

# International Society for the History of Rhetoric

## Abstracts

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Göttingen, May 1989

C. J. Classen

Don Paul Abbott

José Francisco de Isla:  
The Novelist as Rhetorical Critic

José Francisco de Isla (1703-1781) wrote the most important novel of eighteenth-century Spain: Historia del famoso predicador Fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes (1758-1768). Fray Gerundio is also one of the most overtly rhetorical novels ever written, for it is a strident satire on the state of Spanish preaching. The hero, Gerundio, is by his creator's admission, the Don Quixote of preaching, a simple youth corrupted by the excesses of Baroque preaching who successfully perpetuated irrational and extravagant sermonizing. So forceful was this satire that the book may well have contributed to the expulsion of the Jesuit order (and with it Isla) from Spain in 1767.

Yet despite the obvious centrality of oratory in Fray Gerundio modern scholars have chosen to concentrate on the Cervantean and picaresque elements in the novel, very nearly to the exclusion of the rhetorical aspects of the work. Moreover, it has not generally been recognized that Isla satirizes not only Spanish preaching, but Spanish rhetorical theorizing as well. Thus Isla presents a comprehensive, as well as imaginative, critique of Spanish rhetoric and oratory. Isla's Fray Gerundio is, then, a key to understanding Spanish attitudes toward rhetoric in the eighteenth century.

"Speech is a garment to cloath our reason."

### CLOTHING METAPHORS IN PURITAN DISCOURSE THEORY

In his New England Mind: The Seventeenth-Century, Perry Miller has written that Alexander Richardson's Logicians School-Master (1629, 1657) is "undoubtedly the most important Ramist work in the background of Puritan thought." As Miller's and others' writings on Puritan epistemology, social philosophy, and discourse theory suggest, the Puritans were Ramists as much as they were Puritans, and Richardson was the author who brought the two interests together. However, in some areas of historical study the Ramist-Puritan connection has been overlooked. Where they should be treated as parts of an integral whole, they are treated as two separate streams of thought, as if they did not affect each other in interesting or historically significant ways. A case in point is in studies of Ramist ornamentation theory and historians' analyses of the rationale that guided Ramists' employment of clothing metaphors in teaching the rhetorical doctrine of elocutio.

The sumptuary laws enacted in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England evidence contemporaries' interest in the symbolism of clothing and its connection to conflicting religious and social values. Given the social and religious controversies centering in the symbolism of dress, and given Richardson's Puritan leanings, one should think that his metaphors connected to the substance of the controversies--that their employment extends beyond a glib interest in providing youthful auditors with neat "easily assimilable" visual images of the ars disserandi, as Walter Ong and others would have Ramists doing in the classroom. Rather, as this essay shall show, Richardson employs his metaphors strategically, first, in defense of controversial features of the Ramist canon, and second, in order to provide the Ramist doctrine of elocutio with a rationale of persuasion. Both aims are developed out of the entailments of the clothing metaphor. In the first instance, they are developed out of a technical interest relating generally to the art of the tailor and entailing the propriety of the "fit" of Ramus's precepts, and in the second instance, out of an interest relating to a clothing ethic entailing that persuasive discourse is "decent," but nevertheless, seductive dress.

While Richardson justifies his rationale of seduction as a "good deceit," like similar justifications of rhetoric, it is a hedge designed to ameliorate a conflict between utility and morality, or ends and means. However, the ends/means conflict entailed in the clothing metaphor may have been exploited by Puritan preachers, such as John Cotton, whose speech evidences the potential of placing listeners in a double bind between the sensuous texture of his speech, and what it signifies lexically. Thus, the clothing metaphors and their conflicting entailments inculcated the Puritan speech community with linguistic values and a framework of interpretation that could be put into the service of religious conversion, as a rationale of edifying discourse and an inducement to a socially valued but radically personal experience of struggling through a double bind of voluptas and caritas--the medium of speech and its content.

Tomás Albaladejo

The pragmatic character of the discourse-building rhetorical operations.

In this paper I start from the differentiation, within the set of the rhetorical operations, between those which build discourse -i. e. inventio, dispositio, and elocutio- and those which do not build discourse -i. e. memoria and actio-. I deal with the indirect and global pragmatic nature of the former operations, opposite to the evident pragmatic position of actio, the most important of the latter ones. The pragmatic nature of the discourse-building operations is established on the syntactic and on the semantic character, in a semiotic sense, of the set formed by these three operations, which constitute an intensional and extensional whole that is oriented to the rhetorical communication.

Leif Aslund

Pro et contra and consultatio in the Swedish 17th century Council of the Realm

The records of the proceedings of the Swedish Council of the Realm (*riksråd*) are unique sources in the study of the new political eloquence which develops during the 17th century. In fact there are detailed minutes of debates from the end of the 1620's. This paper shows how two traditional rhetorical methods, *pro et contra* and *consultatio*, are used both by the rulers in co-operation with the Council and by the regencies. Especially during the long regencies a political debate gradually developed in the Swedish nobility. In spite of the minutes' reflecting a development toward freer conversational forms, it can be established that traditional school rhetoric and the rhetoric of the educational institutions of the nobility make a profound impression for a long time.

## B. Asmuth: Von der Rhetorik zur Lyrik. Die Umwälzung des Dichtungsverständnisses im Zeitalter der Empfindsamkeit

Zwischen Lyrik und Rhetorik besteht auf den ersten Blick kein Zusammenhang, es sei denn der eines größtmöglichen Gegensatzes. "Die Idee des Lyrischen schließt alle rhetorische Wirkung aus", schrieb 1946 Emil Staiger. Selbst die Tatsache, daß der Ansehensverlust der Rhetorik im 18. Jahrhundert mit einer Aufwertung der Lyrik einherging, ja daß diese als neue "poetische Norm" (M. H. Abrams) zur nunmehr höchsten Dichtungsgattung bzw. zum Inbegriff von Dichtung aufstieg und so deren alte Ausrichtung an der Rhetorik ersetzte, deutet zunächst eher auf Unterschiede als auf Gemeinsamkeiten.

Bei genaueren Zusehen wird indes deutlich, daß bei diesem Paradigmenwechsel das rhetorische Gedankengut nicht verlorenging, sondern in verwandelter Form erhalten blieb. Die wesentlichen Elemente der damals neu begründeten, bis heute wirksamen Lyrikauffassung sind - das ist meine Hauptthese - rhetorisch fundiert. Das betrifft besonders die Gefühlsbetontheit bzw. Subjektivität, die der Lyrik seit dem 18. Jahrhundert zugeordnet wird. Darin lebt die rhetorische Affektivität weiter. Nur dienen die rhetorischen Mittel, wie sie z. B. in der als völlig neuartig geltenden "Erlebnislyrik" des jungen Goethe zahlreich vorkommen, nicht mehr der Überredung anderer, sondern dem Ausdruck der eigenen Empfindung.

Auch andere Elemente des nachbarocken Lyrikverständnisses (Stimmung, Bildlichkeit, Konjunktionenarmut, Inversion bzw. Sprachfixiertheit) lassen sich aus rhetorischen Figuren oder Theoremen ableiten. Von großen Einfluß waren in dieser Hinsicht die Ratschläge, die Pseudo-Longinos in seiner Schrift "Über das Erhabene" dem Redner und Dichter im Hinblick auf das enthusiastische Pathos erteilt. Er ist der heimliche Stammvater der modernen Lyrikauffassung.

Jerzy Axer

Delivered and Published Texts of Cicero's  
Legal Speeches

The relation between the delivered and published text is a problem tackled now and again by researchers dealing with Cicero's orations, especially his legal speeches. The question about the character and scope of the alterations made by him after a speech had been delivered and before it was published recurs both in synthetic and analytical studies; it is also implicit in papers by scholars claiming not to ask questions of this type.

My paper is an attempt at changing this attitude. Until now, scholars have investigated into Cicero's "editing" procedure, trying to pinpoint reworded or added passages and suggest deleted ones. In so doing, they have frequently forgotten that we only have access to the published speeches; all that we know of a text read out in the lawcourt is often so hypothetical that it may rarely be the starting point for further research /cf. Professor Classen's justified view in the discussion on the Pro Milone/. Moreover, consciously or not, we treat Cicero's self-emendations as peculiar falsifications of the delivered text through which he sought to remove artistic defects, correct tactical errors made in front of the tribunal, hide various aspects of the trial from the reader, last not least, interpret his own attitude in a favourable way ex post facto. Thus the published speech is often a smoke-screen through which we must painstakingly reach out for the "authentic" version.

I suggest instead concentrating on what I believe to be the basic change in the text of an oration of the type of Cicero's legal speeches when it was published. It is equally radical when he rewrote the entire speech before the publication and when he did not change a word. I think that not enough attention has been paid so far to the communication context of the delivered and published text being diametrically different in the case of legal speeches. The character of the statement, the status of the sender and receiver of the message, and the basic intention of the speech are different.

Neglecting this difference, radical from the viewpoint of the communication situation, we engage in futile discussions. Aware of it, we face new interesting research prospects.

Il ruolo della retorica nelle Orazioni inaugurali di G.B. Vico. Verso la fondazione di una assiomatica delle scienze umane.

L'autore ha già esaminato tale argomento in un capitolo del volume Poetica e retorica, ma vale la pena si sottoporlo a un'indagine più dettagliata, e di portarlo all'attenzione di un pubblico internazionale, laddove il contributo originario è stato limitato a una circolazione esclusivamente nazionale. Vico parte dal presupposto che la dimensione dell'exemplum è fondamentale al pubblico cui si rivolge il discorso retorico (un pubblico popolare, di capacità logiche non molto sviluppate). L'exemplum, a sua volta, corrisponde alla dimensione della storia, del logos che si incarna, assumendo volti, circostanze concrete e dettagliate. Il ricorso alla concretezza dell'esempio diviene pertanto una necessità intrinseca, per ogni materia che abbia bisogno di valersi del discorso retorico. Le scienze umane (diritto, storia civile, politica, poesia) non sopportano una fondazione di specie esatta, come invece avviene nell'ambito delle scienze matematiche, e dunque devono poggiare costitutivamente su verità di natura incarnata, risposta sulla certezza dei fatti, della storia. Questa necessità è apparsa tale perfino a Dio, o alla Provvidenza, la quale in effetti amministra direttamente le verità apodittiche appartenenti alla scienza, ma per quanto riguarda le verità di ordine umano, non può far a meno di sottostare anch'essa alle esigenze di un discorso incarnato, in panni storici. E dunque, si potrebbe sostenere, le indagini relative alle scienze umane sono costitutivamente fondate su un doppio asse nel loro caso il "vero" e il "certo" si devono accompagnare, scorrere in parallelo.

Lloyd F. Bitzer

EMPIRICAL RHETORICS IN 18TH CENTURY ENGLAND AND  
SCOTLAND

The so-called "epistemological rhetorics" produced by English and Scottish rhetoricians in the middle and late eighteenth century drew fundamental presuppositions and theories from Bacon, Locke, Hume, and other leaders of the Enlightenment, whose works called for empirical method as the foundation of all disciplines. A case in point is George Campbell's The Philosophy of Rhetoric, which declared that the fundamental principles and mechanisms of eloquence, language, logic, and style are to be discovered empirically through study of both human nature and works of eloquence. (Such themes, regarding Campbell, are detailed in my introductory essay to the 1988 edition of Campbell's book [Southern Ill. Univ. Press]). The same attitude is apparent in theoretical works by Joseph Priestley, Adam Smith, Lord Kames, Alexander Gerard, and others. My purpose is to expose the fundamental philosophical commitments and presuppositions made by such theorists, characterize the empirical theory they employed (such as the theory of the association of ideas, the mind's natural reasoning by "experience," and the doctrine of natural language), and assess the achievements and failures of these empirical rhetorics.

Edwin Black

Narrative and Dramatic Form in Rhetorical Discourse

In rhetorical criticism, no less than in the criticism of fictive literature, the theory of narrative has recently been advanced by several critics as an indispensable source for the analysis of texts. This paper will defend the thesis that dramatic form, which differs importantly from narrative form, is a more powerful explanatory instrument in rhetoric.

The paper will proceed by first attempting to clarify the distinction between dramatic form and narrative. This distinction will pivot on the presence, especially within the consciousness of the audience, of a mediator in narrative, and the characteristic absence of such a mediator in the case of dramatic form. Due note will be taken of efforts, particularly in modern drama, to amalgamate the forms, but the paper will argue that the very techniques of amalgamation employed are evidence that, for purposes of rhetorical criticism, the distinction is fundamental.

The paper will examine each of the Aristotelian genres of rhetoric in terms of the respective capacities of narrative and dramatic forms to illuminate rhetorical transactions. The paper will undertake to show that the genre of forensic is, because of the character of forensic argument, most amenable to explication in terms of narrative theory, and that the genre of epideictic, by virtue of its essential character, is best understood in terms of dramatic form. The most extensively explored of the genres will be deliberative. The thesis will be defended that the intercession of electronic media have moved deliberative discourse decisively away from narrative practice, and in the direction of the unmediated enactment comprehended by dramatic form.

C. W. T. Blackwell

The Moral Rhetoric of Jacob Brucker's Historica critica philosophiae

I propose to give a paper on 'The moral Rhetoric of Jacob Brucker's Historia critica philosophiae'. Jacob Brucker's Historia critica philosophiae was published in 1742-44. It is a five volume work which surveys philosophy from the time of Adam to the eighteenth century. Brucker uses the term *critica* in his title. The fact is he carefully sets out his method of approach in his *Dissertatio praeliminaris*, there he lists the techniques an historian of philosophy should use to analyze primary and secondary information on philosophy.

The method he used was his own version of historical pyrrhonism. The object of the paper would be to show how Brucker constructed his own 'person' of the 'vir bonus' so that he as an absolutely truthful man would seem believable in his judgements on the various philosophers. Although Brucker has been thought to be the great historian of philosopher who has ever lived very little work has been done on him as historians of philosophy are not generally interested in historiography and historians on the whole have not studied the historiography of philosophy. The work has been studied recently however in the Storia delle storie generali della filosofia edited by Giovanni Santinello. I am to the best of my knowledge the first person to suggest that Brucker used the techniques of historical pyrrhonism, the interrelationship between this technique and Brucker's rhetoric will be the subject of my paper. The Historia was the source for most of the philosophy article in the Encyclopedae

Renaissance Praises of Eloquence

Since Kristeller's essay on the humanist movement, the place of rhetoric in Renaissance humanism has been debated. Some scholars such as Gray, Struever, and Seigel have argued that rhetoric was an essential part of humanism. Other scholars such as Bouwsma have argued the centrality of rhetoric to the Renaissance, but not necessarily to humanism. Kristeller recently has equivocated his earlier statements such that he does not see rhetoric as any more important than the other humanistic studies.

Kristeller's position on rhetoric in the Renaissance has been contended by Ernesto Grassi who has argued that rhetoric occupied a foundational, even philosophical place in Italian humanism. Grassi claims that rhetoric meant something more than an art of persuasion, something like insight or a fundamental way of seeing and comporting oneself.

Most of the arguments regarding the place of rhetoric in the Renaissance have been made from sources that address rhetoric only indirectly. There is, however, a substantial number of orations that deal with rhetoric and eloquence directly. My paper contends that the place of rhetoric in Renaissance humanism may be more fully understood by examining the many encomia eloquentiae that humanists often performed. These orations were regularly given at the beginning of a term or course and offer various discussions regarding rhetoric, eloquence, and the relation of eloquence to rhetoric and the other arts.

My paper examines the claims for and against rhetoric in such orations of the sixteenth century as Phillip Melanchthon's Oratio de utilitate studiorum eloquentiae, Walter Haddon's Oratio de laudibus eloquentiae, John Jewel's Oratio contra rhetoricam, Marc Antoine Muret's De via et ratione ad eloquentiae laudem, Francesco Patrizzi's De eloquentia, et de eius virtute, et utilitate and several others including Jacques de La Croix, Carlo Signoli, and Gaspar Schoppe. I have located about 24 orations on the subject and am translating them. So far the authors I have translated either make or assume a distinction between rhetoric as an art and eloquence as a cultural ideal. The number and scope of the orations suggests that praises of rhetoric and eloquence were commonplace throughout the sixteenth century and that our perspective on rhetoric in the Renaissance would benefit from distinguishing between rhetoric and eloquence. The evidence also suggests at this point that for many humanists eloquence was simply not paired with wisdom in Ciceronian fashion, but subsumed place to scrutinize Grassi's claim for a philosophical base for rhetoric in the Renaissance.

Considéré par ses contemporains comme un orateur terne, froid et ennuyeux, Condorcet revêt cependant un intérêt capital pour les études rhétoriques : avec lui, un philosophe de premier plan se donne la tâche de faire entendre le langage de la raison dans le tumulte d'assemblées révolutionnaires en proie aux sortilèges de l'éloquence.

Il s'agira dans un premier temps de montrer l'extrême exigence de sa démarche qui, dans la recherche de garanties contre l'enlèvement des passions, refuse à la fois les solutions techniques (telle celle du bicamérisme, rejetée de l'Essai sur les Assemblées Provinciales au Projet de Constitution de 1793) comme les solutions radicales ou s'abolirait le délibératif (contre la logique robespierriste de l'unanimité).

Dans un deuxième temps, on s'interrogera sur la nature de l'éloquence qu'il entend déployer, et sur les raisons pour lesquelles il mise sur son efficacité. Il s'agira d'un côté de considérer ses jugements sur la rhétorique (à travers les Projets d'Instruction Publique, notamment), sur certains orateurs, et de mettre en valeur le style de certaines de ses Adresses ; de l'autre, de trouver dans son analyse de ce qui sépare l'éloquence antique de l'éloquence moderne une des clés de son attitude : la garantie contre le recours aux passions ne se tient pas uniquement dans la conscience morale des orateurs, mais aussi dans le calcul suivant lequel ils perdraient en confiance durable ce qu'ils voudraient usurper en influence immédiate.

Si Condorcet a pu désespérer, sous cet aspect, de la Convention, sa philosophie n'a pas désespéré du délibératif.

Carina Burman

#### Rhetoric in Swedish Secret Societies during the 18th Century

The paper will consist of two main parts. Primarily, I propose to give a general outline of how rhetoric was used in the different secret societies that abounded in late 18th century Sweden. This will include both the actual eloquence, such as speeches at important festivals of the orders, memorial speeches and speeches of greeting, and the indirect rhetoric of the rituals, as for instance inaugural ceremonies. Secondly, I will give a more concrete picture of the rhetoric of secret societies through the example of the "Franciscan Order" (which in no way is connected with the Franciscan Friars), a radical secret society of the 1780's, led by the main representative of the Swedish Enlightenment, Johan Henrik Kellgren.

Michael Cahn

The Rhetoric of Titles and the Non-methodical Tradition of Renaissance Rhetoric.

Under the general title *The Language of Rhetoric* this paper attempts to explore the titles of the texts of the rhetorical tradition as a crucial part of the self-presentation of this discipline. In recent years studies on the rhetorical function of such a para-textual element as the title have taught us to listen to its fine effects.<sup>(1)</sup> In respect to rhetoric, titles can indicate a wide range of textual strategies used to rhetorically create a certain image for this art.

My contribution will make some introductory remarks about the use of personalized title in Antiquity (*Ad Alexandrum*, *Ad Herennium*, but also *Orator*, *De Oratore*) and discuss its possible function. The main emphasis will fall on the Renaissance period, where a significant distinction between methodical and non-methodical rhetorics can be developed on the basis of the titles of rhetorical treatises. The latter comprises such titles as *Sylva*, *Garden*, *Treasure-house*, *Index*, *Theatrum*, *Mirror*, *Collection*, etc, and develops into the direction of *Florilegae*. Once the systematic order of *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* (or others) are no longer acceptable, the non-methodical rhetoric needs to develop new ways in which to present their material. Alphabetical ordering of rhetorical knowledge plays a paramount role in this non-classical tradition.

It is necessary to reconstruct the difference in use and the changes in reading that came about with these new forms of presentation and organisation. On the basis of a closer reading of the titles of rhetorical treatises we can gain a new sense of a non-methodical tradition of Renaissance rhetoric, which stands in strong opposition to Ramism.

1. Most recently Hazard Adams, "Titles, Titling, and Entitlement to" in Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol. 46, 1987, pp. 7 - 21.

Gualtiero Calboli

Zur Wirkungsgeschichte der Rhetorica ad Herennium

Man wird die Kenntnis der Herenniusrhetorik vom ersten Jahrhundert n.C. bis zur karolingischen Zeit verfolgen. So wird die Hypothese von Friedrich Marx, die Herenniusrhetorik sei plötzlich in einem Archiv der gens Herennia in Africa entdeckt und in die Lombardei von Romanianus von Tagaste mitgebracht worden, überprüft. Dann versucht man die verschiedenen Wege, auf denen dieses Werk sich in der Spätantike und besonders im Frühmittelalter verbreitete, nach den Abschreibungs-orten und den Zeiten der ältesten Handschriften und dem auf einige Autoren ausgeübten Einfluß zu untersuchen. Das führt zu einer neuen Wertung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung dieses Werkes.

Lucia Calboli Montefusco

Die progymnasmatische gnome in der griechisch-römischen Rhetorik.

In diesem Referat werden die verschiedenen Texte der griechischen und römischen Schriftsteller, in denen die rhetorische Lehre der γνώμη vorkommt, in Betracht gezogen. Diese Lehre wird dann mit den übrigen progymnasmatischen Teilen verglichen, was nicht nur eine genauere Untersuchung ihrer Beziehung zur literarischen Praxis ermöglicht, sondern auch die Wirkung der Progymnasmata in ihrer Gesamtheit auf die literarische Tätigkeit nachweist.

Thomas M. Carr Jr.

## Goibaud Du Bois' Attack Against False Eloquence

The 1694 preface of Goibaud Du Bois to his translation of the sermons of Saint Augustine touched off a ten-year polemic over true and false rhetoric. Debate turned on the teaching and example of the Fathers of the Church, the role of the passions and imagination in relation to reason, and the extent to which the geometric model associated with Descartes could be applied to eloquence.

The quarrel has been studied rather extensively by B. Munteano, A. Pizzorusso, and B. Tocanne, among others. Curiously enough, however, little attention has been paid to Goibaud's text in itself, rather than to its role in setting off the controversy.

This is probably in part because of A. Arnauld's devastating rebuttal in his Réflexions sur l'éloquence des prédicateurs (1694), but also because of the unflattering portrait of Du Bois left by Nicole and Olivet. Nicole makes Du Bois out to be a fair-weather friend of Port Royal, and Olivet depicts him as a marginally competent translator.

Nevertheless, Jean Mesnard's extensive research on Du Bois which appeared in Pascal et les Roannez has revealed a much more nuanced portrait that shows Olivet's accusations to be simply false in many cases. Mesnard, who was chiefly interested in Du Bois' connection with Pascal and Roannez does not deal extensively with the 1693 preface, but given the new light he has shed on Du Bois a new assessment is timely.

Instead of stressing the inconsistencies and contradictions in Du Bois' arguments, as Arnauld did, I will try to situate them in the context of his previous writings: his 1666 attack on the theater directed at Racine, the prefaces to his many translations, the manuscript treatise on education Mesnard attributes to him, and his reception speech at the Academy. I expect that by stressing continuities it will be possible to arrive at a more balanced view of Du Bois' attempt to describe a reformed eloquence, and to better understand his formative influences.

Francisco Chico-Rico

## L'intellectio rhétorique et la construction du discours

Ce travail peut s'inscrire dans une orientation d'analyse et de récupération de la tradition rhétorique et poétique. Je fais ressortir l'importance que l'opération (ou pré-opération) d'intellectio, recueillie de l'oeuvre de théoriciens comme Sulpitius Victor et Aurelius Augustinus, a pour le traitement exhaustif de la réalité linguistique de la production et de la réception textuelles. Je suis convaincu que l'intellectio constitue le vrai point de départ de tout procès synthétique et, très probablement, avec l'inventio, le dernier pas des procès analytiques, puisqu'il y est explicité l'origine des buts perlocutifs qui obligent le producteur à construire son discours à l'aide d'une structure et d'un contenu spécifiques pour obtenir sa satisfaction complète dans la réception.

## Zum Fortleben der Progymnasmata während des Mittelalters

Die Progymnasmata als Stil- und Kompositionübungen innerhalb des antiken schulrhetorischen Unterrichts haben sowohl in der Theorie als auch in der literarischen Praxis des Mittelalters auf vielfache Weise fortgelebt und -gewirkt. Der Traktat des Hermogenes-Priscian hatte, wie uns seine neuerdings gründlich untersuchte handschriftliche Überlieferung unterrichtet, in allen Perioden des Mittelalters einen festen Platz im Lehrplan der Schule. Die progymnasmatische Theorie war außerdem zugänglich durch das Rhetorikbuch innerhalb der Etymologiae Isidors von Sevilla, durch die ersten zwei Bücher der Institutio oratoria Quintilians, durch die überlieferten Auszüge aus Emporius und Julius Victor und nicht zuletzt durch die Lehre der Gedankenfiguren beim Aucostr ad Herennium.

Aus diesen Gründen ist schwerlich anzunehmen, daß die in der Renaissance massiv eintretende Wiederbelebung der griechischen Progymnasmata eine Lücke in der mittelalterlichen Schultradition ausfüllte.

Darüber hinaus entspricht die Reihenfolge der auctores minores: Avianus bzw. Romulus, Disticha Catonis bzw. Publilius Syrus, Theodul als Verfasser der Ecloga den ersten drei grundlegenden progymnasmatischen Gattungen: fabula, Chrie bzw. Gnome, narratio mit deren drei Unterarten: fabularis, fictilis, historica. Bei den als auctores maiores des Lehrplans geltenden Dichtern und Historikern suchte man in der Hauptsache die ihnen innewohnenden ekphraseis, ethopoiiai, enkomia, synkriseis, theseis als musterhafte, nachzuahmende Glanzstücke.

Gregory D. Clark/S. Michael Halloran

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN RHETORIC

The theory of rhetoric taught in American colleges at the beginning of the nineteenth century was strongly neo-classical. Among other things, this meant that it was closely tied to the public discourse practiced in "pulpit, bar, and senate" of the larger society. Some important teachers of rhetoric (e.g., John Quincy Adams, Timothy Dwight) were in fact simultaneously practitioners in one or more of those rhetorical forums. As the century progressed, there emerged a more purely academic rhetoric whose relation to practice in the traditional rhetorical forums was less clear. In the early decades, this development manifested itself in the great popularity of Scottish belletristic rhetorics of the previous century, and the publication of texts by American authors who drew heavily on imported belletristic ideas. Later, there emerged a somewhat mechanical rhetoric of style known now as "current-traditional rhetoric." By the end of the century, "rhetoric" as a college-level subject had virtually nothing to do with the traditional rhetorical forums, or indeed with the practice of discourse anywhere outside the academy. Ironically, one of the few late nineteenth-century theorists who concerned himself with the traditional arenas of rhetorical practice, George Pierce Baker, made no use of the term "rhetoric" and little reference to traditional rhetorical texts. This dissociation of theory and practice is probably the most distinctive and enduring development in nineteenth-century American rhetoric.

HOW CLASSICAL WAS NEO-CLASSICAL RHETORICAL THEORY?

Writers on rhetoric from Francis Bacon to Richard Whately were well acquainted with the work of the ancient rhetorical theorists. Their own works were replete with quotations from and allusions to Classical writers from the Sophists to Saint Augustine. In part, because of their knowledge of and their apparent reliance upon Greek and Roman sources, writers of this broad period have sometimes been designated as "Neo-Classical".

The assignment of such a label does not however tell us very much about how "Classical" their writings were or the various uses they made of the traditional Greek and Roman sources. Moreover, it tells us very little about what was new in the works of the writers of this very fertile era. It says very little, for example, about the ways in which classical theories were modified by the ideas and modes of thought of their contemporary world. In particular, how had the Enlightenment influenced their own rhetorical theories and perspectives? After the profound historical, religious, philosophical and epistemological changes which had occurred what remained of Greek and Roman rhetoric? How had that which remained been modified by the changes in intellectual climate?

This paper undertakes the task of answering these questions by explicating the treatment given to features of Classical rhetorical theories by some of the principal rhetorical theorists of the seventeenth, the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Among the writers whose works will be examined are Francis Bacon, Francois Fenelon, Charles Rollin, Giambattista Vico, Hugh Blair, George Campbell and Richard Whately. The examination will describe how such elements as the Aristotelian proofs and topics and the Ciceronian canons were accepted, altered or modified in various ways by various theorists. The paper will trace the transformation of the canon of invention, showing how it was modified from the instrument of rhetorical discovery to a tool of rhetorical management.

The paper will show how philosophical interest in language, its origin, its development, its relation to thought and behavior and, indeed, its relation to meaning brought the rhetorical study of language to an entirely new stage of development.

Although the Classical canons and proofs were not abandoned by the Neo-Classical writers, they were no longer the discrete entities they had been.

The paper will demonstrate some of the effects which faculty psychology had on many aspects of rhetorical theory. In particular, we will examine faculty psychology's influence on the ends of discourse and demonstrate the ways in which rhetoric made use of the faculties such as imagination, will, reason and taste. Knowledge of the faculties made a profound difference in rhetorical conceptions.

Finally, the paper will examine the much broader definition of rhetoric which became operative during this period. Most specifically, attention will be given to the belles-lettristic conception of rhetoric, which included most of the verbal arts, such as poetry, drama and the writing of history.

"Gender and Eloquence on the Jacobean Stage: The Case of Thomas Dekker's  
Converted Courtesan"

Thomas Dekker's The Converted Courtesan, Part II (c. 1605) is a rare Jacobean play in which women overcome a man in debate, and a rare domestic comedy in which the heroine, Bellafront, defends her virtue with eloquence and courage. By allowing Bellafront recourse to eloquence rather than platitudes, Dekker challenges conventional Renaissance assumptions of woman's inferiority based on weakness of intellect. Although like the writers of popular domestic comedies Dekker does not allow Bellafront to fall, he does not restrict her intellectual horizon. During her debates with the libertine Hippolito, Bellafront unifies the abstract rhetorical design of her speeches with subjective content, engaging fully the audience's sympathy. Although Bellafront's rhetoric is not as sophisticated or learned as her opponent's forensic oratory, she achieves eloquence through the concrete nature of her imagery and the personal quality of her exempla. Her language enhances her individuality and attests to the complexity of her moral choices.

Bellafront further combines eloquence with courage as she resists society's skepticism about her reformation, choosing to struggle against destitution with decorum. While Bellafront's longsuffering is consistent with the moral and theological view of women's patience and endurance as the area where female virtue equalled that of men, her disregard for the ethic of silence alters the ethical paradigm that deemed eloquence and courage to be the exclusive province of male virtue.

In the subplot, Bellafront's counterpart is the aristocrat Infelice, whose agile mind complements Bellafront's verbal skills. Here, the libertine is subjected to Infelice's eloquent critique of the male's natural superiority; and, just as in the main plot the libertine is subdued, he is again defeated in the subplot, even though his formal training in forensic oratory gives him a decided advantage.

Bellafront's eloquence and frankness are as admirable as her patience, and Infelice's virtues include a strong will and independence of mind. The play's major dramatic achievement is Dekker's inclusion of women in the Renaissance dictum that the practice of eloquence is the practice of power.

Thomas M. Conley

Aristotle's Rhetoric in Byzantium

Despite the fact that Aristotle's Rhetoric was at best a rather shadowy presence in Byzantium and exercised little, if any, influence, an examination of the evidence might be both useful and interesting-- useful because the relevant material has been underexamined to date and interesting because it can teach us something about the sociology of scholarship. This paper summarizes what can be learned both about the Byzantine reception of the Rhetoric and about our reception of that reception. It will concentrate on three broad topics: 1) the information available about the Rhetoric in the earlier centuries of the Byzantine era (4th to 10th Centuries); 2) the apparent renaissance of interest in the Rhetoric in the middle centuries (10th to 12th); and 3) the alleged attempts by later Byzantine intellectuals (e.g., Planudes) to assimilate the Rhetoric into the prevailing tradition.

Robert J. Connors

## Women's Assumption of Rhetoric in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges

Rhetoric, which throughout most of its 2500-year history had served male agonistic impulses changed radically in nineteenth-century American colleges as women were for the first time allowed access to rhetoric as a discipline. From an orally-attuned, argumentative, and public discipline, rhetoric was transmuted in little less than fifty years into a discipline that was writing-based, explanatory, and interiorized. This talk will examine the way in which this change occurred, describe some details of the shift, and suggest reasons why women's assumption of rhetoric as a discipline has changed the discipline forever.

Bernard Crampé

### Rhétorique de l'Encyclopédie

Il n'existe jusqu'à présent aucune étude exhaustive de la rhétorique de l'Encyclopédie, cela même quelle que soit la signification que l'on choisisse d'assigner au terme (discours sur l'art oratoire depuis les théories antiques; proposition, dans un cadre idéologique donné, de principes d'argumentation présentés comme supérieurs; mise à profit par l'ouvrage de procédés rhétoriques et stylistiques spécifiques).

L'Encyclopédie, pourtant, se prête tout particulièrement à ce type d'analyse. On y trouve en effet un grand nombre de remarques sur les théories oratoires et l'histoire de l'éloquence, d'où émerge une théorie de la parole manifestement préconisée par les encyclopédistes. En pratique, il va de soi, un ouvrage qui devait contribuer à mettre à bas un régime politique contraignant ne pouvait pas ne pas être lui-même une exceptionnelle mise en œuvre des techniques de la persuasion.

Le propos de cette communication est le suivant:

- reconstruire la rhétorique "explicite" de l'Encyclopédie à partir de ses divers articles sur l'éloquence, et des points de vue des théoriciens qui y sont en faveur (Lamy, Dumarsais), en faisant ressortir qu'elle opte pour des techniques discursives marquées par le cartésianisme et le rationalisme moderne;
- montrer qu'en pratique l'Encyclopédie est loin d'illustrer la conception de la rhétorique pour laquelle ses auteurs se prononcent, mais s'avère au contraire une exploitation habile de l'ancienne technique des lieux communs et de l'argumentation classique.

Dans l'Encyclopédie, rhétoriques "explicite" et "implicite" ne coïncident pas. L'Encyclopédie est un de ces ouvrages philosophiques de majeure importance qui pour mieux persuader (comme, par exemple, les œuvres de Platon ou de Descartes) présentent la rhétorique d'une certaine manière, et simultanément, en usent d'une manière qu'ils ne présentent pas.

Françoise Douay-Soublin

*Non, la rhétorique française, au XVIIIème siècle,*

*n'est pas 'restreinte' aux tropes .*

Sous l'influence décisive du traité Des Tropes de Dumarsais, paru en 1730, la rhétorique française se serait, au XVIIIème siècle, restreinte à la seule étude des figures et, plus particulièrement, à l'étude des tropes, dont l'inventaire aurait été restreint par Fontanier (1818, 1827) au trio métaphore/métonymie/synecdoque.

Risquée par Gérard GENETTE de 1967 à 1970, cette thèse fait encore autorité puisqu'elle est reprise telle quelle par Brian VICKERS ("The Atrophy of Modern Rhetoric") dans le dernier numéro de RHETORICA (VI.1 1988).

Or j'ai montré : en 1977 (SOUBLIN "Dumarsais et les figures non-tropes") que les discussions cruciales engendrées au XVIIIème siècle par les travaux de Dumarsais (grammarien-philosophe, auteur pour l'Encyclopédie de Diderot et d'Alembert de 149 articles aux lettres A à G) concernent les figures de construction et la Syntaxe ; en 1979 (SOUBLIN "13-30-3") que c'est à Beauzée, successeur du défunt Dumarsais à l'Encyclopédie pour les lettres H à Z, que l'on doit la réduction de l'inventaire des tropes au trio métaphore/métonymie/synecdoque ; et en 1985 (DOUAY-SOUBLIN "Le style oriental en France de 1675 à 1800") que l'une des innovations les plus caractéristiques de l'esthétique rationaliste française du XVIIIème : l'art du plan, opposé explicitement à l'art, espagnol et baroque, de la pointe, relève de la dispositio plus que de l'elocutio.

Je voudrais montrer aujourd'hui, en m'appuyant sur des relevés systématiques et sur des analyses textuelles précises, que la place occupée par les tropes dans les traités de rhétorique reste modeste (de 4 à 7 % selon le nombre et la longueur des exemples) et stable de 1675 à 1815 ; mais qu'en revanche, dès 1730, la notion même de trope se trouve sérieusement concurrencée par celle d'image, qui porte en germe, à travers les règles de cohérence des métaphores filées (Condillac) et de justesse des analogies (Buffon, Voltaire), une mise en relation directe de l'elocutio et de l'inventio .

Parler, à cette date, d'une restriction de la rhétorique aux tropes paraît donc très inadéquat.

Rudolf Drux

Barocke Gelegenheitsdichtung. Oder von der Bedeutung der Rhetorik für die literaturwissenschaftliche Wiederentdeckung einer verdrängten Gattung

Solange die Literaturwissenschaft ausschließlich am klassisch-romantischen Dichtungsverständnis ausgerichtet war, mußte die barocke Casualpoesie, die sich zu einem bestimmten Anlaß an einen konkreten Adressaten wendete und auf gewinnbringende Wirkung in der Öffentlichkeit zielte, dem Verdikt des Unpoetischen anheim fallen. Über ihre Disqualifikation geriet sie bald ganz in Vergessenheit, bzw. einzelne casualpoetische Texte wurden, vom ursprünglichen Anlaß gelöst und des jeweiligen Casus enthoben, in echte, autonome Erlebnisdichtung umgewandelt.

Erst als sich die Barockforschung der 60er/70er Jahre der Rhetorik widmete und ihre Bedeutung für die Konstitution von poetischen Werken im 17. Jahrhundert erkannte, wurde auch die Gelegenheitsdichtung in Deutschland von Opitz bis Günther wieder Gegenstand literaturgeschichtlicher Betrachtungen. Sie kann damit als ein Paradigma für die Erweiterung philologischer Themen durch die Beschäftigung mit der Rhetorik gelten. Deren Kenntnis ermöglicht nämlich die Analyse frühneuzeitlicher Casualpoesie: ihrer Topoi und Stilmittel, die vom Empfänger des Textes und seinem 'Fall' abhängen, der gesellschaftlichen Funktionen, die sie wahrnimmt, und des umfassenden repräsentatio-Gedankens, dem sie unterstellt ist.

So wird ein ganzes Genre, das übrigens für die gesamte deutsche Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert grundlegend war und hier an einigen Beispielen erörtert werden soll, erst sub specie rhetoricae in seiner historischen Tragweite erfaßt.

Monika Elbert

Ciceronian Oratory and the Discourse of Silence in

Herman Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener"

In Melville's short story "Bartleby the Scrivener" there is a struggle between the principles of Cicero's "De Oratore" and the modern discourse of silence: these tensions are captured in the first-person narrator's psyche. This narrator prides himself on being an eloquent orator who excels at the art of argument; indeed, he hires employees who embody his faith in the spoken word and delights in listening to sermons as well as reading the likes of Jonathan Edwards. Only with the arrival of Bartleby in his office does he realize that there is another more powerful realm than that of spoken word, and that is the realm of silence. Bartleby, the exponent of the "non-dit," threatens the narrator's world view and his equilibrium with his refusal to communicate, to write, and eventually, with his refusal to speak. Throughout the story, the narrator, in the moments when he is most frustrated, most unable to articulate his thoughts to the "silent man" Bartleby, gazes at his "pale plaster-of-paris bust of Cicero," as if looking for support from a silenced Cicero. This bust of Cicero becomes the battle-ground between the two men's ideologies. When the narrator attempts to force words out of Bartleby's mouth and inquires ". . . what reasonable objection can you have to speak to me?" Bartleby simply fixes his gaze upon the narrator's "bust of Cicero, which . . . was directly behind [the narrator], some six inches above [his] head." In the mind of the reader and of Bartleby, the identities of the narrator and Cicero converge. Finally, Bartleby's silence triumphs, and the narrator is forced to reconsider his initial assumption, based on Cicero's faith in the public speaker as a civilizing force and moral guide, that there is some ultimate truth which can be communicated. Melville's dilemma reflects that of other later nineteenth-century American writers (and anticipates the twentieth-century concern with the signified and the signifier), who vacillate between a world with moral sense and definite knowledge and a world with no meaning, a world where the word is hushed.

Jody Enders

## MEMORY AND ALLEGORY IN MEDIEVAL FRENCH LITERATURE

Populating medieval literature with remarkable frequency, allegorical figures have been a consistent source of fascination to literary critics. Yet, while approaches to allegory as a branch of biblical or philosophical hermeneutics abound, and while critics are well aware that allegoria was a trope of rhetoric, one curiously neglected aspect of the rhetorical tradition promises to further clarify why allegory often comprised the method of choice for didactic literature: the art of memory.

In her highly original study of "memory theatres," Frances Yates argued that memoria was concretized in the architecture of the Renaissance stage. But in light of Henri Rey-Flaud's observation that, in medieval thought, "toute notion abstraite doit se concrétiser dans un support que l'on puisse voir" (p. 16), we might wish to explore the concretization of abstractions, not only in art and architecture, but in the allegorical structures of the medieval literary genres themselves.

If we recall that the rhetorical training of any learned author would have included exposure to the techniques of memory, it follows that his practice of imagining visiones by staging a mental scene might have provided a codified role model for the actual conceptualization of the dream visions of allegory. The imagines agentes of the Ad Herennium, for example, garbed in "purple cloaks" or "stained with blood" or assigned "comic effects" (III, 37) are as tangible as the allegorical figures who debate the thorny problems of so many medieval morality plays.

In this study, I shall cite primary rhetorical sources (Cicero, Quintilian, Maritimus Cappella, etc.) and secondary studies on the epistemological relationship between the verbal and visual in order to explore the generic ramifications of the critical notion that "man cannot think without an image" (Kathy Eden). Since classical and medieval discussions of the imagines agentes often appear in the conflictual context of forensic oratory, I shall argue that the study of how memory images came to be associated with the hermeneutics of conflict will shed new light on how memory images could incarnate conflicts and consequently help to mold the conflictual structures of the medieval dialogic genres.

I shall suggest that memory functions in allegory as a semiotic system which permits both dramatization and psychological exploration. My aim is to demonstrate the importance of memory systems in such conflictual allegories as the Roman de la Rose (as well as in the celebrated 15th century debates about that work), in Alain Chartier's Quadrilogue Invectif, in the debates of the divided self in the interior monologues of Chrétien's Cligès or the Roman d'Enéas; in the arguments of the Four Daughters of God in Arnoul Greban's Mystère de la Passion and the Arras Passion, and finally, in such lyric masterpieces as Guillaume de Machaut's Remède de Fortune. In that way, the reintegration of the art of memory to the study of allegory will enhance our understanding of the entire dialectic between medieval literary texts and their rhetorical contexts, and therefore help to redefine our notion of literary conception itself.

Markus Fauser

## Rhetorik des Gesprächs im 18. Jahrhundert

Die Forschungen auf dem Sektor Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts kamen bislang ohne Rhetorik aus. Je stärker aber die pragmatischen Aspekte der Geselligkeitskultur ins Blickfeld rücken (Habermas, Im Hof, van Dülmen), desto dringlicher wird die Erklärung der aufklärerischen Kommunikationsgesellschaft (Bödeker) aus ihren rhetorischen Grundlagen.

Die Freisetzung des Individuums aus vorgegebenen sozialen Bindungen, das Bedürfnis nach 'vernünftiger Konversation' zeigten sich auch am Wandel des honnête-homme-Ideals zur bürgerlichen ars conversationis. Naturrechtliche Verankerung des decorum (Thomasius) und topische Gesprächsverlaufsmodelle der Frühzeit sollten die Umgangsformen rhetorisch begründen helfen. Diese streng formalistischen Modelle wurden in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts im Rückgriff auf antike Positionen zu einer neuen rhetorischen Psychologie und Anthropologie (Blumenberg) erweitert. Zahlreiche Lehrbücher schufen eine Phänomenologie des Gesprächs, die rhetorische Randbereiche, wie Lachen, Scherz, Schweigen und Schwatzaftigkeit ins Zentrum stellte. Die abschließende Forderung nach einer "eigenen Beredtsamkeit unterschieden von der des Rednerstuhls" (Garve) formulierte den Bedarf an spielerischer Geselligkeit mit eigenständiger rhetorischer Pragmatik.

"Rede, daß ich dich sehe", diese bei Apuleius überlieferte und im 18. Jahrhundert vielzitierte Sentenz verweist auf das Ethos, die bürgerliche Identitätsfindung in einer veränderten rhetorischen Alltagskultur.

The Plays of Coornhert in Relation to 16th Century Rhetoric.

The Dutch 'comedies' of Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-1590), written between c. 1550-1582, are intended to transmit religious and moral instruction by way of argumentation. As allegorical plays, they are related to the earlier French and Dutch moralities. On the basis of the argumentative structure of these mid-16th century plays as a whole, I will investigate whether and to what extent these plays are influenced by characteristic developments of 16th century rhetoric as initiated by Agricola and further propagated by rhetoricians as Melanchthon. Typical characteristics of these developments are: the domination of a more probabilistic way of arguing; the combination of dialectic and rhetoric; the treatment of a 'thesis', whether or not by means of a 'causa', and the 'pro' and 'contra'-way of arguing, using dialectical and rhetorical 'loci' as seats of arguments.

William Fortenbaugh

Theophrastus: Did he develop Aristotle's Rhetoric?

I want to offer a first reading i.e., interpretation of my collection of the rhetorical fragments of Theophrastus. I will not be raising narrow philological issues but rather asking whether Theophrastus made substantive contributions to the work of his master.

First, I shall survey the titles of lost works and argue that they do not speak for development. In particular, the title On Delivery does not mean that Theophrastus departed from Aristotle and offered an especially favorable view of this way of winning over one's audience. In fact, treating the subject separately (i.e., not as part of a work On Rhetoric) suggests that his attitude was entirely Aristotelian.

Second, I want to take some notice of his work on modal logic, for here Theophrastus appears to have gone beyond his master and in doing so to have focused on kinds of argument often used by orators.

Third, Theophrastus' keen interest in character apart from "choice" (i.e., apart from goals) marks an advance over Aristotle who tended to ignore stylistic traits and therefore to omit consideration of certain kinds of character especially important to judicial oratory.

Fourth, the fragments concerned with style suggest that Theophrastus emphasized pleasure not only as a means to accomplishing persuasion but also as the end of epideictic oratory. Here I shall be on the slippery ground of speculation, but I think that some reflection on genre and function can help us understand Theophrastus' remarks on style.

John T. Gage

## Towards a General Theory of the Enthymeme: The Rhetorical Compromise

In this paper I will discuss the reasons that the enthymeme has been misunderstood as a sub-category of the syllogism and propose a view of the enthymeme that shows how it is present in all rhetorical strategies. I will discuss how the enthymeme represents a dynamic process of thought that underlies rhetorical decisions, whether logical or otherwise, the process in which the givens of an author and the givens of an audience are brought together and generate form. In this view, it is the syllogism that is the optional form, rather than the enthymeme as it is commonly presented, since the syllogism is only one of the forms that this enthymematic process may take.

I will discuss how this view is implicit in Aristotle's definition of the enthymeme and how Aristotle's equivocal use of the term led to later degraded definitions of the enthymeme as "truncated syllogism." The enthymematic process underlies Aristotle's discussion of metaphor, and narrative, as well as his discussion of logical proofs. I will further develop a "general theory of the enthymeme" by showing how the kind of process it represents is central major contemporary views of rhetoric, e.g. Kenneth Burke's theory of form and "identification," Chaim Perelman's idea of "presence" as an effect of successful rhetoric, Stephen Toulmin's rubric for argumentation, and Wayne Booth's idea of a "rhetoric of assent."

## Philodemus on the Artistic Status of Rhetoric

The artistic status of rhetoric was a problem of considerable interest to the Epicurean school; in fact, an internal dispute over just this problem was a major motivation for Philodemus' *On Rhetoric* (cf. Sudhaus 1895). Quite understandably, then, within *On Rhetoric*, Philodemus treats the problem in significant detail, particularly in books I and II. This treatment has received a great deal of scholarly attention and a standard interpretation of Philodemus' position has become established. According to this interpretation, Philodemus denies the status of art to all practical sorts of rhetoric--including the forensic and deliberative types, while granting such a status to sophistic rhetoric alone (Hubbell 1916, 1920, Philippon 1938, Tait 1941, Kennedy 1963, Grube 1965, and Barnes 1986). This interpretation has been extended by some to incorporate the conclusion that, given the two forms of art recognized by Philodemus, exact art (νάγια τέχνη) and conjectural art (στοχαστική τέχνη), sophistic rhetoric is surely an instance of the latter (Grube 1965 and Gigante 1969).

In this essay I oppose the standard interpretation in two ways, arguing that Philodemus considered practical sorts of rhetoric to be artistic in the conjectural sense and sophistic rhetoric artistic in the exact sense. The argument takes its starting point from Philodemus' explicit definition and explication of exact and conjectural arts (Longo Auricchio 123 B XXXVIII 2--133 B XLIII 35, consistent with Barnes 1986 on 123 B XXXVIII 14-15). Practical rhetoric is shown to be a conjectural art, because its practitioners succeed at producing its end, persuasion through a speech (13 A III 25-33, 45 B I 31-34), more often than those without the art (compare 125 B XXXIX 6-14 with 55 B VI 8-19 and Sudhaus I 345 XLVI 8-11, as revised by Cappelluzo 1976) and because it is placed on a par with other conjectural arts such as medicine and navigation (see, e.g., 53 B V 34--55 B VI 10 and 45 B I 3-12). Sophistic rhetoric is shown to be an exact art on the ground that it has the same sort of form (τὸ τοιοῦτ' εἶναι εἶδος) as grammar and sculpture (131 B XLII 32--133 B XLIII 17), two disciplines that are decidedly exact arts in Philodemus' conception (123 B XXXVIII 30--125 B XXXIX 6).

The proposed account of Philodemus on the artistic status of rhetoric is coherent with the general position represented throughout *On Rhetoric* and may be employed to explain Philodemus' apparent ambivalence toward practical sorts of rhetoric within books I and II. The account also raises important questions regarding Philodemus' role in the development of rhetorical theory among the Epicureans.

Mary M. Garrett

The Chinese Response to the Jesuits. Argumentation during the late Ming - early Ch'ing

In the West, truth is usually defined in terms of correspondence, e.g., correspondence between a proposition and a state of affairs in the world. Only recently has pragmatism offered an alternative standard for truth, that of usefulness, but this redefinition has won few converts. In China both conceptions of truth were well-developed by at least the third century B.C., but the correspondence criterion did not attain a privileged position, as it did in the West very early on. China thus offers us a unique opportunity to see how argumentation and persuasion proceeded in a much more pragmatically oriented philosophical climate.

For the early Chinese, usefulness meant social usefulness, and history was thus considered a valuable repository of case studies. As is consistent with this historically-minded pragmatism, most early Chinese thinkers relied heavily on argument by example, especially historical examples, argument by authority (the authorities being men of practical accomplishments), and argument from consequences. Pragmatism also determined strategy; the most renowned of the so-called "persuaders" achieved their successes by careful audience analysis and close adaptation of their message to its values, goals, and prejudices.

The pragmatic orientation also shaped these thinkers' reflections on argument and persuasion. Insofar as they discussed forms of reasoning, they advocated argument by historical example, from consequences, and ad populum. Naturally enough, they tended to reject sophistic techniques and to restrict discussion to the immediately and obviously relevant. On the other hand, there was no philosophical motivation for a blanket prohibition of pathos appeals. And rather than positing an adversary relationship to the audience, some thinkers advocated a form of "coactive persuasion."

Most of these forms of reasoning and strategies are generally considered weak, fallacious or even reprehensible by Western rhetoricians. The Chinese case allows us to see that such judgments are contingent on certain of our philosophical presuppositions. As we move away from correspondence theories of truth, we may expect to find similar changes in our rhetorical theories and practices.

Hanna-Barbara Gerl-Falkovitz

Renaissancerhetorik als kritisches Instrument antiker Philosophie. Mario Nizolios 'De veris principiis' (1553)

Mario Nizolio (1488 - 1567), ein von der heutigen Forschung noch nicht hinreichend zur Kenntnis genommener, aber von Leibniz geschätzter Humanist und Methodendenker, liefert in seinem Hauptwerk 'De veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra pseudophilosophos' (1553) eine scharfsinnige Kritik der logisch-dialektischen Tradition, insbesondere seit Aristoteles. Erklärtes Anliegen ist die Neubegründung der rhetorischen Überlieferung aus der vorsokratischen (sophistischen) Einheit von Philosophie und Rhetorik. Mit diesem überraschenden Rückgriff auf die früheste antike Redekunst und nicht auf die sonstigen "klassischen" Texte unternimmt er nichts Geringeres als eine Umwertung der üblichen Philosophiegeschichte. Während sonst Sokrates, Platon und Aristoteles Anfang und Höhepunkte des philosophischen Denkens bezeichnen, verbindet Nizolio mit diesen Namen den Verfall einer schon damals hochentwickelten rhetorischen Philosophie oder philosophischen Rhetorik - auch hier ein gelehriger Schüler Ciceros, mit dem er "die unzweifelhaft absurde, nutzlose und tadelnswerte Trennung zwischen Zunge und Herz" beklagt. Begründung der Philosophie und ihrer Methode ist vielmehr aus der Umgangssprache und ihren Regeln, die von den autoritates differenziert sind, zu erheben. Abstrakte oder begriffliche Sprache ist ein sekundäres Produkt, dem die Umgangssprache längst generische Benennungen gegenüberstellen kann und dabei den Anspruch aufrechterhält, Konkretes auszusagen. In Nizolios fünf Prinzipien richtigen Philosophierens sind vier ausschließlich geschichtlich-sprachgebunden: 1. die gründliche Kenntnis des Griechischen und Lateinischen, 2. die Kenntnis von Grammatik und Rhetorik, 3. der ständige Umgang mit klassischen Autoren und der Volkssprache, 4. die Vermeidung aller sonstigen Redeweisen. Nur ein einziges Prinzip verlangt "Freiheit und Unvoreingenommenheit im Denken und Urteilen". Letztlich ist es die Rhetorik als Summe aller Sprachwissenschaften, die als Wissenschaftssprache gelten darf. Metaphysik wird zur Rhetorik-Geschichte: dem Gesamt aller gelungenen sprachlichen Auslegung von Welt.

## THE DOCTRINE OF SYMPATHY IN CAMPBELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RHETORIC

The doctrine of "sympathy" in Campbell's *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* is commonly understood to be derived from David Hume. Bitzer (1962), for example, says that "The concept of sympathy [in Campbell] is directly traceable to the *Treatise*," and Bator (1982) says, "...It was upon Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739) that Campbell relied primarily for his discussion of the principle of sympathy...." This paper argues that Campbell's conception of sympathy comes instead from Adam Smith. First, for Hume sympathy arises from a view of the signs of passion in another person, and he is not concerned with the cause of the passion or with the appropriateness of the emotion to its cause; Smith and Campbell understand sympathy to arise from a view of the other person's situation and to require a judgment that the emotional response to that situation is appropriate. Second, Hume believes the sympathetic emotion to be equal in intensity to the original; Smith and Campbell believe sympathetic sensations are fainter reflections of the original. Third, Hume makes no distinction between sympathetic joy and sympathetic grief as to their strength, whereas Smith and Campbell find sympathetic grief to be stronger and more lasting. And fourth, Hume argues that the sympathetic passion, being single and reflected, must be wholly disagreeable if the original is so, whereas Smith and Campbell find sympathy to be a multiple sensation, permitting at the theatre, for example, an unpleasant commiseration with the victim as well as an overriding pleasure from fellow-feeling with him. The paper observes other points of similarity between Campbell and Smith that mark differences from the Humean view of sympathy, considers the implications for his theory of rhetoric of the revised view of the origins of Campbell's doctrine of sympathy, and concludes by extending the analysis briefly to the appearance of sympathy in the rhetorics of Blair and Whately.

Alan Goldman

Implications of Nonverbal Theory and Research in the  
Elocutionary Period: Francois Delsarte on Delivery

Early nonverbal research, theory, and empiricism flourished in the elocutionary period, and this preoccupation with the fifth rhetorical canon was epitomized in the methods and teaching of Francois Delsarte. In this paper I investigate the implications of Delsarte's prescriptions for nonverbal performance and its implications for current nonverbal theory and research. I will argue that Delsarte largely based his nonverbal teachings on a rigorous empirical method of observation and description of the behaviors of many subjects. This will be shown as exemplified in his extensive observations of the human thumb, as he depicted a "semiotics of the thumb" based upon the "thumb behaviors" of mothers, nurses, hospital patients, corpses, and subjects of the paintings of the masters at the Louvre; this was all to the end of understanding the intricacies of the minutiae of gesture - the thumb and its correlations to speech, the hand, the body, torso, and the whole of kinesics. This early empiricism will be shown as the rule in Delsarte's approach to first observing, describing, and drawing generalizations and later offering students the principles of nonverbal performance or gesture and movement.

I will argue that the specifics of Delsarte's discoveries in nonverbal communication have not been integrated or recognized either in contemporary communication research or in modern rhetorical views on delivery and style. I propose to point out specific weaknesses or oversights in contemporary approaches to the teaching of public speaking and in the rhetorical analysis of current political speaking, live and mediated. My final proposal is the obvious one: the integration and synthesis of rhetorical history into modern pedagogy and rhetorical criticism is too often overlooked. In the case of Delsarte's breakthroughs on nonverbal communication there is much to be gained by revisiting the meticulous, and not completely outdated nonverbal studies of the foremost elocutionists. In an information age where the power of the spoken word has risen to astounding heights, the scrutiny of a rhetorician or communicologist's analysis of a politician's use of delivery and style can profit from the rigor of a Delsarte.

George D. Gopen

Something Fabulous: Pedagogical Uses of Aesop

Quintilian would have all teachers include Aesop in the early stages of intellectual training. Pedagogical variations could keep interest alive while progressively extending the students' intellectual reach: (1) Given a fable, deduce a moral; (2) Given a moral, create a fable; (3) Given a fable and moral, argue for or against the aptness of the moral; (4) Given a fable and a moral, argue for or against the justness of the moral; (5) Given a fable and a moral, argue for substituting an alternate or even contradictory moral. This elementary yet sophisticated set of exercises disburdens students of the concept that there is only one correct way to present, conceive of, or solve an intellectual problem. By examining a half dozen versions of one well known fable, I wish to explore issues of interpretation and contextualization that have been inherent in rhetorical training since ancient times and have come to prominence in the theoretical concerns of the last fifteen years.

Alex L. Gordon

"Style for argument: Guillaume Tardif's  
classification of the figures"

Guillaume Tardif (c. 1436 - c. 1494) was a prominent figure in the revival of learning that took place in Paris in the second half of the 15th century. His name ranks in this respect with that of Guillaume Fichet and Robert Gaguin. Tardif wrote on every aspect of fine writing and speaking in Latin. His works comprise textbooks on grammar (including metrics), lexical and stylistic elegance, and rhetoric. The rhetoric (c. 1474) went through four editions, the last appearing c. 1484. Tardif's work is the second full Latin rhetoric to be composed by a Frenchman in pre-Renaissance France (the first was that of Fichet 1471). It is based largely on the Rhetoric to Herennius, but it is also greatly indebted to Quintilian. Later editions of the rhetoric show significant variations, indicating in Tardif's mind a continuous and critical concern for the orator's art.

One of Tardif's original contributions to rhetorical theory seems to be his classification of the rhetorical figures. These he assigns to the various parts of the speech. Thus there are figures suitable for the exordium, others for the narration, others for the confirmation, others for the refutation, and others again for the conclusion. This arrangement implies a persuasive purpose for all figures. Tardif's system certainly has merit. He shows how figures such as correctio and dubitatio may project a modest image of the speaker and so when used in the exordium win the favor of the audience. Also figures of definition are useful for the confirmation, ironical figures for the refutation and emotional ones for the conclusion. The system, however, is not without defect. It does not include a major figure such as metonymy, although it makes room for a minor device such as tmesis. Moreover, some of the attributions seem arbitrary or forced. Why does synecdoche suit the refutation? When the narration calls for brevity, does this mean compact style (hence a figure such as zeugma), or economical thinking? Tardif himself reflected on such problems and made changes, not always for the better in my view, in later editions. His work represents a thoughtful attempt to deal with the old problem of introducing order into the proliferation of figures. Although flawed, it was taken up again by Pierre Fabri in his vernacular rhetoric of (1521), Le grant et vray art de plaine rhétorique, the first and most comprehensive rhetoric of the French sixteenth century. Tardif is thus of interest to rhetoricians from both a theoretical and a historical point of view.

Rossella Granatelli

Struttura del 'De Sublimitate' e suoi valori pedagogici

La rigida sistemazione della materia da trattare e la trattazione stessa che ricalca da vicino il procedimento di Aristotele nella "Poetica" nonché l'ideale pedagogico dell'autore che traspare chiaramente dal trattato sottolineano lo spiccato intento didascalico dell'opera.

Esamedei capitoli dal III al VII, che trattano dei vizi contrapposti allo stile sublime: tentativo di soluzione dei particolari problemi presentati da questo gruppo di capitoli.

Lawrence D. Green

### The Rhetorical Bases of Aristotelian Dialectic

Aristotelian dialectic has almost always been studied from the point of view of philosophy, rather than from the point of view of rhetoric, with predictable results: Aristotelian dialectic emerges as the incomplete and faltering first steps of what later philosophers developed into systematic logic, natural science, and linguistic analysis. When the dialectical treatises are viewed instead from the point of view of rhetoric, the disparate dialectical treatises assume a cohesiveness in themselves, and the inherited readings produced by earlier philosophical perspectives can be rectified.

The Aristotelian concerns for intention and audience lie at the core of both rhetoric and dialectic, and clarify difficulties in syllogistic theory in the Analytica Priora, in didactic presentation in the Posteriora, and the seeming chaos of agonistic encounter in the Topica. These matters, in turn, clarify puzzles in the Rhetoric about the enthymeme as the sōma tēs pisteōs. This paper makes no attempt at a "survey" of these complex treatises, but instead identifies the several rhetorical bases on which they depend, and shows how the rhetorical perspective operates in each.

S. Michael Halloran

Theory and Practice in Nineteenth-Century American Rhetoric

S. Gregory D. Clark

Rhetorik und Sensibilität. Die Erbauungsliteratur des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts und die 'neue Sensibilität' in der weltlichen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts

Mit Ausgangspunkt teils von Erich Auerbachs Konzeption von dem 'Biblischen' als etwas von dem Klassisch-Rhetorischen ganz verschieden (dass z. B. 'die Geschichte vom Christ' mit dem klassischen *decorum* im Grunde gar nicht 'kompatibel' sei) und dass es deswegen, von Urchristentum hinab, auch in den classicistischen Epochen, ein bedeutungsvolles literarisches Gebiet giebt, das dem Rhetorik widerstrebt und nicht ganz 'rhetorisierbar' sei, teils von der Begriff 'Literarischer Institution', arbeite ich jetzt mit einer Untersuchung, dass von der Erbauungsliteratur des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts in Schweden (diese Literatur ist aber hauptsächlich von den Deutschen übertragen) ausgeht und in der weltlichen Literatur der 'neuen Sensibilität' enden soll.

Es gibt, meine ich, in der vorreformatorischen Erbauungsliteratur eine 'alte Sensibilität' die die 'neuen', weltlichen, auf viele Weise ähnlich sieht und als ein von den sprachlichen Wurzeln des 'neuen' angesehen werden kann. Diese Ausdrucksweise der Erbauungsliteratur war im gewissen Grade 'rhetorisiert' aber doch von der 'institutionell' approbierte literarische Ausdrucksweise so verschieden, dass sie nicht als 'literarisch' betrachtet werden konnte und, von Aussichtspunkt 'literarischer Institution', ihr Leben 'unterirdisch' weiterführte. Im frühen 17. Jahrhundert aber gewinnt diese Ausdrucksweise ziemlich plötzlich literarischen Ansehen.

Meine Fragen gelten zuerst diese erbauungsliterarische Ausdrucksweise, wie sie aussieht und in welcher Verhältnis sie zu dem Rhetorik steht, danach auch z. B. wie die Rezeptionsformen (lesen, nicht zuhören, privat, nicht offiziell) die Ausdrucksformen geprägt haben und wie die neuen Rezeptionsformen der Literatur die sich dieser Zeit durchsetzen (die ja das 'privatum' der Erbauungsstunde ziemlich ähnlich sehen) die Überströmung den alten, religiösen Sensibilität in den neuen, weltlichen bewirkt haben können.

Von den obenerwähnten möchte ich ein 'paper' fertigstellen, und als Ausgangspunkt einige Texten - z. B. eine Erbauungsliterarische und eine weltlich-literarische - nehmen, die diese Problematik mitten auf dem Tisch setzen können.

Jurg Häusermann:

Vermittlung praktischer Rhetorik an der Universität:  
Auf was für einen Rhetorikunterricht sollen Studierende  
vorbereitet werden?

In der Erwachsenenbildung und in der beruflichen Weiterbildung  
werden Elemente der Rhetorik von Ausbildern mit ganz unter-  
schiedlichem beruflichem Hintergrund vermittelt: Rhetorik-  
"Trainer" sind z.B. Psychologen, Juristen, ehemalige Verkäufer,  
Schauspieler.

Ausbilderinnen und Ausbilder, die ein Studium mit linguistischer  
Richtung absolviert haben, sind auf diesem Markt in der Lage,  
Kurse anzubieten, die andere Schwerpunkte setzen, weil sie vor  
allem für die Beschäftigung mit sprachlichen und sprecherischen  
Fertigkeiten die besseren Voraussetzungen mitbringen.

Entsprechend ausgerichtete Kurse an der Universität können den  
Studierenden zusätzliche Berufsmöglichkeiten aufzeigen. Diese  
Kurse müssen einerseits Forschungsergebnisse aus den linguisti-  
schen Fächern für ihre Anwendung in der Rhetorik nutzen,  
andererseits müssen sie praxisnah die Ausbildungsbedürfnisse  
aufzeigen, wie sie sich zum Beispiel in den Massenmedien oder in  
verschiedenen Bereichen der Wirtschaft ergeben.

Raimund Hethey

Mit Leib und Seele: welche Rolle spielt die öffentliche Rede in der  
ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland ?

Die erste Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts hat genügend Lehrbücher und An-  
weisungen für den öffentlichen Redner aufzuweisen: Von 1900 bis 1950  
erscheinen ca. 500 Bücher zur Rhetorik (Theorie) und Beredsamkeit (Praxis).  
Im I. Weltkrieg wird das erste staatlich organisierte Rednerwesen ent-  
wickelt. 600 Redner und RednerInnen werden dazu ausgebildet, die Bevöl-  
kerung davon zu überzeugen, daß das Ernährungsverhalten im Krieg ver-  
ändert werden muß. Friedrich Naumann, Politiker und Verfasser von Rede-  
lehren, entwirft das Muster der "Kriegsnahrungsrede". Auch nach dem  
Krieg werden zahlreiche Konzepte für den Redner, der in der Öffentlich-  
keit auftritt, erarbeitet. Brecht und Riemann beobachten eine Zunahme  
der pathetischen Rhetorik für die Nachkriegszeit, in der sehr viel  
öffentlich geredet wird. Ab 1928 werden Lautsprecheranlagen bei  
Massenkundgebungen eingesetzt und der Rundfunk spielt das erste Mal eine  
Rolle bei der Verbreitung der Rede. Unter der faschistischen Herrschaft  
wird das Radio zum "Maul des Redners" (Adorno/Horkheimer). Horkheimer  
nennt den neuen Redetypus "die Führerrede", der sich deutlich von  
dem der Antike abhebt.

Deswegen ist die Frage zu stellen, ob sich die "totgesagte" Rhetorik und Beredsamkeit in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts weiter entwickelt.

Die These lautet, daß sich die Redelehren noch am klassischen Muster orientieren, die Beredsamkeit aber den konkreten Alltagsbedingungen angepasst wird.

Grundlage für den Vortrag ist eine umfangreiche Bibliographie zur Rhetorik der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts.

Winifred Bryan Horner

#### Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric: The Missing Link

Nineteenth-century Scottish rhetoric stands as the missing link in our studies of the history of rhetoric. Many scholars have studied the rhetoric of the Scottish Enlightenment with emphasis on its effect on literature and composition studies in the universities of North America. But much of the nineteenth century still stands as a hiatus in rhetoric's history.

I suggest several reasons for this neglect. First the Scottish universities were going through great "reforms" to make them conform to the English model. They were greatly criticized and many of the records were not considered important enough to preserve. Consequently unlike the eighteenth century, there are no published records of the rhetoric professors' lectures from this period. Although there are student notes of these lectures, they are largely inaccessible since they are available only in the Scottish university manuscript collections. Finally, the search through these notes to find the thread of rhetoric is complicated by the shifting terminology in course titles. Rhetoric appears and reappears in courses with the words logic, moral philosophy, metaphysics, belles-lettres, and English literature in their titles.

In this paper, I shall suggest through a study of these student notes, that it is at the Scottish universities in the nineteenth century that the study of English literature and critical theory evolved, a development which results in the departments of English of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In addition, psychology and logic as academic subjects develop out of these same rhetoric courses in these same nineteenth-century Scottish universities. So work in the area not only supports the study of rhetorical history, but also enlightens research on twentieth-century composition, literature, critical theory, philosophy, and psychology.

Claude Imbert

## Pour une analyse rhétorique des Lumières

I - Les très nombreuses études dédiées à la diffusion des idées et des argumentations jansénistes ont considéré principalement trois domaines: la rhétorique de Pascal dans les Provinciales et dans les Pensées, la littérature morale qui doit beaucoup au Salon de Madame de Sablé, et le développement, plus tardif, de l'analyse des idées qui emprunta à la grammaire de Port-Royal. On voudrait attirer l'attention sur un autre aspect de l'enseignement des jansénistes, l'analyse probabilitaire développée par Arnauld dans la 4ème partie de l'Art de penser, fondement de la critique du probabilisme jésuite. S'y dessine le parti pris d'évacuer l'autorité des doctes en soumettant tout jugement à l'analyse probabilitaire de ses fondements et vraisemblances. Théorie probabilitaire sur laquelle prend appui la critique de l'imagination et le pari en faveur de la pratique des Sacrements. L'argumentation s'était déplacée de la considération des autorités et des évidences à l'analyse des modalités du jugement, à une manière de peser comparativement les certitudes et les avantages attendus.

II - Ces points rappelés, on voudrait illustrer la mise en oeuvre rhétorique de cette nouvelle logique dans quelques textes directeurs de la philosophie des Lumières: le Discours Préliminaire de d'Alembert, quelques uns des Eclaircissements de ses Eléments de Philosophie dédiés au roi de Prusse, (d'Alembert fut élève d'un collègue janséniste), quelques articles de l'Encyclopédie (Art, Encyclopédie, Méthode).

III - Occasion serait prise pour tenter de définir une rhétorique moderne, libérée du modèle grec, où l'accent serait mis non sur l'art de faire valoir l'objet de la conviction, mais sur l'habileté à travailler sur la racine et la modalité de la conviction. Une répartition des modalités d'assentiment selon les domaines de la foi, de la loi politique et de la libre pensée ne semble pas étrangère à une description de la rhétorique des Lumières.

Rationalism and the Irrational in Histories of the First Sophists

A number of classical histories treat the first sophists as major contributors to the rationalism of the fifth-century Greek enlightenment (esp. Vernant and Dodds). A countertradition, begun of course with Plato, describes them as practitioners of an irrational discourse. The former tend to concentrate on the political, social, or anthropological implications of sophistic thought, with minimal attention to the sophists' use of language. Conversely, those focusing on the technical achievements of sophists as "rhetoricians" in a limited sense often do so in an apolitical context (De Romilly). The value of approaching the sophists through the field of rhetoric is the possibility for integrating social and political history with formal analysis (e.g. John O. Ward).

In The Origins of Greek Thought, Jean-Pierre Vernant sees rationalism taking shape during the Archaic period within the public space of the demos as opposed to the closed palace of the wanax. As rationalism emerges from the substitution of relations of equality for relations of hierarchy, rhetoric defines a political space wherein participants speak as equals. Vernant, however, derives this isonomia, a "perfect reciprocity" of speakers, from geometry. The extension of this concept into the realm of discourse practice is untested.

For E. R. Dodds (The Greeks and the Irrational), the sophists play a major role in liberating the newly conceived "individual" from the irrational structures of family and myth. He lauds Protagoras' argument for a publicly constructed, community-specific arete as the grounds of social control. Later in the fifth century, irrationalism reenters as both a critique of socially disruptive critical rationalism and a psychological response to individuation. While Dodds finds a self-conscious irrationality in Euripidean tragedy, he overlooks Gorgias' speculations on the psychological power of persuasive discourse (Segal) and the hypnotic (De Romilly) and "non-rational" (Enos) effects of his antithetical style.

Though De Romilly examines carefully Gorgias' equation of rhetoric with magic, she offers no explanation for the appearance of an irrational rhetoric in the fifth century or in later periods. Reading the political/rationalist histories against an irrationalist/technical analysis such as De Romilly's raises a question about the possible social or political implications of an "irrational" style. I speculate that Gorgian rhetoric could have been, like Dionysian ritual, a response to the pressures of political and cognitive changes. With his incantatory oral style, Gorgias may have used words as magic/medicine to offer to the body politic a temporary relief from the stress of new democratic responsibility. At the same time, on the "content" level, the Encomium to Helen investigates motives for an act with profound social and political consequences. It reflects logos not only as the vehicle of love but, applied to the contemporary setting, as a new source of power in the democracy. This reading of Gorgias emphasizes the merging of private and public, of political response with technical innovation.

Jean Jehasse

## Guez de Balzac et l'art de la critique littéraire

Guez de Balzac dès l'Apologie pour Monsieur de Balzac (1627) confisque au profit des Modernes la double démarche rationnelle de la Critique Humaniste procédant par déduction "de la Thèse à l'Hypothèse" ou par une prudente induction. Mais c'est dans sa propre "conscience" qu'il découvre la vérité et l'objectivité. Son tempérament "melancholique" et "la Vertu Heroique" lui permettent d'élire le "biais" d'un point de vue neuf et de composer véritablement un "Ouvrage", où l'art de la critique littéraire se déploie dans la recherche progressive de "l'intelligence de l'artizan". Le mouvement rhétorique du pour au contre se trouve ainsi dépassé dans une progression de paliers successifs qui donnent "jour" à des oeuvres considérées comme consubstantielles à leur auteur. Cette critique littéraire, fruit savant marqué au coin de l'humeur et des circonstances, se trouve à chaque fois explicitée approfondie dans tout l'oeuvre ultérieur de Balzac dont elle constitue la dominante.

Hans-Erik Johannesson

## *Neulateinische Dichtung und die rhetorische Tradition*

Ich werde, mit Ausgangspunkt in einem Epithalamium (wahrscheinlich Henricus Mollerus 1559), das Verhältnis zwischen Rhetorik und Poesie/Poetik in der neulateinischen Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts diskutieren. Dabei möchte ich auf Probleme von Genre focusieren, die Hochzeitdichtung und ihre Formen in einer historischen Perspektive behandeln, darunter ihre doppelte Tradition als poetisches und rhetorisches Genre. Wie verhält sich diese Dichtung zu den verschiedenen Traditionen, wie verhält sie sich zu den verschiedenen Vorstellungen von Stillehre und Decorum? Ich will diese Fragen stellen, offenbar nicht alle ausführlich beantworten, trotzdem einige Antwortevorschlägen.

Gregor Kalivoda/Franz-Hubert Robling

DAS HISTORISCHE WÖRTERBUCH DER RHETORIK.

Rhetorikforschung als Wörterbuchunternehmen

The RHETORIK-LEXIKON, a project of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, was established in 1985 at the Rhetoric Dept. (Seminar für Allgemeine Rhetorik) of the University of Tübingen. After a two-year preliminary phase, in which the publishing of the dictionary was being prepared as regards lexicographical, editorial, and organizational matters, the project entered in 1987 its main phase. Therewith also began the allocation of articles for the first volume of the lexicon (letters A-D).

The lecture concerns itself with the prerequisites of the lexicographical venture, with the principles of procedure, with the collection, treatment, and keeping of lemmata, as well as with the planning of form and content of the volumes. There follows moreover a representation of the planning and structuring of articles and a characterization of the theoretical and practical activity of editing: to which belong, for example, data processing, the examination of lemmata, the evaluation of experience, the collaboration with authors, and the mode of article allocation and redaction. Altogether an insight is intended into the lexicographical problems, solution strategies, and editorial practice.

Robert L. King

"READER, RHETORIC AND THE AUTHORITY OF PARADISE LOST"

Andrew Marvell may well have been the ideal reader of Paradise Lost, for he was a friend of John Milton's, a product of the same university, a fellow Puritan, a poet and, like him, a controversialist in the rough pamphlet wars of the seventeenth century. Yet, in his dedicatory poem to the second edition of Milton's great epic, Marvell claims that he approached the work in a spirit of uncertainty: "the Argument/ Held me a while misdoubting his Intent,/ That he would ruin . . ./ The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song." Even after discounting for the conventions of such poems of praise, we can argue from Marvell's ambivalence to an appreciation of the strategies that Paradise Lost employs so that those strategies might "mediate" between a "communality of meaning" and "the impenetrability of the otherness of the other" (Gadamer). Paradise Lost earns its authority through the interplay of two postulates that exist in a creative tension outside the text; they are the need to persuade by the Book and the drive to be creative as a poet. The first draws its strength from Milton's traditional Christianity and Rhetoric; the second, from his individual artistry and his other departures from the traditional. The ideal reader of Milton will, like Marvell, be aware of these counterforces governing the poem; the mediation that Gadamer does not define will be seen in the interplay of these forces and will, consequently, provide a point of reference for personal doubts about the poem's artistic and rhetorical strategy. As a result, the assumptions that Gadamer identifies in the following passage will be transformed into more general ones that can be verified with a measure of objectivity: "The interpreter of a text asks what is really in the text. This too can lead to a biased and prejudicial response to the extent that everyone who asks a question tries to find a direct confirmation of his own assumptions in the answer." To Marvell, his assumptions about rhetoric were those of the educated people of his time. To them, Milton's Satan uses one kind of rhetoric; God, another; and Adam and Eve, several other kinds. The reader frequently evaluates a double situation: the speaker in the poem and his or her immediate audience for one, and Milton creating the strategies of that speaker for an audience of seventeenth-century readers trained in rhetoric and constantly exposed to it in practice. When Milton speaks more or less in his own voice at the poem's opening, he identifies his problem of writing about "Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhyme" as part of a frankly persuasive purpose: to "justify the ways of God to men." Seeing Milton's uses of rhetoric (he makes Satan's transparent) confirms the reader's judgment and, in the process, the poem's; the overall assumptions about the creative uses of persuasive patterns give Paradise Lost its literary and moral authority. Recognizing how Milton's art creates this authority takes one closer to the original audience for the poem and leads to similar awareness about the source of authority in much of Pope's poetry (the Moral Essays, Eloisa to Abelard) and in most of Swift's prose from the Swift-like persona of the Drapier's Letters to the fictional Gulliver.

Summary: I should like to present a paper which traces how immobility or a high degree of physical restraint has consistently been associated with dignity and magnanimity in the Judeo-Christian and Graeco-Roman traditions. I shall also make some remarks suggesting that the association is made in other cultures, e.g. Balinese, Yoruba, Chinese. My paper is divided into three parts. First, I document my contention that immobility and restraint have been consistently associated with dignity. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, for example, Aristotle explains how the magnanimous man walks slowly and does not flay his arms about when retreating from battle. My sources are rhetorical treatises, particularly discussions of gesture and *pronuntiatio*, treatises on manners and ethics, many of which take their discussion on this point from rhetorical works, handbooks for rulers, e.g. the *Secretum secretorum*, and other miscellaneous sources. The second part of my paper mentions conclusions that have been drawn from this association, for example, arguments about individual, national or racial superiority. Some conclusions based on the association have been extreme, e.g. ideas about colonists' superiority over their subject peoples. Given this and other extreme conclusions, I have suggested that few people nowadays claim that the association is a natural and inevitable one. The third part of my paper, therefore, addresses the question of why this association was and still is made. I mention the very few explanations that have been given in the past in rhetorical and ethical treatises. None of these earlier explanations would satisfy a modern inquirer, e.g. Aquinas' explanation that immobility showed an indifference to material values and things and indicated a spiritual disposition. As alternatives, I offer tentatively three explanations which allow one to avoid the conclusion that the association is a natural and correct one. One explanation runs as follows. Those in power wish consciously or unconsciously to distinguish themselves from those over whom they exercise authority. The toiling poor are characterized by movement, kinesis. Working in a field, working in a factory, working manually in any profession is movement. Consequently those in authority have distinguished themselves by non-movement, that is, immobility and restraint. Immobility, in other words, has been adopted as a class-code symbolizing magnanimity and dignity and has been codified as such by the authors of rhetorical, ethical and other treatises that I discuss, all of whom belonged to, or were writing on behalf of, a ruling class. I do not pretend that this or any of the other reasons that I venture are adequate. I only suggest that, given its importance, the association requires investigation.

The context of my inquiry as a whole requires explanation. I am at present writing a book on gesture in late medieval and Renaissance Europe, i.e. from about 1200 to 1650. (In the last meeting of the ISER at Tours I gave a paper on gesture and universal language schemes c. 1200 to c. 1650.) One of the main problems that I am addressing is what standards of behaviour, comportment and gesture changed during this period and which ones did not. My paper outlines an example of the latter.

Kenneth Krabbenhoft

Aristotle's dialectic and the modern rhetoric of wit

Baltasar Gracián's study of wit and the art of mind, the Agudeza y arte de ingenio (1642-48), has been the subject of many excellent studies which examine the Spanish Jesuit's ideas against the background of Golden Age conceptismo and seventeenth-century literary mannerism in general.

One important stage in Gracián's thinking, however, has been consistently overlooked. I am thinking of his division of wit, in Discurso III, into three categories (conceptual wit, verbal wit and action), which in turn rests on the Aristotelian distinction between essence and accident. While Gracián eventually rejects this scheme in favor of a much more complicated one, the fact that it plays an important role in the formulation of his argument is an indication, I believe, of his debt to humanist dialectic. I say this because Gracián's tripartite scheme very closely resembles that proposed by Lorenzo Valla in his Dialecticae disputationes (1448). Valla reduces Aristotle's ten dialectical categories to three: essence, action (*poiein*, *facere*) and quality (*poion*, *qualitas*), arguing that essence stands apart as a special category, and that Aristotle's nine types of accident can be reduced to two.

In my view, Gracián's comments are of importance to rhetorical and literary history because they demonstrate the continued vitality of the "Ciceronian-rhetoricizing tendency" of humanist dialectic (to quote Neal Gilbert) in a period dominated, at least in Spain, by "Attic" ideals of brevity.<sup>1</sup>

In my analysis, I trace the presence of Vallan dialectic in key Jesuit texts--including Cipriano Soares' De arte rhetorica (1562), Pedro da Fonseca's Institutiones rhetoricae (1564) and Francisco Suárez' Disputationes metaphysicae (1597), making reference to Golden Age/seventeenth-century theories of natural logic, literary ambiguity and universal language schemes,

Among the studies relevant to the topic are essays and books by Don Abbott, Salvatore Camporeale, Julio Caro Baroja, Marc Fumaroli, Anibal Pinto de Castro, Cesare Vasoli and W.J. Woods.

1. Neal Gilbert, Renaissance concepts of method (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 76.

Jiří Kraus

Rhetorik in der Beschreibung und Beeinflussung der öffentlichen  
Kommunikation

Rhetoric and the Culture of Language

From the 16th century a scholarly desire to improve the communicative and aesthetic properties of European national languages found expression /a/ in the activities of such bodies as *Academia della Crusca* /1582/, *Académie Française* /1635/ etc., /b/ in the genre of Defences of mother tongue /France: du Bellay, 1549; Bohemia: Balbín, 1672; Austria: Wagner, 1691/ and last but not least /c/ in the new conception of the manuals of rhetoric /Germany: Weise, 1703, Gottsched, 1759; Russia: Lomonosov, 1748; Bohemia: Jungmann, 1836/ etc. These manuals taught by means of *regulae* and *imitatio* the students to take an active part /both productive and receptive/ in public communication, esp. within the sphere of the triad: school /*genus scholasticum*/ - church /*genus homileticum*/ - court /*genus politicum*/.

The regulative influencing of language and style norms was connected with the idea of such physical work as grinding /Horatius: *limes labor*; Konstanc: *limes linguae bohemicae*, 1667/, polishing /Cic.: *erat oratio accurata et polita*; Boil. Art. 1, 173/, curry-combing /Frischlin: *Grammatica strigilis*, 1594/.

Josef Jungmann's *Slovesnost* /1836/ in particular quite graphically reflects new conception of rhetoric as a science comprehending the processes governing the logical cognition of reality and language communication. This conception corresponded to the traditions of modern views of the enlightenment on the importance of the union of theoretical thinking and practical action. This union was the point of departure for the broad educational program of the Czech National Renaissance.

RHETORIC AND SCIENCE : THE CASE OF LINNAEUS

This paper will discern different aspects of the rhetoric of science by help of the writings of Carl von Linné (Linnaeus), the famous Swedish naturalist of the 18th century

In Sweden of the 1740s and 50s, science flourished and was held in great esteem. The discipline of rhetoric, on the other hand, was in decline, being associated with the old-fashioned humanist learning that was little appreciated in an era of economic utilitarianism.

Linnaeus wrote for various audiences in various genres and languages; orations (in Latin and Swedish), dissertations (in Latin), articles in the transactions of the Swedish Academy of Science (in Swedish), books for the national audience (in Swedish), and books for the international audience of fellow scientists (in Latin). The orations and dissertations are rhetorical genres in themselves and consequently contain strong rhetorical elements. The articles and books in Swedish have traits of rhetoric in them too, especially his famous reports on his scientific journeys in various provinces of Sweden.

As could be expected, the books written for the international scholarly audience are the least rhetorical (apart from prefaces and dedications). Linnaeus is even deliberately anti-rhetorical and tries to develop a language for scientific purpose. On the other hand, these scientific texts represent a rhetoric of its own. They do so in two respects. The aphoristic prose Linnaeus writes - perhaps inspired by Bacon - has characteristics that can be described in the terms of traditional rhetoric. Furthermore, the scientific form of the texts includes extra-intellectual means of persuasion, which contribute to the convincing force of the argument. The division of the texts into paragraphs, the fixed terminology, the authors quoted - this and more is likely to make the scholarly reader feel at home in the text and not provoked to criticism.

Thus, there seems to exist a kind of rhetoric for internal use within a scientific discipline. It uses measures of persuasion that are different from those of traditional rhetoric. On the other hand, scientists are eloquent in a more traditional way too, when they address non-professionals in writings on popular science or apply for money for their research.

Luisa López Grigera

Hermogenes in Spain: Antonio Lull and Pedro Juan Núñez

Early in the sixteenth Century the influence of Hermogenean Rhetoric was very strong in Spain: it came indirectly through Trapezuntius (Rhetoricorum libri V was printed at the University of Alcalá in 1511 as a manual book for the students). In the second part of the century, this influence was direct, especially in the works of Antonius Lullius (De Oratione Libri Septem. Quibus non modo Hermogenes ipse totus, verum etiam quicquid fere a reliquis Graecis ac latinis de arte dicendi traditum est, suis locis aptissime explicatur. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum [1558]) and Petrus J. Nunnensius (Institutiones Rhetoricae ex Progymnasmatis. Barcinone, 1578, 1585 and 1593), whom I will discuss in my paper.

Hélène Lotthé-Covo

AGOSTINO MASCARDI: L'ÉLOGE FUNÈBRE DE JÉRÔME ALÉANDRE  
DANS LES DISSERTATIONS ROMAINES.

Agostino Mascardi composa dans ses Dissertations Romaines un éloge funèbre "improvisé" de son ami Jérôme Aléandre. Il n'en existe ni traduction ni commentaire.

Ce texte en vers évoque l'oeuvre et les talents d'Aléandre le Jeune à travers une série d'allégories et d'énigmes que nous tenterons d'éclairer en montrant les relations que cette rhétorique entretient avec les arts de la sculpture et de l'architecture.

Au-delà de cette éloquence nourrie d'art antique, l'on peut sans doute percevoir l'émergence d'une sensibilité moderne.

Andrea A. Lunsford

The Legacy of Classicism: Collaborative Practices in  
the Nineteenth Century

The classical concept of rhetoric is grounded in dialogue and consensus, as embodied in the Aristotelian pisteis, the Platonic dialectic, and the Isocratean curriculum. That tradition, which continued to exert influence well into the Renaissance, is countered finally by the growth of individualism, capitalism, and copyright, epitomized in the Romantic ideology and practice. In nineteenth America, however, Romantic theoretical tenets did not always inform discussive practices. In fact, we can see the classical dialogic influence still at work in community reading groups, in literary societies, and to some extent, in the schools. In each of these areas, collaborative practices served as primary means of interanimating text, speaker, audience, and context. It is important for us to recognize this classical tradition and to relate it to contemporary practice, particularly in light of the move to a-theoretical and a-historical calls for a "new" collaborative learning.

Peter Mack

Rudolph Agricola's 'De inventione dialectica' (1479)  
as a renewal of the traditions of rhetoric and dia-  
lectic

This paper argues that 'De inventione dialectica' both makes helpful contributions to some problematic areas of the syllabuses of rhetoric and dialectic (specifically, the topics, the use of argument, disposition, emotional persuasion, and style) and combines elements from the two subjects in an original and fruitful way.

Andrew A. Lunsford

The Legacy of Classical Rhetoric in the Renaissance

The classical concept of rhetoric is defined in the *De Inventione* as the art of persuasion. It is a discipline that is both practical and theoretical. The *De Inventione* is a treatise on the art of persuasion, and it is one of the most important works of the Renaissance. It is a work that has influenced the development of rhetoric and dialectic in the West. The *De Inventione* is a work that is both practical and theoretical. It is a work that has influenced the development of rhetoric and dialectic in the West. The *De Inventione* is a work that is both practical and theoretical. It is a work that has influenced the development of rhetoric and dialectic in the West.

The *De Inventione* is a work that is both practical and theoretical. It is a work that has influenced the development of rhetoric and dialectic in the West. The *De Inventione* is a work that is both practical and theoretical. It is a work that has influenced the development of rhetoric and dialectic in the West. The *De Inventione* is a work that is both practical and theoretical. It is a work that has influenced the development of rhetoric and dialectic in the West.

John Stephen Martin

## THE RHETORIC OF IDEOLOGIES: CONSIDERATIONS FOR A THEORY

This paper is a study of ideology as a system of rhetoric and an endeavour to define the theory and practices of this rhetoric.

It notes some recent studies of ideology regarding its ambiguous development since the time of Destutt de Tracy (1798) as ideology reshaped the notions of "experience" and "consciousness." In this regard, it studies the predicament of being within a determinant system (of a substructure) and endeavoring to change the system by getting outside (without merely being deluded by the superstructure).

It has some considerations to offer:

1. The implicit posture of the speaker is not that of an "unruly child" nor that of a one who would correct, but that of a "victim." Such a posture creates "arguments" of notions of justice or correctness which seek not change but a correction of one's own self-image, one's opinions of self and the world. It alters the earlier belief that rhetoric would lead one to separate "truth" from "opinion"; now each individual has "opinions" and rhetoric validates the existential fact that "opinion" defines the individual.
2. To be without an "opinion" is to lack existence; but to have one's opinion challenged, is to face the implicit threat of existence. Thus, an ideological presumption about one's place compels one to create arguments which by their utterance act as confirmations of one's concept of selfhood. One might conclude that ideology replaced earlier ideas of fixed truths not because the democratization of society undermined such truths but because democracy compels one to find "arguments" to substantiate individualism.
3. The hermeneutical aspect of interpreting phenomena is a predisposition of limiting "experience" to what expresses "opinions." In other words, this aspect also expresses the individual's perspective of the substructural hegemony, or at least what the individual will allow. In any case, it allows phenomenal "experience" to become a validation of an articulated ideology. In this, it seems the superstructure of consciousness will usually reflect elements of the substructure without necessarily articulating precisely that substructure.
4. In ideological rhetoric, an "argument" is a process by which an experience that is interpreted becomes the fact that in turn validates the interpretation. The process is actually simultaneously one of focussing and reception.
5. This view of ideology stresses the concept of "consciousness." Consequently, the major portion of the paper will concentrate on defining this concept as well as the ancillary one of "experience," and on indicating the rules of "consciousness" as it makes linkages with "experience."

Giuseppe Mazzara

Quelques remarques sur Gorgias et les Gorgiens dans le Sophiste de Platon

A la fin du Sophiste (267de), Platon distingue une imitation basée sur l'opinion et une autre basée sur la connaissance scientifique, qu'il appelle "historique" (*ἱστορικῆς*).

Le but de la présente Communication est celui de montrer l'origine gorgienne de cette dernière démonstration de l'imitation, en la mettant en rapport avec l'appréciation que Platon fait de l'opinion vraie et de la connaissance sensible dans le Ménon (97a-98a), aussi bien que de la connaissance intellectuelle, en accord Palamède (34-36). Dans ce dernier cas, l'exemple de Platon des statues liées comme paradigme de la connaissance scientifique pourrait en être un témoignage éloquent. En effet, il me semble que Platon y reprend la demande ontologico-gnoséologique gorgienne exprimée par Palamède, qui, se donnant aux juges comme otage à fin qu'ils cherchent la vérité démonstrative des faits, semble distinguer deux routes de la vérité, celle de l'argumentation, du "loghismos" rhétorique et celle de la démonstration, du "loghismos" dialectique.

En outre, je cherche de montrer aussi la relation entre la notion platonicienne de la science historique et la polémique d'Alcidamas contre Isocrate à l'égard des concepts d'"histoire" et d'"éducation" (Peri t. Sophiston,<sup>1</sup>).

Enfin, je viens à la conclusion que tout cela pourrait constituer une prémisse plausible à fin de considérer la dernière définition du sophiste comme un "imitateur ironique" le réflexe de la polémique continue entre Platon et Isocrate; dans ce cas, spécifiquement, entre l'ironie maieutique socratico-platonicienne et celle simulatrice et donc mentrice d'Isocrate.

John McClelland

THE PLAY OF RHETORIC AND SEMIOTIC

The setting of a poetical text to music reveals the precariousness of human systems of signs and meanings. Customarily, the composer appropriates and modifies the text for his own musical purposes, depriving the poet of his property rights. Conversely, however, new words applied to an already existing setting—or even to a piece of non-vocal music—can appear to alter the nature of that music or reveal other potentialities in it.

The first principle in the interpretation of serious literature is that it possesses an intentional general meaning whose articulation is the "story's" *raison d'être*. I label this meaning rhetorical because the text's purpose is presumably to persuade the reader of its validity. Texts also have, however, a semiotic level of meaning that consists of the formal configurations corresponding to patterns of mental structuring. Whatever the psychological roots of these patterns, their legible form must be conventionally significant; which is to say that the patterns must be comprehensibly organized according to the criteria of normal communication.

Music is a formalized system par excellence, hence its semiotic level is more visible—if not more comprehensible—than is the case for a literary text. On the other hand, the passage from semiotic to rhetoric in music is not easily grasped by non-musicians, and it is certainly the fact that the constraints of musical composition would prevent the mapping of a musical rhetorical structure directly onto the equivalent parts of the text, unless the setting was to lose all musical coherence. It is hence at the semiotic level that the appropriateness of music to words must be judged. Settings of Verlaine's "Clair de lune" by Fauré and Debussy will illustrate the argument.

Melanchthon lecteur d'Agricola: rhétorique et analyse textuelle

Le praeceptor Germaniae a été le premier à affirmer que la rhétorique sert avant tout à analyser de façon méthodique les textes classiques, profanes aussi bien que sacrés (non tam ad recte dicendum, quam ad prouidenter intelligenda aliena scripta: CR XIII, 418).

Je me propose de présenter un aperçu de sa méthode et de montrer la dette de Melanchthon à l'égard de son prédécesseur et modèle avoué, Rodolphe Agricola.

João Pedro Mendes

Rhetorical Education, from Ancient to Modern Times

About three decades ago there began in the United States, France and Germany a movement to re-examine rhetoric more or less in the light of structuralist ideas, the new criticism and literary theory and semiotics. The point of departure was classical rhetoric which arose as an educative plan for the individual's participation in socio-political activity.

Plato and the Sophists intensely disputed the value of rhetoric. Aristotle established the basis of syllogistic logic, pertaining to theoretical knowledge and of a logic of appearances, pertaining to the problems of daily life.

In Rome Cicero placed rhetoric at the service of the formation of the "perfectus orator" and, later, Quintilian in his *Institutiones Oratoriae* set down the bases of the future "trivium" and "quadrivium", which would make up the liberal arts curriculum.

In this essay special attention is given to the theory of education expressed in Plato's *Laws* and the *Republic*. It concludes with reference to the education of men using the apologetic and protreptic methods with which the ancient Sophists and Rhetors instilled their ideas in their listeners with the purpose of impelling them to action.

G. Serovosk's Rhetorical Figures

Bulgarian literary theory from its very beginnings directs on the overall aesthetic-rhetorical heritage of the Antiquity and the early patristic cultural traditions. Therefore, Bulgarian literature has not originated as a fragment or an echo of certain Byzantine cultural tradition, but it rather has emerged out of the abundant ideas of Late Antiquity and Christianity, in their integrity. Thus, Georgi Serovosk's treatise is the very first translation from Greek, it having been aimed at the upsurge of Bulgarian culture. That work represents a synthesis of the classical rhetorical-poetical origins, reminiscent of the copiousness of the formal-stylistic details, so typical of that period. At the same time, it is a reflection of the rising Christian humanism, of the fresh image symbolism and the hermeneutic approaches.

Bulgarian rhetorical tradition not only avoids dogmatism in approaching the heritage, but succeeds in generating its own cultural-rhetorical synthesis, based on the native socio-political, moral and artistic values. A much more dynamic change of patterns... and canons is typical of the Bulgarian rhetorical creative work and the Bulgarian medieval art, in general.

Best of all that is exemplified in the polemic pieces of the Bulgarian scholars, defending the rights of the Bulgarian people to create artistic works in its native language, fighting against paganism and heresy; an embodiment of the same are also a number of sermons and eulogies.

Carolyn R. Miller

THE POLIS AS RHETORICAL COMMUNITY

"Community" has become an important, yet problematic, term in contemporary rhetorical theory and in postmodern discourse theory generally. Linguistics has its speech community, literary theory has its interpretive community, composition has its discourse community, argument theory its "argument field," and rhetoric its "audience" or "public." The concept is important in providing both a theoretical way to account for diversity and a way of grounding the processes of interpretation and meaning without requiring a foundationalist notion of truth or reality.

Some of the objections that have been raised about "community" are its conceptual fuzziness (what are the essential features? how are boundaries recognized?), its ethnocentrism, its general conventionalism, even conservatism.

This paper will offer the classical polis as an informative cognate of "community" for contemporary rhetoric. The polis is a background concept in the practice of the Greek Sophists and in Aristotle's treatise, and it is foregrounded in the later sophistic tradition of Isocrates and Cicero. The paper will review the role of the polis as "community" in classical rhetoric, explore how such community involves discourse, and suggest how the classical formulation can contribute to the contemporary notion and whether it can help resolve the problems noted above. The polis as a forum of action and value opens up our conceptualization of discourse to the political nature of language and helps us see beyond formal conventions as ways to define rhetorical communities, to conduct rhetorical criticism, and conceive of rhetorical pedagogy. The paper thus aims to help show the role of ancient rhetoric in modern times.

Jean Dietz Moss

#### Ludovico Carbone on the Nature of Rhetoric

In a number of studies relating to the history of Renaissance rhetoric I have been exploring the work of Ludovico Carbone, student of the Jesuits at the Collegio Romano and purveyor (in a series of textbooks) of much of their humanist-scholastic learning relating to logic and rhetorical argument. In the coming year I will be preparing a book-length monograph on his treatise on invention. As a companion to this work I plan to study the first book of his De arte dicendi, wherein he treats the nature of rhetoric and eloquence (Liber primus: In quo de rhetoricae et eloquentiae natura disputatur). The book is divided into five disputations, as follows:

1. De nominibus rhetoricae et rhetoris (fol. 1r)
2. De definitionibus rhetoricae (fol. 9r)
3. An rhetorica sit virtus (fol. 16v)
4. An rhetorica sit sapientia, vel scientia, vel prudentia (fo. 25r)
5. An rhetorica sit ars (fol. 32r)

In addition to being a systematic exposition, the peculiar value of Carbone's treatment lies in its citation and use of both classical and humanist authors, including Aristotle, Cicero, Lucianus, Quintilian, Plato, Marius Victorinus, Virgil, Donatus, Theodorus, Albutius Silo, Robertellus, Galen, Fabius, Pannus, Augustine, Aquinas, Franciscus Piccolomineus, Philoponus, and Diogenes Laertius (cited roughly in the order of their first appearance in his text). The author of a number of textbooks on logic, Carbone is particularly skillful at locating rhetoric with respect to dialectics and other logical treatises, and at combining elements of the Aristotelian corpus with the more literary tradition deriving from Cicero, Quintilian, and later Greek schools such as those of the Stoics and Epicureans.

## The Influence of Quintilian in the Middle Ages and Renaissance

The influence of Quintilian's Institutio oratoria up to A.D. 1700 was of two kinds -- almost as if it were two different books. During the middle ages the educational processes outlined in Books One, Two, and Ten were followed fairly generally even though medieval masters did not always know the origins of these methods. This continuity of method is only now being examined in detail for the middle ages, though Quintilian's impact on Renaissance education has been fairly well studied for a long time.

A second line of influence, however, is that of Quintilian as rhetorician -- mainly the rhetorical doctrines and discussions of Books two to nine, and Books eleven and twelve. This is a feature of Quintilian's Renaissance reception, rather than the medieval, especially since the mutili or incomplete medieval manuscripts of the work tended to have major gaps in these sections. In the fifteenth century, for instance, Quintilian is treated as a rhetorical authority equal to Cicero, and his views are constantly cited in discussions of invention, arrangement, style, and memory. (In fact his rather conservative approach to memory is often matched against the image-background method proposed in the Rhetorica ad Herennium).

The historical details concerning these two influence streams provide an interesting insight into the general history of rhetoric in Europe during these two time periods.

Secondo COPE-SANDYS (Cambridge 1877), p. 73, La definizione della felicità contenuta in *Rhetorica* I 5 è basata sulle opinioni e non è quella ufficiale di Aristotele. ARNHART (De Kalb, Ill. 1981), p. 59, invece sostiene che nella *Rhetorica* A. spesso usa definizioni appropriate al tipo di discussione in corso, e che questo non significa che siano false, come non deve necessariamente essere falso il ragionamento fondato su di esse.

Aristotele nell'*Etica Nicomachea* fonda la sua teoria della felicità su di una discussione teorica delle opinioni comuni, in accordo con il suo metodo filosofico. L'opposizione tra trattazione scientifica e trattazione retorica della felicità sarebbe maggiormente accettabile a partire da una posizione simile a quella del *Gorgia* di Platone, ove tra *doxa* e sapere filosofico vi è un abisso. Ma in Aristotele non pare che le cose stiano così, dal punto di vista formale: gli *endoxa* sono i punti di partenza sia dell'indagine filosofica, sia della ricerca retorica e, anche se il fine è diverso, il fatto di servirsi come punti di partenza e punti di arrivo (cfr. punto 2) dell'indagine crea una situazione più sfumata, di opposizioni non così nette. Dopo una breve discussione del concetto di 'felicità' nelle *Etiche* di Aristotele si esaminerà quindi *Rhetorica* I 5.

Si sosterrà che non vi è una grande differenza contenutistica, tra *Rhetorica* ed *Etiche*, come invece alcuni suppongono, quando affermano che per Aristotele la felicità è esclusivamente contemplare, e che la felicità qui delineata è solo "felicità secondaria". Ma ciò non comporta che vi sia perfetta identità di vedute. Il metodo di Aristotele nelle *Etiche* consiste nel partire dagli *endoxa* per discuterli, esaminare le difficoltà e le oscurità delle opinioni, trovare la natura della cosa e stabilirne la definizione. Nella *Rhetorica* si tratta invece di esaminare le opinioni per trarne dei *topoi*, e quindi le opinioni sono trattate in modo diverso. In generale si può dire che tra i due esami della felicità non vi è una contraddizione di fondo, ma vi sono differenze importanti. La trattazione di *EN* è più teorica e più astratta, va per grandi concetti generali, e si rivela legata alla discussione accademica; nella *Rhetorica* invece si elencano le opinioni popolari, per usarle come premesse per gli entimemi, e le si raggruppa in modo da poterle ritrovare facilmente (non per ordine alfabetico, ma per somiglianze, come in *Metaph. Y*), in modo tuttavia da non giungere a posizioni di fondo contrastanti con la teoria filosofica.

Colette Nativel

La théorie de l'imitation au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle en rhétorique et en peinture

En m'appuyant sur le De pictura ueterum de Franciscus Junius et le De imitatione de Gerardus Vossius, je me propose d'étudier quelques sources antiques de la doctrine classique de l'imitation. Les deux ouvrages comportent de nombreuses analogies dans leurs exposés sur l'imitation, mais le traitement des sources et leur mise en perspective présentent parfois d'importantes différences -on soulignera l'utilisation des textes platoniciens en particulier.

Roichi Okabe

## The Impact of Western Rhetoric in the East: The Case of Japan

The flower of rhetorical theory and practice of the west began to bloom in Japanese soil during the enlightenment movement of the Meiji era (1868-1912). The main impetus behind this movement to modernize a feudalistic Japan in this period was practicality. One culmination of this intellectual development during this formative period is to be found in a huge body of books on rhetoric and speechmaking published by some rhetorically-motivated aspirants of the day along the line of western rhetorical theory and practice.

I have discovered in all 145 Japanese books and translated works on rhetorical theory, practice, and criticism, thirty eight of which explicate such western rhetorical constituents as the speaker, the audience, the occasion, invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery. This paper will primarily concern itself with a detailed examination of eight representative books out of these thirty eight published along the line of classical rhetoric to ascertain the extent with which western rhetoric influenced the Japanese counterpart of the Meiji era.

This paper will prove that these books under examination heavily depended on the theories of such classical rhetoricians as Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. It will also show that they frequently referred to British theorists represented by George Campbell, Hugh Blair, and Richard Whately. This case study will explicate a one-way convergence of the west and the east in that western rhetoric exerted its impact on Japan, but it will point up a need to conduct similar research in other cultures of the east to determine the level of interaction between western and eastern rhetorics.

Barbara Otwinowska

Le modèle de la rhétorique baroque: était-il normatif ou libéral?

L'auteur s'oppose à l'idée largement répandue d'après laquelle la baroque aurait le caractère particulièrement normatif. L'histoire de la rhétorique du XVI<sup>e</sup> et du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle démontre la tendance croissante de diversifier les formes de la rhétorique théorique, de rompre son canon du discours comprenant trois ou cinq parties, scellé pour un laps de temps très court à l'époque de la Renaissance (le Moyen-Age divisait la rhétorique entre les disciplines différentes). Quelques aspects "intérieurs" témoignent, eux aussi, le départ des divisions mesurées et conséquentes de la rhétorique classique:

multitude de styles différenciés selon les critères nouveaux, typologies de styles développées des qualités et des défauts de l'expression, celles des affections, des figures incluses dans la théorie du concept en tant que leurs "sources" (fontes acuminum), des genres nouveaux (comme par exemple l'essai) ou des genres dégagés des "Progymnasmates", de l'épistolographie et même de la poétique (p.ex. elogia).

Dans les textes du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, outre l'étude des différents possibilités, nous rencontrons les remarques concernant la nécessité du choix et de la sélection dans ce large cadre des propositions, les réflexions sur la mode changeante selon le temps ou le lieu, sur la nécessité de la nouveauté et de l'originalité. La nouvelle psychologie de la créativité qui, à la place de la simple alternative ancienne: ars - natura, fait ressortir toute une gamme des facultés créatrices et perceptives, y parvient également.

L'ensemble de ces signes témoignent, d'après l'auteur, qu'entre l'esthétique, la culture artistique ou scientifique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la théorie de la rhétorique, telle qu'elle se présentait à l'époque, il n'existait pas de la lacune importante, en tant que cette dernière, outre ses fonctions didactiques indiscutables, proclamait le pluralisme et le libéralisme relativiste. Ces traits sont particulièrement bien visibles dans le traité rhétorique polonais de l'époque baroque.

James A. Parente Jr.

## Rhetoric and Political Drama in Late Renaissance Strasbourg

From 1583 until 1621, the school theater of the Strasbourg Academy became the most active municipal playhouse in the early modern Holy Roman Empire. Fired by the initial support of Johannes Sturm, who had advocated dramatic performances as supplements to his school's curriculum in rhetoric, late 16th-century Strasbourg developed into a major center for the presentation of both classical Latin and Neo-Latin dramas as well as classical Greek theater.

Early modern Germanists have long regarded Strasbourg academic drama as the harbinger of 17th-century Baroque theatricality in which German playwrights (in both Latin and the vernacular) broke away from the bookish, religious orientation of 16th-century school plays and created a secular type of theater equal to Renaissance dramatic writing in France, Italy and England. In my paper, I should like to suggest an alternative approach to Strasbourg drama based on the close connection between rhetorical instruction and dramatic composition between 1583 and 1621. My essay will make the following points:

1. The Strasbourg dramatic repertoire in the 1580s was determined, not by the birth of any new aesthetic, but by the changes in the teaching of rhetoric carried out by Melchior Junius, the successor of Johannes Sturm to the chair of rhetoric at the Strasbourg academy (1575-1606). Whereas Sturm had emphasized the importance of rhetoric for the acquisition of sapiens et eloquens pietas, Junius in his Methodus eloquentiae comparandae (1585) linked rhetoric to the study of history and the political training of future statesmen.

2. Political drama in Strasbourg exemplified in detail the role of the new homo politicus in the early modern state. Through an analysis of an historical play by Johannes Paulus Crusius, Croesus (1611), I shall demonstrate the close connection between rhetoric, politics and history for the education of the early modern statesman and examine Crusius's concept of the ideal politician.

Adriano Pennacini

Tecniche del comico nel discorso secondo Cicerone  
e Quintiliano

Esame delle trattazioni del comico e del motto di spirito  
di Cicerone de oratore II e di Quintiliano VI. Esempi e  
confronti.

Heinrich F. Plett

Shakespeare and the Art of Rhetoric

After a critical survey of the extant rhetorical approaches to Shakespeare the present paper proposes a new analytical paradigm that is based on the orator's possible attitudes toward the rhetorical ars. It consists of three components:

1. demonstrare artem,
2. celare artem,
3. negare artem,

that both theoretically and practically form part of the rhetorical tradition.

As his dramatic work progresses, Shakespeare uses these concepts in an increasingly complicated manner leading to a crisis of the ars rhetorica itself in the great tragedies of his middle period.

Marc van der Poel

The Smaller Declamations of H. C. Agrippa of Nettesheim

The proposed paper will include:

1. A presentation of the following declamations of Agrippa of Nettesheim: a. *Declamatio de sacramento matrimonii*, b. (*Declamatio*) *de nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, c. *Declamatio de originali peccato disputabilis opinionis*, d. *Sermo de vita monastica*.
2. A survey of the many-sided assessment of these writings, comprising two extremes: (these writings considered as) rhetorical exercise or serious writing.
3. An attempt to show that, when analyzed against the background of the humanist reception of the Ciceronian declamation, these declamations can be considered as rhetorical theses (more specifically *ῥησεις πολιτικαί*) and should be interpreted as serious writings with a moral and pedagogical tenor.

Takis Poulakos

The Political and Social Functions of Epideictic Rhetoric: Isocrates' Uses of the Encomium

Epideictic rhetoric has been traditionally understood as the vehicle that perpetuates cultural beliefs and existing value-systems. In addition to the act of transmitting cultural beliefs from one generation to the next (Leff, Vickers, Rosenfield), epideictic rhetoric plays a key role in the socio-political formation of a specific cultural moment. In this paper, I propose to explore the political and social function that speeches of praise serve by concentrating on Isocrates' use of encomia. In general, I hope to put forth two levels of analysis, on the basis of which the problematic relationship between the form of the encomium and the socio-political tensions of the times may be investigated.

At the political level of analysis, Isocrates' encomia will be shown to act as vehicles that cover over the existing tension between democracy and monarchy. The praise of Theseus in the Helen and the praise of Evagoras in the Evagoras make the institutions of democracy and monarchy appear compatible, even harmonious (Heilbrunn, Jaeger, Kennedy, Walbank); Theseus is lauded as the principal agent who democratized the city-state of Athens but also as a benevolent monarch; similarly the Cyprian King is extolled for liberating the Cyprian people from tyranny as well as for reigning benevolently.

At the social level of analysis, Isocrates' encomia will be shown to act as vehicles that cover over the existing tension between various social classes (Croix, Finley, Meiggs). The praise of Athens in the Panegyricus and the praise of logos in Nicocles make the institution of monarchy appear as an institution most responsive to the plight of the lower classes.

Jose Maria Pozuelo Yvancos

#### Theory of Narrative in Spanish Rhetoric Thinking

The papers will study the place of narratio in the boundaries of Spanish Literary Theory. The main thesis treated is that narratio component progressively extended its area from the rhetoric argumentatio to the literary meaning. The special difficulties for the renaissance of a real theory of the novel in the Spanish thinking from 16th to 18th centuries are also included. The Rhetoric Science probably will furnish a very important document about the boundaries between Rhetoric Theory and Poetic Theory. Without doubt the Rhetoric Theory works provide an interesting perspective about the semiotics of narrative and this is increased at the same time as the growth of Rhetoric development to literary Science.

Sharon L. Quiroz

**Richard Whately Reconciles Aristotle, God, and Progress**

The Neo-Classical British rhetorician Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, sought to reconcile religion and economics, by countering Hume's uniformitarian atheism with a theory of narrative acceptable to Christians and economists, as well as evolutionary biologists. His revision of Aristotelian rhetoric and logic was designed to put those tools in the hands of political economists, who, he argued, were scientists ultimately engaged in bringing about the Revelation of God's Word.

In this paper I will deal primarily with Whately's Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Bonaparte and his A General View of the Rise, Progress, and Corruptions of Christianity, showing how these works interpret classical rhetoric, particularly the syllogism, for the political and cultural purposes of Victorian England.

Beatrice K. Reynolds

President François Mitterrand's Rhetoric of  
Foreign Policy and Defense, 1951-1988.

President François Mitterrand made political history on May 10, 1981 when he became the first popularly elected Socialist president of France; in May 1988 he was re-elected. During his presidency, M. Mitterrand delivered numerous speeches and short addresses on France's foreign policy and defense. The discours and allocutions constitute the corpus of his rhetoric of foreign policy and defense in which Mitterrand defines and advocates his policies.

The purpose of the study was twofold: (1) to determine Mitterrand's rhetorical methodology, specifically his organization of information and argumentation process, and (2) to determine whether the speeches (as cultural artifacts) reflect his world view, which may be characterized as French. The analysis shows that his argumentation process (relational thinking), organization of information, values, and concepts of time and space, reflect the French culture; hence Mitterrand's rhetoric is characteristically French.

Franz-Hubert Robling

Das Historische Wörterbuch der Rhetorik.

Rhetorikforschung als Wörterbuchunternehmen

s. Gregor Kalivoda

Philippe-Josef Salazar

RHETORIQUE ET PHILOGIE DANS LE " DE NUPTIIS PHILOGIAE ET MERCURII"  
de MARTIANUS CAPELLA

Je voudrais interroger ce texte majeur dans la tradition rhétorique et essentiel dans la transmission de la culture gréco-latine, de trois points de vue: le livre V du "Mariage" n'est pas seulement une description résiduelle de ce que l'héritage classique entendait par rhétorique, il s'agit d'un effort pour intégrer l'éloquence dans le concert des connaissances. Deuxièmement il me semble que l'articulation de "philologie" à la rhétorique est des plus enrichissantes pour comprendre le débat autour de la "mousiké" si essentiel pour la tradition néo-platonicienne. Enfin je crois que le "Mariage", de par cette double position, est un manifeste littéraire quant au prestige de l'oralité. Mon analyse portera donc sur les deux premiers livres et le livre V. Je tenterai, en conclusion, de relier cette analyse au mythe politique et éloquent du Parnasse sous Louis XIV, car ce thème du mariage de la "philologie", de l'éloquence et de la rhétorique soutient, par delà la Renaissance, une certaine éthique classicisante.

Edward Schiappa

Plato and the Coining of ῥητορικῆ

This essay claims that ῥητορικῆ was originally coined in very early fourth century B.C.; possibly by Plato in the process of composing the Gorgias. If my claim is correct, then much of our conventional wisdom regarding such issues as the role of rhetoric in sophistic teaching, the "invention" of rhetoric, and the roles of Plato and Aristotle in the development of rhetorical theory must be rethought.

My argument is developed in three stages. First, I demonstrate that the absence of ῥητορικῆ in the fifth century and its slow emergence in the fourth century suggests that the earliest extant use in the Gorgias was one of the term's first appearances. Neither ῥητορικῆ nor ῥητορεία appear in any of the fifth century sources where they would be expected to be found if either were a term in use. They do not appear in the authenticated fragments or speeches of the older sophists, or in the writings of Herodotus. They do not appear in fifth century drama; they are most noticeably absent from the works of Euripides and Aristophanes (their absence in Clouds is especially striking). And they do not appear in the Dissoi Logoi (most often dated at 400 B.C.). The term used most often where one expects to find ῥητορικῆ is logos.

Even in the first half of the fourth century B.C. ῥητορικῆ appears relatively rarely. The Rhetoric to Alexander never uses the word ῥητορικῆ, and the word ῥητορικῆ never appears in the entire corpus of Isocrates. Plato's use of ῥητορικῆ in the Gorgias is exceptional and represents the earliest extant use. I believe that the identification of a specific time-frame for the coining of ῥητορικῆ is this essay's best documented and most significant finding.

Second, the essay explores evidence internal and external to the text of the Gorgias that supports the claim that ῥητορικῆ was coined by Plato. Plato's creative expansion of philosophical language is well-known. In particular, Plato was a prolific inventor of terms ending with ικῆ (see esp. Euthydemus and Sophist): ἐριστικῆ, διαλεκτικῆ, and ἀντιλογικῆ all originate in Plato's writings, hence it would be remarkable if the term for the verbal art of ῥητορικῆ was not coined by Plato. Plato may have coined the term as part of an attack on the school of Isocrates and to differentiate the philosophical study of logos from what he believed was a non-philosophical approach to logos.

Third, the essay provides a preliminary analysis of the ways in which recognizing the fourth century coinage of ῥητορικῆ challenges some of our traditional accounts of fifth century sophistic activities. Three examples are documented and analyzed: the general underestimation of the philosophical importance of sophistic doctrines, mistakes in our accounts of the precise nature of the "invention" of ῥητορικῆ by Korax and Tisias, and misunderstanding Aristotle's reported claim that Empedocles "invented" ῥητορικῆ.

The Stealthy Midas Touch of Rhetoric: Rhetorical Criticism to Deal with Hidden Processes which Inform Rhetorical Effectiveness

The reflections on rhetoric usually assume a fundamental effectiveness of all rhetoric wherever it is used - irrespective of the type of reality in question or under research. It is assumed also that the degree of effectiveness depends on the skillful and good management of language as an instrument of communication. The dubious effectivity of public opinion research on the one hand and the unexpected effectivity of rhetoric in strange situations throw doubts on such an unreflected concept of "effectivity".

It seems clear that there are events, activities, phenomena and experiences which function not only by being complex, but also by their very nature on levels which are beyond exoteric rhetoric or outside the usual rules and channels of communication. This pertains to the fields of business, the fields of politics, the field of psychology and the field of religion. On the other hand, in the field of law and administration with idealized, fixed and traditional structures of codes and procedures, there seems to be a much better chance for rhetorical studies, although the types of problems to be solved are really not rhetorical but questions of social relevance.

With rhetorical effectiveness the problems to be solved and the questions to be answered may be treated in linguistic and in rhetorical form, but, because of the non-linguistic reality of their nature, other criteria have to be brought to its diagnosis. The phenomena in question and under research range from the creativity of lyrical distinctions and literary experiments to administrative circumlocution, deliberate rhetorical abundance and plain lying, from religious polylogy to idolizing, to psychic projection, substitution, reduction, reification, diversion and translation, to mystical and allegorical transposition, to mimicry, irony, satire and camouflage, and they include distinctions between esoteric and exoteric doctrines, and they are explained in philosophical and political dialectics. They are realized in paradoxes, yet they do not represent fiction, but reality of human communication. It seems to be a paradox that linguistic analysis and rhetorical criticism - in ontological abstraction - seem impotent, blind and helpless when it comes to deal with problems of politics, of religion, of psychology, of general social orientation and of capitalism. This seems so complicated because economic and political interests tend to usurp, to dominate, convert, subvert or bias any given rhetoric in order to promote the semblance of legitimacy and to make profits.

The stealthy midas touch of exchange value, the fundamental verbal incommunicability of social and political power, the ineffability of psychological phenomena, the linguistic transcendence of religious experience, the vicarious reality presented in language, all this is ignored and transformed into a challenge for rhetorical research. The problems are reduced to problems of a linguistic complexity to be solved by the rhetorical consultant. - The phenomenon of esoteric rhetoric, i.e. a code of communication limited to few people results from a collective attempt to control a common point of interest like initiation, exercise of power, the good life, recreation, sanity, survival or salvation, all kinds of interests that are or seem to be endangered by unrestricted or unqualified communication. The need and the use of intimacy to establish a private or a common identity, to protect privileges as

well as to provide protection is destroyed by exposing it to the public. Rhetoric functions as the medium both for the esoteric and its exoteric transformation as means for political dominance and into matter of exchange value in the market.

The preoccupation with rhetorical effectiveness may hold a promise of the potential for liberation and for humanity in the mind of intellectual professionals. But the indiscriminate fascination with its magic forgets its potential of destruction.

Peter Lebrecht Schmidt

Zur veränderten Form und Funktion der Herrscherpanegyrik  
im 4. Jh. n. Chr.

Daß die Herrscherpanegyrik in der Kaiserzeit die republikanische Beredsamkeit als die führende Form öffentlichkeitsbezogener Rede ablöst, ist bekannt. Weniger geläufig ist die Tatsache, daß die Prosapanegyrik - von Plinius' Panegyricus bis zu Ausonius' Gratiarum actio - im späten 4. Jh. durch Claudians Verspanegyrik als der nunmehr offiziellen Form abgelöst wird. Die poetische Preisrede, die im griechischen Osten bereits öffentlichen Zwecken gedient hatte, war im lateinischen Westen bisher auf private Anlässe (Hochzeitsfeiern o.ä.) beschränkt gewesen. Es ist zu fragen, ob mit dieser - zunächst nur formal erscheinenden - Umstellung nicht auch eine Veränderung der Zielrichtung gegeben ist: Läßt sich die ältere Prosapanegyrik als die Stimme der Öffentlichkeit verstehen, die sich zu bestimmten Anlässen in appellativer Absicht an den Herrscher wendet, so tritt nun die poetische Preisrede aus der privaten Sphäre heraus, behält aber den intimen Kontakt zum Herrscher und kann derart als Verlautbarung seiner politischen Intentionen gegenüber einer, wie auch immer zu bestimmenden, Öffentlichkeit verstanden werden. Mit dieser 'Privatisierung' der Panegyrik, die mit der veränderten Rolle des Redners - früher Politiker, jetzt Hofdichter - gegeben ist, ist die spätantike Rhetorik endgültig zu einer Rhetorik des Dominats geworden.

R. J. Schoeck

### Rhetoric and Intertextuality in Erasmus' Adagia

A general theory of intertextuality in Renaissance texts was offered in my monograph Intertextuality and Renaissance Texts (Ser. Gratia, Bamberg, 1984). This theory is in fundamental opposition to the views of Roland Barthes.

In my lecture I shall pursue the ways in which the intertextuality of Erasmus functions: in the Adagia primarily, but also between individual adages and his letters. The purpose of the paper then will be to investigate aspects of rhetoric in the development of Erasmian intertextuality: awareness of and accommodation to audience, manifestations of voice and style, and like considerations.

If time permits, I shall show how Rabelais and Montaigne followed in the steps of Erasmus.

P. H. Schrijvers

### Lucain et le baroque

On admet généralement que la 'renaissance' des études lucaniennes a commencé avec l'étude d' Ed. Fraenkel, intitulée 'Lucan als Mittler des antiken Pathos' (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-5). Dans son étude, Fraenkel remet en valeur le caractère rhétorique (pathétique) de l'épopée de Lucain et, dans ce cadre, le terme de 'l'art baroque de Lucain' fait son entrée. Le jugement positif de Fraenkel s'oppose diamétralement aux critiques classicistes d'un Desiré Nisard qui a considéré notre poète comme un décadent (D. Nisard, 'Études de moeurs et de critique sur les poètes latins de la décadence', Bruxelles 1834). Dans notre communication nous proposons d'examiner comment ce changement d'appréciation entre Nisard et Fraenkel vis-à-vis de l'art pathétique s'est effectué par étapes au cours du 19-ième siècle et des années 1900-1920. Quels développements dans la philosophie et l'histoire des arts de la 2-ième partie du 19-ième siècle ont contribué à la renaissance des études lucaniennes?

Allen Scult

## THE RHETORIC OF GOD AND COMMUNITY IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

In his recent work, *WHEN WORDS LOSE THEIR MEANING*, James Boyd White argues that "The true center of value of a text, its most important meaning, is to be found in the community it establishes with its reader." By virtue of belonging to this newly created community, the reader comes to see the world differently and is thus changed by his or her reading of the text. A text like the Hebrew Bible requires us to go at the sort of rhetorical analysis suggested by White's formulation a bit differently. The two main differences in this regard are that the community constituted by the Biblical text cannot be said to be composed of a solitary reader, nor is it addressed by a single author. On the latter point, there are many authors, all of whom implicitly claim to be speaking in a single, transcendent voice. In relation to the audience constituted by the text, rather than beginning from scratch to create a community of implied readers, the text endeavors to address an idealized version of an already existing community--the community of Israel. Furthermore, this idealization is an amalgam of all the interpreting communities which make up the Jewish tradition of Biblical interpretation. Now any text destined to become important must be capable of creating a relationship with its readers which surpasses boundaries of time and space. But in the case of the Hebrew Bible, the community of readers it means to create requires a powerful simultaneity of presence into which the reader is fused. How does the text manage these extraordinary rhetorical transformations?

This paper will begin the task of examining these distinctive aspects of the Bible's rhetorical creativity by looking at two sorts of Biblical metaphors: first, metaphors for the person of God himself, beginning with the verse in Genesis describing God as a "Spirit hovering over the primeval waters." The task here will be to ascertain how the Biblical authors use God metaphors to merge themselves into a single, transcendent authorial persona. Second, it will examine the metaphors of community, beginning with God's promise to Abraham that "your descendants will be as the sands by the sea." These root metaphors of community comprise the text's rhetorical invitation to the reader to envision himself as part of a community that reaches across the boundaries of time and space.

Thomas O. Sloane

### Controversia in Inventio

The revival of rhetoric in the American composition classroom has totally neglected the ancient educational practice of controversia. Traditionally students of rhetoric were taught to debate "both sides of the question." Sanctioned by Cicero and Quintilian, the practice was maintained in classrooms, whether under the rubric of Logic (Dialectic) or Rhetoric, throughout most of the history of Western civilization. But in modern America controversia has survived largely in extracurricular debating contests, and even here its advisability has been questioned.

Modern rhetoricians, in reviving rhetoric for the needs of American composition teachers, have admittedly fallen short in their theories of inventio. Their preference, however, has been for the topical system of invention, with little attention given to the very function of topics in argumentation. As a result, modern American rhetorics remain largely formalist: in practice, argumentation has become a literary genre, and the audience for the discourse has been reduced from participants to spectators.

Controversia, the practice of requiring students to debate both sides--or, for that matter, any side--of the question, is a way out of the formalist trap. Students would be taught to use not simply the topics of invention but also stasis as an approach to discursive analysis and composition. Every discourse becomes viewed as part of an ongoing debate in which the audience has an immediate role, if not a vested interest.

The problem and its possible solution raise the question about the extent to which controversia is an essential feature of rhetoric itself.

Memoria et actio dans l'oeuvre de Rabelais

Contrairement aux trois autres parties de la rhétorique, la place qu'occupent la memoria et l'actio dans l'oeuvre de Rabelais n'a guère attiré l'attention de la critique rabelaisienne. Leur importance est néanmoins incontestable. Ainsi, les personnages, dans leurs commentaires, ne cessent de faire appel à la memoria, laquelle fonctionne alors comme génératrice d'intertextualité: "vous me réduisez en mémoire..."; "vous me rafraîchissez la mémoire de ce que est escript...". En outre, la memoria fait non seulement partie intégrante de l'idéal pédagogique de Rabelais ("je veux que tu saiche par cueur..."), mais elle compte aussi parmi les prémisses comiques de l'oeuvre, lorsque, dans le Prologue de Pantagruel, le narrateur conseille au lecteur d'apprendre par coeur les Grandes Chroniques, "si d'aventure l'art de l'imprimerie cessoit ou en cas que tous livres perissent".

Quant à l'actio, partout dans l'oeuvre, les personnages observent, dans leurs gestes et leurs paroles, ses préceptes. L'actio apparaît même comme primordiale, quand on considère le roman rabelaisien comme une oeuvre destinée moins à la lecture silencieuse et individuelle qu'à la lecture à haute voix devant un public, -performance orale dont on a des preuves tant historiques que textuelles (indices d'oralité; didascalies quasi théâtrales suggérées par le texte).

Mieke B. Smits-Veldt

Rhetorical Aspects of Dutch Renaissance Drama, in Particular  
the Tragedies of Samuel Coster (1615-1617)

The physician Samuel Coster, as well as the civil servant P.C. Hooft, belong to the new intellectual elite of Dutch poets that presents itself in early 17th century Amsterdam. Both received a humanistic education in the neo-stoical moral philosophy of Justus Lipsius a.o., and both applied techniques and concepts of classical drama (here: Seneca's) in their own work. The subject-matter of Coster's first tragedy, Ithys, is a classical-mythological theme; his next dramas, Polyxena and Iphigenia, were modelled after Seneca and Euripides.

Coster's dramas, as well as those of Hooft, all correspond to rhetorical-didactical conceptions, as expressed by Scaliger (Poetices libri septem, 1561): 'docet affectus poeta per actiones'. Some decennia before the German baroque drama Coster sets himself to represent and disclose affects as despair and lust for revenge, making movere instrumental to docere. The intended insight into the ethical quality of the affects has to be acquired by means of opposite moral exempla of bad and good attitudes and the outcome of the resulting actions, and by means of multifarious sententiae, and views, expressed by the chorus. As already recognised in French humanist tragedy, also in these Dutch dramas emphasis is put on single rhetorical forms (that are related to progymnasmata-training, and that are directly modelled on classical predecessors) in copia and varietas, the effect being inconsistency in characterpainting and the absence of unity of action. In Coster's Iphigenia the representation of pathos makes way for the representation of ethos, emotional soliloquies for argumentation and discussion, but the play still intends to instruct, in this case in political matters. (Further research will be concentrated on the affect-rhetoric in 17th century Dutch drama practice).

Marieke Spies

The Relation Between Poetry and Rhetoric in Dutch Vernacular Literature (ca. 1480-1620)

The constantly shifting interaction between poetry and rhetoric in early Dutch renaissance literature reflects the changing opinion of what poetry ought to be, what functions it had to fulfill and, in consequence, which were the capacities that characterized a 'real' poet. Till ca. 1550 the few poems in praise of 'rhetoric' reflect more or less the medieval opinion of the 'artes versificatoriae'. After 1550 influence of the French 'arts de seconde rhétorique' is to be found, but consciousness of classical rhetorics seems to be rather vague. Only after 1580 we find direct influence of humanist rhetoric in the literary work of a group of writers concentrated in Amsterdam. They propagate a sort of Erasmian humanism, in which argumentative literature plays a central role.

Jerzy Starnawski

Quelques remarques concernant deux oraisons funèbres écrits à la cause de la mort du roi Sigismond le Ier (1548) par Martinus Cromerus et Stanislaus Orichovius

L'auteur a nommé quelques prédicateurs pendant les cérémonies funèbres après la mort du roi Sigismond le Ier (1548), surtout les oeuvres de deux chanoines: Cromerus et Orichovius, qui ne sont pas prononcées mais seulement publiées. Suivant la tradition de Cicéron, l'auteur des *Orationes Verrinae* II - V, Cromerus et Orichovius ont publié des oraisons qui ne furent jamais prononcées, écrivirent des panegyriques en forme des orations.

L'auteur présente l'histoire de la réception de deux oeuvres, qui est bien intéressante. Il analyse des valeurs littéraires des "oraisons", en rappelant les traditions de l'antiquité il fait une comparaison avec les autres oeuvres latines du temps de la Renaissance. Les deux écrivains, historiens de la dynastie de Jagellons, connaissent bien les règles du style cicéronien; on observe l'influence de Xénophon (Agésilas) chez Orichovius.

Sorin Stati

## LA DIMENSION RHETORIQUE DANS L'ANALYSE DU LANGAGE

Bien que la nature interdisciplinaire des faits rhétoriques soit incontestable, une approche foncièrement linguistique est légitime. Ce sont des faits qui appartiennent à la couche pragmatique du contenu des énoncés (puisque'il s'agit de ce qu'on fait en parlant et des rapports entre le locuteur et son destinataire), des faits lexicaux et grammaticaux que la langue offre aux locuteurs pour qu'ils puissent soutenir une thèse. Ces traits sont soit <sup>non</sup> marqués, soit marqués, ces derniers relevant de la stylistique. (On profitera de l'occasion pour discuter des rapports entre rhétorique et stylistique, disciplines que d'aucuns ont tendance à confondre).

Le linguiste rhétoricien attribue à des portions de texte (monologue ou dialogue) des 'rôles argumentatifs' (justification, concession, objection etc.), qui sont des propriétés relationnelles, et il rejoint ainsi l'analyse proposée par la logique des langues naturelles (dans le sens de Grice). Il dépasse largement les limites que la tradition de la rhétorique lui a imposées, car il ne privilégie aucunement les 'figures'. Ce qui l'intéresse en premier lieu c'est de déceler et décrire les structures rhétoriques actualisées dans les textes (par exemple, les séquences de rôles argumentatifs, leurs indices et connecteurs); il s'intéresse en outre à la communication basée sur le recours à la stratégie de l'implicite; il identifie les moyens langagiers servant à sauvegarder la propre 'face' du locuteur, ainsi que la 'face' de l'allocuteur; enfin, il dénonce et met en évidence les manipulations du langage.

Christine Mason Sutherland

Outside the Rhetorical Tradition: Mary Astell's Advice to Women in Seventeenth Century England

In A Serious Proposal to the Ladies By a Lover of Her Sex, Part II (London, 1697), Mary Astell devotes some twenty-five pages to a discussion of rhetoric. Astell was not herself a rhetorician (though she had a well-deserved reputation for eloquence) but what she had to say is interesting to the historian of rhetoric because both she and her readers stood outside the rhetorical tradition. Women in seventeenth century England were effectively excluded from the classical rhetorical tradition by the limitations of their education. Such education as they received prepared them for domesticity and life in genteel society. They were not expected or encouraged to think and write in the same way as men. It is against this limitation that Astell rebels. She believes that women can, and therefore should, function at the same intellectual level as men. Much of the second part of her Serious Proposal consists of advice as to how they can learn to do so.

As one might expect, Astell argues that the ability to think and write rationally is innate. Yet she admits that some training is necessary. Such training need not, however, be of that formal classical kind which was not the for the most part available to women. Astell believes that women can train themselves to write rationally and correctly by reading widely and by paying attention to the way they speak. But perhaps her most interesting suggestion is that they improve their style by applying to the production of discourse the principles of Christian living, principles in which they have been thoroughly trained. She argues that the virtues of style are fundamentally moral ones: clarity is related to honesty, consideration of the reader to charity. The vices of style too are basically moral flaws. She demonstrates in some detail that improprieties of style arise from moral defects such as vanity.

In certain respects, it is possible to see a likeness between what Astell says of rhetoric and Quintilian's Good Man Theory. Whether Astell herself knew of this theory is hard to say. She does not mention it, but she is sufficiently well acquainted with rhetorical theory to make it likely that she had at least heard of it. But her contention that 'an immoral of Heretical Discourse may be cunningly but not well writ' (201) seems to arise from her own convictions rather than from traditional rhetorical precept. It is an important part of her case that women untrained in the rhetorical tradition can nevertheless produce rational discourse as good as that of men.

Jane Sutton

The Twentieth Century Turn in the Sophistic Movement

In the nineteenth century, Hegel's treatment of the Sophistic tradition established it as necessary to the development of Greek philosophy. Because of this inclusion, the Sophistic tradition is seen in less hostile terms. Still, even with the softening of historical hostilities, the restoration of the Sophists remains inscribed within the conflict between philosophy and rhetoric. As Kerferd's (1981) survey of the Sophistic movement has shown, "the sophists have suffered from being set in conflict with the idealist tradition." (p. 11) The conflict between rhetoric and philosophy has reappeared, almost symptomatically, in the literature of the twentieth century. To a large extent, it is to this deep-seated conflict that modern receptionists of the Sophists construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct to show how philosophy undertook to suppress the ties between effective discourse and power by rearranging this relationship into a dichotomy of true and false discourse. In this essay, I will show how the case for Sophistry (in, e.g. Kerferd, Moss, Lyotard, Ricoeur, Foucault, Todorov, and Genette) presents another possible alternative to questions regarding truth, power, and language.

Brian Taylor

THE POETIC RHETORIC OF THE MEISTERSINGER: NOVELTY OR  
THE CLASSICAL TRADITION?

For some twelve years now a project supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and known as "das Repertorium der Sangsprüche und Meisterlieder" has been underway in Nuremberg and Tübingen to unlock for scholars the contents - some 17,000 songs - of the approximately 100 major and 300 minor manuscripts of the Meistersinger still extant. As this project draws to its conclusion, it is becoming possible to obtain a very comprehensive and exact picture of many aspects of Meistergesang. It has, for instance, not been sufficiently appreciated that the Meistersinger, although mainly more or less uneducated tradesmen, were the first poets in Germany to produce a system of native poetics and a concomitant poetological terminology that have come down to us.

The present paper, which is based on research carried out in Nuremberg during the first half of 1986, examines briefly a few of the sub-genres of the German Meisterlied of the 15th to 17th centuries recognised and named by the Meistersinger themselves. An account of the essential features of the genre Meisterlied itself, accompanied by a cassette recording illustrating structural and performance aspects of it, is followed by an attempt to define and illustrate by means of appropriate texts what the Meistersinger understood as the sub-genres they termed ebich/loica, aequivocum, fürwurf and straflied, with passing mention of the zechlied and the schulkunst.

The paper constitutes a small part of a major collaborative research project on the poetics and technical terminology of the Meistersinger.

Paul Thoen

## Rhétorique et pensée paradoxale

Depuis quelques décennies on reconnaît la profonde homologie entre faits linguistiques et faits sociaux. De plus on s'est habitué récemment à déployer des logiques paradoxales dans l'exploration des domaines social et culturel. Ces nouvelles orientations des sciences humaines ouvrent une perspective provocante sur la littérature ancienne et son importance actuelle.

La rhétorique émerge originellement dans le contexte d'une évolution accélérée et diversifiée des traditions politique et culturelle de la Grèce antique. L'apparition de l'art oratoire entretient des rapports intimes avec les autres complexes de textes comme la poésie, le théâtre, la philosophie. L'hypothèse que nous voudrions développer concerne les relations entre le mythe, la tragédie, la rhétorique et la philosophie. Précédant à la rhétorique, la tension entre récit mythique et tragédie est essentielle pour la constitution du discours des orateurs. Le récit mythique raconte des moments décisifs qui charpentent l'édifice de la réalité. Les développements narratifs ne laissent finalement rien d'indécis. Ordre et désordre, bien et mal se trouvent nettement distincts. Il n'en va pas de même de la tragédie. Elle refuse, d'une manière presque intolérable, les solutions et explicite les polarités qui précèdent aux décisions. On y regarde ce dont on ne peut qu'à peine se souvenir: les conflits inextricables d'avant la décision structurante. La culture s'y approche de ses origines violentes. C'est également dans les environs d'une telle hubris qu'il faut situer la rhétorique en tant qu'elle est d'abord crise et confrontation. Mais d'autre part elle a perdu le caractère déchirant de la tragédie. On pourrait la considérer comme le pendant presque ludique du processus tragique. La tragédie y est pour ainsi dire apprivoisée. La communauté et la culture se sont installées dans la crise permanente. C'est contre cette crise devenue constitution que se révolte Platon. Le philosophe ne pouvait se résigner à l'insaisissable du théâtre et de la rhétorique. Mais son effort de maîtriser ces autres formes du discours n'a jamais mené à un dépassement réussi.

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La rhétorique ne meurt jamais décidément. Comme la tragédie, elle ronge de l'intérieur les prétentions de tout discours qui se veut définitif et renaît de ce qui essaie de la limiter. Il y a là une polarité intense qui appartient essentiellement à la rhétorique grecque et occidentale. Mais polarité veut dire opposition refusée puisque les extrêmes tentent de s'y abolir. Penser des polarités n'est possible que du lieu où l'on peut accepter les oppositions. Cela vaut aussi pour une interrogation du phénomène rhétorique. On ne peut s'en occuper tranquillement qu'à partir d'une pensée paradoxale.

Ding-ren Tsao

The Impact of the West on Chinese Rhetorics from 18th and 20th Centuries

Chinese history during the period under discussion has been a history of responses to the various impacts from the West. If we view the process of interaction using the construct of Bitzer's notion of rhetorical situation, we can say the invasion of the Western forces and the Chinese defeat and humiliation created among the Chinese people a strong sense of exigence which called for some immediate actions to address the situation.

This paper seeks to identify and discuss some of the important responses which have rhetorical significances.

Traditionally, Chinese have always had a reverence towards written words and have devoted continuous scholarship to the study of the refinement of words and phrases in poetry and other literary forms. However, it would be misleading to equate this branch of study with rhetorics of the West for the obvious lack of attention to the oral presentations, argumentations, and many other important features.

One wonders if some of these important rhetorical features were among the "Western Studies" (西學) which were imported on a large scale during the period, principally by means of translation of books and teaching in Western schools, especially those run by English speaking missionaries.

A comprehensive survey of related literature of and about the period reveals that rhetoric as a discipline known to the West was not properly introduced. No major work of classical rhetoric was translated. But, speech and debate as an extracurricular activity was present in some of the more enlightened schools.

However, during the late 19th century, some significant events did happen with Chinese initiatives which have lasting impacts on the use of Chinese language, both oral and written. The first is the National Language Movement, a series of efforts aimed at reforming the language so that it could be more easily taught and learned. The effort started during the late part of the 19th century and continued through the major part of the 20th century.

Geert Vervaecke

Reading some ancient Greek stories:  
rhetoric, power and women.

Stories are told about a wide variety of subjects, often deeply rooted in the life and organisation of society. One such topic describes the way in which a hero has conquered sovereignty and power. A rather bizarre story of this type is told about Demaratus in the Histories (6.61-70) of Herodotus (5th century B.C.), whose work as a whole could be considered as a study of power and how it works.

Another personage in Herodotus, obtaining unexpectedly and in an unusual manner the royal crown, is Gyges, confidant of king Candaules and ancestor of the famous Croesus. Our paper examines his history (1.7-13) more closely, paying particular attention to the persuasive strategies used by the main persons inside the tale as well as to the rhetoric used by the author in constructing his plot. (Modern narratology may provide here some useful tools.) This story at the opening of the Histories is echoed somehow at the end by the intrigue at Xerxes' court: the king desires and finally sacrifices his brother's wife (9.108-113). Other fascinating parallels can be found in (a.o.) Mark's account of the death of John the Baptist (6.14-29).

In all these stories a crucial (though sometimes totally silent) role is played by women. Greek literature seems to connect men's struggle for power closely to their longing for the possession of (the same) women. Does not the whole Iliad start from an implicable quarrel over a woman?

William A. Wallace

Is Rhetoric an Art or a Science?:  
Antonio Riccobono and Paduan Aristotelianism

One of the little studied texts in the tradition of Aristoteles Latinus is the Latin translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric published by Antonio Riccobono in 1579, with an accompanying commentary, also written in Latin. The two initial treatises of Riccobono's commentary deal respectively with the nature of rhetoric (De natura rhetoricae, pp. 201-254) and with the nature of the oratorical demonstration (De natura demonstrationis oratoriae, pp. 254-283). The project of this paper will be to analyze these two treatises to ascertain Riccobono's views on rhetoric, particularly for their bearing on the question whether rhetoric is an art or a science.

Riccobono was a professor at the University of Padua, where a strong tradition in Aristotelian logic and methodology had developed, culminating in the work of Jacopo Zabarella. One of the peculiar problems relating to Aristotle's Rhetoric is its situation within the Aristotelian corpus. Should it be included in the Organon, along with the Analytics and the Topics, and thus share the character of logical science, or should it be seen as the "art of rhetoric," an adjunct to Aristotle's Politics, and thus primarily as the art of persuading people to political action? Riccobono gives a nuanced answer to this question, allowing for the possibility of its being both an art and a science, and, for the second alternative, showing precisely wherein its logical and scientific character may be differentiated from that of other disciplines treated in the Organon.

Apart from the implications of this study for the teaching of rhetoric as a logical discipline, capable of being learned by students who have no particular expertise in the matters to which it can be applied, it should also illuminate Galileo's use of rhetoric in his scientific treatises. Thus the paper will complement the on-going work of the author's colleague, Professor Jean Dietz Moss, on Galileo's polemics with the Jesuits in the early seventeenth century.

John O. Ward

Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Ritual, Celebration or Performance? Rhetorical Theory and Practice in the Time of Thierry of Chartres and Guarino da Verona

I start from some ideas recently put forward in Jardine and Grafton From Humanism to the Humanities concerning the relationship between educational theory, ideals and practice in the scholastic and humanist periods. My aim is to examine the claim that in rhetorical education the scholastic period was one in which there was a close link between practical utility and classroom theory, whilst humanist theory was divorced from practical utility in its concern to celebrate Ciceronian ideals of humanism in a ritualistic way. I aim to present Thierry of Chartres and Guarino as basically innovators and to outline the challenges that they sought to respond to. By concentrating upon these two commentators on Ciceronian theoretical rhetoric I hope to give focus to some general remarks about the utility of classical rhetorical theory in the medieval and Renaissance period.

Kathleen E. Welch

Classical Rhetoric, Orality, and Literacy: Isocrates and Rhetoric

This presentation of research analyzes classical Greek rhetoric as a complete system for the production and the reception of written discourse. Beginning with the role of the burgeoning power of writing in the formation of ancient Greek rhetoric, especially in the fourth century B.C. with Isocrates, Plato, and others, the paper examines the usefulness of the orality-literacy hypothesis developed by Eric A. Havelock (e.g., Preface to Plato, 1963, and The Muse Learns to Write, 1986) and Walter J. Ong (The Presence of the Word, 1967, and Orality and Literacy, 1982). This hypothesis suggests that writing as a way of knowing held more importance than many conventional interpretations claim (e.g., Douglas Ehninger in "On Systems of Rhetoric," 1969, and C.H. Knoblauch and Lil Brannon in Rhetorical Traditions and the Teaching of Writing, 1984).

The paper proposed here, focussing on recent rhetorical scholarship in English, applies the orality-literacy hypothesis to Isocrates' crucial, late work Antidosis. This autobiographical work of rhetoric, which synthesizes a great deal of his earlier writing, provides a basis for analyzing the validity of the Ong-Havelock thesis.

Anna Werpachowska

Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Jakub Górski und Benedykt Herbst - eine Episode aus der Geschichte der polnischen Renaissancerhetorik

Thema des Referats ist eine Episode aus der Geschichte der polnischen Renaissancerhetorik - die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Jakub Górski und Benedykt Herbst. Beide Antagonisten waren Zöglinge und später Professoren der Krakauer Akademie, beide engagierten sich von Anfang an beim Propagieren der humanistischen Studien, indem sie sich der rhetorischen Problematik widmeten und Lehrbücher aus diesem Bereich bearbeiteten. Der Konflikt, der zwischen ihnen ausbrach, war eine typisch humanistische Auseinandersetzung. Sie betraf Fragen der Rhetorik, insbesondere der Theorie und Praxis Ciceros. Das Hauptproblem war die Meinungsverschiedenheit in bezug auf die Frage des Definierens und Aussonderns von Einheiten der Äußerungen, die traditionell als rhetorische Perioden bezeichnet werden. Die Analyse der Einstellungen der beiden Antagonisten ermöglicht es, das Wesen der Auseinandersetzung und deren Bedeutung auf dem Hintergrund der europäischen Diskussionen über den Aufbau der periodischen Äußerung zu bestimmen sowie die antiken Renaissancequellen der beiden Konzeptionen festzulegen.

Ari Wesseling

An Unknown Source of Poliziano's Exposé on Rhetoric

Angelo Poliziano (1454-94) is famous for his Italian poetry (the Stanze) and his philological accomplishments (the Miscellanea). His public lectures, notably the poetic Silvae, the Panepistemon and the Lamia, still make fascinating reading.

As a professor of rhetoric at the Florentine university, Poliziano engaged in Aristotle's philosophical works. His colleagues, especially the Scholastic philosophers, could not appreciate this intrusion into their territory. In the Lamia he defends himself and ridicules his critics.

In the Panepistemon Poliziano attempts to incorporate all branches of human knowledge and activities into a single encyclopedic system. I will concentrate on the sections that deal with dialectics and rhetoric and try to demonstrate that the abstracts of the 'Greco dello Studio' can only be understood within the framework of his source-texts, which he does not name.

It will be examined how the results of an interpretation of Poliziano's exposé on rhetoric can elucidate the structure of his rhetorical masterpiece, the Lamia.

## Aristotle and the Decline of Rhetoric

Aristotle was a powerful force in the decline of rhetoric. For instance, he privileges one kind of reality over another. Like Plato, Aristotle focuses considerable attention on subjects explicitly rejected by Isocrates - mathematics and science. He places the highest value on these subjects for the very reason that Isocrates rejects them - they are not useful. For Aristotle, curiosity is more highly valued as a motive for study than usefulness. He clusters mathematics and physics with theology, calls them theoretical sciences, and places them highest in the hierarchy of studies. Central to the appeal of these studies is their focus on the universal, unchanging, and eternal - and the resulting ability of humans to achieve certainty about them. Subsumed beneath the theoretical sciences are what Aristotle calls the practical sciences, the very studies that Isocrates considered of highest value, the studies of action, of human activities in the law courts and deliberations of state - studies that are unique, variable, and temporary and require judgment. Aristotle's value system leads him to find what is best away from humanity, an inclination that has helped predispose many in Western education to ignore the world of action, to allow themselves to be shut up in an "ivory tower", to accuse those concerned with action as "vocationalists".

Aristotle also promotes the serious decline of rhetoric by cutting away from the subject much of its content. Aristotle takes Plato's concern for definition and develops an elaborate system of clear divisions in the world, a rigorous classification of what confronts humanity along a hierarchical scale of value. In defining rhetoric, Aristotle, like Plato, excludes all motives for rhetoric other than persuasion. Far from interpreting persuasion in its broadest senses, he excludes all implications of the term beyond the encouragement of humans to agree or disagree with either attitudes or representations of reality. He further delimits his focus on persuasion by directing attention to the means of accomplishing this motive, an exclusion from rhetoric of a consideration of the ends of human activity. The emphasis on means, on the forms of argument or proofs, cuts away all serious analysis of subject matter, an exclusion also supported by the limitations of rhetoric to oratory directed to crowds, which called for an avoidance of the abstruse. The emphasis on clear division in Aristotle that leads to these severe limitations on invention later leads others to cut away invention altogether and, with it, organization and memory as well. In the hands of Aristotle, rhetoric becomes so narrow that it is little wonder that he considers it not as instructive or real as other subjects, that he places it in his hierarchy beneath politics, which is beneath the theoretical sciences. While rhetoricians today rightfully credit Aristotle for contributions to rhetoric, then, their high praise is ironical; Aristotle diminishes rhetoric substantially from its stature and breadth in Isocrates.

Cicero's Synthesis of Rhetoric and Philosophy: Some Problems

In the first half of the third book of *De oratore*, Cicero tries to bridge the gap between rhetoric and philosophy. At the moment I am working on an analysis of the first part of this passage, 3.17-25, and as a commentary, that is to be incorporated into the complete commentary by Leeman-Pinkster A.O.. The work is to be finished in 1992. In my paper I will discuss some of the main problems.

At the beginning of the discussion, Crassus, the main speaker of book 3, is expected to treat style, but he starts by asserting the unity of rhetoric, and the fundamental impossibility of discussing style and content separately (3.17-25). His argument and its philosophical background constitute the first problem: is it valid, is Cicero completely serious, and what traditions is he alluding to?

After this, he nevertheless announces a treatment of style, but prefaces this with an exposition on the diversity of oratorical styles (25-37), thus implicitly rejecting rigid stylistic distinctions. This has been connected by some with the beginnings of the "Atticist movement".

The following short discussion of the two first Theophrastean virtues of style, purity and clarity (37-51), seems the beginning of a treatment more or less along traditional lines, and "ornamentation" (*ornatus*) and propriety are indeed announced. But what follows is a long exposé about the perfect orator's need for universal knowledge. Crassus first gives a historical sketch of the development from the ancient and original unity of rhetoric and philosophy towards 'the separation between the heart and the tongue' (52-69). Then he considers the conflict between this ideal and (Roman) practice (70-95); gives a more specific delineation of the ideal eloquence (96-125), which involves a treatment of his views on amplification and *theses* ('general questions'); and summarizes and reformulates his ideal. Only then is the more technical treatment of the virtues of style resumed (148 ff.).

Of the numerous problems presented by this part, I only mention a few: How accurate and how wrong is Cicero's historical sketch, and why is it given at all? What are Cicero's final views on the relationship between oratory, statesmanship, and philosophy, and how far did they differ from the views of his contemporaries, Greek and Roman? Are they adequate, and do his own speeches reflect them? There is of course also the question of the origin of Cicero's views, that received so much attention from scholars practising *Quellenforschung* - an approach often used over-confidently in the past, and sometimes rejected over-confidently today.

Of these many questions, some selection will have to be made in the course of my work. Perhaps my paper will mainly report on my work in progress, and contain only tentative answers that may provoke a discussion.

Peter Wulffing

Some Views on the Non-verbal Parts of the  
Rhetorical System

Das antike System der Rhetorik umfasste mehrere Elemente nicht-sprachlicher Art: z.B. die untechnischen Beweise, die Mnemotechnik und den Vortrag (*memoria* und *actio*), über deren Bedeutung und Verhältnis zu den sprachlichen Elementen will ich einige Bemerkungen machen

## Thucydides on Rhetoric and Leadership in Athens

Public speaking before large deliberative bodies of citizens played a crucial role, if not *the* crucial role, in the determination of communal policy in classical Athenian democracy. It was in the Athenian forums devoted to such deliberation, the Boule, the Assembly, and the courts, and by means of the speeches they delivered there, that politically active citizens were confirmed, if not actually identified, as leaders. Out of this classical democratic scenario the following question will inevitably arise: what sort of speech-making, what rhetorical mode, is best suited to advance the interests of the polis as a whole, or, in other words, is most likely to succeed in promoting the best leaders? Thucydides does not address this question directly. Yet he has much to say about leadership in Athens, and through his speeches puts great emphasis on the role of rhetoric in the determination of communal policy. What then are the premises which underlie Thucydides' presentation of the entwined phenomena of rhetoric and leadership in the democracy? And how are Thucydides' views of Athenian democratic leaders related to his presentation of their speeches? In this paper I hope to contribute towards an answer to these questions.

I contend that the rhetoric of Pericles, the ideal democratic leader, is distinctive in its appeal to the entire citizen body - this is a rhetoric of "inclusion", wherein the polis as a whole is addressed and instructed (cf. προδιδαχθῆναι, 2.40.2). This is partly but not entirely based on the appeal to reason and rational considerations of policy; there are other appeals. Social, economic and geographical factors tending to divide the citizen body are consciously overcome. The rhetoric of the archetypal demagogue, Cleon, is distinctive in its appeal to only a part of the citizen body (the *demos*) - this is a rhetoric of "exclusion", wherein part of the polis is addressed directly and part of the polis is set in opposition to the speaker's constituency. The Syracusan demagogue Athenagoras represents the same tendency. On this analysis Nicias is shown to fail as a democratic leader because he too uses the rhetoric of "exclusion", setting the old against the young. Alcibiades, on the other hand, does attempt to appeal to the entire citizen body in a rhetoric of "inclusion".

Finally, I contend that this approach to rhetoric in the democracy contributes towards our understanding of Thucydides' analysis of *stasis*. That is, in Thucydides' version of vicious democratic rhetoric (i.e. that of Cleon and Athenagoras) the same forces of division are tapped and exploited which in the historian's classic account are released without restraint in open civil war. Democracy, in its degraded state wherein demagogues enjoy power at the expense of civic unity, is but a station on the spectrum in which open civil war represents one extreme.