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Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus*

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HAROLD S. WILSON
and
CLARENCE A. FORBES



UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA STUDIES

November 1945

STUDIES IN THE HUMANITIES NO. 4

GABRIEL HARVEY'S *CICERONIANUS*

University of Nebraska Studies

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Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus*

★ ★ ★

With an Introduction and Notes

by

HAROLD S. WILSON

And an English Translation

by

CLARENCE A. FORBES

★ ★ ★

STUDIES IN THE HUMANITIES NO. 4

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PREFACE

Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus*, except for an extract given in the introduction to Alexander Grosart's edition of Harvey's *Works* (1884-85), has not been republished since it was originally issued at London in 1577. In the present edition, we have provided a corrected text based upon that of the Huntington Library copy only, since it has proved impracticable to collate the texts of all the known copies of Harvey's treatise. The *erratorum elenchus* has been reprinted from the Huntington Library copy (p. 105), and the textual errors there listed have been silently corrected in the present text. We have likewise corrected fourteen textual errors not noted in the *elenchus*. These changes are indicated at the foot of each page where they occur. There is one error in the *erratorum elenchus* itself, which has been discussed in the notes (80.21). We have made a few slight changes from the Elizabethan punctuation, in the interest of clarity, and have omitted the Latin accents; we have silently expanded abbreviations and corrected marks of accent and breathing for the Greek words.

The editors have shared the work of preparing the Latin text. While the main responsibility for the introduction, translation, and commentary is indicated on the title-page, we have consulted each other at every stage of the work and have mutually profited from this collaboration. We are indebted to the authorities of the Henry E. Huntington Library for providing us with a photostatic reproduction of their copy of the *Ciceronianus* and granting permission to reprint from this text. We have likewise to thank the Research Council of the University of Nebraska for two grants of financial assistance; the University Studies Committee for recommending the appropriation which has made possible the present publication; the University Editor, Miss Emily Schossberger, for valuable assistance in seeing this work through the press; and the staff of the University of Nebraska Library for much helpful co-operation.

The writer of the introduction and commentary has incurred a number of special obligations in the course of this work which it is pleasant to recall. A grant-in-aid from the Committee on Research Activities of the Modern Language Association enabled him to visit the libraries of the Universities of Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and Illinois, during the summer of 1944. He is likewise

indebted to the officers of these libraries for their gracious assistance. At Urbana, he was privileged to consult the splendid private collection of Renaissance books owned by Professor T. W. Baldwin and to draw upon the genial resources of that scholar's learning. Mr. C. H. Wilkinson of Worcester College, Oxford, and Mr. John Johnson, Printer to the University of Oxford, generously provided a microfilm of Harvey's annotated copies of the two treatises entitled *Ciceronianus* by P. Ramus and J. T. Freigius, at a time when the request for such a photograph could not have been very convenient. Mr. Eric Millar, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, gave permission for prints of the unpublished part of Harvey's *Letter-Book* from the photograph in Harvard College Library; and Mr. Ralph Beals, Director of Libraries at the University of Chicago, granted photographs of Harvey's two orations on the study of Greek. The friendly counsel and learned suggestions of a number of others have been of great help, among whom should be especially mentioned Professor Josephine Waters Bennett of Hunter College; Professor Rosemond Tuve of Connecticut College; Mr. W. A. Jackson of the Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.; Mr. Paul North Rice of the New York Public Library; and Professor Kenneth Forward of the University of Nebraska.

H. S. W.

C. A. F.

CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction 1

Reproduction of original title page 35

Text and translation 36

Reproduction of colophon 104

Erratorum elenchus 105

Notes 107

Bibliography 141

Index of Names 145

INTRODUCTION

I

Though Gabriel Harvey was not, like the poet,

*A creature quite too bright and good
To be so much misunderstood,*¹

posterity has, on the whole, dealt rather harshly with him. An unwilling participant in a spectacular and amusing but highly undignified flyting with the brilliant Elizabethan journalist, Thomas Nashe, Harvey has commonly been judged from the estimate of his opponent as a dull pedant. But Tom Nashe is a biased witness and quite unfit to judge of Harvey's accomplishments in the learned world of his day. While he was still in his middle twenties,² Harvey distinguished himself at Cambridge as a teacher and one of the University's most accomplished Latinists. He was warmly praised and encouraged by older scholars like William Lewin and Bartholomew Clerke; he inspired the devoted friendship of Edmund Spenser; and he enjoyed the patronage, at one time or another, of statesmen of the eminence of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Mildmay, Lord Burghley, and the Earl of Leicester. The man whose character and talents were thus admired and commended became one of the most learned scholars of his age and exerted a significant influence upon English letters. But Harvey's claims to serious attention from students of English literature have been too easily disregarded; for these claims are displayed at their best not in the informal pamphlets of his controversy with Nashe but in his less known scholarly writings, which we should also consult for a complete and judicious estimate of the man.

The Latin orations which Harvey delivered as lectures in his capacity of Praelector or Professor of Rhetoric at Cambridge University in 1575-76 and published in 1577 under the titles of *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor* are among the most interesting literary documents of the time. They provide not merely a much needed commentary upon Harvey's own character, literary accomplishments, and influence, but one of the best illustrations remaining to us of Elizabethan learned

¹ "Horace's *Vitas hinnuleo* (i. 23), done by Mr. William Wordsworth," in G. M. Whicher and G. F. Whicher, *Roba D'Italia* (Amherst, Mass., 1930), pp. 67-8.

² This assumes that he was born about 1550, as Professor G. C. Moore Smith (*Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, p. 8) has most plausibly argued.

interests and what passed for Latin eloquence among university men at the time when writers like Spenser and Shakspeare were finishing their formal education. The extent to which the Latin studies pursued in the schools and universities influenced and formed educated Englishmen of the Renaissance is yet to be fully demonstrated.³ Many of the tools which every English writer of the age of Elizabeth knew and used from his youth up, in getting his literary education—the Latin logics and rhetorics, the phrase books, the pedagogical works of great educators like Sturm and Ramus, as well as such representative accounts as occur in Harvey's rhetoric lectures of the teaching methods and practices that flourished at the universities—are not yet easily available to students of the period. These means were often decisive in shaping the aims and methods of Elizabethan literature. Toward a better understanding of these means, the present edition of Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus* is especially designed to contribute.⁴

II

Harvey's appointment as University Praelector in Rhetoric at Cambridge on April 23, 1574,⁵ marked the most important honor Harvey had yet attained in his academic career. He had been appointed to

³ Among recent studies directed to this end, see D. C. Allen, *Francis Meres's Treatise "Poetrie": A Critical Edition* (1933); W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (1937); Warren Taylor, *Tudor Figures of Rhetoric* (1937); H. D. Rix, *Rhetoric in Spenser's Poetry* (1940); John Rainolds, *Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae*, ed. W. Ringler and W. Allen (1940); F. R. Johnson, "Two Renaissance Textbooks of Rhetoric: Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* and Rainolde's *A booke called the Foundation of Rhetorike*," *HLQ*, VI (1943), 427–44; K. R. Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* (1943); T. W. Baldwin, *Shakspeare's Petty School* (1943), and the same author's monumental *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (1944).

⁴ Unfortunately it has not been possible to include the two lectures that compose the *Rhetor* in the present edition. The *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor* represent a single point of view and reciprocally illuminate Harvey's rhetorical doctrine and pedagogical methods. A brief comparative analysis of the two works is contained in a paper by the present writer, "Gabriel Harvey's orations on Rhetoric," *ELH*, xii (1945), 167–182. In the present edition, the *Rhetor* is cited at those points where it most significantly illuminates or supplements the doctrine of the *Ciceronianus*. An edition of the complete works of Gabriel Harvey and his brothers is a desideratum. They were an energetic and colorful family, whose intellectual activity touched the culture of their time at almost all points.

⁵ *Grace Book* Δ, p. 274; *Marg.*, p. 13. Harvey had already been lecturing in this capacity since the beginning of Lent, 1574, at the request of his predecessor in this office, Robert Church (*Letter-Book*, p. 176).

a fellowship at Pembroke Hall in 1570; and although his residence there had been disturbed by academic enmities and intrigue, particularly when he wished to proceed to the M.A. degree, the influence of the Master, Dr. John Young, defeated the resolve of Harvey's enemies among his colleagues to deny his grace for the M.A., and in the autumn of 1573 Harvey became college lecturer on Greek in Pembroke Hall.⁶ Two of Harvey's Greek lectures, recently identified by Professor T. W. Baldwin in an appendix to the 1581 edition of Crispinus's *Lexicon Graecolatinum*,⁷ indicate that Harvey continued to lecture on Greek in Pembroke Hall even after his appointment to the University Praelectorship in Rhetoric.⁸ With these two posts and his tutorial work besides, Harvey led a very busy academic life indeed between the spring of 1574 and the time of his retirement from his praelectorship in rhetoric more than two years later.⁹

The university praelectorships, though not highly remunerative, were coveted posts among the fellows of the various colleges, to judge by the evidence preserved in Harvey's *Letter-Book* concerning Harvey's competition with John Duffield for the rhetoric lectureship.¹⁰ Appointments to teaching positions, apart from Regius professorships and other endowed chairs, seem to have been for short terms, it being supposed that incumbents of such lectureships as that in rhetoric would proceed in due time to advanced degrees and other university or professional employments, or to such concentration upon their advanced studies as would preclude their continuing as lecturers. William Lewin, in his prefatory letter to the *Ciceronianus*, observes that the conditions of appointment and tenure for praelectors were far from satisfactory in Harvey's day. The charges are very familiar: appointments were made on grounds other than academic attainment;

⁶ *Letter-Book*, pp. 1-54; *Marg.*, pp. 10-13; J. W. Bennett, "Spenser and Gabriel Harvey's *Letter-Book*," *MP*, XXIX (1931), 163-186.

⁷ *Small Latine*, I.436-7.

⁸ G. H. *De Discenda Graeca Lingua Oratio Secunda*: "Duo sunt fere anni, humanissimi auditores, ex quo vobis adiumentum aliquod ad Graecarum literarum intelligentiam, nobilissimaeque linguae cognitionem attulimus" (*Lexicon Graecolatinum*, Nnnn. vijv.).

⁹ Harvey retired from his praelectorship before February 11, 1577, the date of William Lewin's letter that prefaces the *Ciceronianus*, in which Harvey's retirement is referred to (text, p. 42). There is no record of the precise date of Harvey's retirement in *Grace Book* Δ. Harvey began a series of rhetoric lectures for Easter term, 1576 (see below, pp. 7 ff.), so that it is unlikely he retired earlier than Mid-summer of 1576.

¹⁰ *Letter-Book* pp. 171 ff.; and see the note on 58.3.

the stipends were inadequate; the insecurity of tenure did not encourage the best efforts of teachers.¹¹ Harvey undoubtedly suffered some of these disabilities. It would be interesting to learn the circumstances of Harvey's relinquishing his praelectorship; but I have not been able to discover anything concerning this.

The duty of the Praelector in Rhetoric was to lecture, at least four days in the week during term-time, before the first-year students of the university—for whom rhetoric was the study prescribed by statute—and any other members of the university who wished to attend.¹² University lectures in Harvey's day were apparently no more popular among the undergraduates than they have been reported to be in more recent times. J. B. Mullinger records repeated complaints during the sixteenth century that lectures went unattended, including Harvey's own statement that opens the *Rhetor*.¹³ Nevertheless, Harvey's own lectures, he lets us know, were extremely well received, attended by thronging audiences of "almost four hundred,"¹⁴ who, on occasion, encouraged the lecturer with whistles and shouts.¹⁵ The lecturer on rhetoric was required to expound "Quintilian, Hermogenes, or some of the oratorical works of Cicero," and to deliver his commentary in English if his audience were not equal to receiving it in Latin.¹⁶ Whether Harvey was ever reduced to using English in his

¹¹ This text, p. 42. Roger Ascham had earlier (1553) advocated some more stable provision for the study of 'tongues and sciences' at Cambridge; but the prevailing feeling during the reign of Elizabeth was that most university posts should be regarded as temporary employments auxiliary to the candidate's preparation in divinity, law, or medicine, and his subsequent practice of his profession outside the University. In founding Emmanuel College, Sir Walter Mildmay expressly stipulated that fellowships should not be permanently held: "We would not have any fellow suppose that we have given him, in this college, a perpetual abode" (J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, II.114-5, 315).

¹² The statutes of 1570 for Cambridge University prescribe rhetoric as the study occupying the whole of the undergraduate's first year (*Documents relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge* [London, 1852], I.458-9). It is these freshmen (*suauissimi Adolescentes atque bellissimi pueri*), youngsters from twelve to sixteen, for the most part, whom Harvey particularly addresses in the *Ciceronianus*. Older students, and colleagues (*ornatissimi viri*) might be privileged spectators. It was apparently customary among the lecturers to attend at least the inaugural lectures of colleagues; see this text, p. 58, and *Rhetor*, B.ij.

¹³ *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles the First* (Cambridge, 1884), pp. 96-7, 426.

¹⁴ *Rhetor*, C.iiijv.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, A.iiiv.

¹⁶ *Documents*, I.457.

lectures we do not know; but the *Ciceronianus* gives every evidence of having been delivered as well as published in Latin.

The *Ciceronianus* is an inaugural oration, designed to introduce a series of lectures concerned with the analysis of rhetorical models which the students were expected to imitate and emulate in their own rhetorical exercises.¹⁷ Harvey indicates at the end of the *Ciceronianus* that he proposed to begin such an analysis of Cicero's oration *Post Reditum in Senatu* the next day. The *Rhetor*, delivered a year before the *Ciceronianus*, introduces a similar analysis of Cicero's *Oratio post Reditum ad Quirites* (sig. Q.ij^v.).

The evidence concerning the dates on which Harvey delivered the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus* as lectures has never been fully considered. Professor G. C. Moore Smith surmised that the *Ciceronianus* was delivered "in January, 1575, when the University re-assembled after being dissolved for a term on account of plague."¹⁸ Certain evidence in the *Ciceronianus*, however, indicates that this dating is inaccurate, while the full evidence offered by the *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor* enables us to date the oral delivery of both works quite definitely.¹⁹

The two orations which compose the *Rhetor* and which were delivered on successive days were given in the spring of 1575. This appears from the opening of the first oration, where Harvey comments ironically on the large audience that has turned out for his lecture.²⁰ He

¹⁷ The *Ciceronianus* seems strictly to constitute a resumption or second beginning of a series of lectures earlier commenced and for some reason 'interrupted' (this text, p. 84). See the following discussion.

¹⁸ *Marg.*, p. 13. In fixing upon this date, Professor Moore Smith was apparently guided by Harvey's opening words in the *Ciceronianus*: "Redeo tandem ad vos, mei Auditores . . . non vt Vlisses ille πολύτροπος ad suos Ithacenses, a quibus plures annos aberat, quam ego a vobis hebdomades. . . ." The University records show that, following Harvey's appointment to the praelectorship in rhetoric in April, 1574, the University recessed because of the plague from October 10, 1574 to January 13, 1575 (*Grace Book Δ*, p. 283). Since this constitutes an interval of more than thirteen weeks, it suggests an explanation of Harvey's allusion to the absence of Ulysses (i.e., he had been absent somewhat under twenty weeks) particularly if we suppose that Harvey may have been including some time previous to the official date of adjournment, that is, prior to October 10, 1574, in his calculations. Furthermore, there is no record of a comparably long recess until we come to October 12, 1577 (*Grace Book Δ*, pp. 312-13; C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, II.357), by which date Harvey had relinquished his praelectorship.

¹⁹ Professor Moore Smith did not assign a year for the delivery of the *Rhetor* lectures, but he did indicate the occasion of their delivery, "at the Comititia, the Bachelors' Commencement, in March" (*Marg.*, p. 15).

²⁰ Sig. A. ff.

could explain so large an attendance, he says, were this his first year as a lecturer, for Cambridge undergraduates are notorious lovers of novelty. Last year he did expect such a throng, nor was his expectation mistaken. But this year, "Harueius iam vetus, & prope etiam, quod ille addit, vietus est: nouitatem nouis relinquit professoribus."²¹

Since Harvey was appointed to his praelectorship on April 23, 1574, this introduction implies that the *Rhetor* lectures were delivered in the spring of 1575. The date of 1575 is confirmed by a reference that occurs in the second oration of the *Rhetor* to Petrarch's letter addressed to Cicero that begins, "Epistolas tuas diu multumque perquisitas, atque ubi minime rebar inventas, avidissime perlegi," and is dated "XVI Kalendas Quintiles, anno ab ortu Dei illius quem tu non noveras MCCCXLV."²² Harvey's reference, contained in a recommendation of Petrarch's letter as a model, is as follows:

Ex quibus etiam nominatim epistolam vobis peringeniosam, elegantemque commendo Francisci Petrarchae, hominis diuino cerebro, & sua quadam in scribendo singulari quasi vena pollentis; ad Ciceronem illam quidem, sed contra Ciceronem ante annos CCXXX. scriptam, nondum tamen, vt opinor, missam, scriptam autem, cum in eius Epistolas, diu, multumque perquisitas, atque tandem inuentas, incidisset.²³

A reference near the beginning of the first oration to "his presentibus comitijs"²⁴ indicates that both orations were delivered, as Professor Moore Smith supposed, at the Bachelors' Commencement which took place in March²⁵—since the beginning of such a series of lectures as the *Rhetor* introduces would hardly occur at the only other Commencement, in Mid-summer.

The main clue for dating the delivery of the *Ciceronianus* is supplied by the jocose digression Harvey introduces in this oration at the

²¹ A.ijv.

²² *Fam.* XXIV.3; ed. Fracassetti (1859-63), III.262.

²³ Sigs. O.iv, O.ivv.

²⁴ A.ij. Though 'comitiis' could be used in the general sense of 'a gathering or assembly,' Harvey's context makes it clear enough that he is using the word in the technical sense of 'Commencement': "Hoc autem anno, & his presentibus comitijs, tantum aberat . . . vt ingentem illam, atque grandem multitudinem, celebritatemque Academicam vel sperare possem, vel exspectare auderem. . ."

²⁵ See *Grace Book* Δ, p. 313. Since students often matriculated at the beginning of the Easter term (see *Alumni Cantab.*, *passim*; Easter, 1575, fell on April 3rd) and might be admitted some days or weeks before matriculation, it is easily understandable why Harvey describes some of his audience as former hearers of his lectures and some of them as "new" (sig. Bv.).

expense of one of his colleagues, Harvey's reply to the insinuation of a "nouus philosophus" delivered in a dialogue "the day before yesterday":

Tantum abest, id vt agnoscam, quod nouus philosophus, familiaris meus, in Dialogo, nudiustertius somniavit, minime mirum esse, si Philosophiae Duffildus valedixerit, cum Harueius suam, quam vnice amaret, & a qua vnice amaretur, quamque supra omnem mundum, non modo supra modum efferret (his mihi verbis philosophus gratificari voluit) eloquentiam deseruerit.²⁶

The allusion to Duffield's bidding farewell to philosophy is explained by an entry in *Grace Book Δ* for the year 1576:

Conceditur 4 Maii [1576] vt magister Jones fungatur vice magistri Duffyld in philosophica prelectione qui cum necessariis negociis sit impeditus adesse presenti termino non possit.²⁷

Since Harvey's allusion to Duffield and the "nouus philosophus" Jones is clearly a joke intended for Harvey's Cambridge audience, it seems unlikely that it was added to the oration after its oral delivery. If we accept the obvious inference that the Duffield-Jones allusion was part of the oration as Harvey delivered it before his undergraduate hearers, we must place the delivery of the oration not earlier than May, 1576, and in all probability near the beginning of the Easter term, since the *Ciceronianus* was an inaugural oration.²⁸

We still have to account for Harvey's reference at the beginning of the *Ciceronianus* to his absence from his Cambridge classes for something under twenty weeks. If this interval occurred in the time prior to May, 1576, as I think it did, I regret that I cannot find a full explanation. The following details, however, are suggestive of an explanation. In the sixteenth century, the menace of the plague was perennial, and *Grace Book Δ* has repeated references to adjournments

²⁶ This text, pp. 56, 58.

²⁷ P. 295.

²⁸ If one cares to try to make the date still more specific, there is some slight basis for doing so. Easter Sunday in 1576 fell on April 22nd. Since the Easter term at Cambridge traditionally begins on the Wednesday week after Easter, we may guess that the term began in this year on or about Wednesday, May 2nd. If we suppose further that 'magister Jones' as the person chosen to read the philosophy lectures for this term began with the "Dialogue" Harvey refers to then or shortly thereafter, and that it was delivered two days before Harvey's *Ciceronianus* ("nudiustertius"), we may place the delivery of the *Ciceronianus* sometime during the week of May 2 to May 9, 1576. But this is a very finical conjecture. Concerning Duffield and Jones, see the notes on 58.3, 58.1.

and partial adjournments of the University because of it. Particularly common was the adjournment of public meetings, which would include lectures attended by men from the various colleges—like Harvey's lectures to the first-year students in rhetoric—while instruction was continued within the various colleges. Such a partial adjournment is recorded from December 2, 1575 until January 13, 1576:

Conceditur 2^o Decembris quum celum sit valde intemperatum et pestis violentia in dies magis et magis crescat vt terminus hodie dissolvatur vsque ad 13 diem Januarii Ita tamen vt singula collegia domi consuetae exercitationes observent vsque ad finem termini et disputationes interim fiende in philosophia pro habitis censeantur ad magistros qui interea temporis disputarent sic vt bedellis solvant consuetam pencionem.²⁹

During the Lent term of 1576 there is no record of any adjournment of the University because of the plague; but if the plague had been 'violent' in the preceding term, it is extremely likely that it continued menacing when university lectures should have resumed on January 13, 1576—as happened in Lent term of 1575, and again at the same period in 1578.³⁰ It is quite conceivable, therefore, that such university classes as Harvey's should have met irregularly, or even that they should have been dismissed without the dismissal being formally entered in the university records during this term.³¹ Harvey may have found it possible to retire to Saffron Walden, which was but a short distance from the University, because his classes in rhetoric were not meeting; and this adjournment of his rhetoric lectures could have been prolonged to something under twenty weeks, even though Harvey himself were residing in his own college during part of this time.³²

²⁹ *Grace Book Δ*, p. 295.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 283, 312–13.

³¹ It is noteworthy in this connection that *Grace Book Δ* contains no dated entries between March 7, 1576 and May 4, 1576.

³² Professor G. C. Moore Smith has recorded Harvey's entry in his copy of Quintilian: "Rhetoricus Professor Cantab. 1573, 1574, 1575." The date 1573 is, of course, old style, since we know that Harvey began to lecture, at the earliest, from "ye beginning of Lent" 1574, to fill out the unexpired term of Robert Church (*Letter-Book*, p. 176). The date 1575, which may be old style, too, need not be taken as indicating the end of Harvey's praelectorship, however, since it is quite possible that Harvey made this notation in 1575 or early in 1576, before his lectureship expired. He may have thought he had finished his work as a lecturer on rhetoric at this time, only to change his plans later on; see the following discussion.

A further possibility is that Harvey really did plan to abandon his rhetoric praelectorship in 1575 or early in 1576, as his "friend," the "nouus philosophus" Jones, supposed. Perhaps his appointment was not renewed at the beginning of 1576, or perhaps it was proposed that Harvey should deliver lectures on some other subject either to university classes or within his own college. Harvey says that he was preparing a commentary upon Macrobius's *Saturnalia* the week before he returned to Cambridge to deliver the *Ciceronianus* (text, p. 56), and it is not likely that such a commentary would have any relation to lectures upon rhetoric. We may suppose that word suddenly reached Harvey at Saffron Walden, the week before classes were to resume for the Easter term, that he had been chosen to deliver the rhetoric lectures for the new term, after all. This would explain his telling William Lewin, in the dedicatory epistle, that the *Ciceronianus* was the work of "about five days." We can hardly suppose that this statement applies to the oration as he published it in 1577; but he may have worked it up in its first form during the last week before the Easter term began. The "nouus philosophus," then, not having heard of the recent change of plan, would be quite innocent in supposing that Harvey intended to abandon his rhetoric lectures.

From Harvey's account of his studious leisure at Saffron Walden during the interval while his lectures were "interrupted,"³³ it seems unlikely that his absence from Cambridge was occasioned by some business unconnected with his university work:

. . . in otio illo Tusculano, & solitario paene plus, quam in Academiae ipsius spatijs, & hac circumstantium frequentissima celebritate consecutum me putem . . . in otio ita me fuisse negotiosum, vt in maximis, turbulentissimisque negotijs, quibus eram non ita pridem implicatus, magis mihi ipse viderer quadam ratione otiosus.³⁴

The contrast is between the quiet but strenuous activity of uninterrupted study in the country, and the bustling but less fruitful exertions of life at the University while classes were in session. If Harvey had been absent from his classes for nearly twenty weeks because he had had to undertake some business, public or private, he would hardly have used a contrast of this particular sort.

³³ "Interruptam illam quidem, sed non abruptam explicandi Ciceronis exercitationem . . ." (this text, p. 84).

³⁴ This text, p. 54.

It is clearly indicated, I believe, that the two orations composing the *Rhetor* were delivered in some form during the spring of 1575, and the first version of the *Ciceronianus* near the beginning of Easter term, 1576. Thus we may surmise, if we please, that while young Francis Bacon, who was at Cambridge between 1573 and 1575, might conceivably have heard the first version of the *Rhetor*, he could not have listened to the *Ciceronianus* delivered the year after he left Cambridge; that Edmund Spenser, whose grace for the M.A. was granted as late as June 26, 1576, might have attended the delivery of both the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus* as a privileged senior member of the University and a friend of the lecturer; and that Abraham Fraunce, who entered Cambridge in Easter term, 1576,³⁵ would, in the normal course of events, be among the freshman hearers of the *Ciceronianus* and would receive from Harvey, if he had not already been indoctrinated, the gospel according to Ramus and Talaeus which it was Harvey's chief purpose to preach and which Fraunce later turned to use in his *Lawiers Logike* and *Arcadian Rhetorike*.

It is almost equally certain that these orations were carefully revised and enlarged before they were sent to the printer in 1577. The evidence of revision is clear in the *Rhetor*, where two books are mentioned which did not appear in print until the year after the oral delivery of the lectures in 1575.³⁶ The evidence of revision in the *Ciceronianus* is not so clear. None of the books mentioned in this oration was published later than 1575, as far as I know;³⁷ and I

³⁵ He matriculaetd 26 May, 1576 (A. Fraunce, *Victoria* ed. G. C. Moore Smith [1906], p. xix), but he probably entered at the beginning of the term, as was customary.

³⁶ *Rhetor*, Ev. The two books are *Petri Rami Veromandui, regii professoris, Dialecticae lib. duo, ex variis ipsius disputationibus, et multis Audomari Talaei commentariis denuo breviter explicati, a Guilielmo Rodingo Hasso*. Francofurti, apud Andream Wechelum, 1576, with a preface dated "IIII. Idus Januarii Anni CI.D. I.D. LXXXVI," to which Harvey refers; and *P. Rami, professio regia, hoc est septem artes liberales in regia cathedra per ipsum Parisiis apodictico docendi genere propositae & per Ioan. Thomam Freigium in tabulas perpetuas, seu στρομάτα quaedam, relatae*. . . Colophon: "Basileae, excudebat Sebastianus Henricpetri, Anno a Christo nato CI.D. I.D. LXXXVI. Mense Martio."

³⁷ Harvey's complimentary reference to the *Ciceronianus* of J. T. Freigius (this text, p. 78) can be placed near the date of the delivery of Harvey's lecture. Freigius's *Ciceronianus* appeared in 1575. But Harvey's own copy, preserved in Worcester College Library, Oxford, contains the date, in Harvey's hand, "4 Aprilis 1576" at the end of the volume, which contains copious annotations. Presumably this date indicates when Harvey finished his first reading of the volume, which was probably among the books he studied during his Saffron Walden vacation.

have not observed any other conclusive evidence of revision. Nevertheless, it seems exceedingly likely that the *Ciceronianus*, like the *Rhetor*, was carefully revised before publication. The *Ciceronianus* in its published form is far longer than any university lecture should be.³⁸ But the decisive consideration is that Harvey's interest would lead him to take every possible care with both the *Ciceronianus* and the *Rhetor* before he sent them to the printer, in order to make the best possible impression with their publication. When we consider that from one to two-and-one-half years elapsed between the delivery of these lectures and their publication; that these works are lengthy, carefully polished pieces of Latinity; and that Harvey himself on subsequent occasions resorted to elaborate plans and stratagems for impressing the public in print;³⁹ we cannot take Harvey literally when he tells William Lewin, in the dedication of the *Ciceronianus*, that it is a hasty composition, "qualem ego dierum fere quinque spacio effingere potui."⁴⁰ Both the *Ciceronianus* and the *Rhetor* are, beyond doubt, the fruit of painstaking composition and revision.

The *Ciceronianus* was entered in the Stationers' Register, March 20, 1577, and published by Henry Bynneman, the well-known London printer,⁴¹ in June of the same year. Harvey dedicated his treatise to William Lewin, then Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but formerly a fellow of Harvey's college, Christ's, while Harvey was an undergraduate, and Public Orator at Cambridge in 1570-71, a

³⁸ My own impression from trying to read the *Ciceronianus* through orally at a normal speed is that its delivery would require considerably more than two hours. But university lectures in Harvey's day were of one hour's duration (*Rhetor*, A.iiijv.). Compare the much briefer compass of Harvey's two lectures on the study of Greek, the first of which covers three pages and the second six (in small type) at the back of the 1581 edition of Crispinus's *Lexicon Graecolatinum*; while the *Ciceronianus* covers 67 pages (in large type) and the two orations of the *Rhetor* 124 pages. Since the lectures on Greek were published inconspicuously under the author's initials only, Harvey would have the less incentive to expand them in revision.

³⁹ See J. W. Bennett, "Spenser and Gabriel Harvey's *Letter-Book*," *MP*, XXIX (1931), 163-86.

⁴⁰ This text, p. 36. Harvey of course wished to give the impression of casualness concerning his publications. His apologies for hasty composition, here and elsewhere, are probably parodied in *Pedantius*, 1.2368. But cf. Harvey, *Works*, ed. Grosart, I.176: "I stil dwel in the same opinion, that nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly laboured both for matter and maner . . ."

⁴¹ See Henry R. Plomer, "Henry Bynneman, Printer, 1566-83," *The Library*, n.s. IX (July, 1908), 225-44; *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1910).

man of high repute both in the academic world and in public life. The dedication was gracefully apologetic, in the customary manner; and the circumstance that Lewin rather than Harvey sent the manuscript to the press was not, one suspects, on Harvey's side merely fortuitous.

Though the practice of publishing scholarly orations and lectures was common enough on the continent, it was not yet so in England. Laurence Humphrey, as President of Magdalen College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, had published his orations delivered before Queen Elizabeth, and there had been a few others; but English college lecturers had not yet begun to take the initiative in publishing their own discourses. When Walter Haddon's orations and other works appeared in 1567, they were collected and edited by Thomas Hatcher, and both the title-page and preface implied that this publication was without Haddon's collaboration and was rather due to the desire of Hatcher to make such valuable work available than to any desire or suggestion of Haddon.

In 1577 Gabriel Harvey was obscure or unknown to the reading public and still a new man at Cambridge, working to establish his academic reputation. He would wish to avoid the imputation of thrusting himself before the public in a kind of publication that had little or no precedent in England. Furthermore, Harvey always conceived of himself as the man of action quite as much as the scholar. In this role, it was fitting that he should treat his publications in something of an offhand manner; it would look well if he himself should seem too much engaged in other affairs to be able to see his own work through the press. It would look extremely well if he could manage to suggest that the very publication was somehow solicited, or at least encouraged, by a man of Lewin's standing and integrity. By the device of sending his manuscript to Lewin, who, as his warm friend and well-wisher could be depended upon to welcome Harvey's project of publication and perhaps to have some influence with the printer Bynneman as well,⁴² Harvey was able to convey this suggestion. Once the favorable reception of the *Ciceronianus* was secured, the way would be made easy for the subsequent publication of the *Rhetor*. We need not suppose that Lewin was a deliberate collaborator in Harvey's little stratagem. Lewin doubtless understood the purposes Harvey had in mind in using him as his agent with the

⁴² Nashe repeatedly twits Harvey with having to pay for the publishing of all his writings; *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I.261; III.128.

printer; but it was a mild and comparatively innocent stratagem; the oration itself was good and deserving of publication; Harvey was a promising young man and Lewin's friend, and the dedication itself was something of an honor. A man of Lewin's urbane and generous spirit would easily accept the role Harvey, who was not utterly lacking in adroitness, so disarmingly thrust upon him.

The sub-title of Harvey's oration⁴³ is designed to suggest Cicero's *Oratio post Reditum in Senatu habita* as the text of the ensuing lectures which the *Ciceronianus* introduces, as well as to anticipate the analogy of Harvey's return from Saffron Walden which Harvey develops in his introduction and conclusion. As the title-page further indicates, Harvey's published treatise is designed especially for the benefit of his former undergraduate hearers.⁴⁴ Since Harvey had retired from his praelectorship in rhetoric some time before the publication of the *Ciceronianus*, he cannot be suspected of requiring his students to buy his textbook. The practice, as far as I know, had not become a scandal in the sixteenth century.

The *Ciceronianus* exists today in at least eleven copies, five of which are not listed in the *Short-Title Catalogue*.⁴⁵ Harvey apparently contemplated bringing out a second edition,⁴⁶ but there is no record that such an edition ever appeared.

⁴³ *Oratio post reditum, habita Cantabrigiae ad suos Auditores.*

⁴⁴ *Quorum potissimum causa, diuulgata est.*

⁴⁵ I am informed by Mr. W. A. Jackson of the Houghton Library at Harvard that there is a second copy of the *Ciceronianus* in the Bodleian and a copy in the Library of Westminster Abbey, not listed in the STC. In this country, there are copies in the libraries of Yale University and the University of Chicago; in the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the Newberry Library. J. E. B. Mayor, *Scholemaster* (1863), pp. 272-73, quotes from an edition of the *Ciceronianus* then in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge.

⁴⁶ *Marg.*, pp. 216 ff. Mr. W. A. Jackson has pointed out to me the record in the auction catalogue for November 30, 1922, which shows that the English auctioneers Hodgson & Company on that date sold in lot No. 5 the following: "G. Harvey, *Ciceronianus*, 1577; *Rhetor*, 1577; *Smithus*, 1578; three books bound as one volume." This sounds as if it might be the volume seen by Thomas Baker, whose notes on it are transcribed by G. C. Moore Smith in the appendix to his edition of Harvey's *Marginalia*. I have not been able to learn the present whereabouts of the volume sold in 1922. It may have been broken up into three separate volumes after it was purchased.

III

Harvey's *Ciceronianus* deals with a topic of perennial concern among the learned throughout the Renaissance: the broad question of what constitutes the best Latin style and how one may attain it. Despite the growth of the vernacular literatures throughout Europe during this period, Latin remained the common language of the educated; and almost all literary training, in England as on the continent, was conducted in Latin and was concerned simply with Latin, and, occasionally, a little Greek. The schoolboys and university students of Elizabethan England learned to write through practicing Latin composition in prose and verse. The course of literary studies followed in the grammar schools, so admirably demonstrated by Professor Baldwin, culminated in the practice of the Latin oration, and this practice continued in the study of rhetoric at the universities. In this form, Cicero was acknowledged by almost universal consent to be the greatest master. Everybody agreed that the best way to learn to write was by studying and imitating the best model or models. The great issues for teachers of rhetoric throughout the Renaissance were: whether or not Cicero should be the *only* model or norm for Latin prose eloquence, and *how* one could best imitate the model or models chosen. Harvey's *Ciceronianus* is one of a long line of Renaissance treatises (often bearing the same title) that attempt to answer these questions; and the English representative is very far from being the dullest or the least distinguished of the line.⁴⁷

Harvey's *Ciceronianus* belongs to the class of oratory called deliberative, designed for giving counsel and naturally adapted to the purposes of the college lecturer. It is constructed according to the conventional divisions of introduction, narration or statement of the facts of the case, proposition, digression, confirmation, refutation, and conclusion; and doubtless it was intended as a kind of model for the undergraduates' emulation.

Harvey opens his discourse in accordance with the Aristotelian principle that in deliberative speeches one may well begin with a

⁴⁷ The whole broad subject of Renaissance Ciceronianism has been widely discussed, though it has not been definitively treated by any one writer. Among the most useful discussions are Charles Lenient, *De bello Ciceroniano apud recentiores* (1855); Remigio Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianismo* (1885); Izora Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero during the Renaissance* (1910); Herman Gmelin, "Das Prinzip der Imitatio in den romanischen Literaturen der Renaissance," *Romanische Forschungen*, XLVI (1932), 83-360.

reference to oneself,⁴⁸ a beginning designed to produce the effect of urbane informality recommended by Quintilian.⁴⁹ The panegyric upon Cicero that follows the exordium (pp. 46 ff.) is, I think, to be regarded as a *narratio*.⁵⁰ It sets forth the fact Harvey and his audience are agreed upon: that Cicero is the greatest of orators. Here the art of amplification, the jewelled favorite—or, if one prefers, the bedizened strumpet—of the Renaissance rhetorical ménage, was expected to appear and dazzle all beholders; and Harvey, despite his modest disclaimers, levies upon the best resources of his rhetorical *narthecium*, to use one of his own favorite tropes. The aim, in this extravagant passage, was not, of course, to offer a judicious critical estimate of Cicero but to regale the audience with an example of rhetorical virtuosity. The fun consisted in repeating in as many ingeniously different ways as one could what both Harvey and his audience regarded as a commonplace, the superlativeness of Cicero's eloquence; and the stronger the exaggeration in such an amplification, the better. Whether Harvey carries his amplifications too far, here and elsewhere in the oration—as he himself seems to doubt in one self-conscious aside (p. 48)—is a matter of taste. They were intended to seem spirited and entertaining, without unduly retarding the conduct of the argument.

The *propositio* is: "vt nec alios non aliquando legamus, in suo genere excellentes: & ad Ciceronem semper, tanquam ad Eloquentiae maximum natu filium, atque adeo haeredem recurramus" (p. 56). Following this, Harvey introduces his first digression (p. 58), the jocular reply to the "nouus philosophus" who had indiscreetly insinuated that Harvey might abandon his praelectorship in rhetoric. Whether the "nouus philosophus" Jones was a friend or an enemy of Harvey, we cannot tell. Probably his remark was quite innocent and intended merely as a piece of enlivening local color in the philosopher's lecture, with regard for the same rhetorical injunction Harvey exemplifies in his reply, that the orator should lighten his discourse with jests and humorous passages. Harvey's banter about prophetic powers seems a little heavy-handed; and certainly his patronizing tone is not very kind. But the Elizabethans were rough

⁴⁸ *Rhet.*, iii.14; cf. Quintilian, iii.8.8.

⁴⁹ iii.8.59.

⁵⁰ Quintilian (iii.8.10) says that in deliberative oratory when the audience is seeking advice they may be supposed to know the facts of the case and therefore a *narratio* is not needed. But a passage in praise of Cicero would be expected of one who spoke upon the Ciceronian eloquence at Cambridge in Harvey's day, and the natural place for such a panegyric would be as a *narratio* following the introduction.

jesters, and the joke may have been intended in good enough part. One imagines that it raised a laugh.

Harvey begins his *confirmatio* (pp. 58 ff.) with the account of his early affectations as an Italianate Ciceronian, an account intended as an object-lesson for his undergraduate hearers. He proceeds to explain and defend the tradition of Ciceronianism he now adheres to, which he recommends to his audience, the trans-Alpine tradition of Erasmus, Ramus, Sturm, and Freigius (pp. 68 ff.). The *refutatio* (pp. 86 ff.) contains Harvey's satirical picture of the superficial and foolish expositors of Cicero's eloquence among the teachers of his day, an account that complements the earlier humorous confession of his own rhetorical follies and thus deprives his satire of undue invidiousness. This passage is followed by a survey of the different schools of Ciceronian exegesis then flourishing in Europe that Harvey approves, and some indications of Harvey's own method of teaching Cicero (pp. 94 ff.). The *peroratio* (pp. 98 ff.) contains Harvey's graceful apology for his own temerity in undertaking to expound the Ciceronian eloquence, and a stirring prophecy of the heights of eloquence yet to be attained by English genius at Cambridge.

IV

That Harvey was not deficient in a sense of humor is surely evident from the opening part of his proof, in which he describes his early devotion to Cicero and his painful attempts to imitate him. The autobiographical form of this passage is in the best tradition of academic oratory. Joachimus Fortius Ringelbergius, in his *De ratione studii* (1529), which G. C. Moore Smith describes as "the gospel of Harvey's youth,"⁵¹ introduces a charming account of his experience as a student;⁵² and Harvey's favorite, Ramus, enlivens his commentaries occasionally with an autobiographical reminiscence.⁵³ The most remarkable parallel for Harvey's use of autobiographical matter, however, occurs in the fifteenth oration of the first volume of Muret's *Orationes*,⁵⁴ entitled "De toto studiorum suorum cursu deque eloquentia ac ceteris disciplinis cum Iurisprudencia coniungendis," de-

⁵¹ Marg., p. 254.

⁵² Io. Fortii Ringelbergii . . . de ratione studii . . . cura Ev. Scheidii (Lugduni Batavorum, 1792), pp. 40 ff.

⁵³ E.g., *Scholae in liberales artes* (Basileae, 1578), col. 424.

⁵⁴ M. Antonii Mureti opera omnia, ed. C. H. Frotscher (Lipsiae, 1834-41), I.222-26.

livered at Rome in 1567. Muret describes how, during his earlier education, though he had acquired the taste for the study of law, his preparation had been inadequate and none of his teachers had been competent to advise him properly. He was thus drifting along, comfortable enough in his ignorance, when God brought it about, as he insists, that he encountered the writings of Budaeus and Alciatus. These authorities were a revelation to him of his ignorance. It was like coming out of the mists and the shadows into the light of day. They taught him what he should know and set him on the right path to that knowledge of the law which he had long desired but hitherto had striven for in vain.⁵⁵ The parallel with Harvey's "discovery" of Ramus and subsequently of the "true" Ciceronians⁵⁶ is striking. But I can find no evidence that Harvey knew or used this oration of Muret; and from Harvey's assumption that Muret is to be classed with the Italian Ciceronians,⁵⁷ it seems unlikely that Harvey, at least when he wrote the *Ciceronianus*, was familiar with the group of Muret's orations that reflect his growing anti-Ciceronian bias,⁵⁸ to which the oration containing the passage here described belongs.

Harvey's account of his extreme Ciceronian period is obviously modelled upon Erasmus's portrait of the Ciceronian Nosoponus in his famous dialogue. Harvey uses a good many of Erasmus's points and occasionally echoes his phrasing;⁵⁹ but Harvey's account is a spirited adaptation of Erasmus's satirical sketch,⁶⁰ in no sense a plagiarism. The deliberate and skilful imitation of Erasmus would of course be noticed and relished by Harvey's audience.

How much of Harvey's story of his Italianate Ciceronianism is true would be hard to guess. Harvey is clearly trying to outdo Erasmus in his picture of Ciceronian affectation, and some part of his account is probably fictitious. There are abundant indications, however, in Harvey's Latin style that he had played the sedulous ape to Cicero, and Harvey uses some of the very words and phrases that Erasmus—and Harvey himself—cite as ultra-Ciceronian affectations. Whatever

⁵⁵ *Opera*, ed. Frotscher, I.222–24.

⁵⁶ This text, pp. 68 ff.

⁵⁷ This text, p. 80.

⁵⁸ See M. W. Croll's discussion of these in *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 279 ff.

⁵⁹ See the notes on 62.15 ff.

⁶⁰ Harvey's account consists especially in amplifications of some of Erasmus's points; e.g., he expands the list of favorite Ciceronian words and phrases in Erasmus (*Opera*, I.986), and develops his joke about the use of capital letters (this text, p. 64) from a mere suggestion in Erasmus (I.987 A).

part of Harvey's account is true, he is recalling his first years as an undergraduate; for we learn from his note in his own copy of Ramus's *Ciceronianus*: "I redd ouer this Ciceronianus twice in twoo dayes, being then Sophister in Christes College."⁶¹ Harvey's "conversion" by Ramus, as he describes it (this text, pp. 70 ff.) must therefore have occurred during his second or third year at Cambridge, probably in 1569.⁶² One can imagine that a youth of Harvey's quickness and enthusiasm, with a touch of solemn naïveté, might have been capable of some such extravagance as Harvey describes. But we need not take the account too seriously. Whatever folly Harvey may have perpetrated in his determination to out-Cicero Cicero, it was a mere youthful enthusiasm from which he quickly recovered; and he can make exquisite fun of it from the vantage-point of his maturity.

The next section of Harvey's argument contains his notion of true Ciceronianism, a conception he owes, in various parts, to Erasmus, Ramus, and Sturm, as he himself scrupulously acknowledges.⁶³ The idea of learning how to imitate Cicero from observing Cicero's own character as a man and orator, his own practice in imitation, and the spirit of his eloquence as it is reflected in the writings not merely of Cicero but of other good classical Latin authors, was really expressed or implied in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*⁶⁴ before it was set forth as the central thought in Ramus's work of the same name, though Ramus characteristically is unaware of any indebtedness to Erasmus, or is unwilling to acknowledge it. It is a little odd, though perhaps understandable in the light of Harvey's enthusiasm for Ramus and sense of indebtedness to him, that Harvey should regard this view as Ramus's great discovery, when it had been commonplace ever since the ap-

⁶¹ This volume is now in Worcester College Library, Oxford.

⁶² See the note on 64.10-13.

⁶³ This text, pp. 70 ff. Harvey's inclusion of J. T. Freigius among the exemplars of true Ciceronianism does not indicate a separate influence upon Harvey's doctrine, since Freigius was one of Ramus's most devoted disciples. Harvey read and carefully annotated Freigius's *Ciceronianus* (1575), probably before he delivered his own lecture (see above, note 37). But Freigius's work is simply a detailed account of how to find the *loci communes* in Cicero, and for Harvey it probably served chiefly as a reference work and not as an influence modifying in any specific way the literary theory Harvey received directly from Ramus.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Opera* (1703-06), I.1002 C ff.: "Quid igitur superest, nisi ut ipsam etiam Ciceronis imitationem ex ipso discamus Cicerone? Sic illum imitemur, quemadmodum ipse est alios imitatus, etc." I.1026 C: "Admonendi sumus & illud, ut quod in Cicerone praecipuum est imitemur. Id non in verbis, aut orationis superficie, sed in rebus ac sententiis, in ingenio, consilioque situm est."

pearance of Erasmus's brilliant dialogue, if not before. Ramus is Harvey's chief hero; and for reasons presently to be discussed, Harvey is more interested in claiming discipleship to Ramus than in his debt to Erasmus; though his tribute to the latter is graceful enough, and very proper, since Erasmus was the decisive influence in English education during Harvey's youth,⁶⁵ and Harvey probably owed more to Erasmus than he fully realized.

The beginnings of the influence of Peter Ramus in England are obscure. The educational reforms of the famous King's Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence at the University of Paris, particularly in the methods of teaching dialectic and rhetoric, spread to all parts of Europe during the latter half of the sixteenth century and constituted one of the chief Protestant weapons of attack against the scholastic Aristotelianism still largely fostered by the Church of Rome.⁶⁶ In England, the Ramist reforms were welcomed chiefly at Cambridge, where the Ramist methods in dialectic and rhetoric eventually became the foundation of undergraduate studies, while Oxford preferred to maintain its conservative devotion to the older Aristotelian tradition. What seems to be the earliest English reference to Ramus occurs in the correspondence of Roger Ascham, who speaks rather slightly of Ramus in a letter to John Sturm dated April 4, 1550.⁶⁷ In a subsequent letter,⁶⁸ Ascham makes some amends for his earlier hostile allusion to Ramus, but his tone suggests that he did not intend to exert his influence in England on behalf of Ramus's reforms.⁶⁹ In the same letter, however, Ascham mentions "certain Englishmen from Cambridge," intimates of Ramus who have visited him in Paris.⁷⁰ Through

⁶⁵ See T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine, passim*.

⁶⁶ On Ramus's career, writings, and influence, see especially Charles Waddington, *Ramus* (Paris, 1855); F. P. Graves, *Peter Ramus* (New York, 1912); Perry Miller, *The New England Mind* (New York, 1939); R. Tuve, "Imagery and Logic: Ramus and Metaphysical Poetics," *JHI*, III (1942), 365-400; E. L. Wiggins, "Logic in the Poetry of John Donne," *SP*, XLII (1945), 41-60.

⁶⁷ Roger Ascham, *Works*, ed. Giles, I², 186. Ascham's references to Ramus have been discussed by M. Guggenheim, "Beiträge zur Biographie des Petrus Ramus," *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik*, Band 121 (Leipzig, 1903), 140-53.

⁶⁸ Dated Jan. 29, 1552; Giles, I², 318-22.

⁶⁹ Cf. the invidious allusion to the pedagogical methods of Ramus and Talaeus in the *Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor (1863), p. 101. There is a friendly letter from Ramus to Ascham dated March 6, 1564 (Giles, II.96-7), but this letter suggests that Ramus and Ascham had nothing more than formal respect for each other.

⁷⁰ *Works*, ed. Giles, I², 319.

their agency, doubtless, Ramus's doctrines first gained a footing in England. There are various other clues. The high opinion Ramus held of Sir Thomas Smith during the latter's ambassadorship at Paris, as reported by Harvey,⁷¹ suggests that Smith in turn may have encouraged Ramist studies in England, and perhaps he may even have recommended Ramus to his protégé, Harvey. There can be little doubt that Sir Philip Sidney's interest in Ramism⁷² was fostered during his continental travels and particularly through his friendship with Languet.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Harvey should have been devouring Ramus eagerly, as an undergraduate, by 1569. Harvey became an ardent disciple of Ramus and soon made his discipleship known, as we learn from the correspondence concerning the denial of Harvey's grace for the M.A. in his *Letter-Book*. Harvey was charged by his enemies with supporting certain paradoxes and "straung opinions" in philosophy against the authority of Aristotle.⁷³ As Harvey explains, he prefers the views of Ramus and others, in some matters, to those of Aristotle, whose authority he does not so blindly reverence that he "can strait wai take it for scripture what soever he hath givn his wurd for."⁷⁴ In the same year (1573), Harvey thus enthusiastically recommends Ramus to the undergraduates of Pembroke Hall, in his first lecture as Greek Reader: "Ramus, non ille quidem Ramus, sed arbor, vt ita dicam, cunctarum Artium, non modo vtriusque Grammaticae, florentissima."⁷⁵ In 1574, the Makylmenaeus translation of Ramus's most influential work, his treatise on dialectic, was issued at London. And in this year, Harvey began spreading the gospel according to Ramus and Talaeus with his rhetoric lectures at Cambridge.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Marg.*, p. 222.

⁷² See Abraham Fraunce's prefatory letter to *The Lawiers Logike* (1588).

⁷³ *Letter-Book*, ed. E. J. L. Scott (1884), p. 10.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (1937), pp. 190-95, makes the valuable suggestion that Harvey's interest in the science of his day fostered his regard for Ramus and his independence toward the authority of Aristotle.

⁷⁵ "G. H. De Discenda Graeca Lingva Oratio Prima," in Crispinus, *Lexicon* (1581), Nnnn. vij.

⁷⁶ E. K., in his commentary upon the *Shepheardes Calender*, refers to what seems to be a poem in praise of Ramus called *Rameidos* by Harvey (*Variorum Spenser*, VII. 93). Harvey expresses a high regard for Ramus's biographer, Banosius (see *Works*, ed. Grosart, I.xli), and repeatedly for Freigius (cf. Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III.29). Gabriel's brother Richard was apparently an equally enthusiastic

In the *Ciceronianus*, it is evident that Ramus is Harvey's chief master. Harvey gives Ramus credit for the principle of literary imitation he seeks to inculcate,⁷⁷ and it appears from the latter part of Harvey's oration that in his lectures Harvey's commentary upon his rhetorical text followed the Ramist method of analysis.⁷⁸ Harvey's panegyric upon Ramus in the *Ciceronianus*,⁷⁹ however extreme it may appear to present day taste, was in keeping with Harvey's confession at the end of the *Ciceronianus* that Ramus and Talaeus were the teachers to whom he owed most.⁸⁰

The doctrines of Ramus were still new enough in England when Harvey undertook to champion them that Ramist discipleship must have seemed attractively daring to one of Harvey's energetic and enthusiastic temperament. Ramus was a Protestant hero, peculiarly sympathetic to the strain of Protestantism that flourished at Cambridge; and Harvey may have shrewdly calculated the eventual triumph of Ramist methods there. Certainly he contributed his share to that triumph. But most of all Ramus seems to have appealed to him as providing a sensible and humane simplification of the older Aristotelian methods of teaching logic and rhetoric to youth, who in Harvey's time did not receive their education in predigested form nor from very gentle hands. It was not without reason that Harvey gave Ramus the chief place in his pedagogical pantheon.

Harvey's following tribute to John Sturm, the great Strassburg educator,⁸¹ is, however, no less significant of a shaping influence in Harvey's rhetorical background. In his mention of Sturm, Harvey gives the impression that, before he happened upon Sturm's edition of Cicero's orations, he had been but slightly acquainted with Sturm's writings.⁸² As Professor Baldwin has shown, however, Sturm's textbooks and his educational ideas were widely influential in the English

Ramist, a point on which Nashe reproaches him (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, I.196,269). Richard's *Ephemeron*, sive *Paean*, in support of Ramus, appeared in 1583.

⁷⁷ This text, pp. 72 ff.; and see section V, below.

⁷⁸ This text, pp. 84 ff.; and see section V, below.

⁷⁹ This text, pp. 72, 74.

⁸⁰ This text, p. 96. Cf. the comparable praise of Talaeus in the *Rhetor*, sig. E. ff.

⁸¹ On Sturm's career and system of teaching, the best study is Charles Schmidt, *La vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm* (Strasbourg, 1855); see also E. Laas, *Die Pädagogik des J. Sturm* (1872); C. Engel, *L'Ecole Latine et l'ancienne académie de Strasbourg, 1538-1621* (1900); W. Sohm, *Die Schule J. Sturms und die Kirche Strassburgs* (1912).

⁸² This text, pp. 74, 76.

grammar schools during the time Harvey was a schoolboy;⁸³ and Harvey probably experienced this influence in no slight degree, whether he fully realized it or not. Sturm's influence had been especially fostered at Cambridge by men like Ascham and Lewin. The latter, whose example and guidance at Cambridge Harvey warmly acknowledges and who seems most likely to have been Harvey's Cambridge tutor,⁸⁴ was Sturm's particular friend, confidant, and representative in England after Ascham died.⁸⁵ Lewin's devotion to Sturm is interestingly reflected in his prefatory letter to the *Ciceronianus*. One suspects that Lewin's remarks concerning his preference for Sturm above Harvey's favorite Ramus⁸⁶ were prompted by Lewin's feeling that Harvey had not done full justice in the *Ciceronianus* to Sturm's merits and prestige. Altogether, it looks as if Sturm may have figured more importantly in Harvey's rhetorical education than Harvey is inclined to admit.

It is clear that, at the time he delivered the *Ciceronianus*, Harvey had a considerable knowledge of Sturm's works. Beyond the writings referred to in the *Ciceronianus*,⁸⁷ Harvey shows his familiarity with Sturm's *De exercitationibus rhetoricis, liber academicus* (1575) in the *Rhetor*, which contains an extended quotation from this work of Sturm concerning Sturm's method of having his pupils deliver Cicero's orations as if they were in Cicero's place before a Roman court, a practice Harvey heartily commends.⁸⁸ It seems most likely, further-

⁸³ *Small Latine, passim*.

⁸⁴ William Lewin was fellow of Christ's College, 1562–71. Harvey's reference in his dedicatory letter addressed to Lewin: "Do enim non meum, sed *Ciceronis* ipsius *Ciceronianum*, &, quem tu mihi ante octo annos dedisti, Oratorem," refers to the period 1568–69, when Harvey, as an undergraduate at Christ's, was forming his tastes in rhetoric. Harvey further acknowledges Lewin's guidance of his reading and his recommendation of Sturm's *Partitions of Oratory and Dialectic* (this text, p. 74).

⁸⁵ The collection of *Zurich Letters, second series, A.D. 1558–1602*, ed. H. Robinson (Parker Society Publications, volume 18; Cambridge, 1845) contains two letters from Lewin to Sturm, dated from London, August 25, 1576 (pp. 169–71) and September 8, 1576 (pp. 173–75). From these letters it appears that Lewin's friendship with Sturm was of long standing and very intimate, and that in 1576 Lewin was acting as Sturm's representative in Sturm's dealings with Queen Elizabeth, Burghley, Walsingham, and other influential people in England.

⁸⁶ This text, p. 38.

⁸⁷ These include the "paucas epistolas" Harvey refers to, the *Partitiones Oratoriae* and *Partitiones Dialecticae* recommended by Lewin, and the edition of Cicero's orations with Sturm's preface (this text, pp. 74, 76).

⁸⁸ O.iiij, O.iiijv.

more, that Harvey's acquaintance with Sturm's writings did not stop here.⁸⁹

Harvey had been educated in a rhetorical tradition strongly influenced by Sturmian texts and pedagogical methods; and in Harvey's time as a teacher of rhetoric at Cambridge, Sturm's reputation was very great and his influence most actively felt in English education. But Sturm was, on the whole, a Ciceronian of the Italianate variety who believed that the exact and exclusive imitation of Cicero, especially of the formal characteristics of his style, was the proper aim of one who would write Latin.⁹⁰ Sturm emphasized the importance of keeping Ciceronian phrase-books and commonplace books with the aim of cataloguing all the elements of Cicero's style.⁹¹ If one studied other writers, he said, it was only for the purpose of making Cicero's excellences appear more clearly: one formed one's style according to Cicero in the same way that one formed one's soul according to the Evangelist.⁹²

Most of this doctrine Harvey had come to reject; indeed, much of the *Ciceronianus* is simply an account of why and how he had come to reject it in favor of the teaching of Ramus. But Harvey still honored Sturm for some of his teaching; and he was doubtless indebted to the Sturmian influence for many of the elements in his own stylistic practice, which suggests some recourse to commonplace books and *flores elegantiae* for its Ciceronian elegances, despite Harvey's belittling of such means to his undergraduates. Harvey wished to minimize the influence of Sturm at Cambridge, and in the place of Sturm to exalt Ramus. Harvey's disparagement of Italianate fashions in rhetoric is

⁸⁹ Cf. Harvey's letter to Arthur Capel, *Letter-Book*, p. 167: "Now, if your leisure wil serv you . . . to run thurrough ani part of M. Ascham (for I suppose you have canvisid him reasnably wel alreddi), or to hear the report of the furius outragies of Fraunc in English, or to read over the Courtier in Lattin (whitch I would wish, and wil you to do for sundri causis), or to peruse ani pes of Osorius, Sturmius, or Ramus, or to se ani other book, ether English or Lattin, that I have, and mai stand you in stead, do but cum your self, or send on for it, and make your ful account not to fail of it." Harvey's own survey in the *Ciceronianus* of the four schools of Ciceronian exegesis flourishing in Europe (this text, p. 94) finds a close parallel in Sturm's threefold classification of ancient rhetorical authorities in his prefatory letter to Valentinus Erythraeus's *De ratione legendi, explicandi, et scribendi epistolas, libri 3* (1576), and the form of Harvey's passage is perhaps suggested by Sturm's antecedent example (see the note on 94.3 ff.).

⁹⁰ See J. Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, p. 278.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

indirectly a disparagement of the aims and methods of the Sturmians in England—for the authority of Italians like Cortesius and Bembo had scarcely figured in English education, and Italian fashions were not generally favored in England by Harvey's time. The Italian Ciceronians, however, made good whipping boys; by attacking them, Harvey could advance the Ramist methods without offending such Sturmians as his friend Lewin.

Harvey's criticism of the *Scholemaster* of Sturm's most famous English disciple, Roger Ascham, however, is something less than tactful and very significant of Harvey's attitude. The passage is partly apologetic and is apparently intended to mitigate Harvey's preceding satiric reference to some of the terminology in Ascham's treatise.⁹³ But the criticism of Ascham's pedagogical method is none the less definitely severe, and serves to emphasize one of the cardinal tenets of the Ramist system: that the disciplines of the *trivium* must be kept distinct. Harvey had no motive, apart from his Ramist sympathies, for disparaging Ascham. On the contrary, he revered Ascham's memory and habitually praises him as among the intellectual leaders of England, elsewhere in his writings.⁹⁴ The criticism of the *Scholemaster* shows very clearly Harvey's purpose of minimizing the Sturmian influence in English education, the influence so patently reflected in Ascham's treatise.

V

Cicero was still the great exemplar and pattern of eloquence for Harvey, as he had been for Ascham's generation in England. The point of view which occasioned this exaltation of Cicero was European rather than specifically English and part of the Renaissance *Weltanschauung*.⁹⁵ In the Renaissance view, all human knowledge had formal limits conformable to the rational order of things appointed by God in the universe and discoverable by human reason. These formal limits distinguished the various arts of men, which men had

⁹³ This text, pp. 90, 92, and the notes on 90.8–12, 90.32 ff., 92.7–11.

⁹⁴ See J. E. B. Mayor's collection of Harvey's tributes to Ascham, a collection which could be enlarged, in the *Scholemaster* (1863), pp. 272–74.

⁹⁵ See Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass* (1936); A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (1937); H. S. Wilson, "Some Meanings of 'Nature' in Renaissance Literary Theory," *JHI*, II (1941), 430–48; E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1943).

found out through the ages by the exercise of God-given natural reason. It was generally thought that in literary art the ancients, pre-eminently endowed with natural reason, long ago had discovered the fundamental principles of eloquence, and that the most eloquent orator of antiquity, Cicero, had best exemplified them. The right training in literary art required the imitation of the best—since the best was already known, and since it was absurd to suppose that any untutored modern could discover the best independently, simply through his own efforts and experiments. Thus Harvey enjoined the imitation of Cicero upon his students as sincerely and as ardently as had any of his predecessors.

But the imitation of Cicero had its weaknesses and its abuses, as it was inculcated by the pedagogues. The tendency to imitate the merely formal characteristics of Cicero's style, to neglect thoughtful matter in favor of commonplaces, formulas, showy tropes and schemes culled from one's reading, and phrases patched together in a mosaic compiled out of the current "aids to writers," was all too common.⁹⁶ English writers as diverse as Sir Philip Sidney⁹⁷ and Ralph Lever⁹⁸ censured such practices before Harvey, but the practices nevertheless continued. The complaint was summed up in the well-known words of Francis Bacon:

. . . these four causes concurring, the admiration of ancient authors, the hate of the schoolmen, the exact study of languages, and the efficacy of preaching, did bring in an affectionate study of eloquence and copie of speech, which then began to flourish. This grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment. Then grew the flowing and watery

⁹⁶ See the admirable analysis of this literary method in D. C. Allen, *Francis Meres's Treatise "Poetrie"* (1933).

⁹⁷ "So you can speak and write Latin, not barbarously, I never require great study in Ciceronianism, the chief abuse of Oxford, *Qui dum verba sectantur, res ipsas negligunt*" (Pears, *Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, p. 201).

⁹⁸ "As for Ciceronians and suger tongued fellowes, which labour more for finenes of speach then for knowledge of good matter, they oft speake much to small purpose, and shaking foorth a number of choise words, and picked sentences, they hinder good learning wyth their fond chatte" (*The Arte of Reason, rightly termed Witcraft*, 1573, sig. **jv.).

vein of Osorius, the Portugal bishop, to be in price. Then did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero the orator and Hermogenes the rhetorician, besides his own books of periods and imitation and the like. Then did Car of Cambridge, and Ascham, with their lectures and writings almost deify Cicero and Demosthenes, and allure all young men that were studious unto that delicate and polished kind of learning.⁹⁹

Harvey wished to oppose the excessive preoccupation with words at the expense of matter not by diminishing the prestige of Cicero's example but by reinterpreting its significance. He found the cue for his main argument in Ramus's *Ciceronianus*. If Cicero is the best of orators, we should remember that the imitation of Cicero means the imitation of *the best*, which is exemplified not merely in Cicero's practice but in the practice of all other ancient writers who share with Cicero the best qualities of eloquence.¹⁰⁰ It is hard to understand how this transparent *petitio* could have satisfied men as acute as Ramus and Harvey; but it is typical of the sort of argument advanced concerning the choice of one model or many, in the Renaissance disputes about imitation. What chiefly mattered to the disputants was gaining the victory. Whether you favored eclectic imitation or imitation of the single example of Cicero, the way to advance your cause was to pile up as many arguments, good or bad, as you could think of; or else to enforce your argument with high-sounding authority and rhetorical copiousness, as Harvey does, and thus overwhelm your opponents with the *eloquence* of your reasoning, rather than with reasoning.

Having thus dispensed with the idea of Cicero's unique prestige as a model for eloquence, Harvey could the more easily discourage the meticulous aping of Cicero's style with the help of phrase-books and formulas that his students had so laboriously practiced in grammar

⁹⁹ *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath (London, 1876-83), III.283-84. It is interesting to speculate whether the judgment here expressed may not have been formed in part, at least, under Harvey's tutelage at Cambridge. Much of what Bacon says is reflected or implied in the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus*—and during his days at Cambridge Bacon could have heard Harvey lecture on rhetoric.

¹⁰⁰ This text, p. 70. Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), C ij: "Equidem quod rectae & emendatae loquendi consuetudini congruum & consentaneum vsquam fuerit, id Ciceronianum vel maxime reputo"; C ijv: "Denique vt de Attico genere Cicero ipse aliquando sentit, sic de Ciceroniano sentiamus: Ciceroniane loqui hic idem esse, quod bene"; D ij: "Hoc certe Ciceronianum est, non ex vno autore aliquo, sed ex omnibus cuiuscunque generis, copiam verborum & bonitatem parare: in optimo tamen & excellentissimo quoque diutissime permanere."

school. The scorn he heaps upon the painful pedagogues with their *haec insignis repetitio est*,¹⁰¹ upon the Ciceronian phrase-books and their makers, must have been richly enjoyed by the brighter, at least, of his undergraduate hearers. Harvey greatly admired the figure of irony;¹⁰² in his comments upon the rhetorical stupidities and affectations of his day, he enjoyed a fine scope for an ironic talent he has not always been given sufficient credit for.

Under the guise of criticizing the Italianate Ciceronians, Harvey covertly attacks most of the pedagogical fashions observed in English schools by the followers of Sturm. Sturm's favorite authorities, besides Cicero, were Aristotle and Hermogenes. Harvey's references to Aristotle in the *Ciceronianus* are quite respectful,¹⁰³ and his antipathy toward Hermogenes, whose authority was very highly esteemed in England,¹⁰⁴ appears only in a passing reference to the affected use of Greek rhetorical terminology;¹⁰⁵ but the *Rhetor* contains a magnificent blast directed at the devotees of Hermogenes and calculated to demolish them in a single salvo.¹⁰⁶

All of this destructive criticism is designed in support of Harvey's positive program for rhetorical studies which he drew chiefly from Ramus. The generation of Thomas Wilson and Roger Ascham had accepted the authority of Aristotle and Cicero without any particular critical reserve and without feeling the need of radical change in the traditional methods of teaching these authorities. During their lifetime, Peter Ramus was vigorously campaigning at Paris to reorganize

¹⁰¹ This text, p. 86.

¹⁰² See *Marg.*, index, s.v. 'irony.'

¹⁰³ He could leave the idolatry of Aristotle's authority to the tender mercies of Ramus, if his undergraduates followed Harvey's advice and read Ramus's treatises on dialectic. Cf. however the charge of Harvey's colleagues in Pembroke Hall that Harvey was lacking in sufficient respect for Aristotle's authority, *Letter-Book*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ See the example cited by Hoyt H. Hudson in his edition of John Hoskins, *Directions for Speech and Style* (1935), pp. xxiii-iv; and Richard Rainolde, *A Booke called the Foundation of Rhetorike* (1563), a.ii.v. Hermogenes was one of the authors prescribed for study at Cambridge (see above, p. 4). For the early vogue of Hermogenes in Renaissance rhetoric, see H. S. Wilson, "George of Trebizond and Early Humanist Rhetoric," *SP*, XL (1943), 367-79.

¹⁰⁵ This text, p. 86.

¹⁰⁶ This passage is translated in the present writer's article, "Gabriel Harvey's Orations on Rhetoric," *ELH*, xii (1945), 167 ff. For a possible reference to the contemporary fame of this passage, see Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III.91: "... the high straine of his harmonious phrase, wherein he puts downe *Hermogenes* with his Art of Rhetorique. . ."

and simplify the traditional methods of teaching dialectic and rhetoric; but Thomas Wilson seems quite unaware of Ramus and his reforms, in his treatises on logic and rhetoric; and Ascham treats Ramus and Talaueus lightly, almost disdainfully, in his correspondence and in the *Scholemaster*.¹⁰⁷ Between the generation of Wilson and Ascham on the one hand, and of Harvey on the other, Ramus had made an impression upon European education. In Protestant circles, especially, his *Dialecticae Libri Duo* and the *Rhetoric* of his collaborator Talaueus had gained wide publicity through controversy, and ardent champions; and Ramus had won still greater Protestant sympathy through his martyrdom in the St. Bartholomew massacre. Ramus and Talaueus had achieved a real, if narrow simplification over the older methods of teaching dialectic and rhetoric; and their reforms, so convenient in lightening the teacher's task if they were granted to be sound, were sure to make headway sooner or later in Protestant England. Harvey was one of the first to accept the advantages claimed for the Ramist methods, to teach and extoll them with all the disciple's ardor.

The course Harvey proposed to follow in his lectures was to observe Ramus's division of dialectic from rhetoric, and to provide a separate commentary upon matters of dialectic and of rhetoric, using Ramus's method of logical analysis and Talaueus's method of dealing with tropes and schemes.¹⁰⁸ He made some commentary upon every point in the text he was lecturing upon for which he thought his undergraduates needed any explanation; and he wished to give the impression that he followed all the respected authorities in rhetoric of his day, in the attempt to make his commentary exhaustive.¹⁰⁹ But Ramus and Talaueus were his principal guides.

During the Renaissance, one lectured upon the orations of Cicero, or whatever other text might be chosen, with the purpose of explaining how one might imitate the text—or the principles of eloquence it illustrated—in one's own writing. Harvey's aim and procedure in lecturing upon rhetoric is summed up by what the Ramists called "Method."¹¹⁰ This method, as it applied in teaching an oration of Cicero, consisted of two operations: "Analysis" of the logical and

¹⁰⁷ See above, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ This text, pp. 84, 92. Cf. the description of the commentary based upon Talaueus's *Rhetoric* that Harvey apparently used in his lectures, *Rhetor*, M.ijv. ff.

¹⁰⁹ This text, pp. 92 ff.

¹¹⁰ Cf. this text, p. 90: "Nam quod ad Methodi splendorem attinet, etc." See also Perry Miller, *New England Mind* (1939), pp. 132 ff.

misfortunes touches the *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*, which are as full of youthful energy and hopefulness as they are of rhetorical artfulness.

VI

That Harvey wrote what his age considered good Ciceronian Latin can hardly be questioned. Nashe refers to him scornfully as "Tullies nexte and immediate successour, vnder Carre";¹¹⁸ but William Lewin,¹¹⁹ Bartholomew Clerke,¹²⁰ and Thomas Hatcher¹²¹ all speak of Harvey's Latinity with the highest respect—and these men were better judges than Nashe.

To write Latin according to the formula admired in Harvey's day meant that one had constantly to echo Cicero or other classical models. Far from regarding such imitative effects as pedantic or unoriginal, cultivated readers enjoyed the interweaving of classical allusions and reminiscences with the texture of the author's thought—if it were done with some finesse—for the double pleasure of recalling a familiar classical context and admiring the author's learning and skill in making use of it. The writer acquired not merely his vocabulary and syntax, but his figures, set phrases, cadences, and other stylistic apparatus, with the help of phrase-books, to be sure, but also from the minute and laborious study of Cicero and other models. The diction of Cicero, especially, was indelibly impressed upon the memory, whether gently and pleasurably or by force. Harvey had been thoroughly exposed to this training, and he had, from his own account, taken to it with zeal. It is not very remarkable, then, that Ciceronian and other classical parallels are discernible everywhere in the *Ciceronianus*. Harvey could, when he chose, weave a passage entirely out of classical phrases and echoes, chiefly Ciceronian, as he does in his praise of Ramus.¹²² This was the hall-mark of elegant learning.

But Harvey had come to take pride in a certain independence of the strict Ciceronian canon, by the time he wrote the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus*, especially in his diction. He enjoys little jokes about such forms as *rhetoricantem*;¹²³ and in the *Rhetor*, he deliberately

¹¹⁸ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I.290.

¹¹⁹ See his prefatory letter, this text, p. 38.

¹²⁰ Prefatory letter to the *Rhetor*, a.iiij^v, a.iv.

¹²¹ *Marg.*, pp. 216–17.

¹²² See the notes on 72.31–74.24.

¹²³ This text, p. 58, and the note on 58.21–22.

employs the form *specierum*.¹²⁴ He had learned to set greatest store by sound matter and simple, forceful delivery, though by no means neglecting the smaller refinements of style; and, on occasion, he knows how to "mount as hyghe, as the quality, or quantity of his matter requirerth."¹²⁵

If one wishes to estimate the literary merit of Harvey's *Ciceronianus*, the fairest comparison is not with Erasmus's treatise of the same name, which is a dialogue, the work of a more versatile Latinist and a greater man. For a strictly fair comparison, one may take the orations contained in the Latin works of Walter Haddon.¹²⁶ Hatcher's edition contains a preface by Thomas Wilson praising the editor for collecting such valuable work, concerning which Wilson concludes, "Nam qui hunc tuum laborem reprehendit, improbus est, qui non agnoscit, ingratus, qui probat, humanus, qui imitatur, vir bonus merito dici potest."¹²⁷ But if the modern reader hopes to find an engaging literary talent in Haddon that students of English letters have hitherto overlooked, I am afraid he will be disappointed. Haddon's academic orations, which, to be sure, are shorter and less ambitious than Harvey's, are conventional in thought and undistinguished in style. They have none of Harvey's variety, and wit, and animation; and they are innocent of any daring or even very clearly formulated ideas. Some of Haddon's verses are more readable,¹²⁸ and his argument in defence of Elizabeth against Osorius has historical interest; but when he discourses "De laudibus eloquentiae," or exhorts the young to follow humane learning,¹²⁹ he is tiresome.

Whatever else may be charged against Harvey, he is not dull. His *Ciceronianus* does not suffer from the professorial deliberateness and diffuseness of Ramus's, which is, moreover, utterly unrelieved by any lightness or humor, though it is, of course, the work of a more independent mind. Harvey is, perhaps, by present standards a little too

¹²⁴ Sig. L.iv. Cf. this text, p. 66. See also *Rhetor*, sig. B: "Neque enim multos, & multa lectitans, interdum etiam poetas, vt iubet Crassus apud Ciceronem, affirmare audeo me nullum verbum in tam subita oratione ponere non in thesauro Ciceroniano indicatum."

¹²⁵ *Marg.*, p. 124.

¹²⁶ G. Haddoni . . . *lucubrationes passim collectae et editae. Studio et labore Thomae Hatcheri Cantabrigiensis.* Londini, apud Gulielmum Seresium. 1567.

¹²⁷ Sig. ¶ 4.

¹²⁸ *Poemata* (1567, 1576); see the discussion in Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae* (1940), pp. 22-23.

¹²⁹ *Lucub.*, pp. 1-9, 109-34.

fond of highly wrought rhetorical effects, as were most of his contemporaries. In his thinking, he is dependent on the authority of greater men, whom he freely and gladly recognizes as his leaders and betters. He is admirably incisive and clear in his doctrine, more independent in his taste than most English teachers of rhetoric in his day; and he is, above all, humanly interesting. It must have been fun to attend his lectures.

VII

Of Harvey's learning, it should be said at once that it is very much greater than that of the present writer, who cannot hope to comment adequately upon it here. The evidence of the present oration is hardly needed to establish the point that Harvey was a very learned man, one of the most learned of his age. From the *Ciceronianus* we can perceive that by his twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh year Harvey had acquired a thorough knowledge of Cicero's works and probably a close familiarity with most of the other classics of Latin antiquity as well.¹³⁰ It is not so easy to estimate his knowledge of Greek. The Greek scattered through the *Ciceronianus* does not signify much, since it consists mostly of rhetorical terms or stock phrases and quotations easily available in the quotation books of the time and commonly employed for decorative effect by Renaissance Latin writers. Any informed opinion of Harvey's Greek learning will have to wait upon a systematic examination of his lectures on the study of Greek¹³¹ together with whatever evidence on this matter is available elsewhere in his writings.

What appears most clearly in the *Ciceronianus* is Harvey's close acquaintance with the Latin learning of his time and especially his active interest in contemporary educational methods. From Petrarch and Lorenzo Valla to Ramus and Sturm, Harvey takes some account of most of the great names in European learning either in the *Rhetor*

¹³⁰ The best evidence of Harvey's learning is of course contained in his annotated books.

¹³¹ In the first of these lectures Harvey apologizes very frankly and humbly for his temerity in attempting to teach Greek, and offers as his excuse the fact that no one else in Pembroke Hall would undertake the task. He adds that he hopes to learn, along with his students.

or the *Ciceronianus*; ¹³² and his allusions show a more than casual acquaintance with their writings. Anyone who has examined a volume containing Harvey's marginalia knows how painstakingly Harvey studied the authors that interested him. The range and thoroughness of his reading are truly amazing. Yet in the field of rhetoric alone, there are certain authors Harvey studied with care before he published the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus* who are not mentioned in either of these works.¹³³ Clearly, Harvey was above using his full resources in learning for display. As a careful examination of his pamphlets in the controversy with Nashe will show, Harvey preferred to deprecate and conceal his erudition rather than to parade it. This is not the sign of a pedant.

VIII

The praelectorship in rhetoric provided Harvey's first opportunity to make his mark in the world. Harvey was of humble origin; but he was clever, industrious, and intensely ambitious, and if he established a reputation for learning and eloquence at Cambridge he might hope in due time to succeed to some important place, either in the University or in public life. Men as humble as he had won great power and places before him, and Harvey was ever mindful of their example.¹³⁴ His aim, considering his attainments in learning, was neither unprecedented nor foolish. The winning of distinction in the academic world was one of the most usual preliminaries to ad-

¹³² For Petrarch and Valla, see *Rhetor*, O.iv. ff. The *Rhetor* also contains a hint of Harvey's equally keen interest in the vernacular literatures of his day (sig. Q.); but this is a subject better to be discussed in relation to Harvey's own vernacular writings and his marginalia.

¹³³ The most striking illustration of this is provided by folios 54-57 of Harvey's *Letter-Book* (omitted in the edition of E. J. L. Scott) which Harvey headed "Fine notes for mie Rhetorique Discourses," and which must have been made before Harvey relinquished his praelectorship. These consist of excerpts from J. L. Strebaeus's *De verborum electione et collocatione oratoria*, and some other notations. There were numerous editions of this popular work from 1538 on, and I do not know the particular edition Harvey used. I have consulted the edition issued at Basel, 1539. As far as I have observed, there is no clear evidence that Harvey made any use of this work or his notes upon it in either the *Rhetor* or *Ciceronianus*. Another favorite educational authority of Harvey's, whom he does not mention in his published orations on rhetoric, is Joachimus Fortius Ringelbergius.

¹³⁴ See *Marg.*, index, s.v. Wolsey, Cromwell, etc.

vancement in the age of Elizabeth. With the *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*, Harvey made his first important bid for such advancement.

Apparently, to judge from the commendations of contemporaries,¹³⁵ Harvey's distinction as a scholar was widely recognized. If advancement had depended merely upon such credentials as his published Latin orations, Harvey would probably have gone far. But Harvey suffered certain serious handicaps: a proud and uncompromising spirit; a lack of social ease that made it hard for him to get along with those who considered themselves his superiors by birth and breeding; occasional faults of judgment and taste; and he had the great misfortune to lose the support of the patron most interested in advancing his merit, through the death of Sir Thomas Smith in 1577. All Harvey's dreams of advancement came to nothing. All his prospects of a fine career were blighted before the outbreak of the controversy with Nashe in the 1590's. He was doomed to live out a long life amid petty frustrations and abandoned hopes. He has been most often ignored or casually patronized by later generations. His only editor, the crotchety Grosart, regarded him with active dislike.

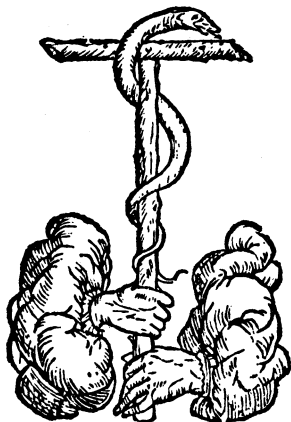
Yet apart from the sentimental esteem he has occasionally won as the friend of Spenser, the author of the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus* has some independent claim to the respect at least of teachers and scholars. Harvey was not, of course, an important writer in the sense that Sidney or Spenser was, and it would be foolish to consider him in that way. He was neither a very good poet nor a particularly independent thinker; and as a controversialist, though he was better, perhaps, than has sometimes been allowed, he often lacked restraint and judgment. But he was a painstaking scholar and spirited teacher, a good representative of the learned interests and activities of his age. His learning was far greater than that of most recent commentators upon him; and yet he had the grace to make his presentation of that learning interesting. That Harvey should still occasionally be labelled "pedant" in the references one encounters to him in our learned journals seems a little hard; as St. Ives remarked to his taciturn Scots guide on another occasion, it sounds a little like Satan reproving sin.

¹³⁵ See the list of those who commended Harvey in Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, II.83-4. Even Nashe, in the apology to Harvey prefixed to *Christs Teares* (1593), acknowledged Harvey's 'abundant Schollership' (*Works*, ed. McKerrow, II.12).

GABRIELIS HARVEII
CICERONIANVS,

Vel Oratio post reditum, habita
Cantabrigiæ ad suos Auditores.

*Quorum potissimum causa,
diuulgata est.*



LONDINI,
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Henrici Binneman.

Anno. c15. 12. lxxvii.

GABRIEL HARVEIVS S. D. GVLIELMO LEVINO, DOCTORI
IVRECONSVLTO, & ORATORI PRAESTANTISSIMO.

- a.ij. Mitto ego ad te, ornatissime *Leuine*, strenam quam? aureamne, an argenteam, an vero ex delicatioribus istis aliquam? Nullo modo. Londinenses sunt hae vestrae, non nostrae Cantabrigienses strenae. Sed ecce tibi, si Dijs placet, *Ciceronianum* meum: non qualem tu in iisdem
5 sedibus adumbrasti, perpolite, illuminateque perorantem: sed qualem ego dierum fere quinque spacio effingere potui, omni denudatum elocutionis copia; rerumque magis supellectile, quam verborum apparatu gloriantem. Quem tamen & tibi me spero, & *Sturmio* tuo, cuius de te exstat perhonorificum testimonium, & politissimo quibusque
10 iudicio ita probaturum; vt improbare alij neque audeant, si velint; neque si audeant, audiantur. Do enim non meum, sed *Ciceronis* ipsius *Ciceronianum*, & quem tu mihi ante octo annos dedisti, Oratorem: addo etiam, tibi teipsum, *Leuino Leuinum* do. Vestitus tantum meus est; quem fateor tam eleganti, tamque specioso * corpore indig-
15 num: abest enim tuus ille insignis ornatus quasi margaritarum: sed *Venerem* quoque alij praeter *Apellem* pinxere: nec potest tam excellentis formae dignitas alienis vnquam sordibus obsolescere. Tu si artifex esses, Deus bone, quam splendidum haberemus, atque magnificum *Ciceronianum*; quem nunc incultum habemus, & impolitum?
20 Sed vide, quam sim ineptus. Ipse minime omnium *Ciceronianus*, homini cum primis, & in primis *Ciceroniano*, *Ciceronianum* meum commendo, dedicoque. Et quidem ita commendo, vt eodem apud te numero, omnesque eloquentiae propugnatores esse velim, quotquot emergent ad hanc normam *Ciceroniani*; quo erant olim Attici apud
25 Graecos, & sunt hodie apud Italos Hetrusci. Sic enim existimari velim: Ciceronietatem istam, ex tot, tantarumque virtutum temperatione concretam, quisquis fuerit assecutus; eum neque lepore Atheniensibus, nec vrbanitate Florentinis; nec vllius gentis hominibus postpositum iri sermonis elegantia. Et tamen, quod velim, nolim, nisi tu etiam
30 velis. Vale: & me *Leuinae* tuae commendatum habe, Optimae & bellissimae Coniugi. Cantabrigiae, ex Aula Pembrochiana, pridie Nonas Ianuarias, 1577.

* 14: speioso

GABRIEL HARVEY TO WILLIAM LEWIN, DOCTOR OF THE
LAW AND PEERLESS ORATOR, GREETING

I am sending you, most honored Lewin, a New Year's gift. What is it? Gold or silver or some such choicer thing? In no wise. Giving such gifts is for you Londoners, not for us Cantabrigians. But here is my gift to you, if it please the heavenly powers, my *Ciceronianus*—not the sort of speech that you adumbrated in this very place, with elegant and dazzling peroration, but the sort that I was able to fashion in about five days' time, stripped of all rhetorical copiousness and glorying more in its furniture of subject matter than in its parade of words. Yet I am hoping to secure for it such thorough approval both from you and from your friend Sturmius, who has put on record his profound respect for you, and from all men of refined judgment, that others will neither have the daring to disapprove, if they should wish, nor have a hearing if they should have the daring. For I give you a *Ciceronianus* that is not mine but Cicero's, the orator you gave me eight years since—I might even say, I give you to yourself, Lewin to Lewin. Only the outer raiment is mine, and I confess that it is unworthy of such an elegant and handsome body; for it lacks your splendid adornment, your pearls, as it were. Yet Venus too was painted by others besides Apelles, and the merit of such excellent beauty can never be dimmed through others' meanness of skill. If you were the craftsman, heavens! what a splendid and magnificent *Ciceronianus* we should have, instead of one uncouth and unrefined.

But how inept I am! Myself least of all men a Ciceronian, I am recommending and dedicating my *Ciceronianus* to a man who is first and foremost a Ciceronian. I recommend it, indeed, as desiring that whatever Ciceronians arise in conformity with the norm herein described should encounter from you and all champions of eloquence the same esteem as the Athenians once had in Greece and the Tuscans now have in Italy. For I should like to have it believed that any one attaining the Ciceronianism which is a blend of so many great merits will not be second in charm to the Athenians, nor in urbanity to the Florentines, nor in elegance of diction to the men of any nation.

And yet what I wish, I would not wish unless you agree. Farewell, and remember me to Mrs. Lewin, your fair and excellent wife.

Cambridge, Pembroke Hall

January 4, 1577

GVLIELMVS LEVINVS TYPOGRAPHO, & ELOQVENTIAE
STVDIOSIS, SALVTEM.

a.ij.v

Ego vero ad te, Typographe, *Gabrielis Harueij* strenam mitto: eam vt tu ad *Ciceronianae* studiosos eloquentiae transmittas. Si qualem, a me quaeris: Argenteam sane, & quidem dupliciter inauratam: addo etiam, distinctam gemmis, & varijs emblematis insignitam. Argenteus
5 orationis candor est, & filum illud dictionis purum atque nitidum: species autem & amplitudo, quae ex verborum delectu, & sententiarum exornatione nascitur, cum aurea mihi visa est: tum in structura ipsa & elegantiarum cuiusque generis varietate, lumina quoque multa videor, quasi margaritarum, deprehendisse. Ac tale ego ad te arti-
10 ficiū mitto, quia tantus artifex *Harueius* est: tantus autem iam factus est, postquam talibus hisce studijs se dedit eloquentiae & politioris doctrinae: ad quae eadem persequenda nunc alios praeceptis persequitur. Quo magis certe alacriter eloquentiae studiosos in praeclarum istud eloquentiae curriculum ingredi oportet: cum qui viam & itinera
15 demonstrat, tam cito ipse cursum confecerit: tam memoriter omnes anfractus & diuerticula teneat: tam expedite possit haec eadem eloquentia percurrere, ad quae ipse, tanquam longe prospectans, digitum intendit. Vt autem ad eandem arcem ascensus inueniri multiplices: & ad urbem eandem semitae variae esse solent: Ita quae ad elo-
20 quentiam ducant, diuersa itinera, multaeque viae. Non eadem *Crassus*, eademque *Antonius*: nec *Harueius*, qua caeteri, opinor: Quin nec huius ipse fortasse omnino vestigijs insisterem, si ad summam illam progredi eloquentiae arcem, vel otium mihi, vel ingenium daretur. Est huic *Ramus*: mihi *Sturmius* dux viae atque author esset: ijsdemque
25 vestigijs *Aschamum* insequerer, quibus ille *Sturmium* suum eundemque meum. Sed de *Sturmio* minus quidam sentiunt honorifice, quod quae *Sturmiano* nomine diuulgantur, ab ipso summa accuratione inuenta, composita, expolita esse arbitrentur. At pleraque haec a
a.iiij.
pueris de *Sturmij* ore excepta: deinde ab aetate prouectoribus con-
30 gesta, typis mandantur. Sed quam manca illa & mutilata, quam non eadem saepe agnosceres: si quae ante audiueris a *Sturmio*, ea post aliquanto legeris ab *Anagnoste* aliquo descripta? Ipsum autem si audias *Demosthenem* aut *Ciceronem* explicantem: quanquam est senis

*WILLIAM LEWIN TO THE PRINTER AND TO THE
STUDENTS OF ELOQUENCE, GREETING*

And I forward to you, Master Printer, the New Year's gift of Gabriel Harvey, that you in turn may transmit it to the students of Ciceronian eloquence. If you ask me of its quality, it is silver indeed, and that double gilt; I even add, set with jewels and adorned with various inlays. Silver is the luster of the oration, and pure and brilliant the texture of its diction. Then, too, not only do the beauty and the amplitude arising from the choice of words and the embellishment of thoughts appear golden to me, but also in the very structure and in the variety of every kind of elegance I seem to catch again and again a gleam as of pearls. And such a piece of craftsmanship I can send you, because Harvey is the great craftsman which he has already become since devoting himself to these studies of eloquence and politer learning—studies in which he now guides others by his teaching.

Surely the students of eloquence ought to enter the noble curriculum of eloquence all the more eagerly because he who shows the way and the highroads has himself finished the course so rapidly, has all the windings and bypaths in mind, and can himself so expeditiously traverse with eloquence the very paths toward which, as from a broad perspective, he stretches a pointing finger. Moreover, just as there usually may be found many ways to climb the same hill and various paths to the same city, likewise there are diverse routes and many roads leading to eloquence. Crassus did not take the same road as Antonius, nor does Harvey go, I believe, the way of others.

As a matter of fact, I myself perhaps should not wholly follow even Harvey's lead, if I were given either the leisure or the talent to advance toward that topmost height of eloquence. He has his Ramus; for me Sturmius would be the guide and authority, and I should follow the footprints of Ascham, just as Ascham follows Sturmius, the friend of us both. But some hold Sturmius in less esteem, because what is published under his name is supposed to have been thought out, arranged, and polished with the utmost care by him personally. But in fact most of these writings were received orally from Sturmius by boys, then compiled by men somewhat older, and published. How maimed and mutilated they are, how unlike their source, you would often realize if you chanced to read afterwards as written out by some tyro the words you had heard from Sturmius. If you could hear him with his own lips expounding Demosthenes or Cicero, although the

illius iam paulo magis interrupta vox: tamen exclamares profecto, ὦ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, quaenam haec oratoria supellex? quam lauta, quam preciosa, quam magnifica? vix crederes tanto vsos artificio oratores, quantum in ipsorum orationibus complicatum *Sturmius* euoluit.

- 5 Neque vero ille ἐπιχειρήματα *Aristotelia*, & *Hermogenias* ἰδέας solum persequitur: sed ἐργασίαν totam accuratius explicat: cum eaque τῶν στάσεων in eadem oratione diuersa genera, & periucundam varietatem. Post vero etiam quae πολιτικώτατα sunt: quae ad vitam, & ad vsum pertinent: quae in quaque doctrina illustria sunt: tanquam qui
10 omnium doctrinarum diuitias ad prudentiam oratoriam comportandas putet. Sed haec quia ab audientibus raro scribuntur: horum diaria & commentarios legentibus minus sunt cognita. Ac de *Sturmio* sic sentio, summo certe ad eloquentiam magistro atque duce. *Osorianam* autem semitam *Harueius* noster quod praeteruehi velit eloquentiae
15 studiosos: tanquam quae diffluat extra terminos, nec certis se cohiberi septis patiatur: non valde equidem dissentio. Semper enim mihi visa est *Lusitani* illius paulo magis, quam par fuit, redundans & circumfluens oratio. Quanquam intelligo ex nostris esse, qui eam suspiciant & admirentur. Sed quam recte, ipsi viderint. Ego verborum ele-
20 gantiam, & formularum venustatem etiam laudo: Sed in argumentorum conglobatione, & comprehensionibus sententiarum multa desidero. Video omnium, quae ab *Osorio* scripta sunt, in extrema quasi cute candorem atque ruborem: sed ossa, sed neruos, sed animam requiro. Corpus praeterea orationis humano corpori, vt opinor,
25 simile esse oportet, membris alijs longioribus, breuioribus alijs: nam si pedes quis tibijs, aut brachijs digitos pares habuerit; non modo deformem, sed monstrosam hominis speciem dixeris. Ita mihi de corpore orationis iudicandum videtur: sunt enim comprehensiones aliae alijs sua natura breuiores. At in *Osorij* scriptis pleraeque omnes,
30 tanquam tibiae, aut brachia, ad longitudinem dimensae. Ita pedes, qui illas sustentent: digiti, qui haec disterminent, reperiri vix possunt. De *Mureto* honorifice: de *Bembo* sensi semper optime. Taceo reliquos, de quibus *Harueius*: nisi quod *Paulum Manutium* ad *Bembi* & *Mureti* classem aggregandum putem. Nos vero cur foris accersendos * potius:

a.iiij.v

* 34: accercendos

old man's voice now quavers a little, still you would surely cry out, "ὦ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, all ye men and all ye women! what rhetorical equipment is this! how splendid, how precious, how magnificent! One would scarcely believe that orators had ever commanded such great skill as Sturmius discovers involved in the orations of these two." And he not only treats of the Aristotelian *epicheiremata* and the forms of Hermogenes, but sets forth carefully the entire art, and with it in the same oration diverse sorts of issues in a pleasing variety. Besides he also discusses important political matters, whatever pertains to life and everyday experience, and whatever is significant in every part of learning; as if he believed that the riches of all the branches of learning should be brought together into the wisdom of oratory. But these matters, being seldom written down by his auditors, are unfamiliar to the readers of their journals and notebooks. And such is my opinion of Sturmius, surely the supreme master and guide in eloquence.

Now as to our friend Harvey's wish that students of eloquence shun the path of Osorius, on the ground that it strays out of bounds and refuses to be confined between established hedgerows, I do not particularly disagree. I have always judged the style of that famous Portuguese to be somewhat more redundant and verbose than it should be. I know there are those among us who esteem and admire his style. But let them consider with what right they do so. As for me I even praise his elegance of diction and charm of phrase, but in his marshalling of arguments and his periods of thought I find much wanting. I see in all that has been written by Osorius, on the surface of the skin, as it were, the gleam and the ruddy hue of health; but I miss the bones, the sinew, the spirit. Moreover, the body of a speech ought, in my opinion, to be like the human body, with some members longer and others shorter; for if any one have feet the length of the lower legs or fingers the length of the forearms, people would call the fellow's appearance not merely misshapen but monstrous. Similarly I think one should judge of the body of a speech, for some of its periods are naturally shorter than others. Yet in Osorius' writings all the periods are usually elongated on the scale of lower legs or forearms. Feet, therefore, to support the legs and fingers to terminate the arms can hardly be found.

Of Muretus I have always thought with respect, of Bembus with the highest esteem. I say nothing of the others concerning whom Harvey writes, except that I think Paulus Manutius should be ranked with Bembus and Muretus.

quam domi quos habemus, amplectendos putamus? Nunquis Italus aut *Checum* nostrum linguarum scientia: aut *Smithum* cum hac ipsa, tum multiplici * rerum atque artium cognitione: aut *Carrum* suauitate vicit, & copia orationis? Ecqua hodie in terris Academia professores
 5 habet, quibus pares in nostris reperiri non possint: Si delectus primum ex optimis fieret: deinde si similia decernerentur praemia: postremo si in eiusdem artis professione, quam pro se quisque selegit, constandum sibi perpetuo putaret? Neminem nomino, nominat autem *Harueius Bingum* patrem meum, hominem cum linguarum varietate
 10 excultissimum, tum rerum atque artium scientia cumulatissimum. Ego etiam ex utraque Academia nominarem alios, nisi inuisa haec quibusdam futura esset oratio. Atque inter caeteros certe *Harueium* meum, hominem adhuc adolescentem: sed qui in illo suo praelegendi munere si perstitisset: incredibilem cum sibi ipsi, tum vniuersae
 15 Academiae fructum gloriamque peperisset. Atque tales aliquando professores futuros: cum talem in regno Principem: tales in Academiae magistratus: talia in Gymnasijs ingenia habeamus: & ego certe spe nonnulla teneor: & pro se quisque in eo vt elaboret, monere, rogare, hortari non desistam. Tu interim Typographe haec *Harueij* scripta
 20 typis mandato: vosque eloquentiae alumni eadem haec diligenter peruoluite: vt ex literis atque libris illum eloquentiae succum hauriatis: quem postmodum vos ex ore disertissimorum hominum mellitum excepturos esse confido. Valete. Tertio Idus Februarios. 1577.

* 3: multiplici

But I wonder why we think that we must refer to men from abroad rather than appreciate those whom we have at home? Has any Italian surpassed our Cheke in the knowledge of languages, or Smith in the like knowledge as well as in wide acquaintance with practical and cultural subjects, or Carr in sweetness and copiousness of speech? Has any university in the world today professors whose equals cannot be found in ours, if, in the first place, the selection were made from the best and, second, comparable rewards were fixed and, finally, each were to believe that he might enjoy continuous tenure in the teaching of his own chosen subject? I name no one, but Harvey names my father, Byng, a man not only highly cultivated in a variety of languages but also provided with a great accumulation of knowledge both factual and cultural. And I could name others from both universities, were it not that such a discussion would be invidious to some. And among the rest I would surely name my friend Harvey, a man still young, but one who, had he remained in his illustrious function as praelector, would have won unbelievable profit and glory both for himself and for the entire university. I personally entertain a sort of hope that such will some day be our professors, since we have such a ruler on the throne, such officials in the universities, and such talents in the schools; and I shall not cease to admonish, beg, and exhort that everybody should exert himself according to his capacity in this matter.

Do you meanwhile, Master Printer, set in type this work of Harvey's; and you, students of rhetoric, diligently ponder the same, so that from letters and books you may quaff that sap of eloquence which I trust you will later receive as honey from the lips of most eloquent men. Farewell.

February 11, 1577.

GABRIELIS HARVEII CICERONIANVS VEL ORATIO
POST REDITVM.

- A. Redeo tandem ad vos, mei Auditores, (vos enim, non istos ornatissimos viros alloquor) non vt Vlisses ille πολύτροπος ad suos Ithacenses, a quibus plures annos aberat, quam ego a vobis hebdomades: aut vt Cicero vester ad forum Romanum, & illa, in quibus regnabat, rostra,
- 5 cum diuturna peregrinatione iactatus Graeciam vniuersam peragrasset: sed vt idem, sui colligendi reficiendique causa cum in Tusculanum se contulisset, ibique aliquandiu esset cum quibusdam familiaribus atque necessarijs rusticatus. Quorum etsi periucunda consuetudine magnopere alliceretur, eaque singularem quandam perciperet, ac paene
- 10 incredibilem voluptatem: non se ita tamen in eam penitus immergebat, quin commentaretur interim semper aliquid, legeretque interdum, atque scriberet, non quae ad publicam vtilitatem grauissima, sed quae
- A.v ad priuatam animi relaxationem, iucunditatemque [2] gratissima viderentur. Nos vero in Tusculano nostro (libenter enim hoc verbum
- 15 vsurpo) tanquam in suburbano quodam eloquentiae, philosophiaeque gymnasio ita otiosi sumus, vt neque sine negotijs otiosi, neque sine otio negotiosi admodum videremur. Aderat saepe ad manus is a quo exorsi sumus, Cicero vester: aderant nonnunquam historicorum antesignani, Caesar, & Sallustius, qui, & quanti viri? aderant ornatissimi
- 20 poetae, & latinorum omnium, quos quidem videramus, facile principes, Virgilius, Horatius, Ouidius, mihi longo iam tempore non auditi. Dicam vere. Aderant vna ex recentioribus cum aetatis istius lumina, tum omnis posteritatis ornamenta, Sturmius, Manutius, Osorius, Sigonius, Buchananus, omnes ex ipsius eloquentiae schola perpoliti,
- 25 & mihi multis nominibus iucundissimi. Reliquos elegantioris auctores humanitatis, & vero Graecos omnes, tanquam maioribus studijs reseruatos, domi in Bibliotheca, velut in cauea, inclusos relinquebam.
- A.ij. [3] Certe nihil cum ijs rei habuissem, nisi forte in Oratiunculam quandam incidissem Isocratis, qua in Sophistas non minus ille quidem
- 30 sapienter, quam polite eleganterque inueheretur. Sed Isocratem dimisi statim: meque ad Latinorum illorum Consuetudinem, qua eram mirifice exhilaratus, quotidie applicabam. Ac cum ijs ita quidem sum familiariter versatus, atque assidue, (sic velim cogitetis,

GABRIEL HARVEY'S CICERONIANUS OR ORATION AFTER HIS RETURN

I return to you at last, my students—for it is you and not these honorable gentlemen whom I address. I come not as did the much-travelled Ulysses to his Ithacans, from whom he was absent more years than I have been weeks from you, nor as did your friend Cicero to the Roman Forum and the rostra where he reigned, after he had been buffeted in lengthy travels as he roamed the whole of Greece. Rather I come as the same Cicero returned after he had visited his Tusculan villa for recollection and refreshment and had rusticated there for some time with friends and kinsmen. Deeply as he was allured by the delights of association with these friends, wherefrom he reaped a pleasure that was unique and almost past belief, yet he did not lose himself in this pleasure so completely as not to be in the meantime continually studying something, reading now and then, and writing, not weighty treatises for the public interest, but such works as seemed most pleasant for private relaxation and recreation.

In my Tusculan villa (for it pleases me to appropriate this name), as in a sort of suburban school of rhetoric and philosophy, I have so spent my leisure that I did not seem altogether without occupation in my idleness nor without leisure amid my occupation. Often there lay at my hand the author already mentioned in my preamble, your friend Cicero; sometimes the champions among the historians, Caesar and Sallust (what great men were those!); or the most illustrious poets, easily first of all the Latin poets, at least whom I had seen, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, writers whom I had so long neglected. To tell the truth, I also had by me some of the newer writers, men who are not only lamps of the present age but ornaments of all posterity, Sturmius, Manutius, Osorius, Sigonius, and Buchanan, all of them thoroughly polished from the very school of eloquence and on many accounts most dear to me. The rest of the more cultivated and humane authors, including all the Greeks, I left at home, caged up, as it were, in the library, as books reserved for more serious studies. At least I should have had nothing to do with them, had I not by chance run across a certain little oration of Isocrates, wherein he inveighed against the sophists with no less wisdom than urbanity and elegance.

But I dropped Isocrates immediately, and returned daily to my habitual and marvelously exhilarating association with the Latin authors. And with them, indeed, I lived so familiarly and assidu-

- mei Auditores) vt nunc me Tullius vester ad ientaculum, nunc ad prandium Iulius ipse Caesar, nunc ad coenam Virgilius, nunc ad sua reliqui bellaria, vicissitudine quadam peramoena, inuitarent. Non dicam, quas singuli patinas, quae fercula, quas epulas, obsonia, delitias
- 5 apposuerint. Infinitum id esset, mihi credite. Non dicam, hic me bibisse nectar, illic vinum, istic ceruisiam. Non de lautissimis auibus, non de piscibus delicatissimis, non de ambrosiae succo mirandum in modum dulci, atque opiparo, verba faciam. Exquisitissimas dapes, (sic enim profecto erant) & inaudita pulpamentorum genera praetermittam. [4] Dicam de voce hospitum, quae fuit instar suauissimi condimenti. Caeterorum mihi sermo, non minus ille quidem, quam delitiae ipsae, delicatus videbatur: At vero Cicero vnus (gestit animus meminisse) & mellitissima voce inuitabat, & argutissima tenebat, & dimittebat longe optatissima. In illorum linguis Musas ego, & Charites, & illam Suadae medullam, a veteribus tantopere celebratam, sessitare iudicabam: In huius ore nescio quid Apolline ipso, & Minerua perfectius, atque diuinius enitebat. Oratio non melle dulcior, vt Nestoris apud Homerum, sed nectare, sed ambrosia, sed omnibus poëtarum epulis lautior fluebat, & delicatior. Disputabat aliquoties
- 20 de Amicitia. Putares coelicolam esse, qui dissereret, non Arpinatem. Tam erat ille Dialogus cum exquisita sermonis concinnitate, tum argumenti accurata tractatione admirabilis. Loquebatur cum Caesare, cum Pompeio, cum Lentulo, cum Catone, cum Attico, cum alijs atque alijs familiaribus, totius principibus Ciuitatis. [5] Crederes Mercurium loqui cum summo Ioue, caeterisque Dijs. Affatur modo Terentiam, modo Tulliam, simul etiam vtramque aliquando. Audires meras verborum, sententiarumque suauitates, incredibili perspersas venustate. *Mea vita, mea lux, spes nostra, delitiae nostrae, meae charissimae animae, mea Terentia fidissima atque optima vxor, suauissima & optatissima Terentia, mea charissima filiola, Tulliola nobis*
- 30 *nostra vita dulcior, Valetate mea desideria, valetate.* Et in eadem ipsa epistola, (est enim tota fere huiusmodi festiuitatibus referta) *Ad te vero, & ad nostram Tulliolum non queo sine plurimis lachrymis scribere.* Quid ita? Rationem peramabilem reddit. *Vos enim video*
- 35 *esse miserrimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui.* Nec ita multo

ously (I would like you to imagine this, my dear listeners) that now your friend Tully invited me to breakfast, now Julius Caesar himself to lunch, now Virgil to dinner, now the others to their desserts, which were very delightful for a change. I shall not relate what dishes, what courses, what banquets, delicacies, sweetmeats each one served. That would be an endless tale, believe me. I shall not say that here I drank nectar, there wine, yonder beer. I shall not talk about the luxurious fowl, the choice fish, the juice of ambrosia wondrous sweet and rich. I shall pass over the exquisite banquets (for so indeed they were) and the unheard-of varieties of relish. But I shall speak of the words of my hosts, which were the equivalent of the sweetest condiment.

All the others uttered conversation that I thought delightful, and indeed nothing less than pure delight; but Cicero alone (my heart leaps at the recollection) had the sweetest voice to invite me, the clearest to entertain me, and far the pleasantest to dismiss me. On the tongues of the others I thought there dwelt the Muses, and the Graces, and that "Marrow of Persuasion" so celebrated by the ancients; but in his utterance there was an indescribable distinction, more perfect and divine than Apollo himself and Minerva. His speech flowed, not sweeter than honey, as did Nestor's in Homer, but more splendid and more lovely than nectar, than ambrosia, than all the feasts of the poets. When at times he discoursed of friendship, one would think that a heavenly being spoke and not a man from Arpinum; so admirable was that dialogue at once in its exquisite harmony of diction and in its careful handling of the thought. When he spoke with Caesar, Pompey, Lentulus, Cato, Atticus, or one and another of his intimates, the leaders of the entire state, one would think that it was Mercury speaking with highest Jove and the other gods. Again when he addressed now Terentia, now Tullia, or sometimes both at once, one could hear undiluted sweetness of word and thought, interspersed with unbelievable charms. "My life, my light, my hope, my darling, my dearest souls, my Terentia, most faithful and best of wives, sweetest and most desirable Terentia, my dearest little daughter, Tulliola sweeter to me than my own life, farewell, my longed-for dear ones, farewell." And in the very same epistle (it is indeed well-nigh all crammed full of such-like prettinesses), "To you indeed and to our Tulliola I cannot write without many tears." Why so? He gives the most charming reason. "For I see that you are most unhappy whom I ever wished to be most happy." Not so much farther on, "Ah, my

A.iiij.^v

- post: *Hem mea lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant, te nunc mea Terentia sic vexari, sic iacere in lachrymis, & sordibus: idque fieri mea culpa, qui caeteros seruavi, ut nos [6] periremus?* Paulo etiam infra, (nam est tota, ut dixi, epistola delicatissima) *Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet,* sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere: & valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies, noctesque versaris. Et in alijs item Epistolis, quas tum bene multas insatiabili aviditate percurri, eadem fere venustate conspersa, & quasi condita plurima re-*
- 10 *periebam. Nam quid singula deintegro consector, quae sunt propemodum infinita? Iurares Orpheum suam Euridicen, apud inferos eiulantem, vel potius ipsum sane Apollinem, aut si quis eum quoque alius diuinitate loquendi canendive superavit, (ignoscite mihi, si frigidior in amplificando videar, quam esse debeam) Dianam ipsam, aut etiam*
- 15 *suam Palladem, non satis belle valentem, partim salutasse suauiter, partim blande placasse. Ita mihi semper in omni sermone, ut ille apud Homerum λυγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής, longe praeter caeteros omnes ἡδυεπής videbatur. Quid dicam, de virtute, & de beata vita, [7] deque turbidis animorum, concitatisque motibus, quo modo philosopharetur?*
- 20 *quibus institutis Oratorem, id est hominem politicum atque forensem informaret, omnibus eloquentiae, prudentiaeque ornamentis cumulatam? quantis dicendi, disserendique viribus Milonem, fortissimum virum, & amantissimum sui, contra Clodianos armaret, pestem, atque caedem spectatissimo ciui molientes? Audiui de his rebus sigillatim*
- 25 *omnibus explicantem, inexplebili cum voluptate: & miratus sum, quid perpolitissimae illi linguae diuinitus acciderit, quod tam facile omnes cum orationis suauitate, ac lepore, tum etiam magnificentia quadam superaret. Obseruo reliquos diligentius. Loquuntur pure: dicunt illuminate: argute disserunt: peracute philosophantur: quis potest*
- 30 *negare? sed distant omnes, me quidem Iudice, et siquid hae aures sentiunt, δις διὰ πασῶν, quod aiunt, a Cicerone. Solus ille principatum, & quasi μοναρχίαν quandam in dicendo, vel inuito Caesare ipso, obtinere: solus ille coronam, solus diadema, solus sceptrum, solus solium eloquentiae occupare: solus in omnibus causis, forensibus, [8]*

* 5: & after *attinet*

light, my longed-for dear one, to whom all used to look for help, to think that now, my Terentia, you are so troubled, so prostrated in tears and misery! And to think that it is my fault, who saved all the rest, only to be myself undone." Still a little farther on (for the whole epistle, as I have said, is most delicious), "I beseech you, my life, as far as the expense is concerned, let others bear it—and they can, if they only will; and do not, as you love me, tax that feeble health of yours. Day and night you hover before my eyes."

His other epistles likewise, very many of which I then hastily read with insatiable eagerness, I found for the most part sprinkled over and as it were seasoned with just about the same loveliness. Why should I rehearse once more all the details, when they are almost endless? You would swear that it were Orpheus greeting his Eurydice, wailing in the underworld, or rather Apollo himself, or if there were any other that surpassed even him in the divine quality of speaking or singing, (forgive me if I seem more frigid than I ought in elaborating this) in part sweetly greeting and in part softly soothing Diana herself or even his dear Pallas when she felt not entirely well. So Cicero seemed to me always in every discourse, like that clear-voiced orator of the Pyliahs in Homer, sweet-spoken far beyond all the rest.

Why need I tell how he philosophized on virtue, on the happy life, and on the turbulent and passionate emotions of the mind? With what precepts he instructed the orator, the man engaged in politics and forensic affairs and abundantly provided with all the ornaments of eloquence and wisdom! With how great powers of speaking and arguing he armed Milo, a man most brave and most fond of him, against the Clodians who were plotting the downfall and murder of a highly respected citizen! I heard him treating all these subjects severally, heard him with insatiable pleasure, and wondered what divine gift enabled that cultivated tongue to make its owner so easily surpass all men not only in sweetness and charm of speech but also in a certain magnificence.

I proceeded to take a closer look at the other writers. Their diction is pure, their speech luminous, their argument keen, their philosophy very acute; who can deny it? Yet they all differ by the proverbial "two whole octaves," at least in my judgment, and if these ears have any perception, from Cicero. He alone holds the primacy and, as it were, a sort of monarchy in speaking, in spite of Caesar himself. He alone obtains the crown, the diadem, the scepter, the throne of eloquence. He alone is supreme in all pleadings, forensic and parlia-

- A.iv.^v senatorijs, rusticis, vrbanis, oratorijs, philosophicis, iocosis, serijs, publicis, priuatis dominari: solus primas, secundas, tertias suo iure vindicare.* Sensi demum quid esset, quod Graiorum insigni prouerbio increbresceret: Purpuram cum purpura comparatam facilius aestimari.
- 5 Interpretetur melius latine, siquis potest: videtis interim, opinor, quid dicatur. Aut si non videtis, comparate Ciceronem cum Caesare, comparate cum Sallustio, cum Liuio, cum Quintiliano: comparate cum Terentio, Marone, Horatio: comparate cum optimis, & ornatissimis latinitatis auctoribus: & statim in haec verba erumpetis, si ad eum
- 10 comparantur, nihil sunt. Alia est M. Tullij, alia aliorum purpura: & vt summus iste Sol, qui subsellia nostra suae lucis claritate illustrat, & tanquam eloquentiae amore captus splendorem in nos suum diffundit, cum reliquis syderibus comparatus, quae vel serenissima, clarissimaque nocte collucent, illa omnia radiorum, quos intuemini,
- 15 pulchritudine, ac fulgore: sic ille cunctos orationis vbertate, varietateque antecellit: reliqui vt cum [9] eo collati, veluti vmbrae, vt ait Homerus, volitare videantur. Loquitur, eloquitur politissime: disputat acutissime: in omni vrbanitatis genere excellit: philosophatur optime: & siquid eo melius excogitari potest, quod optimum dicimus, id est
- 20 in quibusdam sane assecutus. Ne superlationis quidem illo gradu, quo nullum habent Grammatici superiorem, omnia quae dixerit, scripserit, ediderit, comprehenderim: tam sunt multa exquisito constricta artificio. Date veniam, si Thomae, Dunsique more loquens, in transcendentibus ponam illius eloquentiam. Verbi causa, Quaere
- 25 ab istorum aliquo, qui Deum e Categoriarum domicilijs, vt infinitam, incomprehensibiliterque essentiam, nec vllis circumscribendam cancellis, excluserunt: an eum putes Tullianae eloquentiae Diuinitatem, quam ipse nunquam, ne cogitatione quidem assequi potuerat, tantis angustijs, & illo accidentium quasi gurgustio complexurum? Nae ille
- B.^v 30 citius Transcendentium suorum numerum augebit, in eorumque cellissima sede, tanquam [10] in summo solio, & Deum, & diuina omnia, cum suo Ente, atque Bono collocabit, in primisque eam, quam dico, orationis Diuinitatem. Praesertim cum Franciscus Philelphus, homo istarum rerum haud ignarus, nequaquam sit veritus M. Tullium,
- 35 eloquentiae Deum nominare. Sed quid ego Dunsicam nationem

* 3: vendicare

mentary, rustic and urban, oratorical and philosophical, jesting and serious, public and private. He alone of his own right claims the first, second, and third place.

I understood at last what that saying meant, which became a famous proverb of the Greeks: "Purple is more easily judged when compared with purple." Any one who can may translate that better into Latin, but in the meantime I believe you see what is meant. Or if you do not see, compare Cicero with Caesar, compare him with Sallust, with Livy, with Quintilian; compare him with Terence, Maro, Horace; compare him with the best and most beautiful Latin authors, and you will immediately exclaim: "Compared with him, they are nothing." The purple of Marcus Tully is one thing, that of the others is something else. Yonder sun on high, which illumines our benches with the brightness of its light and, as if captured with the love of eloquence, diffuses its splendor over us, when it is compared with the other stars which shine on even the calmest and clearest night, surpasses them all in the beauty and brilliance of the rays which you behold. Similarly Cicero so far surpasses all men in copiousness and variety of speech that the rest of them, when compared with him, seem, as Homer says, to flit like ghosts.

He speaks and expresses himself most elegantly; he argues most acutely; he excels in every sort of urbanity; he philosophizes most excellently; and if anything can be imagined better than what we call the best, in some domains he has surely attained it. Not even by the superlative degree, than which the grammarians know nothing higher, could I express all that he spoke, wrote, and published: so much is compact in his exquisite art. Forgive me if I speak in the fashion of Thomas and Duns and put his eloquence among things transcendental. Just ask, for example, any of those fellows who exclude God from the realms of the categories, as being an infinite and incomprehensible essence, not to be circumscribed by any limits; do you suppose that he would try to put the divine quality of the Tullian eloquence, which he himself had never been able to reach even in imagination, within the narrow confines and, as it were, hovel of the accidents? Truly he will sooner increase the number of his transcendentals; and in their loftiest seat, as if on a supreme throne, he will place both God and all things divine, together with his Being and his Good, and in particular that divine quality of speech to which I allude. And especially so since Franciscus Philadelphus, a man not unacquainted with these matters, did not in the least hesitate to call Marcus Tully the god of eloquence.

- appello, iampridem ad inferos, vnde manauit relegatam? Cum Elo-
quentia ipsa, cum ipsa, inquam, flexanima, populorumque Regina
eloquentia, si loqui coram, & circumstantibus nobis, ex amplissimo
isto Eloquentiae theatro eloqui posset, non satis eam digne posset,
5 de qua loquor, Eloquentiam, eloquendo celebrare. Noui ego, ni
fallor, ἐμψόσεις: noui αὐξήσεις: noui ὑπερβολάς oratorias: exaggerandi
lectissimas, ardentissimasque formulas obseruauī: scio qui sint in
tropis nerui, qui lacerti, atque tori in figuris: quaedam etiam notaui
singularia. His omnibus ita se roborauit M. Tullius, vt ne illa quidem
10 ipsa tam illustria sufficiant ad tam excellentem gloriam praedicandam.
B.ij. Nolo me quisquam loqui suspicetur [11] ὑπερβολικῶς: legite solum:
comparate cum alijs: singula dicendi, amplificandique ornamenta ad
accuratam Eloquentiae normam, tanquam ad Critolai libram ex-
pendite: atque facile mihi concedetis, admirabilem illius esse, ac plane
15 diuinam Orationem. Addam etiam, eiusmodi, vt eam Natura ipsa
modulari videretur. Vultis me praeclariora exempla vnum in locum,
atque aggerem comportare? In immensum serperet oratio: & lux me
ista prius deficeret, quam sententiarum copia optimarum. Sed quid si
vnum illud ad Terentiam vobis, inter caetera amplificationis exempla,
20 commendarem? χολήν ἄκρατον, inquit, noctu eieci statim. Ita sum
leuatus, (notate αὐξήσων) vt Deus mihi aliquis medicinam fecisse
videatur. Cui quidem tu Deo, quemadmodum soles, pie, & caste sat-
isfacias, id est, Apollini, & Aesculapio. Quid si etiam ad M. Catonem
illud, vestris omnium sermonibus percelebratum: Laetus sum laudari
25 me, inquit Hector opinor apud Naevium, abs te pater laudato viro.
B.ij.v Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus, [12] quae ab ijs profisciscitur, qui
ipsi in laude vixerunt. Et quae sequuntur. Nam multo id mihi
amplissimum videtur, & aculeos habet sane oratorios, quod paulo post
adiungit. Et si non modo vnus, verum etiam multi Catones essent in
30 Ciuitate nostra, in qua vnum exstitisse mirabile est, (animaduertite
in singulis fere verbis singulare quoddam amplificationis genus) quem
ego currum, aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Quid
si id genus alia ego complura demonstrarem in Epistolis, in dialogo
de Amicitia, in ijs, quae nouissime legerim, & quidem noua cum

But why do I appeal to the tribe of Duns, which was long since banished to the world below, whence it derived? Eloquence herself, Eloquence herself, I say, that sways men's minds and queens it over nations, if she were able from that most ample theater of Eloquence to speak in person to us crowding around, could not quite worthily celebrate with eloquence that eloquence of which I tell. I recognize, unless I am mistaken, the emphases, amplifications, and hyperboles of oratory; I have observed the choicest and most spirited formulas of exaggeration; I know what are the sinews in tropes, what the muscles and tendons in figures; I have even noted some unique matters. With all of these Marcus Tully so fortified himself that not even these same devices, distinguished as they are, can suffice to proclaim his excellent glory. I would not have any one suspect me of speaking hyperbolically. Only read; compare him with others; weigh by the accurate standard of Eloquence, as if on the scales of Critolaus, the several ornaments of speaking and of amplification; and you will readily grant me that his oratory is admirable and assuredly divine. It is such, I venture to add, that nature herself seems to have given it modulation.

Do you wish me to collect into a heap in one spot some outstanding illustrations? This would immensely lengthen my discourse, and sooner would yonder daylight fail me than an abundance of excellent sentences. But suppose I commend to you, among other examples of amplification, that one remark to Terentia. "At night," he says, "I immediately threw off my undiluted bile. I was so relieved" (note the amplification) "that it seemed to me some god had brought me healing. And to this god, that is, to Apollo and Aesculapius, with your usual piety and purity please offer due tribute." Suppose I also commend the remark to Marcus Cato, which is very often quoted by all of you in conversation. "'I am happy to be praised,' as Hector says, if I am not mistaken, in Naevius, 'by one so praised as you, my sire.' For that is pleasant praise indeed which comes from those who have themselves won praise by their lives." And consider what follows; for something that he adds a little later seems to me the last word in amplification, and it surely has the oratorical touch: "And if there were not just one but many Catos in our state, in which it is miraculous that a single one has arisen" (notice in almost every word a sort of unique type of amplification), "what triumphal chariot, what laurel crown could I compare with a panegyric from you?"

Suppose I point out many other examples of this sort in the *Epistles*, in the dialogue *On Friendship*, in those writings which I

- voluptate? Quam id vnum praeclare, quam de seipso gloriose, confidenterque dictum in Laelio? *Itaque ipse mea legens, sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me loqui putem.* Et paulo item infra, *Tu velim, inquit, a me animum parumper auertas, Laelium loqui ipsum*
- B.iiij. 5 *putes.* Nam quod interseritur, tam eleganti traductione coloratum est, nullum ut emblemata excogitari possit venustius. [13] *Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic in hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de Amicitia scripsi.* Quid tandem concini poterat modulatus? Sed quorsum ego rem infinitam conor tantillae oratiunculae finibus circumscribere? Exemplorum non modo illustrium, verum etiam prope admirabilem, atque omni laudatione maiorem, plena sunt apud Ciceronem omnia. Quod ideo in hoc tempore dico, non quod quinquam latere putem meorum Auditorum, quos esse pluresque istarum spero elegantiarum, multarumque etiam aliarum observantissimos:
- 10 sed quod ipse nuper voluptatis causa, Tullium vestrum cum alijs conferens, disertissimis viris, admirari illius coeperim,* & suspicere ubique sui similem eloquentiam. Ita ut in otio illo Tusculano, & solitario paene plus, quam in Academiae ipsius spatij, & hac circumstantium frequentissima celebritate consecutum me putem. Redeo igitur ad
- B.iiij.v 20 id, quod initio dixeram, in otio ita me fuisse negotiosum, ut in maximis, turbulentissimisque negotijs, quibus [14] eram non ita pridem implicatus, magis mihi ipse videretur quadam ratione otiosus. Contuli enim quasi aliud agens Ciceronem cum reliquis: & tantam ea collatione, tamque liquidam voluptatem caepi, fortassis etiam utilitatem,
- 25 quantam antea profecto in vita nunquam. Nec non saepe ita apud me tacite dicebam. O curiosi nimis, & putidiusculi Ciceroniani, qui ut Ciceronem vnum facere videamini, ut par est, maximi, a caeteris omnibus, quod nefas reputo, tanquam a pestiferis & contaminatis hominibus abhorretis. Nam ne eum quidem meo iudicio Christo-
- 30 phorus ipse vester Longolius, is, quem Ludouicus Viues hominem omnium Ciceronianissimum usurpavit, nonnulli Ciceronis corniculam appellarunt, tam vnice praeter caeteros amplecteretur: nisi antea cum utroque Plinio, & Seneca, & ijs, quos nominaui, scriptoribus, diligenter,

* 16: caeperim

have just read afresh—and with fresh pleasure. Take this one remark in the Laelius—how nobly, proudly, and boldly said—: “And hence I am myself sometimes so moved in reading my own words that I think it is Cato speaking and not I.” And likewise a little farther on he says: “I should like you to turn your mind away from me for a little while, and imagine that Laelius himself is speaking.” As to what comes in between these two passages, it is ornamented with such an elegant figure of speech that no mosaic work can be imagined more lovely. “But as then I, an old man, wrote to an old man concerning old age, so in this book I, an affectionate friend, have written to a friend concerning friendship.” How, pray tell me, could anything be more melodiously phrased?

But why do I endeavor to circumscribe an infinite matter within the limits of such a little oration? All the pages of Cicero are full of examples that are not only renowned but even almost marvellous and beyond all praise. I choose the present occasion to say this, not because I suppose it is unknown to any one of my hearers, most of whom I hope are thoroughly accustomed to observing these elegances and many others as well, but because I myself have recently, just for the fun of it, been comparing your friend Tully with other men of the utmost skill in speech, and have really come to marvel at his eloquence and to admire its counterpart anywhere. As a result I believe I have accomplished almost more in that little bit of solitary leisure at my Tusculan retreat than even within the precincts of the University and amid this great throng of people. I revert therefore to what I said in the beginning, that in my leisure I was so busy that I thought I had in a way been at leisure amid the important and turbulent affairs wherein I had not so long before been involved.

The fact is that when I proceeded rather casually to compare Cicero with the others, I derived from the comparison such intense and pure pleasure, and perhaps profit as well, as I really had never experienced before in my life. And I often silently said to myself, “How unduly finical and overnice you Ciceronians are! In your entirely proper desire to appear to attribute unique importance to Cicero, you turn away with what I consider shameful abhorrence from all the others, as if they were pestilential and contaminated. In my opinion, not even your friend Christophorus Longolius himself, whom Ludovicus Vives acclaimed as the most Ciceronian of all men and whom some called Cicero’s little crow, would love Cicero so exclusively and surpassingly, had he not first diligently and carefully compared him with

- accurateque contulisset. σύγκρισις quaedam adsit oportet, & exquisiti iudicij regula, praestantiaeque magistra διάνοια.* Quid, quod varietatis quidam succus, etiam in optimis, iucundissimisque [15] rebus, saepe tamen videtur pernecessarius? Nec ita Ciceronem vnum vel Natura, 5 vel Ars, vel Industria,** vel istorum omnium moderator, atque princeps Deus, suis bonis, atque opibus cumulavit: ut cum illi clarissima supeditasset, nulla alijs reliquerit suae dignitatis ornamenta. Sic tacitus ego mecum ratiocinabar tum, cum collationis illius, varietatisque fructum aliquoties percepissem. Tribuebam Ciceroni maxima: in eo 10 solo plures horas, dies, hebdomades, menses, quam in alijs omnibus collocabam. Et tamen ita in eo versabar, ut abijcerem aliquando De Amicitia disputantem, & Osorium in manus sumerem perorantem de Gloria. Id eo feci, non quod Ciceronem improbarem, probarem Osorium, sed ut Osorianam redundantiam a Ciceronis copia inter- 15 noscerem. Fluit quidem utriusque sermo: sed alterius, sine vllis salebris, ut liquidus, & sedatus amnis, fluit: alterius, nonnunquam extra ripas, ut turgidus, atque rapidus torrens, diffluit, nec illis se cohiberi septis patitur, quae videbat ab altero praestituta. Probo in plaerisque Osorium: laudo in multis: in quibusdam etiam [16] sane B.iv.v 20 admiror: sed cum Cicerone nostro conferens, (videte, quam nihil vos celem) facere non possum, quin exclamem, ut ille in Aeneide, *Infoelix puer, atque impar congressus Achilli*. Addam etiam, quod minime statueram: Certe Porcij Latronis multo est, quam M. Tullij similior. Eo igitur haec omnis spectat oratio, ut nec alios non aliquando lega- 25 mus, in suo genere excellentes: & ad Ciceronem semper, tanquam ad Eloquentiae maximum natu filium, atque adeo haeredem recurramus. Ego vero, qui proxima superiore hebdomade Macrobij Saturnaliorum Dialogos legebam, nec ex eo tempore quicquam legebam, (neque enim profecto potui, ista commentans) tanto iam, & tam ardenti M. Tullij 30 desiderio incensus teneor, ut ad eum primo quoque tempore redeundum existimem, & pristinam eloquentiae professionem nouo etiam impetu assumendam. In quo, haud scio an vos plus utilitatis, quam antea: ego certe plus verae capiam delectationis. Tantum abest,

* 2: διάνοια ** 5: Industria

both the Plinies and Seneca and those other writers whom I have named. One ought to bring into play a sort of comparison, a standard of refined criticism, and that mistress of excellence, reason. Is it not true that a spice of variety often seems quite necessary even for the best and pleasantest dishes? Cicero was not so uniquely showered with blessings and resources by either nature or art or industry or God, the master and chief of them all, that when he had been endowed with the handsomest distinctions, there remained none of appropriate worth for other men."

So I silently reasoned within myself, after I had repeatedly felt well rewarded by the comparison of the various authors. To Cicero I devoted the most attention; on him alone I spent more hours, days, weeks, and months than on all the others. And yet, as I busied myself with him, sometimes I tossed aside his treatise *De Amicitia* and picked up Osorius' oration *De Gloria*. I did this, not because I disapproved of Cicero and approved of Osorius, but because I wanted to see the difference between the redundancy of Osorius and the copiousness of Cicero. Both men have fluent diction, to be sure; but whereas Cicero's flows without any ripples, like a smooth and quiet river, Osorius' sometimes overflows its banks, like a swollen, hurrying torrent, too impatient to be confined within the bounds set by the other. In most particulars I approve of Osorius, in many I praise him, and in some I even admire him; but when I compare him with our friend Cicero (see how I hide nothing from you), I cannot help exclaiming, as did the poet in the *Aeneid*, "Unhappy boy, unequally matched with Achilles." I will even add what I had decided not to say at all: really he is much more like Porcius Latro than like Marcus Tully.

This is the thought, then, of my entire discourse: that we should not refrain from reading occasionally other writers who are excellent in their kind, nor fail to return always to Cicero as the eldest son and indeed heir of Eloquence. I found in my own case that, after spending last week reading Macrobius' *Dialogues of the Saturnalia* and doing no reading from the classical period (such reading was an impossibility while I was busy studying the *Saturnalia*), I was fired with so intense and ardent a yearning for Marcus Tully that I decided I must return to him at the earliest opportunity and resume with new enthusiasm my former profession of eloquence. Whether you will derive more benefit than before from this I cannot say, but I at any rate shall derive more genuine pleasure.

- C. id vt agnoscam, quod nouus philosophus, [17] familiaris meus, in Dialogo, nudiustertius somniauit, minime mirum esse, si Philosophiae Duffildus valedixerit, cum Harueius suam, quam vnice amaret, & a qua vnice amaretur, quamque supra omnem mundum, non modo
 5 supra modum efferret (his mihi verbis philosophus gratificari voluit) eloquentiam deseruerit. Non cuiusuis est, philosophe, diuinare: hoc tua te Philosophia in illo vestro bellissimo colloquio docere potuit, non nisi animis furore diuino incitatis, & coelesti quodam instinctu atque numine afflatis, praesagitionem inijci rerum futurarum. Perdifficile
 10 est, in ijs esse prophetam, quae possunt in vtramque partem cadere. Disce tandem, philosophice Magister, aut recordare saltem, quod iampridem puer in Aristotelis organo didicisti, in futuris istiusmodi contingentibus nihil rati esse in alterutram partem, nihil certi, aut definiti statuendum. Vaticinatio hic omnis lubrico in loco sita, &
 15 praecipiti est. Ac tantum quidem abest, tui vt pectoris angustiae (ignosce mihi de Coelitem numine verba facturo) [18] praesensionem istam caperent, rerum futurarum, vt Homerus etiam Deos immortales de ijsdem* aliquando deliberantes introducat: ob eandemque causam Isocrates Sophistarum retundat leuitatem, quod quarum erant rerum
 20 ignari, earum sibi praedictionem arrogassent. Egredior extra fines meos, Philosophe: sed tu me paucis philosophantem ferre debes, qui te pluribus audiui perorantem. Dicerem Rhetoricantem, si per Ciceronianos meos liceret. Sed venio ad institutum. Vtinam non me Eloquentia desereret: ego certe eloquentiam neque vnquam deserui, neque deseram, dum viuo. Cicero mihi quidem semper Cicero fuit,
 25 & eloquentia fuit eloquentia: nunc autem animus, insolito quodam amoris inflammatus ardore, nescio quid maius in Cicerone ipso pollicetur, non solum exspectat Cicerone. Ita ipse seipsum, nouus veterem, omni laude superauit. Vultis, ostendam quomodo? Vereor,
 30 ne nimis ista longa videatur historia: sed complectar, quam potero breui. Affectabam iampridem Ciceroniani nomen: & id maxime [19] ducebam honorificum, atque gloriosum: eram in eorum opinione defixus, qui M. Tullium & perpetuo solum, & ubique totum imitan-
- C.ij.

* 18: eijsdem

The foregoing will show how far I am from admitting the nonsense that was fabricated the other day in a dialogue by a friend of mine, a novice philosopher. He said that it was not in the least surprising for Duffield to bid farewell to philosophy, since Harvey had abandoned his darling eloquence, whom he loved with a single-hearted devotion which was fully reciprocated, and whom he extolled above all the world, not merely above measure. These words the philosopher used out of a desire to gratify me. But, O Philosopher, it does not belong to every one to divine the future. Your own Philosophy, in that pretty colloquy between the two of you, might teach you that the premonition of future events is granted only to those souls stirred with a divine frenzy and inspired with some heavenly afflatus and power. It is very difficult to be a prophet of such matters as may turn out either way. Learn at length, my philosophical master, or at any rate recall what you learned long ago as a boy in Aristotle's *Organon*, that in future contingencies of that sort one must regard nothing as determined, sure, or definite on one side or the other. All divination here below belongs in the realm of the slippery and precipitous. And indeed, so far from true is it that your limited intellect (forgive me, since I am going to speak of the celestial powers) can feel a presentiment of future events, that Homer represents even the immortal gods as sometimes deliberating over these very matters. For the same reason, again, Isocrates rebukes the levity of the sophists, because they had arrogated to themselves the prediction of events of which they were ignorant. I am getting outside of my own domain, O Philosopher; but you ought to bear with me philosophizing briefly since I listened to you discoursing lengthily. I would say that you were "rhetoricizing," if my Ciceronians would allow me the word.

But I shall come to the point. I hope that Eloquence will not forsake me; and at any rate I have never forsaken Eloquence, nor shall I as long as I live. To me Cicero was always Cicero, and eloquence, eloquence; but now more than ever my mind, fired with unprecedented ardor and love, not merely expects but promises something greater than Cicero in Cicero himself. For he has surpassed himself, the new Cicero has surpassed the old, in every point of praise. Do you want me to show how? I am afraid that the story may seem too long, but I shall condense it in as brief a compass as I can.

Long since I laid claim to the name of "Ciceronian," and considered this the highest honor and glory. I was in settled agreement with those who taught that Marcus Tully alone should forever and

- dum docuerunt, in eoque positas eloquentiae, literarumque fortunas existimarunt: Itatorum quorundam sententiae facile acquiescebam, caeteros omnes negligendos: Vnum in manibus habendum Ciceronem. Non Bembus, non Sadoletus, non Longolius, non Longolij buccinator
- 5 Riccius, de Cicerone honorificentius, quàm ego sentiebant, non magnificentius loquebantur. Non eum quisquam admirabatur magis, non avidius lectitabat. Inde adeo, vt vel ipsi Lunae subirascerer, siquando ea me dulcedine priuaret, qua eram inde perfusus, Solique mirificas gratias agerem, cuius beneficio interruptum lectionis cursum redintegrem.
- 10 Itaque quantus iam, quantus fui, in illorum ego haeresi, constitutus fui, qui Ciceronianos & esse se, & haberi, & dici voluere, eoque nomine cum Regibus se & Imperatoribus adaequatos putauere. Erant mihi in [20] amoribus elegantissimi, lautissimique Itali: in primisque Pontanum, atque Cortesium, & quos modo nominaui, Bem-
- 15 bum, Sadoletum, Longolium, Riccium, Nizolium etiam, & Naugerium in sinu semper, & complexu fouebam meo. Hos qui nominabat, non homines, sed heroës, atque coelites nominare videbatur. Erasmus, & qui ab eius opinione starent, Budaëum, Morum, Aegidium, Glareanum, Viuem, alios omnes, qui Ciceroniani non perhiberentur, non
- 20 modo contemnebam, vt infantissimos: verum etiam, vt inimicissimos, odio prosequabar. Dicam vere. Piaculum mihi videbatur, Erasmus tangere. Siquis eius lineolam aliquam aliquando legisset, idem fecem mihi videbatur, & sordes, & putredinem, &, quicquid nauseam parit, olere. Vos fortasse non credetis: sed ita profecto, ab illius mentione
- 25 abhorrebam, vt sine aliqua honoris praefatione ne nominandum quidem putarem aliquando. quid multa? saepe de illius contaminato spiritu querebar: saepe nominantes increpabam, alias quidem aliter, interdum [21] isto modo, non nisi incensis odoribus, aut admoto ad nares fasciculo, nominandum: tam esse hominis impurum, atque faet-
- 30 dum sermonem, quam sunt ea, quae hominum nasi, atque aures perhorrescunt: qui modo eius mentionem faceret, ad inquinatissima quaeque abducere cogitationem: nihil tam esse κακέμφοτον: nihil elegantioribus Musis adeo infestum. Saepe alia multa conuitorum taela in Erasmi commentationes conieci, eiusque famam conquisitissimis
- 35 laesam maledictis violaui, Ciceroniani vel maxime interesse ratus,
- C.ij. v
- C.iiij.

everywhere wholly be imitated, and who believed that in him reposed the fortunes of eloquence and letters. I readily acquiesced with the idea of certain Italians, that all the others should be neglected and Cicero alone kept in one's hands. Neither Bembus, nor Sadoletus, nor Longolius, nor Riccius the trumpeter of Longolius thought of Cicero with more respect than I nor magnified him more in words. No one admired him more nor perused his pages more eagerly. It went so far that I was even somewhat annoyed at the moon herself, whenever she deprived me of that sweet pleasure in which I was then absorbed; and to the sun I was unbelievably grateful, since thanks to him I could resume the interrupted course of my reading. And so whatever I am now, whatever I was, I was confirmed in the sect of those who wanted to be, to be considered, and to be called Ciceronians, and who thought that name made them equal with kings and emperors. I had among my favorites the most elegant and refined Italians; and especially Pontanus, Cortesius, and those whom I have just mentioned—Bembus, Sadoletus, Longolius, Riccius, Nizolius too, and Naugerius—I ever cherished in my bosom and embrace. One who named them seemed to be naming not men but heroes and heavenly beings.

As for Erasmus and those who clove to his views, Budaeus, More, Aegidius, Glareanus, Vives, and all the others who were not considered Ciceronians, I not only scorned them as perfectly infantile, but even pursued them with hate as utter enemies. To tell the truth, it seemed to me a wicked offence to touch Erasmus. If any one had ever read a single line of his, he seemed to me to smell of impurity and filth and rottenness and whatever occasions nausea. Perhaps you will not believe it, but the fact is that I was so averse to mentioning him that I sometimes thought he should not even be named without a by-your-leave. Why should I labor the point? Often I complained of his contaminated spirit; and those who named him I often chided, in various ways at different times. Sometimes I said he should not be named except when incense had been lighted or a nosegay applied to the nose. The fellow's style, I said, was as vile and stinking as the things which give the deepest offence to people's noses and ears; whoever merely made mention of him was diverting his thoughts to the utmost pollution; nobody else was so vile sounding, so inimical to the more elegant Muses. Often I hurled many other darts of abuse at the dissertations of Erasmus, and with the choicest revilings I damaged and profaned his reputation, because I believed it was very

- illius vt nomen, omnibus contumelijs maculatum, in summam inuidiam, atque opprobrium adduceretur. In eo, Deus optime, vt mihi placebam, siquando arreptum e Verrinis, aut Philippicis conuitium, ad id quadrare videretur? Ac, meminisse quidem piget, pudet dicere,
- C.iiij.^v 5 quo stomacho contra Franciscum Picum exarserim, hominem multorum iudicio non indisertum, non illiteratum meo, qui scripta ad P. Bembum Epistola, vt mihi tum videbatur, subagresti, Imitationem, quam ego sequerer, perstrinxisset, [22]* gregaliumque meorum conuellerisset rationes; ne Bembi quidem ipsius, mearum deliciarum, iudicium
- 10 magnopere pertimescens. Nam de Angelo Politiano quid dicam, cuius simile studium, datis etiam ad Paulum Cortesium in eandem sententiam literis, tam vehementer respuebam, vt eum infra omnes infimos homines esse putans, saepe atrocibus proscinderem maledictis: nec vnā modo illam misellam epistolam, sed eius omnia scripta
- 15 sempiternis configere probris cogitarem. Quid referam, in singulorum verborum delectu; in coniunctorum compositione, & structura; in casuum, atque temporum discriminatione; in certarum concinnitate formularum; in incisorum, membrorumque conformatione, in modulandis circumductionibus; in varietate, suauitateque clausularum; in
- 20 elegantiarum cuiusque generis accurata, elaborataque frequentatione, quantus tum fuerim, & quam purus putus Ciceronianus? Etenim de illis meis vsitatissimis in initijs orationum, Epistolarumque insignibus,
- C.iv. *Quanquam, Etsi, Animaduerti, Cogitanti* [23] *mihi saepenumero;* deque amatissimo meo pede, ac potius corculo, Dichoreo; & illa omnium beatissima clausula, *Esse videatur;* non queo sine maximo risu
- 25 cogitare. Cincinnos etiam illos, atque calamistros, quibus omnis erat vndique ad venustatem inusta oratio, *cum, tum; etiam, atque etiam; maiorem in modum; non solum, verum etiam; non ille quidem vir malus; post natos homines superbissimus; post hominum memoriam*
- 30 *magnificentissimus; quem honoris causa nomino; quotus enim istud quisque fecisset? per mihi mirum videri solet; nescio quo pacto; nescio quo fato fieri dicam; vix, aut ne vix quidem; commode autem; quicunque dixit; quid quaeris? Londinum cogito;* atque alias huiuscemodi orationis tesserulas, hominibus Ciceronianis familiarissimas, a me
- 35 saepe, multumque affectatas cogor pudore quodam, praetermittere.

* 8: 22 misnumbered 24

important for a Ciceronian to have that man's name defiled with all manner of insults and subjected to the utmost hatred and opprobrium. And heavens! what a source of satisfaction it was for me in this activity if sometimes a phrase of abuse culled from the *Verrines* or the *Philippics* seemed to square with my purpose.

And I am loath indeed to remember and ashamed to tell with what indignation I flared up against Franciscus Picus, a man not devoid of eloquence, as many think, not devoid of learning, as even I think. In a letter written to P. Bembus—a rather rustic performance, as I thought then—he angered me by criticizing the kind of imitation which I was following, and by tearing to shreds the principles of my fellow-sectarians, without being particularly afraid of the opinion even of Bembus himself, my favorite. Now what shall I say of Angelus Politianus, whose similar views in a letter to Paulus Cortesius I rejected so vehemently that I accounted him the lowest of the low and often censured him with savage attacks. My intention was to expose to everlasting shame not only that one paltry letter, but all his writings.

Why should I tell how great and simon-pure a Ciceronian I was at that time in the choice of every single word, in the composition and structure of sentences, in the discriminating use of cases and tenses, in the symmetry of cut-and-dried phrases, in the shaping of sentence-divisions and clauses, in the rhythmical measuring of periods, in the variety and smoothness of clausulae, in the careful and elaborate multiplication of all sorts of refinements? I cannot think without a fit of laughter of those commonest ornaments that I used as the opening words of speeches and letters: "And yet," "Although," "I have observed," "Oftentimes as I think it over," and my most beloved foot—my jewel—the dichoreus, and that most blessed clausula of them all, *Esse videatur*. I am compelled by a sense of shame to omit mention of those curls and curling-irons, with which my whole style was elegantly frizzed in every part: "While . . . yet," "again and again," "to a greater extent," "not only . . . but also," "truly he was not a wicked man," "the haughtiest since the origin of mankind," "the most magnificent in the memory of man," "whom I mention out of respect," "for how many people would have done that?" "I am wont to think it is very strange," "somehow or other," "I know not by what eternal law I should say it befell," "scarcely, or not even scarcely," "appropriately, moreover," "whoever said it," "in short," "I am thinking of London," and other hallmarks of this sort of style, thoroughly familiar to Ciceronians, and often much affected by me. You see how

- Videtis, vt ne nominem quidem sine rubore. Quanquam si hoc etiam vnum adiecero, *Deos* mihi, *Deasque* fuisse in Elegantijs: & frequentissime in omnibus ista vsurpata sermonibus mihi excidisse: [24] *Si Dijs placet; quam id, o Dij boni, non decebat? per Deos immortales;*
- 5 *testor Deos, Deasque omnes; testor omnes Deos, & eos maxime, qui huic loco, scholaeque praesident;* maiorem protinus erubescam in modum necesse est. Sed o mansuetiores Musae, vt ego non modo istas politularum formularum delitiotas, atque flosculos consecrabar: sed quibusdam etiam literis grandiusculis oculos, atque animum pasce-
- 10 bam meum, siquando in orationibus, aut epistolis, quas tum bene multas ad honoratissimum Mildmaium perscripseram, hominem de Academia nostra praeclare meritum, & mihi multis sane nominibus colendissimum, vel pro Senatu, Populoque Romano, *S.P.Q.R.* & imitatione quadam, pro Britannis, *S.P.Q.B.*: vel pro patribus conscriptis,
- 15 *P.C.* quibus & Regios interdum consiliarios, & sacrorum antistites, & collegiorum, atque Caenobiorum praesides, & nonnunquam etiam alios designabam: vel pro eo, quod vltimo salutationis loco ascribi solet, salutem plurimam dicit, *S.D.* tantum in medio [25] posuissem? Vel denique quod Caput erat, pro *Ioue optimo Maximo*; cuius tum
- 20 nomine ipso mirum in modum recreabar; prisco, & solenni ritu, *IVP. O. M.* tanquam in marmoreo quodam, celebrique monumento, a vetere aliquo Romano illius numini locato, incidissem. Vix credibile est, quam mirifice hisce* fuerim maiuscularum literarum emblematis delinitus. Iam si Dialecticam mihi aliquam disputationem necessitas
- 25 imposuisset, a qua fere omni hoc tempore solebam, vti vitis a brassica, refugere: (spinosiora enim vehementer omnia displicebant) hominem audires Perionio ipso in verborum delectu cautiorem: vix in multis, aut ne vix quidem interdum vocabulis contentum Sturmianis, quibus fere Leuinus utebatur: M. Tullij Topica in animo assidue, in ore,
- 30 atque scriptis saepissime habentem: aduersariorum ratiocinationes elimantem, expolientem meas: & siqua verba minus placerent, erant autem istiusmodi sane permulta, fastidiosius *vt ita dicam, vt sic loquar, si eo verbo fas est uti* in singulis pronunciatis [26] iterantem. Crebra
- D. v

* 23: hijsce

I cannot even name them without a blush. And yet if I add one thing more—that among my elegancies were the words “gods” and “goddesses,” and at frequent intervals in all my discourses I let fall those stereotyped phrases, “If it please the gods,” “How unbecoming it was, O ye good gods,” “By the immortal gods,” “I call to witness the gods and goddesses all,” “I call to witness all the gods, and especially those who preside over this spot and school”—straightway I shall be obliged to blush even more deeply.

But O ye gentler Muses, I was not content with eagerly pursuing such charms of elegant phraseology and such flowers of rhetoric. How I did feed my eyes and mind also with certain capital letters, whenever I had a chance to insert them in speeches or in the epistles which I was then writing in great numbers to the most honorable Mildmay, a man of distinguished service to our University and one whom I must esteem highly on many accounts. For instance, I wrote S.P.Q.R. for “the Senate and People of Rome” and, by a sort of imitation, S.P.Q.B. for the Britons; P.C. for the “Conscript Fathers,” alluding sometimes to her Majesty’s councillors, or religious dignitaries, or heads of colleges and cloisters, or sometimes still others; and simply S.D. for what is customarily written as the closing salutation, “with kindest regards.” Or finally—and this capped the climax—for “Jupiter Optimus Maximus,” from whose very name in those days I derived marvellous refreshment, I wrote according to the ancient and consecrated custom IVP. O. M., as if I were cutting the letters on some famous monument of marble, set up by an ancient Roman to Jupiter’s godhead. It is hard to believe how strangely fascinated I was by these emblems of capital letters.

Now if necessity imposed upon me some dialectical disputation, from which during just about all of this period I was wont to shrink, like a vine from a cabbage (for all of the more thorny topics were mightily in disfavor with me), you would have heard a man more careful than Perionius himself in the choice of words; a man often barely satisfied, or not even barely, with the vocabulary of Sturmius, which Lewin generally used; a man having Marcus Tully’s *Topica* constantly in his mind and very often on his lips and in his writings; a man captiously criticizing the reasonings of his opponents and polishing his own; and if any words did not quite suit him—and there certainly were very many such—, fastidiously reiterating at every single use of them an “if I may so say,” or “so to speak,” or “if it is permissible to use this word.” I frequently had to employ the word

erat *specierum*, & de *speciebus* facienda mentio: Occurrit mihi pro-
 tinus Ciceroniani stomachi lautitia: *Nolim, ne si latine quidem dici*
possit, specierum, & speciebus dicere: at formis & formarum velim:
 pervulgatissimus locus est: & memini delicatulum illum interpretem,
 5 praeter Benedictinorum suorum consuetudinem, quoties εἰδῶν, aut
 εἶδει in Porphyrio legisset, aut Aristotele, vel alios casus in vertendo
 ascuisse: vel semper *formarum* atque *formis* quasi religione quadam
 substituisse. Quid quaeritis? Ad Heteroclitorum acruum *species*
 aggregabam: & si scribenda mihi tum Grammatica esset: quod non
 10 ita pridem cogitaram, inueterascentium errorum fibras euellere
 cupiens: in eorum ego classe reposuissem, quae vulgo Triptota dice-
 rentur. In caeteris, haud scio an magis etiam fuerim, quam Cormae-
 riacenus ille Interpres, delicatus. Inueniendi Artem ijsdem semper
 15 ipsis vocabulis complectebar, quibus vel in Topicis Cicero, vel in
 secundo de Oratore Antonius vsus esset. In iudicandi etiam vijs
 D.ij. ducem [27] mihi quidem eundem proponebam: sed alia ex libello de
 fato, alia ex primo de inuentione, quaedam etiam ex Topicis, non-
 nulla ex oratorijs dialogis verba excerpebam. Vereor, ne putidum
 esset, singula retexere: & iam longior in hac parte fui, quam esse
 20 vellem: sed videte, vt meam ipse stultitiam prodam, vos vt efficiam
 sapientiores: ne quis forte vestrum simili morbo leuiter affectus,
 eodem ingrauescente contabescat. Vultis igitur paulo procedam
 longius? Propositio, quae dicitur, mihi pronunciatum erat, atque
 effatum: syllogismus, ratiocinatio: syllogismi partes, Propositio, As-
 25 sumptio, Complexio: Conclusionis modi ij, qui in Topicis com-
 memorantur, annexi, atque disiuncti: Methodus, via, ratio, ars, ars ea,
 quae rem dissolutam, diuulsamque conglutinet, & ratione quadam
 constringeret. Alijs siquis ista verbis persequeretur, aut transuersum,
 quod aiunt, digitum, a Dialecticis M. Tullij vocabulis, atque formulis
 30 discederet: illum ego prae me contemnebam, appellabamque in omni
 sermone barbarum: tametsi Sturmium ipsum in plaerisque auctorem

species in the plural genitive (*specierum*) and ablative (*speciebus*); straightway I recalled the nicety of Cicero's taste: "I would not say, even if it could be said in Latin, *specierum* or *speciebus*; but I should want to substitute *formarum* and *formis*." This is a very well-known passage; and I remember how that fastidious translator, contrary to the custom of his fellow-Benedictines, as often as he came across εἶδῶν or εἶδῃσι in Porphyry or Aristotle, either adopted other cases in translating or else regularly substituted *formarum* and *formis*, as if it were a matter of religious scruple. In short, I put the word *species* in the category of the heteroclitics; and if at that time I had had to write a grammar—a project which I considered not so long ago, out of a desire to uproot the fibrous growths of errors that were becoming inveterate—I should have classified *species* with those words which are commonly called triptotes.

In every other particular I am inclined to think that I was even more fastidious than that translator from Cormery. I always explained the art of invention in the very same words which either Cicero had used in the *Topica* or Antonius in the *De Oratore*. Also in the methods of judgment I adopted the same man as my guide; but some words I excerpted from the little book *De Fato*, others from the first book of the *De Inventione*, certain ones again from the *Topica*, and a number from the dialogues on oratory.

I am afraid that it would be a distasteful matter to rehearse all the details; indeed, I repent of having gone on at such great length about this topic. But I am laying bare my own folly, you see, in order to make you wiser, so that no one of you, chancing to be slightly affected by a similar disease, may as it grows worse utterly waste away.

Would you then have me proceed a little farther? The major premise, as it is called, was styled by me the *pronunciatum* or the *effatum*; the syllogism, the *ratiocinatio*; the parts of the syllogism, major premise, minor premise, and conclusion; the types of conclusion were those which are mentioned in the *Topica*, the connected and the disconnected; logical method I called the way, the principle, the art, that art which, taking a thing broken and torn asunder, would cement and bind it together by a sort of rational plan. If any one expounded those matters in other words or swerved the proverbial finger's breadth from Marcus Tully's dialectical vocabulary and phraseology, I scorned him in comparison with myself and in every discourse I called him a barbarian even though in most particulars he followed Sturmius himself as an authority.

- D.ij.✓ sequeretur. [28] Eademque erat in philosophicis rebus aurium mol-
 litia: quae illico offendeantur, siqua forte syllaba ex ore cuiuspiam
 excideret, non ante a meo Cicerone mutuata. Itaque alia quidem, vt
 hiulca, repudiabam: alia redarguebam, vt obsoleta: alia, vt strigosa,
 5 conuellebam: in quibusdam asperitatem mihi videbar, & κακοφωνίαν
 quandam deprehendisse: omnia grauis Censor exagitabam, vt impolita,
 atque sordida, quae non ex illius exirent officina, non de Tulliano
 narthecio promerentur. Nescio quid Hieronymo acciderit pro tri-
 10 bunalium summi Iudicis: vapulasse ipse se ait pro Ciceroniano: &
 vapulauit quidem fortasse opinione sua: cur enim non credamus tanto
 viro? Ego vero ita iam eram quasi ad amussim Ciceronianus, itaque
 religiose M. Tullium, veluti latinitatis Deum, venerabar; vt, siquis
 vnquam vapulasse hoc nomine mereretur (ne Hieronymum quidem
 ipsum excipio) is essem ego. Certe in meorum Ciceronianorum
 15 malebam fere, quam in sanctorum collegium cooptari. Summa erit
 haec. Pluris verba, quam res; linguam, [29] quam mentem; vnam
 dicendi artem, quam mille intelligendi doctrinas faciebam: solam M.
 Tullij elocutionem omnibus philosophorum, atque Mathematicorum
 postulatis anteferebam: in eo esse neruos, atque artus imitationis
 20 credebam, si verba quam plurima eligerem illuminata, atque nitida:
 eaque in quadrum redacta, numerosa comprehensione deuincirem.
 Id erat meo iudicio, iudicio autem? id erat opinione mea, esse Cicer-
 onianum. Quid tum postea? quid? Incidi ex eo tempore, & incidi
 meo magno bono, sic enim interpretor, in Ioannis Sambuci, hominis
 25 bene literati, atque industrii Ciceronianum. Ita ille libros appellat
 eos, in quibus hominem Ciceronianum arbitrato effinxit suo. Cuius
 etsi mihi oratio asperior, horridiorque videretur, quam deberet esse
 illius, qui politissimum meum Ciceronianum informaret: quia tamen
 pro semijtalo habebatur; qua erat eius gentis hominibus, in primisque
 30 P. Manutio necessitudine coniunctus; & dialogo rem complectebatur;
 quod mihi semper a pueritia perplacuit scribendi genus; non [30]
 respuebam. Multas etiam illius sententias, vt argutas, atque pressas
 amplexabar. Fecit is inter caetera mentionem Petri Rami: cumque
 tametsi Gallus esset, non Italus; & libero, & magno iudicio virum, non
- D.iiij.✓

In philosophic discussions, too, I had the same sensitivity of ear, so that I immediately took offense if any syllable chanced to drop from any one's lips that had not been originally borrowed from my Cicero. And so I rejected some words as causing hiatus; others I denounced as obsolete; others I weeded out as jejune; in some I thought I detected roughness and a sort of cacophony. Like a severe censor I criticized as inelegant and mean everything which did not issue from Cicero's workshop and which was not produced from the Tullian medicine-chest.

I know not what befell Jerome before the tribunal of the Supreme Judge; he himself says that he was flogged for being a Ciceronian—and perhaps indeed he was flogged, as he thought; for why should we not believe so great a man? As for me, I was already such a perfect Ciceronian, and I so religiously venerated Marcus Tully as the god of Latinity, that if any one ever deserved to be flogged on this account (not even excepting Jerome himself), it was I. At any rate I virtually preferred to be elected to the company of the Ciceronians rather than to that of the saints.

This will give the sum of the matter: I valued words more than content, language more than thought, the one art of speaking more than the thousand subjects of knowledge; I preferred the mere style of Marcus Tully to all the postulates of the philosophers and mathematicians; I believed that the bone and sinew of imitation lay in my ability to choose as many brilliant and elegant words as possible, to reduce them into order, and to connect them together in a rhythmical period. In my judgment—or perhaps I should say opinion rather than judgment—that was what it meant to be a Ciceronian.

What happened thereafter? Why, the next thing was that, to my own great benefit, as I interpret the matter, I chanced upon the *Ciceronianus* of Ioannes Sambucus, a man of right good learning and industry. *Ciceronianus* is his title for those books in which he has portrayed a Ciceronian after his own heart. Although his style seemed to me rougher and more uncouth than the man's style ought to be, who was to mould my highly polished Ciceronian, yet because he was considered half an Italian, being related by marriage to people of that nation, especially to P. Manutius, and because he presented his discussion in the form of a dialogue, a literary type which has always been a favorite of mine ever since boyhood, I did not reject him. Many of his thoughts I even welcomed as acute and concise. Among other things he made mention of Petrus Ramus; whom, though he was French, not Italian, he called in a liberal and noble judgment

- modo hominem disertum nominavit: atque illius Ciceronianum, sibi magnopere approbatum, caeteris egregie commendavit. Bibliopolam igitur quam primum adeo: & quaero item de P. Rami Ciceroniano: inuentum primo quoque tempore percurro; & quidem vno die vniuersum. Vbi singula attentius etiam atque etiam considerassem, & acerrimo hominem cum ingenio, tum etiam iudicio animaduertissem; nec quicquam ab eo positum viderem, quod non magnae alicuius rationis fundamento niteretur, & quandam animi quasi nobilitatem prae se ferret: ita mihi omnia antiquo opere, & singulari fide perfecta videbantur: coepi* egomet mecum illico cogitare, quam non tutum esset praeiudicatis opinionibus emancipatum in certorum hominum auctoritate, tanquam in ergastulo, delitescere. Quid multa? Recurrendum [31] mihi videbam ad veteres magistros, (auditisne?) recurrendum, inquam, mihi videbam ad Terentium, Virgilium, Plautum; 15 Caesarem, Varronem, Sallustium, Liuium, Plinium; omnes sua quadam insigni laude spectatos, & auctores sine vlla dubitatione praestantissimos: ab iisque salua latinitate, mutuandum, siquid haberent Ciceronianum, id est, vt ille interpretatur, egregium, atque accuratissimae loquendi, sentiendique consuetudini consentaneum. Ac in 20 Terentio quidem sermonis proprietatem, atque facilitatem stili; in Virgilio cum vocabulorum, tum carminis maiestatem; in Plauto festiuitatem quandam, atque copiam; in C. Caesare purum quasi succum, atque sanguinem neruosae orationis; in Varrone praeter alia, verborum, sermonisque vetustatem; in Sallustio breuitatem; vbertatem 25 in Liuiio, & lacteum quendam orationis candorem; in Plinio multorum varietatem verborum, atque rerum; diligentiam in Columella; in alijs, [32] atque adeo in his ipsis alia videbam, nec a maioribus non vehementer comprobata: & a nobis, omnique posteritate diligenti commentatione effingenda. Naeuos vero, & quasi vlcera, atque cicatrices orationis, tantum abest, vt exprimendas putarem aliquando, vt 30 quas ipse in pulcherrimo Ciceronis corpore, atque adeo in ipsa illa venustissima facie deprehendisset (deprehendit enim vnam, & alteram) eas nec dissimulare profecto possem: & solerem ex eo tempore interdum reprehendere. Leuiter quidem, & quasi ludendo: sed reprehendere nihilominus. Ita tamen, vt os interim illud suauissimum, 35
- D.iv.
- D.iv.v

* 10: caepi

a hero, not merely a man of eloquence; and he warmly recommended to others his *Ciceronianus*, which he himself mightily approved. Visiting a bookseller, therefore, at the earliest opportunity, I made inquiry about the *Ciceronianus* of Petrus Ramus; and obtaining it I ran through it at the very first opportunity, all of it in one day. After attentively considering all the details again and again, I came to realize that he was a man of the keenest sort both in native talent and in judgment, and that he made no assertion which did not rest on the foundation of some weighty reason and display a certain grandeur of intellect. The whole book seemed to be written with craftsmanship worthy of the ancients and with remarkable honesty. Thus I began forthwith to ponder how dangerous it is for one enslaved to prejudiced opinions to take shelter in the authority of this or that group of men; it is tantamount to entering a slave-dungeon.

Why prolong the tale? I saw that I must return to the old masters—do you hear?—yes, that I must return to Terence, Virgil, Plautus, Caesar, Varro, Sallust, Livy, and Pliny, every one of them an author respected for his own signal merit and without any doubt highly distinguished. I also saw that from them I must borrow, with due regard to the purity of Latin style, whatever was Ciceronian in them; and Ramus interprets “Ciceronian” to mean excellent and in conformity with the most careful usage of speech and thought. And in Terence I found appropriateness of diction and easiness of style; in Virgil majesty of both words and verse; in Plautus a sort of gaiety and copiousness; in Gaius Caesar the pure essence as it were, and blood of sinewy speech; in Varro, besides other qualities, an archaic touch in words and manner of speech; in Sallust brevity; in Livy richness and a creamy candor of utterance; in Pliny the variety of many words and subjects; in Columella earnestness; in others, and indeed in these same ones, other qualities warmly approved by our forebears and equally worthy of being studiously imitated by us and all posterity.

As for the warts and, so to speak, the ulcers and scars of diction, I was so convinced that they should never be imitated that I really could no longer blink those that Ramus had pointed out (for he did discover one or two) on the very handsome person of Cicero and in fact even on his comely countenance. From that time on I got into the habit of occasionally criticizing these blemishes—mildly, to be sure, and rather playfully, but still criticizing. In the meantime, however, I was even then eagerly admiring his charming visage, the

reliquasque corporis, atque animi elegantias, & perpolitissima lineamenta, non solum exocularer iam tum cupidissime, sed etiam frequentissime eodem illo temporis puncto obstupescerem. Vnde factum est, vt eum quidem vnum probandum, celebrandumque maxime;

5 vnum diligentissime legendum; studiosissime imitandum praeter caeteros: sed neque solum, neque totum, neque semper iudicaret.

E. Cumque alia mihi in hoc homine permulta, [33] & propter elegantiam ipsam plurimum, & propter ingenij, iudicijque subtilitatem mirandum in modum arridebant: tum vero initio Brutinum illud, Tullianumque

10 fundamentum, (sic enim appellat, & sic est) de causarum, non modo effectorum indagatione; tam me incredibili affecit, vel potius sane obstupescit voluptate, eum vt statua, non inaurata, sed aurea dignum existimarem, qui tam nobile iecerit Ciceronianae eloquentiae, dignitatisque fundamentum. Vultis locum ipsum, tanquam insigne ali-

15 quod, & honorarium ψήφισμα proferam? Nec vobis quicquam esse potest ad audiendum optabilius: nec mihi profecto tam iucundum aliquid ad recitandum. Dic igitur, dic ornatissime Rame, tuum quod sit tam illustre fundamentum. *Siquis nobilis adolescens, militaris gloriae desiderio inflammatus, Caesarem, aut Alexandrum, aut Cyrum,*

20 *ducem ad imitandum sibi proposuerit: non eius tantum bella legat, & praelia, sed multo magis bellandi, praeliandique magistros, artes, exercitationes; quibus illi [34] singulares Imperatores effecti, res tam faeliciter, tamque prospere gesserint; peruidendas, & penitus explorandas existimet; virtutisque radices potius, quam fructus consideret:*

E.v

25 *sic in Cicerone imitando, non latinitatem solam, sed ornatum, prudentiam, cognitionem rerum, vitae in primis, morumque virtutem: neque solum Ciceronis epistolas, orationes, scholas, & disputationes, sed multo magis paedagogos, processus artium, labores ediscendi, & vigilias meditationum, quibus orator tantus instructus est, Ciceronis*

30 *Imitator intueri; & eloquentiae Ciceronianae principia potius, quam extrema contemplari debeat.* O prudentiam hominis singularem: o eximium Tullianae eloquentiae, virtutisque fundamentum. Tu, tu primus, acutissime Rame, effecisti, vt, qui soli antea probarentur Itali, &, vt Graecis suis Agamemnon, sic mihi ἀνδρῶν ἀνακτες viderentur; nunc nimis in quibusdam iudicaret curiosos: in quibusdam 35 non satis perspicaces: nonnullos etiam in multis subineptos [35]:

rest of his physical and mental elegance, and his refined lineaments; and very often my admiration was intensified into amazement. Wherefore it came about that I judged him indeed singularly worthy of approbation and highest honor, a man beyond all others to be read carefully and imitated zealously—but not to be imitated exclusively nor unreservedly nor always.

And while there were numerous other passages in Ramus that afforded me great pleasure by their elegance and attracted me to a surprising degree by their subtlety of wit and judgment, the thing in the beginning of the book that particularly delighted me was that fundamental principle, both Brutine and Tullian, as he well calls it, of tracing causes and not merely effects. This moved me or rather overwhelmed me with such incredible pleasure that I thought him deserving of a statue, and not a gilded but a golden one, for laying such a noble foundation of Ciceronian eloquence and worth. Shall I quote the passage verbatim, as if I were reading some famous honorary decree? Nothing could be more agreeable for you to hear nor for me to read. Speak then, most honored Ramus, and tell us your fundamental principle, which is so notable.

“If some high-born youth, fired with a craving for military glory, should propose to imitate Caesar or Alexander or Cyrus, he would not merely read his campaigns and battles, but instead would think that he ought to consider and thoroughly investigate what teachers, theories, and practical exercises of campaigns and battles trained those remarkable generals so that they could win such felicitous and glorious successes. Thus he would consider the roots rather than the fruits of valor. So in imitating Cicero the imitator ought to study not only his Latinity but his resources of wisdom and factual knowledge, and most of all his virtues of conduct and character; nor should he heed only Cicero’s letters, speeches, lectures, and treatises, but much rather the teachers, the course of studies, the labors of memory, and the vigils of thought by which so great an orator was made. Thus he ought to contemplate the genesis rather than the consummation of the Ciceronian eloquence.”

What remarkable wisdom this is, and what a splendid fundamental principle of Ciceronian eloquence and worth! You, you first, most acute Ramus, effected such a change of heart in me that the Italian humanists who formerly had enjoyed my exclusive esteem and seemed to me “lords of men,” as Agamemnon was for his Greeks, now appeared to me partly hyperfinical and partly not quite perspicacious.

- E.ij. omnes lauto magis putarem, & fastidioso, quam bono, & valenti stomacho. Tu istorum mihi iactationem, atque haeresin, nimis altis defixam radicibus, excussisti. Tu meam Erasmo, Pico, Politiano, eruditis omnibus beneuolentiam conciliasti. Tu ex Platone, Aris-
5 toteleque docuisti, quod iampridem ex M. Tullio discere potueram; omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum, & humanarum artium vno quodam societatis vinculo contineri. Tu mirum illum, & suauissimum cordis, atque oris consensum, concentumque indicasti. Tu eloquentiam, philosophiamque amabilissimo amicitiae nodo colligasti. Tu
10 ab animo, tanquam ab oculis pristinam ineptiarum caliginem dispulisti. Tu, qui erat in mente, sensuque nostro penitus affixus, atque insitus, eum subito errorem radicitus extirpatum euellisti. Tu spissis ignorantiae, inscientiaeque tenebris circumfuso, clarissimum mihi lumen praetulisti. Tu M. Tullium non naeuo aliquo, aut crepundijs, sed
E.ij.v 15 corpore omni, atque animo cognitum [36] expressisti. Tu homini Ciceroniano non pigmentorum florem, & illa modo fucati medicamenta candoris, & ruboris, sed ipsum etiam pulchritudinis non succo illitum, sed sanguine diffusum colorem: sed ossa, neruos, ac lacertorum toros: sed illam, de qua memini, Suadae medullam: sed
20 animam, vitalemque calorem impertijsti. Tu erranti comiter monstrasti viam: & rectam ingredi semitam docuisti. Quid mirum? δεύτεραι φροντίδες σοφώτεραι: & quod saepenumero audieram ex alijs, in meipso vtique verissimum agnoscebam: Diem priorem, posterioris esse discipulum. Nec vero ita multo post, (o meam secundam, ac potius
25 primam fortunam) in praefationem quandam incidi Ioannis Sturmij, (erat ea, si memini, in primo volumine orationum Ciceronis; & erat meo quidem iudicio non elegantissima solum, sed etiam prudentissima) in qua suum, vt vir bonus, ingenue, vt eruditus, libere, de Erasmo, Longolioque iudicium, pluribus verbis interponeret: Eras-
30 mum etiam ea praedicatione efferret; non summam illi modo [37] maximarum, plurimarumque rerum doctrinam, sed mirabilem quoque tribuens orationis facultatem, atque copiam; quae per mihi sane mira videretur. Etenim Sturmium ego iam ante cum propter Partitiones oratorias, dialecticasque probaui; a Leuino mihi saepe, multumque
E.ij. 35 commendatas: (adhuc enim praeter paucas epistolas nulla eius scripta

I even regarded some of them as half-inept in many particulars, and all of them as having a taste that was refined and fastidious rather than sound and vigorous. You delivered me from their vainglory and their sect, in which I had become too deeply rooted. You won me over to a favorable attitude towards Erasmus, Picus, and Politianus—learned men all. You taught me from Plato and Aristotle what I might have learned long ago from Marcus Tully, that all the learning of the liberal and humane arts is bound together with a single bond of fellowship. You revealed the marvellous and exquisite sympathy and symphony of heart and tongue. You united eloquence and philosophy in a most amiable knot of friendship. You dispelled the former mist of folly from my mind like a cloud from my vision. You took the error which was deeply fixed and implanted in my mind and senses, suddenly plucked it out, and extirpated it from the roots. You provided me with a bright and shining light when I was shrouded with the thick darkness of ignorance and nescience. You presented a Marcus Tully recognizable not by some wart or by trinkets of identification but by his whole body and mind. Your gift to the Ciceronian was not the choicest of colors or fresh-dyed tints of white and red, but the native hue of beauty not smeared with cosmetics but suffused with the blush of health. You gave bones, sinews, and brawny muscles; you gave that “marrow of persuasion,” which I have already mentioned; you gave life and vital warmth. You courteously showed the way to a wanderer, and taught him to take the right path. What cause is there for surprise in this? “Second thoughts are wiser,” and what I had often heard from others, I realized was never truer than in my own case: “The day before is the pupil of the day after.”

Now not so much later, by a second or rather prime stroke of good luck, I chanced upon a certain preface written by Johannes Sturm. This was found, if I remember, in the first volume of Cicero's orations; and it was, at least in my judgment, the acme of both elegance and wisdom. In it Sturm set forth at some length his opinion of Erasmus and Longolius, speaking frankly as a good man should and freely as a scholar. What particularly astounded me was the praise with which he extolled Erasmus, for he attributed to him not only profound learning in very many important subjects, but also marvellous facility and fluency of expression. Now I had already set my stamp of approval on Sturm for two reasons: first, because his *Partitions of Oratory* and *Partitions of Dialectic* had been often warmly recommended to me by Lewin (up to that time I myself had seen

- videram alia) tum, quod Sadoleto sic videretur meo, ad Ciceronianorum collegium aggregaui; & paene, vt Italum, obseruaui. Mirabar igitur eum hominem iudicij sui testimonio, tam honorifico praesertim, atque illustri cohonestasse, qui gregalium suorum acerrimus haberetur
- 5 aduersarius, factionemque contrariam tueretur: ex ipsis etiam Ciceronianis nonnullos, vt inflatos, & tumidos, & sine causa circumfluentes, insimulasse, cum Erasmo neminem illo tempore copiosius, & politius scripsisse fateatur: neminem plura edidisse, quae laudem doctorum mererentur. Ac tandem scilicet mihi venit in mentem facere periculum (nam periculum mihi videbatur Erasmus tangere) ecquid [38]
- E.iii.v^o 10 in eo tale animaduertere possem, quale Sturmius praedicabat. Haud eram nescius, edidisse eum quoque dialogum, qui Ciceronianus inscriberetur. Eum in manus sumo: animum, sicut arcum, intendo: inuentionis subtilitatem, dispositionis ordinem, elocutionis splendorem excutio: caetera omnia ad oratorum perpendo instituta. Non
- 15 video, qua vel eloquentiae, vel humanitatis, vel vllius disciplinae laude cedere debeat Longolio: nisi quod non sit in quibusdam litteris, syllabis, casibus, temporibus, v oculis pedibus tam praecise curiosus, in paucis etiam dicendi formulis negligentior. Ciceronianum
- 20 autem reperio, non qualem limatuli isti somniant, Ciceronianorum verborum aucupem, & minutissima quaeque religiosissime persequentem; ac, tanquam lapillos in littore, sic quosdam ex Cicerone flosculos pueriliter colligentem; pretiosissimas argumentorum gemmas, philosophiaeque margaritas conculcantem: sed eundem fere, quem
- 25 P. Ramus expressisset, amplissimas M. Ciceronis laudes, atque omnes omnino dignas imitatione virtutes, summo animi conatu, atque impetu referentem, & repraesentantem [39] quodammodo. Videbam in singulorum verborum electione, in copulatum constructione, in sententiarum conformatione, in numerose, apteque cadenti comprehensione multum esse: sed quantula haec pars per Deum immortalem, Ciceroniana excellantiae? Requirit in oratore suo Tullius, id est, ni fallor, in Ciceroniano nostro Inuentionem: requirit iudicium, & iudicij vmbram quandam Memoriam: requirit in vultu gratiam, moderationem in voce, in gestu dignitatem: requirit maximarum
- 35 rerum, atque artium non adumbratam quandam, sed expressam, & perreconditam cognitionem. Quid quaeritis? Requirit illum orbem
- E.iv.

none of his writings except a few letters), and second, because on the authority of my favorite Sadoletus I counted him almost as an Italian. Therefore I was astonished to find Sturmius honoring with the testimonial of his opinion, and especially with such a respectful and distinguished testimonial, a man who was accounted the strongest opponent of his group and a supporter of the opposite faction. Some of the Ciceronians themselves, on the other hand, Sturmius criticized as inflated, turgid, and needlessly diffuse; and he acknowledged that no one in that period wrote more fluently and elegantly than Erasmus, and no one published more that merited the praise of scholars.

At length it actually occurred to me to make the experiment (for an experiment I considered it to touch Erasmus) to see whether I could detect in him anything such as Sturmius proclaimed. I was not unaware that he too had published a dialogue which was entitled *Ciceronianus*. This I took into my hands; I stretched my mind over it like a bow; I analyzed its subtlety of invention, its order of arrangement, its splendor of diction; and I weighed all its other qualities according to the standards of the orators. I could not see wherein it had to yield to Longolius in its merits of eloquence or culture or any discipline, save that it was not so precisely accurate in certain letters, syllables, cases, tenses, and word-feet, and in a few forms of expression it was a trifle careless. Moreover I found in Erasmus a Ciceronian not of the sort that those refined fellows foolishly imagine, a fowler after Ciceronian words, religiously following him in all the tiniest details, and childishly gathering a few posies from Cicero like pebbles on a beach, while trampling under foot the most precious gems of argument and pearls of philosophy; rather I found about the same kind of Ciceronian as P. Ramus had described, renewing and somehow recreating with the utmost effort and force of intellect the amplest glories of Marcus Cicero and all his virtues that were entirely worthy of imitation.

I was aware that much depends on the choice of individual words, the architecture of clauses, the shaping of sentences, and the rhythm of the aptly cadenced period; but, eternal heavens! how small a part is this of Cicero's excellence! Tully demands of his orator, i.e., if I mistake not, of our Ciceronian, the power of invention; he demands judgment; he demands grace in the countenance, control in the voice, dignity in the gesture; he demands not a hazy but a definite and very profound knowledge of the most important subjects and arts. In short, he demands that comprehensive scope of knowledge which the

- scientiarum, quam Graeci ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν vocant: & qua homines efficiuntur omnibus numeris absoluti, atque cumulati. Haec qui consecutus esset vniuersa; & vel omnes, vel plerasque Ciceronis laudes, non superstitiosa ista, & plusquam seruili, sed libera quadam, & illustri imitatione effingeret; essetque vt verbo dicam, homo politus e foro, [40] &, vt ille, vir bonus, bene dicendi peritus: eum ego Ciceronis oratorem, eum Ciceronianum, eum denique alterum Ciceronem reputabam: alium praeterea neminem. Nam quid sigillatim reliqua percurram, quae sunt in eo dialogo plurima scripta peracute? Exhibuit aliquot post annos Ciceronianum: Ioannes Thomas Freigius, is, qui eloquentiam Basileae non ita multo ante profiteretur: nunc Friburgi cum eloquentiam sua magna cum laude, tum philosophiam etiam, iurisque prudentiam profitetur. Eum item in Erasmi, atque Rami, nobilissimi paris, societatem ascribebam: in Cicerone non tantum eloquentiam, de qua dixi, oratoriam, sed etiam Consularem, senatoriamque prudentiam obseruabam: ex eius amoenissimis hortulis rationis fructus, non solum orationis flores decerpebam: hominem agnoscebam cum perpolitum verbis, tum sententijs persapientem, & plane politicum: mirabar incredibiles animi motus, eandemque ingenij celeritatem saepe optabam: quod antea vix fieri posse arbitrabar, vt simul vnus & orator post [41] hominum memoriam perfectissimus, & egregius Philosophus, & spectatissimus Ciuis, & vir animo maximis virtutibus exaggerato esset, id nunc manu quodammodo comprehensum tenere videbar, positus sub vno aspectu, tantae varietatis, tam multarumque rerum exemplis, quae prius diffusa, atque dissipata, quasi per transennam praeteriens cernerem leuiter. Italorum denique errorem iam tertio deprehendebam, elocutionis illius ornamenta, non rerum momenta imitantium. Quid hic pluribus opus est? Videtis suauissimi Auditores, quo pacto ex turbulentis fluctibus mearum ineptiarum emersem, aliquandoque tandem in tranquillum portum inuectus fuerim, vel eloquentis sapientiae, vel sane sapientis eloquentiae. In quo portu si ita vobiscum nauigauero, vt in suis Praeceptores* nostri Academij, Argentorati Sturmij, Ramus Lutetiae, Basileae Friburgique Freigius, Erasmus in his omnibus, alijsque permultis Germaniarum, Galliarum, Italiae, Britanniae vrbibus, in primisque

* 32: Praeceptoris

Greeks call "general culture," a culture by which men are rounded off to absolute perfection in all particulars. One who had mastered all these attainments, and who copied all or most of the excellences of Cicero with an imitation not superstitious and worse than servile but free and enlightened, and who was, in a word, an accomplished master of forensics and, as the famous definition has it, "a good man skilled in speaking well"—such a one, and none other, I reckoned to be Cicero's ideal orator, a Ciceronian, and in short a second Cicero. But I need not take up severally the rest of the many shrewd ideas that are found in that dialogue.

Some years later a *Ciceronianus* was published by Ioannes Thomas Freigius, who not so long ago was professor of eloquence at Basel, and now at Freiburg is professor of eloquence, with great credit to himself, and of philosophy and jurisprudence as well. I added him also to the fellowship of Erasmus and Ramus, that noble pair. In Cicero I began to observe not only the oratorical eloquence of which I have spoken, but also consular and senatorial wisdom; and from his pleasant gardens I began to pluck the fruits of reason as well as the flowers of oratory. I came to recognize in Cicero a man not only of high refinement in language but also of profound wisdom in thought, and a statesman through and through. I marvelled at his incredible intellectual activity, and often wished that I had the same quickness of wit. I had formerly deemed it well-nigh impossible that one man should be at the same time the most perfect orator in the history of the world, a notable philosopher, a highly respected citizen, and the possessor of a soul overflowing with the noblest virtues. But now it somehow seemed that I had in my very grasp such a paragon, and that I had in a single focus the multitudinous variety of qualities which were scattered and dispersed before, as I barely glimpsed them like a passerby looking through a lattice. In short, now for the third time I detected the error of the Italians in imitating his ornamental speech and not his momentous subject matter.

But why should I labor the point further? You perceive, kind listeners, how I escaped from the turbulent waves of my folly and at length was borne into the tranquil harbor of eloquent wisdom or at any rate of wise eloquence. If I navigate with you in this harbor as did my preceptors with their auditors and students in their respective universities—Sturmius at Strassburg, Ramus at Paris, Freigius at Basel and Freiburg, Erasmus in all these cities and very many others of Germany, France, Italy, and England, especially here in our own

- in hac nostra, cum suis singuli Auditoribus, atque discipulis [42]
 F.v nauigarunt: vos me aliquando forsitan haud in postremis; nae ego vos
 sine dubio in primis, idque quamprimum, conspiciam Ciceronianis.
 Praesertim si recens acroama illud meum de conuiuio non negligatis,
 5 mihique in coena non modo condimentum apposueritis, vt olim, sed,
 vt nuper, maiore quodam apparatu alimentum. Sic namque digni
 nimirum videbimini, qui vel Sturmium ipsum, atque Freigium, nec
 non Erasmus etiam, atque Ramum, si viuerent (vtinam autem
 viuerent) & omnino huius aetatis praecellentissimos quosque vel
 10 Ciceronianos, vel oratores, conuiuas, atque contubernales vestros
 habeatis. Ad epularum enim oratoriarum magnificentiam, atque
 pompam, non tam Italorum condimenta, aut tragemata; quanquam
 sunt illa mediusfidiis, perquam optanda: sunt enim, quis nescit? cum
 quadam exquisita venustate lautissima: quam Germanorum, Gal-
 15 lorum, Britannorumque omnis generis obsonia, & quae vocant, edulia,
 maximis sumptibus apparata, deprecantur. Sola bellaria, atque pem-
 mata non explent famem, non satiant cupiditatis sitim, [43] non
 F.ij. inedia depellunt. Et vero etiam in bellarijs ipsis, ea maxime sunt
 mellita, quae mellita non sunt: vt scite nescio quis veterum dixit
 20 Romanorum. Eant nunc polituli isti, qui Cisalpinos praeter Longo-
 lium omnes; qui ciues quoque Romani vsurpari volunt, vt nuper
 etiam, si dijs placet, Muretus, barbariae nescio cuius insimulant: solos
 Italos, in primisque Romanos, tanquam eloquentiae ipsius filios,
 Italorumque ipsorum maxime Italos, in Matris suae regno, velut
 25 haereditario, & proprio collocant. Nos vnum Gallum, tres Germanos,
 Ramum, Erasmus, Sturmium, Freigium; addamus etiam, si placet,
 duos nostrates, duos, inquam, Academiae istius oculos, & duorum
 Regum duas manus, Smithum, atque Checum: (nam de Carro, Bin-
 goque alias): eosque vel sexcentum Italis, non solum opponamus,
 30 verum etiam anteponamus: nec dubitemus eos in omni sermone ap-
 pellare eloquentes. Ea demum vera, ea germana, ea antiquissima
 μίμησις est, quam Cisalpini homines magno iudicio tradiderunt: Ro-
 F.ij.v mani non rectam imitandi [44] rationem expressere: sed κακοζηλίαν
 sibi quandam opinionis errore confinxere. Atque illos ego γνήσια
 35 τέχνα; hos vel simias, vel vmbras dixerim, vel etiam nothos pullos

Cambridge—, perhaps you will one day see me not among the hindmost, and doubtless I shall very soon see you among the foremost Ciceronians. Especially will this be true if you do not fail to heed that recent lecture of mine on dining, and if you will serve me at the feast not only condiments, as formerly, but somewhat more substantial food, as you have recently begun to do. On such a condition you will seem truly worthy to have as your fellow-diners and companions even Sturmius himself and Freigius, and for that matter Erasmus and Ramus, if they were still alive (and would that they were), and in general all the most outstanding Ciceronians or orators of the present age. The fact is that in seeking magnificence and splendor of oratorical feasts what we need is not so much the condiments or sweetmeats of the Italians—thoroughly desirable as they are; and I can swear that they are desirable, for every one knows that they are most exquisite, lovely, and luxurious. Rather we need the omnifarious viands and victuals, as they call them, of the Germans, French, and British, which are obtained at the greatest expense. Desserts and dainties alone do not satisfy hunger, nor sate greedy thirst, nor dispel the sense of fasting. And indeed even among the desserts those are the sweetest which are not sweetened, as some one of the ancient Romans cleverly said.

Now begone with your exquisites who lay the charge of I know not what barbarism at the door of all those Cisalpines except Longolius who wish to be called also Roman citizens. Even Muretus lately craved, God willing, such citizenship; but these fellows admit to the realm of their mother, Eloquence, as if it were their own by right of inheritance, only Italians and especially Romans, as if Romans were the own sons of Eloquence and the most Italian of the Italians. As for us, let us admit one Frenchman and three Germans: Ramus, Erasmus, Sturmius, and Freigius. Let us add also, if you please, two of our own fellow-countrymen, the two eyes, I mean, of this University, and the two hands of two monarchs—Smith and Cheke (of Carr and Byng I shall speak at another time). These men we may not only compare but even prefer to any number of Italians; and let us not hesitate in any discourse to call them eloquent. After all, the true, genuine, most ancient mimesis is a tradition given us by the profound judgment of the Cisalpines; the Romans, failing to describe the proper method of imitating, have contrived a sort of misguided imitation founded on an erroneous opinion. And the former I should call legitimate children, but the latter, apes or shadows or even bastard offspring of Cicero.

- Ciceronis. Vultis igitur glorioso illo, & magnifico Ciceronianorum cognomento decorari? Aperiam meipsum vobis, magis, quam vnquam antea. Legite Rami, Erasmi, Freigij perartificiose, perque accurate instructos Ciceronianos, M. Tullij, id est, summi Imperatoris vestri
- 5 vestigia quam diligentissime persequimini: conficite laboriosum illud, sed praeclarum eloquentiae, sapientiaeque curriculum, quod ille alta mente animoque celso confecit, spiritus in vobis generosos, atque feruidos excitate: quarum laudum gloriam adamatis, & in quibus excellere rebus videri vultis, in eas ardentibus studijs incumbite: non
- 10 solum floridam istam verborum viriditatem, sed multo magis sententiarum, rationumque fructuosam maturitatem respicite: euoluite preciosa antiquitatis monumenta, leporem, acumen, sales, facetias, multarum supellectilem [45] praeclarissimarum rerum inspicite: mementote ab Homero verba *περόεντα* dici, hoc est, alata, quippe quae
- F.iiij. 15 facile auolent, nisi rerum ponderibus librata teneantur: Dialecticam, scientiamque cum Rhetorica, mentem cum lingua consociate, discite ab Erasmo rerum copiam cum verborum copia conglutinare: discite a P. Ramo Philosophiam cum eloquentia coniunctam amplexari: discite a Phaenice Homérico non modo verborum auctores, verum etiam
- 20 rerum actores esse: Comparete cum Cicerone poetas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, iureconsultos, scriptores in vnoquoque genere, ac facultate optimos: Ciceroniana denique, hoc est, eximia, laudabiliaque omnia; qualia sunt in illis omnibus, non solum in Cicerone permulta; a non Ciceronianis, sicuti pulchra a non pulchris distinguite: aurea
- 25 ab aeneis, ferrea ab vtrisque separate. Haec qui fecerit, is demum si non Romanus, at Gallus, at Germanus, at Britannus, at Cisalpinus erit, id est nimirum meo iudicio non fucatus, sed perfectissimus, [46] putissimusque Ciceronianus. Qualem Ludouicus fortasse Ciceronianissimum nominaret. Ac tum quidem eam, de qua dixi, voluptatem,
- F.iiij.v 30 legendo Cicerone, animo concipiet atque comprehendet, quam ego me antea sensisse opinabar, nunc reuera sentio. Et quia sentio, iccirco tanto cupiditatis ardore flagro, quanto ante hoc tempus profecto nunquam. Nunc demum mihi places, M. Tulli: & partim verborum tuorum bonitate; partim sententiarum exornatione; partim argumen-
- 35 torum conglobatione, & τῷ συναθροισμῷ τῶν ἐκβάντων καὶ περιστάσεων; partim exquisitissimo, pulcherrimoque dispositionis apparatu ita permulces atque delinis, vt, quas antea humanitatis artes vulgari errore

Do you wish, then, to be honored with the glorious and magnificent appellation of "Ciceronians"? I shall open my thoughts to you more than ever before. Read the artistically and carefully elaborated *Ciceronianus* of Ramus, that of Erasmus, and that of Freigius. Follow with the utmost diligence the footprints of Marcus Tully, your supreme commander. Complete the laborious but splendid course of eloquence and philosophy, which Cicero completed with noble mind and lofty intellect. Excite within you a generous and glowing enthusiasm. Bend your ardent energies to the praiseworthy tasks whose glory you love and in which you wish to excel. Consider not merely the flowering verdure of style, but much rather the ripe fruitage of reason and thought. Scan the precious monuments of antiquity, and ponder their wit, acumen, sallies, jests, and store of abundant excellences. Remember that words are called by Homer πτερόεντα, that is, winged, since they easily fly away, unless they are kept in equilibrium by the weightiness of the subject matter. Unite dialectic and knowledge with rhetoric, thought with language. Learn from Erasmus to conjoin an abundance of matter with an abundance of words. Learn from Phoenix in Homer to be not only speakers of words, but also doers of deeds. Compare with Cicero the poets, historians, orators, philosophers, jurisconsults, and the best writers of every kind and category. In doing this, distinguish the Ciceronian from the un-Ciceronian, just as you distinguish the beautiful from the unbeautiful; and "Ciceronian" means all the excellent and praiseworthy qualities, which are conspicuously present in all these writers as well as Cicero. Your task is to separate the gold from the bronze, and the iron from both.

Whoever has heeded these instructions will at last be a Ciceronian—if not of the Roman sort, yet of the French, German, British, or Cisalpine sort. That is, in my estimation, he will be not a make-believe, but a most perfect and pure Ciceronian, such a man as Ludovicus would perhaps call "Ciceronianissimus." And then indeed in reading Cicero he will get a mental conception and comprehension of that pleasure which I thought to feel formerly, but now feel in good truth. And because I feel it, I burn with a more intense desire than I ever did before. Now at last you please me, Marcus Tully. Partly the excellence of your style, partly the embellishment of your thoughts, partly the amassing of your arguments and the assembling of historical facts and particular circumstances, partly the exquisite and beautiful grandeur of your arrangement so delight and charm me that the arts

- existimabam, nunc tandem sane diuinitatis cuiusdam esse putem:
teque, ita me ames, non vt oratorem eloquentissimum colam, sed
adorem, vt diuinissimum. Quid ego te laudem, aut praedicem mea
voce M. Tulli? cuius eloquentiam qui dignis in coelum laudibus ex-
tollere velit, plus paene, quam humanam: is non e nobis, humi stratis,
F.iv. 5 [47] sed e superis aliquem accersat oportet laudatorem; diuina cir-
cumfluentem copia orationis. Ego bonam, magnamque foelicitatis
meae partem in eo statuo, quod te & priuatim tot annos legerim, &
praelegerim tam diu publice. Nunc etiam eo cupiditatis aestu ad
10 pristinam occupationem, tuarumque explicationem suauissimarum
orationum rapior, quo tu olim ad forensium, ciuilliumque causarum
actionem. Et siquid mihi vnquam fuerit in delicijs (fuere autem cum
alia nonnulla, tum ipsa in primis eloquentia) id tu quidem certe
etiamnum es, erisque semper. Est enim in animo, solenni religione
15 ictum foedus cum Nocte, atque Somno ferire, vt ne, quorum summam
rusticanti mihi potestatem fecerunt, eos amores in clarissima luce
habitanti de manibus excutiant. Certum est namque oculos meos in
tuis oculis habere, vt ait Plautus: nec vllius temporis iniuria, tua
optatissima consuetudine, conspectuque orbari.
- F.iv.v 20 [48] Redeamus igitur, mei Cantabrigienses, ad interruptam illam
quidem, sed non abruptam explicandi Ciceronis exercitationem:
cuncta illius cum dicendi insignia, tum disserendi firmamenta suis
ponderibus examinemus: ἐνθυμήματα quae vocat Aristoteles,* atque
ἐπιχειρήματα omnia, mentibus agitata, excutiamus: ordinis atque
25 methodi claritatem, suo lumine cuncta complentis, atque illustrantis
contueamur: eiusque τὰ κρυπτικά, quae dicuntur, artificiosasque late-
bras perscrutemur; & bellissima tectoria contemplemur: quicquid est
in eo eximium, quicquid admirabile, quicquid vel auribus, vel animo
arridet, vel ad vsum aliquem spectat egregium; id omne ad imitandum,
30 velut aeternum aliquod exemplar, seponamus: & quia dictionis con-
cinnitatem rerum amplitudo, vt anima corpus sustentat, iccirco du-
plicem quoque Analysin, qua hactenus vsi sumus, & semper in omni-
bus, & diligentissime in singulis circumductionibus adhibeamus, Rhet-
oricam, & Dialecticam: illam oratoriarum exornationum, eiusque quod
G. 35 proprium [49] est huius scholae, artificij; hanc inuentionis, collocation-

* 23: Aristotelis

which by a common mistake I once supposed to belong to humanity I now at last believe really belong to some divinity. As for you personally, I swear it as you love me, I do not esteem you as the most eloquent of orators, but I worship you as the most divine.

But who am I to lift up my voice in praise or honor of you, Marcus Tully? Whoever would extol to heaven with appropriate praises your almost more than human eloquence must summon a eulogist from the company not of us groundlings but of the gods above, one divinely rich in copiousness of speech. For my part, I ascribe a large and goodly share of my happiness to my having read you for so many years in private and again for so long a time in public in my capacity as praelector. Now I return on a hurrying tide of eagerness to my quondam occupation of explaining your delightful orations, just as of yore a similar tide brought you back to your pleadings in the forum and the courts. If anything has ever been precious to me—and eloquence has been one such thing, not to mention many others—, you of a certainty are that precious thing at the present moment, and you will continue to be forever. I am mindful to conclude with Night and Sleep a treaty bound by a solemn vow, that they shall not wrest from me as I dwell here in the brightest light of day the lover whom they surrendered wholly to my will as I was rusticating. I am resolved to keep my eyes fixed on your eyes, as Plautus says, and not be robbed of your beloved sight and familiar intercourse by any malice of time.

Let us return, then, dear Cantabrigians, to that interrupted but not abandoned exercise of Ciceronian exegesis. Let us weigh on their appropriate scales all his ornaments of speaking and his main points of disputing. Let us examine the enthymemes, as Aristotle calls them, and all the epicheiremata which occupy the intellect. In his arrangement and method let us attentively observe the clarity which fills and illumines everything with its light. Let us ferret out his professional secrets, as they are called, and his artful subterfuges. Let us gaze at his beautiful fresco paintings. Let us select as an everlasting model for imitation whatever in him is distinguished and admirable, whatever delights either the ear or the mind or has a view to some noble end. And since amplitude of content supports his harmony of diction, as the soul supports the body, let us also employ the double analysis which we have hitherto been using and apply both rhetoric and dialectic continually in all his writings and with special care in every period. Let us make rhetoric the expositor of the oratorical embellishments and the arts which belong to its school, and

isque explicatricem: vtramque cum mihi ad aperiendum iucundissimam, tum vobis ad discendum, mihi credite, peropportunam. Nam qui digitum tantummodo ad troporum lumina, figurarumque expolitiones intenderunt; nec argumentorum cellulas, nec argumentationum
 5 thesauros, nec ordinis structuram indicarunt: perinde mihi facere videntur, ac si corpus pulcherrimum, venustissimumque ostentarent, sed sensu priuatum, atque vita. Neminem nomino: sed quotumquemque inueniemus tam multorum in orationes interpretum; quotumquemque tam illustrium in Academijs Professorum, (paucos admodum
 10 excipio, ingenijs vberimis affluentes, & doctrinarum commendatione claros) a quo aliud quicquam exspectare possis praeter cantilenam illam suam? haec insignis repetitio est: haec elegans agnominatio: haec concinna traductio: haec illustris quaedam, atque splendida translatio, quae stellae instar clarrissimae permultum lucis afferat orationi.

- G.v 15 [50] Qui si eadem aliquoties Graecis quoque variata verbis inculcent; quae sola nonnullis, τεχνικά videntur; & nunc pro repetitione ἀναφοράν, ἐπαναφοράν, ἢ ἐπιβολήν; nunc pro agnominatio-
 παρονομασίαν, ἢ παρήχησιν: pro traductione παραγωγὴν, μεταγωγὴν, πλοκὴν καὶ πολύπτωτον: pro translatione μεταφοράν, aut ἀλληγορίαν,
 20 aut, si fuerit obscurior, αἰνίγμα dicant: & alia quaedam intertextant, atque accumulunt Graeca vocabula, non admodum peruulgata: statim sibi videntur omnia Aristotelis, Hermogenisque μυροθήκια patefecisse: nec vnus vrbis applausum, sed vniuersi orbis admirationem excitasse. Iam si de status qualitate; de genere causae; de θέσει, & ὑποθέσει: de
 25 varietate stili, & illis dicendi figuris atque formis, quas fere graece ἰδέας, καὶ χαρακτῆρας τοῦ λόγου vocant; de totius orationis partibus, singularumque dispositione partium, atque vi; per aliquot horas, horas autem? id nihil est; per aliquot, inquam hebdomades, atque menses disceptare possint (quae tamen vna, aut altera semihorula expediuntur omnia facillime): si ad [51] clepsydram declamitare de eloquentia: perorare de gloria: de nobilitate verba facere: si de causa per locos communes digredi, & ad popularia quaeque, atque splendida aberrare: si verbis quibusdam vti cum volubilitate sonantibus, atque magnificis, & rapidum orationis flumen fundere: si adhibere formulas
 30 aliquot eloquendi florentiores; cum vocis quadam modulatione, & venustate oculorum: si praeter Ciceronem, ac Quintilianum, nunc

dialectic the expositor of invention and arrangement. Both these methods of analysis will be very pleasant for me to teach and, believe me, they will be very useful for you to learn.

Merely pointing out, as some have done, the ornaments of tropes and the embellishments of figures, without indicating the stores of arguments, the quantities of proofs, and the structural framework, seems to me tantamount to displaying a body that is surpassingly beautiful and lovely but deprived of sense and life. I name no names; but among so many interpreters of Cicero's orations and such illustrious university professors, how many are there to be found, outside of a very few who have a wealth of abundant talent and a glorious reputation for learning, from whom you could expect anything but that hackneyed tune of theirs: "This is a notable repetition; this is an elegant agnomination; this is an appropriate transfer; this is an illustrious and splendid translation, like an exceedingly bright star shedding abundant light upon the oration." If they can occasionally press home the same points with Greek terminology as well (the only terminology that some people accept as technical); if they can say instead of repetition "anaphora," "epanaphora," or "epibole"; instead of agnomination "paronomasia" or "parechesis"; instead of transfer "paragoge," "metagoge," "ploce," and "polyptoton"; and instead of translation "metaphor" or "allegory" or, if it is more obscure, "enigma"; if they can interweave and accumulate some other Greek words that are not exactly common; why, they straightway think they have unstoppered all the scent-bottles of Aristotle and Hermogenes, and have provoked not just one city's applause but universal admiration. Again they like to discuss for a few hours—nay, not such a mere trifle as hours, but several weeks or months—matters which could all be very easily explained in a half-hour or two, such as the state of circumstances, the type of case, the thesis and the hypothesis, the variety of style, those well-known figures and forms of speech which they generally speak of in Greek as the "ideas and characters of discourse," the divisions of the whole speech, and the arrangement and import of the separate divisions. They like to declaim by the clock on eloquence, perorate on glory, and speechify on nobility. They like to digress from the case into commonplaces and stray off to some popular and splendiferous topic or other. They like to employ with volubility words that are resonant and magnificent, and pour forth a rapid torrent of speech. They like to display some of the more florid formulas of eloquence, set off by a certain modulation of the voice and charming expression of the eyes. They like to allude not only to Cicero and

- Hermogenem, nunc Aristotelem, nunc Halicarnassaeum, nunc Phalereum nominare: o illos Rhetores excellentes: o nunquam satis laudatos oratores. Eosdem habebis in singulorum verborum interpretationibus, vbi nihil latet reconditum, nihil aliqua difficultate implicatum, haud paulo loquaciores, quam graculos: in rerum vero ipsarum explanationibus, in quibus illa Suadae medulla cernitur, & versantur lacerti oratorij; in hominum, atque temporum moribus depingendis, in exponenda Romanae Ciuitatis consuetudine; in scitis ad reip. statum, atque [52] conseruationem pertinentibus; in omni antiquitate euoluenda; in Politicis, historicis, dialecticis magis mutos inuenies, quam ipsos pisces. Tantillis in rebus scilicet, (sed res non sunt) tantillis, inquam, in nugis, ore ferreo sese extulisse vidimus, ad gloriolam popularem: quos multi, vt absolutos oratores, celebrarunt, vt heroas, & semideos coluerunt. Inuentionis, ac collocationis Capita aut omnino non attigerunt: aut tam id ridicule, perturbateque fecerunt, vt neque coelum, quod aiunt, neque terram attingere vlla ex parte viderentur. Aperiendi erant rationum fontes? Pro causis, effectibus, subiectis, adiunctis, atque reliquis inuestigandorum argumentorum generibus, audires nescio quas inueniendi capsulas atque loculos, ex intimo istorum artificio depromptos; ab honesto, ab vtili, a iucundo, totidemque contrarijs; a decoro, a facili, a laudabili, a necessario, ab impossibili; a persona sua, a persona aduersarij, a persona iudicis; a beneuolentia, ab odio, a temeritate, ab aemulatione, a rep. a rebus fere, quae sunt, aut [53] tractantur, vniuersis. Exspecto enim, dum ista quoque audiam; a Coelo, ab igni, ab aëre, ab aqua, a terra; a Coelitibus, ab auibus, a piscibus, ab hominibus, a quadrupedibus; & huiusmodi sexcenta, quid dico, sexcenta? huiusmodi, inquam, innumera argumentorum domicilia. Tam sunt belli istorum, atque concinni architecti. Quid in argumentationum partibus, atque modis enucleandis? saepe ne verbum quidem: aut siquando dicant; Orator isto loco ἐνθυμηματικὸς, καὶ ἐπιχειρηματικὸς est; (nam religio est, Syllogismum in oratorijs praelectionibus nominare: nisi forte raro, cum adiectione ista, Syllogismum esse Rhethoricum) aut simile aliquid

Quintilian, but now to Hermogenes, now to Aristotle, now to the Halicarnassian, now to the Phalerian. O excellent rhetors! O never-adequately-honored orators!

You will find these same men in their interpretations of single words, wherein there lurks nothing obscure, nothing involved in any difficulty, considerably more loquacious than grackles; but when it comes to explaining the subject matter itself, a task which demands the proverbial "marrow of persuasion" and tests the oratorical muscles, or to depicting the popular customs of the age, or to expounding the usages of the Roman state and the statutes important for the commonweal and the preservation of the republic, or to elucidating the whole sweep of ancient civilization—in fact, in all questions of politics, history, and thought you will find them dumber than the very fish.

Through such trifling accomplishments, forsooth, or I should better say nugatory nonsense, we have seen these brazen gentry advance themselves to a petty popular glory; and many have celebrated them as finished orators and honored them as heroes and demigods. But the topics of invention and arrangement they either have not touched upon at all or they have done so in such a ridiculous and confused way that, as the saying is, they seem nowhere to be touching either sky or terra firma. Suppose the sources of reason had to be explained. Instead of causes, effects, subjects, adjuncts, and all the rest of the topics involved in searching out arguments, you would find them fetching forth from their store of recondite artifice heaven knows what chests and coffers full of sources of invention: from the honorable, the useful, the pleasant, and all their opposites; from the seemly, the easy, the praiseworthy, the necessary, the impossible; from one's own character, the character of the adversary, the character of the judge; from good-will, hatred, temerity, emulation; from the state and from all things generally which exist or are discussed. I am expecting, in fact, to hear them add: from heaven, fire, air, water, and earth; from heavenly beings, birds, fish, men, and beasts; and a thousand more—did I say a thousand? nay, innumerable such domiciles of argument. They are such fine and fitting architects of the aforesaid domiciles. But when it comes to elucidating the divisions and methods of proof, what have they to say? Often not a word, or at most they manage: "The orator in this passage is using an enthymeme or an epicheirema." (They scruple, you know, in their lectures on rhetoric to introduce the word "syllogism," unless perhaps once in a while with the apologetic addition that it is a "rhetorical syllogism.")

- efferant, alicubi a Valentino Erythraeo, literatissimo homine vsur-
 patum: mirum, ni se reconditoris cuiusdam artificij abdita mysteria
 enunciasse glorientur. Nam quod ad Methodi splendorem attinet,
 aut eum oscitantes, & quasi dormitantes aspiciunt: aut immensam
 5 illius claritatem sustinere non queunt; non magis, quam solis fulgorem
 noctuae: aut ita eum dispartunt, atque distrahunt, [54] vt pro luce
 tenebras, pro nitore caliginem, atque squalorem inuehere existimen-
 tur. Sunt nonnulli, ijque nec meo iuditio indiserti, & suo valde elo-
 quentes; qui in eo totum positum arbitrantur; si propria; si translata;
 10 si synonyma; si phrases; si epitheta; si diuersa; si contraria; si similia;
 si γνώμας aliquot insignes in ephemeride annotauerint; & eas vndique
 delibatas tanquam in communes locos coniecerint. Vnde factum esse
 suspicor, vt tot dicendi, scribendique formularum; tot elegantiarum;
 tot synonymorum; tot epithetorum, & antithetorum; tot similitudinum:
 15 tot sententiarum, apophthegmatum, florum commentarios; tot fere
 thesauros linguae Latinae haberemus; quot erant nonnullis in ciuitati-
 bus, & Academijs ij, qui Latinae eloquentiae candidati essent, & Cicer-
 onianorum fama pascerentur. Exstant Vallae, Hadriani, Riccij,
 Omphalij, Doleti, Schori, Robortelli, Nizolij, Curionis, Stephani, Aldi,
 20 Corradi, Regij, Dietheri, (spiritus me deficit) exstant aliorum in-
 numerabilium Ciceronianae obseruationes: [55] teruntur in puerorum
 manibus synonyma nescio cuius, certe supposititij Ciceronis: ven-
 duntur Prateoli cuiusdam flores: Nunnesij epitheta: Horatij Tuscan-
 ellae epitheta, antitheta, & adiuncta: sententias, apophthegmata, si-
 25 milia, non modo Lagnerius, Iacotius, Lycosthenesque in locos com-
 munes, sed alij quoque permulti (vt Erasmus, Zuingerumque taceam)
 vt ego quidem arbitror, congesserunt: vt ipsi de se profitentur, diges-
 serunt. De quibus omnibus si quis vestrum meam sententiam requirat,
 perstringam vno verbo, quod mihi videtur; nullius vel iudicium, vel
 30 auctoritatem reformidans: ea qui aspernatur, atque negligit, nimis
 imprudentem; qui sola vestigat, non satis prudentem esse: certe in
 vtroque desidero sapientiam. Nolim ego hoc loco ita intelligi, quasi
 de industria propositum mihi fuerit, Aschami nostri, hominis perdi-

If they can get off something of the kind, appropriated from somewhere in Valentinus Erythraeus, a very cultured writer, it would be surprising if they do not make a boast of disclosing the hidden mysteries of some recondite art. As for the resplendent glory of Method, they either look at it with a yawn as if they were sleepy, or cannot bear its intense brightness any more than night owls the glare of sunshine, or else they parcel it into so many subdivisions that they seem to be replacing light by darkness and illumination by murk and obscurity.

There are some men, not ineloquent in my opinion and exceedingly eloquent in their own, who think that everything depends on their jotting down in a diary proper words, figurative words, synonyms, phrases, epithets, differences, contraries, similes, and a few notable maxims; after gleaning these from everywhere, they compile them into commonplace books. I suspect that is the reason why we have so many commentaries on the rules of speech and composition, on niceties, synonyms, epithets and antithets, comparisons, saws, apophthegms, and choice quotations. Of these and of lexica of the Latin language we have had about as many in some nations and universities as there were candidates in Latin eloquence pasturing on the fame of the Ciceronians. Thus we have the observations on Cicero of Valla, Hadrianus, Riccius, Omphalius, Doletus, Schorus, Robortellus, Nizolius, Curio, Stephanus, Aldus, Corradus, Regius, Dietherus; and breath fails me to name the innumerable others. Well-worn in the hands of schoolboys are the *Synonyms* of heaven knows who—some supposititious Cicero, at any rate. On sale at the vendors' are the *Choice Quotations* of Prateolus, whoever he is, the *Epithets* of Nunesius, and the *Epithets, Antithets, and Adjuncts* of Horatius Tuscanella. As for saws, apophthegms, and similes, not only Lagnerius, Jacotius, and Lycosthenes but very many others too (not to mention Erasmus and Zwingerus) have compiled them hit-or-miss, as I prefer to think, or digested them, as they themselves profess, into commonplace books. Regarding all these verbal studies if any one of you should seek my opinion, I would condense it in one word, saying what I think without fearing any one's judgment or authority: whoever scorns and neglects them is too unwise, and whoever pursues nothing else is not wise enough; in both persons at any rate I miss the quality of wisdom.

I would not like to be understood at this point as cherishing a premeditated purpose of casting any aspersions on the *Scholemaster* of

- serti; & Graece, Latineque praeclare literati, Praeceptorem; non illum quidem, vt sunt tempora, contemnendum, praesertim tam eleganti, perpolitotoque sermone praeditum, aliqua [56] labe aspergere: quod si velim, tamen pace optimi viri dixerim vereor vt eum possis excusare.
- G.iv.▼ 5 Si Grammaticum Praeceptorem voluit, non Rhetoricum, non Dialecticum informare (sic eum defendet fortasse quispiam, & iampridem ille sermo increbuit) quid illi tandem rei cum translatis; quid cum modificatis synonymis, quae Rhetorica sunt? quid cum diuersis, atque contrarijs, quae sunt dialectica? quid cum oratoriarum exercitationum generibus, & praesertim tam exquisita, & artificiosa imitatione Ciceronis? Quid est, in alienas possessiones, atque praedia irruere? quid extra ripas diffluere? quid transilire limites, si hoc non est? Sed de Aschamico Praeceptore valde illo quidem limato, atque nitido, & sane etiam, si cum aliorum praeceptoribus comparetur optimo atque
- 10 accuratissimo viderint alij: nos in nostro, neque ista ipsa non vberiora requirimus: & alia multa non minus frugifera desideramus. In eo etiam gloriari audemus, (absit arrogantia verbo) nos distincte ista, & partite, & circumscripse tradere: Rhetorica a [57] Grammaticis; Dialectica ab vtrisque internoscere: suum cuique arti, Geometrica, quam
- H. 20 vocant, proportionem tribuere: Aristotelicum illud denique καθ' αὐτό tueri: quod Aschamus non fecit. Neque enim tam longe extra circumdatos sibi cancellos egrederetur, aut a proposito tam crebris excursionibus declinaret, si fecisset. Ergo qui futuros Ciceronianos instituere velit; & Ciceronem integrum non dimidiatum, non laceratum,
- 25 non, vt Absyrtum illum, discerptum, & dissecatum in partes, ante oculos, tanquam in illustri pictura, constituere: non solum illa Aschami capita proponat: aut quae Aphthonius in Progymnasmatibus complectitur: aut aliorum Rhetorum peruagatissima κεφάλαια: quanquam sunt illa quoque, (quis negat?) magna ex parte perutilia: verum etiam alia
- 30 quoque exponat, quae recensui, omnia, (repetendum est enim saepius): quicquid aut in dictione limatum, aut in sententia subtile, aut in rebus ipsis fructuosum occurret, persequatur: adhibeat denique illam
- H.▼ δύνανται ἐρμηνευτικὴν, de qua aliquando memini; [58] & quam in

our Ascham, a man very eloquent and nobly learned in Greek and Latin letters. His schoolmaster is a person not to be scoffed at, as the times go, and especially so since he is gifted with such elegant and polished speech. Were I minded to cast aspersions, however, (will the shade of that excellent man forgive me for saying this?) I am afraid you could not find excuses for him. If he intended to delineate a schoolmaster of grammar and not of rhetoric or dialectic, as someone will perhaps say by way of defending him—and in fact this has long since become the standard excuse—I should like to know what concern he has with metaphors and well-weighed synonyms, which are matters of rhetoric. What business has he with *diverse* and *contrary*, which are matters of dialectic, or with the types of oratorical exercises and particularly with the exquisite and artistic imitation of Cicero? If this is not making a foray into other people's possessions and preserves, and straying out of bounds, and trespassing across the boundaries, then what is?

But let others decide about the *Scholemaster* of Ascham, who is eminently refined, elegant, and even, if he be compared with the schoolmasters of others, truly most excellent and polished. In my schoolmaster I not only require these same qualities in still richer measure, but I desiderate many others not less fruitful. I even dare boast, all arrogance aside, that in my schoolmaster I distinguish, separate, and divide the three subjects—rhetoric from grammar and dialectic from both; that I assign its due to each subject in geometrical proportion, as they say; that, in short, I heed the well-known Aristotelian doctrine of the categories. Ascham has not done this; if he had, he could not have got so far outside his circumscribed limits nor digressed so frequently from his purpose.

Therefore he who would train future Ciceronians and display before their eyes a clearly limned portrait of Cicero—a full-length Cicero, not halved nor mutilated nor, like Absyrtus of yore, torn asunder and cut into pieces—, should not confine himself to those chapters of Ascham or what Aphthonius includes in his *Progymnas-mata* or the old familiar topics of other rhetoricians, although no one denies that even these are mostly very important. He should go on to expound also all the other matters which I have enumerated; and this is a point which must be emphasized repeatedly. He should discuss whatever he comes across that is either polished in diction or subtle in thought or rewarding in factual content. In short, he should apply that interpretative power to which I sometimes allude,

- Turnebo Lambinus; nos in Ramo, Talaeoque celebramus: nec solum τὸν λόγον respiciat: sed multo magis ipsam, quae solet fere Graece in scholis nominari, σύνεσιν atque γνώσιν. Etenim cum quatuor fere genera Tullianorum de meliore nota Interpretum recognosco: (animaduertisne?) vnum eorum, qui Aristotelis, Hermogenis, reliquorumque Graecorum artes, partim Rhetoricas, partim Dialecticas exsuscitarunt, propemodum consopitas: in quibus excellunt Sturmius, Erythraeus, Toxites: alterum eorum, qui M. ipso Cicerone, atque Fabio Quintiliano contenti, eos habent suae eloquentiae magistros, atque
- 5 duces; & praecepta illorum, tanquam vexilla, persequuntur: quo in numero repono Omphalium, Latomum, atque Caelium Secundum: tertium, qui Rhetoricam, Dialecticamque ex Graecorum, Latinorumque commentarijs, ab Audomaro Talaeo, Petroque Ramo coagmentatam, & perexquisito ordine, perque eleganti iudicio dispensatam amplectuntur: vt praeter ipsos auctores Freigius, atque Schorus: [59]
- H.ij. 15 quartum eorum, qui non artificij rationem vllam praescribunt, sed euoluunt antiquitatis memoriam, & consuetudinum ritus, atque legum instituta, quae videntur aliqua obscuritate obstructa, patefaciunt: inter quos Manutio, atque Turnebo primas attribuerim: (caeteros enim, excepto omnium vetustissimo Pediano, ne communi quidem
- 20 Bibliotheca, dignos iudico, ideoque in nullum numerum ascribo): cum, inquam, quatuor ista genera praeclaram in Cicerone illustrando operam locasse sentio: tum vero plurimum mihi praestitisse videntur ij, quibus tertium locum assignauī. Soli namque, quod bona cum
- 25 venia doctissimorum hominum dictum velim, dicendi, atque disserendi artificium dilucido, & enucleato genere orationis explanantes; simul & philosophicas sententias incredibili acumine perpurgantes; atque prisca vetustatis exempla, rerumque notitiam, a nostra memoria propter antiquitatem remotarum, ex annalium monimentis eruentes;
- H.ij.^v 30 proxime ad illam perfectionem accedunt, quam ego in hac oratione volui adumbrare. Ad laudum* enim maximarum gloriam [60] atque decus excellentis doctrinae, permagnum adferunt praestantibus ingenijs adiumentum. Nec vero aliorum industriam disertissimorum interpretum non in suo genere egregie praedicandam iudico: (cumu-

* 31: laudem

and which Lambinus celebrates in Turnebus and I in Ramus and Talaeus. He should focus attention not only on the word (ὁ λόγος), but much more on comprehension (σύνεσις) and knowledge (γνώσις), if I may use the customary Greek terminology of the schools.

Now I recognize among the better-known interpreters of Tully just about four classes. One is composed of those who have revived the almost dormant arts of rhetoric and dialectic as bequeathed us by Aristotle, Hermogenes, and the rest of the Greeks; and in this group Sturmius, Erythraeus, and Toxites are pre-eminent. The second group comprises those who, satisfied with just Marcus Cicero and Fabius Quintilian, take them as masters and guides in their own eloquence, and follow their precepts as they would their country's banners; in this group I put Omphalius, Latomus, and Caelius Secundus. Third come those who embrace rhetoric and dialectic from the commentaries of the Greeks and the Romans, as collected and arranged in perfect order and with refined judgment by Audomarus Talaeus and Petrus Ramus; as examples take Freigius and Schorus, besides the sponsors just named. Fourth are those who, without prescribing any system of rhetorical art, just unroll the record of antiquity and explain the usages of custom and the legal institutions which seem to be involved in some obscurity; in this class I would assign the primacy to Manutius and Turnebus. Now as to the rest of them, excepting Pedianus, the grandfather of them all, I count them not even worthy of sharing the same library, and therefore I do not assign them to any group.

While I do recognize, I say, that all these four groups have rendered distinguished service in Ciceronian exegesis, yet the fact is that I believe those whom I have put in the third group have achieved the most. They are the only ones (if I may say so without offence to distinguished scholars) who by explaining in a transparent and clear style the arts of speech and discussion, and at the same time by clarifying with amazing brilliancy the philosophic thoughts, and by unearthing from the records of history the venerable patterns of old and the knowledge of facts buried from our memory by antiquity, approach most nearly to that perfection which I have endeavored to adumbrate in this oration. For in addition to the glory of their supreme merits and the renown of their distinguished learning, they bring an important help by their conspicuous inborn talents. To be sure, I am not of a mind to deny high honor to the diligence in their own way of Cicero's other eloquent interpreters, for they have abundantly

- late enim praestiterunt, quod moliti sunt): sed illis ego dandam palmam censeo, a quibus plurima sunt futuris Ciceronianis politiorum literarum subsidia administrata: & quibus ipse nimirum (fatendum est enim) debeo plurimum. Nihil autem impedio, quo minus caeteros
- 5 legentes, qui volent, de singulis iudicio vtantur suo: (iudicio, inquam; nam praeiudicare de quoquam non placet): Ciceronianus autem, mihi credite, omnibus numeris, & partibus expletus esse nemo potest, qui non ad oratoria dicendi ornamenta, reliquarum adiunxerit praesidia doctrinarum. Siquid itaque; vt, vnde paululum deflexit, eodem nostra
- 10 reuoluatur oratio; aliquanto fuerit, quam caetera, memoratu insignius; siue id, verbi causa, Grammaticum, siue Rhetoricum, siue Dialecticum, (procedam longius) siue Ethicum, [61] siue Politicum, siue Physicum, siue etiam Geographicum, siue alia quapiam praestanti virtute commendatum fuerit, & sit aliqua laude subillustre: siquid eiusmodi,
- 15 inquam, in voluendo Cicerone aliquando exstiterit, quod suam quandam adferat non obscuram vtilitatem: id velim & a doctore planissime indicari; & studiosissime percipi ab Auditore. Dicam aperte, quod sentio. Non est idoneus explicator Ciceronis, qui non ista facile singula exsequitur; imo grandem infert eloquentissimi hominis Mani-
- 20 bus iniuriam (intelligo, quid loquar) quisquis illorum quicquam, vel non videt, vt caecus, vel, vt oscitans, praetermittit. Ea duntaxat istis omnibus est adhibenda cautio, vt ad suas quaeque artes, atque Capita dirigantur: dijudicentque inter singula genera sine vllo errore Auditores; Grammatica grammaticae, rhetorica eloquentiae, dialectica dia-
- 25 lecticae, sua singulis disciplinis tribuentes. Ne, si inertium pharmacopolarum ritu, alia pro alijs medicamenta sortiantur; quam incorruptam tueri volunt, [62] atque integram, eam deserere cogantur ingenij, iudicijque sanitatem. Quam ad rem haud scio, an secundum literati admonitoris prudentiam, vllum aliud tam praesens remedium
- 30 inuenire possis, quam hoc esset; si vnusquisque, audito foris doctore, domi seipsum protinus, in bibliotheca, aut cubiculo, quotidie ijsdem de rebus isto modo interrogare vellet: quanto ego melior veni ab hodiernis praelectionibus grammaticus? quanto rhetor copiosior? quanto acutior dialecticus? quid ego hodie didici? quae accessio allata
- H.iiij.
- H.iiij.^v

achieved what they strove for. Still I do believe that the palm should be awarded to those who have supplied the most help in polite letters to future Ciceronians, and to whom I myself, as I must admit, certainly owe most. I have no objection to letting those who please read the other commentators and use their own judgment about every detail (judgment, I say, for it is not right to prejudge anything). But, believe me, no one can be a Ciceronian complete in all points and particulars who rests content with the oratorical embellishments of speech and does not lay the rest of the subjects of learning under contribution.

Now to return in my discourse to the topic from which I have slightly digressed. Suppose that in reading Cicero one encounters any matter that is especially worthy of remark, such as a matter of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, or (to carry the principle further) ethics, politics, physics, or even geography, or whatever has any other special virtue to commend it and has some fame and renown. If anything of that sort is encountered which has its own obvious importance, I should like to have it very plainly indicated by the teacher and very thoroughly understood by the pupil. My frank opinion is that a man is no satisfactory expositor of Cicero if he does not willingly elucidate all such matters. The fact is, and I know what I am saying, that whoever is so blind as to miss seeing any one of these points or so negligent as to skip it, is doing a mighty wrong to the ghost of the most eloquent of mortals. All of these expositors must at least take pains to see that every topic is referred to its proper subject and heading, and that the pupils unerringly distinguish among the several classifications, assigning grammatical matters to grammar, rhetorical to eloquence, dialectic to dialectic, each to its respective discipline. Otherwise they might be like worthless pharmacists who select a different medicine instead of the right one, and might be driven to forfeit the healthy constitution and judgment which they wish to preserve incorrupt and sound.

Now I doubt, and here I am in accord with the wisdom of a cultured adviser, whether any other prescription against this danger could be found so efficacious as the following. Let everyone when he has been out to hear a scholar's lecture, straightway thereafter in his own quarters, his study or chamber, daily examine himself thus on what he has just heard: "How much better a grammarian am I, now that I have come away from today's lectures? How much more fluent a rhetorician? How much more acute a dialectician? What

est ad earum artium, in quibus omne studium defixi, expolitionem? quid, & quantum profeci in grammaticis? quid in rhetoricis? quid in dialecticis? quid in caeteris? Quod etsi paululum quiddam initio videri possit: fructus editurum tamen tam incredibiles ausim affirmare,

5 vt ne veterum quidem Pythagoreorum morem, quid quoque die dixerint, audiuerint, egerint, commemorantium vesperi, anteferre debeamus. Sic namque mihi persuadeo, qui isto modo, ad calculos

H.iv.

vocauerit lectiunculas suas, singulaque [63] ad eas artes redegerit, ex quarum sunt deprompta thesauris; eum me hominem visurum breui, cum excellenti iudicio praeditum, tum etiam vario florentem eximiarum rerum apparatu. Bene habet, inquiet aliquis. faciemus, quod iubes. Tu vide, ne quarum rerum affluentiam ab Interprete Ciceroniano repetis, earundem ipse copia nudatus videre. Aut, si tam splendida supellectile ornatus accedis, & es istis doctrinarum diuitijs

15 tam egregie locupletatus: age, dic nobis, an illa abs te omnia studiorum nostrorum & ornamenta & adiumenta exigere debeamus, quae tu in alijs tantopere desiderata, Ciceroniano tuo adesse vis? Agnosco tacitas multorum cogitationes: nec satis profecto scio, quid contra ista respondeam. Spondere ipse de me vobis nihil hercle audeo, nisi operam:

20 atque hic etiam fortasse praesto est, a quo metui, detrimentum. Dixi aliquando de natura Cotis, ferrum, aut chalybem acuentis: & Isocratis similitudine videbar studia vestra, satis sua sponte flagrantia inflammasse. [64] Id si repetam, mors est. Ipsi nostis ignitas faces, instillato oleo, quantumvis liquido, non refrigerari, sed accendi vehementius. Id fortasse in nos quadrabit. Sed quorsum ineptiae? quasi non norimus nos inter nos. Vtinam euentu ipso praestare possemus ad vtilitatem publicam, quod animo & cogitatione concipimus ad propriam voluptatem.

H.iv.v

30 Verum quod tam paucis ex omni memoria contigit (si tamen cuiquam omnino contigit) vt quod mentis contemplatione comprehenderent, id reuera assequerentur, atque prae se ferrent: nos optare, vt rem optimam, & optatissimam, possumus: sperare, vt difficillimam, non debemus. Et tamen coniectura augurari libet, auditurum me aliquando ex isto loco eum, quem descripsi, M. Tullij explicatorem; &

have I learned today? What progress have I made in perfecting myself in those subjects on which I have centered all my study? How much have I advanced in grammar? in rhetoric? in dialectic? in all the rest?" This practice might at first seem to be insignificant, but I dare affirm that it would yield such remarkable results that we could justly compare it to the custom of the ancient Pythagoreans, who meditated each evening on what they had said, heard, and done during the day. I am convinced of this, that whoever thus calls to account the lectures which he hears and classifies their contents among the studies from whose storehouses they are drawn—that man I shall speedily see possessed of excellent judgment and, what is more, abounding in manifold knowledge of notable affairs.

Suppose someone says: "Very well, we will do as you bid. But look to it that you yourself are not found wanting in copious knowledge of the very subjects in which you demand large attainments on the part of an expositor of Cicero. Or, if you come to us provided with such splendid qualifications and enriched with such remarkable wealth of learning, pray tell us whether we are supposed to require of you all those trappings and adjuncts of our studies which you insist on having in your ideal Ciceronian, though they are sadly lacking in others?"

I recognize these as the unspoken thoughts of many of you, and I do not quite know what to reply. There is nothing that I can venture to promise you on my own account, except hard work; and even here perhaps there is a drawback, as I fear. I alluded once to the nature of a whetstone, which sharpens iron or steel; and by a simile of Isocrates I thought I kindled your enthusiasm, which was already ardent enough by itself. To repeat this would be deadly. You yourselves know that when oil drips on lighted torches, although it is a liquid, it does not cool them off but kindles them the more. Perhaps that analogy will fit our situation. But why all this nonsense, as if we did not know each other?

If we only could realize in actuality for the public weal what we conceive in mind and imagination for our own delight! But since so few men in all history—if indeed any men at all—have succeeded in really attaining and making manifest what they grasped in contemplation, we can only pray for this as best and best worthy of prayer, but we may not hope for a thing so difficult.

And yet it pleases me to augur from the signs that I shall some day in this very place listen to such an expositor of Cicero as I have de-

- quem literatae Academiae dignitas, Reginae praepotentis Maiestas, regni florentissimi ocium, eruditi saeculi lautitio, transmarinorum hominum exspectatio iampridem euocauit. Qui si in medium prodiret, & nobilium ingeniorum [65] exaggeratos, atque heroicis spiritus ad
- Ii. 5 eadem studia recolenda incitare vellet; non dubitarem Cantabrigiensem Academiam illustrissimis totius Europae gymnasijs anteferre. Nam de antiquitate alij digladiantur: ego audire malo; esse literatorum copia, atque celebritate praeferendam. Vt quemadmodum olim Athenae Graecia Graeciae dicebantur: sic aliquando Cantabrigia possit
- 10 suo merito Britannia Britanniae nuncupari: idemque sit apud nostros: esse Cantabrigiensem; quod erat apud Graecos; esse Atticum. Sed de eo satis. Quid enim, nisi vota supersunt, vt canit ille? Vos, suauissimi Adolescentes, atque bellissimi pueri, si vere Ciceroniani, non simulate esse velitis; vt estis Ciceronianae eloquentiae, prudentiaeque auditores;
- 15 eo animo ad Ciceronem vestrum; institutoque venire debebitis, nunquam vt ad illum accedatis, quin discedatis non modo Grammatici, atque rhetores: sed etiam Dialectici, Ethici, Politici, Historici; interdum etiam Physici, Iureconsulti, atque adeo Cosmographi in quibusdam [66] meliores. Neque id in schola tantum, & in his Academiae
- Ii.v 20 vmbraculis ad inanem pompam; sed in cunctis hominum congressibus, atque quotidianis sermonibus; domi, foris; in otio, in negotio; apud plebeios, apud Aulicos, apud omnes; si erit opus, etiam ad pugnam declaretis. Nam istarum rerum omnium; multarum etiam fortasse aliarum, quas meae mentis angustiae non capiunt; locupletissimus
- 25 ille quidem, pretiosissimusque thesaurus est: & quaedam quasi instructissima officina copiose loquentis sapientiae. Vere vt asseuerare possimus, quod apud eum de Xenophonte, Cato Maior Scipioni, atque Laelio suadere vult: multas ad res perutiles esse illius libros; dignosque quos legatis perstudiose, vt facitis, iamdiuque fecistis. Quod qui non
- 30 videt, turpiter coecus: qui non agnoscit, impudenter pertinax: qui cognitum ad suum emolumentum non traducit, inepte stultus est. Ac in posterum quidem, exempli gratia, quicquid omnino tale inciderit

scribed. Already this long time the standing of a learned university, the majesty of a mighty queen, the tranquil peace of a flourishing realm, the splendor of a cultured age, and the expectation of men beyond the seas have been summoning such a man. Were he to step forth in our midst, resolved to inspire the exalted and heroic spirits of noble characters to cultivate the aforesaid studies, I should not hesitate to rank the University of Cambridge above the most illustrious schools of all of Europe. Others may contend about their venerable age, but I would rather hear that Cambridge is pre-eminent for the number and fame of her learned men. Then some day, just as of yore Athens was called the School of Greece, so Cambridge may rightfully be known as the School of Britain; and to be a Cantabrigian may mean among us what it meant among the Greeks to be an Athenian.

But enough of this. "For what remains but prayers?" as the poet sings. You, sweet youths and handsome boys, if you would be true and not counterfeit Ciceronians, as you are true students of the Ciceronian eloquence and wisdom, must come to your Cicero with the intention and resolve that you will never open his book without being somehow better before you close it. This means being better not only as grammarians and rhetoricians, but also as dialecticians, ethical philosophers, political philosophers, historians, and occasionally even natural scientists, jurisconsults, and cosmographers. Nor will you merely make a vain display of your Ciceronianism in school and in these cloistered shades of the University, but you will proclaim it in all your associations with men and in your daily converse, at home and abroad, in leisure and in business, among the commonalty, the courtly folk, and all men—if necessary, even to the point of fighting for it. For of all these aforementioned knowledges and very likely even many more which lie without the narrow limitations of my mind, Cicero is the richest and most precious storehouse; he is, as it were, a well-furnished work-shop of fluently discoursing philosophy. Hence we may truthfully assert of Cicero what the Elder Cato in the *De Senectute* wishes to urge upon Scipio and Laelius in regard to Xenophon: that his books are highly instructive on many subjects and deserve to be read with attentive care, as it is and long has been your wont to do. Whoever does not see this is shamefully blind; whoever does not admit it is impudently obstinate; whoever does not apply his knowledge to his own profit is absurdly foolish. But from now on I shall exemplify what has been said; and whenever any such matter

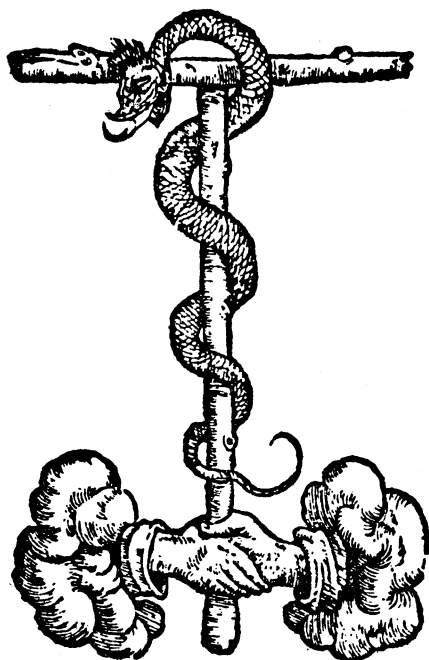
Iij. (incidet autem frequentissime) id si fuerit inuolutum, euoluemus: si
[67] apertum, significabimus. Certe in eam curam, atque cogitationem
quam diligentissime semper incumbemus; hominum disertissimorum
vestigijs insistentes: vt neque nos nostri laboris in legendo (siquis
5 tamen est in legendo Cicerone labor) neque vestri vos in audiendo
studij, sedulitatisque paeniteat aliquando. Atque haec hodie; non
omnino quidem, vti spero, inconsulte: attamen magis, quam vellem,
perturbate; quam deberem, dissolute; fortasse etiam, quam vos ex-
spectastis, & quam ipse solerem, impolite. Cras Ciceronem ipsum suo
10 more dicentem, disserentemque audietis, si placet: & quidem post
reditum meum, post reditum illius in Senatu.

FINIS.

comes up, as it very often will, I shall elucidate it if it is obscure or draw attention to it if it is clear. In any event it shall always be the aim of my utmost thought and endeavor, as I follow in the footsteps of the most eloquent men, that I may never regret my efforts in lecturing (if indeed it is any effort to lecture on Cicero) nor you your zeal and earnestness in listening.

So much for today. I hope these have not been altogether random remarks, though they were more disorderly than I could wish, more disconnected than they should be, and very likely also more unrefined than you expected and than is my wont. Tomorrow, if you please, you shall hear Cicero himself speaking and discussing in his own fashion, in the oration *In the Senate After His Return*. Oddly enough it will also be after my return.

THE END



ꝑ Excudebat Londini, Henricus
Bynneman Typographus, Anna
M. D. LXXVII.
Mense Iunio.

ERRATORUM ELENCHUS

Erratorum Elenchus, quae absente Authore exciderunt: quaeque a Lectore inter legendum emendanda sunt.*

- [44.31] Pagina.3. linea.5. pro neque, lege meque.
- [48.25] Pagina.7. linea.10. inexplicabili, lege inexplibili.
- [50.6] Pag.8. linea.9. post, videtis, lege comparate Ciceronem cum Caesare, & tum vt sequitur, comparate cum Sallustio, &c.
- [50.28] Pag.9. linea.18, pro ipsi, ipse.
- [50.32] Pagina.10. linea.2. pro collocavit, collocabit.
- [54.11] Pag.13. linea.8. lege laudatione, & [54.12] proxima linea, tempore, & [54.17] linea.17. pro otioso lege otioso.
- [56.21] Pag.16. pro cedem legendum celem: [56.26] linea.11. pro ne curramus, recurramus.
- [58.6] Pag.17. linea.8. legendum philosophe, non philosophi: estque ad eum rhetorica Apostrophe. [58.15] linea.20. pro At, legendum Ac.
- [64.29] Pagina.25. linea.16. pro Luinus, lege Leuinus.
- [66.9] Pagina.26. linea.13. lege & si. [66.19] Pag.27. linea.5. & iam.
- [70.29] Pag.32. linea.3. pro commendatione lege commentatione, & [72.6] linea vlt. post iudicarem.
- [72.9] Pag.33. linea.3. lege Brutinum.
- [74.15] Pag.35. linea vlt. pro corpora, lege corpore.
- [74.34] Pag.37, linea.6 pro Luino, lege Leuino.
- [76.12] Pag.38. linea.3. dele comma post Ciceronianus, & [76.17–18] lin.10. lege in hunc modum: quibusdam litteris, syllabis, casibus.&c.
- [80.11] Pagina.42. linea.14. oratoriarum, non oratoriam, & [80.15] line.19. omnis, non annis.
- [80.21] Pag.43. linea.6. lege, Cuius quoque Romanus vsurpari voluit.
- [82.15] Pag.45. linea.3. lege auolent pro audent.
- [82.28] Pag.46. linea.1. pro purissimus, putissimus, [82.36] line.14. apparatus.
- [84.34] Pag.48. linea.vlt. oratoriarum, vt ante.
- [86.18] Pag.50. linea.5. lege παράχῃσιν non παθηχῃσιν.
- [90.6] Pag.53. linea.vlt. dispertunt, non disputiunt.
- [90.28] Pag.55. linea.11. lege requirat. [90.32] line.16. dele parenthesin, & fac Nolim pro Notim. [92.2] line.20. pone comma post contemnendum, non post praesertim.
- [92.4] Pag.56. linea.1. post velim, adde tamen &c. [92.13] linea.15. dele si: [92.14] lin.16. post etiam ascribe comma.
- [92.23] Pag.57. linea.7. dele parenthesin. [92.26–27] lin.12. lege illa Aschami capita, pro illa Capite. [92.33] lin. vlt. lege ἐρμηνευτ.
- [98.8] Pag.63. linea.1. redegerit, non redigerit.
- [100.25] Pagina.66. linea.10. quaedam. [100.31–32] lin.20. lege Ac in posterum. [102.1] line.21. incidet pro incidit.
- [102.9] Pag.67. linea.11. post, quam, adde, ipse.

Reliqua in commatis & colis errata facile possunt a lectore emendari.

* For the convenience of the reader, we have added, in square brackets, page and line references to the present text before the corresponding page and line references of the original edition.

NOTES

36.1. *William Lewin* (d. 1598) matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1559, proceeded B.A. in 1561–62 and M.A. in 1565. He was a fellow of Christ's, 1562–71, Proctor for part of 1568 and Public Orator during 1570–71. In 1576 he received the degree of LL.D. from Cambridge and was appointed Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, an office which he held until his death. As Lewin's prefatory letter to the *Ciceronianus* makes clear, in educational doctrine Lewin was the disciple of Roger Ascham and John Sturm. On Lewin's relation to Sturm, see the introduction, p. 22. Harvey's references to Lewin's influence upon his studies while Harvey was an undergraduate at Christ's (this text, pp. 36, 74) suggest that Lewin had been Harvey's Cambridge tutor. Harvey expresses his admiration for Lewin's extemporal style in his *Letter-Book* (p. 7), refers to him as a particular friend in a letter to Thomas Hatcher (*Marg.*, p. 218), and lists him among those who have honored him with their commendation (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II.83). Lewin's successful career at the University and in public life doubtless represented for Harvey something like the course Harvey himself hoped to follow. Harvey's friendship and admiration for Lewin were warmly reciprocated by the elder scholar, who assured Harvey in a letter written in December, 1576: "Ex Cantabrigiensibus nostris quos diligo plurimos (sunt enim plurimi perstudiosi cum Salutis, tum etiam Dignitatis meae), secundum [Bingum] Patrem meum, teipso neminem mihi chariorem esse. Hunc ex Majoribus maxime veneror atque suspicio: te ex Posteris plurimum amplector" (*Marg.*, p. 220). Lewin's kindly encouragement of the younger scholar finds a parallel in the gracious letter of Bartholomew Clerke that prefaces the *Rhetor*. In their desire to foster sound learning and their efforts to be of help to a younger scholar like Harvey, Lewin and Clerke represent one of the happiest aspects of the age of Elizabeth.

36.1. *Strenam*. On the institution of such 'New Year's gifts,' see J.E.B. Mayor's note in his ed. of Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1863), p. 206.

36.5. *Adumbrasti*. Harvey means that Lewin gave as clear an idea of the Ciceronian eloquence as one could. He did not 'reproduce' it but 'shadowed it forth'—the best that men of lesser eloquence than Cicero's can hope to do. Harvey's statement suggests that Lewin may have been one of his predecessors as Praelector in Rhetoric. See the note on 36.12–13, below.

36.5–6. *Sed qualem . . . potui*. Cf. the introduction, p. 11. Harvey admired rapidity of learning and composition (*Marg.*, pp. 90–1, 108, etc.), and he liked to picture himself as a man of action as well as a scholar, the 'Angelus Furius' of the *Marginalia*. But there can be no doubt that he carefully composed and revised both the *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor*.

36.6–8. *Omni denudatum . . . gloriantem*. This profession is in keeping with the view of Cicero (*Part. Or.* xxvii.97) and Quintilian (iii.8.65) that in deliberative oratory, "tota autem oratio simplex et

gravis et sententiis debet ornatior esse quam verbis." In fact, however, Harvey and his contemporaries often honored this principle more in their theory than in their practice.

36.9. *Testimonium*. I have not been able to find Sturm's complimentary mention of Lewin. As a friend of Ascham, Lewin might be expected to know Sturm through Ascham; but I have not found any mention of Lewin in the Ascham-Sturm correspondence. In his prefatory letter to the *Ciceronianus*, Lewin implies that he has heard Sturm lecture, and his correspondence with Sturm (see the introduction, p. 22) implies a long-standing and intimate acquaintance.

36.12–13. *Quem . . . Oratorem*. The period referred to is 1568–69, when Lewin was a fellow of Christ's and Harvey a sophister in the same college. Clearly, Harvey is not referring to the subsequent period of Lewin's Public Oratorship. If Harvey were a pupil of Lewin's, he would support his tutor by attending his public lectures as Praelector in Rhetoric; cf. *Rhetor*, A.ij.: "Hoc autem anno . . . tantum aberat . . . vt ingentem illam, atque grandem multitudinem, celebritatemque Academicam vel sperare possem, vel exspectare auderem: mihi vt ipsi iampridem statuerim, & parietibus istis Rhetoricis canere deinceps: astante vno, aut altero e meis pupillis; non vt auditore eloquentiae, sed vt teste praesentiae."

36.15. *insignis . . . margaritarum*. Cf. Cicero, *Or.* xxiii.78: ". . . insignis ornatus quasi margaritarum." Lewin returns the compliment at the beginning of his letter, with a graceful varying of Harvey's tropes.

36.15–16. *Sed Venerem . . . pinxere*. I am indebted to Mr. Paul North Rice of the New York Public Library for calling my attention to the relevant passage in Cicero, *De Off.* iii.2.10: ". . . ut nemo pictor esset inventus, qui in Coa Venere eam partem, quam Apelles inchoatam reliquisset, absolveret (oris enim pulchritudo reliqui corporis imitandi spem auferebat), sic ea, quae Panaetius praetermisisset [et non perfecisset] propter eorum, quae perfecisset, praestantiam neminem persecutum." The form of Harvey's allusion may be suggested by the passage in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* (*Opera*, I.982C–F) where the attempt to follow the letter of Cicero's example is likened to the folly of trying to become a second Apelles by completing his unfinished canvases in imitation of his manner. Another sort of parallel occurs in a letter of Sturm that prefaces *Ioannis Sturmii De Universa Ratione Elocutionis Rhetoricae, Libri IIII* . . . [1576], A2: ". . . quasi Venerem ἀναδομῆν ἐγὼ inchoare possem: atque alium esse putem, qui possit perficere: aut per se totam meliorem pingere." Harvey apparently intends a modest self-disparagement: 'In attempting to represent the Ciceronian eloquence, I shall be like those who tried to complete the painting of Apelles, and I shall fall as far short of success as they; but at least the beauty of Cicero's eloquence will not suffer as a result of my efforts.'

36.20–22. *Ipse minime . . . dedicoque*. This is imitated from Cicero, *Laelius*, i.5. Cf. this text, 54.6–8.

36.26. I have not observed the form 'Ciceronietas' elsewhere. H. Stephanus uses 'Ciceronianitatis' in the preface to *Petri Bunelli & Pauli Manutii . . . Epistolae Ciceroniano Stylo Scriptae* (1581). Cf. 'Ciceronianissimus,' this text, 54.31, and note.

36.31–32. *Pridie . . . 1577*. The date is new style.

38.1. See the introduction, pp. 12–13. One accepts Lewin's account of the circumstances of publication as *bona fide*. Lewin was a man of too high standing and integrity to permit Harvey's enlisting him in any of the little subterfuges concerning publication familiar from the Harvey-Spenser correspondence and the *Letter-Book* (cf. J.W. Bennett in *MP*, XXIX [1931], 163–86).

38.15. *Tam cito . . . confecerit*. At the time of the delivery of the *Ciceronianus* Harvey was probably about twenty-six (see the introduction, pp. 5 ff.), and he had been University Praelector in Rhetoric for the preceding two years. This was a remarkable though not unprecedented record of rapid achievement in the academic world. Lewin's tribute is the more valuable because it is paid by a competent judge. It must have been very gratifying to Harvey.

38.18 ff. *Vt autem ad eandem arcem . . .* Lewin here reflects the generous attitude of his master Sturm toward Ramus expressed in the prefatory letter to *Specimen et Forma Legitime Tradendi Sermonis et Rationis Disciplinas . . . per Henricum Schorum* (1572), pp. 5–7: ". . . De Petro Ramo si petis, ut petis, quid sentiam. Virum bonum illum esse iudico: & hominem bene literatum & iudicio expolito praeditum, qui hac vita, ut vocant, Scholastica, & illius stipendio contentus: ampliores opes aut honores non requirit. Nam quod alios offendit, me non laedit, quoties liberius iudicat de Aristotelicis praeceptis: alium in ijs ordinem & viam requirens: quaedam etiam considerans, quae deesse videntur: fecit idem Aristoteles ijs, qui ante ipsum scripserunt, Dialecticis, Rhetoricis, Philosophicis scriptoribus. Et scholae ipsae in Academijs quas defendunt reprehensores Rami: & ordinem immutarunt Aristotelicum: & multa praeterierunt: multaque de suo addiderunt, & Rudolphus Agricola: istud ius sibi etiam arrogavit: & non idem quod Aristoteles sentit & tradit de locis inveniendi. Ipsi etiam Mathematici, quorum certae sunt semitae: tamen non ijsdem insistunt omnes, quibus Euclides & Ptolomaeus, vestigijs. Ego aequitatem & humanitatem in nostris iudicijs, quae de alijs facimus, desydero. Si idem semper sentiendum & loquendum sit: nihil novi invenire liceat. Non designas Scholas tuas ea, qua ego ratione atque via? An istud aegre feram, alios facere: quod mihi licere postulo? An non satis est, eodem nos contendere: ad Capitolium, quod Romae est: & ad Acropolim Palladis, quae Athenis: ex omnibus populis, urbibus, pagis, villis, non eadem semita est: sed diversis vijs atque itineribus, eodem patet recta profectio. . . ." The "paths" image is a favorite among the ancients and Renaissance writers alike. For parallels, see Callimachus (ed. Schneider), frag. 293; Lucretius, i.926–30; iv.1–5; Propertius, iii.1.1 ff.; Virgil, *Georgics*, ii.175–6; iii.292–3; Horace, *Epist.* i.19.21–2; Quintilian, ii.13.16; etc. For the

Renaissance, Chaucer, *TC*, V.1791–2; Ronsard, *Oeuvres* (ed. Lau-
monier), VII.3; Spenser, *FQ*, VI, intro., 2; etc. Citations could easily
be multiplied. For Ramus's tribute to Sturm and acknowledgement
of his debt to him, see *Scholae in Liberales Artes* (1578), *praef.*

38.21. *Nec Harueius . . . opinor.* The implication is that Ramist
doctrines were still new in England. They were common enough,
and controversial enough, by this time on the Continent. But the
Ramist controversies did not open in England much before the 1580's.

38.24. *Sturmius.* See the introduction, pp. 21 ff.

38.26–30. *Sed de Sturmio . . . mandantur.* This interesting note
concerning some of the publications issued under Sturm's name may
be verified from the bibliographical entries in Charles Schmidt, *La Vie
et les Travaux de Jean Sturm* (1855), pp. 314–31. A typical example
is *Ioannis Sturmii De Universa Ratione Elocutionis Rhetoricae, Libri
III. Nunc primum in lucem editi opera et studio Christophori
Thretii Poloni.* [Strassburg, 1576]. Thretius's dedicatory epistle ex-
plains that he has requested Sturm's permission to publish Sturm's
rhetorical teachings that he formerly heard from Sturm's own lips
when he was Sturm's pupil at Strassburg, "quod non parum emolu-
menti & ornamenti studiosis eloquentiae allatura putem." Sturm's
amusing reply, dated "Argentorati, 20. Octobr. 1575" makes it clear
that the project is entirely Thretius's idea, and he seems to feel some
slight misgiving about his enthusiastic ex-pupil's project. He is not
at all sure, he says, that his work deserves such an honor. Moreover,
he adds, if this work does not meet with the approval of the learned,
we shall both be blamed. But he does not forbid the undertaking,
and concludes with gracious thanks for his admirer's friendship and
high opinion. Undismayed by this response, Thretius went ahead
with the work, which covers over eight hundred pages. And he
printed Sturm's letter at the very beginning!

40.5–11. *Neque vero . . . putet.* This account of Sturm's method
of teaching doubtless also reflects the method Lewin himself followed
when he taught rhetoric at Cambridge to Harvey. Cf. Harvey's ac-
count of his own teaching method, this text, 84.20 ff.

40.13–31. *Osorianam . . . possunt.* Hieronymus Osorius (1506–80)
was a Portuguese bishop, historian, and humanist. His Latin style,
though much admired by some for its conformity to the canon of
Cicero, was more often criticized, even in an age of prolix Latinity,
for its florid redundancy. He addressed a famous letter to Queen
Elizabeth urging her to return to the Roman Catholic faith, to which
Walter Haddon replied. Osorius's *Opera Omnia* were published at
Rome in 1592. Lewin's criticism of Osorius's style is in keeping with
the opinion of Ascham, *Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor (1863), p. 110, and
with Sturm's censure of the fault of diffuseness in the ultra-Ciceronians;
see the note on 74.24 ff., below. For the analogy of an oration with
the human body, a favorite figure with Cicero and Quintilian, see
Cicero, *Br.* xvii.68; Quintilian, *Pr.* 24; etc. On *redundantia*, see
Cicero, *Br.* xiii.51; xci.316; Quintilian, xii.10.12 ff.

40.32. *Mureto*. Marcus Antonius Muretus (1526–85), French humanist, was a famous commentator on the classics and lecturer on philosophy and civil law. He left France, as a result of charges of immorality, in 1554, and spent the rest of his life teaching in Italy, at Venice, Padua, Ferrara, and finally at Rome, where he enjoyed the patronage of Pope Gregory XIII. He was regarded as one of the most successful of the imitators of Cicero's style, though he himself in his later career ridiculed the narrow standards of the ultra-Ciceronians and refused to be confined by them. See also the note on 80.22, below.

40.32. *Bembo*. Petrus Bembus (1470–1547), Italian humanist, papal secretary, and cardinal, was educated at Padua and Ferrara, and became a member of the Aldine Academy in Venice. He soon acquired fame as a poet and prose writer in both Latin and Italian. His influential adherence to the strict canon of Cicero's style was expressed in his correspondence with Gianfrancesco Pico on the subject of literary imitation (1512–13), a correspondence widely read during the Renaissance. He is said to have subjected his Latin prose to forty separate revisions in the attempt to make it conformable to the style of Cicero. Examples of his affected Ciceronian diction are collected in Bayle, *Dictionnaire* (Paris, 1820), art. "Bembus," note B. Bembus was greatly admired as an arbiter of literary elegance in his own time, however, and his Latin style still finds occasional champions. His influence in establishing standards for the Italian vernacular, especially in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), is another of his claims to distinction. He is represented as the urbane spokesman of the discourse on love in Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.

40.33. *Paulum Manutium*. Paulus Manutius (1512–74), was the youngest son and the successor of his father, the famous Renaissance printer, Aldus Manutius. At the age of twenty-one, Paulus Manutius had acquired a high reputation for scholarship. He is especially famous for his corrected editions of Cicero's letters and other works, his own letters in the Ciceronian style, and his erudite works on Roman antiquities.

42.2. *Checum*. Sir John Cheke (1514–57) was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he received the degree of B.A., 1529–30; M.A., 1533. He was fellow of St. John's College from 1529, and the first Regius Professor of Greek (1540). William Cecil and Roger Ascham were among his pupils at Cambridge. In collaboration with Sir Thomas Smith, he advocated and taught a reformed pronunciation of Greek at Cambridge, an innovation which provoked the anger of Bishop Gardiner, then Chancellor of the University. Cheke's correspondence with Gardiner on this subject was printed at Basel in 1555. Cheke likewise edited some of the writings of Chrysostom, and enthusiastically encouraged Greek studies at Cambridge. He tried to promote reforms in English spelling, and his views on English style are expressed in his letter to Sir Thomas Hoby that prefaces the latter's translation of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. Cheke's great prestige

as a teacher may be observed in Ascham's references to him in the *Scholemaster*. In 1544, Cheke was appointed tutor to Prince Edward. He became Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 1548-53; Secretary of State and member of the Privy Council, 1553. Charged with treason upon Mary's accession in 1553, he was pardoned in the next year and went abroad. He was treacherously brought back to England and bullied into a humiliating recantation in the latter part of Mary's reign.

42.2. *Smithum*. Sir Thomas Smith (1513-77) was elected fellow of Queen's College in 1530. He became M.A. in 1533 and the same year was appointed to a praelectorship, lectured upon natural philosophy and tutored students in Greek. He held the post of Public Orator, 1538-42. In 1540, Smith travelled abroad to continue his studies and at Padua received the degree of D.C.L. After his return to England, he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge and served as Vice-Chancellor of the University. During this time (1542-45) he collaborated with Cheke on the reform of Greek pronunciation. He became a Privy Councillor and one of the principal secretaries of state in 1548-49. He was Provost of Eton, 1547-54. In 1562 he was sent as an ambassador to France, where he remained until 1566. Toward the end of his life, he again served as Privy Councillor and Secretary of State under Elizabeth. Harvey claimed some tie of kinship with Smith, who acted as a kindly patron and adviser to Harvey while he lived (see the correspondence with Smith in Harvey's *Letter-Book*). Harvey expressed his grief at Smith's death in *Smithus, vel Musarum Lachrymae* (1578).

42.3. *Carrum*. Nicholas Carr (1524-68) graduated B.A. from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1540-41; M.A., 1544; M.D., 1558. He became a fellow of Pembroke in 1540 and one of the original fellows of Trinity College in 1546. He was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1547, lectured upon Demosthenes, Plato, and Sophocles. He was highly regarded as a scholar, and his influence in promoting the Ciceronian style at Cambridge is noticed by Bacon (see the introduction, pp. 25-26). After securing his medical degree, he turned his attention chiefly to his practice as a physician. He left Latin translations of Eusebius and some of the orations of Demosthenes.

42.9. *Bingum*. Thomas Byng (d. 1599), graduated B.A. from Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1555-56; M.A., 1559; LL.D., 1570. He became fellow of Peterhouse in 1558 and Public Orator of the University, 1565; Master of Clare Hall from 1571, and Regius Professor of Civil Law from 1574. He also served as Vice-Chancellor in 1572-73 and 1578-79. Byng delivered Latin orations before Queen Elizabeth on two occasions and edited Carr's translations from Demosthenes (1571). Byng was greatly admired by Lewin (see his letter to Harvey, *Marg.*, p. 220) and by Bartholomew Clerke, the latter of whom urged Harvey, in his letter that prefaces the *Rhetor*, to seek out Byng at Cambridge for criticism and advice. Nevertheless, Byng was one of the four

heads of colleges who joined in recommending a rival of Harvey's for the mastership of Trinity Hall in 1585 (*Marg.*, p. 49).

42.19–23. *Tu interim . . . confido*. The purport of this concluding sentence is hardly clear from the translation alone. The point, rhetorically phrased with trope and antithesis in the Latin, is that students are to get from the printed page of Harvey's treatise a preliminary notion of what eloquence is like, but that later on they may expect to get a richer understanding by hearing from their teachers at the University real eloquence in practice. For the Renaissance humanists, as for the ancients, *eloquentia* meant primarily the effect a speaker produces upon an audience. [C.A.F.]

42.23. The date is new style, as in Harvey's letter to Lewin.

44.2. *Vlisses*. Homer, *Odyssey*, i.1.

44.14. *Tusculano nostro*. Cf. Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* vii.11.2; etc. This designation of Harvey's home at Saffron Walden is ridiculed in *Pedantius*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (1905), 11.2903–05. Bartholomew Clerke, however, in his letter that prefaces Harvey's *Rhetor*, uses the same phrase to designate his country house at Mitcham in Surrey.

44.15–16. *Suburbano . . . gymnasio*. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.21.98: "Quod quidem si erit a vobis impetratum, magnam habebō, Crasse, huic palaestrae et Tusculano tuo gratiam et longe Academiae illi ac Lycio tuum hoc suburbanum gymnasium antepōnam."

44.16–17. *Ita otiosi . . . videremur*. Cf. Cicero, *De Off.* iii.1.1 ff.: "P. Scipionem, M. fili, eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus est, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, qui fuit eius fere aequalis, numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset . . . nostrum autem otium negotii inopia, non requiescendi studio constitutum est." Cf. P. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), N iij: "Quapropter videmus, quam negotiosum sit & operosum Ciceronis otium"; Rv: "Verumenimvero caue ne tu in hoc liberae legationis otio, Ciceronem otiosum putes: Nihil minus vnquam otiosus fuit, quam cum esset otiosus."

44.23. *Sturmius*. See the introduction, pp. 21 ff.

44.23. *Manutius, Osorius*. See above, 40.33; 40.13–31.

44.24. *Sigonius*. Carlo Sigonio (1524–84), Italian scholar, taught at Venice, Padua, and Bologna. He was a great authority on the history and antiquities of Rome. He edited Livy, made a collection of the fragments of Cicero, and prepared a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

44.24. *Buchananus*. George Buchanan (1506–82), the famous Scottish humanist, was educated at Paris and St. Andrew's. Having published several attacks upon the Franciscans, he took refuge at Bordeaux as Professor of Latin, where he had Montaigne as a pupil who acted in his Latin plays. He was a friend of J. C. Scaliger, and J. J. Scaliger and the Estiennes ranked Buchanan as the first Latin poet in Europe. In 1544 he taught at Paris, with Muretus and Turnebus as colleagues. Later he taught at the University of Coimbra in Portu-

gal, with Osorius as colleague. He served as tutor to Queen Mary, and under his guidance James VI acquired his scholarship.

44.27. *Domi.* Apparently this refers to Harvey's quarters at Cambridge.

44.28–30. *Oratiunculam . . . inueheretur.* Isocrates' oration *Against the Sophists*, together with his *Antidosis*, constitute his defence of his method of teaching in contrast with the meretricious methods employed by his Sophist rivals. Isocrates was an important authority in English education in Harvey's day. Doubtless Harvey introduces this passing allusion in anticipation of his later attack upon pedantic and barren methods of teaching rhetoric.

46.1–10. *Vt nunc . . . praetermittam.* This may be a reminiscence of Harvey's discourse on "dining," to which he refers below, 80.4 ff.

46.10 ff. *Dicam de voce hospitum.* . . . See the discussion of this panegyric upon Cicero in the introduction, pp. 16–17. One may contrast the judicious and tempered praise of Quintilian, x.1.105 ff.

46.15. *Suadae medullam.* Cf. Cicero, *De Sen.* xiv.50; *Br.* xv.59. The phrase was a favorite with the Ramists. Harvey's fondness for it is parodied in *Pedantius*, l. 1590.

46.18. *Nestoris.* Homer, *Iliad*, i.249.

46.19 ff. *Disputabat.* . . . The following passage constitutes a brief survey of Cicero's writings. The references are to the *Laelius de amicitia*, the letters, the philosophical and rhetorical works, and the speeches.

46.28–31. *Mea vita . . . valete.* This is a cento of phrases from Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.*, and *ad Att.*

46.32–48.7. *Ad te . . . versaris.* Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.*, xiv.2. In 48.5, & after *attinet* is not in Cicero's text. It is probably a printer's error.

48.17–18. *λυγὺς . . . ἡδυεπής.* These are epithets applied to Nestor, *Iliad*, i.248.

48.31. *δὲς διὰ πασῶν.* Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II.94F–97E.

50.2. *Primas, secundas, tertias.* Cf. the famous saying of Demosthenes about the importance of delivery, Cicero, *De Or.* iii.56.213; Harvey, *Rhetor*, E.iv.^v

50.4. *Purpuram . . . aestimari.* Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II. 435. Harvey provides his own translation of the Greek: ἡ πορφύρα περὶ τὴν πορφύραν διακριτέα.

50.16–17. *Veluti umbrae . . . volitare.* Homer, *Od.*, x.495; cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II.507A.

50.33. *Philelphus.* Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481), Italian humanist, went from Italy to Constantinople, where he learned Greek, and, upon his return to Venice, brought back valuable Greek manuscripts. He taught at Venice, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Rome, and elsewhere. His lectures on Greek and Latin authors at Florence were received with acclaim. He was a collector and forerunner of the age of Poliziano rather than a very accurate scholar or elegant Latinist.

50.35. *Eloquentiae Deum.* See "Francisci Philelphi oratio in principio lectionum extraordinarium," in Karl Müllner, *Reden und*

Briefe Italienischer Humanisten (Wien, 1899), p. 160: ". . . summum eloquentiae principem et quasi numen aliquod." The whole oration is devoted to the praise of Cicero and offers an interesting comparison with Harvey's panegyric, as do several other orations in Müllner's collection. Such extravagant tributes are satirized in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* (*Opera*, 1.975A): "*Hyp.* Ego Ciceroni inter Apostolos in Calendario meo locum dedi. *Bv.* Nihil miror. Deum enim eloquentiae quondam appellabant." Thomas Wilson glosses the epithet in this way: "And among all other, I thinke him most worthie fame, and amongst all men to bee taken for halfe a GOD: that therein doth chiefly and aboue all other excell men, wherein men doe excell beastes. For he that is among the reasonable of al most reasonable, and among the wittie, of all most wittie, and among the eloquent, of all most eloquent: him thinke I among all men, not onely to be taken for a singuler man, but rather to be coumpted for halfe a God. For, in seeking the excellencie hereof, the soner he draweth to perfection, the nyer he commeth to God, who is the cheefe wisdom, and therefore called God, because he is most wise, or rather wisdom it self" (*Arte of Rhetorique* [1560]; ed. G. H. Mair, 1909, A.vii^r). The expression is still current in William Thorne's *Tullius* (Oxoniae, 1592), 2: "M. Tullius (in dicendo fere Deus). . ."

50.35. *Dunsicam nationem*. Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, L.ij.^v: "Dunsicum nescio quid, et Dorbellicum . . ."; and *Pedantius*, 1.1515. Harvey's scornful references to the Schoolmen reflect the popular attitude and especially Harvey's Protestant and Ramist sympathies.

52.2-3. *Flexanima . . . eloquentia*. Pacuvius ap. Cicero, *De Or.*, ii.44.187: "Flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio."

52.9. *Singularia*. See below, 52.31.

52.13. *Critolai libram*. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v.17.51. Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, M.iv.^v; Ramus, *Brut. Quaest.* (1577), Bb 4.^v

52.20-23. *χολήν . . . Aesculapio*. Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* xiv.7.

52.24-32. *Laetus . . . conferrem*. Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* xv.6.

52.31. *Singulare . . . genus*. This may be what Harvey means by the 'singularia' referred to above, 52.9.

54.2-3. *Itaque . . . putem*. Cicero, *Laelius*, i.4.

54.3-8. *Tu velim . . . scripsi*. *Ibid.* i.5.

54.17. *Otiolo*. This is a *hapax legomenon* from Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* viii.3.1.

54.20. *Quod . . . dixeram*. See above, 44.16-17.

54.22 ff. *Contuli enim, etc.* Harvey's panegyric has seemed to lead up to such a conclusion as that drawn, e.g., by Sturm: that the study of other authors besides Cicero is of negligible importance and useful chiefly as it serves to make Cicero's excellences appear the more clearly (see Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, p. 279). Harvey's arbitrary divergence from this conclusion, however little logical, would no doubt be admired for its effect of emphasis and surprise.

54.26. *Putidiusculi*. This is a *hapax* from Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* vii.5.3.

54.29–30. *Christophorus . . . Longolius*. Christophe Longueil (1490–1522), paragon of the Ciceronians, was educated in the law and lectured on legal subjects at Poitiers and Paris. Becoming interested in preparing a commentary on Pliny's *Natural History*, he travelled through Europe gathering information. On the advice of Bembo, he undertook to form his Latin style exclusively upon the model of Cicero, and his name became a by-word for scrupulous adherence to the vocabulary of Cicero. His surviving writings were collected and issued at Florence in 1524.

54.30–31. *Quem . . . usurpauit*. See J. L. Vives, "De causis corruptarum artium, lib. iv," in *Opera* (Basileae, 1555), I.403: "Eadem est sententia hominis omnium Ciceronianissimi Christoph. Longolij." The form *Ciceronianissimus* apparently amused Harvey, and he recurs to it below, 82.28–9. Harvey had an affectionate veneration for Vives, however, and cites the fourth book of the *De causis corruptarum artium* as one of his chief rhetorical authorities in the *Rhetor*, E.ij.^v

54.31. *Ciceronis corniculam*. Cf. Horace, *Epist.* i.3.19; Harvey, *Rhetor*, B, G^v. Though such epithets were applied in the Renaissance with opprobrious intent, Harvey seems to regard this particular use of it as intended for a compliment. Cf. the complimentary (and very inaccurate) description of Coluccio Salutati as "the ape of Cicero," in Filippo Villani, *Liber de Civitatis Florentiae Famosis Civibus*, ed. Galletti (1847), p. 19.

56.4–7. *Nec ita . . . ornamenta*. Cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, in *Opera*, I.1021D ff.; Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), Dij^v. See also the discussion of the idea that no one man has a monopoly of all excellences, as this idea applies in Renaissance literary theory, *JHI*, II (1941), 430 ff.

56.12–13. *Osorium . . . de Gloria*. *Hieronymi Osorii de gloria libri quinque . . . Florentiae*, 1552; etc.

56.14–15. *Osorianam . . . internoscerem*. "Copia rerum ac verborum" (Quintilian, x.1.5) was commonly considered to sum up the fundamental resources of the orator. In this sense, 'copiousness' was a rhetorical virtue to the Roman rhetoricians, as to those of the Renaissance. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* iii.35.142; *Pro M. Caelio*, xix.45; Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*; etc. This rhetorical virtue is to be distinguished from the fault of "redundantia," which may be defined as an excess of words over sense, e.g. Quintilian, viii.3.57; xii.10.12 ff.

56.15–18. *Fluit . . . praestituta*. Cf. Cicero, *Br.* xci.316: "Is dedit operam si modo id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantis nos et superfluentis iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentis coerceret." Quintilian, xii.10.60 ff.: "Medius hic modus et translationibus crebrior et figuris erit iucundior, egressionibus amoenus, compositione aptus, sententiis dulcis, lenior tamen ut amnis lucidus quidem sed virentibus utrinque ripis innumbratus. At ille, qui saxa devolvat et pontem indignetur et ripas sibi faciat, multus et torrens iudicem vel nitentem contra feret coetque ire, qua rapiet. . . ." It is amusing to note, in connection with Har-

vey's criticism of Osorius's style, that it is the *latter* part of the above-quoted passage that Quintilian applies to Cicero's style. See also Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), G vj^v; *Brut. Quaest.* (1577), S 8; Harvey, *Rhetor.* F.iv.^v

56.21. *Non possum . . . exclamem.* Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* ii.10.39: "Non enim possum quin exclamem, ut ait ille in Trinummo. . . ."

56.21–22. *Ille in . . . Achilli.* *Aen.* i.475.

56.23. *Porcij Latronis.* See Quintilian, x.5.18.

56.27–33. *Ego vero . . . delectationis.* See the discussion in the introduction, pp. 9 ff.

58.1. *Nouus philosophus.* The entry in *Grace Book Δ* (see the introduction, p. 7) identifies this person as one 'magister Jones.' This is not very helpful. There were many men named Jones at Cambridge in Harvey's day, and according to the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (II.487–88) there were at least four who might have fitted Harvey's remarks: (1) 'Ralph Jones: matric. sizar from Queens', Lent, 1563–4; B.A. 1565–6; M.A. 1569; B.D. 1576; D.D. 1581. Fellow, 1566–82. Univ. Preacher, 1574; V. of St. Paul's, Bedford, 1579; R. of Melford, Suffolk, 1583–90.' (2) 'Richard Jones: matric. sizar of Jesus, 1566. Of Bala, Merioneth. B.A. from Christ's, 1568–9; B.D. from Magdalene, 1579; D.D. 1584. Fellow of Magdalene. Ord. deacon (Ely), Dec. 21, 1569, age 22. R. of Mistley, Essex, 1580–85. Died, 1585.' (3) 'Robert Jones: matric. sizar from Trinity, Feb. 1564–5. He did not receive his B.A. from Trinity. M.A. from Christ's, 1572' (*Alumni Cantab.* II.487, identifies him with Richard Jones, above; but the *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, I.90, distinguishes the two, rightly, as I think). (4) 'Thomas Jones: matric. sizar from Christ's, Nov. 1565. B.A. 1569–70; M.A. 1573. Chancellor of St. Patrick's, 1577–1611; Dean, 1581–84. Bishop of Meath, 1584–1605; Arch-bishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 1605–19.' Of these, the first and fourth seem unlikely for various reasons: *Ralph* was a little older than Harvey in standing at the University; and if by 1574 he became a university preacher, it seems unlikely that Harvey would have adopted so patronizing a tone towards him as he uses of the "nouus philosophus." *Thomas* is not recorded to have been a fellow; and by 1576 he probably was headed toward the important church preferments he subsequently filled, and thus was also above Harvey's patronage. Between the two remaining candidates, *Richard* seems the more likely. Both *Richard* and *Robert* seem to have been contemporaries of Harvey's at Christ's. But *Robert* is not recorded to have been a fellow, and since so little is known of him, it seems unlikely that he should have been appointed to a praelectorship. Though *Richard* was perhaps slightly older than Harvey, he does not seem to have had an important standing at Cambridge; as a poor Welshman and a newcomer to his praelectorship, he would be a safe butt for Harvey's joke.

58.2. *Dialogo.* Apparently this dialogue (perhaps inspired by Boethius) personified 'Philosophia' in some such fashion as Harvey personifies 'Eloquentia' in the *Rhetor.* sig. F iv.^v ff.

58.3. *Duffildus*. This is clearly John Duffield, familiar from Harvey's *Letter-Book* (p. 180) as Harvey's unsuccessful competitor for the praelectorship in rhetoric early in 1574. The entry concerning Duffield in the *Alumni Cantab.* II.72, is as follows: 'matric. pens. of Trinity, 1565. B.A. from St. John's, 1568-9; M.A. from Peterhouse, 1572; B.D. 1578-9. Fellow of St. John's, 1572. Ord. priest, Oct. 6, 1574. R. of Lopham, Norfolk, 1576-78; Preb. of St. Paul's, 1579-85; R. of Acle, 1580; R. of Dengie, Essex, 1586-9. Died, 1589.' Duffield's appointment as Praelector in Philosophy is not recorded in *Grace Book Δ*, though his resignation from this post is (see the introduction, p. 7). The only clue I have found for Duffield's appointment, which must have been subsequent to his competition with Harvey for the praelectorship in rhetoric, is in the record of the man who was presumably Duffield's predecessor as Praelector in Philosophy. Charles Kirkham, fellow of King's College, was appointed to read the philosophy lecture '15 Januarii, 1573-74' (*Grace Book Δ*, p. 274). Cooper (*Ath. Cantab.* II.120) records that on 24 October, 1575, the provost of his college enjoined Kirkham to study divinity. It looks as if he might still have been holding his praelectorship at this time; and if so, Duffield's appointment would be subsequent to this date and held for only a short time, since he resigned before May 4, 1576. Duffield was appointed one of the examiners and judges of questionists (i.e., undergraduates presenting themselves for oral examination) for the year 1576 on Feb. 3, 1575-76 (*Grace Book Δ*, p. 287), so that the occasion for his resignation from his praelectorship and probably from his other university employments, apparently arose after Feb. 3 of this year. Duffield's appointment as rector of Lopham was not made until Nov. 15, 1576 (F. Blomefield, *A History of the County of Norfolk* [1805-10], I.236).

58.6 ff. *Non cuiusvis est, etc.* Harvey's jocular treatment of the "nouus philosophus" is in keeping with Thomas Wilson's observation: "Sometimes it is good and profitable, to bee merie and pleasaunt, in reporting a matter, against some maner of man, and in some cause" (*Arte of Rhetorique*, ed. Mair, p. 107).

58.7-9. *Non nisi . . . afflatis*. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i.26.64: "Mihi vero ne haec quidem notiora et illustriora carere vi divina videntur, ut ego aut poetam grave plenumque carmen sine coelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere aut eloquentiam sine maiore quadam vi fluere abundantem sonantibus verbis uberibusque sentiis: philosophia vero, omnium mater artium, quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato, donum, ut ego, inventum deorum?" Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 244B ff.; *Timaeus*, 47B; etc.

58.12. *In Aristotelis organo*. Cf. *Prior Analytics*, i.13. See also Isocrates, *Ag. the Sophists*, 2: "For I think it is manifest to all that foreknowledge of future events is not vouchsafed to our human nature" (trans. G. Norlin, Loeb Class. Lib.).

58.17-18. *Homerus . . . introducat. Iliad*, xvi.431 ff.; 652 ff.; xxii. 168 ff.

58.19–20. *Isocrates* . . . *arrogassent*. *Ag. the Sophists*, 2. The preceding reference to Homer is taken from this passage in Isocrates.

58.21–22. *Philosophantem* . . . *Rhetoricantem*. *Philosophor*, -atus is Ciceronian. The form *rhetorico*, -avi, is recorded as in use before the period of classical Latin, and *rhetoricor*, -ari is post-classical; but such forms would not meet the requirements of a strict Ciceronian.

58.23. *Sed venio ad institutum*. This is a Ciceronian formula; cf. *De Or.* ii.27.114; *De Off.* ii.2.8; etc.

58.26–27. *insolito* . . . *ardore*. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.30.134: “. . . ardorem quendam amoris. . .”

60.4. *Bembus*. See the note on 40.32.

60.4. *Sadoletus*. Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547), Italian humanist and cardinal and a man of noble character, was distinguished as a Latin poet and as a writer of Ciceronian Latin in such works as his *De laudibus philosophiae* and his letters. He was a friend of Bembo. The best edition of his works is that issued at Verona, 1737–38, in four volumes.

60.4. *Longolius*. See the note on 54.29–30.

60.4–5. *Longolij* . . . *Riccius*. Bartolommeo Ricci (1490–1569), Italian humanist and tutor to the sons of Duke Hercules II of Ferrara, whom he educated to become enlightened patrons of learning, but himself of a difficult and somewhat pedantic temper. His *Opera* were published at Padua in 1748. On his admiration for Longolius, see Roger Ascham, *Works*, ed. Giles, II.180.

60.14. *Pontanum*. Gioviano Pontano (1426–1503), one of the most famous of the Latin poets of the Renaissance and head of the learned academy at Naples that came to bear his name. His dialogues and other prose treatises were widely admired for their success in achieving the ‘middle’ style. Pontano was rather an eclectic in the matter of imitation, like Poliziano, than a supporter of the strict Ciceronian canon. There were many editions of his works, among the best known those issued at Venice by Aldus: the poems (2 volumes: 1505–18), and the prose works (3 volumes: 1518–19).

60.14. *Cortesium*. Paolo Cortesi (1465–1510), Italian humanist who remonstrated with Poliziano for not observing a strict Ciceronian canon of style and drew from the latter a famous reply. Their correspondence on Ciceronian imitation was printed in editions of Poliziano’s letters (see Sabbadini, *Ciceronianismo*, pp. 33–42, and I. Scott, *Controv. over the Imit. of Cicero*). Cortesi’s *Dialogus de hominibus doctis* (dated by V. Rossi ‘1489’ in *Encic. Ital.*; 1st ed. Florence, 1734) is one of the most interesting critiques of early Renaissance Latin writers from the strict Ciceronian point of view. Harvey could hardly have known of the existence of this work.

60.15. *Nizolium*. The *Thesaurus Ciceronianus*, the foundation for which was prepared by F. Maria Nizzoli (1498–1566) and which was augmented and improved by later editors, was usually referred to under Nizolius’s name during the Renaissance. It was a notorious resource for would-be Ciceronians.

60.15. *Naugerium*. Andrea Navagero (1483–1529), Italian poet and scholar, was a friend and collaborator of Aldus at Venice, whom he assisted in preparing some of his editions of the Latin classics. His name provided the title of Fracastorius's famous dialogue; see the edition of Ruth Kelso and M. W. Bundy, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1924.

60.17. *Erasmus*. See the discussion of Harvey's debt to Erasmus in the introduction. It is significant that in his list of Ciceronians and eclectics, Harvey does not go back to the generation of Poggio and Filelfo, who considered themselves exquisite Ciceronians. Harvey has followed chiefly the critical attitude of Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* in supposing that Ciceronianism did not become a serious issue in European scholarship before the generation of Poliziano and Bembo.

60.18. *Budaeum*. Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), the great French scholar, the juxtaposition of whose name with that of the Parisian printer Badius in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* gave offence to some of Budaeus's admirers and led to some coolness between Budaeus and Erasmus. Budaeus shared Erasmus's dislike of strict Ciceronianism, however; and by his contemporaries he was judged to have written more elegantly in Greek than in Latin.

60.18. *Morum*. Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), as the friend of Erasmus, is naturally associated with Erasmus in the latter's antipathy toward the strict Ciceronians. Harvey's admiration for Sir Thomas More, so frequently expressed in his *Marginalia*, suggests that Harvey is exaggerating the account of his dislike for the group mentioned in the present passage.

60.18. *Aegidium*. Pierre Gillis or Petrus Aegidius (1486–1533) was a pupil of Erasmus, with whom he maintained a warm friendship all his life. He lived at Antwerp, dividing his time between his duties as "greffier en chef du magistrat de cette ville" and his literary studies. He corresponded with Sir Thomas More, Budé, Vives, and many other of the leading scholars of his time. More and Erasmus give a highly complimentary account of him. Aegidius edited the letters of Poliziano (Antwerp, 1510), the *opuscula* of Rudolph Agricola, some of Erasmus's correspondence, and an edition of More's *Utopia* (*Biographie Nationale de Belgique*).

60.18–19. *Glareanum*. Heinrich Loriti (1488–1563) was born in the canton of Glarus. He was a man of universal learning who taught mathematics and philosophy at Basel, 1515–29. Retiring to Freiburg in Breisgau, he opened a school of history and literature and attracted many pupils. He was a friend of Erasmus, who praises him in several of his letters, and was highly esteemed as a Latin poet. See H. Schreiber, *Heinrich Loriti Glareanus, seine Freunde und seine Zeit* (Freiburg, 1837).

60.19. *Vivem*. Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), the great Spanish humanist, successively studied at Paris, taught at Louvain and at Oxford, and probably served as tutor to the Princess Mary. See also the note on 54.30–31.

60.28–29. *Non nisi . . . fasciculo*. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* iii.18.43: “Fasciculum ad nares admovebis? incendes odores?”

62.5–10. *Franciscum Picum . . . pertimescens*. Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (c. 1469–1533), the nephew of his more famous uncle of the same name, defended eclectic imitation in a correspondence with Bembo (1512–13), often printed during the Renaissance under the title *De imitatione libellus*. See I. Scott, *Controversies over the Imitation of Cicero* (1910).

62.10. *Angelo Politiano*. Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), the humanist and poet of the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico, who was the first great scholar to oppose the strict Ciceronians; see above, the note on Cortesi, 60.14.

62.15 ff. *Quid referam, etc.* With the following account of Harvey’s extreme Ciceronianism, cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus* in *Opera*, I.975B ff., 986B ff.

62.23. *Quanquam, Etsi, Animaduerti*. Cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus* in *Opera*, I.986B: “Nec hodie parum multi sunt istorum similes, qui sese valde mirantur & alteros, ut ajunt, Cicerones esse credunt, si prima vox orationis sit, *quanquam*, aut *etsi*, aut *animadverti*. . .”

62.24. *Dichoreo*. Cf. A. Fraunce, *Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588), C 5: “*Tullie* so loved *Dichoreus*, that in one Oration to Pompeius, he used it an hundred and fourteene times.” Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, M.iiij.

62.25. *Esse videatur*. This stock jibe, derived originally from Quintilian (x.2.18), was a favorite with Renaissance writers; cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus* in *Opera*, I.986B; Montaigne, *Essais*, II.10; Nashe’s attribution of this Ciceronian affectation to Harvey, *Works*, ed. McKerrrow, III.66; etc.

64.7. *O mansuetiores Musae*. Cf. Cicero, *Fam.* i.9.23.

64.8. *Politularum . . . delitiolas*. The diminutive form ‘politularum’ seems to be a coinage; it is not in Harper or DuCange. Cicero has ‘deliciorum,’ *Ad Att.* i.8.3.

64.10–13. *Siquando in . . . colendissimum*. This allusion pretty clearly fixes the date of the events Harvey is here recalling. Sir Walter Mildmay (c.1520–89), Chancellor of the Exchequer under Elizabeth, among his benefactions to Cambridge, established a fund of twenty pounds a year at Christ’s College (10 March, 1568–69) to provide a Greek lectureship, six scholarships, and a preachership (*DNB*). Harvey’s reference to Mildmay as one of the patrons of his studies in the epistle addressed to Mildmay that prefaces *Smithus, vel Musarum Lachrymae* (1578) indicates that Harvey profited from the Mildmay scholarships at Christ’s. Further on in the epistle occurs a reference that bears upon the present passage:

Ergo meas lachrymas, non queis funduntur ocellis,
(Sunt illi nimium miseri, nimiumque fluentes)
Sed quibus ante annos octo, mea scripta solebas
Qualiacunque (fuit iam tum puerilis auena)
Aspice, Mecœnas, oculis fœlicibus . . .

(Sig. *.ij.v)

The time referred to would be 1569 (*Smithus* was published in January, 1578, but Harvey's 'ante annos octo' would be figured from the time of composition, following Sir Thomas Smith's death in 1577), when Harvey, as a holder of one of the Mildmay scholarships, would be sending his patron examples of his accomplishments in both prose and poetry. This dating also fits Harvey's following account of his discovery of Ramus's *Ciceronianus* (this text, 68.33 ff.), the time of which is indicated by Harvey's marginal notation in his own copy of this work: "... being then Sophister in Christes College" (see the introduction, p. 18). This is also the period when Harvey was experiencing the influence of Lewin that he acknowledges in his prefatory letter (36.12-13) and, through Lewin, of Sturm (74.33-35).

64.13. *Vel pro . . . S.P.Q.R.* Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, F.iv.: "Teipsum, teipsum depingis, M. Tulli . . . cui lingua, cui animus, cui omnia, vt aiunt, essent in manu: quem S.P.Q.R. admiraretur, celebraret, in coelo poneret. . ."

64.17-18. *Vel pro . . . posuissem.* Cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus in Opera*, I.987A: "Novi quosdam notatos ut soloecos, quod in salutatione pro S.D. posuerint S.P.D., id est, salutem plurimam dicit, quod negarent hoc apud Ciceronem inveniri."

64.19. *Pro Ioue . . . Maximo.* Cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus in Opera*, I.995C: "An pro Patre Christi dicet, *Jupiter Opt. Max.* . . ."

64.25. *Vti vitis a brassica.* Cf. Erasmus, *Colloquia in Opera*, I.877D; and for other parallels, A. S. Pease, *Class. Philol.* XXII (1927), 94-98.

64.27. *Perionio.* Joachimus Perionius Cormeriacenus was born near the end of the fifteenth century at Cormery in Touraine. He became a Benedictine monk in 1517. He was sent to Paris, where he studied the ancient languages for the next twenty years. He was devoted to Cicero and became a type of the most scrupulous Ciceronian. He translated several works of Aristotle into Latin, more elegantly than faithfully. When he was reproached by several scholars for having rendered poorly the sense of some passages in Aristotle, he defended himself with great warmth; yet he wrote against Ramus for having dared to tamper with Aristotle. Ramus in turn referred to Perionius's superstitious veneration for the works of Cicero, whereupon the bellicose Benedictine published three discourses full of invective against Ramus. Perionius died in 1559 or 1561, according to different authorities.

64.29. *M. Tullij Topica.* For the importance of this work in Elizabethan education, see T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, II.108 ff.

66.2-3. *Specierum . . . velim.* Cf. Cicero, *Topica*, vii.30: "Nolim enim, ne si Latine quidem dici possit, specierum et speciebus dicere; et saepe his casibus utendum est; at formis et formarum velim." But Harvey uses 'specierum' in *Rhetor*, L.iv.

66.4. *Delicatulum . . . interpretem.* I.e., Perionius.

66.8. *Heteroclitorum.* This is the grammatical term that means 'varying in declension.'

66.9–11. *Si scribenda . . . cupiens*. The grammar is apparently one of Harvey's recent projects.

66.11. *Triptota*. This is the grammatical term applied to nouns that have only three cases.

66.12–13. *Cormaeriacenus . . . Interpres*. I.e., Perionius; see above, note on 64.27.

66.15. *In secundo de Oratore*. Cicero, *De Or.* ii.29.127 ff.

66.20–22. *Sed videte . . . contabescat*. This ancient device will be recognized by all members of the teaching profession. As a friend of mine remarked, the only touch lacking is the familiar corollary: if the university authorities hear of this, they will probably dismiss me.

66.23. *Propositio . . . pronuntiatio*. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i.7.14: "Omne pronuntiatio—sic enim mihi in praesentia occurrit ut appellarem ἀξίωμα."

66.24. *Effatum*. Cf. Cicero, *Acad.* ii.29.95: "Nempe fundamentum dialecticae est quidquid enuntiatur (id autem appellant ἀξίωμα, quod est quasi effatum). . ."

66.24–25. *Syllogismus . . . Complexio*. Cf. Cicero, *De Inv.* i.34.57 ff.

66.25–26. *Conclusionis . . . disiuncti*. Cf. Cicero, *Topica*, xiii.54,56.

66.26–28. *Methodus . . . constringeret*. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.42.188: "Adhibita est igitur ars quaedam extrinsecus ex alio genere quodam, quod sibi totum philosophi assumunt, quae rem dissolutam divulsamque conglutinet, et ratione quadam constringeret."

68.7–8. *Non de . . . promerentur*. Cf. Cicero, *De Fin.* ii.7.22: "Iam doloris medicamenta . . . de narthecio prominent."

68.8–11. *Nescio . . . viro*. Jerome, *Epist.* xxii.30.

68.12. *Latinitatis Deum*. See above, note on 50.35.

68.14–15. *Certe . . . cooptari*. Cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus in Opera*, I.974D: "Quis enim non malit apud posteros celebrari Ciceronianus quam Sanctus?"

68.16 ff. *Pluris verba, etc.* The principle invoked goes back to the Elder Cato's "rem tene, verba sequentur." Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* iii.31.125; etc. Renaissance rhetoricians generally insisted on this principle, however practice may have varied from it.

68.24. *Ioannis Sambuci*. Johannes Sambucus (1531–84) was born in Hungary of a patrician family. He visited the principal universities of Germany, France, and Italy, and acquired an extensive knowledge of medicine, letters, history, and antiquities. He was a friend of Lambinus and Turnebus in Paris and of P. Manutius in Italy. His *Emblemata* (1564, etc.) were popular and several times reprinted. He made a commentary upon Lucian, printed in the edition issued at Basel by H. Petri in 1563 that may have been the same edition 'jn fower volumes' Harvey promised to forfeit to Spenser if he did not finish the 'foolish bookes' Spenser had lent him, before Jan. 1, 1579 (*Marg.* p. 23).

68.25. *Ciceronianum*. *Ioannis Sambuci . . . De Imitatione a Cicrone petenda Dialogi tres* was issued at Paris in 1561, and in a revised edition at Antwerp, 1563.

68.33–70.2. *Fecit . . . commendauit. Ioannis Sambuci . . . De Imitatione . . .* (Antverpiae, 1563), F viij^v: “Certe qui aliorum similitudinem appetunt, ad illorum vitam, studia conformare, totosque se componere debent: & quidem huc respexisse, qui post veteres illos, Tullij vitam ex ipsius monumentis concinarunt, ac repetiuerunt, mihi videtur: Sebastianus Corradus, Cristophorus Pannonius meus, ac nuper minime indisertus, & magno, liberoque iudicio, Petrus Ramus.” Harvey, I think, gives a slightly misleading impression of the importance of Sambucus’s tribute to Ramus in Sambucus’s treatise. The reference, though very respectful, is quite casual and incidental when contrasted with the space Sambucus devotes to such authorities as Erasmus, Sturm, etc. I have not seen the 1561 edition of Sambucus’s treatise, however, which may have a different reference; indeed, Harvey’s language does not quite fit the above-quoted passage.

70.2–5. *Bibliopolam . . . vniuersum*. Harvey’s copy was the first edition of Ramus’s *Ciceronianus* (Parisiis, apud Andream Wechelum, 1557), a volume still preserved in the library of Worcester College, Oxford. At the end of the text (sig. R.vij^v) Harvey has written in his beautiful Italian hand: “I redd over this Ciceronianus twice in two dayes, being then Sophister in Christes College. Gabriel Haruey.” The term “sophister” describes a student in his second or third year at the university; and Harvey’s earlier reference to his correspondence with Sir Walter Mildmay pretty clearly fixes the year as 1569 (see above, the note on 64.10–13). Harvey matriculated from Christ’s College, Cambridge, on June 28, 1566, so that he would be well along in his third year as an undergraduate when he discovered Ramus’s *Ciceronianus*.

70.10–12. *Quam non . . . delitescere*. Cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, i.5.10: “Tantum opinio praeiudicata poterat, ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas.” *Acad.* ii.5.15: “. . . in eorum auctoritate delitesceret. . .”

70.14–15. *Terentium . . . Plinium*. Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, sig. B., where the list of models joined with Cicero differs slightly: “. . . Caesarem, Varronem, Sallustium, Liuium, Senecam; Terentium etiam, et Plautum, et Maronem, et Horatium. . .” Such lists were seldom identical, even in the same author; cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), C ij.

70.18–19. *Vt ille . . . consentaneum*. Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), C ij: “Equidem quod rectae & emendatae loquendi consuetudini congruum & consentaneum vsquam fuerit, id Ciceronianum vel maxime reputo.” See also the introduction to this edition, p. 26.

70.19–29. *Ac in Terentio . . . effingenda*. For the method of classification, cf. Quintilian, xii.10.11; the critique of Latin stylists in Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*; etc.

70.29–34. *Naeuos . . . reprehendere*. Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), C ij^r, G vj^{ff}, etc. Ramus had earlier outraged the devotees of Cicero with his severe criticism of Cicero’s faults in the *Brutinae Quaestiones*, first published in 1547, and later joined with his strictures upon Quin-

tilian (*Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum*, 1549) under the title of *P. Rami Scholarum Rhetoricarum Libri XX* and included in the collection of commentaries called *Scholae in Liberales Artes*. Perionius replied to Ramus's criticism of Cicero (1547), and Pierre Galland undertook to answer the criticism of Quintilian in his edition of that author (1549). See Waddington, *Ramus* (1855), pp. 70–72.

72.3–6. *Vnde . . . iudicarem*. Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), C^v: “Veruntamen a Ciceronianis nostris longissime aberro, qui Ciceronem & totum, & solum pueris imitandum esse; neque praeterea quicquam ex alijs assumendum censent: Haec enim est Ciceronianorum persuasio, & religio”; D ij^v: “Vt nullus in vlla gente author totus & solus imitandus perpetuo censeatur: omnes in vno virtutes perfectae & absolutae nunquam reperientur.” See also G. C. Moore Smith's note in *Pedantius* (1905), pp. 128–29.

72.9–31. *Tum vero . . . debeat*. Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557). B ij, B ij^v: “Sic enim Tullio Brutus, tanquam discipulus studio imitandi Ciceronis incensus proponitur: & quidem nauus & industrius discipulus, qui non vestigia tantum doctoris aspicere, sed cursum & progressum totum velit. Ad Hortensium (ait Tullius expositis Romanis oratoribus, qui ante floruissent) redeamus: de me alij dicent, si qui volent. Minime vero, inquit Brutus: Nam etsi me facile omni tuo sermone tenuisti: tamen is mihi longior videtur, quod proprio audire de te. Nec vero iam de virtutibus dicendi tuis (quae cum omnibus, tum certe mihi notissimae sunt) quam quod gradus tuos, & quasi processum dicendi studeo cognoscere. Geretur, inquit Tullius, tibi mos, Brute, quoniam me non ingenii praedicatorum esse vis, sed laboris mei. Hic igitur imitationis quaestio sic informata est, vt intelligamus a Bruto causas eloquentiae Ciceronianae potius, quam facta inquiri: & a Tullio explicationem earum verecunde quidem certe, sed tamen benigne & liberaliter promitti. Hoc igitur mihi Brutinum Tullianumque fundamentum de principio statuo, ad imitationem Ciceronianae non latinitatis tantum, sed virtutis & laudis omnis: nec e solis effectis, sed ex veris & certis causis; vt hinc intelligatur, quis Ciceronianus appellari iure possit. Etenim si quis nobilis adolescens, militaris gloriae desiderio inflammatus, Caesarem, aut Alexandrum, aut Cyrum ducem ad imitandum sibi proposuerit: non eius tantum bella legat & praelia, sed multo magis bellandi, praeliandique magistros, artes, exercitationes, quibus illi singulares Imperatores effecti, res tam feliciter, tamque prospere gesserint, peruidendas & penitus explorandas existimet: virtutisque radices potius, quam fructus consideret: sic in Cicerone imitando, non latinitatem solam, sed ornatum, prudentiam, cognitionem rerum, vitae imprimis morumque virtutem: neque solum Ciceronis epistolas, orationes, scholas & disputationes, sed multo magis paedagogos, processus artium, labores ediscendi, & vigiliis meditationum, quibus orator tantus instructus est, Ciceronis imitator intueri, & eloquentiae Ciceronianae principia potius, quam extrema contemplari debeat.” In his own

copy, Harvey has underlined most of this passage. It sums up the central doctrine of Ramus's treatise.

72.31 ff. *O prudentiam, etc.* This highly wrought panegyric is a carefully woven tissue of classical reminiscences, as the following notes indicate. While some of the expressions would be familiar to Harvey from the Ramist contexts in which they also occur, it can hardly be doubted that Harvey was equally familiar with the classical sources. Harvey was particularly fond of the scheme of anaphora and uses it a good deal in the *Rhetor*, as in the present passage.

72.34. *Vt Graecis . . . ἀνακτες.* Homer, *Iliad*, i.442; etc.

74.2-3. *Tu istorum . . . excussisti.* Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), C^v: "In ea certe haeresi minime connumerari velim, vt Ciceronianum in sermone statuam & totum, & solum, quod in Ciceronis libris hodie legimus."

74.4-8. *Tu ex . . . indicasti.* Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* iii.6.21: "Sed si haec maior esse ratio videtur, quam ut hominum possit sensu aut cogitatione comprehendere, est etiam illa Platonis vera et tibi, Catule, certe non inaudita vox omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo contineri; ubi enim perspecta vis est rationis eius, qua causae rerum atque exitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidam omnium quasi consensus doctrinarum concentusque reperitur."

74.8-9. *Tu eloquentiam . . . colligasti.* Cf. Cicero, *Lael.* xiv.51: "amabilissimum nodum amicitiae tollere. . ."

74.9-10. *Tu ab animo . . . dispulisti.* Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i.26.64: ". . . ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit."

74.11-12. *Tu, qui . . . euellisti.* Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* ii.5.139: "sed in animo sensuque meo penitus adfixa atque insita est. . ."

74.12-14. *Tu spissis . . . praetulisti.* Cf. Cicero, *Pro P. Sulla*, xiv.40: "Vos denique in tantis tenebris erroris et inscientiae clarissimum lumen menti meae praetulistis. . ."

74.14-15. *Tu M. Tullium . . . expressisti.* Cf. Cicero, *Br.* xci.313: "Nunc quoniam totum me non naevo aliquo aut crepundiis, sed corpore omni videris velle cognoscere. . ." See also Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), B iij: ". . . non naevo aliquo aut crepundijs, sed toto corpore, vel potius vitaeque tota complectamur." Also G iij^v.

74.15-18. *Tu homini . . . colorem.* Cf. Cicero, *Or.* xxiii.79: "fucati vero medicamenta candoris et ruboris. . ."; *De Or.* iii.52.199: "His tribus figuris insidere quidam venustatis non fuco illitus sed sanguine diffusus debet color." There are also echoes of *Br.* xvii.68; lxxxvii.298. See also *Audomari Talaet Rhetorica . . .* (Francofurti, 1579), A vj: "Haec igitur prima sunt condimenta orationis, primaque fucati medicamenta ruboris & candoris."

74.18-20. *Sed ossa . . . impertijsti.* See above, the notes on 40.13-31; 46.15. Cf. "Petrus Ramus Lectori S. D." prefacing *Audomari Talaet Rhetorica . . .* (1579), A iij^v: ". . . qui in figuris sententiarum nervi ac thori, quae vis in voce, quae suadae medulla sit in gestu totaque actione. . ." Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, ii.10.27: "ea et ipsa tota natura

fervida est et ceteris naturis omnibus salutare inperit et vitalem calorem."

74.20–21. *Tu erranti . . . docuisti*. See above, the note on 38.18 ff.

74.22. δεῦτεροι . . . σοφότεροι. Euripides, *Hippol.* 436.

74.23–24. *Diem . . . discipulum*. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II. 322A: "Discipulus est prioris posterior dies."

74.24–76.9. The work Harvey refers to is *M. T. Ciceronis Orationum Volumina Tria. Post postremam Naugerianam et Victorianam correctionem emendata a Ioanne Sturmio . . . 1563*. Harvey adapts and quotes from the preface to volume one: "Ad Illustrissimum Gulielmum, Ducem Geldrorum, etc. . . . Ioannis Sturmij Praefatio" (sigs. a.ij–a.vj). In this interesting preface Sturm attempts to mediate between Erasmus and Longolius as representatives of opposing views concerning the choice of models for Latin eloquence. He praises Erasmus warmly, in the manner Harvey describes, and states his own position on this issue: that Cicero is the best model but that one should imitate not merely the niceties of his style but all the elements that constitute his eloquence. The passages quoted or adapted by Harvey are as follows: (a.ij^v, in praise of Erasmus) ". . . plurimarum et maximarum rerum doctrina: orationis mirabilis facultas et copia . . . Quis enim est qui plura scripserit, quae quidem laudem doctorum mereantur . . . Quis vero illo tempore quo ille scribere coepit, acutius iudicavit, quis etiam copiosius, et politius scripsit . . ." (a.v^v, in condemnation of the undue attention paid to minutiae of style by the extreme Ciceronians) "Dixi enim iam quosdam inflatos esse et tumidos, et sine causa circumfluentes Ciceronis studiosos. . ."

74.33–76.1. *Etenim Sturmium . . . alia*. The first two books of Sturm's *Partitiones Dialecticae* were issued at Paris in 1539; book three at Strassburg, 1543; book four, Strassburg, 1548. Sturm's *In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis Dialogi IV* appeared at Strassburg, 1539, *et seq.* Both works were often reprinted; see Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, pp. 315 ff. The "paucas epistolas" of Sturm that Harvey refers to are not easy to identify. *Rogeri Aschami et Joannis Sturmii Epistolae Duae de Nobilitate Anglicana* appeared at Strassburg in 1551, and Sturm's *Classicae Epistolae* in 1565; but Harvey may refer to some prefatory letters of Sturm, or to some obscure publication of some of his letters that has escaped my notice. Edward Grant's edition of Ascham's correspondence, including letters from Sturm to Ascham, did not appear until 1576. Harvey would probably have studied the popular selection of the easier epistles of Cicero prepared by Sturm for school-boys while Harvey attended the Saffron Walden grammar school (see T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, I.285 ff.); but the present reference is evidently not to that collection.

76.1–2. *Quod Sadoletto . . . aggregavi*. See "Epistola Cardinalis Jacobi Sadoleti Episcopi Carpentoractensis &c. ad Joannem Sturmium," prefacing volume four (without pagination or signature) of *J. Sadoleti . . . Opera Quae Extant Omnia* (Veronae, 1737–38).

76.31 ff. *Requirat, etc.* Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.2.6 ff.; ii.85.350 ff.; etc. Cf. Harvey's critique of Cicero's rhetorical doctrine in the *Rhetor*, F. ff.

76.36–78.1. *Requirat . . . vocant.* Cf. Quintilian, i.10.1; Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), B iij; *Brut. Quaest.* (1577), T 2^v; Harvey, *Rhetor*, F. iij.

78.6. *Vir . . . peritus.* Quintilian, xii.1.1 ff., ultimately derived from Cato the Elder.

78.9–13. *Exhibuit . . . profitetur.* Joannes Thomas Freigius (1543–83) was born at Freiburg in Breisgau and attended the university there. He matriculated, 1554; became bachelor, 1557; and master, 1559. At Freiburg he had Glareanus as a teacher. He himself taught there for a time. In 1567 he went to Basel, where he taught rhetoric and studied law, receiving his doctorate in 1568. In 1568 he made the acquaintance of Ramus at Basel and henceforth became an ardent Ramist. In the autumn of 1570 he returned to Freiburg to teach dialectic and the *Politics* of Aristotle. Later he succeeded the professor of grammar who also taught ethics, and in 1573 he taught the *Organon* of Aristotle. In 1575 the charge was brought against him that he was teaching Ramus instead of Aristotle; and Freigius (whose difficult temper and academic mishaps offer some parallel with Harvey's) was dismissed from his professorship in July, 1575. He took private pupils for a time, but in December, 1575, the university authorities condemned him as contumacious and forbade students to attend his private lectures. Freigius returned to Basel; and shortly thereafter, through the influence of friends, he was invited to become rector of the Gymnasium at Altdorf as successor to Valentinus Erythraeus, an office which he assumed on the 30th of November, 1576. Eventually, fresh quarrels at Altdorf caused him to withdraw as rector in 1582; and he is next heard of as a corrector for the press of Henricpetri at Basel. He died of the plague on January 16, 1583 (H. Schreiber, *Geschichte der Universität Freiburg*, II [Freiburg, 1859], 220–30). Harvey refers to Freigius as an example of precocity in learning Greek, as early as 1573 (*G. H. De Discenda Graeca Lingua Oratio Prima*, sig. Nnnn vij), and other references to him, particularly as an authority on jurisprudence, are frequent in Harvey's *Marginalia*. Freigius's *Ciceronianus* was published at Basel by Sebastianus Henricpetri in March, 1575, and Harvey's own copy of this work, still preserved in Worcester College Library, Oxford, contains the date '4 Aprilis 1576,' presumably the date on which Harvey finished his first reading of the volume (see the introduction, nn. 37, 63). In the present passage, Harvey is not up-to-date on the most recent episodes of Freigius's career; but this is not surprising. Books published on the continent were bought up by English booksellers at the foreign book-fairs, especially the famous one at Frankfort; and while the books might appear on the English booksellers' shelves soon after their continental publication, English readers would not necessarily have the means of learning about the most recent events in the lives of their

authors. Harvey apparently had some acquaintance with Freigius, however, at least by 1582 (see *Marg.* p. 288; *Works*, ed. Grosart, II.83).

78.25–26. *Quae prius . . . leuiter*. Cf. *De Or.* ii.33.142: “quod nunc diffusum et dissipatum esset”; *ibid.* i.35.162: “. . . quasi per transennam praetereuntes strictim aspeximus, in lucem proferat, et suo quidque in loco collocet.”

78.31–32. *Vel eloquentis . . . eloquentiae*. Cf. *Part Or.* xxiii.79: “Nihil enim est aliud eloquentia nisi copiose loquens sapientia.” See also *De Inv.* i.1.1; *Or.* xxi.70.

80.4 ff. *Praesertim, etc.* See above, 46.1–10. Harvey is probably using *recens* rather loosely, meaning “when I addressed you last.” This is like Harvey’s saying above (78.9) that, following the publication of Erasmus’s *Ciceronianus*, the *Ciceronianus* of Freigius appeared *aliquot post annos*. Actually, Erasmus’s work appeared in 1528 and Freigius’s not until 1575, an interval of 47 years.

80.16. *Bellaria*. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II.523C on “Attica bellaria.”

80.18–20. *Ea maxime . . . Romanorum*. Varro, *Menipp.* frag. 341, ed. Bücheler-Heraeus.

80.21. *Qui ciues . . . volunt*. The *elenchus erratorum* is clearly at fault in requiring the singular. The mistake probably arose through a corrector’s hastily assuming that “Muretus” (80.22) was the antecedent of “qui” in the above phrase.

80.22. *Muretus*. See the introduction, pp. 16–17, and the note on 40.32, above. On Muretus’s early allegiance to the school of the strict Ciceronians, see C. Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret* (Paris, 1881); M. W. Croll, “Muret and the History of ‘Attic’ Prose,” *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 254–309.

80.27–28. *Duos . . . Checum*. Harvey reiterates this judgment in his letter to Thomas Hatcher, *Marg.* p. 218. This estimate of Smith and Cheke was quite general, however; cf. Roger Ascham, *Works*, ed. Giles, I¹, 190: “In hanc studendi viam plurimi, Joannis Checi et Thomae Smithi exemplis, praeceptis, ingeniis, consiliis provocati, ingressi sunt. Hi duo, olim hujus Academiae, nunc totius reipublicae, in ipso splendore aulico praeclara lumina eminent. Qui si ad scribendum sese dedissent, nec in *Sadoletto* Italia, nec in *Longolio* Gallia justius, quam in istis duobus Anglia gloriata fuisset.” For the imagery, cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, C iv; Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, iii.38.91, and the note in the edition of J. B. Mayor (1880–85), III.191. The “two monarchs” are, of course, Edward VI and Elizabeth.

80.28–29. *Carro, Bingoque*. See the notes on 42.3, 42.9, above. In the *Rhetor* (a.ij.) Byng’s name and reputation are linked with that of Caius (“. . . duobusque cum doctissimis viris, tum etiam hominibus disertissimis, Caio, atque Bingo.”)

80.34–82.1. *Atque illos . . . Ciceronis*. Cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, in *Opera*, I.988C: “Hoc animo probabile est Ciceronem esse in istos ridiculos simios, hoc animo nos esse decet, qui illius γῆρσις τέχνη studemus haberi . . . Sit hoc aliquid iis, quibus satis est umbras vocari

Ciceronis . . ."; and perhaps Columella, *De Re Rust.* viii.2.13: "... nothi . . . pulli."

82.13–14. *Mementote . . . dici.* *Iliad*, i.201; etc.

82.16–17. *Discite . . . conglutinare.* On the importance of Erasmus's *De Duplici Copia Verborum ac Rerum* in English education, see T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, II.176 ff.

82.17–18. *Discite . . . amplexari.* Ramus was King's Professor of Philosophy and Eloquence at Paris. One of his most famous orations is entitled *Oratio de Studiis Philosophiae et Eloquentiae Conjungendis*.

82.18–20. *Discite . . . esse.* Cf. *Iliad*, ix.443; Cicero, *Sest.* 61: "Dux, auctor, actor rerum. . ."

82.28–29. *Qualem . . . nominaret.* See above, the note on 54.30–31.

82.33–34. *Verborum . . . bonitate.* Cf. Cicero, *Or.* xlix.164: "bonitate potius nostrorum verborum. . ."

82.35. συναθροισμῷ . . . περιστάσεων. Quintilian explains the figure of συναθροισμός as an accumulating of a number of different things (viii.4.27); but Harvey seems to be referring rather to Cicero's handling of subject-matter and arguments. On περιστάσεις, see Quintilian, v.10.104.

84.9. *Praelegerim . . . publice.* In 1576, Harvey looks back upon more than two years of lecturing on rhetoric.

84.9–12. See the introduction, p. 9.

84.18. *Plautus. Pseudolus*, 857.

84.23. *Aristoteles.* "Aristotelis" of the text is pretty clearly an undetected misprint for the nominative. Cf. "praeceptoris" for "praeceptores," above, 78.32.

84.31–32. *Duplicem Analysisin.* It is evident that Harvey follows the Ramist division of the conventional *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*. "Invention" and "disposition" are to be treated according to the method prescribed in Ramus's *Dialecticae Libri Duo*, and *elocutio* will be treated as rhetoric proper in accordance with Talaueus's *Rhetorica* (cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, E. ff.; L. ff.). "Analysis" is the technical term used in the Ramist system. See the introduction, p. 28.

86.2 ff. *Nam qui digitum, etc.* In the following passage, Harvey seems to have in mind especially contemporary authors of commentaries upon Cicero who were usually professors of rhetoric as well; but much of what he says applies equally to the methods of the grammar school pedagogues of his day. See below, the note on 86.11–14; and cf. *Rhetor*, E. ij–ij^v, L. iij, N. ij^v–iij. Examples of the kind of commentary Harvey ridicules may be found in the popular collections of Ciceronian commentaries published under various titles as *Enarrationes*, *Lucubrationes*, *Commentaria*, etc., like those published by the Aldine Press at Venice (1551, 1552) and by Oporinus at Basel (1553). All varieties of commentary upon Cicero's orations and his treatises on rhetoric were included in these collections, from the earliest by Antonio Loschi (composed about 1392) to those of Sturm, Melancthon, Ramus, and their disciples, and the commentary of Asconius

Pedianus was often added as well. But amid this variety, one can find plenty of illustration of the proposition that

... all a Rhetoricians Rules

Teach nothing but to name his Tools.

86.3-5. Cf. Cicero, *Part. Or.* xxxi.109: "Disceptatio autem cum est constituta, propositum esse debet oratori quo omnes argumentationes repetitae ex inveniendi locis coniiciantur. Quod quamquam satis est ei qui quid in quoque loco lateat quique illos locos tamquam thesauros aliquos argumentorum notatos habet. . ."

86.11-14. *Cantilenam . . . orationi.* Cf. Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1550), A.vj^v: "The common scholemasters be wont in readyng to saye unto their scholers: *Hic est figura*: and some tyme to axe them, *Per quam figuram?* But what profit is herein if they go no further?" Sherry himself uses the Latin names for the figures in his text but gives the corresponding Greek terminology in the margin. Teachers could thus easily familiarize themselves with both sets of terminology. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.23.105: "ex scholis cantilenam. . ."

86.15 ff. *Qui si eadem, etc.* The practice of interlarding one's commentary with Greek words was universal in the Renaissance, and Harvey himself is by no means free of the charge of needlessly employing Greek in the present oration. For an example of the lengths to which the practice could be carried, however, see William Thorne's *Tullius* (Oxford, 1592). There is a similar glance at the practice of using Greek for ornamental purposes in Erasmus, *Stult. Laus in Opera*, IV.409A. The chief point of the present satire, of course, is to contrast the simplicity and reasonableness of the Ramist methods and terminology. Harvey himself preferred the rhetorical terminology of Talaeus's *Rhetoric*; see Harvey, *Rhetor*, N.ij^v-iij.

86.22. *Omnia . . . patefecisse.* Cf. Cicero, *Ad Att.* ii.1.1: "Meus autem liber totum Isocratis myrothecium atque omnes eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristoteliae pigmenta consumpsit." See also Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), L viij. On the vogue of Hermogenes in England, see the introduction, p. 27. A main source of the popularization of Hermogenes in England would probably be Sturm's translations, with scholia, of Hermogenes' rhetorical works. Sturm also made considerable use of Hermogenes in his own teaching of rhetoric. See also F. R. Johnson in *HLQ*, VI (1943), 427-444.

86.24. *Iam si . . . ὑποθέσει.* Cf. Cicero, *Topica*, xxv.93; xxi.79. See also Hermogenes, *περὶ εὐρέσεως, περὶ τῶν στάσεων*; and the translations by Sturm (*De Inventione, De Statibus*; Strassburg, 1570).

86.24-26. *De varietate . . . vocant.* See Hermogenes, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*; trans. by Sturm, *De Formis Oratoriis* (Strassburg, 1571).

86.30-31. *Declamitare . . . facere.* These are favorite themes of academic orations. Harvey may be recalling especially Osorius's *De Gloria Libri Quinque; De Nobilitate Civili et Christiana Libri Totidem. . .* See above, the notes on 40.13-31, 56.12-18.

88.5. *Loquaciores . . . graculos*. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II. 165C, 270B.

88.10–11. *Magis mutos . . . pisces*. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II.192D.

88.12. *Ore ferreo*. Cf. Cicero, *Piso*, xxvi.63: “. . . sed os tuum ferreum senatus convicio verberari noluisti.”

88.16–17. *Neque coelum . . . viderentur*. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, in *Opera*, II.142A.

88.17–19. *Pro causis . . . generibus*. These are topics given in the Ramist logic. Harvey implies that they represent the natural and reasonable method of procedure in finding arguments.

88.19–24. Many of the places of invention here enumerated are given in Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, for which, however—as for its author—Harvey expressed admiration both in his marginalia and in his published writings. For Harvey's marginalia on Wilson's *Rhetorique* and *Rule of Reason*, see S. A. Tannenbaum, “Some Unpublished Harvey Marginalia,” *MLR*, XXV (1930), 327–31. Harvey esteemed the *Rhetorique* more than the *Rule of Reason*. He criticized the organization of the latter from a Ramist point of view. Wilson befriended Harvey on the occasion of Harvey's trouble with Sir James Croft in 1580 (*Marg.* p. 33).

88.33. *Syllogismus . . . Rhethoricum*. Cf. Quintilian, v.10.1 ff. K. R. Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* (1943) notes in his valuable bibliography (p. 237) that John Seton's *Dialectica* (London, 1545) has an “interesting treatment of the ‘rhetorical syllogism.’” I have not seen Seton's book; see J. B. Mullinger, *Univ. of Cambridge*, II.41; T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, II.33–34.

90.1. *Valentino Erythraeo*. Valentinus Erythraeus (1521–76), philologist and pedagogue, taught in the Gymnasium of Sturm, his former teacher, as professor of rhetoric for twenty-nine years, and attained a high reputation. He edited and epitomized many of Sturm's writings. He became rector of the school at Altdorf in 1575, in which position he was succeeded by J. T. Freigius. Harvey may be thinking of such a work as the *Tabulae Val. Erythraei . . . in quattuor libris dialecticarum partitionum Johannis Sturmii* (1548), or Erythraeus's *Comentar. de usu decem categoriarum* (1566).

90.3. *Methodi splendorem*. See the introduction, pp. 28–29.

90.4. *Oscitantes & quasi dormitantes*. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* ii.33.144: “istam oscitantem et dormitantem sapientiam. . .”

90.8–12. *Sunt nonnulli . . . coniecerint*. Harvey is here adapting the language of Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1863), p. 110: “Some men of our time, counted perfite Maisters of eloquence, in their owne opinion the best, in other mens judgements very good. . .” Since Harvey's following enumeration (“si propria; si translata, etc.”) includes the “sixe pointes” listed by Ascham at the beginning of the second book of the *Scholemaster* (*proprium*, *translatum*, *synonymum*, *contrarium*, *diuersum*, *phrases*), this passage anticipates the critique of the *Scholemaster*, below, 90.32 ff. Apart from the interest of Harvey's allusion

to the *Scholemaster*, there is abundant evidence that the methods Harvey is satirizing here and in the following passage were in general use. For discussion, see D. C. Allen, *Francis Meres's Treatise 'Poetrie': A Critical Edition* (1933); W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (1937); T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, I.394-5, *et passim*; and cf. Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, in *Opera*, I.975B ff.

90.18-20. *Extant Vallae . . . observationes*. The works by the authors here referred to may be found listed in Gesner's *Bibliotheca*; in the *Répertoire des Ouvrages Pédagogiques du XVIe Siècle* (Paris, 1886); the catalogues of the BM and BN; etc. The attempt to list all the aids to the study of Cicero by the authors mentioned would constitute a considerable bibliography, with which it seems unnecessary to burden these notes.

90.22. *Synonyma*. See the *Répertoire*, pp. 23, 290, 294, etc.

90.23. *Prateoli . . . flores*. Gabriel Dupreau (Prateolus), 1511-88, taught at the College de Navarre and was known especially for his work on Latin grammar. The work Harvey refers to is entitled *Flores et Sententiae Scribendique Formulae ex M. T. Ciceronis Epistolis Familiaribus Selectae* . . . 1562, 1566. See also the *Répertoire*, p. 530.

90.23. *Nunnesij Epitheta*. *Epitheta M. T. Ciceronis Collecta a P. Joanne Nunnesio* . . . 1570, 1571. The author, Pedro Juan Nuñez (c. 1520-1600), taught rhetoric and Greek at Barcelona.

90.23-24. *Horatij . . . adiuncta*. This was another Ciceronian phrase-book, the title of which Harvey gives exactly. It was published at Antwerp, 1566.

90.25. *Lagnerius*. *M. T. Ciceronis Sententiae Illustriores, Apophthegmata item et Parabolae sive Similia . . . authore Petro Lagnerio* . . . Lutetiae, 1546, etc.

90.25. *Jacotius*. I think Harvey has made a slip here. Desiderius Jacotius, the only writer of the name of whom I can find any record, is identified by Joecher (*Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon*) as a French physician who flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century and wrote a commentary upon the *Hippocratica* and a *Librum de Philosophorum Doctrina ex Cicerone*. . . This latter work was more than once reprinted, however, in such a collection as the following: *Ciceronis ac Demosthenis Sententiae Selectae, item Apophthegmata quaedam pia ex ducentibus veteribus orationibus, philosophis et poetis, tam Graecis quam Latinis . . . collecta. His accessit Desiderii Vandoperani [Jacotii] de philosophorum doctrina libellus ex Cicerone* . . . Parisiis, 1567, etc. It looks as if Harvey had supposed that Jacotius was responsible for the collection of *sententiae* as well as for his own treatise.

90.25-26. *Lycosthenesque . . . Erasmus*. For a list of renaissance editions of the often reprinted collections of Conrad Lycosthenes and Erasmus, see the *Répertoire*, pp. 250-53, 407-09.

90.26. *Zuingerumque*. *Conr. Lycosthenis Rubeacensis Similium Loci Communes . . . nunc demum inventi ac editi. Cum Theod. Zuingeri Bas. Similitudinum* . . . Basiliae, 1575.

90.32 ff. *Nolim ego, etc.* See the introduction, p. 24, and the note on 90.8–12, above. The point of view from which Harvey criticizes Ascham's treatise is well illustrated in "The Epistle to the Reader" that prefaces *The Logike of the Most Excellent Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr: Newly translated, and in diuers places corrected, after the minde of the Author. Per M. Roll. Makylmenaeum Scotum . . .* (1581; first ed., 1574), pp. 8–9: ". . . in this booke there is three documentes or rules kept, which in deede ought to be obserued in all artes and sciences. The first is, that in setting forth of an arte we gather onely together that which doth appartaine to the Arte which we intreate of, leauing to all other Artes that which is proper to them, this rule (which may be called the rule of Iustice) thou shalt see here well obserued. For here is all which doth appartaine to Logike, and nothing neither of Grammer, Rhethoricke, Phisike, nor any other Arte . . . Is he not worthy to be mocked of all men, that purposeth to write of Grammer, and in euery other chapter mingleth somthing of Logicke, and somthing of Rhethoricke: & contrary when he purposeth to write of Logicke doth speake of Grammer and of Rhethoricke?" This rule of "justice" or "homogeneity" is one of the three tests Ramus prescribed for any science; see Waddington, *Ramus* (1855), p. 346; F. P. Graves, *Ramus* (1912), pp. 110 ff. In applying this principle to Ascham's *Scholemaster*, Harvey is simply expressing the normal Ramist view. Because of Ascham's fame at Cambridge and the popular reputation of Ascham's treatise, Harvey must have received repeated queries from his undergraduates concerning his opinion of it; and this passage may be simply his public answer to such queries. Of Harvey's high respect for Ascham, there can be no doubt. The *Scholemaster* was probably among the books Harvey offered to lend to Arthur Capel, *Letter-Book*, p. 167.

92.7–9. *Translatis . . . contrarijs.* Cf. *Scholemaster*, ed. Mayor (1863), p. 92.

92.9–11. *Cum oratoriarum . . . Ciceronis.* *Ibid.*, pp. 99 ff.

92.11. *In alienas . . . irruere.* Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.10.41: "quod in alienas possessiones tam temere irruisses." See also Harvey, *Rhetor*, F.iv.^v

92.12. *Extra ripas . . . limites.* See the note on 56.15–18 above.

92.16–21. *In eo . . . tueri.* Harvey may have projected a treatise of this sort; see the *Letter-Book*, p. 181.

92.21–22. *Extra circundatos . . . egrederetur.* Cf. Cicero, *Pro P. Quintio*, x.36: "extra hos cancellos egredi conabor quos mihi ipse circumdedi."

92.25. *Vt Absyrtum illum.* Cf. Ovid, *Tristia*, iii.9.

92.27. *Aphthonius in Progymnasmatis.* On the use of this work made in the Elizabethan schools, see F. R. Johnson, "Two Renaissance Textbooks of Rhetoric: Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata* and Rainolde's *A booke called the Foundacion of Rhetorike*," *HLQ*, VI (1943), 427–44; and T. W. Baldwin, *Small Latine*, II.288 ff.

92.33. δύναμιν ἐρμηνευτικήν. Cf. Lucian, *Quo modo historia sit conscribenda*, 34.

94.1. *In Turnebo Lambinus*. See "Ex Dionysii Lambini Regii Professoris Epistola ad Adrianum Turnebum," prefixed to *Adriani Turnebi . . . Opera* (Argentorati, 1600). Concerning Turnebus's work on Cicero, Lambinus says: "Cum M. Tullii sive orationes, sive libros philosophicos, sive epistolarum volumina in manibus habes, eos qui te audiunt in eam opinionem adducis, ut M. Tullii animam in corpus tuum immigrasse putent: ita omnes illius admirabilis et pene dicam divini scriptoris locos et implicatos explicas, et obscuros illustras, et corruptos vel scripturae veteris vestigia secutus, vel coniectura ductus, restituisti atque emendas."

Adrien Turnèbe (1512-65), French classical scholar, taught Greek, Latin, and philosophy at Paris, and became supervisor of the printing of Greek books at the royal press in Paris. His classical commentaries were important in his time for clearing up many difficulties. He engaged in a lively but not embittered controversy with Ramus; and he enjoyed the universal praise of contemporary scholars. Denis Lambin (1520-72) was Professor of Greek at the Royal College in Paris and was a great editor of the Greek and Latin classics. He was a friend of Ramus, and though he did not share Ramus's religious opinions his death is attributed to worry lest he share the fate of his friend following the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

94.1. *Nos in . . . celebramus*. See below, 94.23 ff.; but Harvey may also be thinking of his panegyric upon Ramus, above, 72.31 ff., and his tribute to Talaeus in the *Rhetor*, E ff.

94.3 ff. *Etenim cum quatuor, etc.* This important survey of Ciceronian scholarship and pedagogy in Europe may have been suggested by a passage in the writings of John Sturm which I have not been able to consult directly. My information comes from J. Schmidt, *Vie de Sturm*, p. 260: "He [Sturm] divided the authors who have written upon eloquence into three classes: those who have given the rules systematically, above all Aristotle, Cicero, and Hermogenes; those who have discussed eloquence with learned friends or initiated disciples in letters or dialogues, as Plato and Cicero have done; and finally, those who, like Quintilian, have mingled discussion and exhortation with the exposition of the rules. The study of the third class is useful, no doubt, but their writings do not need to be explained in the schools. Public instruction should be based only upon the writings of the first and second groups. Sturm concerned himself by preference with the first. He published them with commentaries, and from their works he collected the matter for his courses and his books" (See Sturm's prefatory letter addressed to Baron Wolfgang de Schoenberg, 24 August, 1573, Strassburg, in Valentinus Erythraeus, *De ratione legendi, explicandi, et scribendi epistolas, libri 3*. Strassburg, Bern. Jobin, 1576).

In this passage, Harvey is at his most judicious. He modifies the rigor of his Ramist zeal, as expressed especially in the *Rhetor*, to recog-

nize those whom he considered the best representatives of all the current schools. One may contrast his respectful treatment here not merely of Sturm but of his disciples like Erythraeus and Toxites with his scornful reference to "pseudo-Strassburgers," and "pseudo-Hermogeneans" in the *Rhetor*, M.iv. Yet Harvey's strong Ramist bias appears very clearly even in this passage.

94.7-8. *Sturmius, Erythraeus, Toxites*. This first group represents the influence of John Sturm and his school at Strassburg. On Sturm, see the introduction, pp. 21 ff. For Erythraeus, see the note on 90.1, above. Johann Michael Schütz (Toxites) was born in 1515. He studied at Tübingen, Pavia, and Württemberg, and became a teacher in Sturm's Gymnasium at Strassburg in 1542. He was a devoted follower of Sturm and the editor of many of his pedagogical works. He is mentioned in the correspondence of Sturm and Roger Ascham. See the monograph of C. Schmidt, *Michael Schütz, gen. Toxites* (Strassburg, 1888).

94.11. *Omphalium, Latomum, atque Caelium Secundum*. These scholars did not form a "school" in the sense that Sturm and his disciples did, or Ramus and his followers. Jacobus Omphalius (1500-67) was a jurisconsult and professor at Cologne. Besides his legal works, he wrote a popular treatise entitled *De elocutionis imitatione et apparatu liber unus* (Paris, 1537; etc.), and a commentary on some of Cicero's orations. Ascham criticizes his lack of stylistic decorum in the *Scholemaster* (1863), p. 110.

Bartholomaeus Latomus (c. 1498-1570) taught rhetoric at Paris and elsewhere and became the first incumbent of the chair of eloquence at the Royal College in 1534. He was a friend of Erasmus. His commentaries on Cicero's orations are printed in Oporinus's edition of Ciceronian commentaries (Basileae, 1553); see also his *Oratio de laudibus eloquentiae et Ciceronis* (Parisiis, 1535).

Coelius Secundus Curio (1503-69) was born at Turin and studied at Turin and Padua. He early became an ardent follower of Luther. He taught for some time in Italy but finally went to Switzerland, first to Lausanne and finally to Basel as professor of humanities and eloquence. Among his works dealing with rhetoric are *C. S. Curionis in M. Tullii Ciceronis, oratorias partitiones, explicationum libri tres* (1556); an augmented edition of Nizolius's *Thesaurus* (Basileae, 1548). He edited Sir John Cheke's *De pronuntiatione graecae potissimum linguae disputationes* (Basileae, 1555).

94.13. *Audomaro Talaeo, Petroque Ramo*. Omer Talon (c. 1510-1562) was born in Vermandois. He applied himself from childhood to the study of languages and ancient literature. In 1534 he held the chair of rhetoric at the Collège du Cardinal Le Maine. At the Collège du Mans, he met Ramus and soon became an ardent supporter of Ramus's reforms in education. There is no indication that he shared Ramus's views about religious reform as well. The first edition of his *Rhetoric* that became the companion piece and supplement to Ramus's *Dialecticae* appeared at Paris in 1544-45; there were also

editions issued during Talaeus's lifetime in 1554 and 1562. After Talaeus's death, Ramus reissued this work accompanied by his own commentary: *Audomari Talaei Rhetorica, P. Rami Praelectionibus illustrata* . . . Parisiis, 1567; etc. An edition of the greater part of Talaeus's works appeared under the auspices of J. T. Freigius at Basel in 1575. See Waddington, *Ramus* (1855), pp. 464 ff. On Ramus, see the introduction, pp. 19 ff.

94.15. *Freigius, atque Schorus*. On J. T. Freigius, see the note on 78.9–13, above. Henricus Schorus flourished during the latter part of the sixteenth century. He was born in Flanders and appointed provost of the College of Surburg, near Hagenau, in 1566. He prepared a guide for the Latin school of Saverne, in which his twofold allegiance to the teachings of Sturm and Ramus is indicated, entitled *Specimen et forma legitime tradendi sermonis et rationis disciplinas, ex P. Rami scriptis collecta, et Tabernensi scholae accommodata: per Henricum Schorum Surburgensem praepositum* . . . Cum praefatione Io. Sturmij. 1572. On Sturm's prefatory epistle to this work, see the note on 38.18, above. Harvey recommended Schorus's treatise as a guide for an English schoolmaster who was probably one of Harvey's former pupils, *Letter-Book*, p. 181. Henricus Schorus is not to be confused with Antonius Schorus (d. 1552), who was a philologist and pupil under Sturm at Strassburg, taught for a time at Heidelberg but later had to flee because of religious differences, and died at Lausanne. He may have been the father of Henricus. Antonius published a number of works dealing with Latin grammar and rhetoric and he is probably the Schorus named in Harvey's list of Ciceronian commentators above, 90.19. See the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, s.v. "Schorus."

94.16–19. *Quartum* . . . *Manutio, atque Turnebo*. It will be noticed that this class of commentators supplies the broad classical learning desiderated by Harvey in his pedagogical scheme, above, 92.33 ff. For Manutius, see the note on 40.33; for Turnebus, the note on 94.1.

94.20. *Pediano*. Quintus Asconius Pedianus was a Roman grammarian and historian of the first Christian century who compiled a commentary upon Cicero's speeches containing valuable information relating especially to legal and antiquarian points. See also the note on 86.2 ff., above.

94.23. ff. *Tum vero plurimum, etc.* This concluding comment is eloquent of Harvey's personal position. All other commentators were for him distinctly subsidiary to Ramus and Talaeus; cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, E–E.ij^v, H.ij–ijj^v, M.ij–ijj^v, O.ijj. ff., Q.^v

96.9–10. *Vt . . . oratio*. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v.28.80: "Sed adhibeat oratio modum et redeat illuc, unde deflexit."

96.25–26. *Pharmacopolarum* . . . *sortiantur*. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, xiv.40.

96.28–29. *Secundum* . . . *prudentiam*. I suspect that this is Ioachim Fortius Ringelbergius, whose *De Ratione Studii* (1529, etc.) Harvey so much admired; but I have not found a precise parallel in it.

98.5. *Pythagoreorum morem*. See F. d'Olivet, *The Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, done into English by N. L. Redfield (1917), pp. 118–19:

Let not sleep e'er close thy tired eyes
Without thou ask thyself: what have I omitted and what done?

See also Cicero, *De Senect.* xi.38: "Pythagoreorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim audierim egerim commemoro vesperi."

98.11 ff. *Bene habet, etc.* This graceful apology for his shortcomings indicates a trait in Harvey for which he has not been given much credit. Harvey was not boastful about his learning. Such disclaimers as the following passage contains were indeed expected and were a conventional part of most orations (cf. the extreme humility assumed by Queen Elizabeth when she replied in Latin to the addresses delivered before her on the occasion of her visit to Cambridge in 1564; Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, I [1823], 175–79); but Harvey's modesty in his opening oration as Greek lecturer in Pembroke Hall (Crispinus, *Lexicon graecolatinum* [1581], Nnnn.vj) is unmistakable, as it is in his correspondence with Dr. John Young concerning the Greek lectureship (*Letter-Book*, p. 54).

98.21–23. *De natura . . . inflammasse*. Cf. Plutarch, *Decem Oratorum Vitae*, 838E; Horace, *A.P.* 304.

98.23–25. *Ignitas . . . vehementius*. Cf. Cicero, *De Senect.* xi.36: "Nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute."

98.29–31. *Verum quod . . . ferrent*. Cf. Cicero, *Or.* ii.7 ff.

98.33 ff. *Et tamen coniectura, etc.* Cf. Ramus, *Ciceronianus* (1557), F vij: "Itaque Ciceronianus noster, Francus, Italus, Hispanus, aut cuiusvis gentis alumnus, vestigia Ciceronis ingressus, de patria facundia nunquam desperabit: Graecae & Italiae opimioribus illis spoliis patriam suam decorabit & amplificabit: ornamenta ipse noua pariet. . ." Harvey's patriotic conclusion is typically Elizabethan; cf. Ascham, *Scholemaster* (1863), p. 184; and Harvey, *Rhetor*, B.ii.j. ff.

100.4–5. *Ad eadem . . . recolenda*. Cf. Cicero, *Pro Archia*, vi.13: "ad haec studia recolenda. . ."

100.7–8. *Nam de . . . praeferendam*. This is, of course, the time-honored retort of the younger English university to the older.

100.8–11. *Vt quemadmodum . . . Atticum*. Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, C.ii.j.

100.12. *Quid enim . . . ille*. Ovid, *Tristia*, i.2.1.

100.20–22. *Sed in cunctis . . . omnes*. This is adapted and imitated from Cicero, *Pro Archia*, vii.16.

100.25–26. *Instructissima . . . sapientiae*. Cf. Cicero, *Leges*, i.13.36: "officinas instruxerunt sapientiae."

100.27–29. *Quod apud eum . . . fecistis*. Cf. Cicero, *De Senect.* xvii.59: "Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis."

102.3-4. *Hominum . . . insistentes*. Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* i.23.106; *Or.* iii.12; and see the note on 38.18 ff., above.

102.9-11. *Cras Ciceronem . . . Senatu*. This is Cicero's *Oratio post Reditum in Senatu habita*. Cf. Harvey, *Rhetor*, Q.ij^v: "Ac nostra quidem qualiscunque Analysis in Orationem post reditum ad Quirites; quam nemo adhuc vel Rhetoricis, vel Dialecticis, vel omnino vllis, quod sciam, explicationibus illustravit; nonnihil vos, vti spero, adiuuabit . . . Verum Analyseos illius initium in crastinum differemus. Exhausta enim, vt video, clepsydra est." These two orations, in which Cicero thanks, respectively, the senate and the citizens for restoring him to Rome, are commonly regarded today as examples of Cicero's more florid rhetoric; but this objection probably would not weigh very heavily with Harvey and his audience. Since these orations were less staled by the commentators, they would offer a fine scope for Harvey's Ramist analysis.

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INDEX OF NAMES

References to the Latin text are in *italic* Arabic numerals.

A

Absyrtus, 92, 134
 Achilles, 56, 117
 Aegidius, Petrus, 60, 120
 Aesculapius, 52
 Agamemnon, 72
 Agricola, Rudolph, 109, 120
 Alciatus, 17
 Aldus, 90, 111, 120, 130
 Alexander the Great, 72
 Allen, D.C., 2 n., 25 n., 133
 Allen, W., 2 n.
 Antonius, 38
 Apelles, 36, 108
 Aphthonius, 2 n., 92, 134
 Apollo, 46, 48, 52
 Aquinas, Saint Thomas, 50
 Aristotle, 14, 19–21, 27, 40, 58, 74, 84, 86, 88, 94, 109, 118, 122, 130, 135
 Ascham, Roger, 4 n., 19, 22, 23 n., 24, 26–29, 38, 90, 92, 107, 108, 110–112, 119, 127, 129, 132–134, 136, 138.
 Atticus, 46

B

Bacon, Francis, 10, 25, 26 n.
 Baker, Thomas, 13 n.
 Baldwin, T. W., 2 n., 3, 19 n., 21, 122, 130, 132–134
 Banosius, 20 n.
 Bayle, Pierre, 111
 Bembus, Petrus, 24, 40, 60, 62, 111, 116, 119–121
 Bennett, J.W., 3 n., 11 n., 109
 Blomefield, F., 118
 Boethius, 117
 Bradner, L., 31 n.
 Brutus, 125
 Buchanan, George, 44, 113
 Budaëus, G., 17, 60, 120
 Bunellus, Petrus, 109
 Bundy, M.W., 120
 Byng, Thomas, 42, 80, 107, 112, 129
 Bynneman, Henry, 11, 12

C

Caesar, C. Julius, 44, 46, 48, 50, 70, 72
 Caius, John, 129
 Capel, Arthur, 23 n., 134
 Carr, Nicholas, 26, 30, 42, 80, 112, 129
 Castiglione, B., 111
 Cato Major, 54, 100, 123
 Cato Uticensis, 46, 52
 Cecil, William, Lord Burghley, 1, 22 n., 111
 Cheke, Sir John, 42, 80, 111, 112, 129, 136
 Chrysostom, 111
 Church, Robert, 2 n., 8 n.
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 4–6, 9 n., 13–18, 21, 22 n., 23–32, 36, 38, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 82, 84, 86, 90, 92, 96, 98, 100, 102, 107, 108, 110–139
Ciceronianissimus, 54, 82, 109, 116
Ciceronietas, 36, 109
 Clerke, Bartholomew, 1, 30, 107, 112, 113
Clodiani, 48
 Columella, 70, 130
 Cooper, C.H., 5 n.
 Cormaeriacenus, *see* Perionius
 Corradus, 90
 Cortesius Paulus, 24, 60, 62, 119
 Craig, Hardin, 24 n.
 Crane, W.G., 2 n., 133
 Crassus, 38
 Crispinus, 3, 11 n., 20 n., 138
 Critolaus, 52, 115
 Croft, Sir James, 132
 Croll, M.W., 17 n., 129
 Cromwell, Thomas, 33 n.
 Curio, Coelius Secundus, 90, 94, 136
 Cyrus, 72

D

Dejob, C., 129
 Demosthenes, 26, 38, 114
 Diana, 48
 Dietherus, 90
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 88

Doletus, S., 90
 Donne, John, 19 n.
 Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester, 1
 Duffield, John 3, 7, 58, 118
 Duns, Scotus, 50

E

Edward VI, 129
 Elizabeth, Queen, 4 n., 12, 22 n., 31, 110, 129, 138
 Ellis, R.L., 26 n.
 Engel, C., 21 n.
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 16–19, 31, 60, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 90, 108, 115, 116, 120–124, 127, 129–133
 Erythraeus, Valentinus, 23 n., 90, 94, 132, 135, 136
 Euripides, 127
 Eurydice, 48

F

Filelfo, *see* Philelphus
 Fracassetti, J., 6 n.
 Fraunce, Abraham, 10, 20 n., 121
 Freigius, Joannes T., 10 n., 16, 18 n., 20 n., 78, 80, 82, 94, 128, 129, 137
 Frotscher, C.H., 16 n., 17 n.

G

Galland, Pierre, 125
 Gardiner, Bishop, 111
 Gesner, Conrad, 133
 Giles, J.A., 19 n.
 Glareanus, Henricus, 60, 120
 Gmelin, H., 14 n.
 Grant, Edward, 127
 Graves, F.P., 19 n., 134
 Grosart, A.B., 11 n., 20 n., 34
 Guggenheim, M., 19 n.

H

Haddon, Walter, 12, 31, 110
 Hadrianus, 90
 Harvey, Gabriel, 36, 38, 40, 42, 58; relations with the following: Aristotle, 14, 20, 21, 27; Ascham, 23 n., 24, 28, 90, 92, 132–134; Bacon, Francis, 10, 26 n.;

Baker, Thomas, 13 n.; Banosius, 20 n.; Bembus, 24, 120; Burghley, 1; Byng, 112, 113; Bynneman, 11, 12; Capel, Arthur, 23 n.; Carr, Nicholas, 30; Church, Robert, 2 n., 8 n.; Cicero, 13, 15–18, 21, 23–26, 28–32, 115; Clerke, Bartholomew, 1, 30, 112; Cortesius, 24, 119; Cromwell, Thomas, 33 n.; Duffield, 3, 7, 118; Erasmus, 16–19, 31, 108, 120; Erythraeus, 132; Fraunce, A., 10; Freigius, 10 n., 16, 18 n., 20 n., 128; Grosart, 34; Haddon, 31; Hatcher, 30; Hermogenes, 27; Isocrates, 114; Leicester, 1; Lewin, 1, 2, 3 n., 9, 11–13, 22, 24, 30, 36, 38, 40, 42, 107–109; Macrobius, 9; Mildmay, 1, 121, 122; More, Sir Thomas, 120; Muretus, 16, 17; Nashe, 1, 12 n., 27 n., 30, 33, 34; *novus philosophus*, 7, 9, 58, 117, 118; Osorius, 23 n., 116, 117; *Pedantius*, 11 n.; Petrarch, 6, 32, 33 n.; Philelphus, 120; Poggius, 120; Politianus, 120; Quintilian, 8 n., 15; Ramus, 10, 16–24, 26–32, 126, 130–132; Ringelbergius, 16, 33 n.; Sambucus, 124; Schoolmen, 115; Sidney, 34; Smith, Sir Thomas, 1, 20, 34, 112; Spenser, 1, 3 n., 10, 34; Strebaeus, 33 n.; Sturmius, 16, 18, 21–24, 27, 32, 115, 127; Talaueus, 10, 20, 21, 28, 29, 130; Valla, L., 32, 33 n.; Wilson, Thomas, 28; Wolsey, 33 n.; Young, Dr. John, 3
 Harvey, Richard, 20 n., 21 n.
 Hatcher, Thomas, 12, 30, 31, 107, 129
 Heath, D.D., 26 n.
 Hector, 52
 Hercules II, Duke of Ferrara, 119
 Hermogenes of Tarsus, 4, 26, 27, 40, 86, 88, 94, 131, 135
 Hoby, Sir Thomas, 111
 Hodgson & Co., 13 n.
 Homer, 46, 48, 50, 58, 82, 113, 114, 118, 119, 126
 Horace, 1 n., 44, 50, 116, 138
 Hoskins, John, 27 n.
 Hudson, H.H., 27 n.
 Humphrey, Laurence, 12

I

Isocrates, 44, 58, 98, 114, 118, 119

J

Jackson, W.A., 13 n.
 Jacotius, 90, 133
 Jerome, Saint, 68, 123
 Joecher, C.G., 133
 Johnson, F.R., 2 n., 20 n., 131, 134
 Jones, Magister, *see novus philosophus*
 Jones, Ralph, 117
 Jones, Richard, 117
 Jones, Robert, 117
 Jones, Thomas, 117
 Jupiter, 46, 64

K

K., E., 20 n.
 Kelso, R., 120
 Kirkham, Charles, 118

L

Laas, E., 21 n.
Laelius, 54, 100
 Lagnerius, Petrus, 90, 133
 Lambinus, 94, 123, 135
 Languet, Hubert, 20, 25 n.
 Latomus, 94, 136
 Latro, Porcius, 56, 117
 Lenient, C., 14 n.
 Lentulus, 46
 Lever, Ralph, 25
 Lewin, Mrs., 36
 Lewin, William, 1, 3, 9, 11–13, 22, 24, 36, 38, 64, 74, 107–110, 112, 122
 Livy, 50, 70
 Longolius, 54, 60, 74, 76, 80, 116, 119, 127, 129
 Loschi, Antonio, 130
 Lovejoy, A.O., 24 n.
 Lucian, 135
 Luther, Martin, 136
 Lycosthenes, Conrad, 90, 133

M

Macrobius, 9, 56
 Makylmenaeus, R., 20, 133

Manutius, Paulus, 40, 44, 68, 94, 109, 111, 123, 137
 Mayor, J., 19 n., 24 n., 29 n., 107
 McKerrow, R.B., 11 n., 12 n., 20 n., 21 n.
 Melanchthon, 130
 Mercurius, 46
 Mildmay, Sir Walter, 1, 4 n., 64, 121, 122, 124
 Miller, Perry, 19 n., 28 n.
 Milo, 48
 Minerva, 46
 More, Sir Thomas, 60, 120
 Montaigne, 121
 Muellner, K., 114, 115
 Mullinger, J.B., 4, 132
 Muretus, 16, 17, 40, 80, 111, 129

N

Naevius, 52
 Nashe, Thomas, 1, 12 n., 20 n., 21 n., 27 n., 30, 33, 34, 121
 Naugerius, 60, 120
 Nestor, 46, 114
 Nichols, John, 138
 Nizolius, 60, 90, 119, 136
 Norlin, G., 118
novus philosophus, 7, 9, 15, 58, 117, 118
 Nunnesius, 90, 133

O

Omphalius, 90, 94, 136
 Oporinus, 130, 136
 Orpheus, 48
 Osorius, 23 n., 26, 31, 40, 44, 56, 110, 116, 131
 Ovid, 44, 134

P

Pacuvius, 115
 Pallas, 48
 Panaetius, 108
 Pears, S.A., 25 n.
 Pease, A.S., 122
Pedantius, 11 n., 114, 125
 Pedianus, Asconius, 94, 130, 131, 137
 Perionius, Joachimus, 64, 66, 122, 123, 125
 Petrarch, 6, 32, 33 n.
 Phalereus, 88

Philelphus, 50, 114, 120
 Phoenix, 82
 Picus, Franciscus, 62, 74, 111, 121
 Plato, 74, 118, 135
 Plautus, 70, 84, 130
 Pliny the Elder, 54, 116
 Pliny the Younger, 54, 70, 124
 Plomer, H.R., 11 n.
 Plutarch, 138
 Poggius, 120
 Politianus, 62, 74, 119–121
 Pompeius, 46
 Pontanus, Jovianus, 60, 119
 Porphyrius, 66
 Prateolus, 90, 133
 Pythagoreans, 98, 138

Q

Quintilian, 4, 8 n., 15, 50, 86, 94, 107, 110,
 114, 116, 117, 125, 128, 130, 132, 135

R

Rainolde, Richard, 2 n., 27 n.
 Rainolds, John, 2 n.
 Ramus, Petrus, 2, 10, 16–32, 38, 68, 70,
 72, 76, 78, 80, 82, 94, 109, 110, 113, 115–
 117, 122, 124–126, 128, 130–138
 Redfield, N.L., 138
 Regius, 90
 Riccius, 60, 90, 119
 Rice, P. N., 108
 Ringelbergius, Joachimus Fortius, 16,
 33 n., 137
 Ringler, W., 2 n.
 Rix, H.D., 2 n.
 Robinson, H., 22 n.
 Robortellus, 90
 Rodingus, 10 n.
 Rossi, V., 119

S

Sabbadini, R., 14 n., 119
 Sadoletus, Jacobus, 60, 119, 127, 129
 Sallust, 44, 50, 70
 Salutati, Coluccio, 116
 Sambucus, Joannes, 68, 123, 124
 Scheidius, E., 16 n.
 Schmidt, C., 21 n., 23 n., 110, 127, 135,
 136

Schorus, Antonius, 90, 137
 Schorus, Henricus, 94, 109, 137
 Schreiber, H., 120, 128
 Scott, E.J.L., 20 n., 33 n.
 Scott, Izora, 14 n., 119, 121
 Seneca the Younger, 54
 Seton, John, 132
 Shakspeare, William, 2
 Sherry, Richard, 131
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 20, 25, 34
 Sigonius, 44, 113
 Smith, G.C.Moore, 1 n., 5, 6, 8 n., 10 n.,
 13 n., 16, 125
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 1, 20, 34, 42, 80, 111,
 112, 129
 Sohm, W., 21 n.
 Spedding, J., 26 n.
 Spenser, Edmund, 1, 2, 10, 20 n., 34, 109,
 123
 Stephanus, Henricus, 90, 109
 Strebaeus, J.L., 33 n.
 Sturmius, Joannes, 2, 16, 18, 19, 21–24,
 26, 27, 32, 36, 38, 40, 44, 64, 66, 74,
 76, 78, 80, 94, 107–110, 115, 122, 124,
 127, 130–132, 135–137.

T

Talaeus, Audomarus, 10, 19 n., 20, 21,
 28, 30, 94, 130, 131, 135–137
 Tannenbaum, S.A., 132
 Taylor, W., 2 n.
 Terence, 46, 50, 70, 124
 Terentia, 46, 48, 52
 Thorne, William, 115, 131
 Thretius, Christophorus, 110
 Tillyard, E.M.W., 24 n.
 Toxites, 94, 136
 Trapezuntius, Georgius, 27 n.
 Tullia, 46
 Tulliola, 46
 Turnebus, 94, 123, 135, 137
 Tuscanella, Horatius, 90, 133
 Tuve, Rosemond, 19 n.

U

Ulysses, 5 n., 44

V

Valla, Laurentius, 32, 33 n., 90

Varro, 70, 129
Venus, 36, 108
Villani, Filippo, 116
Virgil, 44, 46, 50, 70
Vives, J.L., 54, 60, 116, 120

W

Waddington, C., 19 n., 125, 134, 137
Wallace, K.R., 2 n., 132
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 22 n.
Whicher, G.F., 1 n.
Whicher, G.M., 1 n.

Wiggins, E., 19 n.
Wilson, H.S., 24 n., 27 n.
Wilson, Thomas, 27, 28, 31, 115, 118, 132
Wolsey, Cardinal, 33 n.

X

Xenophon, 100

Y

Young, Dr. John, 3, 138

Z

Zuingerus, 90, 133