Structure and Argumentation in Erasmus' *De Pueris Instituendis*

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Erasmus' speech on the importance of early childhood education combines two literary genres: it serves both as a rhetorical exercise and as an educational treatise, an epideixis and a protreptic.¹ Although the oration's double purpose has been recognized, its content has generally received more attention than its form. *De Pueris* has been studied many times for its pedagogical views,² but rarely for its rhetorical character. A notable exception to this trend is Margolin's essay "La langue et le style du *De Pueris Instituendis*" appended to his critical edition of the speech.³ In his study Margolin examines the language of *De Pueris* in the context of Erasmus' dispute with the Ciceronians, focusing mainly on the vocabulary and imagery. Margolin's approach is, of course, valid and suggested by the fact that *Ciceronianus* was written close to the time *De Pueris* was published.⁴ It is equally useful, however, and perhaps more relevant to the stated purpose of the oration⁵ to examine its language in the context of *De Copia*. Moreover, Margolin's highly instructive remarks on Erasmus' vocabulary and his findings in general may be supplemented by an examination of structure and argumentation in *De Pueris*, or to use Erasmus' division, by focusing on *copia rerum* rather than on *copia verborum*. To establish suitable parallels between the rules set out in the second book of *De Copia* and their implementation in *De Pueris* is the subject of this article.

Erasmus suggests eleven methods of elaboration in his manual on style.⁶ Our purpose is best served by following his arrangement and pointing out how he applies the recommendations made in *De Copia*. Not all of the eleven methods need concern us here. Several of them contain overlapping ideas, present subordinate concepts, or concern elements that are so intricately woven into overall argumentation they cannot be documented separately. In this matter we let ourselves be guided by Erasmus who himself acknowledges that not all of the methods listed by him are of equal weight, and so treats individual sections accordingly.

The first method suggested in *De Copia* deals with procedures used in expanding the original "wrapped-up" statement by listing its constituent parts.⁷ As examples Erasmus uses the expression "comprehensive education," which he expands by listing the various fields of study, or the phrase "riotous living," which he enlarges by setting out a number of ways to waste money.⁸ *De Pueris* offers several examples of this method.

For instance, the statement "their own lives have served as [bad] examples" is detailed in the following manner:

The youngster sees his father intoxicated and uttering streams of profanities, repeatedly witnesses banquets highlighted by extravagance and sensuality, constantly hears the house ringing with the din of mime-actors, flutists, lute-players and dancers.⁹

Similarly, "parents crushed by unbearable shame" brought on them by their corrupted children is expanded by enumerating the ways their sons and daughters have compromised or grieved them: by committing criminal offences, prostituting themselves, contracting diseases or dying a disgraceful death as a consequence of their dissolute life.¹⁰

The order can also be reversed so that the expanded version precedes the summary statement: "when a boy is led into church he learns to kneel, fold his hands, uncover his head — in short: assume a pose of complete reverence."¹¹

While Erasmus recommends the method of particularizing a general statement, he also cautions the student against heaping up arguments without discernible structure. He therefore suggests a division into organized parts.¹² "He was a total monster" may be detailed by considering first the body, then the mind; "he was quite drenched" can be elaborated by proceeding to the various parts of the body, describing their condition in order, "from top to toe."¹³ We find the recommendation for organized particularization applied in *De Pueris*. Erasmus starts with a general accusation against people who allow their son's first years to pass without the benefits of education. He then subdivides this group into (a) parents who entirely neglect their children's education, (b) those who start too late and (c) those who provide an education that must be unlearned later on.¹⁴ The same pointedly organized approach is evident elsewhere. Discussing the idea of perfection, Erasmus divides the topic into three parts, dealing separately with each of the three contributing factors, nature, education and practice.¹⁵ A similar principle prevails in his discussion of the learning process. He starts with a statement of disposition — "The learning of a language depends mainly on two faculties: memory and imitation" — and then proceeds to discuss these elements in succession.¹⁶

Methods Two, Three and Four involve elaboration by dwelling on results, causes and circumstances respectively. Erasmus treats these

methods in passing since they may be viewed as special cases of Method One or as contributing factors to Method Five, which deals with *enargeia* or vividness. The examples given under this heading also involve listing details of a general proposition, but differ from Method One in accentuating description rather than analysis. The details related are designed to "bring an event before the eyes with all the colours filled in"¹⁷ — they have to be dramatic and involve not only the reader's mind, but also his eyes and ears. Thus, Quintilian, whom Erasmus quotes in this section, describes the sacking of a city by listing the various movements taking place (burning, looting, running, fighting) and relating the concomitant emotional reactions (mothers clinging to their children, lovers embracing each other and saying farewell, soldiers quarreling about booty).¹⁸ Erasmus parallels this effect in *De Pueris* when he elaborates on the simple statement "schools have become torture chambers" so vividly that the reader can almost hear the "thudding of the sticks, the swishing of the rod, howling, moaning, shouts of brutal abuse."¹⁹

"Characterization" is another rhetorical device recommended in the *Copia* under the heading of *enargeia*. It involves describing characters or emotional states that have become stereotyped in comedy and rhetoric, such as boasters, sycophants, misers and gluttons.²⁰ In *De Pueris* the description of the furious schoolteacher fits this category. He is described "with snake-like eyes and narrow, screwed-up mouth, a voice as shrill as that of a ghost, a ghastly visage and bobbing head. . . the image of a demon from hell."²¹

Another method of producing vividness is the introduction of direct speech "in which we supply each person with appropriate utterances."²² Erasmus mentions the speeches inserted in their narratives by the historians Thucydides, Sallust and Livy, but also recommends, on a smaller scale, the introduction of striking sayings or vivid exclamations that can credibly be attributed to a story's main characters.

In *De Pueris* Erasmus highlights anecdotes by quoting directly. For instance, when relating an example of improper direction in studies, to emphasize the point that it is wrong to force a young person into studies that are distasteful to him, he switches to direct speech when describing the reaction of the victim: "I feel so strongly about this," the young man is made to exclaim, "that whenever I turn to my studies it is as if a sword were driven through my heart!"²³ Similarly, Erasmus adds force to his rejection of punitive measures in education by quoting the *ipsissima verba* of a schoolmaster who has come to repent his actions: "I almost destroyed his character before I learned to understand it."²⁴ Erasmus underlines the point of the example by letting the protagonist of the story pronounce the message in person, and so succeeds in presenting his argument more vividly.

A special mode of employing direct speech is "dramatization," intro-

ducing fictitious speakers of importance or gravity. Examples in the *Copia* include past leaders of a city, famous ancestors, the country speaking with parental authority or the laws personified.²⁵ In the same sense Erasmus introduces Method as a speaker in *De Pueris*, crying out to the student: "If you do this you will bring ruin and disgrace upon yourself."²⁶ More frequent in *De Pueris* is the fictitious interlocutor, usually an opponent, as in this brief dialogue between the orator as proponent of humane teaching methods and the anonymous defenders of corporal punishment:

Some may object: 'What then should be done with boys who only through flogging can be driven to their studies?'

My reply is simply: 'What would you do if an ox or donkey wandered into your classroom? Would you not drive him back to the country. . .?'

'But the teacher's flock of pupils decreases then.'

'Yes, and what then?'

'Well, his earning will too. . .'²⁷

This kind of dialogue, then, serves the same end as quotation or characterization by fulfilling the demand for vividness in a speaker's presentation.

Method Six is concerned with digression as means of elaboration. Erasmus points out that commonplaces allow the speaker to dwell longer on a given proposition, listing as examples such topics as the fickleness of fortune, the inevitability of death, the power of money, etc.²⁸ The device of digression is also used in *De Pueris*, where Erasmus dwells on the commonplace notion that "mankind has learned from animals many useful things" as part of the argument that a father should demonstrate as much responsibility as is shown by animals toward their offspring. Erasmus uses the commonplace to list all sorts of skills that man has acquired by imitating or observing animals. He mentions that we have learned the art of bloodletting from the hippopotamus, the use of the syringe from the ibis, the efficacy of various drugs from the practice of deers, lizards, swallows, turtles and bears.²⁹ All this has no bearing on the argument, but allows the orator to display his skill and erudition, for a digression serves the purpose of pleasing the reader's literary tastes, creating a certain mood or, more generally, setting the stage for an argument.³⁰

In Method Seven Erasmus recommends the use of epithets, not only for description, but also for particularization and emphasis. The examples given in the *Copia* are closely paralleled in *De Pueris*. "Hercules, reducer of monsters" (used in *De Copia*) is similar in kind to "Adam, the first man of the human race" in *De Pueris* — both epithets are derived from the distinctive role played by each man. Similarly, the expression "history,

the teacher of life" (found in *De Copia*) is akin to the phrase "nature, the mother of all things," both appositions describing roles.³¹ Natural descriptive phrases are said in the *Copia* to belong to the realm of poetry, but the examples "liquid founts, golden sun, rolling rivers" find their counterparts in phrases used in *De Pueris*, such as "sweetly smelling flowers" and "brightly verdant fields."³² Epithets may also add force to a statement. Examples cited in the *Copia* include "Plato, the most reliable authority" or "Aristarchus, the most learned of men," where epithets of praise are used to make the information conveyed sound more reliable. Similar expressions are found in *De Pueris* where Erasmus cites the authorities of "the great philosopher Aristotle" and the "supreme poet" Virgil.³³ In both cases he employs laudatory terms to add gravity to his source and thereby lend authority to his own statements.

Method Eight concerns *peristasis*, the expansion of circumstances, but Erasmus contents himself with a definition of this method and goes on without giving an example because *peristasis* "pervades the whole speech and cannot be illustrated by a short example."³⁴

The ninth method deals with modes of amplification, one of the most important devices of epideictic speeches. Of those listed in the *Copia*, *De Pueris* employs most often the devices of "advancing by degrees," "comparing the lesser to the greater" and *synathroismos*, the accumulation of phrases, especially synonyms.³⁵ As an example of the first mode, advancing by degrees, Erasmus quotes Cicero: "It is an offence to tie up a Roman citizen, a crime to flog him. . . what shall I call crucifying him?"³⁶ This step-by-step escalation of an argument is also represented in *De Pueris*. In his accusation of parents who neglect their children's education, Erasmus proceeds from the basis that "infanticides only destroy the body, but these parents destroy the mind." From there he goes on to say that they "also cause harm to society. . . moreover, they sin against God."³⁷ Thus the offence of negligent parents is gradually amplified from the basic statement, "murder is a crime, destruction of the mind is worse," to a more advanced one, "it is not only a crime against one person, but against society," to the most serious indictment, "a crime, not only against men, but also against God."

Amplification may also be achieved by arguing from the lesser to the greater. In the *Copia* Erasmus quotes Cicero as an example:

Scipio, that distinguished figure, when holding public office, killed Tiberius Gracchus when he was causing a moderately serious political upheaval in Rome etc.³⁸

The comparison is between Rome and the world, a moderate upheaval and universal rioting, a private person and a man holding office — in each case the argument proceeds from the lesser to the greater. This type of

reasoning is frequently found in *De Pueris*. Favourite comparisons are those between animals and humans, chattel and child (or more generally: inanimate and animate), body and soul, heathen and Christian.³⁹ For example:

When a pup or foal showing qualities of superior breeding is born on an estate it is subjected, as a matter of course, to immediate training; . . . efficient farmers train seedlings when they are still tender. . . .⁴⁰

This succession of arguments aims at the conclusion: if even lesser beings are subjected to early training, if even plants are guided in their growth while they are still tender shoots, how much more important is it to provide early childhood education for human beings who are by nature superior to animals and plants.

Similarly, Erasmus argues that

it is possible that you may own land that is beautifully cultivated, but a son whose culture has been shamefully neglected; or a mansion filled with exquisite works of art, but a son whose soul has no beauty at all.⁴¹

Here the point of comparison is: a child is more precious than possessions, beauty of the soul is more desirable than physical trappings. If you have any concern for the lesser, how much more should you care for the greater good.

The heathen-Christian comparison is perhaps the most interesting variation as it is the logical development of the comparison between barbarian nations and their own native civilization used by ancient rhetoricians. Both the classical and the "modern" brand is represented in *De Pueris*:

If there existed a Thessalian witch who had the power and the desire to transform your son into a swine or a wolf would you not think that no punishment could be too severe for her? But what you find revolting in her you eagerly practise yourself.⁴²

Here are shades of Apuleius' *Golden Ass* and Homer's Circe. Now consider the modern application of the same principle:

A great many customs have crept into the lives of Christians that would have been too horrible even for Scythians and Phrygians.

Or,

Perhaps for the Jews of a long time ago this sort of discipline was appropriate, but nowadays we must interpret these sayings from the Old Testament more liberally.⁴³

In each of these arguments the speaker prevails upon the audience's sense of shame and builds his case on the current bias, reasoning: we are better, greater, nobler than they, therefore our actions must be proportionately greater and nobler than theirs.

In the context of expansion by amplification Erasmus also mentions *synathroismos*, accumulation of synonyms. Again he quotes Cicero by way of illustration: "Present was the keeper of the prison gate, the praetor's thug, the destruction and terror of allied and Roman citizens alike, the lictor Sextius."⁴⁴ Accumulation is a device frequently employed in *De Pueris* although the expressions are more often related than strictly synonymic, as in the phrase "ravaged by gluttony, wine-bibbing, lack of sleep, brawling, duelling or, to crown them all, the disgraceful pox."⁴⁵ A most impressive example because of its forcefulness is Erasmus' tirade against lack of self-control:

Lust is a hideous brute; extravagance a devouring and insatiable monster, drunkenness a savage beast, anger a fearful creature, ambition a ghastly animal.⁴⁶

Similarly effective is the description of misanthropic teachers:

their expression always forbidding, their speech invariably morose; . . . they seem ill-tempered, are unable to say anything in a pleasant manner and can hardly manage to return a smile.⁴⁷

In each case the device used is *synathroismos*, a series of inter-related expressions that have a cumulative effect and therefore not only expand but also amplify the argument.

Method Ten concerns the invention of propositions, a skill that cannot be transmitted by rules, but requires imagination and practice. However, Erasmus points out some general guidelines: the student should take into consideration *staseis*, categories of arguments, appropriate to each type of speech. The "persuasive" type represented in *De Pueris* draws upon what is "proper and laudable, useful, safe and easy, necessary and pleasant."⁴⁸

Erasmus' propositions put forth in *De Pueris* rest on the following arguments:

- children are their parents' most precious possession and should therefore not be neglected;
- parents have an obligation (natural, social and religious) to educate their children;
- education is beneficial to the child because it leads him on the path of honesty, and to the parent because their child will be a credit and a source of comfort to them in their old age.

Possible objections are eliminated:

- objection: small children do not have the constitution to put up with the rigours of studying;
answer: on the contrary, since knowledge is based on memory and imitation and children have a special ability for both, early childhood education is desirable;
- objection: very little is accomplished in the early years of training, it is therefore not worth the trouble and expense;
answer: small contributions have a cumulative effect and add up to a great goal;
- objection: studies have a detrimental effect on the child's physical development;
answer: licentious living has a more detrimental effect than studies; a good teacher will counteract any negative side-effects.

This last point is developed further: the ideal teacher is well-informed, of good character and gentle disposition, skilful and imaginative in his approach to education.

The various sources of argument are thus well represented in *De Pueris*. The topic of propriety is contained in the reference to the parents' obligation toward society and God; comparison with material goods and reminders that children are their parents' security and comfort in old age introduces the idea that education is useful and advantageous; mention of the children's receptiveness and good memory centres on the argument of facility and ease; the topic of pleasure is considered in the demand that the teacher be congenial and present his material in an attractive manner; nature supplies the topic of necessity.

Method Eleven deals with proofs by example. Erasmus discusses the various forms examples can take, such as stories, proverbs or well-known sayings, parallels or similes.⁴⁹ This method is amply represented in *De Pueris*. Stories range from expanded quips to detailed scenes. An episode illustrating the usefulness of education provides a succinct example:

Aristippus once gave a witty answer to a wealthy but dull-witted citizen who had asked what benefits a young man would derive from education. 'Well, at least he will have this advantage that in the theatre he won't sit down as one lump of stone on another.'⁵⁰

Here only a bare outline of the circumstances is given. The story focuses on Aristippus' words and the audience is invited to draw their own conclusions. In another section Erasmus presents a more elaborate example illustrating the effects of brutality on a child's development. He outlines the victim's background, describes in detail the punishments inflicted, vividly pictures the tormentor and dwells on the consequences of the treatment, reiterating the point of the example.⁵¹

Proverbs and maxims, recommended in the *Copia* as devices to establish the validity of a proposition, are also found in *De Pueris*. They range from popular sayings ("Seeing is better than hearing") to biblical wisdom ("Bad talk corrupts good manners") and classical *sententiae*, such as Seneca's "No age is too old for learning," or Isocrates' "We learn best when we have a desire to learn."⁵²

In the *Copia* Erasmus acknowledges the usefulness of similes, metaphors and parallels as means of persuasion.⁵³ Picturesque language is employed to good effect in *De Pueris* where Erasmus likens temptations to entanglement in brambles, the natural, uncivilized human being to a shapeless lump, or the educational process to pouring liquid into a vessel.⁵⁴ More significant, however, is the use of such figures in proofs to illustrate a point made or to argue by analogy.

Modern textbooks may distinguish between examples and parallels, but Erasmus glosses over the difference:

The more pedantic may wish to distinguish the illustrative example from the parallel, taking the example as something definitely done by someone, the parallel as an analogous situation to be found in events in general. . . even so, the methods of expanding the parallel are exactly the same as those for the example.⁵⁵

We may therefore follow Erasmus' views in our arrangement by treating examples and parallels under one heading.

In the *Copia* Erasmus uses as an example the parallel between the dangers of navigation and the perils of life.⁵⁶ A similar comparison is drawn in *De Pueris*. Addressing parents who neglect to prepare their children for their vocation, he says, "You set him on a chariot but fail to teach him the art of driving." Similarly, he fortifies the statement "the greater your wealth the more you need the guidance of philosophy" with a concrete image, using the parallel "the larger a ship and the bulkier its cargo, the more it needs a skilful steersman."⁵⁷ In these cases simple analogies are drawn between a career and chariot-driving in one instance, between possessions and cargo in the other. The analogy then becomes part of the argument: just as it would be absurd to let an unskilled man drive a chariot or pilot a ship, so an uneducated person is unfit to manage his life. Such comparisons can be expanded to link several analogies with one conclusion.

The simple statement "it is absurd to lavish care on one's material possessions but to neglect one's education" is illustrated and confirmed by a sequence of parallels in which the man who pays more attention to money-making than to education is likened to one who cares more for his shoes than for his feet or is more concerned about his appearance than about his health.⁵⁸ Similarly, the statement "man will turn out an unproductive brute unless he is educated from the beginning" is expanded

and at the same time fortified by a string of parallels: trees need grafting to produce superior fruit; dogs need to be trained for the hunt, horses for the saddle, oxen for the plough — man must be trained for rational living.⁵⁹

In using comparisons, variety is important. The speaker should apply as many different illustrations as possible at each point. Erasmus recommends drawing from different sources, listing as possible suppliers of examples and parallels historians, philosophers, poets and theologians. Another way of achieving variety is to refer to different nations or to take examples from several periods in history or different walks of life.⁶⁰ This recommendation is well heeded in *De Pueris*. Several of the illustrative examples are taken from Greek and Roman history using as models Alexander the Great, Aemilius Paulus, Pliny, the Gracchi and Cato.⁶¹ More frequently the heroes of anecdotes and sources of quotations are philosophers and orators, among them Demosthenes, Isocrates and Quintilian, Plato, Aristotle and Diogenes.⁶² St. Paul and Augustine represent the Christian tradition; among the poets Virgil and Hesiod are quoted more than once.⁶³ Further variety is introduced by drawing not only on Greek and Roman tradition, but also by referring to other nations. For instance, Erasmus lists among the model families who surround their children with an atmosphere of learning, the Dutch Canter family, the court of Ferdinand and Isabella and the family of his friend Thomas More.⁶⁴ He also draws examples from various professions, that of the farmer, sailor, soldier or athlete.⁶⁵

Even though most examples are classical and taken from ancient sources, contemporary history and events are by no means neglected and are given weight by being represented as first-hand information and eye-witness reports. Thus we find among his examples references to contemporary initiation rites, teaching methods and school experiences.⁶⁶ In this manner Erasmus encompasses all possibilities and appeals to a broad audience, true to his recommendation to include examples from a wide spectrum of illustrations, "ancient, splendid, national and domestic."⁶⁷

Throughout Erasmus' catalogue of methods in the *Copia* are sprinkled practical hints and professional tricks — special effects that will make the orator's speech more convincing and effective. He suggests using examples that "will make the hearer feel superior," which is to be done by introducing accounts about "women, children, slaves and barbarians."⁶⁸ Another such trick is to inflate an example's source so as to make it the pronouncement of a great sage, an expert in the field or a proven counsellor.⁶⁹ We have already seen both of these strategems applied in *De Pueris* with heathens serving as modern objects of condescension. We have also seen the judicious use of epithets lending a statement weight and authority or a proposition higher credibility.⁷⁰

The importance of quantity in presenting arguments, propositions and illustrations has also been pointed out. Coacervation of related expressions has already been mentioned in Method Nine as a means of adding force to a presentation. In addition, Erasmus recommends employing hypothesis.⁷¹ This mode of supplementing real arguments is also used in *De Pueris*. After all the propositions for early and proper training have been presented, a hypothesis is added:

Imagine the progress we would have made towards acquiring knowledge if instead of all that worthless trash. . . we had absorbed straightway the material I have just recommended.⁷²

Other tricks of the trade mentioned in *De Copia* and followed up in *De Pueris* are methods to make a proposition more palatable. These include prefatory explanations to prepare for difficulties, or proceeding from a startling to a more reasonable proposition.⁷³ In *De Pueris* Erasmus first demands from the parent that he assume the role of the teacher himself if necessary. Then, anticipating objections that this is too burdensome a task, he goes on to the more common notion of selecting a suitable teacher.⁷⁴ In another section, he paints a picture of the ideal teacher, then mollifies protesters by declaring himself ready for compromises: "I must confess that it is much easier to specify the qualities of the ideal schoolmaster than to find one. . . ."⁷⁵

Hints to the would-be experts include rules on how to retain or rekindle the hearers' interest or how to make them more receptive to the ideas proposed. These recommendations include the use of asseverations to support proofs and propositions.⁷⁶ This device is particularly frequent in *De Pueris*. Exclamations designed to sway hearers, forestall doubts and curtail further opposition include phrases such as, "Is there anything more precious than. . .?" "Would it not be ridiculous if. . .?" "I hardly need to add" and "It is beyond argument that. . . ."⁷⁷

Finally there is Erasmus' advice for clinching an argument: end it with *epiphonema*, a pungent remark or summary comment. Examples in the *Copia* are taken from Virgil ("Such toil it was to found the Roman race!") and Martial ("Shall I tell you what you are? A jack of all trades!").⁷⁸ These expressions are paralleled by Erasmian phrases in *De Pueris*: "Such is the mentality of most teachers!" or "[Such a father is] neither a man himself nor a son of man!"⁷⁹ Remarks of this sort round off a paragraph and form an emphatic conclusion.

To examine an oration's rhetorical devices is like watching a play from the wings: it takes away the illusion of grandeur and lessens the special effects. Our examination can be justified, however, by the nature of *De Pueris*, which is labelled by Erasmus himself as an *epideixis*, "an example of a theme first handled concisely and then expanded and broadly treated."⁸⁰ As the author of *De Pueris*, Erasmus assumes the

rhetician's role for the sake of his student audience; therefore we find his speech not just adequately but copiously illustrated, his examples not merely pleasing in variety but covering the whole range of sources, his style not only rich but occasionally cloying — we find in *De Pueris* the rules of rhetoric writ large for the benefit of the beginner.

The wealth of material exemplifying the methods recommended in *De Copia* makes *De Pueris* a fine example of rhetorical craftsmanship and indeed a suitable model to be set before the eyes of a young prince aspiring to letters or any other young man with rhetorical ambitions. The speech is a most useful example for readers of *De Copia*, which is itself amply supplied with illustrative material, but contains many rules that can only be fully explicated in context or on a larger scale. It is not surprising therefore that *De Pueris* gained instant popularity with Erasmus' contemporaries. Its success is no doubt also due to the fact that Erasmus combined a useful exercise with a literary composition, rhetorical form with moral content.

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Notes

References to *Copia* follow the Leiden edition (LB), vol. I, column and section; references to *De Pueris* follow the text in *Opera Omnia Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (ASD), Amsterdam 1969 —, page and line number.

- 1 *De Pueris* (Basel 1529) was originally composed as an adjunct to the *Copia* (Paris 1512), to serve as a sample speech illustrating the principles laid down in the manual (cf. LBI 110D, Allen *Ep.* 2189:51ff.) but Erasmus also used the speech as a forum to express his views on childhood education. Cf. Margolin's assessment in his preface to *De Pueris* (ASD I-2, p.9): "C'est une texte littéraire, ce n'est pas un catalogue de schèmes et de tropes."
- 2 Most recently by M.L. Clarke, "The Educational Writings of Erasmus," *Erasmus in English* 8 (1976), 23-31. See also W.W. Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aims and Method of Education* (Cambridge 1907), which contains a partial translation of *De Pueris*. The quotations in this article, however, are based on the translation of B.C. Verstraete to be published shortly in *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto 1974—), referred to as CWE.
- 3 J.-C. Margolin, *Erasme, Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* (Geneva 1966), pp. 599-612.
- 4 The *Ciceronianus* was published in February, 1528 (Allen *Ep.* 1948); *De Pueris* in September, 1529 (Allen *Ep.* 2189). It should be noted, however, that its genesis goes back to 1508 when Erasmus composed its first draft. The manuscript was subsequently lost or returned incomplete by the man to whom it had been entrusted (see Allen, *Epp.* 244, 2189).
- 5 Cf. *Copia* LB I 110D:
I did have an example of a theme first handled concisely and then expanded and broadly treated, but I have not put it in lest the addition should prove too heavy a burden. The material may be found in the book dedicated to the illustrious young prince, William, duke of Cleves, and called *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*.
- 6 LB I 75A-100B. The quotations from *De Copia* are based on the translation by B.I. Knott in CWE 24.
- 7 75A: "si quod summam ac generatim dici poterat, id latius explicetur atque in partes diducatur."

- 8 75B-C.
- 9 36:5-7.
- 10 34:14ff.
- 11 47:3-5.
- 12 76B: "vel ordine scito, vel apta distributione."
- 13 76 C-D.
- 14 40:32 – 41:2.
- 15 39:9f.
- 16 50:3f.
- 17 77E: "...quoties seu coloribus expressam in tabula spectandam proponemus ut nos depinxisse, non narrasse, lector spectasse, non legisse videtur."
- 18 78A (Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 8.3.67ff.).
- 19 54:24-6.
- 20 80Bff., as for instance in Theophrastus' *Characters* or Philostratus' *Images*.
- 21 59:23-5; compare Philostratus the Younger, *Images* 2 where the executioner is depicted with glaring eyes, wild hair, red skin and overhanging eyebrows.
- 22 81D: "quoties unicuique sermonem accomodamus aetati, generi, patriae, vitae, instituto, animo, moribusque congruentem."
- 23 44:24 – 45:1.
- 24 56:12f.
- 25 81 D-F: *prosopopoiia* and *prosopographia*.
- 26 40:12f.
- 27 63:8ff.
- 28 82F, so-called *chreiai* treated, for instance, by Theon, Aphthonius and Libanius.
- 29 37:9ff. Most of the information comes from Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 8. 27. 41.
- 30 82 E: "aut vituperandi, aut ornandi, aut delectandi aut praeparandi."
- 31 83C, 50:21; 83D, 28:12-13.
- 32 83D, 68:21f.
- 33 83B, 69:23, 62:20f.
- 34 83F.
- 35 83F: "quoties gradibus aliquot pervenitur non modo ad summum sed interim quoddammodo supra summum"; 84B: "comparatio a minoribus incrementum petit"; 84E: "amplificamus et congerie verborum ac sententiarum idem significantium."
- 36 84A.
- 37 35:9ff.
- 38 84C-D (Cicero, *Verr.* 1.3).
- 39 From inanimate to animate: 65:24ff., 75:16f.; from body to soul: 27:19f., 35:7ff., 65:15f., for arguments from animals to human beings, possessions to child and heathens to Christians, see below, notes 40-3.
- 40 27:21ff., compare 29:14ff, 38:10ff.
- 41 30:1ff., compare 26:14ff.
- 42 34:25ff.
- 43 60:34 – 61:1, 62:7f.
- 44 84F (Cicero, *Verr.* 5.118).
- 45 53:11f.
- 46 34:28 – 35:2.
- 47 54:4-6.
- 48 88C.

- 49 89A: "complectitur et fabulam et apologum, proverbium, iudicia, parabolam seu collationem, imaginem et analogiam." Erasmus does not always make a rigorous distinction between "example" and "parallel" (see above p. 135) and is casual about the difference between "metaphor" and "simile" (cf. 95C, 18 F) since they can all be used for the same rhetorical purpose and presented in similar form.
- 50 31:26f.
- 51 59:12 – 60:28.
- 52 44:1 (*Adag.* 1.2.19); 37:3 (St. Paul in I Cor. 15:33); 47:30 (Seneca *Ep.* 76.3); 54:2f. (Isocrates, *Ad Dem.* 18).
- 53 95C-E, where Erasmus points out that an image contributes more to vividness, emphasis and pleasure than to proof.
- 54 25:16, 33:6, 36:21.
- 55 94B-C:
Iam vero si quis superstitiosius parabolam ab exemplo separet, ut exemplum sit certae rei gestae, parabola similitudo sumpta ab his quae fiunt. . . tamen eadem est dialatandae parabolae ratio, quam in exemplo demonstravimus.
- 56 94 E.
- 57 30:18, 31:2.
- 58 26:21f.
- 59 29:1-9, compare 38:19-23:
A dog is born to hunt, a bird to fly, a horse to race, and an ox to plough: so every human being is born to pursue wisdom and to live an upright life.
- 60 89C-E.
- 61 40:7 (Alexander), 44:5, 7 (Aemilius Paulus, Pliny), 49:3 (Gracchi), 50:13 (Cato).
- 62 28:17 (Demosthenes), 54:2 (Isocrates), 74:8 (Quintilian), 47:16 (Plato), 45:8 (Aristotle), 31:28 (Diogenes). See also Margolin's *Index Fontium*, *op.cit.* 621-2.
- 63 34:1 (St. Paul), 32:17 (St. Augustine), 33:9f., 45:11-3, 46:11-21, 62:20 (Virgil), 48:12, 72:3-4, 74:19f. (Hesiod).
- 64 52:2-4.
- 65 47:25 (farmer), 40:3 (sailor), 63:19f. (soldier), 39:17 (athlete).
- 66 44:14ff. (corporal punishment), 61:1ff, 20ff. ("hazing," "evening walks"), 70:23ff. (teaching methods).
- 67 89E.
- 68 *Ibidem.*
- 69 89E – 90A: "augentur commendatione."
- 70 See above, pp. 130-31.
- 71 84B.
- 72 69:20-2.
- 73 107 D.
- 74 51:32ff.
- 75 63:15ff.
- 76 108B.
- 77 26:13, 27:19, 29:29, 32:14.
- 78 97D (Virgil, *Aen.* 1.33, Martial 2.7).
- 79 63:14, 32:13.
- 80 See above, note 5.