

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction*

In 1576 when Peter Wentworth delivered his most aggressive attack on the Queen's management of parliament he chose to begin with a general defence of liberty of speech, modelled on the chreia, one of the grammar school composition exercises.

Mr Speaker, I find written in a little volume these words in effect, 'Sweet indeed is the name of libertye and the thing it selfe a value beyond all inestimable treasure'; soe much the more it behoveth us to take heed least we, contenting our selves with the sweetness of the name onely, doe not lose and forgoe the value of the thing; and the greatest value that can come unto this noble realme by the inestimable treasure is the use of it in this House, for unto it it is due.<sup>1</sup>

Wentworth's initial quotation is adapted from 'Libertate nihil dulcius' from the grammar school textbook *Sententiae pueriles*, perhaps by association with Cicero's 'O nomen dulce libertatis' (*In Verrem*, v.163) and the English proverb 'Liberty is worth more than gold'.<sup>2</sup> He elaborates the second half of his first sentence from the key words of his text ('sweetness', 'name', 'value', 'thing', 'inestimable treasure'). Wentworth goes on to list the 'commodities' of free speech before describing the impediments to freedom of speech he has witnessed in the House. After the opening his arguments are generally buttressed by quotations from scripture, similes and maxims, and amplified by figures of repetition and (in the example below) by the topics of contraries and name of a thing.

Soe that to this point I conclude that in this House which is tearmed a place of free speech there is nothing soe necessary for the preservation of the prince and state as free speech, and without it it is a scorne and mockery to call it a parliament house for in truth it is none, but a very schoole of flattery and

<sup>1</sup> T. E. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, 3 vols. (Leicester, 1981–95), 1, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), L 223.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)

dissimulacion and soe a fitt place to serve the Devill and his angells in and not to glorifye God and benefitt the comonwealth.<sup>3</sup>

Wentworth secured a hearing for the astonishing accusations he was about to make by minutely observing the expected forms of Elizabethan discourse. He and his audience absorbed some of these forms by listening to examples of particular genres, such as sermons and parliamentary speeches. But the underlying principles and the majority of the materials and skills were inculcated at grammar school and university. From their training in the analysis of classical texts, pupils learned how to read and how they in turn might expect to be read. At the same time they were trained to reuse the moral substance (and even the verbal expression) of their reading in their own compositions: letters, chreias, themes.

This book aims to contribute to the history of reading and writing by showing how techniques learned in the grammar school and at university (largely through the study of classical literary texts) were used in a wide range of examples of different types of Elizabethan writing. I hope that it will provide historians with additional tools for examining documents and a further understanding of the broad communicative context within which people attempted to achieve results by composing speeches and memoranda. I hope that it will give students of literature a broader sense of the range of Elizabethan writing and of the continuities between self-consciously artistic forms of writing and the practical use of language in the period. The people who wrote the school exercises, letters, notebooks (and who heard the sermons and speeches) which I shall discuss were also the audience of the texts we now recognise as canonical.

In analysing grammar school and university textbooks, teaching methods and exercises I attempt for the first time to describe the skills which pupils were expected to acquire. School pupils were trained to extract moral sentences from their reading and use them in their writing, to analyse and compose moral narratives, to collect historical examples illustrating ethical principles, to compose letters and themes, to amplify and to recognise and use various figures of rhetoric. University students were trained to discover arguments, to form syllogisms, to organise sequences of argument, to define words and distinguish shades of meaning, to read dialectically, to declaim and to take part in disputations.

Preachers, letter-writers and civil servants used these techniques and expectations to give messages, settle disputes or secure consent. Knowing

<sup>3</sup> Hartley, *Proceedings*, I, p. 426.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction*

3

the range of compositional and interpretive skills taught at school helps present-day historians understand how individual writers used them for their particular practical purposes. Grammar school and university ways of reading alerted Elizabethans to the way in which letters they received or speeches they heard employed particular techniques, opening up further possibilities for imitation and variation in their own practical writing. This everyday experience of analysis and composition honed the tools of understanding which they brought to their reading of poems and watching of plays.

Communicative expectations create possibilities for individual expression, but they also institute zones of exclusion. People who cannot master the structures of discourse agreed by a particular community or who do not know the arguments it considers persuasive are excluded from direct participation in debate. Their views will only be listened to if they are translated by someone who understands the expectations and who is recognised (by manner of speech as well as personally) as belonging to the group.<sup>4</sup> Those who did not wish to become dependent upon rhetorically educated men had to acquire (for themselves or for their children) an education in rhetoric. The success of the humanist reform of education in the early sixteenth century can be measured by the increasing participation rate in university.<sup>5</sup> Under Elizabeth even members of the military aristocracy had to learn (and had to present themselves as possessing) skills of presenting persuasive arguments if they wished to be attended to in council.<sup>6</sup> By studying the rhetorical training which pupils acquired at school and university we learn the competence in reading and composition which defined the Elizabethan élite.

In this book I first analyse the Latin rhetorical and dialectical skills which pupils acquired at school and at university (chapters one and two) and discuss the dependence of the English-language manuals on these Latin models (chapter three). Then I look at evidence for everyday uses of rhetoric in notebooks, letters and narratives (chapter four) and describe the exploitation of grammar school rhetorical techniques and

<sup>4</sup> See L. Verhoeven (ed.), *Functional Literacy: Theoretical Issues and Educational Implications* (Amsterdam, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> In the course of the century, according to Lawrence Stone, the male participation rate in university education reached the highest levels it would attain before the late nineteenth century. See references in chapter two, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> The link between skills and political success may have been enhanced by Elizabeth's gender. As a female ruler, dispensed from personal leadership in war, she did not need to encourage the loyalty of military comrades or hunting companions by listening to their opinions in council. John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 309–11.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)

ethical principles in English-language texts of informal moral instruction: histories, conduct manuals and romances (chapter five). Finally I analyse the use of rhetorical skills in political argument, from diplomatic letters, memoranda, Privy Council speeches and a pamphlet (chapter six), in parliamentary oratory (chapter seven) and in religious controversy and sermons (chapter eight). Thus the book moves from formal education through informal teaching and private uses of rhetoric to public oratory and debate.

In order to understand what pupils learned at the grammar school it is essential to study the course as a whole, exercises and methods of teaching as well as the syllabus of texts. Pupils acquired skill in identifying and reusing moral maxims, in constructing moral narratives and histories, and in writing letters and speeches from historical situations as well as from their own lives. They learned to imitate classical letters, to amplify early drafts, to use the figures of speech, and to observe a range of structures. The content of their reading was as important as the method in determining what they would later regard as establishing the possibility of being convinced. The range of different skills acquired provided pupils with a repertoire of possibilities to choose from for their own purposes. In the later chapters of the book we shall see how writers could play with and extend grammar school ideas of the function of particular techniques.

In discussing Elizabethan education I have necessarily made use of the technical terminology of rhetoric and dialectic. I hope that my *Index of rhetorical and dialectical terms* will assist readers in finding definitions and examples.<sup>7</sup> In the Note on the Systems of Rhetoric and Dialectic at the end of this introduction I have set out the essential subdivisions and given references for further investigation. It would have added greatly to the length of the book to have included a full systematic treatment here.

In analysing grammar school teaching I depend heavily on the materials collected by T. W. Baldwin, though I am sceptical about some of his conclusions.<sup>8</sup> Like Lawrence Green, I think that the statutes were over-optimistic. I aim to follow the close analyses of educational practice by Tony Grafton and Lisa Jardine but I do not share their pessimism about the practical effect of humanist education. Like Mary Thomas Crane and Ann Moss, I describe the practice of collecting and using moral

<sup>7</sup> See p. 318 below. Also Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, 2nd edn (Berkeley, 1991); Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 3rd edn, Stuttgart, 1990.

<sup>8</sup> T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1944).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Introduction

5

sentences, but I want to insist that this was one of a range of techniques practised in the grammar school.<sup>9</sup>

Recent studies of Oxford and Cambridge, notably the work of James McConica and Mordechai Feingold, have transformed our ideas of Elizabethan university education. They have shown that a wide range of undergraduate studies was followed, around a strong basis in Latin literature, rhetoric and dialectic.<sup>10</sup> University booklists and textbooks by Seton, Case and Sanderson, based on their teaching in Cambridge and Oxford, show how strongly the humanist interpretation of logic, with its emphasis on using the resources of logic in everyday Latin, had taken hold. Pupils were taught topical invention, the presentation of arguments in a range of forms, and the principles of logical method, in its Aristotelian, Melancthonian and Ramist forms. But the crucial justification for logical skills was the exercise of disputation, which remained the chief requirement in the years of study and in order to graduate. We shall observe both the humanist introduction of rhetorical ideas into disputation and the persistence of forms derived from disputation in religious and political debate. The expectation among members of the élite that reasons would be given by the most powerful statesmen, that disagreement could be maintained and that objections would be answered, derived from the university practice of disputation.

By showing that only four of the English-language manuals were at all successful and that all were dependent on the expectations of the grammar school and university syllabus, I attempt to reorient established traditions and recent fashions in the use of these texts.<sup>11</sup> Most of them were adapted from sixteenth-century continental Latin originals. English authors made several different attempts to translate the renaissance Latin style manual to the needs of English. Some classical figures of rhetoric were altered to fit the English language, while at the same time

<sup>9</sup> Lawrence D. Green, 'Grammatica movet', in P. L. Oesterreich and T. O. Sloane (eds.), *Rhetorica Movet: Essays in Honour of Heinrich Plett* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 73–115; Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (London, 1986), especially pp. 1–29, 149–60, 164–200; idem, 'Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30–78; Mary T. Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self and Society in Sixteenth-century England* (Princeton, 1993); Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> J. K. McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College', and 'Elizabethan Oxford: The Collegiate Society', in J. K. McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. III, *The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 1–68, 645–732; M. Feingold, 'The Humanities' and 'The Mathematical Sciences and New Philosophies', in N. Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. IV, *Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 211–448.

<sup>11</sup> W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500–1700* (Princeton, 1956); Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley, 1984); W. Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds* (Ithaca, 1995).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)

features of Latin usage were imported to expand the possibilities of expression in English. Whereas formal education was conducted in Latin, the beneficiaries of education, while reading mainly in Latin, would write in either language depending on their purpose and audience.

In searching for evidence of practices of reading, analysis of issues and formulation of arguments I have been drawn to texts which have not previously received the attention of students of rhetoric (or indeed of literary historians of any kind): official and private letters, court depositions, state papers and especially notebooks. We can learn a lot about the reading, reasoning and compositions of students from their miscellaneous manuscripts. Similarly Cecil's successive drafts of arguments about a meeting with Mary, Queen of Scots or about the Alençon marriage, at first intended for his own eyes, later as preparations for meetings and eventually as drafts of speeches can tell us a great deal about how he used rhetorical principles to frame questions and to refine arguments in order to build up the most powerful case for a particular audience. I hope that historians as well as literary scholars will learn of new sources and new approaches to them through these sections of my book.

The topics and techniques of education are reframed in texts intended for post-school moral education. Histories, conduct manuals and romances, among the bestselling forms of vernacular publication, use narratives, maxims, speeches, amplification and debate (all of them staples of grammar school training) to analyse events and to transform them into confirmation of principles of prudence. In the romances the impetus towards unexpected plot development and entertainment opens up the possibility of paradoxical presentation and questioning of this socially privileged instruction. The expectations about text learned in the grammar school provide modern readers with new ways of understanding the shared inheritance, the original transformations and the impact on the audience of these works.

Politics and religion were the two most important arenas for the use of language to affect practical life in the Elizabethan period. In the final three chapters I examine the use of ideas and techniques derived from grammar school and university training in sermons, in Privy Council and parliamentary speeches and in pamphlets. I analyse the way the model of university disputation affects the organisation of debate, the range of styles and personae employed by speakers and the use of proverbs and commonplaces alongside, or in preference to, arguments. I discuss the role of opposition in parliament, the issue of free speech and the role of parliamentary ceremony in creating a political nation. My guides to the

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)

## Introduction

7

parts of this territory which have been mapped out have been historians: Neale, Read, Hartley, Elton, James, and Alford.<sup>12</sup> In religion under the guidance of Blench, Collinson and Lake,<sup>13</sup> I consider the use of rhetoric in biblical interpretation, and of logical argument, disposition and figures of style in sermons by Cranmer, Jewel, Smith, Rainolds, Hooker, and Andrewes. I compare their views and those of Field and Wilcox, Cartwright and Whitgift on preaching, consolatory oratory, poverty and ecclesiastical authority.

This book builds on *Renaissance Argument*, my study of the revolution in dialectical textbooks brought about by Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) and Rudolph Agricola (1444–85).<sup>14</sup> In disciplinary terms it is part of the project of abolishing the distinction between literary and social/political history.<sup>15</sup> I shall not be arguing that this or that poem was written to influence a particular aspect of foreign policy, but rather that politicians, preachers and writers shared forms of expression and ethical assumptions. For estate managers, diplomats and politicians these were arguments to be deployed in order to bring about particular outcomes in the world. More self-conscious writers were in a position to question these shared assumptions and to use rhetorical methods to open up new ways of thinking about politics and social problems. I do think that Elizabethan habits of reading and ethical concerns help our understanding of Shakespeare but I shall feel more strongly confirmed in this belief if readers of this book make these connections for themselves.

It requires an act of imagination to understand how textbooks, readers and composition exercises came together in training an individual to use language. To infer the particular techniques employed in the composition of a letter or sermon is a matter of judgment which may be presented convincingly but can scarcely be proved. In tackling the problems of rhetorical analysis which are at the heart of this book I have been encouraged and assisted by studies of texts and textbooks by Vasoli, Vickers, Cave, Fumaroli, Meerhoff, Monfasani, Rhodes, Skinner and

<sup>12</sup> Sir John Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*, 2 vols. (London, 1953–7); Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1955), *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1960); Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings*; G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581* (Cambridge, 1986); Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity* (Cambridge, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1964); Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1967); Peter Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> P. Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Among exemplars of this kind of research in the early modern period one might mention David Norbrook, Kevin Sharpe, Quentin Skinner and Greg Walker.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)

8

*Elizabethan Rhetoric*

many other fellow-members of the International Society for the History of Rhetoric.<sup>16</sup>

The syllabi of Elizabethan grammar schools and universities were the result of a deliberate humanist reform of education. Royal servants from outside the ranks of the nobility who had risen as a result of education promoted the establishment of grammar schools, which in turn produced university entrants of the ‘middling sort’ who became secretaries of state, members of parliament and leaders of the clergy. There is a degree of social reproduction in this pattern.<sup>17</sup>

But there were also unexpected consequences. Colet, Wolsey and More could not have anticipated that the promotion of humanist education would become linked with the rise of Protestantism. Thomas Cromwell encouraged classical education because he saw the need for a non-clerical body of royal servants.<sup>18</sup> From their sometimes different points of view, Elizabeth’s bishops and the returning Protestant exiles saw university education as the means to produce the learned Protestant clergy which the reformed church required. None of them foresaw the way in which the training in argument provided by the universities would fuel religious controversy within protestantism.

One might equally well ask how much the largely pagan content of grammar school training sponsored a secular approach to government and practical life. Maxims to justify prudent and even deceitful behaviour could easily be found in classical literature and may have smoothed the way to favourable receptions of Machiavelli’s penetrating pragmatic observations.<sup>19</sup> There is also some evidence of a turning away from logical argument. Training in dialectic enhanced someone’s ability to marshal persuasive arguments in favour of a particular course of action but the ease with which such arguments could be found showed the essential

<sup>16</sup> C. Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell’umanesimo* (Milan, 1968); B. Vickers, *Classical Rhetoric in English Poetry* (London, 1968), *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1988); Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text* (Oxford, 1979); Marc Fumaroli, *L’âge de l’éloquence* (Geneva, 1980); Kees Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et poétique au XVIe siècle en France* (Leiden, 1986); John Monfasani, ‘Humanism and Rhetoric’, in A. Rabil jr (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1988), III, pp. 171–235; Neil Rhodes, *The Power of Eloquence in English Renaissance Literature* (London, 1992); Q. Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> P. Bourdieu and J. C. Passeron, *La réproduction: éléments pour une théorie du système d’enseignement* (Paris, 1970); B. Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control*, 3 vols. (London, 1971–5).

<sup>18</sup> J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford, 1965).

<sup>19</sup> F. Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London, 1964); S. Gardiner, *A Machiavellian Treatise*, ed. P. Donaldson (Cambridge, 1975); Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), I, pp. 248–53; Victoria Kahn, *Machiavellian Rhetoric* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 93–131; Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, pp. 161–80.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-02099-2 - Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice

Peter Mack

Excerpt

[More information](#)*Introduction*

9

malleability of argument. Logical training enabled persuasive arguments to be found to justify positions which had been taken on other grounds.

Even if part of logic's role was presentational, the format of debate meant that decisions still had to be explained. Reasons had to be given and objections answered. The education which provided men like Bacon, Cecil, Egerton, Mildmay and Wilson with the opportunity to rise to positions of influence also determined the way in which they would behave in council. Royal aspirations to absolutism could not easily overrule the culture of debate formed in Elizabethan grammar schools and universities.

## NOTE ON THE SYSTEMS OF RHETORIC AND DIALECTIC

Rhetoric is traditionally divided into five skills: Invention, the assembly of the material of the speech; Disposition, placing that material in an appropriate structure; Elocutio or Style, clothing the ideas of the speech in the most effective words; Memory, memorising the speech; and Delivery, the use of voice and gesture. Under invention we find discussed ways to obtain the sympathy and interest of the audience at the start of a speech; lines of argument appropriate to different types of case in the three genres of oratory listed below; topics of invention to assist in discovering arguments about any subject; forms in which to present arguments; and topics for emotional appeals. Under disposition pupils learn the rationale for the four-part oration (exordium or introduction; narration, setting out the circumstances of the case; argument; and conclusion) and considerations for varying the content and order of the speech. The treatise on style sets out the qualities of good Latin; the three levels of style; techniques for amplification; and definitions and examples of the tropes and figures of rhetoric.<sup>20</sup>

Classical rhetoric identifies three types of oratory distinguished by the type of audience and the aim of the speaker. Judicial oratory is concerned with pleading in court before judge or jury, aiming at the condemnation of a criminal or the acquittal of a client. Deliberative oratory belongs to the popular assembly, arguing for the benefits of a particular course of action or proposed law. Demonstrative oratory is concerned with praise or blame, denouncing an enemy or celebrating a marriage or a funeral.

<sup>20</sup> The quickest way to understand the rhetoric syllabus is to read [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1954) with Harry Caplan's translation and analysis. Also: Roland Barthes, 'L'ancienne rhétorique: aide-mémoire', *Communications* 16 (1970), 172–229, translated in Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 11–93; George Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton, 1963); Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*; Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (New York, 1990).

In the post-classical period authors found a broader range of uses of rhetoric (largely for writing rather than speaking) but they preferred, where possible to assimilate them to these three types.

For the purposes of medieval and renaissance education, dialectic is identical with logic, except that it includes probable reasoning alongside the categorical. Manuals of Aristotelian logic, the dominant form of logic in this period, comprised seven sections.<sup>21</sup> The *Isagoge* or introduction defines the metalanguage for understanding categories: genus, species, differentia, property and accident. The *Categories* distinguishes the ten classes into which all things (or, according to competing analyses, all concepts or all words) are divided, primarily substance, quantity, quality and action. *On Interpretation* analyses the different types of basic assertive sentence according to their quality (affirmative or negative) and quantity (universal or particular) and the relations of agreement or contradiction among the four types (the so-called square of contraries). *Prior Analytics* analyses the syllogism, the valid structures of three-part (and three component) argument according to these four types (see further discussion on pp. 68–9). Later authors added descriptions of other forms of argumentation: induction, enthymeme and example. *Posterior Analytics* describes the organisation of sciences as chains of syllogisms moving from universally true axioms to particular phenomena. Thus sections two to five of the handbook move systematically from the individual things through larger linguistic structures to whole sciences.

By contrast the two final treatises are devoted to reasoning outside the sciences, for example in disputations or in Platonic dialogues. *Topica* outlines a range of argumentative strategies in response to types of argument made by an opponent.<sup>22</sup> *Sophistical Refutations* analyses a number of types of deceptive arguments (fallacies), explaining why they are not valid and how to oppose them. In the middle ages the analysis of fallacies led scholars to open up new approaches to semantics.<sup>23</sup> In *Renaissance Argument* and towards the end of chapter two below I describe the way the humanist educational tradition adapted the heritage of Aristotelian dialectic.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Peter of Spain, *Tractatus*, ed. L. M. de Rijk (Assen, 1972). See also W. and M. Kneale, *The Development of Logic* (Oxford, 1962).

<sup>22</sup> On the different ways in which the treatise on the topics was developed in the middle ages and the renaissance see N. J. Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages* (Munich, 1984) and Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, pp. 32, 130–68, 284–5, 288, 294–9, 327–32, 351–3.

<sup>23</sup> N. Kretzmann, et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1982); Sten Ebbesen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi*, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1981).