab Vrbe condita* pour lesquelles Polybe a pu servir de source principale ou unique et pour lesquelles il est possible de lire en parallèle les récits des deux auteurs. Si certains de ces extraits présentent de fortes similitudes, ils présentent aussi toujours des différences plus ou moins importantes, comme la suppression de certains éléments, l’insertion de discours, de dialogues, de commentaires, de descriptions semblables à des ekphraseis, ou bien encore le déplacement d’informations ; autant d’éléments qui ont pu laisser penser que d’autres sources avaient été utilisées et que des distractions avaient été commises. En m’appuyant sur des extraits parallèles correspondant à la seconde moitié de la troisième décennie de l’œuvre de Tite-Live (livres 25 à 30), je montrerai au

contraire que bon nombre des différences observées peuvent correspondre à des transformations exercées dans le cadre de la formation à la rhétorique, telle qu'elle apparaît plus tard dans les manuels de progymnasmata (comme celui d'Aélius Théon) et plus précisément, dans les exercices portant sur le récit. Ces procédés permettent ainsi d'expliquer le passage d'un texte à un autre, mais révèlent aussi des écritures cohérentes et les visées persuasives des deux auteurs, qui avaient probablement eu accès, en leur temps, à une certaine formation à la rhétorique. Si le temps le permet, il sera intéressant de voir si de tels phénomènes sont également observables chez des historiens contemporains des manuels de progymnasmata que nous avons conservés.

**Ashten Scheller, Independent Scholar, ash10scheller@gmail.com - Monuments on the Margins: Incongruous Histories of “Revenant” Images in the Public Space**

This talk explores the role of fragmentary, lost, or forgotten arts in the public space--the literal commons--as actors upon a stage where the rhetorics of collective identity and shared history are continually negotiated and formed. These arts, in the form of monuments and memorials from bygone eras, reinforce Debra Hawhee's critique of the “smooth narrative arcs” of historiography, and instead embrace the messy nature of nation-building, geographic change, myth-making, and public art. Historically, the visual arts have actively shaped the rhetoric of identity--both private and public--alternately supporting and protesting state-sponsored ideals of citizenship and memory. In the public space, from ancient Egypt and Renaissance Italy to contemporary England and Senegal, monuments have acted not only as art objects in their own right, but as evocative images of triumph, loss, innovation, and power. Similarly, the power of the image has led to its own destruction and iconoclasm as ruling powers, ideologies, and populations transform. The question remains: what happens to these monuments when they are no longer needed or relevant? The history of the Cold War--itself a narrative of nationalism and fragmentation--leaves us with a prime example of such “leftover” monuments: those of the Soviet Union, a twentieth-century geographic and political entity that no longer exists. What is the historiographic and visual rhetoric of these monuments (many of them literal fragments) transformed into private memory, nostalgia, and grief in an ever-changing public space? The foundation of Hawhee's work on “historiography by incongruity,” Burke's critique of “Beauty Clinic” narratives, urges us to move away from our “customary perspective” in favor of what lies beyond the (often rough) edges. In re-examining the role of visual fragments in the public space, this presentation combines Burke's “Beauty Clinic” critique and Hawhee's “historiography of incongruity” to prod our rhetorical understanding of images of the margins and “dead-ends” of history, especially those that continue to influence our interpretation and identity in the present.

**Frank Schuhmacher, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, frankschuhmacher@gmx.de - Praise on Cheese: the Paradoxical Encomium and its functions in the Italian Cinquecento**

The paradoxical encomium was very popular among the Renaissance humanists and intellectuals (Collie 1966, van der Poel 2001). By praising things or persons with little regard, they demonstrated, that the ancient system of topics was still applicable and showed in this way their own rhetorical skills. One reason for the popularity of the *joco-seria* genre was its multifunctionality, which allowed a varied reading and reception. This is especially true for the text *Formaggiata* (which means: *The Excellent Cheese*), written under the pseudonym Sere Stentato by Conte Giulio Landi in 1542.

In my paper I will argue, that his praise on cheese wasn't merely entertainment, but also a critique of pedant formalism, imitating the very structure and topics of those being criticized. That is why I would like to analyse the *topoi* which Landi appealed, that is, what different functions they assumed and also how they organized the entire *orazione*. Although his writing was latently subversive at the one hand, Landi on the other hand used the *topoi* of classical rhetoric and thus

integrated himself in this way into the prevailing paradigm of Ciceronianism. Furthermore the history of reception of the *Formaggiata* will also be shortly summarized in order to show what other uses and readings were possible.

In general, my purpose is to work out that one should also pay attention to the serious aspects of the *joco-seria* genre.

Keywords: paradoxical encomium, Renaissance, topos analysis, Ciceronianism

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#### **Andreas Serafim, Academy of Athens, serandreas@outlook.com - “I, He, We, You, They”: Addresses to the Audience as a Means of Unity/Division in Attic Forensic Oratory**

In the list of *topoi*, roughly defined as stock formulas that are used by speakers to produce or strengthen the force of arguments, one can include the three main styles of addresses to the audience that are attested in lawcourt speeches: civic (ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι), judicial (ὁ ἄνδρες δικάσταί) and descriptive (ὁ ἄνδρες). This paper explores the linguistic features (e.g. medical terminology and word-order) and the contextual aspects (e.g. references to the polis and the constitution, patriotism, military service, religion, sexuality and morality) of addresses to an ancient lawcourt audience, as these are deployed and manifested in the entirety of the transmitted speeches of Attic forensic oratory, both public and private. The purpose of this research inquiry is to identify and discuss the ways in which addresses promote unity or generate division between the speaker, the audience and the opponents (both individuals and civic collectivities or political communities), and how the speakers manipulate unity and division to affect the verdict of the judges or influence the Athenians present in the court. The chapter examines three specific patterns of unity and division: “You-They (He)”, a pattern that is used in two ways, either as a means of alienating the audience from the speaker’s opponent(s), or as a way of warning the audience that it is inspected by and accountable to the gods; “We-They (He)”, which indicates the attempt of the speaker to unite himself with the audience, while isolating his opponent(s) from it; and the “I-You” pattern, with which the speaker aims to win over the audience.

#### **Mauro Serra, University of Salerno, maserra@unisa.it - Don’t be persuaded too easily! Dissent as epistemic vigilance in Gorgias’ Helen**

In reflecting on the relationship between argumentation and persuasion, the ancient Greek rhetoric has enhanced the agonistic dimension of argumentative practice and has therefore stressed the presence of dissent as a structural condition of this same practice. This aspect is usually imagined in the form of a competition between two (or more) speeches that struggle for victory before an interlocutor who is entrusted with the task of judging between them (be it the assembly, the judge, etc). There is, however, at least one text within this same tradition that has gone a different way to elaborate this conceptual core: the Encomium of Helen of Gorgias. This text, in fact, focuses on the (persuasive) relationship between a speaker and his/her listener and it does so by exhibiting an apparently paradoxical assumption: the idea that persuasion is a form of compulsion that does differ only apparently from physical violence. The aim of the paper is to show that behind this apparent paradox there is a subtle reflection on the dynamics of persuasion and the fruitful role of dissent in argumentative theory and practice. Starting from the concept of *eikos* Gorgias highlights the two key elements of his conception of argumentative practice: the absence of a normative dimension that can be a priori invoked to direct

the outcome of the clash between opposite logoi so that one logos can always be confuted by another (argumentatively stronger) one; the inextricable intertwining between argumentative reasons and conflict. For Gorgias argumentative practice appears to be an intrinsically competitive practice, within which disagreement and contraposition are the constitutive elements of a struggle for dominance in which one logos is opposed to another logos trying to gain the upper hand. Within Encomium's theoretical framework, however, this contraposition concerns the relationship speaker/listener and therefore identifies in the ability to construct arguments the only possible form of 'epistemic vigilance' that we can exercise to avoid being too easily persuaded, with all the (potentially negative) consequences as in the case of Helen

**Joseph Sharp, University of Louisville, joseph.sharp@louisville.edu - Deliberative Dispositions in the *Parlement of Foules***

I examine the deliberative parliamentary discourse present in the the late medieval middle English *Parlement of Foules* by Geoffrey Chaucer to suggest that Chaucer's rendering of parliamentary oratory problematizes Cicero's distinction of deliberative rhetoric as aiming at both utility and honor (*De inventione* 2.51.156). Through this discourse, Chaucer dramatizes the impossibility of reconciliation between the political aims of the low and high estates because their deliberative speeches proceed from different ends, in this case, the lower estates from utility and the higher estate from honor. While analyzing the *topoi* of political speech has long been central to understanding the meaning of the *Parlement* (Bennett; Peck; Olsson), my argument supplements this research by focusing not upon the function of the parliamentary discourse within the structure of the poem nor on the specific rhetorical figures that characterize the speech patterns of the different estates but rather by treating the parliamentary scene as a moment of sustained commentary on the efficacy of deliberative discourse, following the example of Copeland and Giancarlo. Drawing on Boethius' *De topicis differentis* and representative sources on the act of *consilium*, such as Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* and Latini's *Li livres dou trésor*, I demonstrate how the parliamentary discourse in the *Parlement* draws upon the techniques of rhetorical invention represented in these traditions of counsel. Using this foundation, I ultimately show that Chaucer's rendering of deliberative speech exposes a central problematic in all forms of deliberative rhetoric: when deliberative discourse aims at fundamentally different ends, political discussion resembles the squawking of birds more than the structured debate of the agora. By making this argument, I hope to show that deliberative discourse in late medieval England but was made difficult by different estates subscribing to different conceptions of how the topic for deliberative rhetoric should be determined

**Zachary D. Sharp, University of Texas at Austin, zsharp@utexas.edu - Paideutic Rhetoric and Moral Deliberation in the Early Modern Devotional Lyric**

This paper examines two competing views of the rhetorical nature of poetry in the Renaissance, what I am calling performative and paideutic poetics. The first sees poetry as a *techne*, as productive knowledge constituting an art of situational discourse. The other sees poetry as *episteme*, or speculative knowledge, where poetry exists as an object of interpretation—often in classroom settings—and where its goal is to exercise aristocratic taste and ethical reasoning. Many writers, such as the courtier poets, aimed for their poems to act as situational, epideictic performances. One court-adjacent author, John Donne, I argue, instead used devotional verse to innovate within the paideutic paradigm. Donne disseminated his devotional lyrics among a literary coterie, which was a common aristocratic practice. But by posing theological problems in paradoxical and often morally shocking verse, he goes beyond epideictic performance and invites deliberation about the propriety of his work. Donne, I hope to show, did so in order to provoke, and therefore exercise, hermeneutic judgment. In

doing so, Donne reenacts ancient controversies about the ethical status of artistic discourse, and at the same time argues that rhetoric is a valid tool of epistemic analysis, not just of persuasion. But Donne also looks ahead to the gradual transition from poetry as rhetorical art to poetry as “fine” art, an art that provokes uniquely literary critical judgment. Donne, in short, represents an inflection point in the gradual decline of poetic rhetoric just as he predicts its elevation to one of the beaux arts.

**Anders Sigrell, Lund University, [Anders.sigrell@kom.lu.se](mailto:Anders.sigrell@kom.lu.se) - Progymnasmata: An invitation to hear the other side?**

Hospitality implies a willingness to listen to what others have to say; be they people from another country, culture or perspective. Listening to others is an important topic in the history of rhetoric, found in for example *In utramque partem, controversia, anti-logos* and *progymnasmata*.

Rhetoric has recently become a compulsory moment in Scandinavian schools. Mostly it is treated as a way to help students perform better in public speaking (*ars bene dicendi*), even if the tools of our subject also are used for writing and analyzing persuasive communication. Speaking, reading and writing, there is a part missing, listening.

There is not a lot written on the art of listening. In our first year rhetoric teaching, we still use Plutarch’s work *The Art of Listening*, with some success. Listening will in the paper be shown to be a prerequisite for successful persuasive communication.

In the progymnasmata exercises there is a recurring topic, refuting the counterarguments to your claim. This could be seen as a way to practice how to listen, to try to understand how the counterpart might reason, in the Protagorean anti-logos sense. The paper will also address other potential theoretical benefits from the progymnasmata exercises, such as the high lightning of ethical aspects throughout the exercises. All exercises could from point be seen as exercises in finding the good and righteous stand. The opening exercise, The Fable, always has a moral point on what actions that are considered good and what actions that are not. Seen from this point of view all exercises are moral ones, all the way to the concluding Proposal of law, which is nothing but an exercise in democracy: The righteous stand that I have found, why should that apply to everyone else?

**Peter Simonson, University of Colorado Boulder, [peter.simonson@colorado.edu](mailto:peter.simonson@colorado.edu) - Richard McKeon on the Topics**

Richard McKeon (1900-1985) was one of the leading rhetorical theorists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A near-lifelong friend of Kenneth Burke, teacher and colleague of Wayne Booth, and collaborator with Chaim Perelman, McKeon sat near the center of a nexus of philosophers and literary critics who helped revive and reinvent the study of rhetoric between the 1930s and the 1970s. A student of the American pragmatist John Dewey and the French neo-Thomist Etienne Gilson, McKeon brought uncommon erudition in both philosophy and history to his writings on rhetoric. My paper revisits McKeon’s writings on the topics, with particular attention to the late period of his career (ca. 1966-1975), which saw most of his most important work on rhetoric. Despite his importance to rhetorical thought, the body of scholarship on McKeon is quite modest, and there is no extended discussion of his theory of the topics.

I will reconstruct the main outlines of McKeon’s approach to the topics while focusing particular attention on two dimensions: (1) his treatment of the fourfold “things, thoughts, actions, and words” as topics of invention and memory that provided a meta-theoretical framework for understanding competing philosophies and their fundamental principles; (2) his use of the topics as a

historically specific heuristic for understanding the topical commonplaces of a culture dominated by what he called “the technology of commercial advertising and of calculating machines.” McKeon’s bifocal attention to philosophy and everyday culture was both a continuation of the long tradition of the topics and characteristic of new, wide-ranging rhetorical theories for pluralistic societies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and both strands of it continue to be useful to think with. They were marked by historicism—the topics have no essence but change over time—and recognition that ours was an age when rhetoric might again become an architectonic art.

**Ryan Skinnell, San José State University, ryan.skinnell@sjsu.edu - The Nazi Paideia**

Adolf Hitler is acknowledged by rhetoricians and historians alike as “one of the great orators of history, perhaps the greatest in the twentieth century” (Carr 1; Roberts-Miller). It is a commonplace that his totalitarian aspirations could not have come to fruition without his rhetorical talents. But while Hitler was undoubtedly a powerful speaker, the majority of Germans never heard him speak before he was appointed Chancellor.

This paper contends that of equal importance to Hitler’s virtuosity was a widespread system of rhetorical education—a Nazi paideia—that extended throughout the country. Drawing on theories of networked rhetoric and rhetorical affect, this paper argues that the Nazi paideia was instrumental in Nazi success in the 1920s.

Working from historical documents and scholarship, rhetorical histories of Hitler and Nazism, and contemporaneous media, this paper describes a sprawling Nazi network of rhetorical resources, including a speakers’ bureau, a correspondence school for aspiring orators’, and a series of media resources (i.e., newspapers, journals, and rhetoric handbooks) for teaching the principles of persuasive speech. These resources often consciously drew on rhetorical principles, as when, for example, the author of an official Nazi speakers’ manual adapted Ciceronian rhetoric to Nazi persuasion (Bosmajian).

The Nazi paideia was also explicitly oriented toward recruiting speakers who could spread the Nazi message in their local communities. That is, it was based in part on rhetorical identification and designed to stoke Germans’ affective attachments to their friends, neighbors, and local leaders. Understanding the Nazi paideia helps explain how Nazism became so potent.

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**Jarron Slater, Brigham Young University, jarronslater@gmail.com - A Commonplace of Commonplaces: Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion, and Stylistic Grace**

Kenneth Burke’s corpus has produced an enormous body of scholarship explaining a variety of concepts, with the notions of identification and dramatism perhaps best-known—but scholarship on Burke rarely relates concepts like these to matters of style. Yet, scholars of style often reference Burke as a rich source for stylistic concepts.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have acknowledged an unexplored depth to Burke’s writings about style and have called for additional studies of Burke’s relationship to style (Butler 2008; Slater 2018, 2020). Notably, Burke uses the word *style* and its variants more often in the 1961 *The Rhetoric of Religion* than in any other book. And Burke’s most succinct definition of style is that it is *ingratiating*, a word with *grace* at its core.

Given Laurent Pernot's call for more studies of the rhetoric of religion (2006) and Martin Camper's (2020) statement that the future of the history of rhetoric is religious, this presentation examines style and its relationship with the rhetoric of religion in Burke. My goal is to provide insights into why scholars of style are referencing Burke when they talk about style. I show how a concept of stylistic grace can help symbol-using creatures to discover, aim for, and attain optimal versions of themselves, of others, and of societies. All of this leads to a rhetorical and stylistic understanding of theosis, or the idea that people can become godlike. People who ingratiate can, through The Word, become "godlike." My study of style in Burke's rhetoric of religion ultimately entails a rhetorical theosis by enabling actions that lead to the healing, treatment, and care of the self and of others in ways that reveal the innate, near-divinity of individuals.

1. The list is too large to enumerate here, but see Fahnestock 1999, 2011; Butler 2008; Valiavitcharska 2013; Christiansen 2013; Brummett 2008; Hariman 1995; Graff and Winn 2011 on the Works Cited. Many other texts could be listed.

### **Lydia Spielberg, UCLA, [lspielberg@humnet.ucla.edu](mailto:lspielberg@humnet.ucla.edu) - 'The Vestal Virgin's Poetry' and the commonplace *talis oratio qualis vita***

Among the *controversiae* – fictional court cases performed as exercises and for entertainment by students of rhetoric, teachers, and professional orators in the Roman world – treated by Seneca the Elder in his collection of the epigrams and arguments of famous rhetoricians of the early first century CE is the intriguing case of 'The Vestal Virgin's Poetry'. In this exercise (Contr. 6.8) a Roman priestess is accused of violating her chastity because she has written poetry praising marriage. The surviving excerpts, taken from Seneca's collected *sententiae* of declaimers on both sides of the case, include many arguments that rely on an opposing pair of commonplaces: 'one's writing is the mirror of one's life' (*talis oratio qualis vita*) and 'the poet does not live as they write' ('*persona theory*'). Through this *controversia*, I argue, male declaimers explored commonplaces that governed their own self-presentation as properly masculine orators (cf. Gunderson) by projecting these issues onto the scandalous figure of a transgressively literate woman whose sexual purity is a matter of public concern. Although gendered strategies of invective appear (cf. Stoffel), the excerpts that employ the *talis oratio qualis vita* commonplace or its opposite do so in precisely the same terms used elsewhere to attack or excuse the masculinity and sexual mores of male declaimers and poets (cf. Santini). The gendered, consecrated body of the Vestal, I suggest, offers declaimers a limit case for debating whether the poetical (or rhetorical) 'I' is a true reflection of character or a fictional expression of the poetical (or rhetorical) *persona*. Finally, I argue that the modern debate about the extent to which ancient readers could separate *persona* from author must take into account the argumentative origins and concurrent rhetorical history of both commonplaces, either of which, this *controversia* reminds us, could be deployed as needed.

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**Ashlyn Stewart, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, ashlyn.stewart@huskers.unl.edu - Harper's Weekly Fragments and the Rhetoric of Reconstruction**

The term “Reconstruction” in the US simplifies the historical period from the close of the American Civil War in 1865 to the withdrawal of federal troops in the American South in 1877 into a “smooth narrative arc”—a rhetorical limitation Debra Hawhee, drawing on Burke’s *Beauty Clinic*, sees in academic discourse. In common usage, and even in academic circles, the term Reconstruction rhetorically reconfigures the period to concern only the South, only race relations between formerly enslaved people and whites, and only that twelve-year time frame, ending in abject failure.

This presentation seeks to push past the expedient term of Reconstruction and bring to light suppressed sources that challenge its coherence. One messy source that pushes against an all too tight term like Reconstruction is *Harper's Weekly*, which was the top national, general interest periodical in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Incongruity within the periodical abounds. Scholars have been reluctant to grapple with such a large, unwieldy source—roughly 10,000 newspaper-sized pages from 1865-77 alone—but diving in allows incongruities to arise that complicate the rhetoric of Reconstruction and ultimately create deeper understanding of the rhetoric of union in the time period.

When fragments from *Harper's Weekly*, raw primary sources, leave the archive and enter our understanding of nineteenth-century American history, the appealing Reconstruction term unravels. Magazine articles, illustrations, and editorials reveal a constant weaving between the South and the West and a rhetorical reimagining of peoples and places across the continent. This presentation will air a small selection of sources of *Harper's Weekly* that challenge the historiographical standby of Reconstruction. It will also discuss the consequences of growing the term to include the historical reality obscured by euphemism—or of adding back some of the grime to the term that scholars have removed over time in Burke’s *Beauty Clinic*.

**Brian Stone, Indiana State University, brian.stone@indstate.edu - Sulbaire 7 Brodlach n-urlabra: Vernacular Conceptions of Eloquence in Medieval Ireland**

In the legal, literary, and learned traditions of medieval Ireland conceptions of eloquence abound. For example, the glosses on Priscian’s *Institutiones Grammaticae* reveal attempts to render vernacular parallels for Latin terms and concepts, as in the gloss for *oratorium*, given as *innasulbaire*, ‘eloquence.’ Other examples clearly influenced by late antique, Latin *grammatica* and *rhetorica* include *milbél*, ‘honey-mouthed,’ used to describe legendary figures, kings, and heroes in legal-tracts and literary and historical texts. However, there are a number of terms presumably of native Irish provenance that demonstrate the importance of eloquence in native Irish, or ‘Brehon’ law, such as *brolach n-urlabra*, ‘garment of eloquence,’ *innsce fossaid*, ‘steadfast speech,’ *deg-bétrae*, ‘good speech,’ *deg-labarthach*, ‘well-spoken,’ and *atcota sotnge sidugud*, ‘a fair tongue begets mediation.’ Of course, the examples could be extensively multiplied.

In this paper, I will present my research into the corpus of rhetorical terminology from medieval Ireland, including a glossary of vernacular terminology denoting eloquence, ineloquence, and rhetorical performance. These will be categorized according to those that derive from the Latin tradition, such as the glosses on Latin figures of speech and rhetorical terminology in the vast corpus of Old Irish glosses, such as the Milan Glosses (Milan Codex Ambrosianus C 301 inf.) and St Gall Priscian Glosses (Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904), and those that occur in the vernacular literary and legal tradition. For example, there is a body of legal terminology from the Brehon laws, such as *fénechas*, a type of legal language, and *rosc*, a highly ornamented and archaizing speech prescribed for legal contexts. In addition to the legal material, I will highlight the most prominent examples from literary contexts, providing insight into the value ascribed to eloquence. Finally, terminology and explanations from learned texts, including the vernacular grammar, *Auraicept na n-Éces*, will be surveyed.

**Mary Rosalie Stoner, University of Chicago, [rosalie.stoner@gmail.com](mailto:rosalie.stoner@gmail.com) - “Quintilian’s Honeyed Rim”**

So adeptly does Quintilian employ his own criteria of gentleness and amiability in the *Institutio Oratoria* that even modern readers do not hesitate to praise his “sweetness” and congeniality (e.g., Lanham 1993). Participating in a growing trend of appreciating Quintilian’s literary aspirations in the *Institutio* (cf. Gerbrandy 2020, Logie 2003), a text that has often been “mined” for information rather than savored in its own right (cf. Dozier 2014, Morgan 1998), I analyze Quintilian’s co-option of Lucretius’ honey-and-wormwood simile (Lucr.1.936-938 and 4.10-25) in *Institutio* 3.1.4 as key to the unfolding of his own text’s program. Quintilian’s comparison of himself with the Lucretian physician sets up readers as pleasure-seeking children who covet sweetness and resist the health-giving draughts of precept that the author wishes to communicate. In so doing, Quintilian evokes his own treatment of education in Books One and Two, where he has portrayed children as needing to be motivated to learn with pleasure before they can be brought to love learning for its own sake (Inst.1.1.20). Although finding oneself positioned in the role of a pleasure-seeking child who needs to be enticed by a teacher may at first feel offensive, it also goads the reader to move beyond the mere desire for sweetness and amusement and gird up for more challenging material to come: the *Institutio*’s dense technical core (cf. Gerbrandy 2020 on ring composition in the *Institutio*). By using the Lucretian simile to portray readers as poised on the cup’s sweetened rim while awaiting a draught of medicine, Quintilian prompts readers to engage more maturely with the text, to begin to shift the object of their desires from mere enjoyment to knowledge.

**Scott R. Stroud, University of Texas at Austin, [sstroud@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:sstroud@austin.utexas.edu) -  
Bhimrao Ambedkar and the Topos of Suffering in Navayana Buddhist Rhetoric**

Suffering, or *dukkha*, forms the first of the purported noble truths of the Buddha and represents a perennial topos of Buddhist philosophy and disputation. How does suffering change in the rhetorical history of Buddhism, and how does suffering’s traditional weight alter the rhetorical choices of Buddhist rhetors? This paper will engage these questions from the vantage point of Bhimrao Ambedkar (1891-1956), the originator of a new form of Buddhism that swept parts of India in the 1950s—Navayana (“New Vehicle”) Buddhism. Born in a so-called “untouchable” caste, Ambedkar fought against his native religious customs to gain an education at Columbia University. There, he met John Dewey, whose pragmatism helped Ambedkar formulate his own reconstructive rhetoric, one that he used to harshly castigate Hinduism. During his final years of public advocacy and rhetorical activity in the 1950s, he proclaimed and explained his upcoming conversion to Buddhism as a way to escape Hinduism’s caste oppression. By examining his work during this period as both instances of rhetorical style and as containing a general approach to rhetoric, we can explain how his reconstructive rhetoric operated and specifically how it focused on redefining the Buddhist topos of suffering. In texts such as his controversial “Buddhist Bible”—*The Buddha and His Dhamma* (1957)—we see Ambedkar revising suffering to not merely mean personal, inner dissatisfaction with desire and life, but instead to implicate poverty and social oppression. Juxtaposing his finalized Buddhist Bible with previously unanalyzed drafts held in various Indian archives, we can see that this permutation comes in response to Ambedkar’s criticism of communism (particularly that of the Russian kind). I will document how Ambedkar’s commitment to socially progressive religious thought was part of his pragmatism, and how it animated his re-purposing of the Buddhist tradition in his own rhetoric.

**Robert Sullivan, Ithaca College, [rsulliva@ithaca.edu](mailto:rsulliva@ithaca.edu) - *Kairos* in Isocrates**

It has long been understood that the word *καίρως* is an important term in the conceptual vocabulary of Classical rhetoric and that Isocrates is one of the most prominent spokesmen for the centrality of the concept. The word *καίρως* appears 71 times in the Isocratean corpus. Closely aligned variants, such as

ἀκαιρία and εὐκαιρία, are used in an additional fourteen places. The eighty-five total uses appear in all of the discourses with the exception of *Euthynus*, *Against Callimachus*, and *Epistles* 4-9. In an earlier presentation at ISHR, I argued that these terms are attracted to, essentially, one of three poles of meaning; “circumstances,” “the appropriate,” and “opportunity.” These uses can further be divided into fifty-five which are more or less incidental to the matter under discussion or appearances in maxims, while the remaining thirty make explicit connections to rhetorical theory. The large majority of these theoretical statements are made in regard to the propriety or appropriateness of a variety of compositional rules specific to particular genres. This paper will examine the seven remaining passages - *Panegyricus* 9, *To Philip* 118, *Panathenaicus* 28 & 30, *Against the Sophists* 13 & 16, and *Antidosis* 184 - in which καιρὸς or a variant is used to describe a more general process of rhetorical intellection. The paper makes three arguments: 1) that if Isocrates has a general theory of rhetorical καιρὸς, it is best abstracted from elements of the seven passages listed above, 2) that καιρὸς is best understood as being for Isocrates one of several “quasi-technical” terms operating within his rhetorical system, and 3) that though καιρὸς may be an important term of art for Isocrates, only close attention to the context in which the term appears can reveal what he means by any given use of the word.

**Christopher Swift, University of Maryland, cswift@umd.edu - Reading Nietzsche's Rhetoric Lectures: Vickers and de Man**

The lecture notes for Friedrich Nietzsche's course on ancient rhetoric from the early 1870s remain something of a philological conundrum. They repeatedly have been presented as a transformative intervention in the history of the field despite the now longstanding recognition that they consist almost entirely of citations and paraphrase from other sources. The few contributions directly attributable to Nietzsche, moreover, have been interpreted in significantly different ways. One revealing example of this ambiguity is Brian Vickers' contention that Paul de Man not only misunderstood these notes but indeed got them completely backwards. Examining the disagreements of these commentators illustrates the complexity of Nietzsche's approach to the lectures and provides helpful intelligence for making sense of them today. It is not so much a question of choosing sides between de Man and Vickers as identifying the features of Nietzsche's text that support their respective readings. The rhetoric lectures have been described as a confrontation of philological research with romantic language theory, and these two scholars each were more attentive to one influence than the other. Vickers emphasized connections with the Greek/Latin tradition and its Anglophone continuities while de Man focused upon traces of eighteenth/nineteenth-century German reconceptualizations of rhetoric and their later appropriation in French semiotics. Vickers restricted his analysis to the notes themselves, whereas de Man relied heavily on a more speculative attempt to connect the course to Nietzsche's later writings. Appreciating the significance of the German philosopher's lectures requires the affirmation of both these approaches. By joining the autonomous aesthetics of the early romantics with the instrumental orientation toward language of classical writers, his work continues to challenge the partiality of Vickers and de Man alike.

**Chiara Telesca, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, Chiara.Telesca@uibk.ac.at - Recurring themes and commonplaces in the confrontation between Demosthenes and Aeschines in the Libanius' historical declamations**

The practice of declamation, as have been recognised by Ruth Webb, was central in Late Antique Rhetoric and consists mainly in "performing of fictional speech most often set in the classical period in which the speaker took on the persona of a historical figure". In this sense, it is not surprising that Demosthenes and Aeschines were very popular subjects among Greek declaimers, and that they were also an excellent source of inspiration for their creative acts of fiction. In view of the aforementioned statement, the aim of this study is to investigate the recurring themes and commonplaces in the confrontation between Demosthenes and Aeschines used in the historical declamations (XVII-XXIII

F.) of Libanius (AD 314–393). In fact, although Libanius represents a model that had a strong impact on the future generation of writers, the analysis of his declamatory work is still less-studied. In this context, I will seek to analyse these texts with particular attention to the common topics used by the rhetorician in order to depict the respective roles of the two orators in the fifth-century history of controversies between Athenian and Macedonian.

For this purpose, I will carry out a comparative analysis between Libanius' declamations and their text-sources (rhetorical and historical sources) I will also compare Libanius's texts with his progymnastic writings with the major ancient handbooks on the composition of *progymnasmata* (Aelius Theon, Pseudo-Hermogenes, Aphthonius, Nicolaus).

The ultimate goals of this study are to evaluate as follows: 1) How, and to what extent is the use of the *loci communi* learned in the school affects the presentation of the historical events. 2) How the demosthenic point of view on the classical history is the result of a traditional rhetorical education of Libanius, or if it is the outcome of his personal life and/or political choices.

**Jonathan Thiessen, Université de Strasbourg, jonathan.i.thiessen@gmail.com - Oratio figurata and the popular use of an elite rhetorical technique**

The complex rhetorical theory of “figured speech” is well-known to researchers analysing GraecoRoman literature, and the treatises that describe it by Demetrius, Quintilian, Hermogenes, Ps.-Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Apsines have been studied in detail. Dirk M. Schenkeveld (2000) has argued that “figured speech” was taught in the final phase of a pupil's studies, and was thus reserved for the social elite who could afford to complete this education. This paper looks at the practice of figured speech from two new angles. Firstly, though we can accept Schenkeveld's conclusion, a study of other ancient references to “figured speech” shows that not only was the technique well-known and appreciated outside elite circles, but it matched the popular GraecoRoman practice of indirect communication. This first conclusion leads to a second. Realising that “figured speech” was popular at lower social levels allows us to look for it across ancient literature, outside the context of declamation and the court-room. We can thus move beyond current research which has concentrated on the ancient theory, but paid less attention to its real use in ancient texts, realising that we must be attentive to the possibility of the presence of “figured speech” in all ancient texts

**Dietmar Till, Universitaet Tuebingen, dietmar.till@uni-tuebingen.de - Practical Rhetoric in Enlightenment Germany during the 18th Century: The Role of the 'German Societies'**

One of the central institutions within which public speeches were made in the 18th century is the 'German societies' (Deutsche Gesellschaften). They had their heyday between 1730 and 1760, during which time such societies were founded in many university towns, especially in Protestant territories. The aim of these societies was the cultivation of the German language, poetry and above all eloquence. The German Society, founded in Leipzig in 1727, played a central role in this. After Johann Christoph Gottsched joined in 1731, it became a central place for the cultivation of the German language and eloquence. Gottsched was professor of poetry and rhetoric at Leipzig University, perhaps the most important university of enlightenment in the first half of the 18th century. Gottsched's Leipzig Society became the model for a number of similar institutions, for example in Jena in 1730, Göttingen in 1738, Greifswald in 1740, Königsberg in 1741, Helmstedt in 1742, Bremen in 1762, Altdorf and Erlangen in 1756.

My paper will take a look at the social history of the 'German societies' and their role in the formation of a bourgeois public sphere in the 18th century. Practical eloquence played a central role in this. The 'German Societies' offered space for discussion and public speaking, they published journals and

collected works. The lecture will focus primarily on the situation in Leipzig. Besides the 'German Society' Gottsched was the initiator of a whole series of similar societies in which practical rhetoric played a central role. The paper will focus on the topics of the speeches, the organizational structure of the societies, their members and their publication organs. The history of the 'German Societies' is a hitherto little-known part of the rhetorical culture in Germany during the Enlightenment.

**Nathan Tillman, University of South Florida, nathanwiltillman@gmail.com - Nutrition Science Rhetoric as Colonial Control in Japanese-Occupied Korea, 1910–1945**

Rhetoric scholars in recent years have examined non-traditional topics such as food, cookbooks, home economics, and nutrition science. Much of this scholarship has seen such sources as alternative sites of rhetorical production where women, especially, have claimed rhetorical authority denied to them in political arenas. My presentation complicates this predominantly US-focused work by considering how the home economics movement, nutritional science, and food discourse were shaped in Korea by Japanese occupation (1910–1945) and especially Japan's wars against China and the West (1937–1945). I argue that Japanese colonial authorities' leveraged Western science-inspired language about food particularly about a 科學化 과학화 (gwahakhwa "scientific") and 合理化 합리화 (hamnihwa "rational") approach to food and diet—as a rhetorical tool to control and exploit the Korean population in service of Japan's wars. After the imposition of Japanese rule in 1910, colonial authorities and experts investigated Korean farming and eating habits. Following the Japanese invasion of China (1937) and offenses against Western imperial powers (1942), the colonial government-general of Korea sought to fully mobilize Korea's material and human resources to support Japan's expanding conflicts. The Japanese colonial state crafted propaganda and food rationing programs in Korea, seeking to limit Koreans' rice consumption so that Korean rice could be sent to feed the Japanese population. The government-general enlisted educators and scientists to craft propaganda characterizing the Korean diet as—paradoxically—both wasteful and nutritionally inadequate. These propagandists instead advocated food substitutes—including less-desirable grains and even insects, claiming that these were nutritionally similar or superior to rice—to maintain Koreans' ability to work to support the war while preserving the rice supply for Japan. The rhetoric of a "scientific" and "rational" approach to home meals was propagated through women's magazines and government-issued menus and meal plans. While these terms originated in nutrition science, in Japanese war propaganda they became a farce designed to cloak the exploitation of Korea's food resources.

**Joseph Turner, University of Louisville, joseph.turner@louisville.edu - Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Reckless Hand**

In the oft-quoted opening of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*, Geoffrey advises students to use careful planning to keep the *impetuosa manus* in check, the hasty or reckless hand. *Reckless* is how Chaucer translates Geoffrey's Latin into Middle English – the "rakel hond" – in both *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Manciple's Tale*. This talk tracks corporeal images in the *Poetria nova* related to anxiety over writing poetry, such as the *impetuosa manus*, but also other bodily and sensory images (ears, eyes, and mouths, for example, but also how students 'see' bodies). Although scholars of medieval rhetoric have paid much attention to Geoffrey's teaching on metaphorical transference (*transsumptio*), this talk examines how Geoffrey attempts to educate students' bodies and senses – how students see and hear but also the proper relations between mind and body. This talk asks, in other words, how does Geoffrey's pedagogy influence students' *habitus*? How does Geoffrey model

how language can control emotion? Geoffrey's advice on angry delivery, for example, stresses that students *appear* angry without actually succumbing to the negative effects of anger: to check the impulses that could lead to a lack of control. Through these means, this talk helps to assert Geoffrey's pedagogical innovations beyond his metaphors.

**Vessela Valiavitcharska, University of Maryland, [vvaliav@umd.edu](mailto:vvaliav@umd.edu) - Joseph Rhakendytes' *Synopsis of Rhetoric: An Outline of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Rhetorical Education***

Joseph Rhakendytes' *Synopsis of Rhetoric* appears as the first book of an "encyclopaedia of all knowledge," which walks the reader through the key subjects studied and discussed in learned Palaiologan circles in fourteenth-century Constantinople. The *Synopsis* is the first book of this encyclopaedia. In the prologue to the compilation, Rhakendytes describes rhetoric as "the initial step" in the ladder of learning. Its "noble discourse" strives toward "utmost beauty," while the rigor of its arguments lays "the foundation of all education." The sequence of rhetorical education is recounted as stasis, invention, expression, and powerful speaking, and follows the model provided in the Hermogenean corpus (which formed the backbone of the course in rhetoric in Byzantium), but is also supplemented by more specialized chapters on topics ranging from diction and appropriateness, to figures of thought and figures of speech, to narrative modality, to concerns with word arrangement, period structure, and rhythm. Finally, it includes chapters on frequently used genres, such as iambic verse, letter-writing, and the imperial oration, as well as chapters related to oral performance and written culture, such as punctuation and word modification.

The *Synopsis* has a dual organization, with two discernible, overlapping structural sequences: One corresponds roughly to the division into chapter clusters, focusing on argumentation and on style; the other corresponds to pedagogical goals. Extensive lists of model texts and authors help give the reader a fuller understanding of the principles and precepts described. The selection and inclusion of material is motivated by concerns for argument invention and multiformity of expression (*poikilia*). A comparison between Rhakendytes' *Synopsis* and the late twelfth-century compilation known as the *Rhetorica Marciana* reveals much similarity in thematic coverage and suggests that the *Synopsis* offers an image of what was plausibly covered in a complete "course" on rhetoric during the Palaiologan period.

Understanding the teaching priorities of Byzantine rhetoricians during the Palaiologan period would help us to gain valuable insights into the sophisticated and erudite Palaiologan rhetorical culture of Constantinople. Rhakendytes' *Synopsis* helps us see the broad outlines of how training proceeded in that period, whose rhetorical history is yet to be fully recounted.

**Sophia Vallbracht, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, [mail@sophiavallbracht.com](mailto:mail@sophiavallbracht.com) - *Decorum as a normative force in rhetoric***

Decorum as a topic has hardly been dealt with in the history of rhetoric. As to the latter, it is Stephen McKennas book *Adam Smith. The Rhetoric of Propriety* (2006) that smooths the path and highlights the importance of a concept so widely recurring under different terms (*prepon/decorum/apturn*) and yet one so neglected in theory. This is why a step back to one of the main texts of antique theory of decorum is relevant: Cicero's *De officiis*. What relevance may this antique concept of decorum have for a rhetorical concept of decorum today? Furthermore, does rhetoric even need ethical grounding through decorum?

This paper aims to share some light on the rhetorical concept of decorum by analysing Cicero's coining of the term in *De officiis* and by trying to show its relevance for modern rhetoric.

Why decorum is a norm will be answered by giving definitions and analysing the ethical grounding of rhetoric through norms of its own.

Then decorum as a norm will be classified by confining the various terms for rhetorical propriety and theorized by presenting Cicero's concept in detail. Drawing on classical concepts of the Stoics, it is above all the relation of decorum with ornatus, humanitas, officium and honestum that shapes Cicero's concept of decorum as a rhetorical norm.

The treatment of rhetorical propriety offers a new perspective on the relation between orator, audience and the rhetorical situation itself. The aim is to show that decorum is not understood as a predefined norm for every rhetorical situation. Thus, it necessarily has a relational quality which results from the situation itself and the judgement of the recipient. Decorum is understood as part of rhetoric in the sense of a civilian ethos which demarcates rhetoric against manipulation and propaganda. An attempt to define decorum in rhetoric today may be overdue.

**Maddalena Vallozza, Università degli Studi della Tuscia, m.vallozza@tin.it - I topoi della lode nell'Encomio di Elena di Isocrate**

Oggetto di analisi fin dalla Retorica di Aristotele, l'Encomio di Elena di Isocrate non cessa di attrarre la critica per le indubbie peculiarità della sua struttura, caratterizzata di ampi excursus che a giudizio di molti sembrano inficiarne il carattere unitario. In realtà, la sua struttura deriva da quella tecnica di stretto intreccio fra la composizione del discorso e la riflessione sul discorso stesso che la critica tende sempre più a riconoscere come caratteristica dell'insegnamento retorico di Isocrate. Fra le prove a sostegno di questa lettura, una delle più rilevanti è offerta proprio da un'accurata analisi di quantità, qualità e dislocazione dei topoi che costellano il discorso. In primo luogo, dopo l'ampio proemio, secondo un modo di procedere per lui abituale, Isocrate, in riferimento all'Elena di Gorgia, offre (14-15) una preliminare e decisiva distinzione teorica fra gli elementi che sono tipici dell'apologia e gli elementi che sono invece tipici dell'encomio. E' possibile offrire una nuova lettura del passo, che presenta difficoltà di ricostruzione testuale, in base agli elementi emersi dalle più recenti ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta di Isocrate, condotte in vista della futura edizione oxoniense. In secondo luogo, è possibile osservare che, in modo del tutto coerente con questa premessa, Isocrate organizza l'intero discorso secondo un 'sistema' di topoi volti a esaltare le virtù di Elena. In questo 'sistema' di topoi, assumono particolare rilievo la nobiltà del genos e, in rapporto contrastivo con la tradizione letteraria, la bellezza. E a questi topoi sono strettamente legati i ben noti ampi excursus, su Teseo (18-38), su Paride (41-48), sulla bellezza (54-60), a riprova dell'unitarietà del discorso e della piena efficacia della sua funzione paideutica sul piano retorico.

**Viktorija Völker, Tübingen University, viktorija.voelker@uni-tuebingen.de - Retrospective attribution of modern terms in historical research: translation, interpretation or anachronism?**

Many of descriptive categories used in historical research – like “propaganda”, “humour”, or “public relations” – are notions that have a specific traceable history going back to a particular time period. Yet, the application of such terms in historical research routinely precedes the time period when the notion appeared. What does it mean to speak of “propaganda in medieval theatre”, “humour in antiquity” or “public relations in Byzantium”? How appropriate is it to point out humour in Homer's “Iliad” if the contemporaries never used the term? Is it a case of a simple translation into contemporary language or is there more to it?

With a particular focus on the notion of “humour”, which has begun its genesis into a notion of comical only in the late sixteenth century, this paper will look upon the circumstances that have led to the emergence of the term we use today and the connotations attached to the contemporary use.

Subsequently, by examining the evidence, the overarching question will be addressed: Whether such retrospective attribution is a useful hermeneutical device or an anachronistic projection? The awareness of the potential implications of retrospective attribution is likely to contribute to a more attentive use of terms within the field of historical research.

**Henriette van der Blom, University of Birmingham, h.vanderblom@bham.ac.uk - Exempla of republican orators – a change from republic to empire?**

Scholars have argued for some time a change in the way in which Roman authors used *exempla* in the republican period as opposed to the period under the Roman emperors: the proposition is that the regime change also affected the cultural function of *exempla* in Roman literature. Recently, Langlands 2018 has challenged this view by suggesting that the framework of *exempla* remained stable and that the changes identified by other scholars are simply fluctuations in the various ways in which *exempla* can be used within the overall framework. In this paper, I take up Langlands' challenge by focusing on the *exempla* of republican orators, that is, where republican orators are used as *exempla*, and their usage in republican and imperial periods. Public speech has been argued to be one of the areas, which saw most change from the republican system of forensic oratory in the criminal courts and deliberative oratory in the senate/popular assemblies to the imperial shift to forensic oratory in the senate/centumviral courts and deliberative oratory in the senate and under the emperor's aegis. My question is: does this argued change in the settings and circumstances of public speech show in the use of *exempla* of republican orators? Does the argued change in political and cultural setting of the imperial period show in the usage of republican orators as *exempla*?

I shall focus on Cicero's rhetorical treatises (mainly *De oratore*, *Orator* and *Brutus*) for usage of orator *exempla* in the republican period and compare that with the usage in the best comparable set of works in the imperial period, namely Tacitus' *Dialogus*, Pliny's *Epistulae* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (using the database of the *Fragments of the Roman Republican Orators*).

**Alessandro Vatri, University of Oxford, alessandro.vatri@classics.ox.ac.uk - Age and group-identity before the Areopagus**

In classical Athens, age was a significant factor in determining an individual's social identity (see, famously, Arist. *Rh.* 2.12–14). Unsurprisingly, it emerges as a recurring topos both in rhetorical theory and in oratorical practice (see e.g. *Rhetoric to Alexander*, ch. 29). Apart from prejudices attached to different age-groups, the mere biological age of a speaker could generate feelings of envy (for the youth) and pity (for the old). It was up to the speaker to transform such reactions into identification or solidarity. Probably, this is the game Demosthenes plays as he exaggerates the age difference between himself and the older man Meidias in the prosecution speech against him—a game reminiscent of the young vs old dynamics of new comedy.

If characterization was strategic to manipulating the audience's attitude towards the litigants' age, it is less easy to see how age could play a role in generating a feeling of group identity between the speaker and the judges, since in most cases the judges did not belong to a well-defined age group (pace Aristophanes' caricature in the *Wasps*!).

One notable exception is the Areopagus, whose members' age must have averaged around 55. This additional identity factor could, in principle, be exploited by speakers. In this paper, I will examine how this was the case with the two extant full speeches delivered at the Areopagus (Lysias 3 and 7). In Lysias 3, the mature speaker facing a younger litigant asks judges to excuse his behaviour as a human one, transcending age boundaries. In Lysias 7, instead, the age difference between the mature defendant and the younger accuser is subtly underlined in such a way as to consolidate group-identity between the speaker and the judges.

**Lorenzo Vespoli, Université de Genève, lorenzo.vespoli@libero.it - Angelo Poliziano and the pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamationes maiores***

Angelo Poliziano's philological and exegetical activity is closely linked to his role as a teacher at the *Studium* of Florence (1480-1494) and his interest in Quintilian is shown by the fact that he dedicated his first course to the *Institutio oratoria*. The aim of my research is to provide a first survey of the citations of pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamationes maiores* in Poliziano's commentaries (published and unpublished) about Greek and Latin authors, in order to understand to what extent the humanist knew and used pseudo-Quintilian's work.

To date, there are no specific studies on Poliziano's citations of the *Declamationes maiores* and so my article would provide the first survey on this field. I will structure my work as follows: (i) collecting Poliziano's citations of the *Declamationes maiores*; (ii) taking into account the context of the citation; (iii) analyzing the context of the *locus* quoted by Poliziano in order to understand the reason of the citation.

On this basis my research could provide further informations about the reception of the *Declamationes maiores* in the Renaissance: (i) Poliziano's interpretation of some passages; (ii) if possible, the manuscript(s) used by Poliziano to read the *Declamationes maiores*; (iii) some information about the discussion between Poliziano and other humanists about the interpretation of specific passages of the pseudo-Quintilian's work.

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**María Alejandra Vitale, Universidad de Buenos Aires, alejandravitale@filo.uba.ar - Tópicos que legitimaron prácticas de inteligencia en un organismo policial argentino**

Esta comunicación analiza documentos, de carácter secreto, producidos por la Dirección de Inteligencia de la Policía de la Provincia de Buenos Aires (DIPBA), fechados durante la última dictadura militar argentina (1976-1983). La DIPBA fue un organismo policial creado en 1956 y cerrado en 1998. Su archivo se hizo de consulta pública en 2003, en el marco de un proceso de apertura de los llamados “archivos de la represión”, que aconteció en América Latina luego del fin de las dictaduras que padeció la región en el siglo pasado (da Silva Catela y Jelin, 2002). Se parte de una reflexión sobre la noción de tópico, en particular específico, de Aristóteles (*Ret*, 1, 2.1358a21; Havrda, 2019; Kennedy, 1994; Miller, 1987, 2008; Tindale, 2007; Warnick, 2008), y su reformulación por parte de Amossy (2000), con el objetivo de identificar y caracterizar tópicos que legitimaron las prácticas de inteligencia ante los propios agentes. El trabajo se centra así en los tópicos que pueden denominarse *la defensa de la democracia, la nación católica y el profesional experto*. A partir de estos tópicos, los documentos tienden a hacer aceptables ante los propios agentes sus prácticas de inteligencia apelando a la defensa de la democracia y de considerada esencia católica de la nación argentina, puestas en peligro por “la subversión”, y representándolos con la identidad valorada de profesionales con un saber especializado.

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### **Xiaobo Wang, Sam Houston State University, xiaobo.belle.wang@shsu.edu - Quest for Equality: Feminism in the Chinese Context**

Third world women, including Chinese women, have been fighting a long-lasting war in gender equality in their situated historical, social, and cultural contexts. This paper presents three cases that represents Chinese feminism from antiquity and beyond. “Nvquanzhuyi”, the modern term that refers to feminism, has established solid foundations for activists. However, with the contemporary surveillance culture on social media inside the larger information firewall, feminist endeavors have met challenges unlike historical ones but share similar characteristics.

The history of Chinese women's quest for equality resembles that of an old person having weathered vicissitudes of life but still desires more out of it. In this paper, I present three cases and share the resilience of a Chinese feminists using feminist rhetorical frameworks (Glenn, Wu, Wang, and more).

The first case demonstrates how the historical, female only language “nvshu” (female texts) mobilized female narratives and celebrated female emotions and labor in a confined, ancient context that did not allow women to speak, to go out of one's room, and participate in civil affairs.

The second case presents ways and spaces Chinese feminists do feminist work on social media within the larger, global metoo movement context and situate this phenomenon within global surveillance and capitalist culture that hinders citizens' democratic participation on Internet and various platforms.

The third case condemns the recent closures of feminist accounts (public and personal) on China's Weibo, the largest social media platform that equals Twitter, and presents the contemporary landscape of feminist and activist work on WeChat and other platforms.

Finally, I provide ways to engage in transnational dialogues and coalition building for Chinese women and all women who desire to do work in global feminism. I also share pedagogical resources to teach non western, third-world feminism, especially Chinese feminism in writing courses.

**Susan Wells, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA USA, [suewells@temple.edu](mailto:suewells@temple.edu) - Walter Benjamin's Kairos: Time and Agency**

Scholars such as James Martel and David L. Marshall have demonstrated the significance of Walter Benjamin's work for the rhetorics of mass culture and political movements. Building on their work, and on Giacomo Marramao's recognition of the discontinuous temporality of kairos, I argue that Benjamin's punctuated time supports a fluid concept of kairos. This understanding of kairos recognizes the agency of objects, places, and technologies, and therefore distributes action among multiple agents. Benjamin's understanding of action and time allows us to connect three concepts central to current rhetorical theory: a fluid understanding of time (Sipiora); an expanded concept of agency (Rostagni, Hawhee) and a focus on distributed, collective action (Rickert).

I show that Benjamin's discussion of action and time establishes a nonteleological relationship between past and future, as if Lysippus' statue were double-faced. In *The Origin of the German Trauerspiel* and "Edward Fuchs, Collector and Historian," Benjamin demonstrates that when their range of the possible meanings becomes available, actions in the past become effective in the present. Actions in the present—wishes, leisure practices, technologies—open possibilities in the future. Such anterior and proleptic understandings of kairos shape Benjamin's work with media, popular culture, and memoir. Since Benjamin's examples of action across time include images, poems, and public spaces, his writing uncouples kairos from its traditional venue: the telling speech delivered in public. I use this capacious understanding to broaden the concept of kairotic agency, distributing agency and locating it in everyday actions as well as heroic interventions. I will develop this concept through close readings of Benjamin and examples from contemporary social movements.

**Jakob Wisse, Newcastle University, [jakob.wisse@ncl.ac.uk](mailto:jakob.wisse@ncl.ac.uk), Cicero and the history of ancient rhetoric: a 'forgotten' source?**

By all accounts, Cicero is a central figure in the history of rhetoric. His writings are among the richest sources of information about what ancient rhetoric was like, both in theory and in practice. Surprisingly, however, their implications are sometimes not taken seriously enough. Instead, Cicero is often regarded as unproblematically representing an essentially static rhetorical tradition. My paper will draw on relatively recent insights, including those on his masterpiece *De oratore*, in an attempt to chart the areas where an in-depth engagement with Cicero can modify this common picture of ancient rhetoric.

This will involve, on the one hand, the direct use of Cicero's rhetorical works. This approach re-validates, and builds on, the ground-breaking work of Friedrich Solmsen, who mined Cicero's work (as well as many other sources) for investigating the 'Aristotelian tradition in ancient rhetoric' (1941). Close analysis is often needed; e.g., in some cases Cicero's silences can be just as revealing as his positive comments. On the other hand, Cicero's practice can also give us clues about, e.g., the role of rhetorical theory and the extent to which audiences were familiar with it. This involves essential questions of method: we cannot, for instance, assume that practice simply mirrors theory.

As I will indicate, conclusions can be drawn about a variety of issues: about the educational and social status of rhetorical theory; about the extent to which theory informed oratorical practice; about the spread of rhetorical knowledge (the latter in dialogue with C. Craig's work); about the development of declamation, the progymnasmata, the theses, and the concept of figured speech; and about the relationship between ancient rhetoric and other genres such as historiography.

**Mingjian Xiang, Nanjing Tech University, [wesleyxmj@163.com](mailto:wesleyxmj@163.com) - Philosophy as therapy: A cognitive rhetorical analysis of the Socratic elenchus in an early Daoist text**

*Elenchus*, conducted through question-answer sequences, is a rhetorical form frequently employed by Socrates in Plato's early dialogues. It involves the protagonist first examining a thesis believed to be true by his interlocutor and then showing how the thesis contradicts a set of beliefs held by the same interlocutor (Lee 2015: 140). Intriguingly, similar use of this technique of refutation is also found in the *Zhuangzi* (4th c. B.C.), an early Daoist text abundant in non-genuine dialogues between real or fantastic discourse characters. In this presentation, I aim to explore how the philosopher Zhuangzi (c. 369-c.286 B.C.) convinces prospective readers of his therapeutic philosophical ideas by adopting such a particular mode of philosophizing.

The questions and their subsequent answers in Zhuangzi's elenctic discourse represent different viewpoints and are used to induce self-persuasion in the readers given the "cognitive therapy" characterizing the text as a whole (Carr & Ivanhoe 2010; Combs 2005). This requires the readers to mentally simulate the act of questioning and come up with their own answers before aligning their viewpoints with that of the writer and also the discourse characters. Integrating recent research on mental simulation (e.g. Markman et al. 2012) and Burke's (1969) key concept "identification", I propose a simulation-based model of rhetoric. Through mental simulation, an identification relationship can be established between the sensorimotor representations activated in the recipient and his or her embodied experience (Adolphs 2006). This constitutes the basis for the establishment of cognitive identification, namely the alignment of the possibly different viewpoints of the rhetor and recipient, thereby leading to self-persuasion in the recipient. This study complements Candiotta's (2019) extended cognition account of the Socratic elenchus and more generally contributes to a cognitive theory of persuasion.

#### **Hui Wu, University of Texas at Tyler, hwu@uttyler.edu - Genre as a Comparative Method: The Case of Classical Chinese Rhetoric**

This speaker uses Chinese rhetoric as a case to propose rhetorical genre study as a viable research method for non-Western rhetorical traditions. Like its Western counterpart, classical Chinese rhetoric contains rhetorical terms for both oratory and writing (Lu, 1998; Garrett, 1993; Guiguzi, 2016). By the neoclassical period (206 BCE to 220 CE), oratory genres transformed into writing genres. Yet, the semiotic transformation of rhetorical terms and genres remain understudied, resulting in disjoint historical narratives. While Guiguzi, is claimed as "China's First Treatise on Rhetoric" (Wu, 2016), Chen Kui's "Rules of Writing" is also called "China's First Systematic Account of Rhetoric" (Kirkpatrick, 2005). In other words, scholarship has yet to offer a coherent representation of Chinese rhetoric to demonstrate its own indigenous historicity and authenticity. In response, this study will track the transformation of Chinese rhetoric and its study from orality to writing by examining the lexical evolution of rhetorical genres from the classical period to the medieval time. Specifically, it tracks the historical development of some key rhetorical terms already identified by scholars (Garrett; Lu; Wu) to argue that rhetorical genre study serves as an indiscriminate method in comparative rhetoric.

#### **Mingjian Xiang, Nanjing Tech University, wesleyxmj@163.com - Philosophy as therapy: cognitive rhetorical analysis of the Socratic elenchus in an early Daoist text**

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**Marilyn Young, Florida State University, myoung@fsu.edu - Argumentation via Dialectical Oppositions and Visual Commonplaces: Analysis of Boris Yeltsin's 1996 Presidential Run-off Campaign**

Smith (2007) explains how visual symbols work argumentatively, once Aristotle's notion of the enthymeme is understood in its classical sense of a "syllogism based on probabilities or signs." (p. 121) Successful enthymemes identify with the "common opinions of their intended audiences." (Smith, p. 120) Those who create visual enthymemes [e.g., in political campaign posters] discover these common opinions in the culture and in the immediate context of the campaign, "incorporating them into their messages." (Smith, p. 120) Birdsell and Goarke (1996) contend commonplaces—culture-specific grounds of potential agreement between speakers and audiences—are not limited to verbal arguments; visual commonplaces attempt to persuade or argue just as verbal ones do.

In this paper, we are not analyzing the merits of visual argument as a type of persuasion. Rather, we focus on a single exemplar of visual argument conjoining commonplaces and *topoi* in a context where the whole notion of political campaigns is novel and the *topoi* grow out of recent experience: the 1996 Presidential campaign in Russia.

The second election for President of the Russian Federation was decided by a run-off between incumbent Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin and Gennadi Andreevich Zuganov, the candidate of Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Finding themselves trailing after the general election ballots were counted, the Yeltsin campaign decided to change strategy; realizing that their only chance of victory was to turn out the youth vote, they developed a series of ads and events designed to attract the young. This became the "Choose (Vote!) or Lose" campaign that used dialectical oppositions to generate lines of argument supportive of Yeltsin. These arguments were in turn credentialed or vouchsafed by visual commonplaces capturing the particular context supplied by the transition from Communism to democracy.

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**Mengzhen Yue, University College Dublin, mengzhen.yue@ucdconnect.ie - The 'ubiquitous other' in Isocrates' *On the Peace*: political communication and emotion**

The rhetoric of Other was a commonplace in fourth-century BCE Attic oratory and ubiquitous in Athenian assembly, law-court, and daily communication. It is a scholarly consensus that the Other, especially non-Greeks, played a crucial role in the formation of fourth-century Athenian identity. However, insufficient attention has been made to the ways in which Athenian rhetoricians appreciated

non-Greeks to interact with their audience's emotion and cognition in political communication. Taking Isocrates' *On the Peace* as a case study, this paper elucidates how non-Greeks constitute the rhetorician's rhetorical strategy of self-analysis and self-criticism. *On the Peace* is a pseudo-deliberative speech in which Isocrates assumes the role of a responsible political advisor (συμβούλος) who exhorts contemporary Athenians to cease from their unjust desire for tyrannical imperialism. In the speech, Isocrates refers to the Triballians and Lucanians, whom he labels as δυσγένεια, 'low birth'. The paper first contextualises Isocrates' reference to the two peoples within its historical and rhetorical context to demonstrate why he made the choice. It then examines Isocrates' rhetorical and linguistic strategies to demonstrate the signifying power of the two peoples within the rhetorical structure of the speech and its cognitive and emotive effects on the audience. The paper argues that, in the rhetorical context, the two peoples function as negative comparative objects, through which Isocrates displays fourth-century Athenians' collective desire for imperialism and negotiates the city's identity with his imagined Athenian audience. In so doing, the paper hopes to advance our understanding of the topical role of non-Greeks in fourth-century Athenian political communication and identity negotiation.