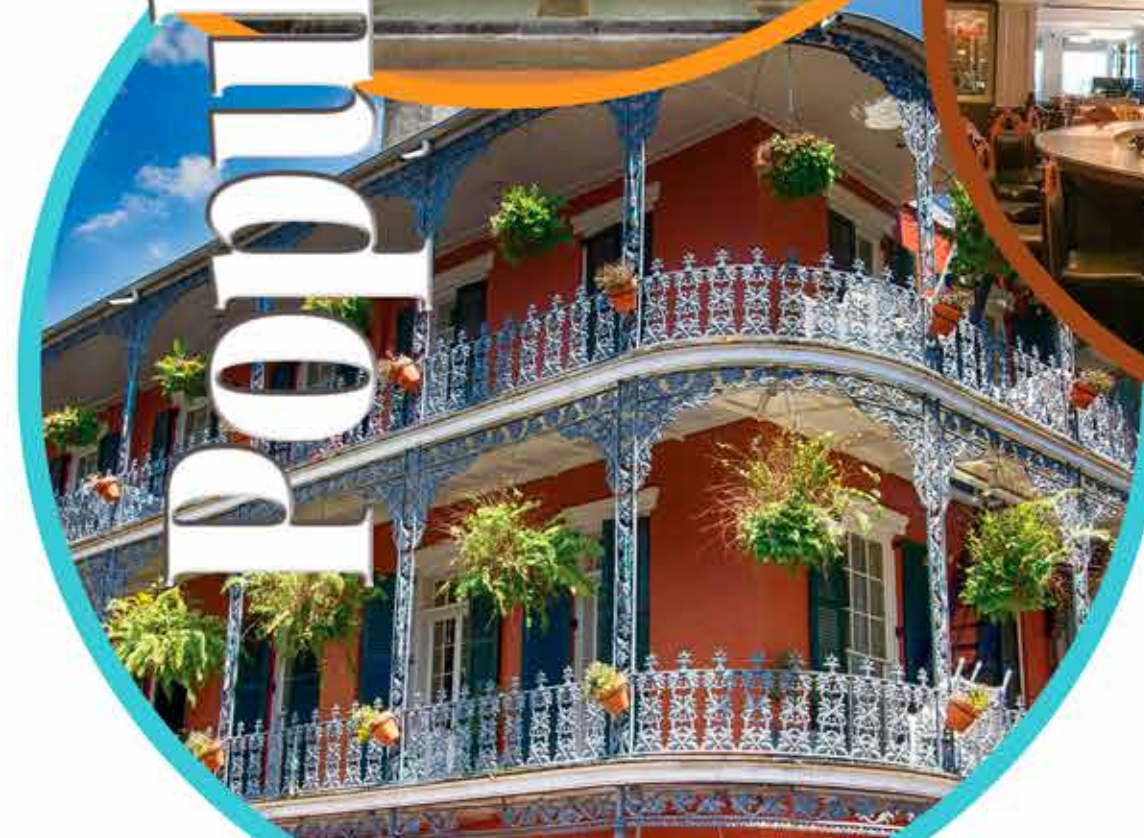


# International Society for the History of Rhetoric

Twenty-Second Biennial Conference  
New Orleans, Louisiana, USA  
Hotel Monteleone  
July 24-27, 2019



24-27 July 2019  
New Orleans, Louisiana, USA

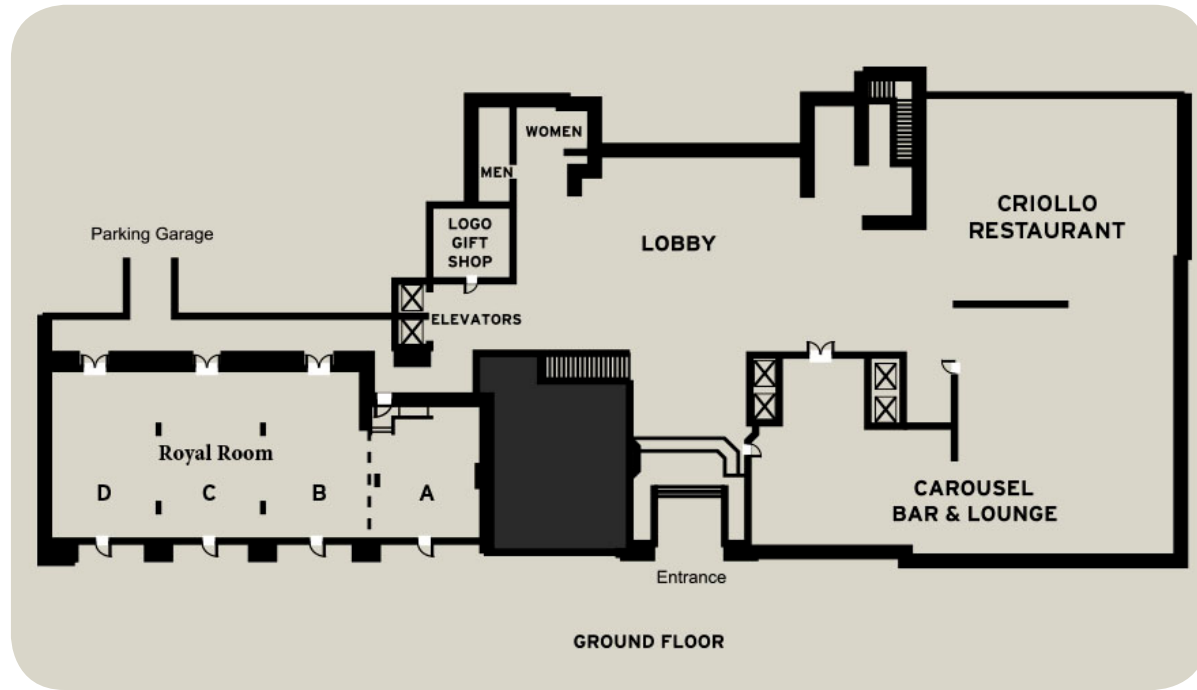
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24-27 July 2019

New Orleans, Louisiana, USA

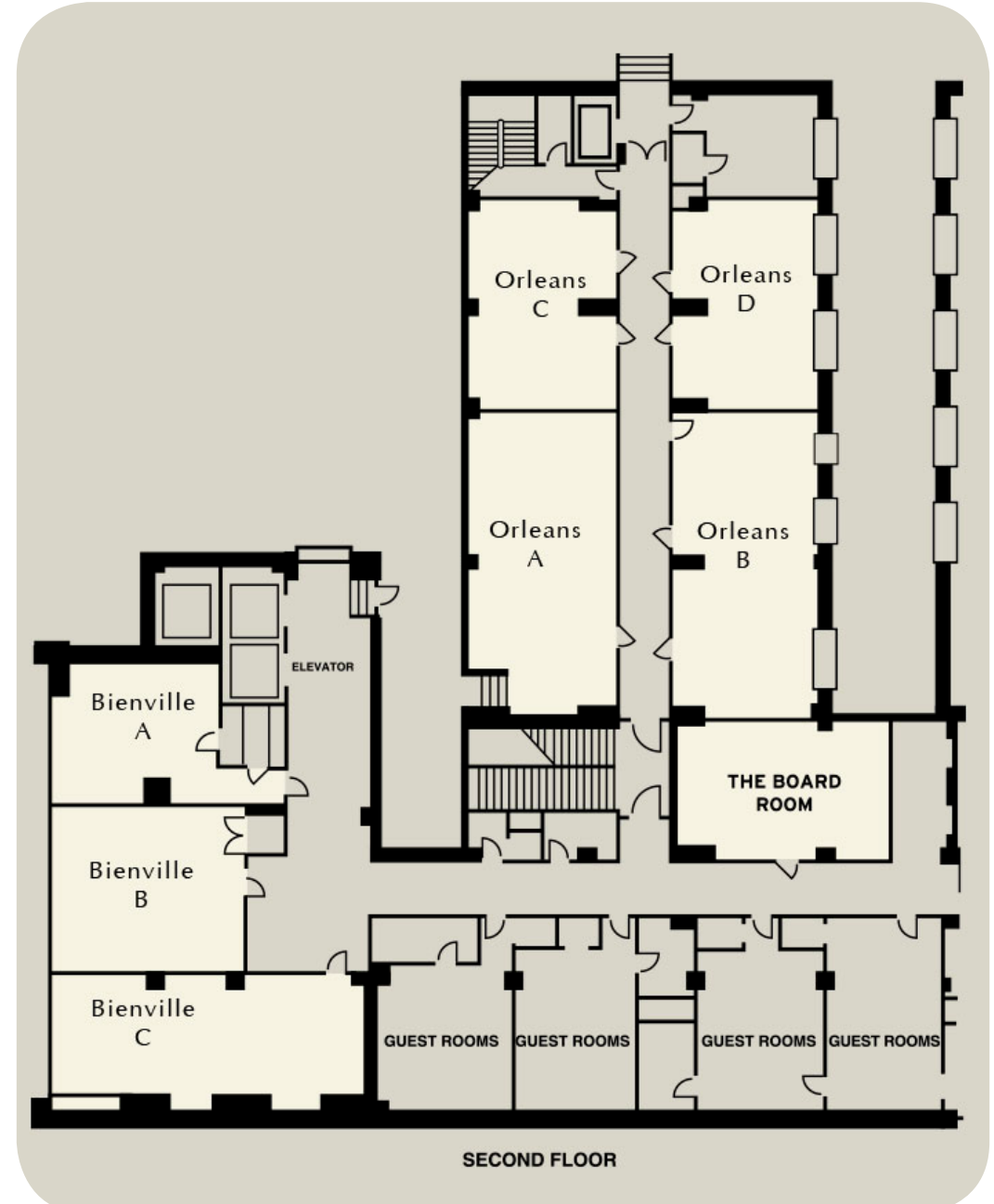
LOBBY LEVEL



MEZZANINE I



MEZZANINE II



# WELCOME

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Welcome, ISHR members, to New Orleans, one of America's premier vacation destinations and site of our 22nd biennial conference. Over the next three days you will have the opportunity to hear first-class papers on all aspects of the history of rhetoric, meet old friends and colleagues, greet exciting new scholars, and, of course, sample the pleasures of New Orleans, a city like no other in the United States.

New Orleans was founded as a French colonial military outpost and became a city in 1718. There are almost no existing structures that were built before the 1790s, unfortunately, because the town kept burning down. Louisiana was ceded to Spain in 1762, although it remained French-speaking outside of the royal and church officials. Napoleon regained Louisiana but quickly sold it to the United States in 1803. It then became a state in 1812. New Orleans grew into one of the great port cities of the world in the nineteenth century, with large influxes of immigrants from Haiti, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and especially Ireland. The French language was replaced in New Orleans by English during the first half of the nineteenth century, although "Cajun" French is still spoken in some of the rural and coastal parishes, to the south of New Orleans. Slavery was also part of Louisiana's history almost from the beginning. The struggle of people of African descent to achieve equality has had many set-backs after the end of slavery, but African-Americans have contributed disproportionately to New Orleans' unique character, especially with the development of jazz. The architecture of New Orleans is unique in the United States, but shares many characteristics with other Caribbean port cities, blending European and African styles.

The destruction and death caused by Hurricane Katrina on 2005 attracted world-wide attention, and there was fear that New Orleans would never fully recover. But it has, largely, and the downtown and French Quarter areas in which you will be staying are much improved than before Katrina. The adjacent neighborhood of Tremé, across Esplanade Boulevard at the east end of the French Quarter, has regained its verve and is a lively music area, while the visual arts district to the west across Canal Street and around Julia Street has also returned to its former glory, and the World War II Museum farther down has become an international attraction.

Please look on the Travel and Local Arrangements page on the ISHR web site for a very full description of local and regional attractions.

So – something different for ISHR. I hope you have an intellectually stimulating and enjoyable conference.

Best wishes,

Malcolm Richardson.  
President, International Society for the History of Rhetoric

# Acknowledgements

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The ISHR Council, the Program Committee, and the Director of Members Services would like to offer a special thank you to the Monteleone Hotel staff that assisted in organizing this conference. Thank you to Terri Lamonte, Janice Padwa, Carmen Joseph for your accommodations.

Thank to Jessica Wyers of the LSU Manship School of Mass Communication for designing and producing the program, as well as Dean Martin Johnson for the recommendation.

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# Conference Program

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## Wednesday, July 24, 2019

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9:00-18:00: Registration

13:00-16:00 Jesuit Rhetoric Society Meeting  
Queen Anne B

14:00-16:00 Council and Committee Meetings

18:00-20:00 Reception

## Thursday, July 25, 2019

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9:00 -9:15 : Opening Session

9:15-10:30 Plenary Lecture  
Cheryl Glenn, "Rhetorical Feminism: A Practice of Hope."

10:30-11:00 Coffee Break

11:00- 12:30 SESSION ONE

Classics 1: Quintilian  
Queen Anne B

Chair: Marc van der Poel

- Yosef Lieversohn: The Falsa Argument against Rhetoric in Hellenistic Thought
- David Fleming: Back to the 'Q Question': A Defense of Quintilian's Moral Project for Rhetoric
- Kyle Helms: Lorenzo Valla on Quintilian, Inst. 2.16: Populist Rhetoric and Other Dangers

Medieval 1: Rhetoric and the Populus  
Royal A

Chair: Gabriele Knappe

- Anastasios Aidonis: Censuring the Elite: Criticisms of Power in Boccaccio's Decameron
- Loretta Ramirez: The Rhetoric of Humility: Educating the Urban Populace of Late-Medieval Aragon in Francesc Eiximenis's Lo Crestià and Libre de les Dones
- Bryce Tellmann: Orality's View of Literacy: Written Language as Action in the Liminal Present

Early Modern 1: Toleration 1500-1800  
Royal B

Chair: Mark Longaker

- Mark Longaker: John Locke, Tolerant of Disputation, Intolerant of Disputes
- James Garner: Dogmatic Love: William Walwyn and the Rhetoric of Toleration
- Daniel Ellis: Toleration and Rhetorical Style in Elizabethan Norfolk

20th-21st Centuries 6: Science and the Media  
Royal C

Chair: Mary Hedengren

- Mary Le Rouge: Simplified Science Rhetoric for Climate Change Deniers: Rhetorical Analysis of Ivar Giaever's Lindau Nobel Laureate Speech
- Anthony Wachs: "The U.S. Big Man; Or What African Rhetorical Scholarship Can Teach Us About Populism"
- Susan Jarratt and Jonathan Alexander: The Podcast as Populist Rhetoric

**Jesuit Rhetoric 1: Jesuit Rhetoric and the Spiritual Exercises  
Orleans B**

**Chair: Steven Mailloux**

- Steven Mailloux: Jesuits of Logology: Theorhetic in Kenneth Burke, Daniel Fogarty, and Gaston Fessard
- Patrick Goujon: The Spiritual Exercises between Conversation and Literature
- Michelle Zaleski: Salir Consigo: The Discerning Rhetoric of Jesuit Accommodation

**Africa 1: Populists, Publics, and the Polis: Perspectives from African Rhetorical Traditions and Practices  
Bienville C**

**Chair: Imedi Ochieng**

- Imedi Ochieng: "The U.S. Big Man; Or What African Rhetorical Scholarship Can Teach Us About Populism"
- Kermit Campbell: Not Quite Wakanda, but a Model of African Precolonial Rhetoric Nonetheless
- Johnson Ige: "Violence and Rhetoric at the Crossroads of Populism: African Perspective."

**Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries 1:**

**Populismo y conflicto ideológico en el ámbito español  
Orleans A**

**Chair: Sara Molpeceres**

- Sara Molpeceres: 'Yo sí te creo', voces populares, retóricas populistas y poderes establecidos en el caso de la 'Manada'
- Pablo Romero: Los usos populistas de la oposición a lo "políticamente correcto" en la opinión pública española
- Claudio Moyano: Populismo y terrorismo: el último comunicado de ETA

**Past and Present 1: Directing the Public  
Orleans C**

**Chair: Daniel Gross**

- Jakub Filonik: Citizenship as Metaphor: "Popular" Expression of Political Identity in Athenian Democracy and Modern West
- Carsten Madsen: Rhetoric as Emotional and Virtuous Formation of the Public Sphere: Aristotle and Heidegger on Directing the Public in the Right Way
- Anderson Zalewski Vargas: Rhetoric and Antiquity in the Brazilian Journalistic Argumentation of the Beginning of the 19th Century: Marco Túlio Cícero and the rejection of the crowd on the anti-rhetorical platform of The Analyst (Porto Alegre, 1840)

**4:00-16:00 SESSION TWO**

**Classics 3: Athenian Populism in the Age of Demosthenes  
Queen Anne B**

**Chair: David Mirhady**

- David Mirhady: The Background of Athenian Populism in the Age of Demosthenes
- Brad Cook: The Demosthenic Way: A Corrective for Populist Rhetoric?
- David Timmerman: The Rejoinders of Aeschines: Self-positioning for the Populace
- Craig Cooper: The Rhetoric of Populism in Hyperides

**Classics 4: Plato, Socrates, and populism  
Royal Salon**

**Chair: Michele Kennerly**

- Andrew Beer: Plato's Populism: Rhetoric as Friendship of the People
- Joshua DiCaglio: Plato's Involutionary Rhetoric: Doxa, metanoia, and the conditions for transformation
- John Jasso: Cosmo-populism: Tripartitional Rhetoric in Homer and Plato
- Christopher Tindale: Under Thrasymachus' Gaze: The Populist Debate in the Republic.

**Medieval 2: Prose Rhythms 1  
Royal A**

**Chair: Vessela Valiavitcharska**

- Vessela Valiavitcharska: On Beauty
- Martin Steinrück: Hypereides is gaga. (Accentual clausulae in Greek rhetorical prose).
- Martin Camargo: New Map or New Territory? Verse Feet and/as Prose Cadences in Some Medieval English Arts of Letter Writing

**Early Modern 2: Machiavelli, Memory, and Travel  
Royal B**

**Chair: Eric MacPhail**

- Lawrence Green: Renaissance Encomia to Rhetoric
- Lucia Delaini: Ready-made: preparing the mind through the body
- Linda Mitchell: Popular Travel Discourse in Early Modern British Dictionaries: Language of Discovery, Exploration, and Settlement
- Eric MacPhail: Odious Praise in the Quarrel of Francesco Florido and Michele Marullo

**Popular Responses to Medicine and Health in the 18th and 19th Centuries**  
Royal C

Chair: Barbara Heifferon

- Nicholas Bonneau: "Ever Remembered to our Humiliation": Caring Clergy, Heroic Professionals, and the Myth of Medical Elites in Early Eighteenth-Century New England
- Jennifer Burd: "The Evils of Pestilence": The Rhetoric of Yellow Fever in Early America
- Andrew Fiss: Turning Health Fears into a Joke: Vassar Students' Covert Rhetorics of Ridicule, 1860s-1880s
- Barbara Heifferon: "The Evils of Pestilence": The Rhetoric of Yellow Fever in Early America

**18th-19th century 2: Rhetorical and homiletic teaching**  
Orleans C

Chair: Holland Prior

- Marie Humeau: Former les jeunes Français « à l'antique » : les enjeux pédagogiques et civiques du discours latin (France, 19ème siècle)
- Andre E. Johnson: "Preaching Will Move the People Sooner or Later": Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and the Rhetorical Pedagogy of Preaching
- Abraham Romney: Between Religious and Political Rhetoric in 19th Century New Mexico
- Mudiwa Pettus: A Rhetorician By Any Other Name: Booker T. Washington as Ambivalent Rhetorical Theorist

**Jesuit Rhetoric 2: Jesuit Rhetoric in Asia**  
Orleans B

Chair: Lucía Díaz Marroquín

- Jaewon Ahn & Soojeong Moon: Jesuit Rhetoric in Asia
- Sher-shiueh Li: European Jesuits and Classical Rhetoric in Ming/Qing China
- Jungsam Yun & Nam-See Kim: Western Understanding of the Chinese Characters by using Rhetorical traditions : in the case of Matteo Ricci (1552-1610)'s Xiguojifa
- Roberto Leon: Accommodation, Decorum, and Disputatio: Matteo Ricci's The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven as a Renaissance Humanist Disputation.

**Early Modern F: Early Modern Women as Rhetors**  
Bienville C

Chair: Kristina Lucenko

- Sylvie Dubois & Malcolm Richardson: Rhetoric among the New World Ursuline Nuns: A Study of the Ursuline Eulogy Genre, 1641-1850
- Kristina Lucenko: Early Quaker Mother Outlaws
- Pierre Zoberman: Non-normative Rhetorics of Love in Seventeenth-century Plays by Women in France
- Megan Poole: A Woman's Optics: Margaret Cavendish and the Rhetorical Work of Re-Envisioning Objectivity

**20th-21st Centuries 1: Concepts and Ideologies**  
Orleans A

Chair: James Crosswhite

- Daniel Gross: The Origins of Rhetorical Theory: Ann Arbor 1900
- Mary Hedengren: Plato's Case Against Professional Rhetoric Professors and Contemporary Reiterations
- James Crosswhite: The New Rhetoric, Humanism, and Posthumanist Challenges

**20th-21st Centuries 2: Uneasy Populism**  
Orleans C

Chair: Robert Gilmor

- Ryan Skinnell: Introducing Dissonance: Parrhēsia and the Art of Political Persuasion
- Katherine Bridgman: Rhetorical Looking: A Heuristic for Civic Invention in the Age of Populism
- Krista Ratcliffe: Populism as Oxymoron: Listening to Its Appeals and Problems
- Bé Breij: Wollt Ihr den totalen Krieg? Ethos and pathos in Goebbels' Sportpalastrede

**6:30-18:00 SESSION THREE**

**Classics 3: Greek Courts**  
Queen Anne B

Chair: Mike Edwards

- Michael Gagarin: Invoking the Lawgiver in Athenian Oratory
- Vasileios Adamidis: The Rhetoric of Law in Classical Athenian Courts as a Bulwark against Populism
- Christopher Craig: Deception, Sincerity and Decorum in Cicero's Judicial Speeches

**Classics C: Cicero 1**  
Royal Salon

Chair: Manfred Kraus

- Adriano Scatolin: Cicero's political exhortation in the correspondence of 44-43: the rhetorical use of the concept of gloria.
- Joanna Kenty: Levitas: a Ciceronian Metaphor for Populism
- Chris Craig: The Rhetoric of Populism in Hyperides

**Medieval 3: Prose Rhythms 2**  
Royal A

Chair: Janika Päll

- Urmas Nõmmik: Parallelism in Biblical Hebrew Prose
- Kadri Novikov: Progymnasmata and parallel structures in ancient Greek and Byzantine novels
- Janika Päll: The Discovery of Parallelism and Syllabic Rhythms in Renaissance and (Early) Modern Scholarship



**Early Modern 3: Musica Poetica 1  
Royal B**

**Chair: Rachele Romero**

- Rachele Romero: Seventeenth Century Women's Solo Motets as Sacred Oration
- Adam Gilbert Knight: Christoph Bernhard Musical Rhetoric and the Interpretation and Public Performance of Seventeenth-Century Music

**Rhetoric and Society 1: 20th Century Explorations  
Royal C**

**Chair: William Weaver**

- Michelle Zerba: Dogs, Donkeys, Gipsies, and Dukes: Revolution, Populism, and Transgender Change in Woolf's Orlando
- Elizabeth Thornton: Between "Orange" and "Saffron" Populists: Vedicists' Engagement with State-backed Chauvinism

**Early Modern A: Preaching and Teaching Rhetoric in Early Modern England  
Royal D**

**Chair: Nancy Christiansen**

- Danielle Griffin: Addressing (a) Poverty in Historiography: The Rhetorical Education of Poor Girls in Early Modern Charity Schools
- Curry Kennedy: The 'ABC with a catechism': Reading toward Popular Sovereignty in the Petty Schools of England ca. 1540-1660
- Nancy Christiansen: Philosophies of Rhetoric in British Renaissance Protestant Arts of Preaching Manuals

**Jesuit 3: Eloquent Pathos in Jesuit Rhetoric  
Orleans B**

**Chair: Bartosz Awianowicz**

- Ana Lucia de Oliveira: Rhetorical Representation of Passions in Father Antonio Vieira's Epistolography
- Ana Isabel Correia Martins: Politics in Collectanea Moralis Philosophiae (1571) of Fray Louis of Grenade

**Past and Present 2: Rhetoric and Economics: Now and Then  
Bienville C**

**Chair: Rodney Herring**

- William Saas: Rhetorical Aspects of "Full Employment"
- Rodney Herring: Pelatiah Webster, Economic Writing, and Populist Rhetoric in Early America

**Asia 1: Daoism and Other Asia Rhetoric  
Orleans A**

**Chair: Jungsam Yun**

- Haixia Lan: What Do Comparative Rhetoricians Invent?
- Joseph (Jeb) Sharp: Daoism as Populism: Zhuangzi's Cook Ding and ziran
- Robin Reames: Being, Becoming, and Negation: The Comparative Rhetorics of Nāgārjuna and Protagoras

## Friday, July 26, 2019

### 09:00-10:30 SESSION FOUR

**Classics 4: A Closer Look at Commonplaces  
Queen Anne B**

**Chair: David Timmerman**

- Julie Dainville: Oracles, Deliberation and the Sacrifice of Iphigenia
- Lucia Diaz Marroquin: The deprecation of actors: A rhetorical topos in late-republican and early-imperial Rome.

**Classics D: Cicero 2  
Royal Salon**

**Chair: Chris Craig**

- John Ward: Populism in Cicero's De inventione and the Medieval Commentaries on It
- Manfred Kraus: Cicero the Populist

**Medieval 4: Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Irish Rhetoric Before 1000 AD  
Royal A**

**Chair: Martin Steinrück**

- Robert Lively: You Gotta Have Hóf: Civic Rhetoric of the Medieval Scandinavians
- Gabriele Knappe: Old English Rhetorical Vocabulary
- Brian Stone: Between Saints and Druids: A Study of Monastic and Native Rhetorical Traditions in Pre-Carolingian Ireland

**Early Modern 4: The Topos of "The People" in Early Modern English Thought  
Royal B**

**Chair: Timothy Barr**

- Timothy Barr: "People Strangely Fantasied": Hobbes on the Popular Imagination
- Piper Corp: Judging Together, Judging for Ourselves: Rhetoric, Law, and Experiment in John Locke's Vision of Collective Judgment

**18th-19th Centuries 3: Gesture and Presentation  
Royal C**

**Chair: Krista Ratcliffe**

- Merete Onsberg: Gilbert Austin and his Elocutionary Legacy
- Cory Holding: Space, Weight, Time, Flow: Reading Rhetorical Space through Notational Systems of Gesture
- William Duffy: Trump's Thumbs: Pollice Verso in the Third Sophistic

**Byzantine and Middle Eastern Medieval Rhetorics  
Royal D**

**Chair: Thomas Conley**

- Thomas Conley: Tsunami Argument in Some 17th Century Latinogreek Religious Polemics
- Hani Rashwan: Revisiting the notion of Quranic inimitability through Abu Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī's understanding of tajnīs
- Brandon Katzir: Ba'al's Bodies: Populism and the Rhetoric of Ba'al Worship in the Hebrew Bible

## 11:00-12:30 SESSION 5

### Classics 5: Attic Orators 1: Rhetorical Strategies Queen Anne B Chair: Johannes Engels

- Giulia Maltagliati: "As You All (Don't) Know": Assessing the Rhetorical Strategies behind the Attic Orators' Use of Historical Examples
- Christos Kremmydas: Narrative and Suspense in Attic Forensic Oratory
- Peter O'Connell: Deictic Pronouns in Attic Forensic Oratory

### Classics E: Galen, Rhetoric and the Second Sophistic Royal Salon Chair: Caroline Petit

- Caroline Petit: Galen's Rhetoric of Providence: Anatomy as a Hymn to Nature
- Ralph Rosen: 'Nature is the Doctor of Diseases': Galen on Medical Collaboration and Hierarchies
- Luis Salas: Authority and the Galenic Corpus: the use of anatomy and anatomical descriptions in Galen's intellectual practice

### Early Modern 5: Musica Poetica from Burmeister to Bartel: Early-Modern Musical Rhetoric and Public Performance Royal B Chair: Adam Gilbert Knight

- Rachelle Romero: Seventeenth Century Women's Solo Motets as Sacred Oration
- Adam Bregman: Musical Poetics and the Compositions of Orlande de Lassus: Rhetorical Gesture as a Tool for Musical Analysis

### Jesuit 4: International Perspectives on Jesuit Rhetorical Education in the Nineteenth Century Orleans B Chair: Cinthia Gannett

- Bartosz Awianowicz: The Reception of Jesuit Rhetoric in Polish Books on Eloquence Published in Early 19th Century
- Cinthia Gannett & John Brereton: Nineteenth-Century Rhetorical Education in Jesuit Colleges in the Eastern United States
- Aiko Okamoto-Macphail: Renaissance Jesuit Scholar of Japanese Grammar in Nineteenth-century France, João Rodrigues Tçuzu

### Rhetoric and Society 2: Rhetoric and Recent Events Bienville C Chair: J. David Maxson

- J. David Maxson: "Burying the Past": Dillard University's Jazz Funeral for Katrina
- Colleen Wilkowski: Singing for the People: Constitutive Rhetoric and the Music of the March of Washington

## 10:30 COFFEE BREAK

### Past and Present 3: Populist Style Royal C Chair: John Jasso

- Curtis Hyra: What's Wrong with Populism?
- Scott Sundvall: Populism Then and Now: Fascism in the Age of Electracy

### Hispanic America: Modern Populist Rhetoric in South America Orleans B Chair: Luis Pomer

- Mariano Dagatti: To die for your ideas. The romantic rhetoric of Kirchnerism (Argentina, 2003-2015)
- Camilo Fernández Cozman: Magda Portal, el rol de la mujer y la dimensión retórica del discurso político en el Perú del siglo XX

### Early Modern B: English Renaissance Royal D Chair: Michelle Zerba

- Pauline Reid: Walking in the Renaissance: The Rhetoric of Ambulation in Early Modern England's Public Spaces
- Zachary Sharp: Epideictic Lyric and Early Modern Devotional Poetry: The Public Performance of George Herbert's The Temple
- Daniel Seward: The Tribunal Ethos in Tudor and Stuart Parliaments: Patrician Eloquence, Plebeian Voice, and the Place of Popular Appeal in English Political Oratory

### Rhetoric and Philosophy Orleans A Chair: Mauro Jiménez

- Mauro Jiménez: Política y retórica en la filosofía de Ortega y Gasset
- Daniel Overton: Making Peace by Threatening Violence: Rhetorical Violence for Nonviolent Social Change in Eugene Debs's "Arouse, Ye Slaves!"
- Ethan Stoneman: Everyone Is at Liberty to Be a Fool: Schopenhauer's Philosophical Critique of the Art of Persuasion

### Classics F: Early Christians Orleans C Chair: Diederik Burgersdijk

- Jonathan Thiessen: Populism and the Apostle Paul's self-image to the Corinthians
- Hanne Roer: People and persona in Augustine's Sermons on the Saints.

## 12:30 LUNCH

## 14:00-16:00 SESSION SIX

### **Classics 6: Philosophical Rhetoric: Anti-Populism in Isocrates** **Queen Anne B** **Chair: Thomas Blank**

- Robert Sullivan: Isocrates and the Discourse of Admonition
- Carol Atack: Isocrates' Critique of Populist Speech: Frankness, Flattery, and the Corruption of Political Discourse
- Terry Papillon: Isocrates on the Teacher's Responsibility
- Thomas Blank: Timotheus and the Boundaries of Philosophy

### **Classics G: Epideictic** **Royal Salon** **Chair: Lucia Diaz Marroquin**

- Massimo Bianco: Gli animali e il filosofo: per una lettura dei Florida di Apuleio
- Giovanni Margiotta: The declamatory practice in Fronto's correspondence: suasoriae and controversiae at the Antonine court
- Diederik Burgersdijk: Caduca popularitas - the use of popular support in Latin panegyric
- Josie Portz: "A Philosopher in the Purple": Claims of Disinterestedness in Themistius' "Oration 34"

### **Asia 1: Populism Translated in Asian Advertising and Elsewhere** **Royal A** **Chair: Keith Lloyd**

- Xiaowei Chen: Translating as Rhetorical Reconstruction: An Analysis of Chinese Renditions of the Term "Populism"
- Nabanita Chakraborty: Rhetoric of Tea Advertisement in Colonial India: Markers of Gender, Class and Race of Consumers
- Hui Wu: A Feminist Critique of Chinese Women's Conduct Books as Popular Rhetoric

### **Early Modern 6: Private Devotion, Popular Persuasions** **Royal B** **Chair: Tina Skouen**

- Timothy Green: The Rhetorical Afterlife of Thomas More's Martyrdom in the Context of 16th/17th-Century English Populist Up
- Ryan Stark: In Defense of Bawdy Rhetoric
- Belinda Moltenberg-Steen: 'I will overturn, overturn, overturn': Conversion as Subversion in John Rogers's *Ohel*, or *Beth-Shemesh* (1653)
- Tina Skouen: Forced Love, Forced Conversion: Crashaw's poem "To the Noblest and Best of Ladies, the Countess of Denbigh" (1652)

### **Early Modern C : The Rhetorical Perspective in Ciceronian Political Theory: The Renaissance and Early Modernity** **Royal C** **Chair: Michelle Clarke**

- Michelle Clarke: Machiavelli: Menace to Societas
- Daniel Kapust: Hobbes, Cicero, and the Road not Taken
- Gary Remer: Response to Critics: Remer's Ethics and the Orator
- David Marsh: Cicero's Caesarian Orations: Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance

### **Classics H: Interdisciplinary Approaches** **Royal D** **Chair: Koen de Temmerman**

- Carol Poster: Magic and Rhetoric in the Ancient Gig Economy
- Erin Twal: Uncovering Women's Contributions to Ancient Nabataean Rhetoric: A Comparative New Materialist History
- Alexis Santi: WAITING FOR EMAIL
- Allannah Karas: Peitho: The Love Goddess of Oratory

### **Africa 2: African Populism** **Orleans A** **Chair: Kermit Campbell**

- Sandile Brian Ngidi: Julius Malema – Populist Rhetoric, History and the South African Political Imagination
- Ogunfeyimi Adedoyin: Minority Rights Resistance and the Limit of a Rhetorical Theory in Postcolonial Nigeria

### **Medieval 6: From the Sublime to the Ethical** **Bienville C** **Chair: Katherine Willis**

- Katherine Willis: Romanos the Melodist and the Christian Sublime: Popularizing the Virgin Mary in Early Byzantine Song
- Georgiana Donavin: Biblical Ethos and John the Baptist in the Late English Middle Ages
- Jordan Loveridge: "O Painting with your New Wonders!": Probability and Sensation in Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic
- Jill Ross: Medieval Horace Commentaries on the *Ars poetica* and the Ethics of Writing

**Early Modern B: English Renaissance  
Orleans B  
Chair: Michelle Zerba**

- Pauline Reid: Walking in the Renaissance: The Rhetoric of Ambulation in Early Modern England's Public Spaces
- Zachary Sharp: Epideictic Lyric and Early Modern Devotional Poetry: The Public Performance of George Herbert's The Temple
- Daniel Seward: The Tribunal Ethos in Tudor and Stuart Parliaments: Patrician Eloquence, Plebeian Voice, and the Place of Popular Appeal in English Political Oratory
- Jill Ross: Medieval Horace: Commentaries on the *Ars poetica* and the Ethics of Writing

**Classics I: Rhetoric of Inclusion, Exclusion, Reputation  
Orleans C  
Chair: Peter Rose**

- Andreas Avgousti: Reputation as a Problem and Reputation's Problems in Isocrates
- Janet Atwill: "Concord" and "the People" in Dio Chrysostom's Orations on Nicaea and Nicomedia
- Luis Pomer: Retórica antijudía y violencia
- Jimmy Butts: A Para-Historical Reading of Rhetorical Strangeness from Aristotle Onward: Xenos, Extraneus, L'Autre

16:00 BREAK

17:00-18:30 SESSION SEVEN

**Classics J: Hellenism  
Royal Salon  
Chair: Robert Sullivan**

- Robert Gaines: Demetrius and the Sophists
- Adam Cody: Athenaeus' Deipnosophists and the Function of Narrative in Paideia
- Eleni Bozia: The Bicultural Politics of Rhetoric in the Hellenocentric Roman Empire.

**Classics K: Rhetoric by Example  
Royal A  
Chair: Marcos Christopher Leidl**

- Daniel Markovic: Sum ipsa Rhetorica: Rhetoric's exordium in Martianus Capella
- Natalie Baxter: Evaluating Progymnasmata: What Classical Instruction Teaches Us About Assessing Student Performance on the Preliminary Exercises
- Bess Myers: Roman Funeral Proceedings as Historical Performance: Reading the Laudatio Funebris in the Context of the Fabula Praetexta

**Rhetoric and Society 3: Rhetorical Theory  
Royal B  
Chair: Jeanne Fahnestock**

- Jessica Ouellette: Activist Rhetorics: Digital Circulation as Networked Rhetorical Action

**Classics 7: Round-table on Remer's Ethics and the Orator  
Royal C  
Chair: James May**

- Katerine East: The Problem of Cicero's Political Identity in Remer's Ethics and the Orator
- James May: The Question of Emotional Manipulation (Ethos and Pathos) in Remer's Ethics and the Orator
- Robert Cape: The Recovery of Ciceronian Prudential Practice in Remer's Ethics and the Orator

**Past and Present 4: Classics and Modern Rhetoric  
Royal D  
Chair: Christos Kremmydas**

- Scot Barnett: The Tragedy of Knowledge: Gorgias and the Ambivalence of Logos
- Katherine Fredlund: Rethinking Hortensia's "Speech to the Triumvirs": Conceptions of Authorship and Collaborative Rhetoric
- Christina Matthiesen: Bringing Isocrates and Laura into Conversation: Citizen Education, Textual Examples, and a Deweian Framework.

**Past and Present 5: Rhetorical Theories: Visualization, Kantian Ethics, and Theosis  
Orleans B**

- Chair: Jarron Slater**
- Cameron Mozafari: Classical Techniques for Achieving Mental Visualization: Fictive Motion, Simulation, Vividness
  - John Ray: The Kantian Rhetorics of Franz Thoremin and Ch. Perelman: A Critical Analysis
  - Jarron Slater: Towards Rhetorical Theosis
  - Laura Stengrim and Brandon Knight: Invention in Postmodernity: Indymedia's Global-Local Evolution

**20th-21st Centuries 5: Per un profilo del leader populista: qualche riflessione dall'antichità ad oggi  
Orleans A  
Chair: Maria Silvana Celentano**

- Marcos Martinho dos Santos: Cicero's Pro Archia between Optimates and Populares
- Maria Alejandra Vitale: Retórica populista en Cristina Fernández de Kirchner
- Maria Silvana Celentano: Plebs/ populus/vulgus. L'argument du peuple dans les textes politiques à l'âge de l'humanisme. (avec S. Grazzini, partie II)

18:30 BREAK

19:00-20:30 PLENARY LECTURE  
RICHARD D. WHITE ON HUEY P. LONG

# Saturday, July 27, 2019

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## 09:00-10:30 SESSION EIGHT

### Jesuit Rhetoric 5: Jesuit Textual and Factual Persuasion

Royal A

Chair: Maria Cecília Coelho

- Maria Cecilia de Miranda Nogueira Coelho: Pathos in Action: Father Antonio Vieira on the Eyes' Liquid Voice
- María Violeta Perez-Custudio: The Two Editions of the De arte rhetorica dialogi quatuor by the Jesuit Francisco de Castro (1611 and 1625)

### 18th-19th Centuries 4: Populism and its Discontents: Rethinking Nineteenth-Century Rhetorics

Royal C

Chair: Paul Dahlgren

- Paul Dahlgren: Performing Americas: Occasional Poetry and the Making of Hemispheric Rhetorics 1800-1830
- Roger Thompson: Reclaiming Emerson's Rhetorical Theory
- Sean Meehan: "Philosophy for the People: Emerson and the Contested Rhetoric of Liberal Education"

## Asia 3

Royal Salon

Chair: Patricia Wetzel

- Keith Lloyd: Re-Creating Communities: Learning from Modern India(n) Resistance to Religiosity and Marginalization
- Gene Navera: Belligerence as Argument: The Allure of the War Metaphor in Philippine Presidential Speeches
- Nathan Tillman: "The First White Child Born in Korea": Women's Education, Colonialism, and Ethos in the Rhetoric of Alice Appenzeller, 1918-1932

### Classics: Plato on Likenesses and Lies

Royal D

Chair: Robin Reames

- Debra Hawhee: Plato, Color, and 'Skiagraphia'
- James Kastely: Misrepresentation and the Philosophical Problem of Rhetoric
- Courtney Sloey (read by R. Reames): Living Logos and the "Likeness" of Writing in the Phaedrus: A Middle Way between Poison and Cure

### 20th-21st Centuries 7: Burke, Perelman,

**and Populism  
Queen Anne B  
Chair: Jameela Lares**

- Robert Gilmore: Burkean Incongruity and the Unrealized Dreams of Rocky Mountain Universities
- June Manuel: Exercising Symbolic Power: Kenneth Burke's Poetic Play as Freedom
- Julia Major: Perelman, Populism, and the Universal Audience

**Past and Present 7: Progymnasmata  
Orleans C  
Chair: Anders Eriksson**

- Anders Sigrell: Populism, progymnasmata and democracy
- Jim Selby: Aphthonius' Chreia and Maxim Stages: Developing Beauty in Composition
- Anders Eriksson: Populism in the Progymnasmata

**10:30 BREAK**

**11:00- 12:30 SESSION NINE**

**Classics M: Rhetorical strategies across genres  
Bienville C  
Chair: Michael Gagarin**

- James Fredal: The Narrative Enthymeme as Extradiegetic Inference Marker
- Marcus Heckenkamp: Amplification as a marker of structural units in Pliny's Epistles
- Koen De Temmerman: Novel Ways to Love. Rhetorical Constructions of Chastity in the Ancient Greek Novel and Early Christian Narrative

**Classics and Beyond: Handbooks and Theoretical Concepts  
Royal A  
Chair: Be Breij**

- Joseph Turner: Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Master Trope: The Development of his Doctrine of Transsumptio
- Christoph Leidl: Antimeria - The Forgotten Trope

**Receptions of Rhetoric  
Royal C  
Chair: Jim Selby**

- Jonathan Doering: Elite French Pedagogy and the Popular Death of Rhetoric
- Jérôme Lecompte: The figure of the disclaimer in France at the end of the seventeenth century. About the 'Fragment of Petronius' in Saint-Évremond
- Christopher Swift: Nietzsche's Academic Rhetoric

**20th-21st Centuries 8: Overlooked Female Rhetoricians  
Queen Anne B  
Chair: Hui Wu**

- Elizabeth Ashley Rea: Towards a Feminist Sonic Rhetoric: Mary Margaret McBride's Radio Performances
- Jennifer Bay: The Populist Catholic Rhetoric of Mother Angelica

**Classics N: Rhetoric and Historiography  
Orleans C  
Chair: Terry Papillon**

- Peter Rose: Thucydides' Kleon: the First "Populist" Demagogue in the Western Tradition
- Benoit Sans: Aemilius Paullus' Speech to Perseus (Liv. XLV. 8) or Speech as a Combination

**12:30 LUNCH**

**14:00-16:00 SESSION TEN**

**Classics 9: Attic orators 2: Orators and Populism  
Queen Anne Ballroom  
Chair: Robert Gaines**

- Michael Edwards: Populism in Isaeus
- Noboru Sato: Labelling others as populist: Demosthenes' rhetorical strategies in the Athenian Assembly
- Johannes Engels: Ancient "demokopein /demokopia" and Modern Populist Oratory - Some Common Rhetorical Tools and Methods of Argumentation

**Medieval 7: Medieval Treatises from West to East  
Bienville C  
Chair: Martin Camargo**

- Alan Rosiene: The Medieval and Recent History of Hunterian V.8.14
- Morris Tichenor: Martin of Cordoba and the Breve compendium artis rethorice
- Alexandra Voudouri: The Menandrian Treatises in Middle Byzantium: a Reappraisal of Their Impact on Byzantine Epideictic between the Ninth and the Twelfth Centuries
- Zinaida Fomina: Die altrussische Rhetorik von Wladimir Monomach mit Bezug auf „common sense“

**Asia 2: Roles of Western Ideas in the Making of Modern Korea from the Perspective of Populism**

Orleans B

Chair: Jaewon Ahn

- Bai Hyoung Park: On the Political Utilization of Kant's Idea of Peace in the Case of Rhee Syngman, the First President of the Republic of Korea

- Heonjoo Sohn: On the First Translation of George Washington's Biography: Rhetorics of the Western Biography & the Emergence of New Biographies of Korean Heroes

- Jeongil Seo

- Jhee Won Cha: The Populist Ideas of the Korean Rural Enlightenment Movement in the 1930s (Based on the Analysis of the Modern Korean Literature of the 1930s)

**20th-21st Centuries: Rethinking Rhetorical Concepts**

Royal A

Chair: Lawrence Green

- William Weaver: Assessing the Rhetoric of Anger

- Hans Jochen Schild (read by Bé Breij): Populist Political Rhetoric

**Classics O: Handbooks and Theoretical Concepts**

Royal B

Chair: Brad Cook

- Gabriela Vlahovici-Jones: Ethos and Populism in the Coinage of the Late-Roman Republic

- Gilson Charles Dos Santos: Popular Participation and Oratory in the Late-Roman Republic

- Kihoon Kim: The Republic and the Rhetoric of War: Cicero's Contio-Speeches against an Enemy

**Rhetoric and Society 5: Dissenting Voices in Religious Discourse: Prayer, Preaching, and Activism**

Royal D

Chair: Martin Camper

- Davida Charney: The Place of "I" and "Thou" in the Psalms and Early Judaic Prayer

- Michael-John DePalma: Mobilizing Religious Rhetorics for Activist Ends: Rhetorical Education in Andover Theological Seminary's Porter Rhetorical Society

- Martin Camper: Populist Views of Preaching in the American Methodist Debate over Women's Clergy Rights, 1836-1924

- Holland Prior: Women Preachers and Sponsorship: The Ordination, Deposition, and Restoration of Rev. Mary A. Will

**20th-21st Centuries 4: Rhetoric in Political Theory and Education**

Royal D

Chair: Susan Jarratt

- Svitlana Jaroszynski: La Facultad as Rhetorical Agency in Ukrainian Populist Resistance: Applying Gloria Anzaldúa's Concept to Oksana Zabuzhko's Fieldwork in Ukrainian Sex

- Jameela Lares: Challenging a Popular Commonplace: (Re)Introducing \_ Movere\_ to Children's Literature Criticism

- William Morris: A Hidden History of Rhetoric in Educational Testing

**16:45-17:45 PLENARY LECTURE  
QUEEN ANNE BALLROOM**

Marc van der Poel (chair: Malcolm Richardson) on Topics and Commonplaces in Antiquity and Beyond

**17:45 BREAK**

**18:00 GENERAL BUSINESS MEETING**

**19:00-23:00 CLOSING BANQUET**

**Vasileios Adamidis**  
**Nottingham Trent University**

*The Rhetoric of Law in Classical Athenian Courts as a Bulwark against Populism*

The Athenian democracy of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, as a popular form of government, was exceptionally susceptible to demagoguery. Notwithstanding the difficulty of giving a single definition of modern populism (Canovan M., Laclau E., Moffitt B., Reno R.R., Mueller J.), the Athenian version differed significantly and needs to be re-examined. The paper argues that the popular Athenian courts as an institution and, in particular, the rhetoric of law used by litigants and endorsed by jurors (especially in the 4th century), cultivated a belief in constitutionalism, redefined the role and the power of the demos within appropriate limits, promoted a principled form of political antagonism and acted as a bulwark against extreme manifestations of (Athenian) populism.

**Ogunfeyimi Adedoyin**  
**Dartmouth College**

*Minority Rights Resistance and the Limit of a Rhetorical Theory in Postcolonial Nigeria*

This study claims that the more traditional notion of ethos—ethos-as-character (Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics; Aristotle, Rhetoric; Cicero; Quintilian)—and its “primordial” facet, that is, its reference to dwelling or the potential to create a hospitable place—ethos-as-place (Heidegger; Hyde)—prove inadequate to explicate the minority movement and the complex political conditions in post-independent Nigeria. This claim stems from the multifarious dimensions of the minority ethos and the state governing ethos, i.e. the diverse ways such ethos manifests. For instance, the minority ethos, which is constituted through local traditions and resistance practices in other places, negotiated but also precluded a hospitable place. On the other hand, the state governing ethos—which is rooted in a dynastic oligarchy, a spoils system, and divine rights of governance—also disabled the moves by the minority groups to negotiate a hospitable ecology for themselves. For this reason, this study considers a more nuanced dimension of ethos that not only exemplifies individual or collective identity and enables a dwelling place, but also interrupts the possibility for hospitality. This addition—the unmaking of place—is important in two ways: 1) it opens up internal contradictions that often confront minority groups in their quest for an inclusionary place, and 2) it reaffirms the calls by rhetorical scholars to reinvestigate key rhetorical concepts, one of which is ethos, in order to uncover new ways of comprehending such terms in different contexts (Hyde; Kennedy).



## Sunday Adegbenro University of Ibadan, Nigeria

### *Coalition for Nigerian Movement: Populist Rhetoric in Olusegun Obasanjo's Open Letter*

Populist rhetoric, a dissimulated representation of the common people characterised by heated exaggeration and conspiratorial worldview predominates the open letter written by former president Olusegun Obasanjo, the self-acclaimed “Watchman” over Nigeria. The letter, laden with anti-elite narratives, addressed to the nation challenged the established democratic institutions in the country. This proposes that the surge of Right-wing populist parties across Europe and America coupled with the latest Arab spring may have taken its toll on African democracy. Previous studies on populism in Africa have emphasised demagoguery, neo-patrimonialism, and neo-populism as its main features and have been approached from myriad theoretical perspectives including sociology, political, psychological and discourse analysis with little attention from a rhetorical angle. This study intends to make a start in addressing this omission by teasing out the rhetorical strategies, political influence and the effects of populist rhetoric on contemporary African democracies with a particular focus on Nigeria.

This study will employ the framework of Mc Kerrow's Critical Rhetoric Theory (CRT) which comprised of the complementary critiques of domination and freedom asserting rhetoric as doxastic rather than epistemic. Data for the study will be Obasanjo's open letter published on January 2018 tagged: The Way Out: A Clarion Call For Coalition For Nigerian Movement. Internalising the principles of (CRT), excerpts will be drawn and subjected to rhetorical analysis using Aristotelian rhetorical triad to identify the persuasive strategies deployed in the speech and the implications of his left-wing communicative styles on the social, political and economic development of Nigeria.

This study seeks to provoke further research on the rise of left-wing versus right-wing populism in Africa with a special focus on automated content analysis in determining the veracity or otherwise of populist rhetoric.

## Jaewon Ahn Seoul National University, Institute of Humanities

### *Jesuit Rhetoric in Asia*

This will be shown in five perspectives. The first is a historical one. One can ask what texts were introduced or translated into Chinese. The second is a philological one. There can be raised a question what texts were imported into China. In this regard, it is remarkable that many rhetoric texts to which belong not only some modern translations of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian but also Cipriano Soarez were imported into China at 16th-19th centuries. The third is a pedagogical one. Interestingly to see, Jesuit missionaries who were active from 16th century to 19th century instructed rhetoric those who had to give sermons in Latin. This will be seen more in details with evidence. The Fourth is related to controversy over rites. As is well known, there were many struggles between Jesuit missionaries and Chinese mandarins and scholars. Undoubtedly, rhetoric was used for defending Christianity *exempli causa* in form of apology. We will provide a Korean apology that was composed as an apology using rhetorical tactics and strategies. The title of this text is Sangjaesangseo (Apologia). It is written by Cheong Ha-Sang (1794-1839). It is the first apology for the Korean Christianity. The fifth is a literature analysis of Chinese prose and verse on the basis of rhetoric theory. On this issue, Angelo Zottoli is a significant scholar. He wrote *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* in 1882, published at Chang-Hai. In terms of rhetoric, *Volumen Quintum pro rhetorices classe: Pars oratoria et poetica* is important. What to contend is that the issue of Jesuits' scholarship on rhetoric in Asia is not to be regarded as a marginal study. (N.B. This is a co-presentation with Soojeong Moon(SNU))

## Anastasios Aidonis Charterhouse

### *Censuring the Elite: Criticisms of Power in Boccaccio's Decameron*

In the Decameron, Boccaccio employs the medium of narrative to present a powerful critique of the political, legal and social establishments emerging in his world. Within this framework, the rhetorical art of persuasion appears sparingly and strategically, as this paper aims to demonstrate through a case study of four novelle. In the first case study (VI.2), rhetorical *brevitas* allows the baker Cisti to deliver an insightful and nuanced message to the aristocratic Messer Geri Spina and the officials of Boniface VIII, while in the second, (VI.3), Monna Nonna de' Pulci delivers a sharp rebuke to excesses of Florentine power with a warning over the consequences of “silence” in matters that concern the citizen body. Turning to my third and fourth case studies, in VI.7 Madonna Filippa of Prato makes a radical departure from custom accepting responsibility for adultery and taking her case before an “assembly” of citizens. Although she professes to be guilty she argues that the law is invalid because it only applies to women; thus, using a rhetorical medley of medieval theories of natural law, the “quod omnes tangit” legal maxim and Matthew 7.6, Madonna Filippa challenges patriarchy and religion through an acclamation of the people. Meanwhile, in novella VII.9, we see an elaborate rhetorical performance as lady Lydia sets out to seduce her royal husband's servant by declaring her rights as a sexually active woman. All of these interactions are set up to enact a shifty play of wit, eloquence and manipulation ending in a precarious balance of power that excoriates the abusive power of male and female elites. Meanwhile, in novella VII.9, we see an elaborate rhetorical performance as lady Lydia sets out to seduce her royal husband's servant by declaring her rights as a sexually active woman. All of these interactions are set up to enact a shifty play of wit, eloquence and manipulation ending in a precarious balance of power that excoriates the abusive power of male and female elites.

## Carol Atack University of Oxford

### *Isocrates' Critique of Populist Speech: Frankness, Flattery, and the Corruption of Political Discourse*

Isocrates was aware that the Athenians might identify him as a literal ‘anti-populist’ (*misodēmos*, *Areopagiticus* 57), based on his advocacy for political change that would wind back democratic reforms and return the city to an idealised or imagined past political practice. Defending himself against this imagined charge, he presents the political practices of his contemporaries as degenerate, their political language as debased, and their educational practice as dishonest. He reframes democratic terminology to suggest the corruption of democratic values, in particular characterising *parrhesia* as a debased form of speech; as Foucault notes, Isocrates has a ‘negative’ account of *parrhēsia* (*Fearless Speech* pp. 79-83), in which frankness is symptomatic of political degeneration. But Isocrates appears to operate a dual notion of frankness, dependent on the relative status of speakers, and to grant himself permission to deploy the *parrhēsia* he denies to others.

## Janet M Atwill University of Tennessee, Knoxville

### *“Concord” and “the People” in Dio Chrysostom’s Orations on Nicaea and Nicomedia*

It would seem to go without saying that populism is unlikely to thrive under empire. But such orators as Dio Chrysostom were confronted with the prospect of conflict and local uprisings. In a series of orations, Dio addresses discord between Nicaea and Nicomedia in his native Bithynia. Even his home city of Prusa threatened revolt over Dio’s use of public funds. Nicaea and Nicomedia were deeply jealous of each other, quarreling over honors Dio insists they should appreciate. Nicaea held the imperial status of *prôté*, and Nicomedia of “metropolis.” Each status conferred advantages related to independence from imperial administration. Dio appeals to the self-interests of both cities as he enjoins them to stop squabbling lest they attract the attention of provincial administrators who could revoke these principles of autonomy. The virtue he invokes most specifically is *homonoia*. Though the term in its strictest sense means “oneness of mind” (LSJ), it is closely tied to the stoic virtue of “good order.” In the cases of Nicaea and Nicomedia (Discourses 38 and 39), Dio was certainly looking to the cities’ best short-term interests. But his arguments illustrate the compatibility of first-century stoicism and imperial rule. An established order exists “by nature,” and wisdom is knowing and accepting one’s place in this intractable order. This paper will examine Dio’s stoicism as it appears in these political arguments. My sources for stoic doctrine include Musonius Rufus, the teacher of both Dio and Epictetus. But following Marcia Colish (The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages), I argue that stoicism played an important ideological role in supporting the Roman Empire; and these orations demonstrate Dio’s pragmatic complicity.

## Andreas Avgousti University of Washington

### *The Reception of Jesuit Rhetoric in Polish Books on Eloquence Published in Early 19th Century*

The period 1773-1814, when the Society of Jesus was suppressed, was particularly turbulent for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its territories. After three partitions of the country by Austria, Kingdom of Prussia and Russian Empire the last king of Poland, Stanisław August Poniatowski, abdicated in 1795 and the Kingdom ceased to exist. Nevertheless, Polish culture and literature, including eloquence formed among others by Jesuits present in the Commonwealth from 1565 until 1773, survived.

The aim of the paper is to present similarities and differences in the rhetorical education in school and universities between Polish-Lithuanian territories annexed by Catholic Austria, Protestant Kingdom of Prussia and Orthodox Russia and, in particular, to discuss the reception of the Jesuit rhetoric manuals in the most important Polish treaties on rhetoric written in early 19th century: “Teorya stylu” (“Theory of style”) and “Teorya wymowy” (“Theory of eloquence”) by Vilnius University’s professor Euzebiusz Słowacki (printed posthumously in Vilnius in 1826) and “O wymowie i stylu” (“On eloquence and style” in four volumes) by the important Polish politician (among others from 1810 director of the Commission of National Education in the Duchy of Warsaw) and writer Stanisław Kostka Potocki (printed in Warsaw in 1815).

James Clements has demonstrated that Biber’s Latin dedications to many of his works, including the Mystery Sonatas, exhibit considerable skill in the linguistic *Ars rhetorica*, which bespeaks Biber’s likely formal Jesuit education. But beyond Clements’ studies, there exists little scholarship on the Mystery Sonatas’ rhetorical features, and less on the sonatas’ potential devotional functionality. Discussions in textbooks and program notes tend to focus mostly on surface elements of Biber’s *scordatura*, and routinely dismiss the technique as more virtuosic gimmick than vehicle for rhetorical or symbolic content. This paper addresses all three issues in tandem: When contextualized within seventeenth-century Jesuit devotional practice—well known for its intensely multisensory discourse—examination of Biber’s *scordatura*, and its interaction with Biber’s notation, reveals the Mystery Sonatas’ possible efficacy in guiding Rosary meditation. Drawing evidence from contemporary Jesuit prayer manuals, and musical-rhetorical treatises by Burmeister and Bernhard, I will discuss Biber’s *scordatura* as a mechanism for delivering vivid musical imagery, as embodied equally in notated rhetorical figures, their *scordatura*-dictated aural rendering, and performative physical gesture. Analysis of certain discrepancies between notation and sound in particular, in *scordatura*’s inherent subversion of sensory expectation, supports my position that Biber’s *scordatura* operates equally on performer and listener as a rhetorical-organizational tool. Ultimately, these findings suggest that Biber conceived the Mystery Sonatas expressly for public performance, rather than a private faith-experience intended only for the violinist.

## Bartosz Awianowicz Nicolaus Copernicus University

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## Malachai Bandy University of Southern California

*The ISHR Council, the Program Committee, and the Director of Members Services would like*

Heinrich Biber's Mystery Sonatas, composed or compiled around 1680 in Salzburg, comprise a cycle of fifteen multi-movement violin works based on the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary, with a concluding Passacaglia for unaccompanied violin. The collection's original title page is presumed lost, and in place of individual sonata names, each begins with a small copperplate engraving of a Rosary image, and a musical incipit containing non-standard tuning instructions—a technique known as scordatura.

James Clements has demonstrated that Biber's Latin dedications to many of his works, including the Mystery Sonatas, exhibit considerable skill in the linguistic *Ars rhetorica*, which bespeaks Biber's likely formal Jesuit education. But beyond Clements' studies, there exists little scholarship on the Mystery Sonatas' rhetorical features, and less on the sonatas' potential devotional functionality. Discussions in textbooks and program notes tend to focus mostly on surface elements of Biber's scordatura, and routinely dismiss the technique as more virtuosic gimmick than vehicle for rhetorical or symbolic content. This paper addresses all three issues in tandem: When contextualized within seventeenth-century Jesuit devotional practice—well known for its intensely multisensory discourse—examination of Biber's scordatura, and its interaction with Biber's notation, reveals the Mystery Sonatas' possible efficacy in guiding Rosary meditation. Drawing evidence from contemporary Jesuit prayer manuals, and musical-rhetorical treatises by Burmeister and Bernhard, I will discuss Biber's scordatura as a mechanism for delivering vivid musical imagery, as embodied equally in notated rhetorical figures, their scordatura-dictated aural rendering, and performative physical gesture. Analysis of certain discrepancies between notation and sound in particular, in scordatura's inherent subversion of sensory expectation, supports my position that Biber's scordatura operates equally on performer and listener as a rhetorical-organizational tool. Ultimately, these findings suggest that Biber conceived the Mystery Sonatas expressly for public performance, rather than a private faith-experience intended only for the violinist.

## Scot Barnett Indiana University Bloomington

*The Tragedy of Knowledge: Gorgias and the Ambivalence of Logos*

Since the revival of rhetoric in the postwar period, it has become commonplace to read the sophists as relativists who anticipate our contemporary views of truth, language, and reality. The conceptions of knowledge and existence professed by sophists such as Gorgias, however, were more complex and deeply indebted to Eleatic understandings of existence as stable and unknowable. In his treatise on ontology and epistemology *On the Non-Existent*, Gorgias famously challenges the Eleatics by exposing the contradictory logic that follows from the idea of a purely noumenal existence. Whether intended by Gorgias as a parody of Parmenides, numerous scholars argue for taking Gorgias's treatise seriously as the best reflection we have of his metaphysical commitments. In this paper, I build on this work to consider how the metaphysics on display in *On the Non-Existent* materializes in two of Gorgias's extant rhetorical texts: *Encomium of Helen* and *A Defense of Behalf of Palamedes*. In these works, Gorgias forwards a conception of logos that is both constitutive and bounded. While logos has the power to seduce us and change our views of the world, it also reveals the limits of language to bring things and knowledge into accord with one another. For Gorgias, the tension between the world-forming power of logos and the limits of logos to make worlds expressible is what ultimately makes the human condition a tragic one. The sense of loss we find in Gorgias's metaphysical and rhetorical works—that we are missing out on something by not being able to know it—indicates that we have at least tacit awareness of the existence of mind-independent realities. For Gorgias, the specter of such a reality leads to a tragic view of logos in which reason and truth are no longer capable of adjudicating arguments (Palamedes) or resolving disputes (Helen).

## Natalie Baxter Utah Valley University

*Evaluating Progymnasmata: What Classical Instruction Teaches Us About Assessing Student Performance on the Preliminary Exercises*

A question asked at the Paris 2018 conference concerning the progymnasmata to those who currently teach these exercises was: How do you evaluate students who write/perform the progymnasmata? How do you grade them? It was a question for which some had ideas, but no one had a sure answer.

This paper provides the beginnings of an answer by looking at classical standards and methods of evaluating students who studied progymnasmata in ancient Greece and Rome and during the Renaissance. Specifically, the paper draws on: Theon's discussion of using the progymnasmata to acquire the faculty of rhetoric; Libanius' "report card" letters which describe abilities his students have attained; Aphthonius' descriptions of the "virtues" (end goals) of some progymnasmata; Quintilian's discussions of in-class feedback, proper instructor response, and students being taken to the forum; and Renaissance standards of decorum.

I add to this discussion a description of my own experiences of teaching and evaluating progymnasmata in modern classrooms.

## Timothy Barr University of Pittsburgh

*"People Strangely Fantasied": Hobbes on the Popular Imagination*

In his dedicatory epistle to *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government and Society*, Hobbes blamed the hatred of the title of king upon the "speech of the Roman people" who, personified by Cato, identified the king with a "ravenous beast." Hobbes' riposte to this Catonian defense of republican liberty was to remark that in its military motions, marching upon its enemies, the Roman people was the greatest "beast of prey". This paper argues that Hobbes' distinction between a healthy civic body and a pathological one is dependent upon his theory of voluntary motion, emerging through a passionate response to something imagined. For Hobbes both public images and speech were sites of collective imagination; just as the "Trayne of Thoughts" could be regulated by a passion, so too could a group of people held in the sway of a common passion be led by the speaker of a sermon or a demagoguing speech as if they were a body. Therefore, the sites of public rhetoric functioned as passions within the corporate body of the Leviathan. The difference between the organizing power of passions produced through speech and image depends upon its end. Insofar as passions are the "internall beginning of all Voluntary Motion" the rhetor was capable of dividing the civil body by giving it a will set against itself. Developing upon the work of Quentin Skinner and Noel Malcolm, I hope to show that Hobbes' Aristotelian analysis of the passions in Book 1 of *Leviathan* is not limited to the individual, but through the rest of his magnum opus is extrapolated into an account of how common imaginations create common passions and in turn, collective movements.

## Jennifer Bay Purdue University

### *The Populist Catholic Rhetoric of Mother Angelica*

When we think of populist religious rhetorics and rhetoricians, we often invoke historical figures who have come to prominence long after their deaths, contemporary worldwide Christian (tele) evangelists, influential imams, or world leaders of specific faith traditions (e.g. Dalai Lama or Catholic Pope). My presentation examines the rhetoric of a little discussed figure who is arguably one of the strongest popular influences on Christian Catholicism in the 20th century: Mother Angelica, founder of the Eternal Word Television Network (EWTN). Founded in a garage in Alabama in 1981, EWTN is the largest religious media network in the world, reaching over 268 million homes in 145 countries. Until 2001, Mother Angelica hosted several weekly shows on EWTN in which she provided scriptural interpretation, answered questions from telephone callers, and later hosted guests. She also published over 20 books. Through these shows and books, Mother Angelica developed a rhetorical presence unmatched by any contemporary religious woman. Relying on archival research, I analyze the rhetorical moves she makes in three different rhetorical situations: her long-running exchange with Cardinal Mahoney on whether she should be subject to Church authority for her teachings on EWTN (and whether the network should be Church controlled); her teachings on her television programs; and her arguments to solicit funds to support her ministry. Taken together, these three examples (among many) demonstrate the success of a woman rhetorician who does not rely on silence (Glenn) to achieve her aims and whose rhetorical listening (Ratcliffe) is less than perfect. It is the embrace of the non-traditional role of a Catholic nun espousing traditional Catholic values (and then some) that allowed Mother Angelica to develop a world-wide audience. I argue that this form of populism is more influential than many of our 20th century political figures and is worthy of sustained attention.

## Andrew Beer Christendom College

### *Plato's Populism: Rhetoric as Friendship of the People*

This paper is a close study of the original Greek of Plato's Gorgias (I am a classicist). The precise date of the Gorgias is uncertain, roughly the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.E. I make critical use of E. R. Dodds's commentary on the Gorgias (1959), as well as recent studies by, e.g., Raphael Woolf (2000), Roslyn Weiss (2003), Rachana Kamtekar (2005), James Doyle (2006), Sara Ahbel-Raape (2010), and Tushar Irani (2017).

Plato's Gorgias is notorious for its attack upon the art of rhetoric as used by popular orators and professional rhetorical teachers. The conventional interpretation finds Socrates engaged in "deadly philosophical combat" (Doyle) with his three rhetorical opponents. Socrates harshly rebukes popular rhetoric as a form of "flattery"—the Greek word, kolakeia, is in fact better translated "brownnosing". Seldom noted, however, is the persistence of the theme of "friendship" (philia) throughout the dialogue. This paper argues that, surprising as it may seem, the great aspiration of Plato's Gorgias is towards a rhetoric of friendship, one that takes as its model the style of conversation both practiced and promoted by Socrates himself.

My argument draws upon the many passages wherein Socrates pauses from his argument to reflect on the nature and ultimate purpose of his style of conversation. Plato thus depicts a kind of speech that can both generate and foster the most stable kind of friendship.

I conclude that the Gorgias presents Socratic conversation as a model for the kind of speech that should be practiced between political leaders and the citizens they serve; that the true art of rhetoric, in contrast to its "flattering" counterfeit, is a generous and noble kind of "populism", in the sense of a political art that aims solely at the genuine good of the people.

## Maurizio Massimo Bianco Università degli Studi di Palermo, Dipartimento Culture e Società

### *Gli animali e il filosofo: per una lettura dei Florida di Apuleio*

I Florida di Apuleio si presentano come un'opera complessa, perché già problematica appare in partenza l'interpretazione della natura stessa dei discorsi raccolti nella silloge. Multiformità e varietà dei contenuti sono la cifra dominante dell'opera, che, all'interno di un panorama magmatico, non manca comunque di mettere in chiaro alcuni percorsi tematici ben definiti e alcune riflessioni ricorrenti.

Attraverso una lettura dei singoli estratti, emerge con chiarezza come la presenza degli animali occupi nel discorso apuleiano un ruolo ben strutturato, connesso in modo specifico con la cultura filosofica dell'autore e soprattutto con la 'spettacolo' che di tale filosofia Apuleio intende esibire. Intrecciando fonti differenti e recuperando alcuni schemi retorici collaudati, il Madaurense congegna un immaginario articolato e coerente, dove la bestialità diventa talora contigua all'umanità e dove l'animalità si pone tanto come un'occasione privilegiata per creare un confine tra sé e l'altro quanto, in modo particolare, come un'opportunità per ripensare alcuni modelli di rappresentazione retorica e filosofica. In questa cornice, la voce degli animali si rivela una metafora paradigmatica, perché consente di misurare il livello di interazione uomo-animale e, ancora di più, perché agevola, mediante una semplificazione a tratti disarmante, la costruzione di uno schema di valutazione tra buoni e cattivi filosofi, tra utilità e inutilità. Dalla riflessione sui suoni degli animali, che sembra intercettare la canonica distinzione tra *lógos prophorikós* e *lógos endiáthetos*, si giunge quindi al riconoscimento della versatilità e della superiorità della filosofia, capace di raccogliere e sintetizzare tutte le possibili 'melodie': al suono monocorde degli uccelli si contrappone, dunque, l'oratio omnicana del filosofo, dotata di ogni armonia e in sintonia con la varietà concessa al sapiente.

## Thomas G. M. Blank Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

### *Timotheus and the Boundaries of Philosophy*

In his pedagogical manifesto *Antidosis*, Isocrates stages a dialogue with the most famous of his alleged students: Timotheus, son of Conon (or. 15. 101-139). In the years prior to the publication of this text (tpq 354 BC), the politician and long-time naval commander had been sued for treason, fined the enormous sum of 100 talents, gone to exile, and died an infamous death as mercenary general in Egypt.

The dialogue-scene in *Antidosis* has traditionally been interpreted as Isocrates' attempt to rehabilitate himself from the reputation of a student whose affiliation he had once used to advertise his education program, but could now potentially be used to denigrate himself as teacher of political villains. In such readings, Isocrates describes Timotheus' political failure as resulting not from Isocratean education or the student's antidemocratic reputation, but from his inflexible demeanor and inability to appease the masses by playing up to the hopes and expectations of democratic audiences – a pinch of 'Isocratean' populism could have saved his life. A question insufficiently answered by this interpretation is how Timotheus' lack of rhetorical flexibility can be explained without putting in doubt the success of Isocrates' (supposedly rhetorical) education.

This paper proposes a different reading, taking up my former observations on Isocrates' depiction of his students in the *Antidosis*. I propose to take seriously Isocrates' claim that his type of 'philosophical' education produced steadfast moral characters rather than rhetorical success (cf. or. 13,19-21). By such reading, Isocrates' master-student fails in politics not despite but precisely because of his Isocratean education. Timotheus' megalophrosunē and non-populist rhetorical approach should be understood as part of the image of the philosopher, who disposes of political judgement, but inevitably attracts envy on the stages of an immoral, uneducated democracy. Thus, the Timotheus-dialogue can be read as a plea for philosophical *apragmosynē*.

## Nicholas Bonneau University of Notre Dame

*“Ever Remembered to our Humiliation”:* *Caring Clergy, Heroic Professionals, and the Myth of Medical Elites in Early Eighteenth-Century New England*

Over the course of the century following settlement, the medical practitioners in the New England colonies trained within a popular system of apprenticeship. However, as the relative isolation of the seventeenth century waned in the early eighteenth centuries, immigration to British North America from England, Scotland, and Ireland brought with it a small group of university-trained medical practitioners. Confronted by a sophisticated, preexisting network of medical practitioners and a lack of demand for academically-attained perspectives, these new arrivals waged a campaign to convince a disinterested public of their professional superiority over the popular institutions they disdained. The resultant rhetorical productivity of this small minority, while not representative of the state of practice at the time, remains the focus of historians of medicine and the Atlantic world.

In 1735, during the height of this campaign, a new disease—the throat distempers—appeared in New England. During the thirty years following their arrival of the throat distempers on the New Hampshire frontier, 10,000 individuals died, most of whom were under the age of twenty. Using this crisis as a case study, I contrast responses to the distempers by the existing regional networks who shared knowledge of the new disease, accounted for the dead, and treated the sick, with the less active, but more familiar authors who make up the canon of sources utilized most by historians today. Framing this case within larger debates over medical authority in this period helps to explain the absence of the throat distempers in the historiography of disease and New England, as these newly-immigrated but later recognized medical minority had little opportunity or interest in engaging with the sick or dying, thus underreported its severity.

## Eleni Bozia University of Florida

*The Bicultural Politics of Rhetoric in the Hellenocentric Roman Empire.*

The period of the High Roman Empire (1st-3rd CE) is a period of cultural polyvalence. The Empire geographically extended throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. The prominent languages were Latin and Greek, local dialects were preserved, and the prevalence of Hellenic culture was undeniable. Additionally naturalization of several individuals flexed the boundaries of ethnic normalization. It is at this time that orators revive classical Attic oratory (5th-4th BCE) and assert Greekness over the literary and cultural spheres. This paper explores the co-existence of languages and cultures under Roman political authority and the way oratory mirrors the Schadenfreude relationship between Roman rule and Hellenic culture, resulting in cosmopolitan citizenry that foregoes ethnic provenance.

I will explore the cases of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the 1st BCE teacher of oratory, Favorinus, the 2nd CE naturalized Roman from Gaul who wrote in both Greek and Latin, Lucian, the 2nd CE Syrian orator who wrote in Greek, and Dio, the 2nd CE Greek orator from Prusa. Dionysius credited the revival of Attic oratory to Roman supremacy. He also wrote “Roman Antiquities” where he claimed Greek ancestry for the Romans that explained their civilized nature. Therefore, he utilized oratory to unite two cultures and two political entities that came close through war and conquest. Favorinus, Lucian, and Dio validated their socio-cultural and paideutic hybridity, proclaiming themselves fully Hellenized. They used rhetoric to mock the uncouth Romans, while climbing their social hierarchy. They took their Romanization and Hellenization for granted and discussed society and culture on a level that assumed ethnic interactivity.

This paper will consider the political (in)stability fostered through Imperial Greek oratory under the Roman Empire. Close study of surviving works attests to political manipulation, as the same speeches can be perceived differently by respective audiences, garnering Greek support, while maintaining Roman approval.

## Adam Bregman University of Southern California

*Musical Poetics and the Compositions of Orlande de Lassus: Rhetorical Gesture as a Tool for Musical Analysis*

Nicolaus Listenius coined “poetica” as musical term meaning that which animates a performance of a musical work beyond the simple “labor” of music-making, persuading listeners and leaving them with a more profound understanding of the music. Although this first appeared in his 1533 treatise *Rudimenta musicae*, no other theorist would elucidate on this aspect of composition or performance for three-quarters of a century. Only in 1606 did Joachim Burmeister codify a set of musical gestures that suited Listenius’ description in his seminal treatise *Musica poetica*, where he assigned each one a name from Greek tutors on oration. Divided into three categories, Burmeister gives musico-rhetorical figures specific to melody, harmony, and those pertaining to both. His figures are descriptive of compositional practices current in the second half of the sixteenth century: for each figure, he cites titles of specific works as exemplars for the student of musical composition. Twenty-five of the twenty-six figures enumerated by Burmeister refer the novice to compositions by Orlande de Lassus (ca. 1532-94), an esteemed and influential Bavarian court composer, and one clearly important to Burmeister as a master of rhetorical gesture in music.

But prior to defining all of these musico-rhetorical figures in *Musica poetica*, Burmeister explains that, while they will not provide the music student with the precise rules of composition, these figures will prove more useful in learning this art according to current custom. The aim of this paper is to embrace this custom and to show how Burmeister’s figures may be used to interpret and analyze Lassus’ compositions through sacred and secular examples. On a broader scale, it endeavors to show that a working knowledge of Burmeister’s musico-rhetorical figures will help modern scholars learn the language of sixteenth-century musical analysis in order to better understand compositions of that period in contemporary terms.

## Bé Breij Radboud University

*Wollt Ihr den totalen Krieg? Ethos and pathos in Goebbels’ Sportpalastrede*

The surrender of the national-socialist army at Stalingrad, on January 31 1943, made it suddenly clear to large sections of the German population that the Endsieg was not to be taken for granted. In order to boost morale as well as war effort, the regime subsequently tried to commit society as a whole to what was called *der totale Krieg*. On February 18, this concept was launched by Joseph Goebbels, Reichsminister for propaganda, in what is probably his most notorious speech: the *Sportpalastrede*, a textbook example of populist oratory.

In my paper I discuss the uses Goebbels makes of the originally aristotelian categories of logos, ethos, and pathos. Logos is largely neglected, it will appear, but this does not detract from the impact of the speech, which derives from a mutually enhancing combination of ethos and pathos. Goebbels manages to display “practical wisdom, virtue and good will”, and he is easily accepted by his audience. This allows him to arouse strong emotions such as fear and loathing on the one hand, and a sense of belonging and the will to fight for a common cause on the other. By evidently sharing these emotions, he further increases his ethos, so that he can really inflame his audience. I will discuss a number of fragments from the speech that illustrate this particularly poisonous, but effective strategy.

## Katherine Bridgman Texas A&M University - San Antonio

### *Rhetorical Looking: A Heuristic for Civic Invention in the Age of Populism*

In a June 2017 tweet, Donald Trump identified his use of Twitter as a contributing factor in his successful run for the White House. He claimed Twitter supported his populist candidacy by enabling him to communicate directly with the American people and to circumvent what he referred to as the “fake news” of established media outlets. However, such populist promises of social media platforms are rarely delivered in their use by populist politicians (Enli and Skogerbø). Rather than being used to champion “the voice of the people,” these platforms often become bully pulpits for politicians and distribution systems for misinformation. This presentation explores this use of social media by populist politicians and argues for a framework of civic invention within these media ecologies that prepares users to act responsibly within “the dynamics of distributed systems” that unfold across them (Boyle).

This presentation opens with a discussion of social media and the role it has played in the rise of populism through social media’s promise of “overturning the traditional hierarchical model of communication in favor of horizontal communication” (Waisbord and Amado). Next, I examine the failure of this promise. Finally, I examine civic strategies for invention that prepare a citizenry to respond across social media without perpetuating the political incivility that unfolds. Specifically, I draw from *Rhetorical Looking* (Fleckenstein, Gage, and Bridgman) to examine what it means to act with civic responsibility within a media ecology that frequently encourages undemocratic discourse, which circulates through broader media ecologies these interfaces participate in.

The implications of this work are twofold. First, it highlights the rich context for rhetoric across digital interfaces. Second, this work turns our attention to vision as active and embodied, and, as such, a powerful site of invention. This heuristic for vision is, thus, also a heuristic for action.

## Jennifer Burd & Barbara Heifferon Temple University

### *"The Evils of Pestilence": The Rhetoric of Yellow Fever in Early America*

In August of 1793, yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia killing an estimated 10% of the city’s population and resulting in widespread panic. In the pamphlets that followed, chroniclers combined narrative, medical writing, and epideictic blame, invoking racial difference to understand the spread of the infection. Much of the rhetoric surrounding the epidemic demonstrates an association between contagion and radical abolition that responds to the Haitian Revolution which, as Sibylle Fischer has argued, is critical to the discourse of modernity. I will show that the popular association between contagion and slave insurrection continued and strengthened in the decades leading up to the Civil War, constituting a hitherto unexplored trope in abolitionist and anti-abolitionist literature alike.

Pamphlets concerning the epidemic and fictional works published within the next decade establish the relation between medical and political thought in post-Revolutionary America. The yellow fever epidemic was believed to have come to Philadelphia by way of ships transporting displaced Americans and slaves (commonly referred to as “French West Indians” or “servants”) after the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, and some commentators attributed the spread of the disease to Philadelphia’s Black population. This presentation explores the notion of the Black body as a weapon and Black freedom as populist contagion regarding the development of modern notions of race. The trope’s strength lay in its flexibility—freedom was a transferable disease. It could be harnessed and weaponized, but as in the case of the Haitian Revolution, only quarantine could suppress its violent spread.

## Diederik Burgersdijk Radboud University

### *Caduca popularitas - the use of popular support in Latin panegyric*

Panegyric in Roman times was primarily meant to praise the emperor, in order for the orator to achieve his goals and, also, setting his own agenda. In doing so, the orator actively engaged the audience with his plea by referring to them, and gaining support for his argument. In contrast with earlier views on the genre of panegyric, in this paper it will be argued that gaining support was not an top-down affair of the imperial court trying to influence popular opinion, as has been postulated in the decades following World War II. Especially a work as Canetti’s *Masse und Macht*, and the continuous flow of reactions to this momentous book, has determined opinions about the practice of panegyric in (Late) Antiquity.

In recent studies, a model of negotiation prevails, in which the orator hold a middle position between populus and imperator, which is reflected in the way both parties are addressed. The orator organises popular support - using several rhetorical strategies - in order to convince the emperor of his point of view. The presence of the audience, often referred to as populus, is an important factor in the rhetorical act. In order to discern between bad and good influence, the bad examples from the past are often quoted, as since republican times so many generals, politicians and rulers abused their power to influence. The dark side of popular influence is styled *caduca popularitas* (unavailing, vain popularity).

While the phenomenon of popularity has been investigated for the late republic and high empire (using rhetorical sources such as Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny), few studies have been devoted to the use of popular support, and the gaining of popularity for political goals in Late Antiquity. This paper will place the strategic use of the populus in panegyric act in its historical context.

## Jimmy Butts Louisiana State University

### *A Para-Historical Reading of Rhetorical Strangeness from Aristotle Onward: Xenos, Extraneus, L'Autre*

In Aristotle’s book on Poetics, we see the early traces of strangeness for rhetorical effect. Because strangeness can be traced back so far, it is surprising that a more concerted effort has not been placed upon researching the strange in terms of rhetorical practice. Aristotle suggests, “Every word is either current, or strange, or metaphorical, or ornamental, or newly-coined, or lengthened, or contracted, or altered” (Poetics XXI). Aristotle uses this terminology, precariously placing the strange at the limits of rhetoric. Hence, a historical review of strangeness helps us think about how rhetoric may be used in novel ways, but also allows us to rethink the way rhetoric itself works as a connection to an unfamiliar outsider—the audience.

Aristotle’s consideration of strangeness continues in his work on Rhetoric. Aristotle explains, “As a result, one should make the language unfamiliar; for people are admirers of what is far off” (III.2.2). Aristotle carefully warns about going too far but does acknowledge the usefulness of strange style for rhetorical purposes.

The initial mention of “the strange” for Aristotle is dismissive, but he does seem to indirectly imply that strangeness is rhetorical in spite of regarding strange usage as a kind of abuse of rhetorical figuration. “Strange words, compound words, and invented words must be used sparingly and on few occasions” (III. ii.), suggests a reserved Aristotle. This Greek term *xenos* describes the relationship of strangeness in rhetorical texts that are either welcome or rejected by the audience. Zeus Xenios, the deity who presides over hospitality, offers us a lens for early rhetorical thinking that ends up making its way into current conceptualizations about regarding unfamiliar Others. Strangeness itself functions as a stasis word, othering and dividing. This presentation suggests a para-historical rereading of what rhetoric is: as inherently strange by definition.

## Martin Camargo University of Illinois, Urbana

*New Map or New Territory? Verse Feet and/as Prose Cadences in Some Medieval English Arts of Letter Writing*

The stylistic feature that distinguishes epistolary prose from other types of medieval Latin prose is the *cursus*—the finite set of cadences used to mark the ends of clauses and sentences. Hence, the rules for the *cursus* were a standard feature of the *artes dictandi*—rhetorical treatises that expounded and illustrated the methods for composing letters. Since the *cursus* was a kind of prose meter, it is not surprising that terminology proper to verse meter often was borrowed and adapted to describe its principles. However, that act of appropriation was not always simple. Use of the metrical terms 'spondee' and 'dactyl' seems to have encouraged or at least facilitated elaboration of the rules themselves, expanding the number of permitted cadences, complicating their relationship to the traditional set of cadences, and ultimately drawing still other metrical feet, such as 'iambus' and 'pyrrhic,' into the mix. Focusing on four treatments of *cursus* from three Anglo-Latin *artes dictandi* of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, this paper seeks to account for the phenomenon of metrical proliferation. Does the use of terms borrowed from verse prosody make the accounts of *cursus* more precise? more complicated? or simply more copious? Do they identify new varieties of accepted cadence or merely re-label subtypes of traditional cadences? Besides the novelty of application, what made such terms more attractive to some teachers than the old-fashioned but straightforward language that described the *cursus* in terms of alternating long and short or stressed and unstressed syllables?

## Kermit Campbell Colgate University

*Not Quite Wakanda, but a Model of African Precolonial Rhetoric Nonetheless.*

In the popular pre-Black Panther imagination, nothing of any great value to the civilized world existed in Africa before the arrival of the Europeans. Were it not for European colonialism, so this reasoning goes, Africa would have no model of civil society and no civic rhetoric upon which to base such a society. While the colonial powers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had significant influence on many an African nation, African peoples weren't without the ability to govern themselves democratically and with a high regard for deliberative, reasoned discourse. In this paper, I discuss the very interesting case of Botswana, how even with a traditional monarchical system of governing the people (albeit principally men) exercised in what's called the *kgotla* their right to vote on important matters of the polis or state. One of the more noteworthy uses of the *kgotla* was in 1948 when the heir to the throne of Bechuanaland (i.e., Botswana) made a passionate appeal to the people to retain his right to the throne in spite of his recent marriage to a white woman of British extraction. Because this matter of who the heir apparent married raised strong objections not only from the British and certain citizens of Botswana but also from South Africa at the time that it had formally adopted the policy of apartheid, I argue that the *kgotla* may stand as a shining example to the west of a rhetoric or rhetorical tradition that is truly about fairness and equality.

## Martin Camper Loyola University Maryland

*Populist Views of Preaching in the American Methodist Debate over Women's Clergy Rights, 1836-1924*

In the nineteenth to twentieth century American Methodist debate over women's right to preach, opponents of women's preaching often objected that women were unqualified because they were intellectually, emotionally, spiritually, and physically weaker. To overcome this objection, advocates of women's preaching argued that preachers did not need special qualifications to preach as long as they were inspired by the Holy Spirit—a populist definition of preaching that included women. While scholars (Bizzell 2006; Donawerth 2011; Zimmerelli 2015) have noted that these advocates frequently appealed to the Holy Spirit as a gender equalizer, citing Joel 2:28-29 and Acts 2:1-21, less attention has been paid to other arguments and biblical passages that advocates employed to support a populist view of preaching.

With a focus on biblical arguments, this presentation explores the following questions: What types of arguments did advocates, such as Jarena Lee, Ellen Stewart, and Phoebe Palmer, use to interpret the Bible to support a populist view of preaching? Which passages did they tend to draw on to advance their cause? How did their biblical arguments respond to specific interpretive exigences and counterarguments? To analyze the biblical arguments in this debate, I employ the interpretive stases (Camper 2018), a neglected part of classical 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.

Women's roles have often been limited through appeals to normative texts, whether sacred, legal, or literary. To persuasively argue for women's rights, advocates must reinterpret passages from these texts. Often, this reinterpretation requires certain types of interpretive arguments that can "stretch" the text. The argument types discussed in this presentation index more general patterns of argument that advocates may employ when grounding claims about their rights in patriarchal texts.

## Robert Cape Austin College

*The Recovery of Ciceronian Prudential Practice in Remer's Ethics and the Orator*

This response to Gary Remer's *Ethics and the Orator* (Chicago 2018) will focus on the implications of recovering Cicero's rhetorical and practical prudence in later political theory. In particular, prioritizing Ciceronian prudence over Aristotelian and Tacitean prudence has implications for contemporary understanding of "theory" itself in Machiavelli, Lipsius, and others.

## Maria Silvana Celentano Università G. d'Annunzio Chieti-Pescara

*Il leader populista nell'antichità classica*

Al successo della retorica populista contribuisce non poco la propaganda che mira a presentare il leader politico o militare capace di incarnare le virtù civiche condivise dalla collettività di cui è a capo.

Nell'antichità il fenomeno è particolarmente evidente per Sparta: la presenza di una ricca aneddotta intorno a legislatori, condottieri e sovrani (su tutti Lisandro e Agesilao) nella costruzione del cosiddetto 'mito spartano' propone anche all'esterno modelli di buon governo attraverso la rappresentazione di figure carismatiche in cui il popolo riconosce i più alti valori politici e morali della greicità.

La lettura di Plutarco e anche di testi tecnici in cui confluisce questo materiale documentario, aiuta a descrivere alcuni procedimenti retorici utili a realizzare quella totale identificazione con le aspirazioni della collettività che il capopopolo sempre ricerca.

## Jhee Won Cha Institute of Humanities, Seoul National University

*The Populist Ideas of the Korean Rural Enlightenment Movement in the 1930s*  
(Based on the Analysis of the Modern Korean Literature of the 1930s)

Here it will be examined how the populist ideas of the Russian “v narod”(в народ) movement have penetrated into the Korean Enlighten movement. This far-reaching Enlightenment movement of the 1930s in Korea, which had been initiated and carried out and widespread by the Korean young intellectuals especially in the rural and agricultural provinces, was influenced and inspired by the ideas of the Russian “v narod” movement of the 1870s in the sense of recognizing the moral and social responsibilities of the intellectuals.

The movement, with the banners "knowledge is power" and "Knowledge makes you live", focused on the activities like educating children and encouraging people with the nationalism and independence in the remote rural areas in the 1930s when the so-called ‘cultural policy’ of the Japanese colonialism attempted more holistic occupation of Korea by brainwashing its people with the Japanese language and culture.

As told above, being driven by the paradoxical sense of the necessity of the general enlightenment and education of the common people and, at the same time, the sacrifice of the intellectuals for their community and homeland, the young Korean intellectuals of the movement persuaded the Korean people into the necessity of education with the populist idea that every one of the common people could get over his poverty and state of slavery with education and self-improvement. They believed that this populist movement would bring out the total transformation, its independence from the Japanese colonialism and its revival.

Here it will be discussed how the young intellectuals of the period of the 1930s struggled in this Korean "v narod" movement in their hope and its frustration as represented in the Korean literature, especially the novels of this period like Soil of Kwang-Soo Lee, Native land of Ki-Young Lee, and Evergreen Trees of Hoon Sim.

## Nabanita Chakraborty University of Delhi, India

*Rhetoric of Tea Advertisement in Colonial India: Markers of Gender, Class and Race of Consumers*

Tea as a popular beverage pervaded British consciousness as it invaded coffee houses with the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. A curtailed supply of this exotic leaf from China and a myth of the medicinal properties of tea stimulated the sensibilities of British men/women. An increasing consumer culture forced the Englishmen to look towards India for the cheap cultivation of tea. British mercantile instincts motivated commodity aesthetics in the tea advertisements. The visual rhetoric constructed new definitions of urbanity, modernity, femininity and ethnicity in colonial India.

This paper will study the popular rhetoric which shaped commodity fetishism for the British connoisseurs and urban Indian families in the nineteenth century. The visual imagery of the ‘subaltern’ women plucking tea leaves with their nimble fingers in the tea plantation constructed a narrative of feminine care and oriental delicacy crafted for white male fantasy. The Indian woman simultaneously positioned as both consumer and producer of the exotic drink remains to be a signifier within the economy of male desire.

A populist shift is noticed with the early twentieth-century militant nationalism and ‘Swadeshi’ movement in India when British brands were replaced by Indian tea companies. The advertisements promoted the indigeneity of tea with a tagline “100% Swadeshi” and endorsed it as a national beverage. The use value of tea “to relieve lassitude” and reinvigorate health synchronized with the clarion call for militant action against colonial rule.

The presentation will focus on the visual rhetoric of printed advertisements to study perceptions/habits of consumers, social aspirations of colonial India to imitate the Western model of modernity and construction of new definitions of Indian femininity. The shift in the rhetoric from the production of tea to consumption practices underlines the move from working-class tea plantation women as desirable objects to urban women consumers as desiring subjects.

## David Charney University of Texas at Austin

*The Place of "I" and "Thou" in the Psalms and Early Judaic Prayer*

Interest in the rhetorical, philosophical, and performative aspects of prayer has recently revived. William FitzGerald (2012) refocused Burke's religion-inflected lens on prayer itself, concluding that reverence epitomizes the "respectful pleading" that underlies all social relationships. But Steve Mailloux (2014) problematizes personal interactions with the divine. From a Heideggerean perspective, God is an "extrahuman being" that does not relate inter-personally via self-transposition. Accordingly, while prayer can serve to "remind oneself of certain obligations" and can be "a collective accomplishment uniting a congregation," it cannot serve as a "request of one person to another hoping for and believing in a response from that other." (422)

The tension between these views is not new. It dates back to the loss of the sacrificial system at the Temple in Jerusalem and the beginnings of congregational practice in Abrahamic religions.

As I have argued, psalms publically rehearse communal values and model appropriate—if sometimes competing—perspectives on a problematic situation. The sixty or so psalms with first-person speakers were sung by or on behalf of individuals who had made a "peace" or "good-will offering" who sought to persuade God to intervene in personal and social crises. The Temple, then, was a site for timely appeals to God, facilitated by Levitical functionaries.

The Temple's destruction dislocated the psalms. Authority gradually shifted from the Levitical tribe to scholars and scribes of sacred texts, some of whom formed the on-going rabbinic tradition. For socio-political and theological reasons, the rabbis did not designate psalms as prayers. Over a long period, organized Judaic prayer becomes increasingly standardized as a fixed sequence of blanket communal benedictions directed to a transcendent God.

## Xiaowei Chen Fuzhou University

*Translating as Rhetorical Reconstruction: An Analysis of Chinese Renditions of the Term "Populism"*

In the Chinese context, the term populism denotes and connotes very differently from what it is commonly signified when it is used in the Western context. The divergences are typically reflected in the translations. While one Chinese version of that Western concept is “民粹主义”, meaning “a political philosophy supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against a privileged elite”, a much more popular rendition of the same term is “平民主义”, meaning “a belief that the needs, rights and expectations of ordinary people should be valued and attached importance to.” Starting from an analysis of the term populism in the cross-cultural context, particularly based on a case study of renditions provided by a prestigious English-Chinese dictionary, this presentation argues that, although the multiplicity of populism’s Chinese versions may owe much to the ambiguity and indeterminacy of the term’s meaning per se, the prevailing Chinese rendition “平民主义” certainly results from a rhetorical reconstruction to adapt the Western concept to a Chinese audience in response to the rhetorical situation by resorting to traditional Chinese culture, modern Chinese social milieu, the expectations of the general public and deployment of related strategies. All these work together to better serve the translation purpose of helping build a society of stability, harmony and prosperity.



## Nancy Christiansen Brigham Young University

### *Philosophies of Rhetoric in British Renaissance Protestant Arts of Preaching Manuals*

I am currently working on a multi-year, book-length project that aims to fill in the cultural background of sixteenth and seventeenth-century views of rhetoric by not only examining educational manuals and treatises, but also the rhetoric in literary works, arts of Christian meditation, conduct books, exegeses of Biblical rhetoric, and arts of preaching manuals. At the ISHR Conference in 2015 I focused my paper on a literary work. At the ISHR Conference in 2017 I presented a paper summarizing the views of rhetoric found in 13 seventeenth-century arts of meditation manuals. In previous ISHR meetings, I have presented on educational manuals and literary works. Now for the ISHR Conference in 2019, I would like to describe the philosophies of rhetoric in the following seventeenth-century ars praedicandi and scriptural hermeneutics manuals: William Perkins' *The Art of Prophecy* (1607); Richard Barnard's *The Faithful Shepheard* (1607, 1609, 1621); William Aimes' *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (1642); William Chappel's *The Use of Holy Scripture Gravely and Methodically Discoursed* (1653) and *The Preacher, or the Art and Method of Preaching* (1656); Thomas Hall's *Vindiciae Literarum* (1655); Abraham Wright's *Five sermons, in five several styles; or Waies of preaching* (1656); and John Wilkin's *Ecclesiastes* (1646). These manuals have barely received scholarly attention, with only cursory analysis of several in Perry Miller's *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939) and W. Fraser Mitchell's *English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson* (1962), and though more informed and helpful, yet still limited analyses in Debora Shugar's *Sacred Rhetoric* (1988) and Jameela Lares' *Milton and the Preaching Arts* (2001). Specifically, the philosophies of rhetoric in these manuals need to be more clearly distinguished and elucidated, more thoroughly examined in the larger cultural context, in order for us to more accurately account for what happens to rhetoric in the Renaissance.

## Michelle Clarke Dartmouth College

### *Machiavelli: Menace to Societas*

Scholars have long recognized that Machiavelli's Prince repudiates several of Cicero's teachings in *On Duties*. But most scholars have focused their attention on Machiavelli's vindication of injustice in Chapters 16, 17, and 18, leaving aside the rest of the book. One consequence of this narrowed focus is ongoing disagreement about how theoretically significant Machiavelli's critique of Cicero really is, especially given Cicero's own willingness to justify departures from moral convention in the name of expediency (*utilitas*). In this paper, I argue that Machiavelli's Prince develops a sustained attack on the Ciceronian concept of *societas*, one of the core organizing principles of *On Duties*. Having rejected the concept of *societas* as empirically unsupported and politically dangerous, Machiavelli attempts to rethink political ethics in its absence – a project that culminates in the dissociation of rhetoric and oratory. Machiavelli's ideal prince is rhetorical, but without the deeper ethical commitments of Cicero's ideal orator.

## Adam Cody Pennsylvania State University

### *Athenaeus' Deipnosophists and the Function of Narrative in Paideia*

Scholarship on Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* typically expresses disappointment in the tendency to mine the text for fragments and sources cited within it. However, the preservation and transmission of information is a major function of the text accomplished through its rhetorical construction. The *Deipnosophists* is an eclectic collection of quotations from poetry, drama, medicine, and natural history, given organizational structure by the events of an Antonine-era banquet. This narrative form facilitates the text's usefulness as a memory tool for rhetors. An extemporaneous speaker may more easily recall a pithy saying or erudite reference by considering the relevant topic's place within Athenaeus' sequence of courses in the fictional dinner. The harvesting of fragmentary data from the text by modern scholars is consistent with its pre-modern role in cultivating and displaying the rhetorical elements of *paideia*. Recognition of the *Deipnosophists*' function as a memory text indicates its importance to the development of prose narrative in late antiquity.

## Thomas Conley University of Illinois, Urbana

### *Tsunami Argument in Some 17th Century Latinogreek Religious Polemics*

I draw attention here to a form of argument displayed in some Seventeenth Century writings extending for hundreds of pages on doctrinal and historical issues that had troubled relations between Rome and Eastern Orthodox confessions for a millennium. These arguments are characterized by immense volume, exhaustive analysis of contentions and the evidence adduced in support of them, and a curious appropriation of scholastic dialectical tactics and philosophical terminology. Striking examples can be seen in the 325-page attack on the articles of the Confession of Faith of Cyril Loukaris by Meletios Syrigos (d.1664); the 138-page *Against the Papists* by Maximos the Peloponnesian (d. 1630); and a 552-page *Refutation of the Doctrine of Papal Supremacy* by Nicolas Kerameus (d. c. 1670).

## Brad Cook University of Mississippi

### *The Demosthenic Way: A Corrective for Populist Rhetoric?*

Where does Demosthenes fit on the Populist–Elitist spectrum? Not simply (as Ober on Dem. 21). The biographical tradition presents Demosthenes constantly thinking and analyzing, with a wrinkled brow, the supposed mark of a severe disposition, but elitist? No, his stern appearance is evidence of his incessantly critical approach, always assessing, correcting, and reframing the argument at hand, in the courtroom or the Assembly. He argues not as an elitist but as a corrective to the populist: he identifies the superficiality of populist appeals, dissects the insubstantial claims, and argues for what is in fact true and best for the People. This paper will identify three key characteristics of populism—ancient and modern—and demonstrate how Demosthenes deploys his corrective rhetoric to save the People from themselves.

## Craig Cooper University of Lethbridge

### *The Rhetoric of Populism in Hyperides*

In their short introduction to populism (Oxford, 2017), C. Mudde and C.R. Kaltwasser, advocate an ideational approach to defining populism, as “a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’ and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people”. The thin-centered approach means that populism is a malleable concept that can take different forms in different historical contexts. But in their definition of populism they postulate three core concepts: the people, the elite and the general will, all of which, rhetorically at least, characterized Athenian democracy, with its emphasis on equality and sovereignty of the *demos*. Their construct of “the people” carry notions of popular sovereignty, the common people, and the national community defined in civic and ethnic terms. The elite, distinguished morally from the people by their corruption, place their own interests above the general interests of the people and act in ways that thwart the general will of the people, as expressed in democracy. This thin-centered ideology is helpful in understanding the rhetoric of Hyperides, particularly in those speeches of a political nature: *In Defense of Lycophrone*; *Against Philippides*; *On Behalf of Euxenippus*, *Against Demosthenes*.

## Piper Corp University of Pittsburgh

*Judging Together, Judging for Ourselves: Rhetoric, Law, and Experiment in John Locke's Vision of Collective Judgment*

John Locke, like many early modern experimentalists, maintained that humans were only capable of probable judgments about the natural world. Experimental natural philosophy offered a means of arriving at such judgments collectively. This paper examines Locke's efforts to conceptualize a basis for individual and collective judgment, drawing from his scientific writings and notebooks to suggest that, in his view, experimental natural philosophy offered such a basis. Further, it considers the possibility that experimentation served in a capacity similar to forensic or judicial rhetoric in Greek and Roman law courts: allowing individuals to see and therefore know together while still seeing "for themselves." This kind of experiment mediates the individual and the collective as a way of producing shared judgment, addressing exigencies in early modern natural philosophy, identified by Bacon and pursued by Locke and Boyle: the limitations of individual perception on one hand and the inadequacy of pure rationality on the other. While Locke was openly critical of rhetoric, the continuity between his vision for experimentation and the rhetorical tradition is not coincidental. I explore how the experimental program of the early Royal Society was informed by the English legal tradition, particularly with regard to the latter's practices for evaluating the credibility of witnesses and testimony—practices inherited from classical rhetoric. I build upon a compelling prospect in Rose-Mary Sargent's work on Boyle, namely that experiment, in the spirit of English common law, transcended the purely rational and the purely empirical—poles that Boyle, like Bacon before him, saw as equally prone to arbitrariness. Informed by legal practices shaped by forensic rhetoric, experimentation became a vehicle for the kind of creative mediation that is the hallmark of rhetoric: drawing from the past to make sense of the present and adapting general laws or theories to the particularities of the case at hand.

## Ana Isabel Correia Martins University of Coimbra (Portugal)

*Politics in Collectanea Moralis Philosophiae (1571) of Fray Louis of Grenade*

The Dominican Fray Louis of Grenade, in his *Collectanea Moralis Philosophiae* (1571), highlighted the philological method of multiplex imitatio, organizing the Graeco-Latin patterns into commonplaces, combining the Pagan heritage and the Christian matrix on the basis of imperishable humanist values. He handled several exempla auctorum, gathering sentences, aphorisms, quotations and apophthegmata, conferring authority and dignity to this polymorphic genre, and revealing his composition merit - ingenium inuentionis.

This encyclopedic production is divided into three tomi, one of which includes selected sentences from Seneca's works, the second presents several apophthegmata from all treatises of Plutarch, and the third tomos is a collection of the noblest quotations from the most important men and philosophers from Plato, Cicero to Erasmus. At the level of internal structure, all tomi are still divided in subcategories: the first one contains sections on many different types of people and their social/public and individual/private roles; the second contains themata concerning virtues and vices; the third one includes several respectable themes, perhaps the noblest ones - Vita, Mors, Tempus, Felicitas, Veritas, Philosophia.

Our study will focus the discussion about politics, in particular, developed by Plutarch in the second tomos. Fray Louis collected apophthegmata from 'Politica' what points out a philological problem: Plutarch doesn't have any treatise so called like that. However, he wrote Praecepta gerendae reipublicae - enthusiastically recovered by humanists - and Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata and Apophthegmata Laconica that also present a political nature. Our goal is answering this and others questions: i) What kind of themata deepens these political concerns in *Collectanea*? ii) Could we discuss Politics without mention it explicitly? iii) What is a political virtue or a political vice? iv) What are Granades' political advices? All these reflections should have a philosophical starting point: "quid est homo? quid est homini inimicissimum? Alter homo".

## Christopher Craig University of Tennessee, Knoxville

*Deception, Sincerity and Decorum in Cicero's Judicial Speeches*

Cicero's published speeches show him manipulating juries. Among the orator's tools are emotional appeals of debatable sincerity (v. esp. Wisse 1989; Narducci 1994-95; Cavarzere 2011, Hall 2014), and the use of arguments which he does not personally endorse (e.g., Cic. Clu. 139). The readers of his speeches include the very jurors, past and prospective, who are the objects of this manipulation. Yet Cicero's published speeches, like all his published works, buttress his public standing rather than undercut it (Steel 2005). Do his readers then not care that they have been manipulated? Zetzel (1993) resolved this question by arguing that Cicero's juries are not deceived by the orator's tactics; rather they do not greatly care about guilt or innocence, and are simply rewarding his bravura performance with acquittal. Riggsby (1997) decisively rebutted this view by demonstrating that in the very structure of the courts, with their different charges and different penalties, in contemporary utterances about verdicts in questions of fact, and in the privileging in both theory and practice of the appearance of fact-based, truth-centered argument in forensic oratory, the jurors seem to believe that they are in fact basing their verdicts on their perception of the defendant's actual guilt or innocence. Thus Zetzel's view cannot stand. But the problem that gave rise to it remains: How can the orator manipulate a jury to reach a verdict, then produce for them a textual monument of that manipulation without damaging his public standing? This paper will posit a new answer by applying to the orator's relationship with the listening and reading audiences of his judicial speeches selected elements of Remer's new (2017) discussion of the decorum-based role-specific ethics of the politician that can diverge from conventional morality and still remain acceptable to the community.

## James Crosswhite University of Oregon

*The New Rhetoric, Humanism, and Posthumanist Challenges*

Rhetoric and humanism have been closely associated for a very long time. In the 20th century, Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca developed a rhetorical theory that, often implicitly, expressed a new humanism. It received its definitive expression in the *La Nouvelle Rhétorique: Traité de l'Argumentation* (1958). This rhetorical humanism was drawn out in more detail by the Polish legal theorist and historian Mieczyslaw Maneli, in his book, *The New Rhetoric as Philosophy and Methodology for the Next Century* (1993).

In this paper, I will give greater definition to this new rhetorical humanism, grounding the account in *The New Rhetoric* and in some of Perelman's other work, and following and evaluating Maneli's extension of this humanism through conceptions of well-being, dignity, and justice to its application to post-Communist European political life.

The ultimate focus of my presentation, however, will be to explore and evaluate the challenges to this new rhetorical humanism presented by recent posthumanist thought. The central challenges I will consider have to do with agency. Is new rhetorical humanism grounded in agency? What kind? Who is the rhetorical agent, or how is rhetorical agency spread out among agents, and are all of them human? Along the way, I will also address more briefly questions regarding essentialism, human exclusivism, and centrality in new rhetorical humanism. I will argue that *The New Rhetoric* itself largely anticipates many of these challenges and that where it does not it still offers useful frameworks for addressing them. I also anticipate that, eventually, these challenges will create a need for yet another new rhetoric.

## Mariano Dagatti CONICET/University of Buenos Aires

*To die for your ideas. The romantic rhetoric of Kirchnerism (Argentina, 2003-2015)*

My communication aims to present the results of a research into the political rhetoric of the so-called “Kirchnerism”, the left-wing ruling party in Argentina from 2003 to 2015. The name “populism” has been frequently used by partisans, adversaries, mass & social media, to describe euphorically or dysphorically the characteristics of that political movement. What defines it as such? One of the central aspects is the construction of a romantic rhetoric: from oratory, its genres, its rituals, its topics, to the unfolding of a (audio)visual world dominated by scenes and iconographic motifs whose affiliation with romantic aesthetics can be demonstrated. I am interested in investigating, in this sense, the rhetorical strategies of the “Kirchnerismo” to build long-term identification groups (ergo, more or less stable identities) at the crossroad of the so called “hypermediated society”.

For the romantic rhetoric of Kirchnerism, politics is conceived as a vital and autonomous act. It implies an exaltation of the country or of the nation, a vindication of the causes of the people, charismatic leadership, the celebration of certain transcendental values that go beyond mere management. Its preferred public rituals are multitudinous and they usually involve an epic condition, with a strong adversative dimension. It imagines a democracy –and, therefore, a citizenship– of high intensity. Emotions are indeed fundamental.

From an interdisciplinary perspective of work, based on Rhetoric, Semiotics and Discourse Studies, this communication aims to contribute to the debate on political rhetoric and specifically on those treated as “populists”. Both populism and romanticism have been common objects of study within political and rhetorical studies. The mutation of society as part of the new media coordinates, resulting from the crossing of mass media systems and Internet-based media systems, requires an update of the analysis of these objects and their logics of circulation in the society.

## Paul Dahlgren Georgia Southwestern State University

*Performing Americas: Occasional Poetry and the Making of Hemispheric Rhetorics 1800-1830*

Although Emerson developed a unique version of the plain style, or what Cmiel occasionally calls “the humble style” he grew up and was educated in an environment where Cicero’s grand style reigned supreme. While detractors of this rhetorical style call it “grandiloquent” a more generous reading might describe it as “poetic.” And, indeed, in the postcolonial Americas, this style was often linked with poetry. This paper explores how early American poets in both the United States and South America explored rhetorical theory within occasional poetry in order to help constitute both national and hemispheric cultures of letters and thus argues for the inclusion of occasional poets with the rhetorical canon. Drawing in very different ways from both Ciceronian and belletristic traditions of rhetoric these poets explored the way poetry moves the passions and produces identifications (oftentimes in strict meter!). Furthermore, the reception of these poets, which typically focused on the poet’s physical appearance and bearing, demonstrates the way that rhetoric was embodied and performed. In a final section, this paper turns to the way that New England women, in particular, responded to and appropriated tropes and figures from this literary and rhetorical tradition. Poets discussed include Robert Treat Paine, Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr., Jose Maria Salazar, and Judith Sargent Murray.

## Julie Dainville Université libre de Bruxelles

*Oracles, Deliberation and the Sacrifice of Iphigenia*

While divination is an important feature of ancient Greek literature and despite its attestation in rhetorical treatises and exercises (e.g.: Aris., Rhet. I, 15 1375b–1376a; Quint., V, 7, 35-36; Sopatros, Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων, p. 232-238 Walz; Ps.-Quint., Decl. Min., 326), little attention has been drawn to the subject so far. In this presentation, I would like to explore this field of research and analyse the rhetorical features of Agamemnon’s deliberation after the seer Calchas informed him that if he wants to leave Aulis with his fleet, the goddess Artemis demands the sacrifice of his daughter. The king must then choose between his responsibility as a military leader and his love for his daughter.

The dilemma is already mentioned in Aeschylus’s Agamemnon, but will mostly be treated in Euripides’s Iphigenia at Aulis, where the king’s decision making is the core of the play. My aim in this presentation is to analyse the arguments developed by the protagonists of this play to defend their positions, with a particular attention for their considerations towards oracles and divination, as well as the actual role played by Calchas in the final decision. As a counterpoint, I will also consider Seneca the Elder’s third suavioria, dedicated to this very theme (Deliberat Agamemnon an Iphigeniam imolet negante Calchante aliter navigari fas esse) where, interestingly, all the interventions conclude that the king should not sacrifice Iphigenia. Concretely speaking, and with the relation to divination as a guiding theme, this comparison will give me the opportunity to address several questions, such as the characters’ responsibility; the characterization of Artemis’s demand in terms of justice, and the weight of oracles in the deliberation. The objectives of this study are to contribute to the understanding of the specific texts considered, but also more widely to investigate the rhetorical dimension of oracles.

## Maria Cecilia de Miranda Nogueira Coelho Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais

*Pathos in Action: Father Antonio Vieira on the Eyes' Liquid Voice*

The study of the oeuvre of Father António Vieira (1608-1697), known as the “emperor of the Portuguese language”, dominates scholarship on the Jesuit Tradition in Brazil. His sermons are viewed as a model for oratory to the detriment of both earlier and later works (Pena Ferreira, “Rhetoric of tears: sermons and epitaphs in Bahia in the XVII Century”, 2007). My paper builds on my presentations at past ISHR conferences where I investigated aspects of Greek-Roman Rhetoric as well as Philosophy and Literature in Vieira’s works. In 2009 I analysed Gorgianic patterns in the sermons of Ash-Wednesday sermons; in 2013 Pre-Socratic references in “Le Lacrime d’Eraclito”; Platonic patterns in “Sermão do Demônio Mudo” in 2015, and “Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz’s criticism of “Sermão do Mandato” in 2017. My goal in this paper is to investigate patterns of argumentation and the production of pathos (a more popular element, compared to logos and ethos) in Vieira’s work through the exploration of his portrayal of tears and crying. My analysis focuses on two sermons: “Sermão das Exéquias do Serenissimo Infante de Portugal Dom Duarte de Dolorosa memória” (Lisbon, 1649) and “Sermão das Lágrimas de São Pedro” (Lisbon, 1669). Vision being the only one of the five senses with two functions, to cry and to see, becomes a point of departure that produces – but also manipulates – pathos. In this dialectic process the preacher stimulates the pleasure of sight (created by his enargeia), but, at the same time, he only allows its use in the ‘correct way’, in order to persuade and convert. The eyes speak; their discourse is made out of tears and the audience is exhorted: “deduc quasi torrentem lacrimas per diem et per noctem non des requiem tibi neque taceat pupilla oculi tui”.

## Koen De Temmerman Ghent University

*Novel Ways to Love. Rhetorical Constructions of Chastity in the Ancient Greek Novel and Early Christian Narrative*

This paper comparatively analyses a specific rhetorical dynamic in both the ancient Greek love novel (e.g. Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon) and early Christian narrative (two bodies of texts that date to the first few centuries of the Common Era): the interconnected, thematic clustering of rhetorical ability, eugeneia ('nobility') and chastity. As is well known, the ancient Greek novels constitute a particularly interesting testing ground for questions dealing with loss, change and reversal of (high) social status on the one hand, and those dealing with threatened chastity on the other. The starting point of this paper is that novel hero(in)es, when seeing their original free social status and/or chastity threatened, display rhetorical skills in order to subtract themselves from dominance and establishing control over their new masters or aggressors – a point that I have argued at length elsewhere (Crafting Characters. OUP 2014).

I here explore how this strand of characterization (and the role of rhetoric in it) persists in and resonates with a number of early-Christian narratives, ranging from Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (2nd-3rd cent.), Martyr Acts and so-called hagiographical romances such as Ps.-Nilus' Narrationes. I show that apostles, martyrs and monks in these stories exert specific forms of rhetorical power similar to those in the novels and that, just as in the novels, the semantic fields of eugeneia, slavery and chastity are combined and interconnect meaningfully to constitute a prominent testing ground of such powers. Given the thematic specificity of these combinations, I argue that the rhetorics of both chastity and eugeneia/slavery that characterize the heroines in the novels are being reconfigured, redesigned and creatively reworked by the Christian narratives in view of new, ideological purposes.

## Lucia Delaini Northwestern University

*Ready-made: preparing the mind through the body*

The rediscovery of Rhetoric by Early Italian Humanists had momentous consequences for Western civilization. Among them, I contend, an approach to the body as a learning device -which recalls Classical and Christian "practices of the self" as described by Foucault in his last works. In my paper, I individuate two types of texts which show two different, but at times significantly similar, views of such a phenomenon: Memory Arts manuals by several Authors, and a famous Military Arts manual by Machiavelli.

Memory techniques, a part of Rhetoric which started growing in importance towards the end of the 15th century, explicitly dealt with cognitive mechanisms between body and mind. The numerous memory treatises produced in the Peninsula in the following 100 years paid attention to the importance of the body in acquiring and/or facilitating some specific connections and skills. In order to make mental work flow more easily, mnemotechnics relied heavily on real and imagined perceptions, populating experienced, familiar places with formidable, i.e. memorable, images. Through artificial memory, recalling would become faster, more precise, instantly at one's disposal.

In that same period, Italy faced political turmoil. Threatened by foreign invasions and by the subsequent loss of independence, the rhetorical mindset was activated in the political world, producing a work like Machiavelli's The Art of War (1521). This dialogue surely explains how to select, train and manage an army. But it also investigates the possibilities of training people to use the automatism induced by military practice for other cognitive and political scopes. How can bodies be used to form better citizen-soldiers? Proposing an engineering of common life based in the management of minds and bodies, Machiavelli explores cognitive possibilities that seemingly echo those found in the Memory Arts manuals, putting the body in a very central epistemological place.

## Michael-John DePalma Baylor University

*Mobilizing Religious Rhetorics for Activist Ends: Rhetorical Education in Andover Theological Seminary's Porter Rhetorical Society*

Drawing from a range of untapped archival materials at Andover Theological Seminary, this presentation examines the ways Andover students learned to mobilize religious rhetorics for activist ends in the Porter Rhetorical Society. First established in 1823, the Porter Rhetorical Society at Andover Seminary was a debate and oratorical society that provided weekly opportunities for students to deliberate about political, theological, and ethical issues, whether local, national, or international. My presentation analyzes student writing and instructional materials from the Porter Rhetorical Society archive to help scholars reconsider the functions of religious rhetorics in rhetorical activism—a line of inquiry that has the potential to open possibilities regarding a range of ways that religious rhetorics might be adapted for activist purposes in our 21st century context.

In investigating how Andover students in the Porter Rhetorical Society learned to negotiate the ways religious rhetorics might be mobilized for activist ends, my presentation provides broadened understanding of how activist rhetorics were taught, learned, and practiced in nineteenth-century America. Given its importance as a robust site of activist rhetorical education, the Porter Rhetorical Society at Andover Seminary deserves far more attention from scholars who are interested in nineteenth-century American rhetoric. My proposed presentation addresses this gap by bringing out a layer of the curriculum that other rhetorical histories of nineteenth century rhetorical education have not yet examined. In doing so, it expands the canon of nineteenth-century rhetorical history in significant ways.

## Lucia Diaz Marroquin Universidad Complutense de Madrid

*The deprecation of actors: A rhetorical topos in late-republican and early-imperial Rome.*

The status and social position of actors within Roman society, which, between I BCE and I CE, was at the peak of its political self-confidence and rhetorical vigour, was always controversial. From Cicero to Quintilian, masters and practitioners of the art of speaking in public used to recommend the imitation of particular aspects of the acting professions (gestures, a given poise while on stage, the use of a certain inflection of the voice) as part of any effective rhetorical actio. Meanwhile, the same treatises showing their authors' fascination with actors, singers and dancers, often reveal an ill-disguised contempt for these very same professionals, whether men, or women. While infamia (the exclusion from one or many of the legal rights protecting Roman citizens, as dictated by a censor or praetor) was only officially imposed on actors late in the principate, the set of prejudices affecting these professions had existed since long before. No matter how populist they may have been considered: Any well-to-do Roman citizen, educated in the rhetorical practice of persuasion and ready to start their cursus honorum at the forum or in the army, knew very well that empathy and their ability in the expression of emotion often reached the judge or the public's mind more effectively than the most elaborated elocutio. Actors and actresses would have been the supreme masters of this art.

Relying on relevant studies on Roman law (Mommsen, reimpr. 1985; Leppin, 1992; Quintana Orive 2003), on Roman society (Edwards 1993 and 1997), and, mainly, on the work of Roman historians and masters of rhetoric themselves (Cicero, Quintilian, Suetonius), I propose to observe how the tensions existing between the fascination for the art of scaenici and thymelici and contemporary prejudices or legal exclusions used to affect rhetorical theory between Cicero's De oratore and Quintilian's Institutiones oratoriae.

## Joshua DiCaglio Texas A&M University

### *Plato's Involutionary Rhetoric: Doxa, metanoia, and the conditions for transformation*

The domain of rhetoric is usually positioned in an unavoidably social or political milieu. If we accept Poulakos's claim that "rhetoric" first came from rhêtor--one who puts puts for motions in court or in the assembly--then rhetoric is, by definition, only relevant in a political and social settings. In contrast, this paper asks, what if we resituate rhetoric in the contemplative withdrawal where language enacts a personal rather than public transformation? I argue that such a withdrawal, which is performed in the leaving of the city in the Phaedrus, is essential to Plato's concern about and formulation of rhetoric. This change in location is likewise a change in the way rhetoric is said to operate. While in the courtroom and assembly one aims to persuade others, in the contemplative withdrawal, one attends to the possibility of transformation within oneself. Both The Gorgias and The Phaedrus position this self-transformation as still fundamentally rhetorical through a concern for doxa, which brings together opinion and reputation. As it is performed in the Gorgias, doxa prevents one from being persuaded as one holds to one's opinion for fear of tarnishing your reputation. The Phaedrus then explicitly argues for a contemplative movement that examines and undoes this doxa. This self-directed, involutionary rhetoric aims to release oneself from the hold of doxa rather than the usual rhetorical approach that makes use of doxa in others for one's own political or social ends. This approach thus connects Plato's conceptualization of rhetoric with an alternative history of contemplative rhetorics that are aimed at producing metanoia, a change in mind. Such transformation makes possible new ways of achieving response-ability that, in turn, lead to more dynamic social forms of rhetoric, as individuals are no longer holding to doxa but instead becoming more responsive to the needs of the polis.

## Jonathan Doering University of Western Ontario

### *Elite French Pedagogy and the Popular Death of Rhetoric*

The decline of rhetoric in France and its near-elimination from curricula, as described by Antoine Compagnon, prompts a mystery. The intellectuals born roughly between the wars would presumably have suffered a blow to their rhetorical abilities because of the discipline's decrepit state. And yet those thinkers and writers who rose to fame in the 1960s flaunted a new rhetorical virtuosity, or at least an extremism (Derrida and Barthes, for instance). To pursue this mystery, we should examine a pedagogical history which includes distinctive institutions such the khâgne, explication de texte, dissertation, and agrégation. Drawing on biographies, interviews, and critiques of French education from Durkheim and Bourdieu, I investigate the modes of rhetorical virtuosity that survived within elite French education despite the increasing popular scorn directed to the term "rhetoric" (it fared poorly with Michelet, Renan, and Lanson, among others).

The particular value placed upon rhetorical felicity, I suggest, partly traces back to the Jesuit legacy within French education.

Some of the major postwar intellectuals describe being traumatized and "tortured" by traditions such as the explication de texte, which had replaced early rhetorical methods, and they developed new strategies of reading and writing to rebel against its confines. These daring writers display a conflicted relation to their own elite education--and sometimes a desire to create a "populist" rebellion against the traditionally bourgeois or aristocratic institutions of rhetoric.

## Georgiana Donavin Westminster College

### *Biblical Ethos and John the Baptist in the Late English Middle Ages*

George Kennedy remarks that John the Baptist's witness provides one of the most effective enthymematic proofs in the New Testament. For late medieval English authors as diverse as preaching theorists, dramatists, and poets, the Baptist both proves Jesus to be the messiah and supplies a template, as Charlotte Steenbrugge has shown, for sermonic rhetoric. Because of his sermon in Luke (3:7-9) listing the vices of the "brood of vipers" who constituted his audience, the Baptist was the biblical figure who best illustrated two classes of sermon listed in Alan of Lille's *Ars Praedicandi* and elsewhere: the sermon on virtues and vices (appropriate for all congregations) and the sermon directed to a single kind of listener. According to all four gospels, the Baptist was the forerunner of Christ and the prophet who stood at the cusp of scripture, pointing back to Isaiah's promise of a "voice crying in the wilderness" (40:3) and forward to both Jesus' sacrificial mission and Second Coming. Therefore, by channeling the Baptist's voice, preaching points, and hortatory style, medieval English authors constructed an ethos of biblical authority, an impression of comprehensive knowledge of holy texts and of the ability to prophesy. Late fourteenth-century English writers also had cultural imperatives for establishing a Johannine ethos, especially Richard II's well-known devotion to the Baptist. This paper will identify a biblical ethos based on John the Baptist that is imported into moralizing literature of the late English Middle Ages. The paper will begin with John Bromyard's advice in his fourteenth-century *Summa Praedicatorum*, continue to the Baptist's rhetoric in three English mystery plays, and finish with samples from court poets who appropriate John's ethos in texts such as Pearl and Vox Clamantis.

## Gilson Charles Dos Santos Universidade de Brasília

### *Popular Participation and Oratory in the Late Roman Republic*

Popular participation in assemblies and elections in the Late Roman Republic has been a subject of special attention of historians and political scientists, such as Millar (2002), Morstein-Marx (2004), Hölkeskamp (2010), Araújo (2013), Mouritsen (2001; 2017) and Hodgson (2017). The aim of their work is basically to identify the extension of popular power in Roman Politics, describe the importance of oratory as a mediation of potential divergences and reconstruct a "political culture" that would lead to a comprehension of that complex moment of Roman History. Popular participation constitutes a basic problem in the contextual analysis of their work due to three reasons: 1. political corruption (*ambitus*) is connected to the increase of Roman population; 2. the incorporation of social strata in politics is a major obstacle to the Roman form of *res publica* and 3. "ventriloquism" becomes a concept of the integration between politicians and people promoted by oratory. The aim of this work is to analyze the treatment given by those scholars to the problem of oratory in the Late Roman Republic and to offer an alternative of interpretation based on Gargola (2017) and Drogula (2017).

## William Duffy University of Memphis

### *Trump's Thumbs: Pollice Verso in the Third Sophistic*

Donald Trump's rhetorical style is largely distinguished by his tendency to assert praise or blame before he marshals warrants for his assertions. Using the ancient Roman figure of "pollice verso" (turned thumb) as a synecdoche for Trump's rhetoric, we assert that to best understand and speak back to such rhetoric requires locating it in the proper apparatus, specifically what Gregory Ulmer calls "electracy," his term for what has emerged in the wake of "literacy." What the "pollice verso" figure allows us to argue is that the essence of Trump's rhetoric can be found in his thumbs, so to speak, which is to say rhetoricians need to recognize that Trump's rhetoric doesn't operate according to rhetorical traditions we associate with the Greek agora, but more accurately speaks to the spectacular practices associated with the Roman arena. Such recognition in turn can help us to better understand the populist appeal of Trump's rhetoric in addition to its often incoherent and contradictory features, at least when analyzing it according to "literate" rhetorical traditions, what Victor Vitanza term "philosophical rhetoric".

To develop these claims, we will trace the history of "pollice verso" as understood by classicists, including a discussion of Quintilian's general dismissal of thumb gestures more generally as crude and unbecoming in the third book of his *Institutes*. Indeed, what the classicist Donald Kyle terms "gladiatorial madness," a term that speaks to the way combats would affect the logical responses of the audience watching such displays, can be transformed into an entryway to understanding the spectacular logics at work in Trump's rhetoric.

## Katherine East Newcastle University, UK

### *The Problem of Cicero's Political Identity in Remer's Ethics and the Orator*

The interaction between Cicero's rhetoric and his politics has created problems throughout the Ciceronian tradition, provoking debate regarding precisely how Cicero's political conduct should be characterised: was Cicero inconstant, opportunistic, deceptive, or simply committed to the republic above personal alliances? Early modern biographies of Cicero consistently confronted the question of how to reconcile the apparent contradictions between his rhetorical declarations of loyalty in one direction and his willingness to shift political allegiance in the other. Remer's study of the ethical components of Cicero's rhetoric offers an opportunity to reassess the problematic consequences of Cicero's oratory for how his political identity was conceived during the early modern period. By emphasising the moral quality of Cicero's rhetorical theory, a more nuanced understanding of the diverse responses to Cicero's political character can be achieved.

## Michael Edwards University of Roehampton

### *Populism in Isaeus*

My proposed paper for the New Orleans conference is an investigation of the conference theme of populism as manifested in the inheritance speeches of the fourth-century BCE orator Isaeus. Although there was a world of difference between the ancient Athenian assembly and the family lawcourts, speakers trained in rhetoric and logographers like Isaeus were well prepared in the art of appealing to popular sentiment and, equally, of arousing that sentiment against their opponents. There is some expert defamation of character in various speeches of Isaeus, especially against the speaker's opponent Dicaeogenes and his supporters in speech 5, and speakers use their public services (and their opponents' lack of them) to good effect in claiming the right to inherit. Occasionally, the speeches clearly have a political dimension, not least in speech 9, where the opponent Cleon, a treasurer of Athena in 377/6 (IG ii2 1410, 1411), is probably a grandson on his mother's side of the infamous fifth-century popular politician of the same name - his father Thudippus, one of Cleon's political associates and proposer of popular decrees on the reassessment of the allies' tribute in 425/4 (IG I3 71), was probably married to a daughter of the demagogue. My paper will examine Isaeus' treatment of these and other speakers in the corpus who had a public profile.

## Daniel Ellis St. Bonaventure University

### *Toleration and Rhetorical Style in Elizabethan Norfolk*

For the fractious gentry of Elizabethan Norfolk, where recusant Catholics, moderate state church attendants, and stringent reformists lived side-by-side, toleration took place in a complex of interrelated concerns. Conforming to the state church often conflicted with adhering to one's own religious conscience and community, while state and personal obligations had to be negotiated in order to maintain the amicable or at least workable connections of family, friendships, and business. The rich rhetorical training of this class offered a way through this situation, as parishioners, clergy, and church leaders attempted to negotiate the day-to-day business of church and community through correspondence and conversation. This paper examines gentry letters from sixteenth-century Norfolk that illustrate how stylistic resources enabled people to say difficult things to one another in ways that could be most easily received. Such an examination suggests that the accusation of the Elizabethan period as one obsessed with style because of its usefulness for the servile, ambitious courtier is inaccurate, as instead the resources of style allowed individuals with conflicting and conflicted beliefs to tolerate each other's differences and so build working communities.

## Johannes Engels Universität zu Köln Germany

### *Ancient "demokopein /demokopia" and Modern Populist Oratory- Some Common Rhetorical Tools and Methods of Argumentation*

Ancient Greek sophistic and rhetorical techniques of radical "courting the mob" ("demokopein / demokopia") were severely criticized by Greek and Roman philosophers, orators as well as composers of treatises and manuals on rhetoric and style. This paper discusses in a first section several instructive examples of alleged "demokopein / demokopia" as a dangerous and extreme form of "demagogein / demagogia" (leading the people). Already classical sophists and orators relied heavily on certain tools and tricks of argumentation, self-presentation and attacking their political or judicial opponents which had been only recently developed in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Many of these highly effective tools and tricks appear to be still regularly used in contemporary oratory and propaganda in our era of mass media. In the second section of my paper I focus inter alia (and with selected examples) on simplification, self-presentation of a speaker as a fearless fighter against a "system" and its elite of the privileged few, the role of an orator as the defender of the true interests of the common people (or of a nation), on victory in a campaign, a discussion or in a court by any means as the highest priority, on the questioning of the power of reasonable arguments to decide a controversial topic, and on emotional appeals to common sense against scientific or professional expert knowledge.

## Anders Eriksson Lund University

### *Populism in the Progymnasmata*

There is a tension in the rhetorical exercises in the progymnasmata between the sophistic origin and the prevailing practice as the backbone of rhetorical education. The exercises can be accused of populism since they teach a method of making the weaker argument the stronger, but in practice they often support the values of society.

The Protagorean element of anti-logos is seen in the juxtaposition of refutation against confirmation, and praise against blame. This could be interpreted as a relativistic and populist adaptation to the views of the audience, or as a mental technique to better understand the other side to persuade them of the right position.

In practice the progymnasmata tends to support the democratic values of society. The common-place in Aphthonius is directed against the tyrant who puts himself above the law.

The supporter of the Athenian democracy Thucydides is praised while the monarchic ruler Philip of Macedon is blamed. In the introduction of a law the example text urges the adulterer caught in the act to be handed over to the judges instead of killed by the man himself. This could be seen as an anti-populist theme.

## Camilo Fernández Cozman Universidad de Lima

*Magda Portal, el rol de la mujer y la dimensión retórica del discurso político en el Perú del siglo XX*

Magda Portal es una política feminista peruana que defendió la condición de la mujer en su propia poesía coyuntural (centrada en la reflexión sobre el Perú de las primeras décadas del siglo XX) y en ensayos como "El nuevo poema y su orientación hacia una estética económica" (1928) y "El aprismo y la mujer"(1933). Portal defiende, con técnicas argumentativas, el derecho del voto de la mujer y la inclusión masiva de esta en la educación universitaria en el Perú. Asimismo, Portal pone de relieve de qué manera la vanguardia artística debe articularse con el compromiso social y político. La ponencia asimila la noción de ethos retórico de Dominique Maingueneau y la concepción de las emociones como efectos del discurso de Patrick Charaudeau para sustentar de qué manera el locutor femenino busca convencer a su auditorio y construye en el discurso su ethos cuestionando el orden androcéntrico y empleando creativamente la proclama política tanto en el ámbito de la poesía lírica en tanto género como en el ámbito del ensayo literario. De ese modo, Portal se constituye en una escritora que hace una apología del derecho a la mujer al saber y a la ciudadanía en el Perú del siglo XX

## Jakub Filonik Jagiellonian University in Krakow

*Citizenship as Metaphor: "Popular" Expression of Political Identity in Athenian Democracy and Modern West*

This paper will draw on methods of cognitive linguistics, including Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Blending Theory, to explore the ways in which civic identity was constructed, reframed, and exploited in classical Athens, and to compare this to modern European and American political discourse. Citizens of democratic Athens described their city-state as a political community "based on speeches", where orators made appeals to their audiences' shared identities in the political institutions of the city. In their publicly delivered speeches, Athenian in-group identity based on participation in citizenship is referred to not only as a legal status but also a set of normative rules of conduct presented before civic audiences through elaborate rhetorical measures.

Athenian speakers and politicians, just like their modern counterparts, at times went to great lengths to exploit people's sense of being "themselves" as opposed to "others". This paper argues that metaphorical appeals to shared identities could prove to be a rhetorical skeleton key, employed whenever speakers were striving for favourable reactions from their audiences. It will particularly look at how concepts such as ownership, family values, sport, and war can be used to reframe political issues, and how they may continue to be reshaped in the ongoing discourse. It also aims to discuss how the categories of "public" and "private" were constructed and blended in the public appeals to mass citizen audiences. I will moreover seek to show the differences and some striking similarities in the way political and civic values were expressed and reframed in antiquity and in recent times. Finally, this paper will briefly discuss the possible effects that the use of metaphorical concepts might have had on past audiences, both ancient and more recent ones.

## Andrew Fiss Michigan Technological University

*Turning Health Fears into a Joke: Vassar Students' Covert Rhetorics of Ridicule, 1860s-1880s*

When Vassar College opened in 1865, it crystallized elitist American worries about the health effects of women's education, and early students responded by turning to their rhetoric classes. Scottish Enlightenment rhetoric pervaded Vassar's four-year course of studies: sophomores studied Hugh Blair's Lectures in Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783), seniors studied Lord Kames's Elements of Criticism (1762), and juniors connected the two with Richard Whatley's English manual Elements of Rhetoric (1828). Yet most freshmen began with a surprising American manual: George Payn Quackenbos's Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric (1854). Not only was it surprising that Quackenbos's book had local origins (in New York City), but it also included unusual lessons, such as the use of "ridicule" to make "covert" arguments. Vassar students found these lessons inspiring at the time, in the years leading up to the establishment of the Populist Party. Quackenbos's manual gave them a way to respond to the health elite, including the Harvard doctors who supported Sex in Education (1873) and its claims that women's higher education was a route to sterilization. Through plays, poems, and other extracurricular writing, Vassar students responded through extending and developing their lessons in covert rhetorics. They subtly argued against elitist health fears by turning them into a joke.

## David Fleming University of Massachusetts Amherst

*Back to the 'Q Question': A Defense of Quintilian's Moral Project for Rhetoric*

Quintilian's "vir bonus" doctrine, in which the "good" orator is, by definition, both skilled in speech and virtuous in character, has not fared well philosophically. While the Institutio is generally hailed as a valuable compendium of technique and an impressive educational program, the author's ethical project is often dismissed as "pious wish" (Winterbottom 1998). The locus classicus for this critique is Lanham (1988), which poses the central question of the rhetorical tradition: does a curriculum in eloquence conduce to virtue? For Lanham, Quintilian is the question's "most famous nonanswerer." He doesn't so much show that a rhetorical education makes people good as assume that it will.

I disagree. Critics of Quintilian's moral project too often focus on the beginning and end of the Institutio, neglecting the educational program at its heart, and read the text through the lens of philosophy rather than rhetoric. By avoiding those mistakes, one can see that Quintilian does not beg his question – he answers it clearly and persuasively. He does so in three steps. First, he shifts the issue of rhetoric's morality from conjecture to definition. He doesn't deny that rhetoric can be used for ill; he simply says, that will not be OUR rhetoric. That's an educator's move, not begging the question. Second, and more interestingly, the definition he adopts makes rhetoric not the art of persuasion but "the science of speaking well," thus shifting the discipline's telos from outcome to activity. Third, and most important of all, he shifts the focus of rhetorical development from nature and art to practice, unfolding an extensive, multifaceted program designed to form the orator he seeks and thus making the project something more than "pious wish." In my talk, I will walk through these three moves and discuss their continued appeal today.

## Zinaida Fomina State Technical University

*The Old Russian Rhetoric by Vladimir Monomach with reference to "common sense"*

From the perspective of the present contribution, populism can be characterized by "the appeal to common sense and the popular voice, polarization, personalization, moralization and arguments ad populum or ad hominem".

This lecture is prepared within the framework of the Department of "History of Rhetoric" and is based on the analysis of Old Russian reference texts from the 12th century. This is the moral writing titled "The Teachings" by Vladimir Monomakh, who was the Grand Prince of Kiev from 1113 to 1125. The "Instruction" by W. Monomach shows typical features of Old Russian rhetoric.

The rhetoric of Kievan Rus' mainly had an epideictic character. This type of speech is characterized by 7 characteristics: 1) the appeal to like-minded people; 2) orientation to the long-term effect; 3) the instruction ("from above"); 4) a strong ethical pathos; 5) permanent references to sacred texts; 6) the amplifying redcomposition; 7) the tendency to the stretched metaphors, parables or to the so-called anthapodosis; 8) the deliberately rhythmic speech character. In the field of reasoning, ethical evidence emerged as the most important in the Old Russian rhetoric.

In the "Instruction" significant rhetorical tendencies can be seen that had particularly influenced the Byzantine of the 10th century under Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetto.

The ethno-cultural specifics of Old Russian rhetoric are characterized by their basic maxims, strategies, contents, methods, architectonics and definitions.

## James Fredal The Ohio State University

*The Narrative Enthymeme as Extradiegetic Inference Marker*

Ancient rhetoric, especially legal rhetoric, was built on a foundation of narrative. In this paper, I want to examine forms of narrative inference—how readers fill narrative gaps and make inferences from narrative clues in order to understand what is “really” going on and why. Recent work in narrative theory has emphasized the importance of narrative gaps to manipulate reader’s expectations and to guide reader’s inferences about the narrative and its meaning and purpose.

One thread in this line of research questions traditional models of rationality (in particular, logical, deductive, and syllogistic reasoning) to propose alternative, non-propositional modes of reading and inference making. Two examples are imagistic reasoning and the creation of “mental models.” Ground breaking work by psychologists like Johnson-Laird (Mental Models) and narrative theorists like David Herman (Story Logic) suggest that narratives and arguments based upon narrative elements are not processed as propositional series (the deductive and syllogistic model) but in the form of mental images or models of reality that can be “filled in,” explored, and manipulated as the plot requires.

This claim should lead us to re-examine how we look at the enthymeme, in part because our understanding of ancient rhetoric has been up to now heavily propositional and deductive. Most approaches to the enthymeme remain tied to a deductive and syllogistic model, based on readings of Aristotle. And while Aristotle remains an important basis for understanding ancient rhetoric, I will argue that we ought also to look with fresh eyes at forms of narrative reasoning, and especially non-propositional forms of narrative reasoning, that have remained underexplored.

## Katherine Fredlund University of Memphis

*Rethinking Hortensia’s “Speech to the Triumvirs”: Conceptions of Authorship and Collaborative Rhetoric*

As the first Western woman’s words recorded in the historical record, Hortensia has been celebrated as an unparalleled rhetor. Glenn claims “Hortensia stands alone in her oratorical achievement...only Hortensia is recognized as a success—fully entering the domain of persuasive public oratory, or rhetoric.” Ritchie and Ronald also praise Hortensia as an individual rhetor, claiming she “spoke her own words in her own right, fueled by anger at the request to support a war she had no part in initiating or approving.” Yet if we look to Appian’s *The Civil Wars* Book IV, where her words were first recorded, there is reason to question the attribution of these words to Hortensia alone. Appian introduced the “Speech to the Triumvirs” with the following, “There [at the Triumvirate] through the mouth of Hortensia, whom they had selected to speak, they spoke as follows...” indicating that the speech was a collaboration, not the individual effort that has been celebrated in rhetorical scholarship. Further, Hortensia begins with, “As befitted women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to the ladies of your households; but having been treated as did not befit us, at the hands of Fulvia, we have been driven by her to the forum.” Hortensia’s use of plural pronouns further indicates that she was not only speaking for a group but with the group of women that accompanied her to the forum. Consequently, the first Western woman’s words recorded in history are not a woman’s but a group of women’s. With the case of Hortensia as a starting point, this presentation questions how contemporary conceptions of authorship have impacted rhetorical scholars’ ability to properly understand historical rhetorical collaborations and reflects on how we need to rethink our histories of women’s rhetoric in light of this observation.

## Michael Gagarin University of Texas at Austin

*Invoking the Lawgiver in Athenian Oratory*

My paper will examine the various rhetorical uses Athenian forensic speakers make of the figure of the lawgiver or legislator (nomothetēs).

Litigants in court invoked the lawgiver for several different reasons. Lawgivers of the past were invoked so that the speaker could explain the reasoning behind the law he was citing in a way that directed the force of the law against his opponent. Because no one knew what any past lawgiver was thinking, a litigant could make up whatever explanation suited his case.

Past lawgivers were always invoked positively, their only rare fault being that they may not have anticipated that anyone would commit such a heinous crime as the accused, and so they did not enact a law explicitly prohibiting it. Any law enacted by a present-day lawgiver, on the other hand, was considered harmful, unjust, and illegal. Only one present-day body could rightly enact a law, namely the “Legislators” (Nomothetai), an official group of citizens selected annually, who oversaw the process of legislation. Legislation approved by this body which was then enacted by the assembly was always proper and praiseworthy.

Finally, one group of citizens, jurors, were sometimes asked to become, or not to become, future lawgivers by means of the verdict they would give. Two short speeches of Lysias, both written for supporting speakers in the same prosecution of Alcibiades Jr., show how, as so often in the orators, the same point could be argued either way. Lysias 14.4 argues that the law does not cover Alcibiades’ crimes and asks the jurors to be lawgivers by convicting him; but in 15.9 the speaker argues that the law assigns a severe penalty for Alcibiades’ crimes and urges the jurors to convict him and not be lawgivers.



## Robert Gaines The University of Alabama

### *Demetrius and the Sophists*

In Rhetoric 4 Philodemus summarizes a sophistic theory of expression (Soph.) that resembles Demetrius' theory (Demetr.) in De elocutione (PHerc. 1673 cols. 3.18-4.5; new readings and ἀδροῦ[ητ]α are mine, other restorations in Sudhaus 1892, Scotti 1855):

Δια[ροῦντ]αι δὲ | αὐτῆ[ν] εἰς εἶδη [τρι]ὰ τρό[π]ον σχῆμα π[λά]σμα· τρό[π]ον μὲν οἶον με[ταφ]ορᾶν ἀλληγορίαν [πᾶ]ν τὸ | τοιοῦτο, σχῆμα δὲ τὸ περιόδοις καὶ κώλοις καὶ κόμ[μα]σιν καὶ ταῖς τ[ούτω]ν |col. 4| πλοκαῖς καὶ ποιότη[σι] δια[λαμβάνον], [π]λάσμα δὲ τὸ | ἀδρότ[ητ]α [ἔχ]ον ἢ ἰσχνότη[τα] ἢ μεσότη[τα] ἢ γλαφυρό[τ]ητ[α].

Close comparison of Soph. with Demetr. shows they are similar in scope and terminology. Both are concerned with metaphor and allegory; periods, kōla, and kōmmata; and four types of expression. Moreover, for two types of expression recognized in both theories, the terms of reference are cognates (Soph.: ἰσχνότης, γλαφυρότης; Demetr.: ἰσχνός, γλαφυρός). These pairs of terms for style-types are found nowhere besides Soph. and Demetr. up to the end of first century BCE.

Despite these similarities, Soph. and Demetr. are unquestionably distinct (Innes 1995). Demetr. does not specify three divisions of expression or deploy τρόπος, σχῆμα, and πλάσμα as they are used in Soph. Also, Soph. recognizes a style-type that possesses μεσότης, an intermediate or middle quality of expression not explicitly contemplated in Demetr (cf. Chiron 1993, Innes 1995).

Accordingly, Soph. partly follows Demetr. but also incorporates concepts and terminology characteristic of later theories (especially concerning ἀδροτής and μεσότης, see, e.g., D. H. Dem. 3, Quint. Inst. 12.10.58).

Soph. may be dated with some certainty between the composition of De elocutione (2nd-1st century BCE, see Jonge 2009 and sources) and dominance of the three-style expressive theory (in the 80s, Rhet. Her. 4.11, or perhaps shortly afterward, Cic. de Orat. 3.212). Thus, Philodemus' critique of sophists in Rhetoric 4 includes near contemporaries.

## Cynthia Gannett & John Brereton Fairfield University Emeritus

### *Nineteenth-Century Rhetorical Education in Jesuit Colleges in the Eastern United States*

While the Jesuits arrived in what would become the US in the early 1600s, and even opened a few small schooling projects, Jesuit efforts to secure an educational presence were, from the beginning, on the losing side of the confessional and national conflicts between the British and French and they were generally marginalized, banned (or worse) across most of the 17th and 18th centuries.

While the Order was suppressed world-wide from 1773-1814, the Suppression was never fully enacted in Poland and Russia. That tiny opening gave rise to the Jesuit educational project in the U.S. with the founding of Georgetown University in 1789, an initiative which has grown across the 19th and 20th centuries to 28 colleges and universities, several research centers, professional schools, and a large network of secondary and elementary schools. The story of Jesuit education in the U.S. is distinctive from larger, global histories of Jesuit education (focus on education for elites), and mainstream (Protestant, Anglo-British) American histories of rhetorical instruction, which marginalizes Catholic/Jesuit schooling. The first generations of Jesuit educators were mostly displaced from various European countries; they served the waves of immigrant Catholics from the British Isles and across Europe, frequently barred from educational opportunity, or forced to attend Protestant educational institutions.

U.S. Jesuit secondary/college schooling continued the continental seven-year focus on rhetorical development with the aim of “eloquentia perfecta” as much as possible, and often employed European Jesuit rhetorical texts. While the rhetoric curriculum at a mid-nineteenth century Jesuit college in the eastern U.S. was remarkably similar Harvard or Yale's rhetoric curriculum, those schools moved away from this traditional curriculum in the late nineteenth century, while these Jesuit colleges retained their time-honored curriculum until the 1920s and beyond.

## James Garner University of Texas at Austin

### *Dogmatic Love: William Walwyn and the Rhetoric of Toleration*

The Leveller William Walwyn's 1643 treatise “The Power of Love” calls for charity and compassion to be the guiding lights of English Christians in their religious and political affairs. Gary Remer has shown that the humanist defense of toleration presupposes a discursive community capable of participating in sermo (conversation), a genre that eschews appeals to pathos and ethos and requires a small audience erudite enough for philosophical discussion in a friendly environment. In this paper, I argue that in “The Power of Love” Walwyn recognizes that the general populace is not prepared for the kind of debate sermo requires and endeavors to shape the populace at large into that discursive community. Walwyn undertakes this task by reducing the fundamentals of faith to a dogmatic conception of love that crosses class hierarchies and emphasizes natural reason over education. For Walwyn, toleration will only occur if as many people as possible are part of the “Family of love,” and thus the treatise's rhetorical aim is to draw as much of his readership as he can into this project.

## Adam Knight Gilbert University of Southern California

### *Christoph Bernhard Musical Rhetoric and the Interpretation and Public Performance of Seventeenth-Century Music*

Christoph Bernhard's treatises on musical composition and rhetoric played a central role in the education of musical rhetoric throughout the seventeenth century and were even employed throughout the early years Johann Sebastian Bach's career. Bernhard's discussions of musical organization, advice on public performance, classifications of music into three levels of rhetorical style (stylus gravis, stylus luxurians communis, and stylus luxurians theatralis), and detailed list of musical figures are acknowledged for their close adherence to the vocabulary of classical verbal rhetoric. Bernhard's signature concept is that any music beyond basic consonant counterpoint—analogueous to any florid text—can be classified as a rhetorical figure. Building on the work of Joachim Burmeister's *Musica poetica* (1606), Bernhard uses extensive classical terms like syncope, anaphora, congeries, epizeuxis, parrhesia, parembolē, hypotyposis, hyperbole, hypobole, and noēma to describe musical figures, extending the vocabulary to include new rhetorical terminology like heterolepsis (passages in which one voice assumes a different vocal register) and passus duriusculus (extended chromatic passages) of pathopoeia (unnecessary chromaticism to enhance affective quality in music).

Despite the acknowledgment of his profound influence, Bernhard's approach to analysis remains largely unexplored in the analysis and public performance of baroque music. This paper argues that Bernhard's vocabulary of figures goes beyond mere pedantry: they play a crucial role in the interpretation and public performance of his music. His sensitive use of figures to expound sacred text serves as a model for the use of musical rhetoric in the public space of the Lutheran church.

Moreover, Bernhard's vocabulary of rhetorical figures offers untapped resources for appreciating the role of rhetoric in the works of contemporary composers Johannes Vierdanck, Barbara Strozzi, and Henry Purcell. Distilling their music to its most basic consonant counterpoint reveals the profound a role of rhetorical figure in the invention and public performance of baroque music.

## Robert Gilmor University of Denver

### *Burkean Incongruity and the Unrealized Dreams of Rocky Mountain Universities*

In *Permanence and Change* (1935), Kenneth Burke proposed a radical strategy for working against the complacency of accustomed perspectives. “Perspective by incongruity,” as Burke called it, is a means to get out from underneath the strictures of established attitudes to foster new views, or “vistas got by a stylistic device for bringing disrelated categories of things together.” More recently, Debra Hawhee has adapted Burke’s concept for use in archival research. Hawhee sees in Burke’s own papers a certain messiness, and, like in any archive, a record of dead ends and even failures. She suggests “historiography by incongruity” as a means to “draw out--and to encourage productive use of--the necessary unevenness of archival work.” Historiography by incongruity is a means to avoid the selective reading and focus of scholarly histories that gloss over “breakdowns” and “failures.”

Taking Hawhee’s historiography by incongruity as a guide, this presentation will examine multiple breakdowns and failures to be found in university archives, specifically the records of university expansion proposals, so called “master plans,” that, for whatever reason, failed to be realized. To examine such “failures” is to find buildings left unbuilt, programs never founded, and whole schools that exist only on archived paper. What remains in this fragmented record is a range of proposed identities and relationships that suggest differing roles for a university in civic, democratic, and community spaces—from urban centers of knowledge and culture to facilities for civil and economic development. Specific emphasis will be on archives of private universities in the Rocky Mountain region of the U.S in the 20th century.

Ultimately, this presentation will document the shifting and often contradictory identities that these universities envisioned for their future, and will offer a “version” of university history that encompasses the “disrelated” institutional identities that went unrealized.

## Cheryl Glenn Pennsylvania State University

### *The Authentic Populism: A Rhetorical Feminist Response*

In countries around the world, a new populism has taken hold, many of them anti-Islamic, anti-immigration, and/or anti-austerity populisms. The United Statesian version is an amped-up masculinist, separatist order of “Make America Great Again,” “Build That Wall,” and “Send Them Back.” But a populism that flirts with nuclear war, dismantles the Affordable Care Act, pulls out of the Paris Climate Accord Agreement, demolishes reproductive rights, and shreds social programs for the most vulnerable of our citizens is not American populism—not by a long shot, not by the three million votes that won Hillary Clinton the popular vote in 2016. The majority of Americans voted for forward-looking, democratic, and Clinton- and Sanders-influenced policies on education, sexuality, the environment, poverty, health care, and global relations—that’s the authentic populism in the United States today.

Still, even within our authentic populism, there are vast personal differences—of opinion, of interests, of identities. So how might people within our authentic populism coalesce to create a powerful, winning movement? How might we reach across the aisle, so to speak, to forge agreements with those working within the ruling populist movement?

In my twenty-minute paper, I will respond to those questions, offering the tactic of “rhetorical feminism,” a constant state of response and reassessment that is particularly useful during this dark political moment. All the features of rhetorical feminism (which I will catalog) can be put into play in order to reach and listen to more people, respond with understanding, and, from that understanding, offer ways to work together. After all, the stubborn belief to which rhetoricians seem to hold fast is that rhetorical practices should do something. Rhetorical feminists steadfastly believe that human lives are equal in value—and that we must continue to work to make that so in our world.

## Patrick Goujon Centre Sèvres Facultés jésuites de Paris

### *The Spiritual Exercises between Conversation and Literature*

The Spiritual Exercises can be seen as “technologies of the self” (Foucault), grounded on conversation but leading to subjectivization. In that case, the Spiritual Exercises would then be one of the “sources” of modern subjectivity. This position will clearly appear in the first part of my paper, where I especially consider the “colloquy”. It is the final part of each prayer period in the Exercises in which the one who prays is invited to a personal “inventio” of his own speech to God, “according to the matter” given by the Exercises and following “whatever comes to his mind”, “in the way one friend speaks to another”. The following question, then, arises: “what happened when this personal “inventio” was skipped and when a written meditation took its place?”. I will consider this theme in the second part of my paper. Pierre Coton (1564-1626) and Etienne Binet (1569-1639) are good witnesses of this substitution: their books of prayers are clearly inspired by the rhetoric of predication. The reader, instead of expressing his own words to God, now received them from an “author”. Is this the end of spiritual freedom? I will take up this question in the final part. If this transformation happened in a time when spiritual conversation indeed became spiritual “direction,” it also took place in a society where the conversation was a sort of “art” (Fumaroli), a cultural practice that led to a new configuration of relationship. Some Jesuits considered then the effect of reading meditations as a “force of the speech,” an event which escaped the power of the author/director and lay in the hand of the reader.

## Lenny Grant Syracuse University

### *The Radical Roots of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder*

Military service members returning from the Vietnam War had access to limited mental health resources from the US Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) and disciplinary psychiatry, as well as a lack of social support from the American public. Both the VA and the public acknowledged that those who served in Vietnam were “unique” among military veterans, but this differentiation amounted to blaming veterans for their difficulties reintegrating into civilian life. In response to a new generation of veterans’ needs, politically radical psychiatrists affiliated with Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) campaigned to reconstitute the disenfranchised veterans’ identities by asserting that they suffered from a new, uncategorized mental illness called Post-Vietnam Syndrome (PVS).

Combining frameworks of constitutive rhetoric and circulation studies to a broad corpus of archival documents, this presentation analyzes the radical psychiatrists’ coordinated rhetorical action and how it persuaded the US Congress, the American public, and the American Psychiatric Association to attend to Vietnam veterans’ mental health needs. The creation of PVS set into motion a series of governmental and medical policy changes that resulted in the codification of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in 1980, as well as legal protections for military veterans that endure today.

With the 40th anniversary of PTSD’s official recognition approaching, this presentation will reflect upon how grassroots rhetorical action can shape psychiatric science and politics governing military and civilian mental health.

## Lawrence Green University of Southern California

### *Renaissance Encomia to Rhetoric*

Prolusions, orations, and inaugural addresses on rhetoric abound during the Renaissance, and audiences range from captive faculty and students to public cognoscenti who were free to walk away. Some of these encomia are as predictable as modern academic addresses, but many delve into ethics, philosophy, politics, and letters. And some are combative on behalf of rhetoric.

Marcantonio Maioragio's public oration *Adversus eos, qui ornandae orationis studium, & dicendi elegantiam vituperant*, begins with an assault on the malign ignorance of rhetoric's detractors, before plunging into serious invective: "O stultitiam hominum atque insipientiam!" (1550s). More typical is his *De eloquentia dialogus* in which the interlocutors discuss at length the relations between eloquence and divine letters, and condemn the human insufficiency of bloodless scholastic dialectic. Carlo Sigonio at Bologna celebrates eloquence in four orations (1552-1555), each focusing upon a different facet of rhetoric, and reissued them with his disquisition on Latin language and letters, complete with a quarrelsome refutation of academic colleagues who do not see things his way (1560).

Antonio Riccoboni at Padua inaugurates his Aristotle lectures by delineating three kinds of opponents: those whose nature leads them to condemn all arts, those who despise all elegance and humane studies, and those who think rhetoric is a threat to the society (1572). Nor were these attacks the work of only the under-educated. John Rainolds at Oxford inveighs against scholastic traditionalists: "where Aristotle bears sway, there all impiety rules and reigns; witness Paris, Padua ... Italy!" (1573).

These and other public defenses across Europe suggest that the social opposition to rhetoric and humane letters continued to be a real force, and encomia had more functions than ritual academic self-congratulation. I propose to look at these dynamics both in their broad outlines and in their specifics.

## Timothy Green Northern Michigan University

### *The Rhetorical Afterlife of Thomas More's Martyrdom in the Context of 16th/17th-Century English Populist Up*

Not long after he was executed in 1535 for his refusal to affirm Henry VIII's claims of supremacy, Thomas More's individual, theological disagreement with the King soon became a matter of public, political importance. This paper explores how More's personal, religiously-based dispute with Henry served complex rhetorical purposes for both political and literary considerations of popular resistance to oppressive authority, in the context of post-Reformation England.

This "rhetorical afterlife" of More's martyrdom was certainly prevalent among the English Catholic community, as seen, for example, in the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion against Henry VIII, led by a group of Yorkshire nobles and peasants in the year after More's execution. More's stand against the King was frequently disseminated and discussed among several of the northern nobles and conspirators, especially the rebel Thomas Darcy, who had both indirect and direct connections with More during his life. More's personal testimony of faith and conscience thus played an important role in the impetus for northern Catholics to move from dissatisfaction with the Henrician church reforms to outright armed protest.

More's example also went on to influence others in the next centuries—even among Protestant circles, he was respected as a martyr for conscience, and his story was dramatized for public consumption in the early 17th century play "Sir Thomas More," believed to have been written by Anthony Munday (with a few key parts perhaps contributed by William Shakespeare). The play takes up the issues of populism directly, as it stages two dramatic confrontations in which More played both sides in different moments of heated dissent from royal prerogative. More and his martyrdom thus became, very soon after his death, an archetypal example of the kind of political and personal bravery that is often extolled and praised in "populist" rhetoric even today.

## Danielle Griffin University of Maryland

### *Addressing (a) Poverty in Historiography: The Rhetorical Education of Poor Girls in Early Modern Charity Schools*

Considering the conference's theme of "populism," this talk attempts to redress the inattention to the literacies of poor children in histories of rhetorical education by examining archival material from charity schools and bluecoat schools in seventeenth century England. Histories of rhetorical education of the early modern period emphasize the grammar schools and universities reserved for boys of the upper classes or the private education of aristocratic girls. Unfortunately, these emphases have created a large imbalance in the field's history, effectively erasing the literacy education of poor children during the period to focus on more elite forms of rhetorical education.

Using historical records from bluecoat schools from the London Metropolitan Archives and other archival material from early modern charity schools, this talk examines the education of poor girls for a more complete history of rhetorical education. As this talk demonstrates, many poor girls received literacy instruction from such schools, and many learned to read even if they could not write. However, their education was designed to convey certain ideological patterns and therefore was substantially different from the traditional humanist education that elite boys enjoyed. After explaining how the educational agenda outlined for these places constitutes a kind of rhetorical education, I explore the ways that these stated educational goals communicated both classed and gendered ideologies of the period. To do so, I focus on these institutions' practices of reading and writing instruction, examining various administrative documents as well as printed curricular material to show how the teaching of writing was complicit in class-based ideologies of labor. Thus, re-writing the history of literacy instruction for poor girls not only reveals an alternative curriculum; it also demonstrates that these differences are heavily influenced by class and that rhetorical education was constructed in order to preserve certain class hierarchies.

## Daniel M. Gross University of California, Irvine

### *The Origins of Rhetorical Theory: Ann Arbor 1900*

Google Ngram metadata reveals that the English phrase "rhetorical theory" is not that old, appearing on the scene around 1900, and then picking up dramatically with critical and literary theory in the 1960s. How do we square this data with familiar arguments that rhetorical theory is much, much older? No doubt the chiasmic inverse theory of rhetoric – understood à la Edward Shiappa as systematic conceptualization of persuasive discourse – can be identified both earlier and more broadly. But this long view only applies to our contemporary rhetorical theory if we equivocate; much of what currently falls under the heading "rhetorical theory" has little or nothing to do with the systematic conceptualization of persuasive discourse – general, posthuman, eco-, and materialist rhetorics for example. Considered historically, what is the source of this equivocation, and what do we learn by way of its resolution? After reviewing some non-English alternatives including the Latin *doctrina rhetorica* and relevant arguments around Greek *ῥητορικὴ*, this presentation identifies the beginning of rhetorical theory in the work of University of Michigan PhD and then Vassar College Professor Gertrude Buck. "For the first time" writes Buck at the turn of the century, "pure" rhetorical theory detaches from practical analytics; her dissertation on metaphor published in the Ann Arbor series edited by Fred Newton Scott Contributions to Rhetorical Theory exemplifies how so. Finally the presentation explores how Buck, along with her near contemporaries C. S. Peirce and Friedrich Nietzsche, initiates rhetorical theory as a special type of invention.

## Dana Harrington Old Dominion University

### *Elocution and Auto-Affection: Constructing a Genealogy of a Practice*

The idea that speakers must first express emotions that they wish to evoke in the audience is a commonplace in the rhetorical tradition. Often citing Horace, “If you would have me weep, you must first feel grief yourself,” rhetors up through the 19th century insisted that speakers must inhabit the emotions they sought to raise in others. While auto-affection was seen as an essential rhetorical tool, few studies have addressed how students learned the techniques of this principle, perhaps because the romantic model of emotion as the spontaneous expression of inner feelings has obscured earlier affective models.

Recently, however, a resurgent interest in the history of emotion suggests the need to study the relation between rhetorical techniques and auto-affection. Heinrich Plett, for example, illustrates how visual description—the use of vivid imagery to create an affective scene—was a common technique of auto-affection (“*Enargeia* in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age,” 2012). While Plett focuses on the sense of sight, pedagogical texts also suggest that movement or *actio* could serve to call forth emotional states. In this paper, I focus on how students were taught to evoke such states in themselves through elocutionary training—through learning the gestures and movements linked with particular passions. I illustrate the link between auto-affection and movement by examining passages from 18th and 19th-century elocutionary texts such as John Walker’s “*Elements of Elocution*” and Gilbert Austin’s “*Chironomia*.”

## Debra Hawhee Pennsylvania State University

### *Plato, Color, and 'Skiagraphia'*

In his 1964 meditation on Chaucer’s relationship to “the Rhetoricians,” James J. Murphy appends this footnote to his brief but tantalizing discussion of “the terms color or colour and 'colours of rethorike'”: “The tangled history of these terms remains to be written” (9n4). In the intervening years, a few scholars have offered treatments of the phrase “colors of rhetoric” (in addition to Arbusow, whom Murphy cites; see in particular Roller, Carruthers, Fairweather, and Camargo), though most describe it, as does George Kennedy, as the figure for figures.

This paper intends to dig more deeply into rhetoric’s relationship to color, seeking connections to the vibrant material worlds of ancient pigments. A sturdy starting point would seem to be Plato’s discussions of *chrōma* (color) in the *Republic*, *Philebus*, *Phaedrus*, *Sophist* and elsewhere. Indeed, this paper will argue that Plato’s conception of rhetor-as-painter is vital to a full understanding of the seemingly disparate conceptions of rhetoric’s colors in Seneca and Cicero, and that Plato’s presentation of *skiagraphia* (shadow painting) as illusion is also an important part of the pre-history of the Roman treatments of colors. This paper, then, will consider Plato’s accounts of ancient painters and painting as a first step to sorting out the “tangled history” of color in rhetoric’s vibrant past.

## Mary Hedengren University of Houston, Clear Lake

### *Plato's Case Against Professional Rhetoric Professors and Contemporary Reiterations*

Plato’s dialogue *Protagoras* (c 390-380 BCE), which is also known as *The Sophists*, is sometimes parsed as a debate whether “being good is something that can be taught” (9326e). To that end, it has ambiguous conclusions--Socrates himself seems to completely reverse his position mid-dialogue--but this paper argues that the *Protagoras* is not just an argument about whether good can be taught, but whether that teaching should be professionalized. Following Longaker’s (2015) call to “further consider capitalism’s role in rhetoric’s development,” this paper focuses on the dialogue’s preoccupation with paid ethical and rhetorical instruction. In the *Protagoras*, young Hippocrates wants to hire professional teachers visiting from outside his community, and not rely on local amateur teachers ranging from fathers to what might be called the “situated learning” (Lave and Wenger, 1991) of growing up in one’s own ethical community. Socrates challenges Hippocrates’ willingness to spend not only his own money, but also his family’s money on tuition from an outsider (311d). This debate between outside professionals and homespun instruction prefigures a contemporary debate about the value of the liberal arts instruction in American public universities: should tax and tuition dollars be spent on outsiders promising to teach critical thinking rather than relying on the transmission of practical wisdom through local non-specialists? The issue is no less fraught for the professionals within the field, the modern-day equivalents of Plato’s Sophists. As Too (2000) has argued, if teachers are seen as possessing the keys to a moral and competent community, how can they ethically wield bargaining power in threatening to leave society without their crucial instruction? This paper argues that Plato’s *Protagoras* foreshadows current populist anxiety about the value of the liberal arts and the funding of its alien professors.

## Kyle Helms St. Olaf College

### *Lorenzo Valla on Quintilian, Inst. 2.16: Populist Rhetoric and Other Dangers*

One of Quintilian’s most important commentators remains Lorenzo Valla, whose autograph annotations on the *Institutio* still survive (Cesarini Martinelli and Perosa 1996). Yet despite Valla’s admiration for Quintilian (Regoliosi 2010), the humanist was also unafraid of criticizing his favorite rhetor. One such case comes at *Inst.* 2.16, where Quintilian considers whether rhetoric is useful. Quintilian starts by cataloguing the complaints of rhetoric’s critics, for example, rhetoric’s ability to free the guilty, convict the innocent, and incite violent populist movements. Valla criticizes Quintilian’s opening here, shared by his Ciceronian models, as being “without good sense” (*non prudenter*). “For,” Valla explains, “to do this in the beginning is to frighten away readers from the pursuit of this art.” In this paper, I use Valla’s criticism as a springboard to reconsider Quintilian’s rhetorical strategy at 2.16. I argue that Quintilian does not raise the specter of the potential dangers of rhetoric thoughtlessly, but is instead building himself into a literary tradition that used the “dangerous opening” as part of a strategic calculation to capture attention.

First, taking up Valla’s suggestion that Quintilian follows Cicero at 2.16, a careful comparison reveals that Quintilian is indeed closely modeling his own passage on the first preface of the *De inventione* (1.1–5), where Cicero too opens with rhetoric’s potential for destabilizing communities. Building on an observation from Marius Victorinus (*Comm. Rhet.* p. 1.7ff. Riesenweber; cf. Lévy 1995), we can then see that in its original context the “dangerous opening” was actually a strategic choice. Cicero pursued the usual prooimial search formulae, and included the potential dangers of rhetoric as part of a calculation to magnify his topic’s importance (*rerum magnitudo*: Lausberg §270). It therefore becomes clear that Quintilian’s opening is more complex and much more premeditated than a simple lapse of good sense.

## Rodney Herring University of Colorado Denver

*Pelatih Webster, Economic Writing, and Populist Rhetoric in Early America*

Pelatih Webster has been described as the first American economist and celebrated by modern economists of the Austrian school for his advocacy of free trade in the eighteenth century. But this is an odd celebration when we consider Webster's economic policies in their totality. Webster published over two dozen essays on political economy between 1776 and 1789 (and collected them in *Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finances, and Other Subjects* in 1791). His views on taxation, in particular, sound less like Austrian school economics than like 1890s American-style populism. He argued in 1783, for instance, for a federal government empowered to tax heavily all imports “consumed by the rich or prodigal part of the community.” Webster's populism did not position “the people” as victims of elite exploitation, nor did his rhetoric depend upon the kinds of nativism that appear in more recent populist rhetoric that has called attention to the economic struggles and anxieties of “real” Americans. Instead, he argued that necessary costs (like the Revolutionary War) were a “burden” that should fall “equally on all, in proportion to their abilities.” In place of a rhetoric of blame, in other words, Webster's populist rhetoric emphasized egalitarian processes—processes whose costs would be borne by all and whose benefits would accrue to all people. Reconsidering Webster's essays, this paper argues that at a time when critics both from the left and the right have questioned whether populist rhetoric can be used ethically, Webster's rhetorical practice suggests a more hopeful answer than those critics have returned so far.

## Cory Holding University of Pittsburgh

*Space, Weight, Time, Flow: Reading Rhetorical Space through Notational Systems of Gesture*

Gilbert Austin's *Chironomia* (1806) is best remembered for Figure 18: the sphere-encased rhetor. The sphere resembles a globe: an equator, two tropics and longitudinal lines. At its core, the lone rhetor: “the center of the breast shall coincide with [the sphere's] centre,” Austin says, “the positions and motions of the arms are referred to, and determined by these circles and their intersections” (310). Figure 18 captures Austin's objective: to develop a manual notation system that records the minutiae of actio in order to study, replicate, and hone oratorical movement sequences. Austin's globular system is as exacting as it is ambitious; the palm at any moment, for example, may be (p.) prone, (s.) supine, (o.) outwards, (f.) forwards, (b.) backwards, or (v.) vertical, while fingers (c.) clinch, (g.) grasp, (x.) extend, (h.) hold, or (l.) collect.

The rhetor in the sphere echoes in twentieth-century choreutics, famously developed by Rudolf von Laban (1879-1958) for dance choreography, which aims to capture the “spatial intention” of a mover in “kinesphere.” Attempting to leave no twitch untouched, Laban tracks gesture in terms of time, weight, space and flow.

This paper explores the resonance between these systems of motion capture. It unfolds in three parts. The first describes Austin and Laban's gesture notational systems, and their particular exigencies. The second offers a comparative analysis of each system through their common use of “performed” notation—that is, a kind of inscriptive bodily cataloguing. Finally, I discuss the implications of my analysis for gestural rhetoric. It seems obvious that gesture be thought in terms of movements-in-space; but most efforts to systematize rhetorical gestures do so through two-dimensional recording. This paper reads Austin and Laban together to explore the implications for our understandings of body rhetoric of a move from catalogues and taxonomies, to choreographies of communicative movement.

## Marie Humeau University Paris Nanterre

*Training young French people "in the antique way": pedagogical and civic issues of Latin discourse (France, 19th century)*

My proposal is part of a history of education, through the prism of teaching rhetoric. I wish to observe the pedagogical modalities as well as the cultural issues of rhetoric in Latin in France in the 19th century.

School rhetoric, based on the production of speech by the student, was conceived as a complete intellectual and civic education, before being disqualified at the turn of the 20th century, which seals “the end of rhetoric as the ideal coronation of the classical humanities. (F. Douay-Soublin). Although this evolution has been carefully studied in the French language exercises (A. Chervel, F. Douay-Soublin, M. Jey), the exercises in Latin are still largely to be exploited. I will rely on the topics of “Latin composition” treated by students, the restoration of the class of Rhetoric by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808, until their abolition of the baccalaureate in 1880; as well as textbooks,

I will show how these school productions are nourished by Antiquity (conceptual framework, use of Latin as a school language, historical, literary and moral themes drawn almost exclusively from the great examples of Greco-Roman antiquity, and especially exercises inspired by progymnasmata - “Preparatory exercises” practiced in ancient schools), but also how this reference is remodeled and sometimes emptied of its meaning. I will then try to distinguish in what way the progressive sclerosis of these exercises reflects the profound upheavals of pedagogical reflection in France, resituating it in the European context. I will finally observe the implications concerning the ideal of formation of the citizen.

## Curtis Hyra University of Windsor

*What's Wrong with Populism?*

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle cautions the reader against the sophist, whose persuasional affect is limited to legal defenses and trickery; those who can reason both sides of an argument will see past these tactics. On politics Aristotle seems more ambivalent. While he rejects Plato's *Philosopher Kings*, in other places he disdains the populist demagogue. We are left wondering about the mean between the political elite and populist demagogue. I approach the question of the role of rhetoric in the balance of democratic movements from argumentation theory.

In a democracy, populism is the goal – to ensure that leaders are chosen by those whom they represent. However, the core values at stake here need further rhetorical negotiation, as “populism” is often defined as a concern for ordinary people against some political elite, where the concepts of “ordinary” and “elite” are nebulous at best. In some sense, any political movement can be considered populist if it gains enough support from the populus. The problem, then, is not “is populism good?” or “is populism bad?”. The question is: How do we rhetorically navigate competing populisms?

To address this question, I will draw some insights about democratic society from Aristotle. I will infer from his *Rhetoric* the power and need for rhetoric in a well-formed democracy. Next, I will draw on the concept of deliberative democracy to understand the essential role rhetoric plays in shaping society. I then turn to Christopher Tindale's cognitive environment to see where we find the values of society, and then to Michael Leff and Fred Kauffeld to see how we can shape these values through rhetorical argumentation.

Viewed in this light, I find that populism should be embraced. We need to find ways to rhetorically steer the values found in the populus, rather than accept or reject populism outright.

## Johnson Ige Howard University

*“Violence and Rhetoric at the Crossroads of Populism: African Perspective.”*

Political Rhetoric often degenerates into populist demagoguery when, especially, there is a case of stolen election. Political orators seek to protect, rightly or wrongly what they assume is their mandate. In this case they resort to inflammatory and violent rhetoric, a symbolic act that results in actual violence and destruction lives and property. If not curtailed, this approach often conditions the victor’s regime to veer toward unrestrained incidences of mass and targeted assassinations, sporadic riots and strikes, corruption and intimidation. Africa’s recent history has witnessed this rhetoricised violence from Nigeria to Kenya to Ivory coast and even South Africa during and after the liberation struggle. This paper will therefore contextualise populism within the African Rhetorical space, a locus of tension between progress and stagnation. Then, the paper will propose a series of questions for African Rhetors to consider in their roles as leaders and popular intellectuals.

## Svitlana Jaroszynski Florida State University

*La Facultad as Rhetorical Agency in Ukrainian Populist Resistance:*

*Applying Gloria Anzaldua’s Concept to Oksana Zabuzhko’s Fieldwork in Ukrainian Sex*

In this paper, I argue for the powerful role of la facultad as rhetorical agency in the populist resistance of the Ukrainians to the imposition of the Russian culture under the Soviet Union. Often viewed as a negative political strategy, populism nonetheless carries an element of opposition to the established system of power and its values. In the Soviet Ukraine, this resistance was aimed against the domination of the Russian culture forced onto its local ethnic population. The atmosphere of oppression and fear (when one could be imprisoned and executed for writing poetry in his/her native language) led to the inevitable development of la facultad among the Ukrainians. Developed in Gloria Anzaldua, la facultad consists of a feeling of acute awareness and capacity to see through the surface of reality and constitutes a survival strategy for those who feel unsafe in the world. However, la facultad also supports rhetorical agency. Armed with la facultad, a writer can give voice to the marginalized and oppressed “common people” and challenge the privileged elites. The force of la facultad as rhetorical agency in the Ukrainian context is demonstrated through an analysis of Fieldwork in Ukrainian Sex, a semi-autobiographical novel by a modern Ukrainian feminist philosopher and writer Oksana Zabuzhko that explores the effects of oppression on personal and national identity through a metaphoric depiction of a failed love affair. I conclude by returning to the intersection of populism and rhetorical resources, emphasizing the positive force of populism for suppressed people and resilience of vulnerable populations who find the power to act in their very vulnerability.

## Susan C. Jarratt & Jonathan Alexander University of California, Irvine

*The Podcast as Populist Rhetoric*

The podcast – an episodic series of sound essays usually heard via a mobile device, often by subscription – was created in 1995 in the US with This American Life (TAL) and named in 2004 by BBC journalist Ben Hammersley. Its popularity – 2.5 million people per week downloaded episodes of TAL in 2018 – qualifies it as a notable 21st-century medium of populist rhetoric. This collaborative presentation examines two popular examples – Serial and S-town, both Peabody award-winning podcasts – to analyze their genealogy, generic features, and rhetorical appeal, thus initiating rhetorically informed scholarship on this medium.

We begin by situating podcasts in a longer history of 19th-century serial fiction published in magazines: a populist phenomenon creating communities of readers across class lines. Related to the 20th-century emergence of radio, to news reporting as story telling, and especially to the rising popularity of the “true crime” genre, podcasts may be understood as a populist subspecies of legal rhetoric. Many are inspired by crimes – e.g., the murder of a Baltimore high school girl by her boyfriend (Serial) and a murder reported by an eccentric inhabitant of a small Alabama town (S-Town) – but develop into cultural quests through extended interviews with a central subject by a sympathetic journalist. As the details of the crimes unfold through the protocols of legal testimony, rants, and revelations, listeners are invited to exercise phronêsis, the capacity for rhetorical judgment. Despite occasional real-world impacts such as the judicial review of a murder conviction (Serial), podcasts run the risk of spectacularizing the lives of “exceptional” individuals (often “others”), as popular narrative techniques are used to concoct compelling stories. In the process, the critique of norms inherent in the genre runs the risk of being tamed, as the rhetorical promise of podcasting is derailed into sensationalism.

## John Jasso Ave Maria University

*Cosmo-populism: Tripartitional Rhetoric in Homer and Plato*

Scholars debate about the sincerity of Plato’s division of the soul into three parts when two would do. Critics suggest Plato is bound to this innovation by his comparison of the soul with the city – and even defenders find the fit awkward and unprecedented (e.g., Dewey (1934), Cooper (1984) Ferrari (2005), and Blössner (2007)). Conversely, I argue for a pre-platonic tradition of a tri-motivational scheme that relates the city with the soul as macrocosm to microcosm and identifies the importance of rhetoric in maintaining the structural integrity of each.

Specifically, I consider four instances from the Iliad as instructive for Platonic rhetorical psychology: the Judgment of Paris, the Shield of Achilles, the Embassy to Achilles and the Supplication of Priam. The Judgment and the Shield establish a tripartition of desires and suggest fragmentation as a grave societal crisis. The Embassy translates the societal crisis to the psychological level. At the beginning of Book 9, Diomedes accuses Agamemnon of being “divided” [diandixa], the same term used to describe Achilles’ attitude towards Agamemnon. Thus, the exigence of the Achaeans is one of fragmentation – of their forces, their hero, and their king. By viewing the Embassy as a representation of the people aimed at integrating the “minds” of Achilles and reintegrating him into the popular forces, I argue that Homer anticipates Plato’s theory that speech can guide the elements of a dis-integrated soul back into harmony and thereby heal the wounds of a fragmented polis. Consequently, I identify fragmentation as the ultimate crisis of both city and soul, a crisis that can only be addressed by a rhetoric – and a rhetorician – of integrity. This reading justifies Plato’s tripartition of the soul, it’s micro-macrocosmic analogy with the city, and the importance of rhetoric to the wellbeing of both.

## Mauro Jiménez Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

*Política y retórica en la filosofía de Ortega y Gasset*

Mi propuesta de comunicación para el XXII Congreso Bienal de la ISHR busca conectar la reflexión filosófica que de la política hizo el pensador español Ortega y Gasset con el papel que según el filósofo madrileño debía tener la retórica en el ágora parlamentario y periodístico. De este modo, propongo una reflexión retórica de la política desde la filosofía orteguiana como contrapunto a la expresión retórica de la política populista de nuestros días.

El pensamiento filosófico de Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) estuvo caracterizado por un interés constante hacia el estilo expresivo, de modo que su vínculo con la retórica no supone ningún esfuerzo. En el interés orteguiano hacia la retórica podemos distinguir tanto una prosa con una inequívoca voluntad persuasiva merced a su expresividad elocutiva, como un acercamiento especulativo al saber retórico clásico. Además, su actividad parlamentaria y periodística son dos ejemplos de actualización retórica en un momento político de la historia española de gran actividad. De este modo, en mi propuesta mostraré el importante factor retórico en la expresividad orteguiana, así como el análisis retórico que el filósofo realizó de la situación política de su momento histórico y su crítica al populismo.

## Andre E. Johnson University of Memphis

*"Preaching Will Move the People Sooner or Later": Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and the Rhetorical Pedagogy of Preaching*

While AME Bishop Henry McNeal Turner (1834-1915) did not write a book or any one-essay length work on preaching, in examining his corpus, one would find that Turner wrote extensively on the subject. Through the many articles, letters, and essays published by Turner during his lifetime, he devoted a considerable amount of time to the practical and theoretical tenets of preaching within the African American preaching tradition. Moreover, as his writings would attest, Turner was also knowledgeable of rhetoric. Though not traditionally schooled, Turner nevertheless offered advice and counsel to preachers on the homiletical craft as well as reviews on both good and bad preaching as well as liturgical advice and counsel.

In this presentation, I examine some of the writings of Bishop Turner to unearth his methodological and pedagogical approaches to a rhetoric of preaching. In addition, I argue that an understanding of Turner's preaching grounds itself in an understanding of rhetoric as both persuasion and art. In closing, I suggest that understudied figures like Turner would provide insights and avenues in the areas of both homiletics and preaching.

## Daniel Kapust University of Wisconsin, Madison

*Hobbes, Cicero, and the Road not Taken*

The story of this paper is the story of a road not taken by Thomas Hobbes, and it is a story of his relation to, and rejection of, Cicero. This story is rooted in the fact that some of the 18th century's most perceptive critics of Hobbes – Shaftesbury, Hume, and Smith – were, in different respects, Ciceronians. This is not simply to say that they knew Cicero and were influenced by him. Rather, it is to say that they each shared certain fundamental premises with each other that have a distinctly Ciceronian quality: the fact of human sociability, a fact with normative import; the origins of human virtues in sociability; the key role of intersubjectivity in the formation of the human personality and the development of the virtues; the non-contractual foundations of human society; and the centrality of rhetoric to politics. Each of these premises, located in Cicero and deployed against Hobbes by his 18th century critics, was rejected in one form or another by Hobbes. None of these figures had much use for Hobbes's apparent egoism, his rationalistic account of contract, or his seemingly limited moral psychology, or his asocial view of human nature. Hobbes's engagement with, and rejection of, a number of Cicero's key claims about sociability and language, each of which profoundly shaped his thought, also shaped subsequent reactions to and rejections of Hobbes. In this regard, I turn to Hobbes's rejection of Cicero to see just where and how they differ, and to see how Hobbes's critical engagement with Cicero shaped both his own thought and the century to come. Hobbes, in this regard, is a pivotal figure in what might be termed an anti-Ciceronian tradition in political thought.

## Allannah Karas Valparaiso University

*Peitho: The Love Goddess of Oratory*

From the fifth century BCE onward in ancient Greece, the personified goddess Peitho (loosely translated, "Persuasion") stood at the intersection of the public and private spheres in drama, worship, and oratory. While several scholars have already expounded on Peitho's mythological heritage and eventual association with persuasive speech, few have examined her tradition in terms of the history of rhetoric. This paper not only traces extant references to Peitho as a goddess of private devotion and public persuasion, but it also proposes an examination of Peitho as a form of amatory persuasion inextricably intertwined with the development of rhetoric in ancient Greece.

Although non-personified derivatives of Peitho have also been used to define or describe the rhetorical art from the time of Socrates (Phaedr. 271a2) and Aristotle (Rh. 1355b25-26) to Dionysus of Halicarnassus (Comp. 2.14) and Longinus (Subl. 20. 1-2), this paper focuses on Peitho as a deity who straddles both the private and public spheres. In Aeschylus' Suppliants, for example, Peitho is called upon to aid King Pelasgus in a speech to his people (Aesch. Suppl. 523), but, later, the Danaids beg her help to ward off a forced marriage (Aesch. Suppl. 1037-1041). Literary and inscriptional references to the worship of a private, erotic Peitho abound in poetry (e.g., Pind, Pyth. 9.39), drama (Soph. Trach. 660-62), and later sources (Paus. 1.22.3; Paus. 2.21.1; IG XII (2). 73). Peitho's cult enters the realm of civic oratory with Isocrates (Antid. 15.249. 1-6), Demosthenes (Exord. 54), Aeschines (In Ctes. 256), and even much later with Dio Chrysostom (Orat. 1.9.10). Weaving in and out private and public situations in ancient Greek oratory, drama, and worship, the goddess Peitho bears witness to the enduring presence of the erotic in ancient Greek rhetoric as it developed from the fifth century BCE through to the Second Sophistic.

## James Kastely University of Houston

*Misrepresentation and the Philosophical Problem of Rhetoric*

As Anne Carson has remarked, the Phaedrus has enthralled readers for over two millennia—its meaning seeming to be graspable only to slip away. Readers continually wrestle with the dialogue's apparent contradictions: for example, does the dialogue satisfy its own criteria for a unified and organic form; what is to be made of a written dialogue that denigrates the value of writing? Certainly, Plato was aware of these contradictions, so this raises the question of representation or, more importantly, of misrepresentation. In this paper, I will argue that Plato believes that it the inescapability of misrepresentation makes rhetoric into a philosophical problem.

In the Phaedrus, Socrates introduces the issue of rhetoric in the context of deception and misrepresentation. He raises this issue not to bring ethical objections against rhetoric but to suggest that if a rhetor wishes to deceive his audience successfully and not be deceived himself, then he must have knowledge of his speech's subject matter. As becomes clear later, deception and misrepresentation cannot be discounted simply as lapses on the part of individual rhetors. A semantic ambiguity inheres in ethical, political, and aesthetic language. This ambiguity leads to conflict and division. Socrates offers dialectic as a resource with which to address this ambiguity. But, given his earlier claims in the Palinode that all human vision and understanding is partial and unstable, it is not clear that dialectic can provide stable resolutions to the conflicts and divisions that arise from this ambiguity. Plato's concern is with the consequences of being a creature whose discourse cannot be grounded in an external referent.

I will argue that Plato's concern with misrepresentation and deception is what makes his theory of rhetoric philosophical and marks its radical difference from the major emphasis in the Western rhetorical tradition, which justifies rhetoric as a practical art.

## Brandon Katzir Oklahoma City University

*Baal's Bodies: Populism and the Rhetoric of Ba'al Worship in the Hebrew Bible*

The prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible (Tanakh) incorporates a range of themes: governance (and mis-governance), justice, foreign diplomacy in the ancient Near East, military adventurism, and palace intrigue among others. Religion pervades each of these themes, and the status of the Israelite religion is consistently interrogated in the literature. In particular, the prophets battle the unremitting prevalence of Ba'al worship among the Israelites. Ba'al, a Semitic god worshiped in the Ancient Near East, is the subject of the Ugaritic Ba'al cycle and featured prominently in polytheistic writings and rituals across the Levant. The prophets' exhortations against Ba'al worship attest to the deity's popularity in the Israelite kingdoms at the time the prophetic canon was composed, which ranged from 538-322 BCE. If we take the prophets at face value, it's clear that Ba'al worship enjoyed support among the social groups comprising ancient Israel and Judea: Ba'al was worshipped by Israelite and Judean kings, masses of people including farmers and shepherds, and in 1 and 2 Kings, Elijah and King Yehu gather hundreds of Israelites described variously as priests or prophets of Ba'alism.

Using prophetic rhetoric, I argue that Ba'al worship in ancient Israel constituted a populist religion and that the popularity of Ba'al is based in part on the representation of his physicality. Whereas the Israelite God resists physical representation in the Tanakh, Ba'al's physicality is part of his allure. There are statues of Ba'al, Ba'al was thought to physically aid warriors in battle, and many Ba'alist religious rites are sexual in nature. In the paper, I argue that the prophets and their rhetoric represents a persuasive attempt to argue the merits of the Israelite religion over the Ba'alist populism of the Israelite kingdoms. Finally, I argue that the prophetic literature concludes with sobering lessons about political and religious populism.

## Curry Kennedy Pennsylvania State University

*The 'ABC with a catechism': Reading toward Popular Sovereignty in the Petty Schools of England ca. 1540-1660*

At least since Quintilian sought to "regulate the studies of the orator from his infancy," scholars have acknowledged the importance of childhood education for the formation of rhetorical cultures. In Early Modern English rhetoric, in particular, Peter Mack, Brian Vickers, and others have convincingly argued that rhetorical training in English grammar schools (ca. 1540-1660) provided pupils with shared tools of analysis and invention as they prepared to enter a print-powered public sphere.

That said, education in this period did not begin with grammar school; I would contend that, because they have overlooked the texts and practices of petty schools, in which almost all literate persons learned to read, these scholars have been unable to explain a signal feature of the rhetorical culture of this period: the slowly intensifying impulse toward religious and political popular sovereignty.

The official pedagogical texts of English petty schools were copies of the new catechism of the Church of England. Rhetorical analysis of this book, known as the 'ABC with a catechism,' reveals that petty schools taught students to imagine reading as a form of internal dialogue. Learning at first to play the role of student in an external game of question-and-answer, the student finally internalized this game by memorizing the catechism as a whole. Such internalization opened a space of conversation in which the student could interrogate what he read. This space of deliberation gave the student the personal competence to, as John Milton put it, "exercise his own leading capacity" when it came to participation in rhetorical life. Such an education would help prompt the people to refuse, increasingly, to be treated as objects of command by their rulers, and to insist instead that they be treated as persuadable audiences. In short, the practices surrounding the 'ABC with a catechism' helped make populisms possible.

## Joanna Kenty Radboud University

*Levitas: a Ciceronian Metaphor for Populism*

In the last decades of the Roman republic, Cicero confronted many opponents who claimed to be populists. In attacking these populists, Cicero often accused them of demonstrating *levitas*. This term is crucial to understanding Cicero's anti-populist rhetoric, I argue, and it conveys a multitude of value-laden assumptions and prejudices which not only operate in Roman politics of the first century BCE but even permeate modern political discourses today.

*Levitas*, in Latin, is the opposite of *gravitas*, the quality of "weight" or "weightiness" associated with sober, reliable statesmen of consequence. By contrast, *levitas*, literally "lightness," implies a lack of weight which results from a neglect of or disregard for settled principles. In political contexts, the word is (I argue) best translated as "a lack of integrity." While the grave statesman is consistent and predictable, the "light" populist is capricious, careless, apt to be blown off course from one position to another, contrary one. *Gravitas*, in Cicero's view, demands an adherence to traditional values and conservative strategies, while *levitas* rejects and subverts the old and familiar in search of the novel and untested.

Cicero uses this metaphor to discredit opponents, and especially to link populists not with "the people" but with "the mob," a notional group as fickle and unpredictable as the populists themselves. The mob, to him, is a force of nature which *gravitas* can resist and constrain; *levitas* will unleash it for immediate personal advantage, regardless of longer-term consequences. Cicero thus uses this metaphor to depict mass oratory not as a triumph of republican politics, but as a threat to be feared and resisted. The legacy of this mode of thinking is still with us. When we blame demagoguery for the fall of the Roman republic (or others), it is often in the terms set by Cicero's rhetoric of *levitas*.

## Kihoon Kim Seoul National University

*The Republic and the Rhetoric of War: Cicero's Contio Speeches against an Enemy*

It is known that the *contio* or *apud populum* speeches occupy some portions of the 58 speeches of Cicero which are extant. Among them there are four orations that can be classified within the one common group, the 2nd and 3rd *Catilinarians* (63 BCE), the 4th and 6th *Philippics* (44/43 BCE). These speeches seem to have in common the parallel speeches in the senate and to aim at enemies-within of the state in the period of crisis, *Catiline* and *Mark Antony*. They are to be declared as the public enemy immediately or sometime later after the speeches performed. Although, in the course of political development, the senate had the actual power and authority, yet Cicero tried to secure the people's support and to influence over them. His stance on the people also shows the relevant interaction between the public opinion and the decision making in the body politic of the Roman Republic, *S.P.Q.R.*

But afterwards his consular year (63 BCE) caused Cicero to undergo hardships and to take a step back from politics. The people, whose popularity he gained, turned back at once to his political opponents. Even after his return from the exile, actually Cicero could not carry out any remarkable role in politics until the *Philippic* orations. When the crisis with opportunity happened, he appeared on the scene once again with the rhetoric of war as twenty years ago. But his policy, claim and tone seem to be more careful and subtle than in the *Catilinarians*. Especially, in this paper, it is to be showed that such change of rhetorical strategy in the *contio* speeches of different period is noticeable in regard to his former failure of populism, the way of forming public opinion, by analyzing the aspect of his *reprehensio* (self-correction) in the *Philippics*.



## Nam-See Kim & Jung-sam Yum Ewha Womans University/Inha University

*Western Understanding of the Chinese Characters by using*

*Rhetorical traditions: in the Case of Matteo Ricci (1552-1610)'s Xiguojifa 西國記法*

Matteo Ricci(1552-1610) was a pioneer in formulating the Jesuit missionary approach to China in the 16th century. His attitude toward Chinese culture was relatively balanced between praise and criticism. Xiguojifa 西國記法 was written by Ricci, who had much interest in learning the Chinese written language, and was published by Zhudinghan 朱鼎澐 after Ricci's death. This book demonstrates not only a Western scholar's effort to understand the Chinese characters, but also methods for easily memorizing the words and things by 'Art of Memory', and categorizing the characters by Western logic and metaphor theory. Ricci's ultimate goal is to demonstrate an efficient way in memorizing the things and words based on Western tradition including rhetorical and logical training. In Xiguojifa, Ricci introduced the art of memory based on 'Ad Herennium' outlines. Through images of words, he tried to explain the features of Chinese characters. He thought if we make use of the icons of characters, we can easily understand how to know the meaning of characters. What's notable about Ricci is his remark about the written Chinese evoking images of the words. Ricci had an understanding of the Chinese language based, not only on Western rhetoric theories, but also Chinese traditional theory which came from his personal experience living in China.

When European culture encountered that of China in the 16th and 17th centuries, Jesuits were willing to accept the Chinese culture and tradition. This research can help us to comprehend Jesuit accommodative ideas of Chinese characters and their rhetorical phases at a very early stage of their activity in China.

## Gabriele Knappe University of Bamberg

*Old English Rhetorical Vocabulary*

The evidence that has come down to us suggests that rhetoric was no school subject in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies of the trivium centred on grammar. What strategies were needed for the effective production of vernacular texts seems to have been taken from grammar lessons, such as the figures and tropes, and maybe from the praeexercitamina, too. On the other hand, the art of speaking seems to have been valued highly in Anglo-Saxon society. Thus, in the Germanic tradition, Beowulf and other heroes would fight with words first, then physically; in the Christian/Latin tradition, too, the art of speaking features, for instance, among the valuable skills in the vernacular poem "The Gifts of Men". Furthermore, judging from first explorations into the topic, it seems that the Old English words in the conceptual field of the art of speaking are quite positively connotated. Thus, for instance, Old English words denoting 'eloquent / eloquence / eloquent speech' are taken from the domains of speaking (cwedol) or poetry and narrative (gydd) in general, but more particularly they metaphorically or metonymically address the features 'readiness of the tongue' (getyng) and 'readiness of the word' (gearu-wyrde), 'sharpness of eye and mind' (glēaw), and also 'fire' (fȳren) and a 'golden mouth' (gylden-mūþa).

This paper intends to explore the Anglo-Saxons' conceptual field of rhetoric as expressed by the words they used in their vernacular. It builds on recent, electronically searchable lexicographical tools, in particular "The Thesaurus of Old English", "The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary", "The Dictionary of Old English" and the online version of Bosworth-Toller's "Anglo-Saxon Dictionary".

## Manfred Kraus Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen

*Cicero the Populist*

Marcus Tullius Cicero has not been known that much for being a populist politician and orator, but rather for attacking adversaries that prided themselves on being 'populares', such as Verres, Rullus, Catilina, Clodius, Gabinius and Piso, or even Caesar. Yet, on occasions, especially when he craved the people's approval for his political aims, he quite easily turned the tables on his adversaries and created an ethos of himself as the true friend and defender of the people.

This particular line of argument can be traced as early as in the Verrine orations, it is notably conspicuous in speeches from Cicero's consulate year, especially in the speeches against the agrarian law, in Pro Rabirio and the Catilinarian speeches; it then becomes most prominent again in Pro Sestio and other post reditum speeches, and continues to appear up to the Philippics.

Starting from an analysis of Cicero's personal handling of the vague term 'popularis' and his redefinition of that term by replacing its traditional ideological ingredients with basically optimum values such as pax, libertas, otium, or concordia, the paper will demonstrate how adroitly Cicero managed to adapt his rhetoric to his respective audiences and to play on the latent antagonism of senate and populus. It will describe the various 'populist' argumentative strategies employed by him, such as insinuating a split between the true populus Romanus and the vile mob, associating Roman res publica with populus, drawing on his own low parentage as homo novus vs. the nobiles as well as on his personal legitimation by popular vote, and finally denouncing his adversaries as a new would-be elite, a small clique that conspired against the best interest of the people, stirred discordia and seditio, and ultimately strove for regnum, whose greed for power hence needed to be curtailed.

## Christos Kremmydas Royal Holloway, University of London

*Narrative and Suspense in Attic Forensic Oratory*

Meir Sternberg has argued (1978) that narrative is underpinned by a complex nexus of devices and strategies that bring the meaning of a literary work home to the reader and manipulate his reactions. [Ps.]Demetrius' On Style (216) praises the Greek historian Ctesias for creating enargeia ("vividness") in a passage in the Persica where he relates Cyrus' death after the battle of Cunaxa in 401. He also commends the way in which Ctesias characterizes individuals by drip-feeding information and interspersing it with dialogue. He avers that a disastrous event should be presented "only gradually, keeping the reader in suspense and forcing him to share the anguish". Suspense (agonia) is certainly an important quality of literary narratives and a means of engendering fear and anticipation in an audience.

Although the study of Classical Greek narrative has benefited enormously from narratological approaches (e.g. de Jong 2001, 2004 and Lowe 2000), such approaches have had a limited application to the study of Attic forensic oratory (Edwards 2004), whilst the role of suspense has not attracted scholarly attention.

In this paper, I shall examine its function in narratives embedded in selected forensic speeches delivered in public cases (Dem. 18, 19, Aeschin. 2, [Dem.] 59). I shall also discuss different techniques that help create suspense (e.g. enargeia, manipulation of narrative time, use of documents and embedded speeches) and their likely effect on audiences in high-stakes lawcourt cases. Finally, I shall examine whether the operation of suspense is constrained by the legal and rhetorical context of individual speeches and reflect on the interfaces between forensic oratory and historiography in terms of creating suspenseful narratives.

## Haixia Lan University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

### *What Do Comparative Rhetoricians Invent?*

The issue of what rhetoricians invent is closely related to the theme of the conference, populism: What is the purpose of rhetoric's "perceived focus on manipulation of popular thought and emotions"? In this paper, I compare Aristotle's and Chinese Daoists Lao/Zhuang's rhetorical teachings, both taking some issue with the established authorities of, respectively, Platonic and Confucian rhetoric. I argue that despite the differences between what was popular and was established in the two respective ancient cultures, both Aristotle and Lao/Zhuang saw probable knowledge as a rhetorical product and, in that sense, valued populism and democracy.

I will develop this argument by discussing the connections between probable knowledge and populism and would like to propose that we in comparative rhetoric heed this ancient model and deem what we help invent, cross-cultural communication, probable, "populist," or democratic. More specifically, since both Daoists Lao/Zhuang and Aristotle take rhetoric as integral to our inquiry into the daos/truths of things, they urge us to invent probable knowledge by never losing touch with the larger or "populist" conversation. To them, knowledge rhetorically invented can contain both truth and opinion; therefore, this limited knowledge can help us cover each other's blind spot and refine our insights.

Acting upon this "populist" and perhaps necessarily democratic instinct of rhetoric, we may help foster in ourselves both confidence and open-mindedness, avoid overgeneralizations of both the self and the other, and aspire to be eclectic or interdisciplinary, becoming conversant with the necessarily disparate results of rhetorical invention and adept at negotiating them.

## Jameela Lares University of Southern Mississippi

### *Challenging a Popular Commonplace: (Re)Introducing \_Movere\_ to Children's Literature Criticism*

In this paper, I apply rhetorical categories to an emerging literary field: Anglo-American children's literature, especially since the 1865 publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Among the critical commonplaces of this field has been the phrase *instruction vs. delight*, i.e., that children's literature is typically either didactic or entertaining, with a preference for delight. This formulation is of course some distance from Horace, who joined the two terms rather than putting them in opposition, and it partakes of late-nineteenth-century "art for art's sake" preferences for delight. It is certainly insufficient for discussing those genres of children's literature that embrace moral imperatives, such as fantasy, epic, and adventure. For these genres, a third term is necessary. I suggest *\_movere\_* (Latin, "to move"), one of the terms used by Cicero for the rousing of ample emotion in one's audience so that it is motivated to act. Cicero proposes that *\_movere\_* forms a third aim with instruction and delight, that is, with *\_docere\_* (to instruct) and *\_delectare\_* (to delight).

Children's literature critics have rightly begun to challenge the false dilemma posed by the instruction vs. delight paradigm, but no one is yet proposing *\_movere\_* to describe the thrilling or overwhelming moments typical of fantasy or epic, moments that can hardly be categorized as either didactic or entertaining. I argue for a reconfiguration of terminology in children's literature criticism to include *\_movere\_* along with *\_docere\_* and *\_delectare\_*. I will provide numerous examples from children's literature, with particular emphasis on the rhetorical nature of epic and its links to modern children's fantasy, including *\_The Hobbit\_* by J. R. R. Tolkien, *\_The Last Unicorn\_* by Peter S. Beagle, and one or more of the Harry Potter books by J. K. Rowling.

## Mary Le Rouge Kent State University

### *Simplified Science Rhetoric for Climate Change Deniers: Rhetorical Analysis of Ivar Giaever's Lindau Nobel Laureate Speech*

This presentation explores processes of rhetorical accommodation and popularization of scientific information in relation to climate change. Persuasive rhetoric characterizes Ivar Giaever's argument that climate change is not human induced, and that global warming does not exist. Studies of scientific discourse have previously evaluated the ways that scientists use language to describe their findings, and how that language is translated for the public, but there has been little discussion of how scientific language is sometimes used to deceive. In a postmodern environment, when the term "fake news" and "alternative facts" are common, it is imperative to understand how persuasive rhetoric can be used to influence public policy.

While the tenets of freedom of expression protect Ivar Giaever's speech, both scholars and the public have the responsibility to evaluate whether to accept his statements as true or not. Facebook and Google have begun to search and censor their online content for what is considered "fake news," but their algorithms or human searchers cannot find and remove every instance of false information. There is also the question of whether we, as a democratic society, want public information to be censored by private corporations. This limits freedom of expression, when in cases like Giaever, where his arguments are falsely constructed, one might wish for his silencing.

I propose that arming the public with the ability to see through false rhetoric is the only way to allow freedom of expression while supporting scientific work that advances in an objective manner. That the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has had its website and mission changed under the present administration and has removed talk of climate change and global warming from its rhetoric, calls for an equally strong response from scholars of rhetoric.

## Jérôme Lecompte University Paris Sorbonne Nouvelle, IRET

### *The figure of the declaimer. On the translation of the "Fragment of Petronius" attributed to Saint-Évremond*

History of rhetoric in France (ca 1650-1700). Transmission of Petronius and his rhetorical conceptions: on the translation of a fragment of *Satiricon*, attributed to Saint-Evremond; on the figure of the declaimer at La Mothe Le Vayer, Saint-Évremond, Rapin.

The *Satiricon* begins with a diatribe on the corruption of eloquence; Encolpe just heard Agamemnon's Asianist speech, now lost. Then, with calm cynicism, this rhetoric blames the parents of the young people who come to his school: he is only "accommodating" to them. In the mixed works of Saint-Evremond, in 1670, there is a curious translation of this passage. It is not only a "beautiful infidel", it is also a false (attribution disputed by Saint-Évremond in 1700) and a counterfeit (the detailed criticism of the speech of Agamemnon was not transmitted to us).

We propose to include the study in the "philology of discourse" that we are currently developing, starting from the observation that the transmission of ancient texts in the 17th century is sometimes accompanied by a reactivation of the rhetorical functions of discourse. What is the stake of this counterfeit in the reception of Petronius?

Stages of the argumentation: The figure of the declaimer in the 17th century. Place of the fragment attributed to Saint-Évremond, his reflection on populism. A precise comparison with the works of Rapin, who is interested in the declaimer at the same period, and in the same terms (Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero, 1669-1670, *Reflections on Eloquence*, 1671).

Intended contributions: Did Rapin know the fragment attributed to Saint-Évremond, or influenced its author? What role has this counterfeit played in the contrastive definition of eloquence and declamation? This study would clarify the role of populism in the definition of classical atticism.

## Christoph G. Leidl Universität Heidelberg

### *Antimeria - the Forgotten Trope*

Antimeria – the substitution of one part of speech (Greek meros) in place of (anti) another – does not have a particular claim to fame among rhetorical figures, and although it has found its way into handbooks (often spelt anthimeria despite its etymology), such as the New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry, Lanham’s Handlist of Rhetorical Terms or Corbett’s Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student, it did not make it into Lausberg’s monumental Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik nor into the Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik. It had figured in Renaissance treatises (Peacham’s Garden of Eloquence), as a subcategory of enallage, and the attention it received since then has been largely limited to the English speaking community of scholars. The reasons appear to be twofold: On the one hand, in linguistic terms, antimeria may be attributed to grammar rather than rhetoric. On the other hand its applicability is extremely dependent on the structure of particular languages. Since English is very susceptible to this kind of word-formation, the concept is widely applied in scholarship on authors like Shakespeare, Milton or Cummings, while it is hard to find in other languages (although there is now e.g. “ich google” “I google” in German). Despite the linguistic background of the trope, its effect can be highly rhetorical (e.g. in the case of noun – verb – substitution the effect of energeia), thus straddling the border between grammar and rhetoric. And it can raise a very fundamental question about the nature of tropes: Most of the categories in classical rhetoric are derived from Greek and Latin: Could it be necessary to check the validity of these rhetorical analytical tools against the different target languages? And this would not only apply to (non-) tropes as antimeria, but also to more prominent examples like metaphor.

## Roberto Leon University of Maryland, College Park

### *Accommodation, Decorum, and Disputatio: Matteo Ricci's The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven as a Renaissance Humanist Disputation.*

Matteo Ricci’s True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (1603) has been studied extensively by scholars of the Jesuit China Mission, especially in terms of accommodation, accomplished by means of Scholastic and Humanist arguments and translation choices. Few of these studies, however, discuss the genre of this work (disputation), nor consider this genre in relation to Renaissance rhetorical teachings and how this relationship informs Ricci’s accommodative strategies. The purpose of this paper is to address this gap in early modern Jesuit scholarship. Through a review of the history of accommodations in disputations in the Aristotelian-Scholastic and Ciceronian-Humanist traditions, this paper claims that True Meaning is a Humanist disputation, not only because Ricci translated Christian terms into Chinese and drew references from classical sources, but also because this text follows strategies taught in Humanist, but not Scholastic, rhetorical theory. If True Meaning is a Humanist disputation, then Ricci’s teachings should be reconsidered from the perspective of Renaissance rhetoric, which sheds further light on how Ricci’s work is an outgrowth of Renaissance culture and represents an important chapter in the transformation of the early modern disputation genre. This perspective also provides further explanation of the Western accommodation paradigm Ricci brought to China.

## Sher-shiueh Li Academia Sinica

### *European Jesuits and Classical Rhetoric in Ming/Qing China*

Most students of late Ming and early Qing Jesuit writings have reached the somewhat dubious conclusion that Chinese converted to Catholicism because of the excellence of European science and technology. One of my reasons to doubt the standard interpretation is that conversion is commonly the result of persuasion, the ultimate purpose of rhetoric according to Aristotle. This paper argues that European rhetoric is thus one of the reasons that attracted Chinese converts to Catholicism and will accordingly talk about Ming Jesuits’ introduction of the European classical art of speaking, beginning with the Aristotelian division of types of speaking, and continuing through Ciceronian rhetoric and Quintilian classification of figures of speech and figures of thought. The paper closes by examining the Augustinian art of preaching and discussing how Jesuits recast this Western “art of speaking” as a Chinese “art of writing.” It is because of this “trope” of European rhetoric that part of Ming and Qing Chinese was attracted by, and thus converted to, Catholicism.

## Yosef Z. (Yossie) Liebersohn Bar-Ilan University

### *The Falsa Argument against Rhetoric in Hellenistic Thought*

One of the main arguments used by the opponents of rhetoric as an art in the Hellenistic age concerns the term falsa. Thus we read in Quint. II. 17. 14:

altera est calumnia artem falsis adsentiri opinionibus, quia constitui sine perceptione non possit, quae semper vera sit: rhetoricen adsentiri falsis, non esse igitur artem.

There are at least two points in Quintilian’s text which deserves our attention.

1. After the attack has reached its conclusion, Quintilian provides the obvious response (II. 17. 18) by emphasizing the fact that the orator is aware of his own lies and does not assent to false opinion. This solution is so simple that it makes the attack appear illogical. It seems strange that anyone would even raise such an easily refutable argument. 2. perceptione seems to substitute for opinionibus which raises the question whether Quintilian was confused or was aware of what he was doing.

In this talk I shall analyse this section while using parallels such as Sextus Empiricus 4.2.2. and Philodemus II. 90 fr. XVIII lines 4-11.

I shall argue that Quintilian’s section unsuccessfully combines two different attacks against rhetoric. The first which I shall call ‘The (self)Deceiving Orator Argument’ (the orator is being deceived himself while deceiving others) and the second, reflected by the words quia constitui sine perceptione non possit, which I call ‘Rhetoric as Fraud Argument’. This second attack is itself a combination of two different attacks on the nature of rhetoric through the use of the Stoic definition of art. The first attack hinged on the notion of ψευδῆ θεωρήματα/falsa percepta, while the second exploits the notion of ψευδεῖς δόξαι/falsae opinionones.

I shall conclude by attempting to trace its origin and target. I shall argue that Critolaus attacks here the Stoa.

## Robert Lively Arizona State University

*You Gotta Have Hóf: Civic Rhetoric of the Medieval Scandinavians*

The Old Norse term, hóf, means reasonableness or moderation. In contrast, the term ohóf means unreasonableness or immoderation. During the Viking Age (c.750-1200), the idea of hóf is a rhetorical strategy used by the Scandinavian people in civic rhetorical practices. Medieval Scandinavians are often described by the image of the Viking plunderer—bearded and violent. However, the Icelandic Sagas suggest that this violent perception is not a complete picture of the Vikings. Because the medieval Scandinavians often lived in small isolated valleys on the continent or in small villages or homesteads throughout the Viking diaspora, the need to keep civic matters peaceful resulted in the development of a rhetorical stance that privileges ways of communicating and resolving conflicts in other ways than violence or blood feud. I argue this rhetorical stance is hóf. Sagas repeated show that people displaying hóf are regarded as good people while those displaying ohóf are shown as portraying negative social habits. My research contends that the rhetorical stance of hóf is critical to keep their society functioning peacefully. I use examples from Njal's Saga, Laxdaela Saga, Gisli's Saga, Egil's Saga and the Grágás, Iceland's law code. Additionally, I draw on the scholarship of William Ian Miller, Jesse Byock, Judith Jesch, and Anders Winroth. My conclusions hope to demonstrate that Viking society is based on the civic rhetoric of peaceful interaction with each other and complicate the idea of the stereotypical violent society that is often portrayed.

## Mark Longaker University of Texas at Austin

*John Locke, Tolerant of Disputation, Intolerant of Disputes*

John Locke's 1693 *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* contain some of his most disparaging remarks about scholastic disputation, leading scholars to conclude that he objected to the exercise of argumentum in utramque partem on epistemological grounds. Surveying his early works--some composed while he was Reader in Rhetoric (1662) and Censor in Moral Philosophy (1664) at Christ Church--we can see that Locke not only appreciated scholastic debate, but he also used this method to invent and hone his arguments about natural law, the civil magistrate, and toleration. Later in his life, Locke frequently engaged others, such as Jonas Proast, in public arguments. His early use of disputation and his later participation in polemic demonstrate that he did not wholly condemn argumentum in utramque partem. Though some of Locke's concerns about disputation can be traced to his epistemological investment in the empirical sciences and the rational interpretation of scripture, his larger concern was political. Locke objected to disputation because it led to faction and prevented toleration. Unlike Renaissance humanists, who thought dialogue could be an instrument of a tolerant discourse, Locke worried that the exercise was politically caustic, so he advised against it in certain circumstances.

## Jordan Loveridge Mount Saint Mary's University

*"O Painting with your New Wonders!": Probability and Sensation in Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic*

In this presentation I argue that during the 12th and 13th centuries, medieval European rhetorical and poetic treatises positioned probability as a key factor in the composition of persuasive discourse, both rhetorical and poetic. While the language of probability pervades many aspects of literary and rhetorical thought, my focus is more specifically directed toward the relationship between sensory appeal, description, and characterization. Since sense perception and the associated affective responses operate within the realm of the probable, rather than the certain, I suggest that 12th and 13th century theorists apply the language of Aristotelian logic to rhetoric and poetic, associating both with sensation and the senses. As such, discussions of style become closely associated with invention, with probability and verisimilitude serving as metrics for evaluating the success and persuasiveness of a composition. The result of this shift, however, was not the neglect of style--style and invention work together to highlight the probability of the described actions, lending the composition a greater sense of realism. Drawing from authors such as Matthew of Vendôme, Alan of Lille, and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, I show that each privileges verisimilitude achieved through skillful description, highlighting how sensory and emotional responses to language necessarily motivate rhetoric and poetic. While historians of rhetoric have examined many related elements of 12th and 13th century intellectual cultural, including the evolution of the commentary and literary tradition (Minnis and Scott 1988) and the influence of Arabic intellectual traditions on the Latin West, especially in relation to the expanded Organon (Bogges 1970, 1971; Black 1990), less understood is how the relationship between probability and rhetoric was reinterpreted in light of these events. In this presentation, then, I aim to contribute to this line of inquiry by highlighting the role of sensation and probability in medieval intellectual culture.

## Kristina Lucenko Stony Brook University

*Early Quaker Mother Outlaws*

In her book *Of Woman Born* (1976), American poet Adrienne Rich describes the experience of being on holiday with her children, free from the tyranny of routines and feeling as if they were “outlaws from the institution of motherhood.” The term “mother outlaws” was used by Andrea O'Reilly, former director of the Association for Research on Mothering (ARM) at York University (1998-2010), to describe a group of Toronto-based activists who meet to discuss, among other things, “links between their own mothering practices and social change.” In my paper I explore a seventeenth-century English manifestation of mother outlaws: Quaker women who established rhetorical authority by linking their mothering practices, shared ideas about a mother's role within early modern English society, and political activism. Quaker women preachers and prophets writing during the Commonwealth and Restoration years, a time of unprecedented public political activism, linked mothering practices and activism by offering spiritual and moral advice and admonition to public figures, and advocating for fellow Friends. At the same time, early Quaker women who left their families to travel abroad to preach and write both reinforced and troubled the maternal role through unorthodox beliefs and practices. By adapting a maternal rhetoric of justice to advance their political agenda, Quaker women publically spoke and wrote to politically powerful figures to defend private religious meetings and to reject swearing oaths, to fellow Friends to defend Quaker beliefs and to exhort persecuted and abused members to stay unified in their beliefs, and to “the unchurched” or dissatisfied members of other churches to proselytize. For these various audiences and purposes, Quaker women adopted a rhetoric grounded in and reinforced through a maternal authority that required a queering of the family and a new kind of “work-life” balance.

## Keith Lloyd & Priya Sirohi Kent State University/ Purdue University

### *Re-Creating Communities: Learning from Modern India(n) Resistance to Religiosity and Marginalization*

Modern India, like much of the world, struggles to retain democracy and equality in the face of populist and fundamentalist resistance. The world's largest democracy, a microcosm of the world in terms of its diversity, has toggled between liberal democracy and repression since its liberation from colonialism. Rhetoricians seeking the "best available means of persuasion" to protect democratic institutions could greatly benefit from studying the efforts of modern Indians to resist intolerance and oppression, especially since current blatant acts of violence in India, Kashmir, and Bengal could presage what could become commonplace elsewhere if some populist prejudices remain unchecked.

This presentation, after providing some information about the Indian struggles, features rhetorical studies of the speeches of two influential Indian activists, Narendra Dabholkar and Mahasweta Devi, to illustrate a rhetoric of resistance that creates connections rather than divides, a method of response that is becoming more and more rare in the Western contexts. Dabhokar's essay and Mahasweta's speech not only motivate change, they also model an ancient approach to reasoning --Nyaya (Lloyd 2007) -- which uses analogical rhetoric to create bridges between the speaker and audience. They effectively blend post-colonial and indigenous approaches to reasoning.

The presentation concludes with what rhetoricians gain from studying non-Western/Post-Colonial rhetorics in situ, as well as what we can learn about responding to populist rhetoric with community-building language. As Dabhokar says, we need to "blow the ash" off of the fire. And as Mahasweta says, "The Establishment is out to destroy ... all the brain cells that induce dreams.... I am after the dreams that have escaped from jail."

## Eric MacPhail Indiana University

### *Odius Praise in the Quarrel of Francesco Florido and Michele Marullo*

This paper examines a characteristic if seldom acknowledged feature of epideictic rhetoric: the offensive and polemical character of praise and the affinity of praise and odium. Our test case is the Apologia in linguae latinae calumniatores written by Francesco Florido in 1537, ostensibly in defense of the comic playwright Plautus but in fact directed against various detractors of the Latin language, especially the Greek émigré Michele Marullo. Marullo's epigram I, 16 "De poetis Latinis," widely diffused by Pietro Crinito's De honesta disciplina, proved to be odious praise for Florido, who understood the sparing praise of a restricted canon of poets to be a calumny of the Latin tradition. Florido's apology also takes aim at the defenders of the European national vernaculars, who challenge the cultural hegemony of Latin. A reconstruction of this humanist quarrel reveals the pitfalls of praise, especially when praise challenges the collective identity of a linguistic community such as the Latin humanists of sixteenth-century Europe.

## Carsten Madsen Aarhus University

### *Rhetoric as Emotional and Virtuous Formation of the Public Sphere: Aristotle and Heidegger on Directing the Public in the Right Way*

In Basic Concepts of Aristotelian Philosophy (1924) and Being and Time (1927), Heidegger develops a crucial understanding of how rhetoric within the public sphere emotionally attunes the 'Many' (cf. the Greek hoi polloi and Heidegger's 'das Man', the 'They'). By interpreting the Aristotelian concept of emotional dispositions (pathē) in Rhetoric, 2.I-XI as the basis for logos, Heidegger develops an understanding of the orator as someone who awakens and directs the emotions of the public in concordance with the common good and the history of a homogeneous community. With reference to Aristotle's city-state (polis) as a political community (koinōnia politikē), Heidegger employs his interpretation of pathē as an ontological framework for analyzing the everydayness of our Being-with Others. In this paper, I argue that this undertaking offers a highly pertinent, yet largely overlooked, contribution to the analysis of populist rhetoric as a means to influence the public through primarily emotional appeals.

I consider two problems of concern in Heidegger's proto-political understanding of our Being-with Others when it is applied to the challenges of contemporary populist rhetoric. Firstly, I discuss his nostalgia for a societal organization modelled on the Greek polis, a preference for what Ferdinand Tönnies stipulated as a pre-modern, rural community (Gemeinschaft) rather than a modern, urban, and capitalist society (Gesellschaft). In this connection, I address the multicultural demands on political rhetoric as an emotional formation of the public sphere(s) in a globalized society. Secondly, and most importantly, I argue that Heidegger inadequately takes into account Aristotle's ethics and the regulatory function of virtues (aretē) in emotional attunement. However, his interpretation of Aristotle makes it possible at a fundamental level to demonstrate how contemporary populism dismantles the public sphere and hence democracy.

## Steven Mailloux Loyola Marymount University

### *Jesuits of Logology: Theorhetoric in Kenneth Burke, Daniel Fogarty, and Gaston Fessard*

Kenneth Burke, arguably the greatest rhetorical theorist of the twentieth century, once called himself a "Jesuit of Logology." My paper places his assertion in the historical context of political theology in the 1950s-60s, especially within the international political scene of religious rhetoric during the Cold War. I first describe Burke's logology presented in "War of Words" and The Rhetoric of Religion and compare his perspective on theorhetoric (speaking to, for, and about God) with that of two contemporary Jesuits, Daniel Fogarty and Gaston Fessard. Fogarty corresponded with Burke while writing his Columbia University dissertation, eventually published as Roots for a New Rhetoric (1959). Later Burke was the respondent to Fogarty's 1967 conference paper at Marquette University, "Rhetoric and the Dialectic of Values," in which the Jesuit proposed a revitalized dialectical method to develop "a modern rhetoric of peace and agreement and conciliation." Fogarty uses a simplified Hegelian dialectic to make his point: Today speakers and writers can't simply communicate their positions and act as if their statements are definitive, "the last word on the matter." Instead, they "must listen to the qualifying antitheses" from their listeners and "then synthesize the several stands into a kind of residual compromise." One of Fogarty's fellow Jesuits, the French philosopher Gaston Fessard, developed a much more sophisticated Hegelian dialectic in interpreting the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises, focusing on the tropes of Before/After, Master/Slave, Man/Woman, and Jew/Pagan. He then used Hegel and Ignatius to analyze the rhetorical "conditions of possibility for dialogue" between Christians and Communists in Europe. In their very different ways, Burke, Fogarty, and Fessard each worked through the relationship between dialectic and rhetoric in the contexts of contemporary politics and the history of rhetoric.

## Julia Major University of Oregon

### *Perelman, Populism, and the Universal Audience*

This investigation concerns contemporary argumentation theory on populism. My paper explores the conjunction between Chaim Perelman's conception of the universal audience and populism, here understood as a political strategy frequently used by leaders of liberal democracies to gather and channel the support of their followers directly, rather than through established systems of representation. Populism is a "confused notion" occupying a broad continuum of political thought where ideas conflict. On one hand, populism offers a model of democratic agency capable of inspiring ordinary people to take action on shared values. On the other, populism can be viewed as a political ideology of more style than substance, rife with ambiguity and division, expressed in aggressive and emotion-laden language rather than reason, and often employed as a means of inciting conflict between the haves and have-nots.

This paper interrogates populism as a strategy of political persuasion from the perspective of Perelman's concept of the universal audience as a means of deploying reasoned argumentation in the cause of justice. The universal audience, a central concept in Perelman's rhetorical theory, refers to the norm of reasoned argumentation convincing to an imaginary listener generalized to represent the universal. The universal audience also represents the range of perspectives in argumentation addressed to particular audiences whose adherence is sought through reasoned argument in order to motivate action on behalf of justice.

In addition to the universal audience, this paper draws on Perelman's analysis of confused notions as opportunities for resorting to dialectic where protocols for decisionmaking are absent or have failed, to argue that the ideology of populism, like that of propaganda, fails to resolve conflict in ways that motivate the universal audience toward action for justice, because it misunderstands the role of reasoned persuasion in creating philosophical adherence that leads to positive action.

## Giulia Maltagliati Royal Holloway, University of London

### *"As You All (Don't) Know": Assessing the Rhetorical Strategies behind the Attic Orators' Use of Historical Examples*

The question of whether the Attic orators deliberately renegotiated certain past events is still hotly debated by scholars (e.g. Worthington 1994; Grethlein 2010; Steinbock 2013). Moreover, it is not yet clear why an audience could be persuaded by historical examples that were potentially irrelevant to the situation at stake. I propose to address these issues from a cognitive perspective, by focusing on the ways in which the orators' use of historical examples could affect the audience's perception and evaluation of distant chronological settings.

Cognitive studies on the role of historical analogies in decision-making processes show that a past example is more persuasive if it consists of a familiar or recent event (e.g. Brändström et al. 2004). This is the case even if the analogy with the present situation is only superficial (Vertzberger 1986). In other words, an impression of familiarity seems to be enough to persuade the recipient of the analogy of its appositeness.

But how is it possible for the speaker to generate such an impression when the example employed is, in fact, chronologically distant? On the other hand, how is it possible to be persuasive if an example is so familiar that it cannot be manipulated to fit the orator's purposes? And how might an audience be induced to accept an example that has been modified ad hoc?

This paper will argue that the Attic orators often resorted to a set of rhetorical strategies aimed at generating feelings of proximity or distance to their chosen paradigmata. In this way, the example in question would appear more or less acceptable to the audience, depending on the orators' purposes. The investigation into the cognitive effect of such strategies will help explain the persuasive potential of arguments from history, and will confirm the orators' skill at manipulating them rhetorically.

## June Manuel University of Oregon

### *Exercising Symbolic Power: Kenneth Burke's Poetic Play as Freedom*

In a time when we are bound by our different perspectives and rhetoric seems to be in demise, a revisitation of Kenneth Burke's notion of poetic play can help us find an avenue toward dialogue with each other. In this paper, I pair Burke's theory of terministic screens with his theory of poetics to propose that poetry has the capacity to free us from the binds of our own linguistic realities and the temptations of our individual perspectives, which he identifies as relativism, literalism, and most dangerously, superiority. Due to the nature of language as a "given," we are certainly incapable of operating outside of it, but Burke's development of a poetic play through the comic frame provides us with a way that we may be able to exercising the power and freedom we have through language to come to a "perspective of perspectives." Such a reading of Burke makes explicit a fundamental aspect of his rhetorical theory that presents a methodology for finding power in language when one may feel powerless.

## Giovanni Margiotta Radboud University

### *The declamatory practice in Fronto's correspondence: suasoriae and controversiae at the Antonine court.*

As Pascale Fleury has recently argued, the practice of declamation fulfils a significant function within the didactic program which Cornelius Fronto conceives for the education of his imperial pupils (*Évanescence de la declamation dans le corpus Frontonien*, 2016, pp. 411-421). The declamatory themes of Fronto's correspondence refer to events in Roman history in which magistrates play a major part. Far from a literary game, this practice is considered a *res seria* (Front. p. 75, 13, ed. van den Hout<sup>2</sup>) since it enables students to deal with topical matters of jurisprudence and politics, straddling, and emphasizing, the slight border between law and ethics. History was a subject from which rhetoricians could derive topics for their students. Unlike previous scholarship, which has mostly analysed Fronto's Epistles in a historical perspective, the scope of this paper is to focus on the rhetorical reasons that might have led Fronto to choose such events as scholastic themes. I shall consider the three argumenta in the Epistles from a broader rhetorical perspective, framing them within the Roman declamatory tradition. The paper aims to address questions such as: what has been Fronto's contribution? From whom has he taken cues? On what has he exercised his influence? In answering these questions, I shall draw comparisons with rhetorical sources which testify to similar issues (e.g. Seneca the Elder, Quintilian, Juvenal), while also taking into account the textual issues of Fronto's Epistles. This will make it possible to place the figure of Fronto within an established rhetorical tradition, which determined the ensuing success or the failure of some declamatory themes in Latin rhetoric.

## Daniel Markovich University of Cincinnati

### *Sum ipsa Rhetorica: Rhetoric's exordium in Martianus Capella*

Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* is a polyphonic work, an anthology of literary tones, styles, and genres. The author's mastery of Latin prose style, however, remains somewhat concealed under dominantly negative critical judgments that can be traced back to Joseph Scaliger, who described Martianus as a "Barbarus scriptor" (Stahl et al. 1971, 28–39). Although the phantom of Africitas or 'African style' has been dispelled by Norden (Norden 1909, 2.588–98), and the general view on Martianus's artistry has taken a more positive turn in relatively recent decades (e.g., Shanzer 1986, 3–4), more thorough and refined work on understanding the main stylistic principles of Martianus's prose still remains to be done. This paper conducts this kind of work on the exordium of the speech of Rhetoric in book 5 of *De nuptiis*. A comparison between this passage and its classical sources, particularly the exordia of Cicero's *Divinatio in Caecilius* and *De imperio Gnaei Pompei*, illuminates Martianus's compositional techniques. Martianus closely follows his classical models with regard to certain features of his colometry, such as the use of clausulae; on the other hand, his cola are longer, heavier, and more intricate than those of Cicero and show preference for chiasmic order over isocola and other forms of parallel word arrangement. Martianus avoids simplicity and predictability both in syntax and in vocabulary; unlike Cicero, he freely uses archaic and newly coined words to enhance his lofty style. In this way, Martianus creates a rich, mannered, and intricate text that conveys both his firm control over his sources and his ability to outdo them in his fascinating literary game (cf. Vössing 2008, 404).

## David Marsh Rutgers University

### *Cicero's Caesarian Orations: Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance*

Around 1262 Dante's teacher Brunetto Latini made Tuscan versions of all three Caesarian orations—the *Pro Ligario* apparently at the request of one Dedi Buonincontri. Cicero's Caesarian orations thus figure in the first generation of Tuscan *volgarizzamenti* from Latin. Yet rather than being isolated exercises, his translations point to the crucial Duecento intersection of juridical and rhetorical interests. More than a century after Brunetto Latini made his vernacular translations, the humanist Antonio Loschi (1368–1441) wrote a Latin *Inquisitio super orationes Ciceronis* (1395), consisting of commentaries on eleven Ciceronian orations, including all of the Caesarian speeches. In the 1430s we find an Italian translation of *Pro Marcello*, formerly attributed to Leonardo Bruni. Soon after the composition of this Tuscan *Pro Marcello*, another Florentine humanist aptly invoked the Caesarian orations as defence speeches – in two works of an apologetic nature. In 1439 Giannozzo Manetti invoked the trial of Ligarius in his *Apologia Nunnii*, an essay that defends the studies of young Spanish nobleman Nuño de Guzmán.

In addition to Quintilian's endorsement, *Pro Ligario* was particularly commended to Quattrocento humanists by Plutarch's account of its success before Caesar in his *Vita Ciceronis* 39, a work translated into Latin twice by Jacopo Angeli in 1401, and by Leonardo Bruni in 1412, who paired it with the *Vita Demosthenis*. The most notable commentary on *Pro Ligario* was written by the Byzantine rhetorician George of Trebizond (1438–1440). In the second half of the Quattrocento, the north Italian scholar Giorgio Merula (in fact, Merlani, 1430–1494), who taught in Venice from 1468 to 1482, wrote a commentary called *Annotationes on Pro Ligario*.

My paper will examine how Italians of the early Renaissance analysed Ciceronian rhetoric, using the translations and commentaries on the Caesarian orations as a touchstone.

## Chiara Stella Martinelli ITCG

### *Francesco da Buti's ars dictaminis*

The aim of this proposal is to provide a presentation of an *ars dictaminis*, written by Francesco da Buti (1324-1406), who taught Grammar and Rhetoric in 14th century - Pisa (Italy). This work, part of a grammatical Latin text, preceded by a traditional introduction on *cursus* and figures of speech, and still manuscript (although widespread, as witnessed by the manuscript tradition), is transmitted under the title of "Regule rhetorice".

In Italy Rhetoric consisted mainly in the *ars dictaminis*, the art of writing official epistles. It knew a great development in the 13th century - University of Bologna, aimed at future notaries and lawyers, through the works of renowned authors: Boncompagno da Signa, Bene of Florence, Guido Faba.

The "Regule rhetorice" reflect the changes in the structure of the 14th century – society, being an evidence of the vivacity of the municipal bourgeoisie. In fact, next to the traditional greetings reserved to the pope, to the emperor and to the noble lords, we can find greetings to those who have achieved important roles for personal skills: notaries, teachers, personalities of the municipal government.

Its five sections are canonical: salutation, exordium, narration, petition, conclusion. The most interesting section is the exordium, dealing a lot with the insinuation, useful when the case or the person referred to is unworthy. The powerful speech leads the audience wherever it wants, making the unworthy appear right, creeping into the unconscious of the audience.

According to some scholars, the 14th century marks the crisis of this art. From there on, the epistle becomes part of an increasingly private sphere, open to the individuality of the sender.

This text is one of the last works of its genre; its knowledge can be important for a better comprehension of the cultural changes between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

## Marcos Martinho dos Santos Universidade de São Paulo

### *Cicero's Pro Archia between Optimates and Populares*

In the *Pro Archia* (62 BC), Cicero intends to prove not only that Archias is legally a Roman citizen, but that, even if he was not a citizen, he should be invited to be. In order to prove his first point, he tells that Archias was benefited by the *Lex Plautia Papiria*, which had been promulgated as a result of the Italic War. This war broke out in 91 BC, when the Senate opposed the legislative reforms of the *tribunus plebis*, M. Livius Drusus, which would have granted Italic peoples Roman citizenship. *Lex Plautia Papiria*, in turn, was promulgated in 89 BC by two *tribuni plebis*, M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. Thus, in aligning himself with the political actions of the *tribuni plebis*, Cicero, although usually an ally of the *optimates*, acts as a *popularis*. In addition, Drusus' legislative reforms envisaged enlarging access of the *equites* to the Senate. Cicero himself, an equal, reached the Senate and became consul of Rome. In the *Pro Murena*, he boasts that he had defeated two noblemen in the consular elections. Thus, in seeking to dissociate access to the Senate from birth, and associate it with merit, Cicero aligns himself with the claims of the *tribuni plebis*, acting as a *popularis*. In the *Pro Archia*, in order to prove his second point, Cicero argues that it is for the services rendered to Rome, and not because he was born in Antioch in a family of nobility, that Archias should be invited to be a Roman citizen. In my paper, I aim to show how the ambiguity of Cicero's political affiliations (between the *optimates* and the *populares*) lies at the heart of the arguments he puts forward in the *Pro Archia*, in particular, the argument about the relationship between one's birth and education.

## Christina Matthiesen University of Copenhagen

*Bringing Isocrates and Laura into Conversation: Citizen Education, Textual Examples, and a Deweyan Framework.*

In this paper I examine the approaches and intentions of respectively Isocrates and a contemporary Danish teacher Laura focusing on their use of textual examples. By displaying the approaches of the two teachers and bring them into conversation, I seek to unfold what they might learn from each other and what we can learn from both of them. I examine the approaches to textual examples of the two teachers through the concept of *kairos*; the text internal aspects decorum and timing as well as the conflict of the matter.

The display of approaches and intentions shows that both teachers have democratic character formation of the student as an end. Isocrates by foregrounding conflict, context, and content of the textual example and political judgement of the student. Laura by shaping activities that draw in the experiences of the student when engaging with the context and content of textual examples. Both teachers provide their students with textual examples that focus on conflicts representing a common concern. But where Isocrates' teaching is oriented towards political judgment and the common good, Laura's teaching is oriented towards the experiences and agency of the individual, thus making space for populism in various forms, including views and languages underrepresented, ignored, or ridiculed. I combine the main points of the approaches by advancing a synthesis involving seven principles that connect the conflict and situation of the textual example with the teaching situation and the situation of the student. These principles form a deweyan framework resembling both Dewey's method for thinking in education as well as his call for improvement of the methods of debate and communication in public life.

## J. David Maxson Pennsylvania State University

*"Burying the Past": Dillard University's Jazz Funeral for Katrina*

Contests over public memory are complex, dynamic, political, and rhetorical. The interdisciplinary study of public memory has, in fact, occupied scholars in rhetoric for the past quarter century. Such devotion in the field is far from surprising given that memory is one of the five canons of rhetoric and, since at least the Roman Empire, has been considered an integral component of a well-rounded rhetorical education. By focusing on the public and social qualities of most memorial practices, contemporary rhetoricians have emphasized the contingent nature of the past, drawn attention to the judgments made to select and sustain memories, and explored the persuasive power of leveraging past events in service of present needs. But what happens when memorial practices are used to deliberately dismiss collective memories of traumatic pasts?

This paper analyzes Dillard University's commemorative event, "Jazz Funeral: Burying the Past." Held in New Orleans, Louisiana on August 28, 2015—a day shy of the tenth anniversary of Hurricane Katrina's calamitous landfall on the Gulf Coast—the mock funeral worked to symbolically reorient memories of Katrina outside of the defining and ongoing present by re-consecrating the university's campus. Building from fieldnotes taken as a participant in the jazz funeral as well as interviews conducted with organizers of the event, this paper explores the ways that conventional jazz funeral tropes were rhetorically mobilized to help Dillard University focus on gains made over the last decade while laying traumatic memories of Hurricane Katrina to rest. This paper contributes to public memory scholarship by exploring how bodily movement, music, and local environments rhetorically express memory in liminal moments of transition, animating alternative presents, envisioning productive futures, claiming space for the living, maintaining memories of the departed, and defining who is invited to remember.

## James May St. Olaf College

*The Question of Emotional Manipulation (Ethos and Pathos) in Remer's Ethics and the Orator*

From its beginnings, the art of verbal persuasion—rhetoric—has had its detractors. Unlike dialectic, whose goal is unveiling truth unvarnished, rhetoric relies on probability in dealing with the sticky situations of everyday existence; in quest of victory, it can use its considerable weapons to manipulate its audience, thus appearing morally reprehensible to its critics. Dialectic's mode of proof is *logos*, rational argumentation. But Aristotle posited two additional sources of proof for rhetoric, *ethos* and *pathos* (arguments based in human emotions), and placed them on equal footing with *logos*.

Rome's greatest orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero embraced this Aristotelian tripartite division of proofs, and made it his own, speaking in one of his theoretical works of the three duties of the orator, to teach (*docere*), to delight (*delectare*), and to move (*movere*). He commends the use of *ethos* and *pathos* in his most celebrated rhetorical work, *De oratore*, urging that these sorts of proof pervade the orator's speech, like blood diffused in the body, and there and elsewhere declares repeatedly that moving the emotions of the audience is the greatest and most effective weapon in the orator's arsenal. Such emotional manipulation can obviously be viewed as ethically or morally suspect, particularly should it endeavor to make "the worse seem the better cause."

In *Ethics and the Orator*, Gary Remer argues that the Ciceronian tradition is based on practical or "rhetorical" politics, rather than on idealistic visions of a politics-that-never-was—a response that is ethically sound, if not altogether morally pure. This paper explores Remer's claims vis-à-vis actual Ciceronian practice. Can such claims be maintained, for example, in the face of the oft-quoted Ciceronian boast that he "threw dust in the eyes of the jury"? Can emotional manipulation of a jury justify the acquittal of an admittedly guilty client; or convince the Senate to act?

## Sean Meehan Washington College

*"Philosophy for the People: Emerson and the Contested Rhetoric of Liberal Education"*

This paper extends critical rethinking of Ralph Waldo Emerson's (1803-1882) neglected role as an American rhetorician by focusing on the educational contexts for Emerson's rhetoric. It returns Emerson's problematic, late project "Natural History of the Intellect" to its pedagogical purpose. Delivered as a philosophy course at Harvard in 1870, part of President Charles W. Eliot's transformation of Harvard college into a modern university, Emerson draws upon previous lecture series such as *Philosophy for the People* (1866) and poses this problem: in a course on philosophy, delivered on the doorstep of the new university and its scientific specialization, Emerson argues for a general education in rhetoric. Emerson contests the new populism of higher education reform by remembering rhetoric's older, foundational status in the liberal arts curriculum of the college.

Emerson's resistance to the prevailing educational reform is evident in his understanding of "metonymy," the trope that Emerson privileges as the primary means for applying the power of rhetoric to all thinking, not just to one discipline. The pedagogical implications of Emerson's rhetoric are also traced in his role as Harvard Overseer in the 1870s, where he observed Francis Child and A. S. Hill in their classrooms. Hill soon after replaced Child as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric when Child was made Harvard's first professor of English and liberated from teaching rhetoric to students. Thus began a familiar pattern in American higher education: the diminishment in the name of scientific research not just of rhetoric, but what Wayne Booth describes as "rhetoric's pedagogical centering," namely liberal education (*The Rhetoric of Rhetoric*). Emerson provides us with a critical vision of the pedagogical centering of rhetoric that was lost with the emergence of the late-nineteenth-century American university.



## David Mirhady Simon Fraser University

### *The Background of Athenian Populism in the Age of Demosthenes*

In his 1991 book *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes* MH Hansen identified liberty and equality at the center of Athenian democratic ideology (73), but Hansen's overall goal was to describe the apparatus of the democracy. At roughly the same time, in *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (1989), Josiah Ober argued that the Athenian dêmos indirectly controlled its political elites by compelling them to speak and act in ways that served popular demands.

The essence of populism is criticism against elites for unfairly dominating politics. It is axiomatic that in a democracy such as Athens such populism should be manifest in oratory and, to the extent that writers of handbooks go into detail, in rhetorical treatises. As Ober's book makes clear, there was an inherent tension in the Athenian democracy between the need for a politically engaged class of politeuomenoi and rhetores and jealousy and resentment against them. Aristophanes makes clear such resentment in every play.

My paper will give particular focus to the theme that politicians curry favour (charis) with the demos and so adapt an aristocratic ethical construct to the populism of 4th-century Athens. Ober already discussed this area somewhat; I shall be applying recent research from 5th-century sources.

## Linda C. Mitchell San Jose State University

### *Popular Travel Discourse in Early Modern British Dictionaries: Language of Discovery, Exploration, and Settlement*

Popular travel discourse in early modern British dictionaries reflects the language of discovery, exploration, and settlement. The eighteenth century is a time of global expansion, a growing merchant class, and a significant increase in foreign trade. With the rise in literacy, people are able to read about both local and foreign places, even if they do not they have the money or opportunity to travel there. The rising middle classes are curious about what lies beyond their own village boundaries. They live vicariously by reading about the costs of entry and towels at the Roman baths in Bath. They learn about landmarks, customs, and products from many regions, helpful if they travel to another town and buy a souvenir at what is now known as tourist spots. People are introduced to exotic new foods, trade items, and geographical areas. Travellers read about the history of blue glass in Bristol, or the hangman's rope—otherwise known as the Bridport dagger—from its namesake city. Moreover, a little local gossip or unexpected social commentary makes travel descriptions even more engaging and intimate to the reader. To draw in the reader, these popular travel entries follow a formula of arrangement, focus, emphasis, and ornamentation to make information attractive, personal, and accessible. In this paper I will explore the significance of travel discourse in dictionaries by examining the connection of the readers to their world, the relationship between the reader and the book, and the correlation of the readers to the cultural construct.

## Sara Molpeceres Universidad de Valladolid

### *'Yo sí te creo', voces populares, retóricas populistas y poderes establecidos en el caso de la 'Manada'.*

En los festejos de San Fermín de 2016 (Pamplona, España), una joven de 18 años fue violada por un grupo de cinco hombres que se autodenominaba 'La Manada'. En abril de 2018 fueron juzgados por un tribunal que los condenó a nueve años de cárcel no por violación, sino por abuso sexual. A causa del resultado de la sentencia se convocaron en multitud de ciudades españolas numerosas concentraciones de mujeres que se manifestaron en apoyo a la víctima bajo la frase: 'Yo sí te creo'. Estas mujeres rechazaban la sentencia, pedían la inhabilitación del tribunal y cuestionaban la capacidad del poder judicial español para enjuiciar asuntos en los que fuera necesaria una perspectiva de género.

Las reacciones desde los ámbitos político y judicial españoles fueron opuestas, y políticos y jueces utilizaron las redes sociales o los medios de comunicación y nuevas tecnologías para criticar la sentencia y apoyar a la víctima, o, por el contrario, para respaldar al tribunal y denunciar que el 'pueblo llano' no tenía capacidad para cuestionar una decisión judicial (aunque gracias a estas manifestaciones populares el gobierno español decidió revisar la legislación).

Desde un marco teórico-metodológico que fusiona Retórica Constructivista (el discurso retórico como medio de construcción de la realidad social) y Lingüística Cognitiva (el estudio de marcos ideológicos), en este trabajo nos proponemos investigar cómo los opuestos discursos ideológicos construyen e interpretan este conflicto, cómo dicho conflicto da cuenta de la desconexión entre las leyes y el pueblo, y cómo la reacción popular es capaz de desafiar a los poderes establecidos consiguiendo que jueces o políticos las apoyen en contra de las propias instituciones del Estado, llegando diversos miembros de partidos políticos (de izquierdas y derechas, partidos populistas y tradicionales) a posicionarse junto al pueblo incluso en contra de la propia ideología del partido.

## Soojeong Moon & Jaewon Ahn Seoul National University

### *Jesuit Rhetoric in Asia.*

This will be shown in five perspectives. The first is a historical one. One can ask what texts were introduced or translated into Chinese. The second is a philological one. There can be raised a question what texts were imported into China. In this regard, it is remarkable that many rhetoric texts to which belong not only some modern translations of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian but also Cipriano Soarez were imported into China at 16th-19th centuries. The third is a pedagogical one. Interestingly to see, Jesuit missionaries who were active from 16th century to 19th century instructed rhetoric those who had to give sermons in Latin. This will be seen more in details with evidence. The Fourth is related to controversy over rites. As is well known, there were many struggles between Jesuit missionaries and Chinese mandarins and scholars. Undoubtedly, rhetoric was used for defending of Christianity exempli causa in form of apology. We will provide a Korean apology that was composed as an apology using rhetorical tactics and strategies. The title of this text is Sangjaesangseo (Apologia). It is written by Cheong Ha-Sang (1794-1839). It is the first apology for the Korean Christianity. The fifth is a literature analysis of Chinese prose and verse on the basis of rhetorical theory. On this issue, Angelo Zottoli is a significant scholar. He wrote *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae* in 1882, published at Chang-Hai. In terms of rhetoric, *Volumen Quintum pro rhetorices classe: Pars oratoria et poetica* is important. What to contend is that the issue of Jesuits' scholarship on rhetoric in Asia is not to be regarded as a marginal study. (N.B. This is a co-presentation with Jaewon Ahn.)

## William Morris Kent State University

### *A Hidden History of Rhetoric in Educational Testing*

Standardized tests in America have an acknowledged history in the 20th century developing alongside the disciplines of psychology and statistics while being informed by trends in the philosophy of science. While this history is known to educational measurement scholars, how educational testing has sought to reinvent some of its theoretical foundations as rhetorical activity is not as well known among rhetoricians, nor has this history enjoyed much attention in our scholarly literature. Because popular appeals against psychological testing regimes drove educational measurement scholars into a crisis of conscience by the 1970's, they sought to reinvent their theory of testing relying rhetoric to do so. At the heart of that crisis is a definitional dispute over the term validity. What the term validity means and how it becomes a rhetorical activity is a narrative we ought to know as rhetoricians because this is how educational measurement scholars called upon rhetoric to amend educational testing theory.

Drawing upon Schiappa's (2003) work on definition, I argue that an historical survey of the term validity reveals the extent to which measurement scholars aimed to understand validity through different definitional accounts. My argument advances the idea that validity begins as an ambiguous term with equivocal senses, enjoys an adolescence as an almost inaccessible scientific term, and matures into a wholly rhetorical term. I demonstrate how these different definitional accounts suffered various ruptures in the 20th century as validity evolved into a concept that is appealed to as an inherently rhetorical activity. I conclude my argument with the current definition accepted in the educational measurement literature and show how that definition opens up a new area of research for rhetoric scholars to explore. I end by offering a set of recommendations that rhetoricians can employ to bring about powerful change in educational testing at all levels.

## Claudio Moyano Universidad de Valladolid (España)

### *Populismo y terrorismo: el último comunicado de ETA*

Esta comunicación pretende analizar el comunicado que emitió la banda terrorista Euskadi Ta Askatasuna ('País Vasco y Libertad'), más conocida por su acrónimo ETA, el 3 de mayo de 2018, anunciando su disolución, y las reacciones políticas que dicho comunicado ha generado. Una premisa básica en la historia de la retórica es que el discurso puede transformar la sociedad que lo acoge; esto explica que algunos partidos políticos situados ideológicamente en la izquierda hayan expresado su asentimiento a dicho comunicado y una voluntad simplista de «reconciliación» que consiste, básicamente, en olvidar y mirar hacia delante.

Desmontar este simulacro de perdón emitido por la banda terrorista constituye el principal objetivo de esta ponencia. Es verdad que existe un clamor social que exige el perdón para una posible reconciliación nacional. El marco ideológico lo ha impuesto en los últimos años la reciente novela de Fernando Aramburu, *Patria*, que se ha convertido en un fenómeno editorial. La necesidad del perdón es indudable; pero ¿es el perdón emitido en este comunicado el que necesita un país para iniciar su reconciliación?

Para responder esta pregunta, nos es indispensable recurrir a la antigua tradición retórica, renovada en nuestro tiempo, entre otros, por Perelman. Ya en el exordio se plantea una cuestión fundamental, y es que la banda terrorista se dirige «al Pueblo Vasco», pero habría que matizar: se dirige solo a «su Pueblo Vasco». La apropiación de la voz del pueblo es algo común en los populismos de toda índole. El análisis de la argumentación y justificación de su «actividad política» (sic.) constituye el cuerpo del trabajo. Finalmente, se intenta demostrar una conclusión básica: el comunicado solo se ha emitido para dirigirse a sus ya convencidos y no puede servir como inicio para ese necesario entendimiento nacional que el país necesita.

## Cameron Mozafari University of Maryland

### *Classical Techniques for Achieving Mental Visualization: Fictive Motion, Simulation, Vividness*

This paper analyzes the relationship between perception and emotion in the classical theory of mental visualization from a cognitive linguistic perspective. In ancient rhetorical theories, techniques such as "bringing before the eyes" (Aristotle Rhetoric, 3.11.1), "ocular demonstration" ([Cicero] 4.39.51), and "vivid illustration" or *enargeia* (Quintilian 9.2.40) are often described as avenues for emotion arousal. Recent work on *ekphrasis* (Webb 2009), the sublime (de Jonge 2012, Porter 2016), and *enargeia* (Plett 2012) has theorized mental visualization in terms of the vividness of impressions and the ways that these impressions temporally or spatially displace the audience. While the topic of visualization has been approached from theoretical and historical perspectives, the linguistic phenomena that go into systematically producing mental visualizations are rarely commented on. Contemporary research on linguistic phenomena like fictive motion (Matlock 2004), fictive interaction (Pascual 2014), mental simulation (Bergen 2012), and figurative reasoning (Thibodeau, Hendricks, & Boroditsky 2017) may help illuminate some of the ways that the cognitive phenomenon of mental visualization gets cued. To demonstrate the ways dynamic mental visualization can be aroused, special attention will be paid to grammatical forms associated with imperfective aspect, verbs of movement, adjectives and adverbs of scale, and the zooming in granularity or zooming out schematicity of cognitive grammatical conceptualization. This project begins to address the ways ancient rhetoricians noticed language usage producing "special effects," to use A.R. Russell's term (1964), for persuasive and moving purposes. The talk concludes with a proposal that we consider the pre-emotive role that language plays in guiding mental perceptual experience and gestures toward a commitment to separate the special effects brought on by mental visualization from the realm of emotion.

## Mickias Musiyiwa University of Zimbabwe

### *The Interplay between Populism and Rhetoric in Zimbabwe's Post-2000 Politics: Implications on State Performance*

The paper interrogates the interplay between populism and rhetoric in Zimbabwe in the post-2000 period in political songs, jingles and slogans expressed in the Shona language. These artistic forms are a major motif in Zimbabwe's history of political rhetoric because of their manipulation as vehicles for rhetoric and populism. The post-2000 period is selected for the study because the onset of the twenty-first century saw the Zimbabwean government embark on populist land reform programme which entailed the seizure of land from white farmers and redistribution to poor blacks. The paper intends to establish the nature of the populism-rhetoric dialectic in Zimbabwe's politics after 2000 and its effects on state performance. It grapples with the following questions: What is the history of populism and rhetoric in Zimbabwe? Can a relationship between populism and rhetoric be established? What is the nature of the relationship and how has it affected state performance in Zimbabwe? While rhetoric has generally been dealt with in literature and linguistics, blending rhetoric and populism in the context of music (songs, slogans and jingles) to understand the dynamics of the history of rhetoric has not been done before. It is therefore important to investigate how political songs, jingles and slogans are a relevant site to establish the interplay between populism and rhetoric. The conclusion is that although historically populism has been a defining feature of Zimbabwe's political landscape giving rise to political rhetoric of a profound impact, the populist promises championed have rarely materialized.

#### Stages of Argumentation and Conclusion

- (i) Brief background to Zimbabwean nationalism in order to demonstrate the historical roots of populism and political rhetoric.
- (ii) Why music was an effective vehicle for rhetoric and populism.
- (iii) Show the interplay of populism and rhetoric in the artistic forms.
- (iv) Re-stating the argument/conclusion (historically, populism has been a defining feature of Zimbabwe's political landscape, although populist promises that were championed have rarely materialized).

## Bess Myers University of Oregon

*Roman Funeral Proceedings as Historical Performance: Reading the Laudatio Funebris in the Context of the Fabula Praetexta*

The climax of a noble Roman funeral was the laudatio funebris. The funeral procession for members of noble or office-holding Roman families wound its way through the city, paused at the forum, and a pre-appointed speaker offered a eulogy to honor the deceased person for his or her service to Rome. Gathered around the speaker were either family members—in the sense of familia, which included clients and slaves—or, later, actors, wearing the wax imagines maiorum, ancestor masks, of deceased male family members. In turn, the orator gestured to each representative and spoke of him as though to the dead person himself, recounting his past deeds. The ceremony served as a public spectacle that attempted to elevate the status of the surviving family members, and transmitted the history of the family throughout the city.

This talk considers the performance of the laudatio at a noble Roman funeral in the context of Roman historical plays, the fabulae praetextae. Considering the epideictic nature of the laudationes alongside the patron-commissioned fabulae reveals how the relationship between the individual and the state is developed, performed, and reinforced in public oratorical performances during the Middle and Late Republic and early Empire. Though, for the most part, these fabulae are lost, I argue that the noble Roman funeral should be read as a kind of historical play, which includes stock costumes—the imagines maiorum—and dialogue—the laudatio funebris—as well as setting, plot, and characters. This approach may illuminate the place and function of both the fabulae and the laudationes in Roman civic life.

This talk examines primary evidence from the works of Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, and Accius; secondary evidence from the works of Cicero, Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Theophrastus; and contemporary research by such figures as Harriet Flower.

## Gene Navera National University of Singapore

*Belligerence as Argument: The Allure of the War Metaphor in Philippine Presidential Speeches*

This paper examines the “war on drugs” rhetoric of populist Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte and argues that such rhetoric is a reiteration of a kind of belligerent rhetoric invoked by his predecessors. Cognitive linguists like Semino (2008) have noted that the use of war as a metaphor serves as a means by which political rhetors frame their solutions to long-standing and intractable problems. The paper investigates more specifically how the use of war metaphor had been deployed in Philippine presidential speeches especially those of Duterte. Other than Duterte, some of the Philippine presidents who had particularly employed war metaphors in their rhetoric include Ferdinand Marcos who used the metaphor of “war” in order to eliminate what he called the “perils of society,” his successors Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos and Joseph Estrada who waged a “war on poverty,” and Gloria Macapagal Arroyo who adopted the US-led “war on terror” and equated it with the long-standing Philippine “war on poverty.” The paper points out that invoking the war metaphor involves not just the government’s strong resolve to address intractable national problems like poverty, the insurgency or drug abuse. The war metaphor is particularly useful when silencing opposing views or critical perspectives while boosting the position of the government as the infallible leader of the tired and exasperated electorate. The war metaphor then has not only constituted the government’s argument against national problems; it has also offered an argument that has sustained the government’s legitimacy amidst dissent and opposition. The paper will end by reflecting on how the use of metaphor in Philippine presidential rhetoric potentially reaffirms or extends theorizations of the functions of metaphors in argumentation (e.g., Oswald and Rihs 2014).

## Sandile Brian Ngidi Rhodes University

*Julius Malema – Populist Rhetoric, History and the South African Political Imagination*

This paper seeks to provide a close reading of the young South African popular politician and EFF leader Julius Malema’s rhetorical gestures. It argues that Malema’s oratorical skills locate him within a rich tradition of the best orators South Africa’s broad liberation movement has produced in recent memory. Secondly, the paper posits that Julius Malema’s rhetorics (as shown at the funeral of ANC leader and liberation icon Winnie Madikizela-Mandela), seek to expediently present history as “the light of truth”, to use ancient Rome’s Marcus Tullius Cicero’s words. He seeks to write himself into history. At the funeral Julius Malema “performed” the mythical and gallant symbolic act of picking up Madikizela-Mandela’s “fallen spear”. He evokes heroism to incite action, to paraphrase the Renaissance scholar Timothy Hampton. It is a rhetorical ploy meant to anoint him as the inheritor of Winnie Madikizela-Mandela’s heroism. The paper also shows how the EFF leader, like Mark Antony in Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar, manipulates history to introduce a populist narrative in the public imagination. The paper argues that notwithstanding the critical role of history in memory and mass political mobilisation, it is inadequate as a definitive navigational tool across the often hazardous and contested seas of today’s life. It argues that history is a multifaceted and fluid rhetorical gesture. And concludes that Malema uses history to strangle history, memory and the present.

## Urmis Nõmmik University of Tartu

*Parallelism in Biblical Hebrew Prose*

At least from Aristotle onwards, the history of rhetoric has stressed the importance of parallelism. Since Eduard Norden’s studies, the classical scholarship has recognised the impact of biblical texts on the periodic style of Ancient Greek from the Late Antiquity to Byzantine Greek, but the mechanisms of this impact need still to be studied. The first paper of the session proposes to look contrastively into one of the most important sources and parallels for Greek and Byzantine prose rhythm. Diachronical examples from an epigraphic source and from the books of Genesis and Job will be studied. From the very early stage of the development of the ancient Hebrew literature, the prose scribal style stood under the influence of poetic figures, including parallelism. Synonymous clauses representing narrative stages and the use of parallel structures particularly in direct speech but also in the following description of action are characteristic features of this style. The observations are based on the colometrical method of analysis that has mostly been used in the study of the Hebrew poetry and the New Testament texts.

## Kadri Novikov University of Tartu

*Progymnasmata and parallel structures in ancient Greek and Byzantine novels*

The second paper of the session is devoted to the study of the impact of Greek rhetorical theory and practice to Greek and Byzantine novels, especially subgenres which follow the rules of the handbooks of rhetorical exercises. The paper will study the use of parallel structures in two novels, which are very similar in content and function, but are written in very different periods: the Leucippe and Clitophon by Achilles Tatius (from the 2nd century AD, representing the 2nd Sophistic) and Hysmine and Hysminias by Eustathios Macrembolites from the 12th century AD. The combinations of parallel structures with other rhetorical figures are analyzed in both authors, observing the diachronic changes as well as the differences in the use of figures influenced by the content and function (subgenres) of smaller text-segments within the novels. The analysis focuses on subgenres as for instance the ekphraseis, epainos, psogos, ainos, which occur in Progymnasmata, as well as court-speeches and lamentations, which are not specifically brought out in these handbooks. The analysis shows, that the combinations and frequency of occurrence of figures differ in the subgenres, but the use of these combinations is rather similar in both authors, demonstrating the impact of the rhetorical tradition.

## Omedi Ochieng Denison University

*“The U.S. Big Man; Or What African Rhetorical Scholarship Can Teach Us About Populism”*

This paper offers a rhetorical critique of the idea of the “Big Man” in African politics. I begin by articulating how Donald Trump’s style and policies are rhetorically homologous to the so-called “African Big Man.” I then proceed to offer a critique of those who have been led to disavow Trump’s very specifically American form of rule by “Africanizing” Trump. Just as it is vital that we contextualize Trump within the long history of white supremacy, toxic masculinity, and neoliberal capitalism, so it is important that we embed so-called “African Big Men” within historical, structural, and epistemic conditions. Those historical conditions, I argue, include the long history of colonial and neocolonial domination; racial, ethnic, and masculinist hierarchies; and stunted rhetorical imaginaries. The upshot, I contend, is an invitation to rhetoricians to offer more historically deep and globally capacious forms of comparative rhetorical criticism.

## Peter O'Connell The University of Georgia

*Deictic Pronouns in Attic Forensic Oratory*

This paper examines the role of deictic pronouns (hode, houtos, and ekeinos) in Attic forensic oratory. Although recent scholarship has addressed deictic pronouns within larger discussions of performance and visuality in the Athenian courts, their use in forensic speeches has not yet received systematic attention. Focusing on the Lysianic corpus, I present the foundation of such a systematic account and two brief case studies. My argument draws on theoretical approaches to deictic pronouns that range from Brugmann’s concepts of “Ich-deixis,” “Du-deixis,” and “Jener-deixis” to Bühler’s distinctions among anaphora, deixis ad oculos, and deixis am Phantasma.

First, I consider the general tendencies of deictic pronoun use in Attic forensic oratory. To take one example: the orators, especially Lysias, tend to use houtos to refer to their opponents. Why this preference for houtos, the pronoun of “Du-deixis” that refers to people close to the addressee, rather than hode, the pronoun of “Ich-deixis” that refers to people close to the speaker? I argue that it reflects the spatial orientation of forensic speeches towards their audiences. Speakers use houtos primarily because they present their cases from the jurors’ perspective.

Second, I present Lysias 3 and Lysias 8 as examples of the connection between pronouns and performance. In Lysias 3, houtos creates a linguistic and visual connection between the speaker’s opponent in the courtroom and as a character in the narrative account of a tangled love triangle leading to two street brawls. Lysias 8 is a notoriously opaque speech about a private quarrel among members of an association. Readers have difficulty following the speech for a variety of reasons, including the lack of clear referents for the pronouns. Ekeinos alone appears to refer to four different people. Gestures and positioning, however, would have complemented the pronouns to make the referents clear to the original audience.

## Aiko Okamoto-MacPhail Indiana University

*Renaissance Jesuit Scholar of Japanese Grammar in Nineteenth-century France, João Rodrigues Tçuzu*

The knowledge of local languages is the prerequisite for the efficient rhetoric in order to explain the Jesuite doctrine. My presentation treats the nineteenth-century French translation of the Renaissance Jesuit book of Japanese grammar written by João Rodrigues (c. 1561-c.1634, in Japan 1577-1610) often called João Rodrigues Tçuzu (in order to distinguish him from other more famous Simão Rodrigues with whom Saint Francis Xavier corresponded.) When French orientalist Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat, who taught Chinese language in the Écoles des langues orientales, looked for a possible textbook about Japanese language at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he had to go back for two hundred years to excavate the book written by a Jesuit. Remusat subsequently asked for a translation into French by Ernest August Xavier Clerc de Landresse.

Rodrigues Tçuzu’s book was first published by the Jesuit Mission Press in Nagasaki from 1604 to 1608 and it was abridged in 1620 in Macao. Rodrigues wrote in his preface that the Jesuis mission is to guide their neighbors all around the world persuasively enough so that they would be correctly acquainted with their Creator. His book was written in order to teach these Jesuits so that they could acquire the competence in achieving their mission in Japan. In the preface of Landresse’s French translation published in 1825, Remusat explains that, after his extensive search, no other better book was available about Japanese language. My paper examines the pedagogical thoroughness of Rodrigues’ book, typical in the Renaissance Jesuit publications, reporting on the new worlds in search of the best rhetoric adapted to each society, and argues that it is valid as a textbook of Japanese grammar in the context of French linguistics, called comparative grammar, in the nineteenth century.

## Ana Lucía de Oliveira Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro

*Rhetorical Representation of Passions in Father Antonio Vieira's Epistolography*

Taking into consideration the relevant role of letter-writing among Jesuits, this paper proposes to focus specifically on the epistolography of the most important Portuguese orator in the seventeenth century: Father Antônio Vieira. My presentation will begin with a brief overview of the relevant role of the study of passions in that period. Centering on the Jesuit’s letters, I will then investigate, from a rhetorical point of view, the different ways of representing the passions that moved the sender. In my analysis, I plan to examine the effects and the affections, or dispositions, that he intended to arouse in his different interlocutors. It is important to emphasize that the passions performed in Vieira’s letters will not be analyzed as a form of expression of authorial subjectivity. They will rather be considered under the view of a discursive persona which is directly articulated with the performance of a rhetorical model that includes different “states of soul”, and which tries to conform itself to the theme that is being discussed, to the discursive genre to which it belongs and to the receiver.

## Merete Onsberg University of Copenhagen

### *Gilbert Austin and his Elocutionary Legacy*

In the nineteenth century, more books were published dealing with voice and body in performance. Especially in regard to the body, Austin's *Chironomia* delivered the material for books aiming at the teaching of public speaking and dramatic declamation. One example is Jonathan Barber's *Gesture*, chiefly abstracted from Austin's *Chironomia*; adapted for the use of Students, and arranged according to the method of instruction in Harvard University.

As is clear from the title, Barber acknowledged Austin as his source, but not all writers did that. The paper will give examples of how Austin was used both explicitly and without any reference. A central characteristic of these books is what has always been inherent in rhetoric as a discipline, viz. its practice and the teaching thereof. It will be discussed how a very prescriptive pedagogy offers more problems than solutions. Thus I do not imagine that Lester Thornssen will be proved right. In 1935 he wrote: "Were elocution again to command its once high estate, I have no doubt these adaptations from Rush and Austin would be among the first books to gain popular favor. That popularity would not be undeserved, for Mr. Barber reveals a fine sense of speech values and a genuine respect for the dignity of the spoken word." To back my argumentation against Thornssen's prophecy, insights from my reconstruction of one of Austin's recitations will be used.

## Jessica Ouellette University of Southern Maine

### *Activist Rhetorics: Digital Circulation as Networked Rhetorical Action*

The recent surge in activist visibility within the digital sphere—from Standing Rock, to the Women's March, to Black Lives Matter—renews the necessity of understanding how activists invent, deliver, and perform rhetorical acts. Activist rhetoric has long presented challenges to rhetorical scholars because such rhetoric, while political, is not invented, delivered, and distributed in traditional formats or by a singular, identifiable rhetor. All too often activist rhetoric fails to persuade, yet the aforementioned activist groups have had many successes (and failures, too). Such successes and failures, I argue, can be discussed in terms of digital circulation.

In considering the relationship between digital circulation and activist rhetoric, this presentation responds to Laurie Gries' call for rhetoricians to "investigate not only how discourse is produced and distributed, but also how once delivered, it circulates, transforms, and affects change through its material encounters" (333). I argue that the potential effects of circulation within a digital space are not just between a writer and a reader; rather those effects are caught up in larger rhetorical networks of encounter and interaction—networks that are constantly changing and shifting due to the amplified and affective nature of the web's speed and scale. Through an analysis of the Women's March signs and their various modes of circulation—specifically the virality and global-reach of these signs (*re*)presented in digital form—I discuss the ways in which the process of circulation operates as a kind of rhetorical action, forming networks of arguments that ultimately lead to various and, oftentimes, conflicting material effects. Understanding circulation in this way can help rhetoricians and activists better understand how to leverage the ever-changing rhetorical landscape of the digital in service of social action.

## Daniel Overton Pepperdine University

### *Making Peace by Threatening Violence:*

### *Rhetorical Violence for Nonviolent Social Change in Eugene Debs's "Arouse, Ye Slaves!"*

The largest socialist public in the history of the United States emerged from the hotbed of Kansas populism, formed around the Appeal to Reason newspaper based in Girard, Kansas during the early twentieth century. In this study, I examine perhaps the most infamous editorial in the history of that paper: Eugene V. Debs's 1906 "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" Addressing the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone murder trial in Idaho, Debs mobilized threats and general provocations to provide attention to reportedly unjust legal practices. "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" stands out as a puzzling outlier of Debs's rhetorical canon, for despite his established practice and legacy of peaceful protest and his preference for education as the best vehicle for gradual revolution, he announced a plan for violence and immediate upheaval in this brief editorial. I provide a rhetorical analysis of Debs's "Arouse, Ye Slaves!" outlining a theory of rhetorical violence for nonviolent change. Rhetors seeking both radical progress and peaceful resolution are often caught in a bind since their rhetoric must be appropriately virulent to motivate a disgruntled audience while also avoiding counterproductive violence. Calls for peace may not be sufficiently arousing for an outraged populist counterpublic, yet calls for violence can lead to undesired consequences. Rhetorical violence provides a mediating possibility for resolution, as rhetors use threats to energize an in-group while simultaneously goading a dominant public toward compromise. This study contributes a theoretical understanding of rhetorical violence as well as an explanation of Debs's puzzling but successful navigation of an uncharacteristic rhetorical strategy, one aimed toward a frustrated national audience of populists. I conclude with parallels and implications within the current political context.

## Janika Päll University of Tartu

### *The Discovery of Parallelism and Syllabic Rhythms in Renaissance and (Early) Modern Scholarship*

Parallel structures (with and without reliance on syllabic rhythm) have been one of underlying stylistic features of Greek and Latin prose, depending on the tendencies of a period or an author. The views regarding the sources of this parallelism (including the influence of Oriental languages, and especially Biblical texts) have also been various and depended much on views of the scholar in question.

The third paper of the session will look into some influential Medieval, Renaissance and Early Modern treatises on poetics and rhetoric (such as Bede, Vossius and others), in order to see better the sources of our modern understanding of rhetorical rhythm, especially its patterns, relying on syllabic repetition.

The analysis of the examples, presented by the authors of studied treatises, will try to demonstrate from one side the development of syllabic rhythm patterns from Ancient and Christian Greek and Roman authors to Neo-Latin and Humanist Greek texts, but also, secondly, how the Christian (and Biblical Hebrew) tradition has influenced the Renaissance and Early Modern (and consequently perhaps also our) understanding of syllabic rhythm.

## Terry Papillon Sewanee: The University of the South

### *Isocrates on the Teacher's Responsibility*

This paper will survey the statements of Isocrates on the role of the teacher in the development of the rhetor. It will consider the balance of the Isocratean triad -- talent, instruction, and practice -- to establish Isocrates' sense of the relative importance of teaching. It will also discuss how the role of the teacher goes beyond the triad to the role of mentorship when the student has gone forth from the school. Sources will come from the Cyprian orations, the Panathenaicus, Against the Sophists, and To Philip, as well as the letters. Some focus will be on Isocrates' relationship to Philip and Alexander and Isocrates' presentation of his own role in their development and performance.

## Bai Hyoung Park Seoul National University

*On the Political Utilization of Kant's Idea of Peace in the Case of Rhee Syngman, the First President of the Republic of Korea*

In his famous book *Toward Perpetual Peace*, Kant expressed his political idea of peace in three aspects. The first of them is a 'capitalist peace' predicated on the proposition that countries engaged with each other in trade are unlikely to go to war. Secondly, the 'democratic peace' thesis postulates that democratic countries do not go to war with each other because arbitrary declarations of war can be prevented by basic democratic checks and balances. Finally, countries that share the values of market economy and democracy can easily create a security community.

This idea of peace influenced Korean intellectuals in the early 20th century who fought for the independence of their country which was at that time under Japanese colonial rule. Syngman Rhee was one such person who later became the first president of the Republic of Korea. He accepted all the three aspects of Kant's idea of peace and developed strategies out of them for the independence of Korea and his political power. While he stayed in the United States as a student and independence activist, he kept in close contact with Woodrow Wilson who was a follower of Kant's idea. He also tried to inform Korean society of the principle of national self-determination, when Wilson declared it.

In this paper, I will show how Kant's idea of peace was utilized politically and rhetorically in the political vision of Syngman Rhee's in the making of modern Korea. Firstly, I will trace the process of his reception of Kant's idea through his articles and his book *Japan Inside Out* (1940). Secondly, I will investigate his political utilization of Kant's idea and rhetoric in his political career and his pro-American stance. Thirdly, I will illustrate how Rhee's utilization of Kant's idea of peace and policies based on it contributed to shaping the modern Korea.

## María Violeta Pérez Custodio Universidad de Cádiz

*The Two Editions of the De arte rhetorica dialogi quatuor by the Jesuit Francisco de Castro (1611 and 1625)*

As far as we know, the *De arte rhetorica dialogi quatuor* by the Spanish Jesuit Francisco de Castro was only published on two occasions, both of them during their author's lifetime. The first and second editions, printed in Córdoba in 1611 and Seville in 1625, were related to Castro's teaching positions in the schools founded by the Society of Jesus there. The need for textbooks for the Jesuit schools in the south of Spain explains why a series of rhetoric manuals were published at that time: the *De arte rhetorica libri tres* by Cipriano Suárez was printed in Seville in 1569, the handbook by Juan de Santiago in Córdoba in 1596 and the *editio princeps* of the rhetoric by Castro in the same place in 1611.

Although the two editions of Castro's rhetoric manual seem to be quite similar, a close comparison of them reveals an interesting number of changes which affected the preliminary pages, the content of several chapters and the final appendix on specialized bibliography. Consequently, the second edition could be considered as an updated version of the first one and it would reflect the improvement of Castro's rhetorical erudition over that fourteen year span.

This paper will offer a detailed account of the differences between both editions and analyse them in order to explain how these changes contributed to improve the initial text. It will also try to shed light on the new readings of Castro, as well as on the academic context in which the second edition was issued with the aim of gaining a wider knowledge of Jesuit rhetorical teaching.

## Caroline Petit University of Warwick

*Galen's Rhetoric of Providence: Anatomy as a Hymn to Nature*

In the *De usu partium*, his most famous anatomical treatise, Galen departs from the expected descriptive format of the human body and shifts to a prose hymn form, with a view to glorify the demiourgos, or Nature. Despite a firm rooting in the medical and natural philosophical tradition, Galen's work resonates well beyond medical circles: the publication of the *De usu partium* resulted in a lot of talk and controversy, forcing Galen back to the public demonstration arena in the heart of Rome, after he had vowed to dedicate himself to quiet study and practice. It also created a new paradigm for anatomy in a context of monotheistic faith, exemplified by the *Fabrica* of Theophilus Protospatharius and, later, Vesalius' own *Fabrica* (1543).

In this paper, I will first review the background and context of the treatise in late second-century Rome and then highlight the main areas of its rhetorical power: the role of piety, of aesthetics, of ekphrasis, of contemporary literary trends (prose hymn). In reviewing the *De usu partium*'s incredibly rich patterns, I will unveil a new image of Galen, as a high priest and ultimate interpreter of Nature, owing as much to Plato (among other literary models) as to contemporary sophistic brilliance.

## Mudiwa Pettus Pennsylvania State University

*A Rhetorician By Any Other Name: Booker T. Washington as Ambivalent Rhetorical Theorist*

In this paper, I argue for the value of re-envisioning Booker T. Washington's rhetorical practice through a lens of constructive ambivalence. From his youth as a precocious student-debater to his rise as the most prominent African-American spokesperson of the Progressive Era, Washington was enmeshed in public address, yet he consistently inhabited an ambivalent mood regarding the utility of oratory as a tool for racial reconciliation. Although he delivered thousands of speeches over the span of his public career and intentionally positioned himself to be the authoritative voice on racial uplift, Washington regularly asserted that the podium was not the battle ground on which black advancement would be won and that protest was an ineffective tool for social correction. Seeking to develop a grounded theory of Washingtonian rhetoric to elucidate the paradoxes of his messages and methods of public performance, I frame this ambivalence not simply as a prosaic condition of human multiplicity, but as an intentional and, ultimately, unifying thread of Washington's rhetorical mindset. I argue that Washington's ambivalence towards public address was a unique and strategic approach to cultivating trust among resistant audiences unable to reconcile a perceived loss of material and symbolic power with newly burgeoning articulations of African-American citizenship. To this end, I mine Washington's autobiographical writings, speeches, and personal correspondences to codify his ideas about language use, intracommunal communication, and democratic deliberation.

Ultimately, this project spotlights an important and understudied orator in rhetorical studies. Additionally, the paper helps to illuminate the unpredictable transactions of power that occur between audiences and marginalized speakers and the particular paradoxes entrapping black civic orators--past and present--when addressing multiracial and multicultural audiences.

## Luis Pomer Universidad de Valencia

### *Retórica antijudía y violencia*

El discurso de los primeros escritores cristianos causó en muchas ocasiones una reacción violenta contra las comunidades judías. En este trabajo analizaré la retórica de estos escritos polémicos de la literatura adversus Iudaeos, escritos en griego y en latín, y las reacciones que motivaron en las diferentes partes del Imperio romano en Oriente y en Occidente. Las circunstancias históricas y sociales de cada uno de las provincias tienen una incidencia directa en el tono de los escritos y en las reacciones violentas que promovieron. Textos especialmente violentos fueron las ocho Homilias contra los judíos de uno de los Padres de la Iglesia de Oriente, Juan Crisóstomo, que fueron pronunciadas en los años 386-387. En otras ocasiones fueron los propios Padres de la Iglesia quienes justificaron estos actos e incluso los defendieron, como hizo Ambrosio de Milán con la destrucción de la sinagoga de Callinicum, también a finales del s. IV, llegando a excomulgar a Teodosio, el emperador que había convertido en religión oficial del Imperio el cristianismo niceno, y demostrando el poder que había adquirido el clero cristiano en esta época.

La represión contra los judíos en los años del imperio cristiano tuvo su continuidad en la violencia que fue ejercida por los reinos germánicos herederos del Imperio romano, como ocurrió en Hispania, donde Isidoro de Sevilla y otros miembros de la jerarquía eclesiástica influyentes en la corte visigoda alentaron con sus escritos la violencia institucional de los emperadores, como se observa en las leyes antijudías que promulgaron. Las invectivas de los padres visigodos desembocaron en la conversión forzosa de los judíos en el reinado de Sisebuto.

## Megan Poole Pennsylvania State University

### *A Woman's Optics: Margaret Cavendish and the Rhetorical Work of Re-Envisioning Objectivity*

Since the 1980s, feminist science studies scholars such as Donna Haraway and Evelyn Fox Keller have famously problematized objectivity, which involves the idea of an impartial observer who is uninfluenced by personal feelings, biases, or opinions. Objectivity is not a modern issue, but rather emerged in early modern England as the Royal Society of London popularized the invention of the microscope. The microscope, as Jordynn Jack (2009) details, changed the parameters of scientific argumentation: only that which was objectively observed could be considered the “proof” necessary to validate one’s argument. In his outline of the rhetorical tradition, George A. Kennedy (1999) presents a portrait of rhetoric in early modern England that centers on Hobbes, Locke, and this “new logic” of the Royal Society. Objectivity, then, remains an element of rhetoric’s history, but one that prevented women and people of lower classes from wielding argumentative authority, as scientific tools like the microscope were often extended only to aristocratic males.

If objectivity emerges through the part of the rhetorical tradition that runs through the Royal Society, then Margaret Cavendish serves as an important case study in resisting that tradition. A rhetorical historiographic account of Cavendish’s scientific writing (exemplified in *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*, 1666) allows scholars to “look crookedly” at the history of objectivity as “a little less inevitable,” to echo Cheryl Glenn (1997, p. 7). This account will proceed in two parts: first, with Cavendish’s critique of objectivity, and second, with an analysis of her own optics—which I consider an embodied “proto-feminist optics” aimed to empower those outside the elite Royal Society. A crooked glance at Cavendish’s place in the rhetorical tradition unearths undiscovered tactics, such as the rhetorical concept of mimesis, used by women to write and act against objectivity.

## Josie Portz University of Tennessee, Knoxville

### *“A Philosopher in the Purple”: Claims of Disinterestedness in Themistius’ “Oration 34”*

From antiquity, the idea of a philosopher’s necessary distance from the civic sphere of public office remained strong in public memory. This distance allowed philosophers the privilege of candor in delivering free speech, or parrhesia, for the good of all men. Therefore, when the philosopher Themistius accepted the position of urban prefect over the senate of Constantinople between 383 and 384 CE, he faced a rhetorical challenge in preserving his credibility as a philosopher. In composing his “Oration 34” just after the end of his office, Themistius seeks to legitimize his positionality, emphasizing concern for the good of the people.

Johannes Wienand’s collection, *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, provides a helpful framework for thinking through Themistius’ work of legitimization to build his populist ethos. Blurring the lines between philosopher and public servant, Themistius speaks of philosophy as an “embellishment,” which he argues clothes his own political sponsor, Emperor Theodosius. Though Themistius retained the plain attire of the philosopher, he connects himself to Theodosius, who he claims—despite wearing “the imperial purple”—held the same interest in philosophy as Marcus Aurelius, Hadrian, and Antoninus. I build upon one of Wienand’s components of fourth-century social interactions, “monarchic representation,” arguing that Themistius used the imagery of clothing to disrupt ideas of exclusivity between philosophy and politics.

This study seeks to outline in English the populist argumentation this fourth-century philosopher employs in his “Oration 34,” which both legitimizes and appeals to the people’s desire for a disinterested governance. My conclusions stress the importance of how orators conceive “the masses,” echoing the topic of the 2014 special issue of *Advances in the History of Rhetoric*. I suggest that assumptions of audience force not only a fashioning of one’s own performance, but also a situated representation of one’s authorities or sponsors.

## Holland Prior University of Tennessee, Knoxville

### *Women Preachers and Sponsorship: The Ordination, Deposition, and Restoration of Rev. Mary A. Will*

In the wider debate concerning women’s right to preach in American Methodism in the nineteenth century, the more specific debate surrounding the ministerial career of Rev. Mary A. Will offers a new perspective that highlights the nuanced role of sponsorship in women preachers’ rhetorical actions.

In 1861, Will became the first woman ordained in the Wesleyan-Methodist Connection of America (now known as the Wesleyan Church) and assumed leadership of a northern Illinois preaching circuit. In 1864, Will was deposed on the grounds that ordaining a female was unscriptural. Her case was later brought before the church’s General Conference in 1875, at which time Will’s deposition was declared irregular and illegal and she was reinstated into ministry. Whereas Phoebe Palmer, Frances Willard, and other women of the era emerged as vocal and visible advocates for women preachers in the nineteenth century, Will remained largely silent throughout the public debate that encircled her ordination and allowed others to advocate on her behalf.

Using Cheryl Glenn’s framework for remapping rhetorical territory (1997) as a guide, this presentation seeks to begin writing Will into the rhetorical tradition of women preachers and suggests an alternative approach to advocacy that warrants further investigation. In focusing on the sponsors who worked both to promote and suppress Will’s ministerial career, this presentation reimagines Deborah Brandt’s work on sponsors of literacy (1998) by extending sponsorship to rhetorical action. By considering women preachers’ rhetorical actions through the lens of sponsorship, this work has the potential to provide advocates of women’s preaching new means of proffering support and to prompt a larger reimagination of sponsorship itself.

## Carol Poster

### *Magic and Rhetoric in the Ancient Gig Economy*

While some scholars have connected magic and rhetoric in antiquity as varieties of enchantment which share modes of incantatory persuasion, this paper would argue that the two are connected in a much more mundane fashion. Curse tablets, forensic rhetoric, rhetorical pedagogy, and letter-writing were all ways people trained in advanced verbal skills could earn their livings. This paper would investigate how magical and rhetorical practices could complement one another as part of an ancient "gig economy" for people possessing advanced literacy skills. It would draw on archaeological as well as textual evidence and discuss how the illegality of magic may limit some elements of the evidence for magic as a common practical application of advanced verbal skills training.

## Loretta Ramirez University of California, Irvine

### *The Rhetoric of Humility:*

#### *Educating the Urban Populace of Late-Medieval Aragon in Francesc Eiximenis's Lo Crestià and Llibre de les Dones*

Francesc Eiximenis's writings circulated through fourteenth-century Aragon under King Martin and Queen Maria de Luna's patronage. Historian Robert E. Lerner writes that Eiximenis's convictions operated on the premise that the Christian world had entered the time foretold by John of Patmos in Revelation as the Seventh Seal, a time of silence and meditation before Apocalypse. Eiximenis is principally discussed in this theological context, but I propose a nuanced study of Eiximenis's methodology of underscoring lived experience and humanistic interchange—not silence. Specifically, Eiximenis advocated civic discourse in urban spaces by using rhetorical strategies characteristic of Iberian Franciscan tradition.

My research focuses on Eiximenis's *Crestià* (Christian encyclopedia, 1381-1387) and *Llibre de les Dones* (Book of Women, 1396). I argue that Eiximenis prescribed civic exchange to empower the populace for enrichment of both society and soul. In the *Crestià*, Eiximenis writes that ignorance results from humanity's fall from Grace. A life well-lived strives to amend ignorance, thereby recovering Grace. This stance aligns with late-medieval religious humanism but also emerging Early Modern civic humanism. Accordingly, in the *Crestià*'s twelfth book, *Regiment de la cosa pública* (Rule of the Commonwealth), Eiximenis chastises city elites and even royals who shirk from providing literacy and academic engagement to the populace across class and gender spheres. Referencing Aristotle and Seneca, Eiximenis states that tyranny emerges from wisdom's impediment. He proposes humility, tyranny's antithesis, as portal to knowledge. Those humbled to listen acquire learning opportunities in everyday verbal interactions. Eiximenis writes for these same humble Iberian everyman and everywoman.

Along with exploring Eiximenis's call for urban discourse, my paper presents Eiximenis's handling of common topoi and motifs to reach his audience. Humorous historic anecdotes and popular parables mix with Biblical teachings, Classical philosophies, and medieval principles to advance Eiximenis's pedagogical purposes to counter tyranny and prepare for Judgement.

## Hany Rashwan University of Birmingham

### *Revisiting the notion of Quranic inimitability through Abu Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibī's understanding of tajnīs*

The writings of Abu Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibī (350-429/ 961–1038) can be considered one of the essential sources which we possess for understanding the early Islamic history of Arabic literary-rhetoric (*balāgha*). Many of his books dealt with topics related to the criticism of poetry and rhymed prose. He was also expert in the fields of Arabic philology and lexicography. As a prominent writer, he produced many outstanding poems and literary prose that were celebrated by many later generations. He was called al-Jāḥiẓ of Neisabour or the second Jāḥiẓ. Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 908 AD) defines *tajnīs* simply as two similar words in which their letters resemble each other. This paper investigates how al-Tha'ālibī approaches the concept of *i'jāz* or what can be translated as 'poetic inimitability' through his treatments of the notion of *tajnīs*.

In his book *al-i'jāz wa-l-ijāz* (poetic-inimitability and conciseness), the definition of *i'jāz* was not only restricted to the Quran as *kalām Allah* (speech of God), but it was extended to include prophet's *aḥādīth*, the narrations of Khalifas, pre-Islamic kings, the ministers, the philosophers, the humorists and eloquent writers. He always highlights the relation between Quranic *i'jāz* and *tajnīs*. The paper sheds new light on the methodology that al-Tha'ālibī used in approaching this exceptional literary device, considering the fact that he composed two books about it: *Ajnās al-tajnīs* (types of *tajnīs*); *al-Anīs fī ghurar al-tajnīs* (the companion to the best of *tajnīs*).

## Krista Ratcliffe Arizona State University

### *Populism as Oxymoron: Listening to Its Appeals and Problems*

Populism, as a social movement focusing on ordinary people, is initially appealing because it appears grounded in founding principles of democracy. Populisms have, of course, emerged differently in different countries at different historical moments. Even so, common themes among populists include anger at the establishment and celebration of specific groups of people, etc. But the appeals of populism (e.g., shared power, equality and justice) often mask the problems of populism (e.g., discrimination, inequality, and injustice). This masking generates a populism whose oxymoronic doubleness must be exposed if the problems are to be addressed. Two examples of such an oxymoronic populism are represented in Robert Penn Warren's mid-20th-century "All the King's Men" and in current discourses of U.S. politics. Employing rhetorical listening and Aristotle's argumentative appeals to analyze these two examples, I will argue that the masking associated with these oxymoronic populisms succeeds best when politicians build their "ethos" by separating logical appeals from emotional ones; I will also argue that exposing this unmasking is necessary in order to build a more inclusive populism and that such unmasking necessitates politicians each building her/his "ethos" by entwining these two appeals.



## John Ray Montana Tech of the University of Montana

*The Kantian Rhetorics of Franz Theremin and Ch. Perelman: A Critical Analysis*

Most of what Kant says in the Critique of Judgment about rhetoric was not favorable because, in his view, rhetoric, in trying to produce a persuasive effect, usually ignored the ethical. However, Kant, without developing the idea to any great extent, held out the possibility of a noble rhetoric that could unite understanding, imagination and the emotions in order to motivate people to do the morally praiseworthy. For Kant, such a noble rhetoric must bring eloquence into conformity with moral ideas and rules and must be regulated by a transcendent moral standard that informs persuasive attempts and conditions rhetorical invention.

Although Kant did not elaborate such a rhetorical theory, three rhetorical theorists after Kant did produce rhetorical theories based on Kantian ethical and aesthetic theory—Franz Theremin in *Eloquence a Virtue* and Ch. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca in *The New Rhetoric*. Theremin's rhetorical theory linked moral imperatives such as Kant's categorical imperative with persuasion and argued that true eloquence was a moral activity. The *New Rhetoric* speaks of the Universal Audience that operates akin to Kant's categorical imperative as providing the rhetor with a fixed ethical standard for discourse.

For Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca and Theremin, because rhetoric has a starting point in values which involves making probabilistic value judgments, rhetoric is an inherently ethical activity. Theremin, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca want to find some standard for judging the adequacy of the value judgments that form the basis of rhetorical invention. Theremin, Olbrechts-Tyteca and Perelman's rhetoric utilize a Kantian ethical perspective as that standard for judging rhetoric's ethical judgments and incorporate a Kantian ethics into their rhetorical theory.

This paper analyzes the adequacy of Olbrechts-Tyteca, Perelman and Theremin's use of a Kantian ethic to serve as the basis of rhetorical invention and whether a fixed moral standard can be the grounding of rhetorical judgment.

## Elizabeth Ashley Rea Pennsylvania State University

*Towards a Feminist Sonic Rhetoric: Mary Margaret McBride's Radio Performances*

Feminist historiographers use archival research to study women's rhetorical performances, both textual and spoken (Glenn; Guinsato; Hogg; Mattingly). However, we have yet to address the unique challenges and affordances arising from aural artifacts. Moreover, while scholars in sonic rhetorics have begun to work with archival methods, their work focuses on the intersections of sound and race, class, and sexuality (Bessette; Goodale; Stone). There is a need, then, to develop methods for examining the gendered sonic rhetorics of women rhetors through their aural artifacts. To this end, I introduce Mary Margaret McBride, a 1930s radio host who taught and modeled a feminist listening practice on her program. Studying McBride's listening practices through her recorded radio programs yields insight into the relationship between feminist and sonic rhetorics as well as methods for engaging with aural archival artifacts. During the height of her radio career from 1934 to 1954, McBride pioneered new genre norms, challenged expectations regarding acceptable radio programming for women, advocated for social justice, and amassed millions of listeners.

By analyzing McBride's broadcasts, it is possible to consider the intersections of her gendered performances, feminist advocacy, and deployment of sonic rhetorical practices with the hopes of revealing more about the connection between feminist rhetorics and sound. This presentation has three central claims. First, I argue that studying McBride's recorded sonic artifacts productively delineates and complicates the relationship between feminist and sonic rhetorics, a relationship as yet undertheorized in the fields of rhetorical historiography and sonic rhetorics. Second, it recuperates an important but historically overlooked rhetor whose stature and sophisticated deployment of rhetorical practices demands our attention. Third, I contend that engaging with the sonic artifacts in the Mary Margaret McBride collection at the Library of Congress present specific challenges that have the potential to contribute to archival methods in rhetorical historiography.

## Robin Reames University of Illinois at Chicago

*Being, Becoming, and Negation: The Comparative Rhetorics of Nāgārjuna and Protagoras*

There is abundant evidence of a shared intellectual tradition stretching between Greece and India. For many years, the dominant explanation for these similarities was guided by what Indian scholars have termed the "The Gandhāra Bias"—the idea that Greek thought must have influenced Indian thought and not the other way round. Today, most scholars view the situation differently, believing that Indian thought reached the Greek world via Persia in the Presocratic period, with the reverse direction of influence via Alexander's conquests in the Hellenistic period.

The dialectics of one of the foremost thinkers of the ancient Indian tradition, Nāgārjuna (2nd/3rd c. C.E., sometimes referred to as "the Aristotle of India"), demonstrates how the same questions that motivated the rise of rhetoric in the Greek tradition are also at play in ancient Indian dialectic. Namely, what is the relation of language to Being? If the material world is ultimately illusory, full of false appearances and seeming, then what is the role of language in those appearances? In his ways of handling these and other questions, Nāgārjuna's dialectic method is not only consistent with the wisdom preserved in the Pāli Canon (the repository of early Buddhist thought), it is also remarkably consistent with many features with both earlier (Presocratic) and later (sophistic) Greek thought.

In this paper I offer a comparative analysis of the dialectic of Nāgārjuna and the rhetoric of Protagoras. I examine how the problem of becoming evolved differently in the Greek pre-Socratic and sophistic traditions as opposed to the early Buddhist tradition that preceded Nāgārjuna, nevertheless leading to profound similarities between Nāgārjuna's concept of negation and Protagoras's concept of contradiction. Thus by examining two different inheritors of the problem of becoming in the Greek and Indian traditions, I propose a possible source for the sophistic practice of contradiction.

## Pauline Reid University of Denver

*Walking in the Renaissance: The Rhetoric of Ambulation in Early Modern England's Public Spaces*

The current conversation between critical space theory and rhetorical studies has produced compelling scholarship, such as Thomas Rickert's *Ambient Rhetoric*, which claims that space enacts rhetorical agency, and David Fleming's *City of Rhetoric*, which deploys Chicago as a case study for how rhetorical space can further entrench inequality. Scholarship on the rhetoric of space and physicality often represents it as popular and everyday, reclaimed from the realm of the metaphysical and the elite. This representation draws from Benjamin's urban Flâneur, Lefebvre's use of space to ground theory in practice, and de Certeau's navigation of the city as an act of public liberation. However, a historical situation of spatial rhetoric in the early modern period reveals that public navigation of space was a contested ground that exposed fault lines between popular and elite practices. While de Certeau famously claims that as we walk, cityscapes becomes "liberated spaces that can be occupied," in early modern England, forms of group walking – surveys, processions, and perambulations – instead forged collective memories and defined communities through ritual, hierarchy, and regimentation. As Alexandra Walsham argues, in early modern perambulations, or walks that defined public boundaries, the landscape became a "site of contention" over religious ideology and historical memory (Reformation of the Landscape 260). In "Walking in the Renaissance," I will investigate traditional methods of navigating rhetorical space, such as Rogationtide perambulations and ceremonial processions, alongside texts that amble through urban, secular, and public spaces, such as William Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent* (1572), John Leland's mid-16th century *Itineraries of England and Wales*, and John Stowe's *Survey of London* (1598). Through this juxtaposition, I will explore the ambivalence of ambulation in the English Renaissance, as a popular, everyday rhetorical act that was nevertheless constrained and defined by the ideological burdens of faith, political controversy, and social hierarchy.

## Gary Remer Tulane University

### *Response to Critics: Remer's Ethics and the Orator*

Rhetoric and politics have had a fraught relationship since antiquity, and rhetoric's perceived pernicious influences in democratic politics have been a perennial source of discontent. Cicero, however, viewed oratory as having a vital moral and political role to play in free societies. Gary Remer's *Ethics and the Orator: The Ciceronian Tradition of Political Morality* revives and builds on this neglected Ciceronian insight, tracing the influence and potential of Cicero's moral and rhetorical theory in thinkers such as Machiavelli and Lipsius and on themes including representation and deliberative democracy. In tandem with the panel "Round-table on Remer's Ethics and the Orator," Remer will respond to the comments of the round-table's four discussants, at the end of the first two 30 minute intervals, and he will be part of the broader discussion in the final 30 minutes of panel.

## Malcolm Richardson & Sylvie Dubois Louisiana State University

### *Rhetoric among the New World Ursuline Nuns: A Study of the Ursuline Eulogy Genre, 1641-1850*

Ursuline nuns of the 17th-18th centuries make a particularly apt group for language research because they were generally well-born, well-educated, and, most importantly, both writers themselves and professional teachers of writing to women. This paper examines the changing rhetorical and linguistic characteristics of one wide-spread but little-studied epideictic genre, eulogies for other Ursulines, written in France and the New World (including Quebec and New Orleans) between 1641 and 1850. These eulogies have the personal and pedagogical objective of modeling conduct to present oneself and one's students before God, and make an instructive study of religious rhetoric and language use, especially in the New World. After defining the genre and its characteristics, the paper analyzes to what extent the Ursulines chose to imitate (or not) the conventions of a rhetorical genre and how they negotiated "modernizing" reforms urged by French grammarians and scholars from the middle of the sixteenth century.

To analyze one communal genre over time, we have created a database comparing the language use in more than forty authorized Catholic religious texts published 1541-1728 with that of eulogy manuscripts written by eight Mothers Superior during the same period.

The Ursuline eulogy can be seen as a written performance that reproduces the norms of a specific rhetorical genre and of multiple idealized models while making some allowances for individuality. We will also show how factors such as primary learning, the literary genre, the symbolic value of orthographic forms, the writer's origin, and identity status shaped the Ursuline's written norms. Since the Ursulines were important educators of young women in the New Orleans and Quebec especially, the paper speculates on the implications on women's writing during the colonial period.

## Hanne Roer University of Copenhagen

### *People and persona in Augustine's Sermons on the Saints.*

The argumentum ad populum is considered a fallacy but it has also acted as a vehicle of renewal. Augustine's innovative rhetoric was aimed at his peers as well as his uneducated congregation (cf. his *De catechizandis rudibus*). Thus, in *De doctrina christiana*, bk. 4, he rejects the classical notion of puritas, valuing the communication of the Christian message higher than correct Latin – a gatekeeper of classical rhetoric. His success as a preacher was mainly due to the fact that he considered himself part of a *populus Dei*, along with his audience (P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 1967). In his *Sermones ad populum* (a category established by the Maurists), Augustine addresses a mixed audience of lay people, rich citizens and members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These sermons offer a wide stylistic range of figurative language relating to the life world of the congregation (cf. Sister I. Barry, *St. Augustine The Orator* 1924; Hubertus Drobner, *Augustinus von Hippo. Sermones* 35-41, 2004).

One of the four classes of the *Sermones ad populum* are the Sermons on the saints, exemplars to be imitated by the *populus Dei*. The cult of the saints was highly popular, among all classes, and different factions of the Church competed in establishing new rites relating to the graves of saints (Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* 1981). These examples of "grounded rhetoric" have not been studied from a rhetorical perspective. As close readings of the sermons on the saints, especially those on St. Paul, Perpetua and Felicitas, St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, will show, Augustine balances between different target groups, men, women, rich and poor, joining them into a common Christian persona. This is, however, at the cost of ignoring differences in class and gender, as demonstrated by recent scholarship in late antiquity.

## Rachelle Romero University of Southern California

### *Seventeenth Century Women's Solo Motets as Sacred Oration*

The correlation between sermons and solo cantatas has been well researched within the Protestant sphere. However, musicology has largely overlooked this correlation in the mid seventeenth-century Northern Italian solo motet, a connection which composers such as Jesuit Bonifatio Gratiani emphasized in their prefaces. Rife with musical-rhetorical figures that fall into Bernhard's *stylus luxurians* classifications, composers of solo motets aimed to move the listener to pious action by stirring the affections. Accordingly, textual devices in these pieces emulate standard seventeenth-century sermon rhetoric, even quoting sections of extant sermons.

The rhetorical resemblance between sermons and solo motets poses a conundrum for the historically patriarchal Catholic Church because it suggests that women—who frequently composed and performed these pieces—partook in sacred oration, or preaching. This paper identifies sermon rhetoric in the solo motets of two mid-century women composers: Chiara Margarita Cozzolani and Barbara Strozzi. One of the greatest nun-composers of her era, Cozzolani's music exemplifies the extensive repertory of solo motets performed by cloistered women. Meanwhile, Strozzi's 1655 collection of solo motets *Sacri musicali affetti*—her only sacred work and a gift to her female patron, Anna de Medici of Innsbruck—illustrates the solo motet's significance to women outside the convent walls, including those who modern musicology considers secular. I first demonstrate the sermon-like intent of these pieces to move the listener to piety through a musical-rhetorical reading, employing contemporary Bernhard's figures. Secondly, I compare the textual rhetoric of these pieces to the sermons of Emmanuele Orchi using Giovanni Pozzi's 1954 seminal work on the subject. After proving the existence of sermon rhetoric in women's solo motets, I call into question the perception that women were always forbidden to preach and the resulting assumption that falsettists completely replaced female voices in the seventeenth-century Italian church service.

## Pablo Romero Universidad de Valladolid

*Los usos populistas de la oposición a lo “políticamente correcto” en la opinión pública Española*

La controversia acerca de lo “políticamente correcto”, surgida en Estados Unidos en los años noventa, ha cobrado fuerza en los últimos años y se ha extendido a otros países occidentales. La mayoría de los analistas coinciden en que uno de los puntos fuertes de la estrategia electoral de Trump fue su posicionamiento en contra de la corrección política, presentándose así como alguien alejado de la hipocresía de la clase política a quien sus potenciales votantes veían tan alejada de sus intereses, y esta argumentación también se puede encontrar en discursos populistas europeos como los de Marine Le Pen y Nigel Farage. En el ámbito español son cada vez más recurrentes, tanto en el ámbito político como en el mediático, los debates acerca del lenguaje inclusivo, la enseñanza de la diversidad LGTB en las escuelas, o el estrechamiento de los límites del humor.

Estudiar esta controversia es relevante por varias razones. En primer lugar, la relación de lo “políticamente correcto” con la defensa de identidades minoritarias y las políticas de discriminación positiva explica su efectividad política, ya que apela a grupos sociales que se sienten amenazados por estas políticas, como aquellos que se oponen a las leyes contra la violencia machista por considerar que perjudican a los hombres.

Desde un punto de vista retórico, la cuestión de lo “políticamente correcto” aborda las complejas relaciones entre el discurso, la construcción de representaciones sociales y la acción política; también muestra cómo los ciudadanos perciben lo “políticamente correcto” como un “orden del discurso” orquestado por ciertas élites que pretenden controlar la libertad de expresión. En este sentido, periodistas y autores españoles se posicionan cada vez más abiertamente en contra de este “orden”, esperando obtener cierto prestigio al presentarse como defensores del pensamiento crítico frente a lo que consideran una “dictadura del pensamiento”.

## Abraham Romney Michigan Technological University

*Between Religious and Political Rhetoric in 19th Century New Mexico*

This paper analyzes the text and context for one of the first Spanish-language rhetorical manuals printed in the Americas after independence from Spain. The parish priest Antonio José Martínez (1793-1867) published his *Retórica* in Taos, New Mexico sometime in the mid 1830s after Martínez had acquired a printing press, an example of some of the earliest printing to occur in New Mexico. The text, largely a redaction of a translation of Fray Luis de Granada's *Retórica Eclesiástica* (1575), follows the elimination of the religious portion of its title. This reworking of a centuries-old manual that had adapted classical rhetoric to *ars predicandi*, eschews its religious influence, stripping the text down to a moral classicism that Martínez believed would be necessary to guide political and literary aspiration in the post-independence context. This text, along with others, like his notebook on orthography (1834), were intended for use in public education. Reading Martínez texts in the context of territorial politics suggests a connection between his ideas for literacy education and his strong political engagement. Martínez was a controversial figure. He was believed to have had a connection to two different rebellions, once against New Mexico's governor in 1837 (in which the governor was killed) and another time against the recent American invasion in 1847. After the Mexican American war, however, Martínez continued to operate politically in the territorial government. Though in some ways a merely regional figure, Martínez's long political engagement and his effort to establish educational institutions merit closer attention as a salient example of early Latin rhetorics in the Southwestern United States.

## Peter W. Rose Miami University of Ohio

*Thucydides' Kleon: the First "Populist" Demagogue in the Western Tradition*

In vol I of Simon Hornblower's *Commentary on Thucydides* he says of the Mytilene Debate: "These speeches are two of the most important in Th. in terms of the domestic and imperial questions they raise, and the directness with which those questions are faced" (420). In particular, the speech of Kleon, as the first elaborated portrait of a demagogue--someone who acquires power through the exercise of democratic public discourse but denounces the institutions of that discourse, who embraces the death penalty as the best solution to complex problems--preferring bad laws that are obeyed to good ones subject to democratic debate, who declares his preference for uneducated people and his scorn of intellectuals, and who proclaims his own unique personal understanding of actual governing--the passage can claim a certain contemporary relevance.

Thucydides tells us that Kleon was the one who had at the previous day's assembly proposed the measure calling for the slaughter of the entire adult male population of the rebel city of Mytilene. Enough citizens had second thoughts about a proposal they viewed as *ômon*--literally "raw" or "savage," that a second assembly the next day was devoted to a reconsideration. Kleon, who was "in other respects the most violent (*biaiotatos*) of the citizens and with the *dêmos* at that time the most persuasive (*pithanôtatos*)" (Th. 3.36.6), rose to speak again for his original proposal.

I will examine the ethos he projects and his construction of his audience as a means of assessing the "content" of his "populism."

## Ralph Rosen University of Pennsylvania

*'Nature is the Doctor of Diseases': Galen on Medical Collaboration and Hierarchies*

One of the greatest rhetorical challenges of Greek medicine, first articulated in the Hippocratic *On Ancient Medicine*, was to persuade sick patients that medical intervention was necessary in the first place. If, as even Hippocratic writers noted, 'nature' played a critical role in healing bodies, and if sick bodies often appeared to heal themselves without a doctor's help, what was the doctor's actual role in the healing process? Such large issues were still on Galen's mind in his commentary on a celebrated line from Hippocrates *Epidemics* 6.5: 'natures are the doctors of diseases'. This formulation seems simple enough, but Galen understood the complexity of its implications, and the lemma occasions considerable discussion about the relationship between the medical arts (*tekhnai*) and the workings of 'nature'.

The old Hippocratic question of how doctors interact with 'nature' brings him (17b.229-31 K) to a rich and extended discussion of how doctors themselves interact with many other medical specialisms, such as rootcutters, phlebotomy and cupping experts, to name just a few. As I will show, Galen presents here an unusually detailed and self-aware portrait of the complexity behind what we would call a medical 'system'. In the course of his analysis, we will see Galen juggling his own set of rhetorical challenges, since while he wants to give 'nature' due credit in the healing process, and acknowledge as well the essential contributions of paramedical specialties, ultimately the doctor himself needs to emerge with the most prestige and authority. Galen's deft and nuanced approach in this passage, as I argue, is intended to leave his reader with the impression that he is both generous and philanthropic in his understanding of how medicine must work as a collaborative system, but, at the same time, that the most important player within this system is the doctor himself.

## Alan Rosiene Florida Institute of Technology

### *The Medieval and Recent History of Hunterian V.8.14*

Manuscript number 511 in the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, now known by its press-mark V.8.14, has been the foundation for much of our understanding of the teaching practices of early thirteenth century poetics. Edmond Faral's 1924 editions of Matthew of Vendome's *Ars versificatoria*, Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Summa de coloribus and Documentum*, and Gervase of Melkley's "Pyramus and Thisbe" all were based on Hunterian V.8.14, and Faral returned to the manuscript in 1936 to edit and discuss selections from its poems and Gervase's *Ars versificaria*. The unique authority of Faral's writings on the poetic arts was so pervasive that by 1974 James Murphy was calling for further detailed investigations to confirm his data.

Many detailed investigations have been done since Murphy's call. We now have critical editions of the arts contained in Hunterian V.8.14 that take account of copies found in other manuscripts and complete Faral's work when necessary. Douglas Kelly has developed a hierarchy of the arts found in Hunterian V.8.14 that allows us to raise questions about the cohesiveness of the collection. Bruce Harbert has provided us with a critical edition of all the poems in Hunterian V.8.14, and some of the poems have been studied in detail by Simon Glendinning, Martin Camargo, Marjorie Curry Woods, and others.

In this paper, guided by the hypothesis that Gervase of Melkley participated in the manuscript's composition, I compare the characterizations of Hunterian V.8.14 in the works noted above with a microfilm copy in an effort to determine what can be said with certainty and with plausibility about the manuscript, its contents, its history, and its influence.

## Jill Ross University of Toronto

### *Medieval Horace Commentaries on the Ars poetica and the Ethics of Writing*

It is well known that medieval readers of Horace systematized the first 37 lines of the *Ars poetica* into a canonical set of six vices or faults of writing that every good poet must eschew. Many of the 28 commentaries and *accessus* written on the AP between the 10th and 14th centuries echo the "Materia" Commentary, using language that smacks of moral condemnation for poets who are unwilling or unable to transform faulty composition into what is right (*species recti*) or congruent. While critics like Karin Margareta Fredborg assert that the *Ars Poetica* is "unconcerned with ethics, *ethica*, but deals with composition and literature" and was classed by medieval commentators as *logica* because it deals with theoretical questions of language and discourse, a number of *accessus* to the *Ars Poetica* are not nearly as categorical. Several writers of 12th-century *accessus* waver between assigning the *Ars* to logic or to ethics, or sometimes to both, with ethics being applicable to the morals that are appropriate to the poet who may write correctly or badly and may thus be judged as "virtuous" (*virtuosus*) or "full of vice" (*viciosus*).

This paper will explore, through a sampling of commentary on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, spanning the 12th to the 15th centuries, how and why the writing of poetry may constitute an ethical act. By placing the Horatian material in conversation with both Aristotelian ethics and the large Christian literature on sin, this paper will explore some possible avenues for theorizing and defining the kind of moral lapse that some commentators attributed to faulty poetic composition.

## William Saas Louisiana State University

### *Rhetorical Aspects of "Full Employment"*

Recent months have witnessed the resurgence of a populist topos in the United States: the demand for a "federal jobs guarantee." Long advocated for by Civil Rights activists and black trade unionists, the proposal that the U.S. federal government provide jobs for all who need and want them has been given new expression in proposals by Senators Bernie Sanders, Kirsten Gillibrand, and Cory Booker—all possible frontrunners for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2020. Renewed enthusiasm on the left for a jobs guarantee program has been accompanied by renewed interest in Polish political economist Michal Kalecki's 1943 essay, "Political Aspects of Full Employment." In that essay (republished May 2018 in the popular left magazine *Jacobin*), Kalecki recapitulates and complicates the consensus view among economists of his time that most modern governments could implement a national full employment program. While such a program was economically possible, Kalecki warned that implementation of the program outside of wartime would face significant opposition from the capitalist class, who would consider such a program a serious threat to their power over workers. Subsequent developments in U.S. economic and labor policy appear to demonstrate Kalecki's prescience: while many on the post-War left demanded and fought valiantly for the adoption of federal full employment programs, none succeeded. Yet, as this paper will show, the consistent and enduring efforts of full employment advocates—especially A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, and Coretta Scott King—to carry out their advocacy for "true full employment" at the level of definition have gone far to create the conditions of possibility for a contemporary jobs guarantee program. More specifically, I argue that the practice of acknowledging and challenging the rhetorical aspects of "full employment," as Scott King and others have done, has proven a necessary complement to reckoning with its political aspects.

## Luis Salas Washington University in St. Louis

### *Authority and the Galenic Corpus: the use of anatomy and anatomical descriptions in Galen's intellectual practice*

In the 160s CE, Galen of Pergamum publicly vivisected a pig in order to demonstrate that voice production was initiated in the brain. In order to prove to opponents that anatomical structure was goal-oriented, he claims to have dissected the heart of an elephant in the streets of Rome. These powerful experiments are just two of a wide range of such public anatomical displays that Galen reports to the addressee of his compendious technical treatise, *Anatomical Procedures*. Even a casual reader of Galen quickly comes to appreciate the importance that anatomical knowledge and empirical experience have in Galen's assessment of the medical practitioner. But what direct therapeutic value could these experiments have had in a pre-modern medical context?

Scholars have generally interpreted Galen's interest in and promotion of anatomy as it relates to second century epistemological debates. Recent scholarship has also examined some of the social functions of Galen's anatomical displays. Gleason (2009), for example, considers their political dimensions. Von Staden (1994) focuses on Galen's interaction with the Roman elite intellectual culture of the 2nd century.

This paper approaches Galen's use of anatomy from a different perspective. It argues that Galen leverages book technology to expand his medical and intellectual authority through reports of these procedures, which act as surrogates for direct empirical experience. Through didactic narrative, Galen strives to make the reader a virtual participant in his medical practice. Galen (re)creates the space in which his idealized practitioner treats patients. In it, he describes anatomical details that the uninitiated could not hope to see even as first-hand witnesses.

This paper adds to current scholarly discourse by examining the ways in which Galen's written performance and anatomical ekphrasis in technical contexts engage the reader as a mechanism for expanding the range of Galen's intellectual authority in the Roman world.

## María-Asunción Sanchez-Manzano Universidad de León

*Jesuit Scholarship on Rhetorical Devices: Science, History and Myth in Benedictus Pereira's Cultural Environment*

Jesuit treatises provided rhetorical concepts that were very important for the development of scientific communication. The mixture of rhetorical and dialectic topics dealt with in these compendiums played a role in distinguishing history from fiction. Moreover, the technique of persuasion improved the efficiency of scientific and academic texts within the didascalicon genre. This improvement arose from the chreia to the example as a scientific proof, and the narration there provided a continuous exchange between myth and history, between myth and scientific culture not only in Antiquity, but also in the humanist period. In the Aristotelian tradition there was an ancient distinction between exoteric and acroamatic texts. Scaliger used these rhetorical devices and literary framework when composing his work *Exotericarum libri De subtilitate ad Cardanum*. Drawing on the authority of Aristotle (*Physica*), Pereira's *De communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis* explored the resources of this tradition, but he did not dismiss the persuasive resources of humanist academic discourses on natural philosophy in the form of disputes and exercitations. This paved the way for Bacon's successful scientific communication (also from *De ueterum sapientia*), Hobbes' scientific work and Vico's thought in this respect. The debates on this science at Padua, and Francisco de Sosa's refutation of Pereira's *Antoniana Margarita* were probably extremely beneficial in developing Pereira's refinement of the ability to use speech to talk about these subjects. From this skill, it might seem as if the long humanist diatribe by Francisco Sanchez, *Quod nihil scitur*, -which integrated quotations from Scaliger's *Exotericarum*- applied a different scheme to explain the same problems as Pereira's and Guy de Bruès' *Dialogues*. Our aim is to point out this contribution and the role played by rhetorical skills.

## Benoît Sans Université libre de Bruxelles

*Aemilius Paullus' Speech to Perseus (Liv. XLV. 8) or Speech as a Combination*

In Livy XLV. 8 (probably based on Polybius XXIX. 20), after having defeated and captured Perseus of Macedon, Aemilius Paullus delivers a short, three-parted, bilingual, but still consistent, speech before his prisoner and the members of his concilium: he firstly reproaches the war to Perseus, then tells him to keep faith in the Roman clementia, and finally invites his men to take a lesson from the king's misfortune.

Contrary to some famous Livian speeches, like Scipio's and Fabius's on war in Africa (XXVIII, 40-44) or Cato's and Valerius's on the Oppian law (XXXIV, 2-7), which correspond to a well identified genre, Aemilius Paullus' speech is more disturbing: it does not seem to fit in with the traditional Aristotelian categories and the main rhetorical treatises (Cicero, Quintilian, etc.). Does it mean that this speech does not belong to any genre nor follow any principle?

If modern scholars often avoid commenting such speeches, found in Ancient historiography, from a rhetorical point of view, rhetoric teachers from various periods, willing to give models and practical recommendations, had much interest in these examples and tried to interpret them with the tools they were teaching. In this paper, thanks to late and often neglected sources, including progymnasmata manuals, Menander Rhetor, Syrianus Magister's *Δημηγορίαι προτρεπτικαί* and some conciones from the XVIth and XVIIth century (Joachim Perion, Johannes Tesmar, Marco Antonio Ferrazzi,...), I will show that Ancient and more recent parallels can be found, allowing to discover regularities, and that Aemilius Paullus' speech can be analysed according to rhetorical categories: rather than a peculiarity, the speech appears like an original combination of speech sub-genres. Along the way, by comparing various examples, this inquiry will shed a light on the composition method of some Livian speeches.

## Noboru Sato Kobe University

*Labelling others as populist: Demosthenes' rhetorical strategies in the Athenian Assembly*

In the late fourth century BCE, Demosthenes, a leading Athenian politician, sometimes criticized other politicians of seeking favour from the citizens without thinking of the public interest. Some scholars regarded such a statement as a common strategy to attack rival politicians in Classical Greece. However, Demosthenes seems to have used the theme of flattering politicians in different ways, depending upon the situation. The purpose of this paper is to analyze how and in what situations Demosthenes used the theme of flattering politicians in his speeches in the Assembly.

In his Third Olynthiac (349 BCE), Demosthenes made the most of the strategy of labelling other politicians as flatterers without concern for the public interest. In order to persuade the citizens to reform the popular laws for administering the Theoric Fund, the orator suggested that the politicians who had established these laws were only seeking popularity among the people and explained in detail that the speeches pleasing to the ear had had harmful effects on the polis.

In his later speeches, on the other hand, Demosthenes rarely used the theme of flattering politicians in order to attack any particular policy. In *On Affairs in the Chersonese*, for example, Demosthenes did criticize other politicians of courting favour with the audience. But he was simply justifying his own inactivity by suggesting that active politicians were only seeking popularity without thinking of the real public interest. In other speeches, he claimed that he would give the best advice without flattering the audience, but he did not use the label of flatterers in order to attack his rival politicians. Instead, especially after the second embassy to Philip the Macedonian king in 344 BCE, Demosthenes came to attack his rival politicians by openly claiming that they were bribed by Philip. He presumably changed his rhetorical strategy.

## Adriano Scatolin Universidade de São Paulo

*Cicero's political exhortation in the correspondence of 44-43: the rhetorical use of the concept of gloria.*

In my recent research, I have tried to demonstrate that there is a consistent, philosophic background behind Cicero's concept of true glory as presented in the *Pro Marcello* and in *Philippics 1* and *5*. Cicero uses it to praise Caesar and Octavian, and to blame Antony, in order to make a philosophic exhortation to proper political conduct according to a Stoic conception of glory.

In this paper I intend to extend that research to Cicero's correspondence of 44-43, in which, I argue, a similar pattern can be found. It will be shown that Cicero adopts in his letters of this period the very same strategy of adapting his philosophic conception of glory according to the different addressees, in order to shape their conduct and policy.

## Hans-Jochen Schild Independent Scholar

### *Populist Political Rhetoric*

Populist political rhetoric has its basis in historical and actual forms of religious and political communication. Populist rhetoric aims less in persuading or converting outsiders but concentrates more on commonplaces that aim to hold followers together as a threatened and victimized community in a hostile surrounding. Its rhetorical mode is predominantly repetitive in an epideictic form with presenting, and mobilizing common beliefs and values that need to be defended against hostile repression, impositions, unjustified neglect, and conspiracies. This rhetoric reverses the direction of the activating relationship between the rhetor and the audience. The complementarity of an imposed consensus between a dominating speaker and a submissive audience which we have learned to expect as the usual rhetorical mode in top-down imposing power relations has been reversed in the interaction with a populist audience. This audience takes over the dominating and decision relevant role. Speakers become dependent on it in what they are expected to say. The assurance and the autonomy of one and all the true believers in such audiences has been explained with the concept of the priesthood of all believers. The role of a speaker for them is reflected in the words of St Paul in I Corinthians 9 "Verily when I preach the Gospel...that I abuse not my power in the gospel... To them that are without law I became as without the law." A rhetorical immunity against all outside argumentation against the threat of victimization of the believers functions as a defense mechanism comparable to other such defense mechanisms as emphasizing the sovereignty of the people, invoking the heartland, advocating for the people, attacking the elite, and ostracizing others. For this defense mode any racist, discriminatory and dehumanizing polemics may be activated. The rhetorical aim is to defend the endangered community and enhance the populist self-esteem.

## Nick Sciuillo University of Central Florida

### *L'argument de la Montagne: Spatial Metaphors and Paralipsis in Jean-Paul Marat's "What is a Law?"*

Although the Jacobins role in French history is clear, relatively little time work has been completed on the group's argumentative style. This paper examines the argumentative style of Jean-Paul Marat, a Jacobin journalist immortalized in Jacques-Louis David's eponymous painting, who sided with the more radical wing of the party—La Montagne. In his article "What is a Law?" Marat uses both spatial metaphors contrasting La Montagne with the urban National Convention and paralipsis to urge his compatriots to act without encouraging them to do so. Marat's use of paralipsis helps him to avoid the traitorous claims of which members of the National Convention had already accused him. This example of argumentation published a few months before the Reign of Terror began provides insights into the divisions between La Gironde and La Montaigne.

## Jim Selby Whitefield Academy

### *Aphthonius' Chreia and Maxim Stages: Developing Beauty in Composition*

This presentation will examine the eight heads used in these two stages of the progymnasmata. I will suggest these heads impart an ability to coherently develop argumentation. However, an equal, if not more profound result of mastering these skills, is an ability to create beauty or delight for an audience. Aphthonius' use of what Aristotle calls Recognition will be considered in light of the four narrative heads of Cause, Converse, Analogy, and Example. Historical and contemporary examples of student writing will be used to illustrate a relationship between these ancient exercises and the creative expression of beauty. I will finally suggest that the ability and desire to provide an audience with beauty leads a writer to experience language as participatory rather than coercive.

## Daniel Seward The Ohio State University

### *The Tribunal Ethos in Tudor and Stuart Parliaments: Patrician Eloquence, Plebeian Voice, and the Place of Popular Appeal in English Political Oratory*

The Tribunes of Plebs, according to Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* (2.32), were created to give the Roman people a voice in the Senate—a political accommodation intended to appease plebeians rioting over various abuses of power. And yet, for early rhetoricians and modern scholars alike, the most prominent detail of this historical episode has been the oratorical performance of patrician Menenius Agrippa, who is supposed to have quelled the mob with an eloquent speech adducing Aesop's fable of the limbs and the belly to show the interdependence between the plebs and the patrician Senate. Agrippa's performance first found its way into Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* as an example of using fables for persuasion (V.xi.19). Renaissance rhetoricians, including Erasmus, Reinhard Lorich, Richard Rainolde, and Thomas Wilson, recirculated that example enough that modern scholars came to see it as emblematic of Renaissance appreciation for the power of eloquence (e.g., Vickers, Rebhorn, Skinner). This presentation will further examine the rhetorical legacy of that episode by showing how in English parliamentary oratory the tribunal voice begins to rival patrician eloquence as a means for characterizing influential civic speech.

I will begin by showing how the figures of Agrippa and the tribunes bookend the whole Tudor period, the former appearing in Henry VII's first parliament (1485) and the latter serving as James I's chief historical commonplace for characterizing veteran members of the Commons who, as "Tribunes of the people" (qtd. In Bowyer), so thwarted the political agenda of the first Stuart king. After briefly examining the socio-political implications of these references, I will look more closely at the oratorical activity of Henry Yelverton, whom contemporary John Chamberlain labeled, "the old Tribune of the House." In examining his orations, I hope to show contemporary ambivalence towards the tribunal ethos as variously representative, agitator, or advocate of English commoners.

## Joseph "Jeb" Sharp University of Louisville

### *Daoism as Populism: Zhuangzi's Cook Ding and ziran*

Daosim emerged as a populist, non-violent alternative philosophy to the instability of the Warring States Period (475-221 BC). Through their conceptions of Daoism, early Daoist thinkers such as Laozi and Zhuangzi expressed skepticism over the reified hierarchical relationships that were foundational to both contemporary political practice and philosophy. In opposition to these constrained relationships typical of Confucianism, Laozi and Zhuangzi positioned agency and authority as broadly distributed across human and non-human actants. Because of this, Daoist thinkers often expressed skepticism surrounding language use. Traditionally, this skepticism has been misread by scholars as Daoist thinkers being anti-language in general. In recent years, though, scholars have worked to reclaim Daoist language practices and have argued that Daoist skepticism toward language should not be interpreted as a prohibition against any language use but rather as an understanding that the artificiality of language must be carefully considered when speaking. Just as Daoist thinkers maligned the Confucian ritual for its artificiality, they also worried of the potential for language to be misused so as to cause *ren* 仁 (authoritative conduct) and *zhi* 智 (wisdom) to appear and remove the individual from *dao* 道. As artificial language is employed, individuals are moved away from a state of *ziran* 自然 (spontaneously self-so), and their actions and speech become constrained. The Daoist preference for spontaneous speech is made most explicit in the Cook Ding story found in the *Zhuangzi*. Using this story as a foundation, in my presentation, I will argue that interpreting Daoist dispositions toward language as populist rhetorical practices allows for an alternative to the critique of Western populism that positions the populace as uncritically following an ideologue. Instead, Zhuangzi advocates for a populism in which individuals are left to occupy the roles they naturally occupy, free from the influence of artificial constraints.

## Zachary Sharp University of Texas at Austin

### *Epideictic Lyric and Early Modern Devotional Poetry: The Public Performance of George Herbert's The Temple*

Recently, scholars have argued that oral poetry contributed to the development of epideictic rhetoric in archaic Greece and that lyric prosody in particular formed the prototypical mode of eloquence. Literary scholars have begun to incorporate these insights about poetry's archaic origin into new theoretical and comparative accounts of the lyric. Using this approach, I plan to examine George Herbert's devotional sequence, *The Temple*, as an example of epideictic rhetoric designed to address the Christian ethics of his literary community. Herbert wrote much of his poetry to be disseminated within, and performed for, an aristocratic coterie, which I claim reprises aspects of the symposiastic conditions of archaic lyric performance. In this setting, Herbert's lyrics functioned as public, epideictic arguments about art's limited ability to represent the subjective experience of the divine; a central aim of Herbert's poetry, therefore, was to articulate and shape communal attitudes about devotional poetics itself. In doing so, Herbert expresses a Protestant attitude about the provisional nature of ceremonial art in a way that has a bearing on the artistic practices of a literary coterie: that art is useful only insofar as it directs the Christian toward his or her own particular, subjective experience of the divine, which art cannot fully capture. For Herbert, the lyric is a tool for examining one's ethical orientation towards art and a means of demonstrating for his audience – as well as arguing about – how poetry, when rightly conceived, can aid in shaping attitudes that are conducive to Christian comportment in an aristocratic setting.

## Anders Sigrell Lund University

### *Populism, progymnasmata and democracy*

Argumentum ad populum is considered a fallacy (van Eemeren et al. 1996). One way of defining populism is that what most people believe, is to be considered right. The resemblance and connection to democracy is striking, and a possible problem for rhetoric with its close ties to democracy (it could be claimed that it is not by chance the concepts were coined at more or less the same time). In this paper I will argue that the progymnasmata could be understood, and practiced, as exercises in democracy, for us as senders as well as receivers. An example of the latter is the counterargument topos of the Chreia and the Maxim, that helps us to find counterarguments to a given point of view, a way of practising a critical stand. All exercises could be seen as exercises in finding the good and righteous stand. The opening exercise, the Fable, always has a moral point on what actions one ought to do, and what actions that should be avoided. All exercises could be seen this way, all the way to the concluding Proposal of law, which is nothing but an exercise in democracy: How to argue for that this good and righteous stand that I have found, should be something that everyone ought to subscribe to.

## Lavinia Silveiras Universidade Federal de São Paulo

### *"The blind borne shadow of this hell":*

### *Style in Natale Conti's Mythologiae (1567) and George Chapman's The Shadow of Night (1594)*

In this presentation, I intend to explore the uses that George Chapman made of Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* in his narrative poem *The Shadow of Night* (1595) and the role it had in the amplification of the poetical styles current at Chapman's time. The Milanese humanist Natale Conti (1520-c.1582) published, in Venice, in 1567, an extensive compendium of ancient myths – the *Mythologiae*, siue *Explicationum Fabularum Libri Decem*. In this work, the author makes a selection of references to ancient mythological fables and characters, translating passages and verses from Greek to Latin, often for the first time. Besides functioning as a source book of invention for poets, painters and sculptors throughout the later half of the 16th century, Conti's work is also prescriptive since it associates passages in the mythological fables to specific types of style, giving examples drawn from poets and other ancient authorities. Considering that Conti had translated Hermogenes and Demetrius of Phalerum, I also intend to contribute to this discussion by showing possible relations between the prescription Conti gives in the *Mythologiae* and the theories of style present in the works of those two post-Aristotelian rhetoricians.

## Ryan Skinnell San Jose State University

### *Introducing Dissonance: Parrhēsia and the Art of Political Persuasion*

Skinnell (2018) has recently argued that Donald Trump's successes at garnering political support can best be explained by reference to the ancient rhetorical concept of parrhēsia—frank or fearless speech. According to Skinnell, parrhēsia indicates that speaking fearlessly projects a speaker's truth and virtue even when what he or she says is demonstrably untruthful. In this way, parrhēsia is a performance of truth. But parrhēsia is more complex than just a straightforward performance of truth.

In this paper, the speaker builds on Skinnell's examination to argue that parrhēsia includes the necessary introduction of dissonance into political speech, and that this dissonance can help us understand political persuasion in an era of ubiquitous political speech in online forums. This paper contends that traditional appeals are limited for understanding online persuasion. Ethos is increasingly hard to gauge online because of the ease with which alternate identities can be created whole cloth. Logos is somewhat easier to assess in the Internet age, but it remains a major challenge in the face of the gross overabundance of information and the power of informational enclaves. And notwithstanding its ubiquity, many audiences are powerfully trained against blatant appeals to pathos. Under these circumstances the performance of fearless truth is increasingly crucial to persuading audiences, and the aspect of dissonance is especially important.

Drawing on Quintilian's discussion of licentia, plus more contemporary studies of parrhēsia by Foucault (1982), Colclough (2005), Walzer (2013), and Skinnell (2018), this speaker looks at "fearless speech" in several online political debates and theorizes the rhetorical function of dissonance in the performance of truth.

## Tina Skouen University of Oslo

### *Forced Love, Forced Conversion: Crashaw's poem "To the Noblest and Best of Ladies, the Countess of Denbigh" (1652)*

Published posthumously at Paris in 1652, Crashaw's epistolary poem has most often been read in a biographical context as providing the first confirmation of the writer's conversion to Catholicism. The former Anglican priest joined the exiled court of Charles and Henrietta Maria at Paris in 1645, and here Crashaw entreats the Queen's lady-in-waiting (Susan Feilding, Countess of Denbigh) to allow herself to be converted. She is to open her heart and "unfold" like a flower, and even subject herself to "Love's shower." Although Crashaw plays with conventional religious and erotic imagery, critics have speculated about whether his insistent pastoral care intersected with some romantic feelings.

This paper rather interrogates the types of persuasion that are at work. In an age of polarized beliefs, private conversion was never only a private matter, and although the tone is intimate, as in a love poem, the sensual argumentation might potentially have wider, political consequences. From a Puritan perspective, the speaker would seem like a papal Antichrist seducing his poor subject of attention through garish linguistic ornamentation, promising freedom while actually demanding complete submission.

I contend that the style of the poem may qualify as popular and "populist" despite its courtly and baroque origins. This style is manipulative, clichéd, and geared towards pushing some buttons. The speaker not only knows (as priests do) what is best for others, but makes them hate what they are to prepare them for new beginnings. Developing a figure of kairotic time, the speaker fantasizes about her coming "undone" in a moment of conversion, willing it to happen. For all its pathos, the poem raises questions as to whether the type of changes that the speaker desires can ever be forced.

## Jarron Slater University of Minnesota

### *Towards Rhetorical Theosis*

When Kenneth Burke's *A Rhetoric of Motives* was going off to press, Burke responded to a letter from Dean Ward at the University of Chicago stating that his work on rhetoric began with five key classical texts—Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Longinus, and Augustine—on which he built a new rhetoric (Burke to Ward 1949). This presentation focuses on Burke's appropriation of Longinus as a transition between Quintilian and Augustine (Burke 1950/1969) in order to contribute to two strands of recent scholarship. One is Laurent Pernot's statement that scholars of rhetoric should look anew at religious rhetoric (2006). The other is the recent renewed interest in Longinus (Porter 2016, Heath 2012, Haliwell 2011). In sum, I describe a concept of rhetorical theosis, which refers to the possibility of a rhetorician's mutual exaltation with an audience.

Longinus recognizes that people have something in common with the gods. That divine potential—those seeds of deity—can be nurtured in a person by the sublime. In some instances, it might even result in writers and readers becoming godlike. Ultimately, the sublime exalts people, elevating them to godhood. Rhetorical theosis, while a possibility, is not guaranteed. It is for those who instantiate formal sublimity to create expectations of exaltation in both readers and writers. It is thus only possible with the mutual and coequal exaltation of both speaker and audience. Protagoras was getting close when he said that human beings are the measure of all things, and so is Quentin Meillassoux's "god not yet." This presentation proposes that "god not yet" should be, referring to human beings, gods not yet.

## Courtney Sloey University of Illinois at Chicago

### *Living Logos and the "Likeness" of Writing in the Phaedrus: A Middle Way between Poison and Cure*

The concept of "objective knowledge," inherent to the act of writing and the birth of literacy, has long been identified in the discussion of writing in Plato's *Phaedrus*. Classicists, philosophers, and rhetoricians alike (Havelock, Ong, Cole, Nightingale, et al.) all observe how, in Greek thought in general but especially in the closing scene of the *Phaedrus*, writing allows one to set apart the "it" from the "I" or the text from the knowing subject. Yet, the term *pharmakon* itself, crucial to Plato's discussion of writing, famously contains the double meaning of both cure and poison. Thus we are invited to ask how this model of objective knowledge functions in both its curative and its poisonous capacities. As a cure, it allows one to rise above the flux, ambiguity, and irrationality provoked by poetic ecstasy (such as what is alluded to in the myth of the cicadas). As a poison, writing is understood means of reducing the phenomenon of living speech to an inert, lifeless text (such as what is critiqued by Alcidas and alluded to in the myth of Thueth).

In my paper I consider a third notion that complicates these two modes of the *pharmakon*. The dramatic action of the dialogue reveals how, as Socrates and *Phaedrus* interact with Lysias's written speech, it ultimately causes Socrates to become "filled like a jug, by streams flowing from elsewhere" (235d) and he is taken up and away from the objective knowledge typically tied to writing. By this reading, writing functions as a powerful provocation, allowing Socrates to gain an inspired ('non-rational') view of "things as they really are," beyond all likenesses, imitations, or deceptions. The *Phaedrus* complicates the doubleness of writing by demonstrating how it neither kills living discourse nor reduces

knowledge to rationality, but fuses written discourse with lived understanding.

## Heonjoo Sohn Seoul National University

### *On the First Translation of George Washington's Biography:*

### *Rhetorics of the Western Biography & the Emergence of New Biographies of Korean Heroes*

Lee Hae Jo (1869-1927)'s (1908) is the first Korean translation of George Washington's biography. It was published when Korea was in the midst of political and social cultural turmoil. On the one hand, Japan and Qing China was competing to have control over the Korean peninsula, on the other, Western powers including Russia, Britain, France, Germany, and America were trying to promote their political and economic interests in it

This presentation will explore what happened when the traditional way of thinking and structure of knowledge encountered those of foreign ones in the case of the first translation of George Washington's biography at this critical phase of Korean history. First, tracing the sources of the Korean translation of George Washington's biography may allow us to have a look at the process of appropriation of the foreign to the traditional. Second, the social cultural impact of the publication of the biography of Washington in Korea will be discussed.

Biography was prospered in 19C and was a representative literary genre in Victorian Britain. It often glorified heroes to educate the society and to provide models for the future generation. Such biographies were popular and particularly encouraged by the ruling class. In America similar tendency was widespread. Biographies of George Washington were one such example. By promoting Washington as an outstanding hero in his modified translation of his life, Lee tried to promote Korean nationalist identity to the readers and courage them to rebel against the foreign imperialist forces, esp. the Japanese. The book was widely read, esp. at private schools, which explains why the book was banned by Japanese colonial government. The biography seems to have been utilized as an effective tool for public education.

## Ryan Stark Corban University

### *In Defense of Bawdy Rhetoric*

For this ISHR panel presentation on private devotions and public persuasions, I show how the abolitionist cause found itself encouraged by an unexpected kind of underground rhetoric, that is, bawdry, wherein the phrase "private devotions" functions as a double entendre. Specifically, I demonstrate how Laurence Sterne (1713-1768) cleverly used bawdry to support abolition. Of most interest is his argument from strength, *argumentum a fortiori*, suggesting that a healthy curiosity about interracial romance brings with it a much deeper commitment to the personhood of the other. In service of this argument, Sterne draws upon an unusual combination of sources: the Bible, especially Ruth and Numbers 12:1, and various pieces of fringe literature, including *The Muse in Good Humour* (1744), a collection of ribald poetry. Of course, much good work has already been done on Sterne's abolitionist rhetoric (e.g., Melvyn New, Donald Wehrs, W.B. Gerard), but critics have focused on the sentimental moments, showing how Sterne effectively used pathos to forward the cause. The most often-cited scenes to this end are Tristram's portrait of the black maid in *Tristram Shandy* (1759-1767) and Yorick's portrait of the prisoner in *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), the latter of which moved Abraham Lincoln. But Sterne also finds another and more mischievous way to promote abolition. For the public good, he discovers philosophical usefulness in the overly inquisitive reader's personal observances.

The title of my presentation is a play upon Brian Vickers' *In Defense of Rhetoric*. I also draw upon Elizabeth Kraft's "The Pentecostal Moment in *A Sentimental Journey*" and several of the essays in *Divine Rhetoric*, a collection on Sterne's sermons. Finally, I owe a debt to Wayne Booth's work on rhetoric and ethics and, more specifically, on the virtuous nature of Sterne's rhetorical genius.



## Belinda Molteberg Steen University of Oslo

*'I will overturn, overturn, overturn': Conversion as Subversion in John Rogers's Ohel, or Beth-Shemesh (1653)*

In 1653, the Fifth Monarchist preacher John Rogers offered his input to Cromwell on ecclesiastical and social reform in a book titled *Ohel or Beth-Shemesh*, arguing points such as the abolition of tithes and hierarchical structures inside and outside the church. The book also contains a collection of conversion narratives taken down from members of his church in Dublin. In order to become a member of his community, one had to orally perform a conversion narrative in front of the congregation and prove one's status as God's elect. As they were required to meet certain expectations in order to be accepted, the narratives appear both as expressions of intense self-examination and private devotion, while presenting a uniform community to the public. The members – together with members from other Independent sister-churches in England, Ireland and Wales – represented a new type of nobility, according to Rogers, a nobility of soul rather than birth, money and power. This new nobility sought to destroy the old: what Rogers envisioned was a holy Commonwealth ruled by God's elect, such as himself, in anticipation of the imminent Judgment Day.

This paper investigates the rhetorical strategies and spiritual testimonies Rogers employs in his attempt to convert the masses, and to subvert the established power structures in church and state. Even though Rogers claims that the reader will find him 'the more a Christian, though the less a Ciceronian', the paper demonstrates that rhetoric plays a crucial role in the dissemination of his Fifth Monarchist message. While Rogers presents a Commonwealth in keeping with Cicero's definition of the republic as 'the property of a people', he limits its ownership to the converted people, his 'Visible Saints'.

## Martin Steinrück Université de Fribourg

*Hypereides is gaga. (Accentual clausulae in Greek rhetorical prose).*

Intonation is what our understanding of ancient oratory is most cruelly lacking. In order to find some recurring-patterns, I apply to a diachronic corpus of 20 short texts (from Greek orators and philosophers) a criterion based on Stephen & Devine's "Greek Prosody" (combined to what we know from Aristotle and Demetrios)..

It is a working hypothesis of the main accent not being a marker of one syllable per word (as in Byzantine Greek or in English) but an ad-cantus, a mini-tune of rising (acute = a, no up-beat!) and descending (gravis = g, no falling!) according to Allen's 3-morae-rule. In order to have for every mora (short vowel = 1 mora) a move (and not an "atonal" tone!), I apply the same rules to the secondary contour-accent (following Aristoxenos and Aristotle).

The results in 4 morae-clausulae of the cola is striking but differ mostly by the criteria of time and genre: Classic oratorical prose seems to use repetitions of the same intonation pattern more than Imperial prose, orators more than philosophers. Hyperides often sings gravis-acute-gravis-acute clausulae, noted by gaga.

## Laura Stengrim and Brandon Knight University of Southern Mississippi

*Invention in Postmodernity: Indymedia's Global-Local Evolution*

The Indymedia movement began in Seattle, Washington, during the 1999 protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO). Some 45,000 activists demanded greater transparency and human rights accountability from the supranational organizations and multinational corporations that govern and dominate the global economy. A populist critique that sought to imagine grassroots alternatives to neoliberal globalization, Indymedia created an online technological infrastructure where citizen-journalists could tell their own stories, operating outside of corporate-conglomerate mainstream media platforms. The website saw 1.5 million hits during the Seattle protests, and a network of some 150 local Independent media centers (IMCs) was soon launched in six continents across the globe.

Twenty years later, the global Indymedia movement is largely defunct, though a handful of local IMCs continue serve as hubs for political action, journalism, and the creative arts. We examine the evolution of Indymedia in terms of rhetorical invention, as an example of populist deliberative discourse that always already reinvents its future and, in doing so, reinvents the classical canon of invention in postmodernity.

When defining rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion (Book I. ii), Aristotle placed invention as central to rhetoric in relation to discovery. Cicero in his *Ad Herennium* later maintained invention to be "the devising of matter, true or plausible, that would make the case convincing" (1.2. 3). However, both perspectives ultimately led to invention being defined either as an esoteric faculty possessed by the individual rhetor or a managerial tool for selecting and identifying argumentative proofs (Miller, 2000; Simonson, 2014). Rather, building on McKeon's (1987) nuancing of invention as discovery and creativity, our analysis of Indymedia reveals contemporary rhetorical invention as social (LeFevre, 1987; Goggin, 2012), novel (Miller, 2000), and liminally situated in time and space (Hawhee, 2000; Pezzullo, 2001).

## Brian Stone Cal Poly Pomona

*Between Saints and Druids: A Study of Monastic and Native Rhetorical Traditions in Pre-Carolingian Ireland*

In this paper, I will provide the findings of an intensive study of the rhetorical arts in Ireland during the pre-Carolingian era (450-800). I explore the relationship between the native, learned elite of Ireland, the filid, and the clerics with whom they interacted and collaborated in preserving the oral literary and rhetorical traditions. As Ireland consisted of an oral culture, it was not until the coming of the church that writing was introduced. However, within this "secondary-oral" culture, the largest body of vernacular literature in the west was created, much of which was a reflection of the learned oral culture of the filid, including praise poetry, roscad, the sagas in which the roscad are preserved, and Hiberno-Latin grammatical handbooks.

The filid were a group of secular, learned poets, who were also largely associated with the public performance of law, history, dindschenchas ('lore of placename') and whose patronage was of great value well into the period of Celtic Christianity in Ireland.

Of particular importance here will be moments of direct speech recorded in the earliest extant sagas, speech associated by many scholars with the oral, rhetorical practices of the druids and the later filid. Here, I will turn to *Immacallam Choluim Chille agus ind Óclaig* (Columba and the boy from the land of youth), a speech believed to be revelatory of druidic beliefs and practices. Additionally, I will discuss the roscad (in some extant manuscripts noted as 'retoiric'), highly rhetorical passages occurring in numerous extant sagas, indicating a considerable significance to this type of speech.

## Ethan Stoneman Hillsdale College

*Everyone Is at Liberty to Be a Fool: Schopenhauer's Philosophical Critique of the Art of Persuasion*

Retrieved from unpublished manuscript remains, Arthur Schopenhauer's *Eristic Dialectics* (1830-1831) has been largely ignored both by philosophers and rhetoricians. The work is highly enigmatic in that its intended meaning vacillates between playful irony and Machiavellian seriousness. Adopting an esoteric perspective, this article argues that the tract can be read as simultaneously operating on two levels: an exoteric cynical one, according to which Schopenhauer accepts that people are going to argue irrespective of the truth and as a result provides tools for defeating one's opponents, and a deeper esoteric level, which functions not cynically but, in Peter Sloterdijk's language, cynically, as a satirical unmasking of the cynical impulses animating the study and practice of argumentation, especially as articulated in the rhetorical-humanist tradition. Such an interpretation reveals that, while a minor work, *Eristic Dialectics* offers a sophisticated philosophical critique of "the art of persuasion."

## Robert Sullivan Ithaca College

*Isocrates and the Discourse of Admonition*

Despite the recent revival in scholarly attention to Isocrates the central interpretive problem of the Isocratean discourses remains that of their genre. Because no Isocratean *techne* survives interpreters have turned to a variety of generic schemes to classify his works. In particular, the Aristotelian tripartite generic scheme has exercised a thrall over critics who continually attempt to analyze Isocrates' speeches according to criteria that are foreign to him and in doing so paint him in colors he would not recognize. This essay reconstructs Isocrates' nuanced conception of admonitory discourse. Isocrates sharply distinguishes between speeches that offer admonishment from those with which they might be confused, such as 'symbouleutic' discourses or *psogoi*. The two-fold goal of admonishment is laid out explicitly in *On the Peace* 70-73 as the conjoining of friendly censure and practical advice. Almost the same terms are used to specify the purposes of *Areopagiticus* (71-72). Interestingly, Isocrates advances this goal in two greatly different conventional genres, by means of the speech to the Assembly in *On the Peace* and *Areopagiticus*, and by epistles in *Busiris* and *To Philip* (I).

The *nouthetetikos*, or admonition, is in many ways paradigmatic not only of Isocrates' rhetorical theory, but of his political orientation as well. His political position was unapologetically anti-populist. Indeed, the notion of a severely limited democracy to which he often points to as the ideal polity, seems not to be democracy at all, but a species of moderate autocracy. Deeply distrustful of popular rule and horrified by demagoguery, we should not be surprised that one of his most vividly imagined speech forms would be the admonition, by which an unbridled polity could be chastised for its excesses and set upon the proper path.

## Scott Sundvall University of Memphis

*Populism Then and Now: Fascism in the Age of Electracy*

While classical rhetoric identifies style as one of the primary canons, style is typically considered a mere quality or attribute of content. Rhetoric has thus traditionally derided genres such as *belles-lettres*, largely because of the genre's focus on aesthetics, play, and entertainment. Whether or not classical rhetoric proper should or should not consider style as significant/substantial, Gregory Ulmer argues that we are undergoing an apparatus shift into electracy (i.e., electracy being an apparatus similar to orality and literacy). As such, Richard Lanham suggests that fluff (style) replaces stuff (content), and Victor Vitanza has identified the desire-aesthetics of the Third Sophistic, which is an achronological sophistic tradition that gives primacy to style, and which is fundamental to our age of electracy.

The rhetoric of "populism" has always understood and effectively deployed the importance of style. The global rise of fascism in the 20th-century, for example, capitalized upon a certain affective dimension of national mood, punctuated by the persona of a figure. As style, broadly conceived, is the central element informing rhetoric in the age of electracy, it is no accident that populism has found renewed success. The presidential election of the former host of the *Celebrity Apprentice* and the advent of post-truth, alternative facts, and fake news is no accident.

Drawing from the Third Sophistic and within the context of electracy, this presentation provides examples of how rhetoric can appropriate the style (e.g., aesthetics, play, and entertainment) of electrate rhetoric rather than dismissing such. Populism thrives on the rhetoric of post-truth: from orality's right/wrong (morality/ethics); literacy's true/false (science); to electracy's pleasure/pain (affect/capacities). In short, this presentation argues that we are not undergoing a (re)new(ed) populism but rather that we are undergoing a historical apparatus shift, exploited by populist figures, and it will thus present rhetorical strategies germane to such a shift.

## Christopher Swift University of Maryland

*Nietzsche's Academic Rhetoric*

Although Friedrich Nietzsche frequently described himself as an enemy of Platonism, it often has been remarked that his relationship to the founder of the Academy proved rather more complicated. This is particularly true with respect to his work on Greek rhetoric. While it has been argued that Nietzsche rejected Plato's position on the ancient art, a study of his lectures and their philological sources suggests instead that his own concept of rhetoric advanced more than opposed the conflicted Academic tradition that he encountered.

Historians have examined the discussion of Plato in Nietzsche's lecture notes on "Ancient Rhetoric," where he repeated the commonplace judgment both that the Athenian "had a great hatred for it" and that, "in contrast," there also were "traces of another conception." The source that he relied upon most heavily for this work, however, was Rudolph Hirzel's *Ueber das Rhetorische und seine Bedeutung bei Plato*, which took the position that Plato sometimes used the very same type of rhetorical discourse that he seemed elsewhere to condemn.

Nietzsche offered lecture courses on Plato at least four times, in which he also discussed the Athenian's position on rhetoric. There he borrowed more directly from Richard Volkmann's *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer in systematischer Übersicht*, which concluded that Plato always sought to cleanse oratory of its duplicitous taint. Nietzsche accordingly attributed to the academy's founder a "monstrous battle" to accomplish "the reform of rhetoric," seeking to distinguish Academic discourse from it both in content and in form.

Nietzsche never indicated any clear preference between these interpretations, and the dialogs remain open to both. The idea of rhetoric that emerged from his study of Plato was that it remained unavoidable but nevertheless always had to be contested, and in subsequent writings he embraced an approach remarkably similar to this position.

## Bryce Tellmann Penn State University

### *Orality's View of Literacy: Written Language as Action in the Liminal Present*

Orality and literacy are not just different ways of communicating but are different ways of understanding the world itself. Particularly since Walter Ong's and Erik Havelock's landmark explorations of the psychodynamic differences between these two forms of communication, rhetoricians and communication scholars have recognized their relationship as a vital part of understanding the rhetorical life-world of societies. In this paper I argue that, just as literate analysis can bring light to features of orality that orality itself is unable to grasp, orality is capable of understanding literacy in ways that we literates cannot. In order to demonstrate this relationship, I examine two medieval Irish texts (in English translation): The Táin Bó Cuailgne (The Cattle Raid of Cooley), and the Acallam na Senórach (Tales of the Elders of Ireland). First, I examine depictions of written language in the Táin Bó Cuailgne, one of the most well-known examples of Irish legend and originally an oral tale (we have evidence for its literary circulation by 600 CE), to demonstrate the seemingly magical powers of writing within the world of the story. I then invert the discussion to examine how earlier oral tradition is depicted in the Acallam na Senórach, a literary frame tale from the 12th century that depicts St. Patrick interacting with prominent figures lifted from Irish mythology. Having examined these two facets of the orality-literacy question in Irish legend, I end on a discussion of what these perspectives can tell us about orality's view of literacy. Ultimately, my analysis reveals that one way in which orality understands writing and literacy is as action in the liminal space between past and present, between saying and said, or written and read.

## Jonathan Thiessen Université de Strasbourg

### *Populism and the Apostle Paul's self-image to the Corinthians*

Previous studies have argued that in the Apostle Paul's defence of his authority in 2 Cor 11-13, he presents himself as a populist leader, particularly through his willingness to modify his behaviour according to the circumstances, or by lowering himself to the level of his audience (D. Martin, S.B. Andrews, D.D. Walker). Indeed, several previously neglected traits characteristic of the demagogue may be added to reinforce this portrait: Paul's boldness (2 Cor 11:21), his appeal to the lower classes (1 Cor 1:26), his rejection of aristocratic otium (1 Cor 4:12), even his avoidance of any clear reference to pleasing the δῆμος (such references are typical of texts criticising populist leaders). Nevertheless, beyond the letters to the Corinthians, if the whole pauline corpus is taken into account and compared with the varied aspects of the description of the "populist" leader in ancient thought, analysis shows that the situation is more complex. Through a comparison of Paul's presentation of his own character (ἦθος) in his letters with ancient descriptions of the typical demagogue in Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch, this paper proposes to show that there are a significant number of features characteristic of the demagogue that Paul overtly rejects: flattery (1 Th. 2:5), rhetorical manipulation (1 Cor 1:17), trickery (2 Cor 4:2), stirring up factions (1 Cor 1.11) and personal profit (2 Cor 12:16). Recalling the important distinction made by Melissa Lane that in Athenian politics the populist leader was not systematically associated with the bad demagogue (« The Origins of the Statesman », 2012), we may observe how the Apostle Paul, accepting those criticisms which correspond to his message while rejecting those that do not, avoids full association with the manipulative demagogue and presents a carefully constructed image of the benevolent leader speaking to the people.

## Roger Thompson Stony Brook University

### *Reclaiming Emerson's Rhetorical Theory*

Any attempt to call Ralph Waldo Emerson a rhetorical theorist comes immediately upon two primary difficulties. The first is philosophical and the second is pragmatic. The philosophical difficulty is in Emerson's ongoing (and well-documented) resistance to systematization. The rhetorical tradition, at least since Aristotle, has had a love affair with systems, and yet Emerson repeatedly argues that "true rhetoric," a term he borrows from Plato, evades systemization. The other difficulty is pragmatic, and that is trying to construct a coherent statement of Emerson's vision of rhetoric from sources that are notoriously hard to corral. Emerson published two extended essays on rhetoric, the first in 1870 and the second in 1875, but they are only small parts of larger discussions of rhetoric Emerson posits throughout his career in a large number of lectures and essays. This paper confronts the first difficulty by describing the range of statements Emerson made on rhetoric, revealing a coherent theory that prioritizes the search for truth and the power of the imagination in connecting rhetor and audience.

## Elizabeth Thornton University of California, Los Angeles

### *Between "Orange" and "Saffron" Populists: Vedicists' Engagement with State-backed Chauvinism*

In 1938, Indologist Paul Thieme published *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, an attempt to undercut "Aryanist" discourses from within Germany. Soon thereafter, he was drafted into the army, which demanded that he use his linguistic skills to translate the orders of the forces he had hoped to counter. In 2017, an independent scholar invited several academics with formal training in the Vedas to join a nascent "Rig Veda" social media page. Ballooning to a membership of 3,000, the group began to produce posts featuring more pro-Modi Islamophobic dogwhistles than textual investigations, which practices were granted a veneer of legitimacy by the presence of said academics. These two travesties of intervention bookend one scholarly tradition's engagement with chauvinist populisms.

Extending the work of Bruce Lincoln among others, this paper examines the deployment of Sanskrit texts and terminology as shifting signifiers in European colonialist and nationalist discourses, as well as within the rhetoric of U.S. white supremacy (the last exemplified by *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*). Then, drawing on the investigations of Borayin Larios as well as firsthand exposure to relevant social media scenes, this paper will explore the role of "Vedic" references among 21st-century Hindutva nationalists, who have cultivated a particularly difficult-to-navigate discourse that repurposes anti-colonialist and human-rights language towards exclusionary, hegemonic ends. While academics' attempts at direct intervention have tended to end either fruitlessly or with deepened complicity, a few case studies suggest a promising, if oblique, path forward. During the current and previous U.S. administrations, community-based research groups have sometimes called upon the close-reading methods of Vedic philology—not to study ancient liturgies, but (for instance) to outline connections between buzzwords from discredited federal phraseology and municipal grant proposals aimed at further targeting marginalized communities.

## Morris Tichenor University of Toronto

*Martin of Cordoba and the Breve compendium artis rethorice*

The Breve compendium artis rethorice is one of the very few rhetorical treatises linked to medieval Spain. This paper presents the findings of a new codicological investigation and edition of the work. One of the two manuscript witnesses to the text (Rouen, BM, MS O.52) names the author as Magister M. Cordubensis, but scholars have been hesitant to connect this 'M.' with Martín de Córdoba OESA (d. 1476), the author of an extant ars predicandi. This paper refutes the traditional manuscript dating that prevents such an identification and offers textual parallels between the two treatises and historical details from Martin's life to support the identification. Focus is then directed towards the treatise itself: genre classification, structure, and identification of sources. Finally, we examine the marginalia found in the second witness (Madrid, BNE, MS 9309) to reconstruct how the work was taught in a medieval Iberian classroom.

## Nathan Tillman University of Maryland, College Park

*Performative Rhetorics and Empire: Persuasion at a Korean Women's College During Japanese Occupation, 1930–1943*

My paper investigates how marginal women educators craft ethos appeals in a colonial dictatorship. Focusing on the rhetorical work of Korea-born American missionary Alice Appenzeller (1885-1950) during Japanese colonization (1910-1945), I argue that she leveraged the overlapping aspects of her identity in constructing persuasive ethē for her Korean, American, and Japanese audiences as she advocated for women's education, but that contradictions plagued this ethos construction throughout her career. Japanese colonialism pressured women educators to take sides in the struggle between anti-colonial nationalists and pro-colonial collaborators. The “first white child born in Korea,” Appenzeller embodied multiple, and often conflicting, identities. She was born and died in Korea, was fluent in both Korean and English, and, from 1922 to 1939, served as president of Ewha Women's College, Korea's first institution of higher learning for women. Through an analysis of Appenzeller's Korean- and English-language articles and letters between 1918 and 1932, I show that she devoted her Korean-language rhetorical work to defending the school against Korean objections to women's education and Japanese colonial persecution, but that she resisted explicit support for Korea's independence movement, especially in her English-language work. Her ethos in these texts, therefore, is constantly in tension, dooming her to potential exclusion from both groups. This paper is in conversation with recent scholarly work on women's ethos in nineteenth- and twentieth-century America, but I argue that the unique constraints of colonial Korea complicate our understanding of this ethos construction, particularly for marginal figures such as Appenzeller, whose identities overlapped both Korean and American. As a white woman and native speaker of Korean under Japanese occupation, her ethos construction was “always already” both privileged and troubled.

## David Timmerman Monmouth College

*The Rejoinders of Aeschines: Self-positioning for the Populace*

The paired speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines generated from the embassies to Philip provide an intriguing window into populist mudslinging. Though Aeschines enjoyed success against Demosthenes, the jury voted against him and in favor of Demosthenes in the On the Crown and Against Ctesiphon clash. This fact along with the scholarly analysis of the speeches themselves, has generated the prevailing opinion on the side of the superior quality and efficacy of Demosthenes. This essay will not seek to revisit this determination per se nor engage in the weighing of quality of argumentation between the two, but will seek to focus attention on the strategies employed by Aeschines in his unsuccessful counter argument and defense, specifically in Against Ctesiphon.

More specifically it will examine the manner in which Aeschines positions himself relative to mass and elite, a question that has been variously understood. For example, EM Harris notes the dual appeal of Aeschines, to his elite qualifications and standing as well as to his modest upbringing and position through his promotion of his patriotic military service. In contrast, CA Preus argues that Aeschines squarely presents himself as a private citizen (idiotes) by emphasizing his military career and service. These understandings differently shape our understanding of the argumentation Aeschines employs including his ad hominem attacks against Demosthenes and the array of public charges such as fraud, perjury, cowardice, treason, and for taking bribes.

## Christopher Tindale University of Windsor

*Under Thrasymachus' Gaze: The Populist Debate in the Republic.*

The roots of populist sentiment trace back to at least the tensions between various Sophists and Plato. The former's egalitarian view extended authoritative judgment to the individual. The latter reserved judgment for the experts and espoused an elitism. This results in very different goals for rhetorical argument: to arouse populist thinking, or to dampen and police it.

Republic VI captures such tension. Socrates complains that people are more easily persuaded by Sophists who speak to them in their terms, knowing what they believe. The Sophist calls this wisdom and teaches it. But, insists Socrates, Sophists know nothing about the reality of the things taught (493b-c). It is then no surprise that the majority cannot be philosophic.

The populism on display here appears as a humanism, a term that better describes the interests of the various Sophists operating in the state, including Thrasymachus, still-present and listening to this discussion without complaint. The emerging Platonic position is that any rhetorical argument worthy of adoption will be informed by the “reality of things.” That is, it will be subservient to philosophy. This anticipates the rigorous dialectic that is to come. But that tool is in the future. Here, Socrates measures his principal interlocutors, Adeimantus and Glaucon, and adapts his arguments for them. They represent the philosophical audience that must resist a populism to which they are susceptible. To this end, Socrates starts to employ rhetorical devices they will recognize, at first with reluctance, then with growing strength. Thus, we witness rhetoric used in the service of both populist and anti-populist arguments, with lessons that should still resonate today.

## Joseph Turner University of Louisville

*Geoffrey of Vinsauf's Master Trope: The Development of his Doctrine of Transsumptio*

In this talk, I trace the evolution of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's doctrine of transsumptio as it developed from his Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi (late 12th century) to the Poetria nova (1202-1213). Although some scholars have conflated transsumptio with translatio (or metaphor) as a primarily linguistic process of transference, I argue that transsumptio is a mental process, which can be better understood as Geoffrey's attempt to schematize how occupying a position of difference (or the transference of the self into an alternate mode of being) reveals metaphorical possibility in language. Transsumptio is thus separate from translatio, which is the spoken or written outcome of transsumptio. In turn, I advocate for describing transsumptio as “metaphorical thinking” and translatio as the verbal or written trace of that thinking. This talk also imputes the developments in Geoffrey's doctrine of transsumptio to a reinvestigation of the Rhetorica ad Herennium between composing his two major treatises.

## Erin Twal Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University

### *Uncovering Women's Contributions to Ancient Nabataean Rhetoric: A Comparative New Materialist History*

This historical project chronicles the contributions of Nabataean women to rhetorical history in the ancient Near East. Though the ancient city of Petra has garnered favorable recognition from archaeologists, ancient historians, and anthropologists for its richly vibrant material culture, I return to the Petra metropolis as an entrypoint for uncovering women's participation in ritual performance and political activities in Nabataean Petra. Unlike Greece and Rome's dismal treatment of women and minorities, ancient historians have documented how the ancient city of Petra once served as a gathering place of refuge to those on the move, whether fleeing persecution and drought or chasing newfound prosperity in the legendary city of stone. During its Golden Age (1 BCE -2 CE), the Nabataean Kingdom embraced an egalitarian society where slavery was not condoned in the Nabataean Building Program and where women held a prominent role in the everyday life of the global centre.

Ancient historians have long chronicled the abhorrent fate of women and slaves in Greek and Roman society. Since the rhetorical contributions of disenfranchised persons were rarely sanctioned in the polis, historians (Richard Leo Enos 2013; James Fredal 2006) have long recognized histories of rhetoric remain partial and limited. But what happens when the disenfranchised embrace new mechanisms to participate in public life? And what might these acts of resistance contribute to our rhetorical theories and histories?

Through my firsthand examination of archaeological evidence at key institutions in Jordan, I demonstrate the affordances of material evidence in the recovery of marginalized perspectives in our comparative histories of rhetoric. Far more than the inclusion of material artifacts in our repertoire of historical evidence, I demonstrate how new materialist orientations to comparative historiography can also remain responsive to other vulnerable persons and marginalized perspectives that remain unaccounted for in our global histories of rhetoric.

## Vessela Valiavitcharska University of Maryland

### *On Beauty*

"Rhythm is in the resonance of sound and the melodious placement of words," says the tenth-century Byzantine rhetorician John Siceliotos in his commentary on Hermogenes' On Style. "If rhetoric is music, and beautiful music is made up of diverse polytonic intervals, it is clear also that beauty in rhetoric is achieved through a harmonious variety of words." Siceliotos will go on to describe what he means by "harmony": a congruence of sound on the levels of syllabic quantity, phonetic quality, stress placement, syntactical proportion, and argument expression. This congruence is described in terms of mathematical ratios.

Like Hermogenes, who compares a beautiful discourse (in the technical Hermogenean sense of the word "beautiful") to the harmony of a moving body, Siceliotos describes beautiful rhythm as the resonance of continuously changing but congruent meters; "congruent" are those meters which can form mutually equivalent fractions in the ratio between arsis and thesis. Likewise, harmony with regard to stress placement means a proportionate distribution of stress within the rhythmical units kôlon and komma, while with syntax and argument it is expressed in terms of equilateral geometrical figures, such as the isosceles triangle or the square.

The reliance on mathematics to describe a phenomenon of sound provided a supple system for accommodating both the medieval Byzantine linguistic reality, in which syllabic quantity was no longer felt, and the quantitative meters found in the classical texts (such as Demosthenes or Lysias) traditionally used in Byzantine rhetorical training. Moreover, it offered a visual "blueprint" for both analyzing discourse referred to as rhythmically beautiful or carefully wrought (in Hermogenean terminology) and for composing in various types of rhythm by taking into account syllabic quantity, stress, syntax, and argument value.

## Maria Alejandra Vitale Universidad de Buenos Aires

### *Retórica populista en Cristina Fernández de Kirchner*

Georges Couffignal (2016) incluye a la ex presidente argentina Cristina Fernández de Kirchner entre los líderes latinoamericanos populistas contemporáneos a partir de tres características fundamentales del populismo: 1. la construcción del pueblo -concebido no en cuanto conjunto de ciudadanos electores sino en tanto los excluidos y marginales- como sujeto político por excelencia, b. la comunicación directa con el pueblo sin la intervención de la mayoría de las mediaciones exigidas por los regímenes democráticos, 3. el apoyo en la emoción en vez de la razón, lo que tiende a la polarización de la sociedad. Sin embargo, ni Couffignal ni otros estudiosos se han detenido en la retórica mediante la cual el populismo se configura en la discursividad de Fernández de Kirchner. En este trabajo, retomamos las propuestas de Ernesto Laclau (2005) sobre la catacresis y la sinécdoque como recursos retóricos del populismo en la construcción del pueblo en cuanto plebs y de Patrick Charaudeau (2009) sobre el que denomina ethos de la identificación, basado en el uso del pathos, para caracterizar las alocuciones presidenciales de Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

## Gabriela Vlahovici-Jones University of Maryland

### *Ethos and Populism in the Coinage of the Late Roman Republic*

"The city of Rome was overrun as if it were with a deluge, by the conflux of people flying in from all the neighborhood places. Magistrates could no longer govern, nor the eloquence of any orator quiet it; it was all but suffering shipwreck by the violence of its own tempestuous agitation." Plutarch's account of the chaos that followed Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon emphasizes an important symptom of the Republic's collapse – the drowning of oratory in the noise of "vehement contrary passions." Yet, these very passions fueled the rhetorical practices of the warring imperators, who spared little expense in presenting themselves as men of the people. In fact, expense was central to both the Caesarean and the Pompeian brands of populism, since coinage as money not only bought the support of soldiers and politicians but also advanced the warlords' credibility.

How does Roman coinage at the end of the Republic construct propaganda messages? How do the coins' material and visual features negotiate the issuers' ethos? How does the issuers' ethos contribute to brands of populism? My presentation will address these questions in a theoretical framework derived from John DuBois's notion of stance, by proposing a definition of coin ethos as the inter-subjective alignment between the coin issuer as rhetor and the coin user as audience, with regard to a stance object consisting of the coin's material and visual features. The presentation will apply this framework to a discussion of "arguments" between the images on Caesarean and Pompeian coinage, such as the "argument" between Caesar's elephant and Pompey's Jupiter. The analysis will propose that the success of the populist messages hinges on factors that affect the rhetors' and the audiences' alignment, factors that range from the metal's weight and color to the audiences' cultural and visual memory.

## Alexandra Voudouri University of Athens

*The Menandrian Treatises in Middle Byzantium: a Reappraisal of Their Impact on Byzantine Epideictic between the Ninth and the Twelfth Centuries*

Menander Rhetor's treatises (3rd c. AD) have always been regarded as the backbone of Byzantine encomia and occasional speeches. But is it really the case that two texts appearing just in a single manuscript in the 10th c. could have such a broad and lasting impact on middle Byzantine rhetoric? Moreover, the particular manuscript, i.e. Par. Gr. 1741, was also the earliest to contain among others the Aristotelian Rhetoric and Poetics, that were opposite of popular in Middle Byzantium, thus consisting –according to Thomas Conley's impressive argument– a Peripatetic rhetorical corpus, which the Byzantines themselves considered as much different from their familiar and preferable Hermogenean one and obviously stayed away from.

Hence, given the attributable also to the lack of detailed instructions and comparable models unexpected absence of the highly sophisticated genre of independent city praises throughout the middle Byzantine period, the question remains: how could this otherwise not particularly studied manuscript be at the same time the centre of attention of middle Byzantine epideictic, as only a couple of commentators have testified, namely John of Sardis in the 9th c. and John Doxapatres in the 11th c., both in two lines each and very likely without having the text in front of them?

In my paper I will attempt to oppose the strong *communis opinio* that Menander was the absolute *sine qua non* rhetorical manual regarding the *en masse* produced middle Byzantine epideictic rhetoric. I will argue instead that the numerous *basilikoi logoi* and the other varieties of encomia, as well as the shorter and simpler in their form everyday speeches (*εὐκαιριακοὶ λόγοι*), were produced in Middle Byzantium because of the following three stimuli:

1. widespread progymnastic *paideia*,
2. easily accessible early Byzantine encomiastic prototypes,
3. occasional speeches, that never ceased to be produced from Late Antiquity and onward.

## Anthony Wachs Duquesne University

*Rhetoric Mediated: Refiguring McLuhan as Rhetorical Theorist*

Marshall McLuhan was one of the most (in)famous scholars of communication in the twentieth century. During the height of his popularity, his “metarhetoric” was critiqued by James J. Murphy for being deterministic, and similarly, Kenneth Burke utilized his pentad to argue that McLuhan's media theory was too scene dominant. Though, he helped to popularize the study of communication, he would eventually be known by many within the field for simply coining aphorisms such as “the medium is the message.” As interest in McLuhan redeveloped in the 1990's, especially with the growth of media ecology as a field of study, several scholars took note that McLuhan was actually trained as a rhetorician and studied in Cambridge under I.A. Richards. In fact, McLuhan wrote his dissertation on the ancient and medieval trivium, which he understood as fundamental for understanding our current historical moment. Though it has been recognized that he studied rhetoric and identified as a grammatical-rhetorician, his understanding of rhetoric and its use have largely gone undeveloped.

This paper develops McLuhan's understanding and use of rhetoric within his media theory. Specifically, in his *Laws of Media*, he places the four master tropes, especially metaphor, at the center of his theory. He argues that metaphor and analogy are essential for perceiving and understanding forms and essences. Through the ancient and medieval doctrine of *Logos*, McLuhan argues that all things are imbued with *logos* and meaning, and humans have access to this meaning through the play with language. McLuhan's rhetoric is unique and worthy of study because it is a constructive neo-medieval alternative to the numerous rhetorical paradigms that relativize and dismiss qualitative aspects of reality, essences, and forms. As such, McLuhan can be refigured from a popular media icon to a serious rhetorical theorist.

## John Oastler Ward University of Sydney

*Populism in Cicero's De inventione and the Medieval Commentaries on It*

David McKnight in his recent book *Populism Now! The case for progressive populism* (2018) writes thus (p.3): ‘The key idea of the populists was that the interests of ordinary people were in conflict with those of the elite’. McKnight argues that a progressive populism redresses ‘the racist backlash of right-wing populism and ‘asserts our common humanity, whatever diversity we also express’. One of the two key classical didactic works of Roman rhetoric used extensively in the middle ages, the *De inventione* of Cicero, puts forward an initial story of civilization, about ordinary people being led to a sophisticated civilization and higher standards of living by a great and wise figure, not statedly of any ‘elite’, who used ‘eloquence’ and reason, skills available to anyone. Is this not what McKnight would call ‘progressive populism’? Since the whole of the *De inventione* is designed to teach the art of eloquence for use in the courts, where justice and benevolence should surely prevail, might not the entire treatise be an exercise in ‘progressive populism’? However, Cicero continues, ‘when a certain agreeableness of manner – a depraved imitation of virtue – acquired the power of eloquence unaccompanied by any consideration of moral duty, then low cunning supported by talent grew accustomed to corrupt cities and undermine the lives of men’ (and, presumably, women!). This is surely what McKnight calls ‘the racist backlash of right-wing populism’, though racism is less relevant than simply the leaders’ desire to serve their own interests and neglect the good of the state.

If we move to the medieval commentaries, how aware were they of these attitudes? For reasons of space and time I will confine my attentions to the commentary on the *De inventione* by Manegold of Lautenbach, admirably edited by Filippo Bognini.

## William Weaver Baylor University

*Assessing the Rhetoric of Anger*

Anger has been instrumental in mobilizing recent movements across the political spectrum. Given this development, and given indications (in scholarship and popular culture) that anger is now broadly seen as an effective and even necessary part of political engagement, it seems worthwhile to examine historical perspectives on anger in rhetorical contexts. Anger, which has been called the “paradigmatic pathos,” is the first of the emotions that Aristotle treats in the second book of the *Rhetoric* and is treated in subsequent accounts of pathos-argumentation or the rhetoric of emotion. But its utility in rhetorical persuasion, as in ethical deliberation, has been a matter of perennial controversy. As the strongest of the strong emotions, anger has proven amenable to persuasion. But is it advantageous to arouse anger? What are the proper aims of arousing anger? What hazards does the orator face in feeling, performing, or stoking anger to move an audience? This paper will review leading criticisms of the rhetoric of anger. These criticisms fall under three types: stylistic, psychological, and moral, and are illustrated by theoretical and literary examples.

## Colleen Wilkowski Arizona State University

### *Singing for the People: Constitutive Rhetoric and the Music of the March of Washington*

In his “In Search of ‘The People’”, Michael Calvin McGee explains that “the ‘people’ are more process than phenomenon. They are conjured into objective reality, remain so long as the rhetoric which defined them has force, and in the end wilt away, becoming once again a collection of mere individuals” (p. 345). Throughout United States history, definitions of the ‘the people’ have shifted depending on what circumstances and political ideologies called them into being. In the famous 1964 March of Washington for Jobs and Freedom, “the people” called into being by the rhetorical circumstances were called upon using populist ideologies. At its inception, the March targeted the interconnected nature of economic and racial disenfranchisement. However, the March itself had its own issues adhering to populist ideologies as many of its messages were subdued in order to gain the approval of more moderate sponsors and publics.

Furthermore, although the March called a diverse “people” into existence, all of “the people” were not equally represented. Established male speakers were allowed to speak, while certain speakers were excluded based on their viewpoints, gender, and social status. The concert at the March, however, functioned in an interesting manner as it simultaneously reflected a more inclusive version of “the people” while also reinforcing some of the same exclusions as speaking events did. My paper analyzes the rhetoric of the musical performances at the March. In doing so, I claim that while certain aspects of the musical selection worked to reflect a more accurate depiction of “the people” assembled, other aspects worked to distance the audience from the speaker, clashing with the populist ideology inherent in the March’s call. I will focus special attention on the rhetorical impact of inclusion of Black female artists and folk artists and the exclusion of jazz artists during the concert.

## Katherine Willis University of Central Arkansas

### *Romanos the Melodist and the Christian Sublime: Popularizing the Virgin Mary in Early Byzantine Song*

The concept of the sermo humilis, or Christian sublime (as first identified and defined by Erich Auerbach), can shed new light on the rhetorical strategies of Romanos the Melodist, a sixth-century Byzantine liturgical poet. Honored as a saint in Constantinople less than one hundred years after his death, Romanos’s hymns (kontakia) proved influential and are still sung regularly in Eastern Orthodox churches worldwide. As Thomas Arentzen has recently shown, Romanos played a key role in developing the Virgin’s cult: he established her as a central figure in lay piety in her own right, someone to whom ordinary worshippers could relate. He could have humanized her simply by making her “ordinary” too, but I argue that he pulled off something much more difficult: he drew her closer while still maintaining her sublimity. Through analysis of two kontakia (“On the Nativity I” and “On the Nativity II”), I show how the Christian sublime is an inextricable part of this endeavor. As Auerbach long ago explained, this rhetorical tradition resulted from the impact of incarnational theology on classical rhetoric: if indeed the highest being had been embodied in the humblest of forms, then the very concepts of loftiness and lowliness in style and content must be transformed. Meditating upon this wonderful paradox could be a source of spiritual rapture and transport, and it quickly became central not just in theology but also in rhetoric and poetics. Romanos makes the striking choice to focus the principles of the Christian sublime not on the incarnate Christ but on the person of Mary. He situates her in a riveting and unyielding tension between the lofty and lowly and thus transports his listeners, not beyond the reaches of the merely human, but towards something — and someone — more fully and wondrously human.

## Hui Wu University of Texas at Tyler

### *A Feminist Critique of Chinese Women’s Conduct Books as Popular Rhetoric*

This study analyzes rhetorical strategies of historical women in their conduct books to address gender politics in the past and present China that uses these women and their books to popularize patriarchal values. Chinese rhetoric has gained momentum as a subfield, but much fewer historical Chinese women than men are known for treatises on rhetoric. When their teachings gain popularity, they are employed to teach patriarchal values to younger generations of women. For example, ancient Chinese women’s treatises on women’s education, values, and behaviors have been promoted as role models for the patriarchal tradition and read as such for centuries, including Ban Zhao’s *Commandments of Women*, Song Rouxin’s *The Women’s Analects*, Queen Renxiaowen’s *Commandments for the Inner Chamber*, Lady Wang Jie’s *A Brief Survey of Exemplary Women*. A feminist reading of their rhetoric, however, raises concerns about several issues in positioning and representing rhetorical women as popular figures in gender dynamics, especially in the interaction between the past and present male expectations of women’s behaviors. Rhetorical women themselves are also promoted as popular role models for practicing patriarchal traditions, while their feminist standpoints in teaching are largely neglected. Today, China’s renewed interest in those women’s teaching continues to reinforce, largely, patriarchal values. In response, this study aims to explore the following questions to examine male-dominated voices in promoting women’s instruction of rhetoric. How to reposition historical women writers of public rhetoric through their books of instruction? How to read presumed popularity of their conduct books as feminist empowerment of women? How to analyze their rhetorical strategies that enabled them to maneuver gender politics in the past? What significance do their rhetorical strategies mean for today’s gender politics in China? How to address the popularity of women’s conduct books today that still tries to maintain patriarchal values?

## Michelle Zaleski Penn State University

### *Salir Consigo: The Discerning Rhetoric of Jesuit Accommodation*

This paper attempts to define the relationship between Jesuit rhetoric and Jesuit missionary work abroad during the early modern period. Beginning with Ignatius of Loyola’s *Autobiography*, this presentation will outline how Loyola developed an outward turning spirituality that placed rhetoric at the heart of his *Spiritual Exercises*. This rhetorical turn hinged on both a call to find God in all things and the discernment between good and evil. Looking at Loyola’s instructions for the discernment of spirits alongside his letters to early Jesuit missionaries, this presentation demonstrates how discernment was adapted to missionary work as a practice guiding Jesuit cross-cultural adaptation. This practice later was termed accommodation by Alessandro Valignano and came to characterize the transgressive cross-cultural practices of controversial Jesuits like Matteo Ricci and Roberto de Nobili. While Jesuits came under scrutiny for this practice, accused of dissimulation and even casuistry, returning to Loyola’s early explanation of discernment in both his letters and the *Spiritual Exercises* demonstrate the important difference that Jesuits made in distinguishing Christian evangelization based on its ends, rather than its means. This difference, captured in the Ignatian phrase “*entrar con el otro, y salir consigo*” (enter with the other and leave with them), provides one way of understanding the malleable character of Jesuit rhetoric as well as the contradictions of Jesuit missionary work, contradictions that scholars like Steven Mailloux and Alexander Henn have pointed out. Further, returning to this early cosmopolitan model of rhetoric provides an alternative starting point for comparative rhetoric. Responding to work from scholars such as Lu-Ming Mao and Bo Wang, this paper suggests how Jesuit rhetoric outlines new possibilities for the practice of rhetorics that cross cultures while still valuing tradition.

## Anderson Zalewski Vargas Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

*Rhetoric and Antiquity in the Brazilian Journalistic Argumentation of the Beginning of the 19th Century:*

*Marco Túlio Cícero and the rejection of the crowd on the anti-rhetorical platform of The Analyst (Porto Alegre, 1840)*

In nineteenth-century Brazil, one of the foundations of education was the teaching of Rhetoric and Greco-Roman History. This explains the ubiquity of both in the literary works and in the press of that period. The Brazilian press was founded in 1808, when the Portuguese Royal Family arrived in Rio de Janeiro, fleeing from the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. In 1822, the Brazilian independence occurred with the establishment of a monarchical regime and, in 1831, D. Pedro I, the first emperor, renounced the throne aggravating the political crisis: several rebellions occurred from the south to the north of the country. Throughout that period, newspapers were used for discussion, theorizing and political struggle and, to a much lesser extent, for reporting on events. The nineteenth-century newspapers are a privileged source of the study of the use of Rhetoric and Antiquity since both were used to reflect on the present and to propose solutions for the institutional crisis that threatened national unity. The paper analyzes the appeal to Antiquity and Rhetoric in the presentation of the newspaper *The Analyst*, published on July 29th, 1840, in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil. In a very peculiar way, it was defended a self-appointed modern and anti-rhetoric conception of language, truth and authorship, accompanied by a politically conservative view. In addition to the rhetorical analysis of that declaration of principles, it will be demonstrated the coherence between the politically conservative conception of the Brazilian population and the latin epigraph of the periodical, taken from the Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* (II 4): "Est enim philosophia paucis contenta iudicibus, multitudinem consulto ipsa fugiens eique ipsi et suspecta et invisita." ("For philosophy is satisfied with a few judges, and of her own accord industriously avoids the multitude, who are jealous of it, and utterly displeased with it.")

## Michelle Zerba Louisiana State University

*Dogs, Donkeys, Gypsies, and Dukes: Revolution, Populism, and Transgender Change in Woolf's Orlando*

Recent discussions of trans\* have made use of the asterisk as a marker for holding open the relational character of the term within a spectrum of genders and sexualities that cross hetero-normative boundaries. This paper will explore the rhetoric of trans\* relations in Virginia Woolf's *ORLANDO* and track the ways in which sexual boundary crossings are coupled with movements across language, class, national identity, and time itself (the protagonist lives more than 300 years but only ages by 36). Because the famous sex change in Woolf's fictional biography occurs in Constantinople in the middle of a populist Turkish revolution against the Sultan, I will explore how Woolf's orientalism combines a rhetoric of transgression and of populism in creatively re-imagining the complexities of sex and gender identities. Is the trans\* in transgender and transsexual the same as the trans\* in transnational? What is relationship between "the people" and "the nation"? And how does hetero-normativity fit into these social formations?

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*Non-normative Rhetorics of Love in Seventeenth-century Plays by Women in France*

I propose to explore early modern plays from the perspective of a gendered rhetoric, factoring the writer's gender into rhetorical criticism. Discourses of love or seduction take on paradoxical and/or innovative dimensions in plays written by women in France—plays that were actually produced at the time. The proposed paper harks back, on the one hand, to Aron Kibedi Varga's insights into the rhetorical nature of classical texts, and specifically drama, in his seminal *Rhétorique et Littérature* (1970) and, on the other hand, to Nancy Miller's groundbreaking approach identifying something different in texts written by women, possibly connected with, and perhaps stemming from, the author's gender within an overwhelmingly masculinist, patriarchal culture in "Emphasis Added" (PMLA 1981). To give just one example, cross-dressing is a recurring motif in baroque theater. In Françoise Pascal's 1659's *Le Vieillard amoureux*, the title character falls in love with a young woman, who is actually his daughter's cross-dressed male suitor, on hearing her portrait. But the portrait, explicitly presented as an encomium liable to make the old man fall in love (the lady "is perfect"), not only undermines topoi of feminine beauty (her hair is "not blond", her eyebrow is "between blond and black"), but more radically calls into question the distinction between genders (her height is that of a man, her aquiline nose resembles that of a man). The valet who gives such accounts may simply be preparing his dupe for a meeting with a man passing as a woman. Nonetheless, the old man is smitten – not because the cross-dresser passes, but in spite of his masculine appearance, and because he therefore should not pass – a comic effect, perhaps, but one that seems specific to that play. The paper will analyze such rhetorical paradoxes and twists in early modern plays written by women.





