

## THE PRESENCE OF THE *PROGYMNASMATA* BY APHTHONIUS IN SPAIN DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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**S**tudies on Humanism have generally paid scant attention to Spanish humanism. This is partly a consequence of the widespread notion that this movement was less present in Spain than in the rest of Europe and that it had different features. It is true that Humanism in Spain had its own characteristics and, as Luis Gil<sup>2</sup> has pointed out, fell short in the teaching of the classical languages, but this does not mean that the ideals of the movement were not present in the universities or among Spanish humanists, as González Rolán<sup>3</sup> and López Grigera<sup>4</sup> have established for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

My aim in this study is to show that, as regards the dissemination and teaching of the *progymnasmata* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish humanists knew about and used European textbooks and that their ways of disseminating the exercises were the same as those in Europe.

In the process of recovering classical rhetoric, the *progymnasmata* played a fundamental role in the teaching reform carried out by the humanists. Of the Greek textbooks, those by Theon and Pseudo-Hermogenes were more suited to the teacher, whilst that of Aphthonius was more suitable for teaching students because of its division into theory and examples, as Kraus<sup>5</sup> has indicated. This is why humanists preferred the latter. In addition, Erasmus, in his *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores liber*,<sup>6</sup> explicitly recommended its use in the classroom.<sup>7</sup>

From the outset, there was a rapid dissemination of Aphthonius' textbook. An analysis of its use and dissemination by European humanists shows, however, that the text appeared in different forms: as specific textbooks, with or without

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2. L. Gil, *Estudios de Humanismo...*; et *Panorama social...*

3. T. González Rolán, "Los comienzos del Humanismo...".

4. L. López Grigera, "Corrientes y generaciones...".

5. M. Kraus, "Exercises for Text Composition", p. 1399.

6. Erasmus, *De ratione...*, p. 130-131.

7. Cf. T. Arcos Pereira, "Los primeros niveles...".

comments, or inserted in rhetorical manuals. Based on this analysis, the present study therefore comprises the following sections:

1. translations of Aphthonius into Latin and the vernacular languages;
2. commentaries on Aphthonius' text;
3. tables, diagrams and summaries of the Greek rhetorician's text;
4. progymnasmata based on Aphthonius;
5. progymnasmata inserted in rhetorical manuals.

Proof of the success achieved by the progymnasmata is the spread of the concept of "preliminary or initiation exercises," which goes beyond the strict meaning of "Progymnasmata" in the Greek textbooks. Thus, we find texts with this title referring to the first exercises of rhetoric and, under the same criteria,<sup>8</sup> of those in other fields, such as logic, medicine, astronomy or law.<sup>9</sup>

## Translations of Aphthonius

### *Translations in Europe*

As is well-known, the first Latin translation of Aphthonius' handbook was made by the Dutch humanist, Rodolphus Agricola, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. But Agricola's work was not published until 1532 in Cologne, when Alardus Aemstelredamus edited it in the Johann Soter press. Later, in 1539, Alardus published Agricola's version in the *Opera Omnia*, in Cologne, in the printing house of Gymnicus.

The first published Latin version was by Joannes Maria Catanaeus, printed by Caligula Bacilerius, in Bologna, in 1507. A greatly modified second edition was printed on Giacomo Mazzochi's press, in Rome, in 1517. Shortly afterwards, new translations followed, such as that by Gentian Hervetus, published in London in 1520, printed by Richard Pynson; that of Antonius Bonfini in Lyon, printed by Sébastien Gryphius in 1538; the mixed *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo* published by Reinhard Lorich in its 1542 edition, at Christian Egenolff's press in Marburg, and also in 1546 in Frankfurt by the same printer; that of Natale Conti, published in 1550 in Basel, at Peter Perna's printing house; and those of Camerarius, printed first in Leipzig in 1570 by Ernestus Voegelinus and secondly in 1588, also in Leipzig, in Johannes Steinman's printing house.

Among these publications, the mixed *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo*, with Lorich's comments, became an editorial success throughout Europe, where it was

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8. Examples of these types of textbooks include the *Progymnasmata Rhetorica* by Joannes Telgius, published in Cologne in 1561, or the *Rhetoricae artis progymnasmata*, by Thomas Blebel, edited in Leipzig in 1584. For more on these authors, see M. E. Curbelo Tavío, "Fuentes y ejemplos..." "Un nuevo manual..." "Progymnasmata...?". A Spanish example is the compendium by Juan Pérez de Toledo (Johannes Petreius Toletanus), published in 1539 in Alcalá by Juan de Brocar. As indicated in its title (see Bibliography), the text is a collection of Seneca's *declamationes*.

9. Examples of these types of textbooks are Johannes Oldendorpius (1540); Jacobus Aubertus (J. Aubert) (1579), Franciscus Loscus (1559), Tycho Brahe ([1589]-1610).

printed many times. Throughout the century, many reprints were also made from the translations of Agricola and Catanaeus.<sup>10</sup>

### *Translations in Spain*

We do not know of any printed editions in Spain of the Latin version of Aphthonius' text before 1546. This was the year when the copy recently found by Pérez Custodio<sup>11</sup> in the Biblioteca Pública Episcopal del Seminario de Barcelona [*Episcopal Public Library of the Barcelona Seminar*] was published. This copy was the translation by Rodolfo Agricola, published in Barcelona in Carles Amorós' printing house, possibly at the request of Francisco Escobar, a Valencian humanist, as Pérez Custodio suggests.<sup>12</sup> We know from Juan de Mal Lara, a disciple of Escobar, that Escobar used the progymnasmata in his classes, so, as Pérez Custodio points out, he may have been interested in having a printed text.

This Barcelona edition of Agricola's version was made fourteen years after Alardus' first edition and shows a preference in Spain for this translation made by the Dutch humanist. Thus, of all the Latin versions of the Greek text, the first Spanish editions opted for Agricola, as corroborated by the aforementioned Barcelona edition in 1546 and the two editions printed in Salamanca in 1550 and 1556 by Andreas Portonarius.

The first of the editions printed in Salamanca seems to be a copy of the one edited by Christian Wechel in Paris in 1549. It contains Agricola's translation, preceded by a brief letter to the reader, and assigns the progymnasmata to the *tria genera causarum*, which in the Salamanca edition is titled *CENSURA IN APHTHONII progymnasmatum elenchon*, absent from the Parisian text; both volumes include the text of the *Author innominatus de rhetoricis*, which had been published in the Froben edition of 1521<sup>13</sup> in a miscellaneous volume that included the Catanaeus' version and synoptic tables of the progymnasmata; the Salamanca edition includes Cicero's *Topica* at the end of the volume. All this is proof that at this time there was knowledge in Spain of the textbooks that were being published and used in Europe and that the editors did not limit themselves to reproducing existing editions, but also made decisions that enriched the new ones, as shown by the inclusion of Cicero's *Topica* by Andreas Portonarius.

Portonarius' second Salamanca edition was accompanied by a brief commentary by El Brocense and also included the *Author innominatus de Rhetoricis*. Some years later, Mal Lara also chose Agricola's version to accompany his commentary published in Seville in 1567. To this, he also added the text of the *Author innominatus*, a brief treatise on the figures and synoptic tables of the progymnasmata.

10. D. L. Clark, "The Rise and Fall..."; L. D. Green and J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric*..., p. 27-32.

11. V. Pérez Custodio, "Hallazgo...", p. 67-77.

12. At the *International Conference Europa Renascens* (Jaén-Baeza, November, 2017).

13. *Veterum aliquot De arte rhetorica traditiones de tropis in primis et schematis uerborum et sententiarum non aspernanda me Hercle opuscula, nunc primum in lucem edita, cum quibusdam aliis, quorum ordo sequenti pagella describitur*, Basileae, in aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, 1521, p. 191-231.

The only known edition made in Spain of the Latin version of Catanaeus was published by Palmireno in Valencia in 1552.<sup>14</sup> There were no published complete editions of the mixed *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo*,<sup>15</sup> probably due to Lorich's association with the Reformation. Lorich was included from 1554 in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, in the *Index* of Milan and, from 1564, was part of the *primae classis* authors, considered heretics or suspected of heresy.<sup>16</sup> However, as we shall see further on, Lorich exerted a profound influence on Spanish humanists, despite the lack of Spanish editions of his commentary.

In this section on translations of Aphthonius' text, we must also highlight the translation by Francisco Escobar published in Barcelona in 1558 in the printing house of Claudius Bornatius. Escobar produced his own translation because he considered that those circulating at the time did not conform to the Greek original; he rejected that of Agricola, considering it unworthy of the Dutch humanist's status, and that of Catanaeus because he did not agree with the alleged corrections made by the latter. These opinions could be due to his desire to promote his own work at the expense of that of the two European humanists, as Pérez Custodio suggests.<sup>17</sup> This translation was later reprinted in Europe together with a selection of Lorich's scholia,<sup>18</sup> in Hieronymus Commelinus' press house in 1597 in Heidelberg, and in Paris, in Sébastien Cramoisy's press house in 1621 and was reprinted several times throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> This shows that Escobar's version was known and disseminated in Europe.

As for vernacular translations, we know that there was one in Spanish by Pedro Simón Abril, now lost, published in Zaragoza in 1584. This makes it the second translation of Aphthonius into a Romance language, after that of Orazio Toscanella into Italian in 1578.<sup>20</sup>

Table 1. The Translations of Aphthonius in Europe and Spain in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

Europe	Spain
••Rodolphus Agricola, Colonia, 1532	
••Joannes Maria Catanaeus, Bononia, 1507; Roma, 1517	
••Gentian Heruetus, Londinium, 1520	
••Antonius Bonfini, Lugdunum, 1538	

14. V. Pérez Custodio, "Los *Progymnasmata* de Aftonio publicados por Palmireno en 1552"; T. Arcos Pereira, "El ejemplar salmantino..."; "Un nuevo ejemplar...".

15. V. Pérez Custodio, "Teaching more than rhetoric: *Progymnasmata* handbooks in Spain during the Renaissance," in the present volume, p. 251.

16. V. Pérez Custodio (ed.), Alfonso de Torres. *Progymnasmata*, p. CII.

17. *International Conference Europa Renascens* (Jaén-Baeza, November 2017).

18. V. Pérez Custodio, "Teaching more than rhetoric: *Progymnasmata* handbooks in Spain during the Renaissance," *infra*, p. 252

19. L. D. Green and J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric...*, p. 31.

20. *Ibid.*

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•• <i>Partim Agricola, partim</i> Catanæo, Reinhardus Lorichius, Marpurgum, 1542; Francofurtum ad Moenum, 1546	••Rodolphus Agricola, Barcino, 1546
••Natalis de Comitibus, Basilea, 1550	••Rodolphus Agricola, Salmantica, 1550
	••Joannes Maria Catanaeus, Palmirenus, Valentia, 1552
	••Rodolphus Agricola, El Brocense, Salmantica, 1556
	••Franciscus Scobarus, Barcino, 1558
••Joachimus Camerarius, Lipsia, 1567	••Rodolphus Agricola, Joannes Mallarae, Hispali, 1567
••O. Toscanella, <i>Esserciti di Aftonio Sofista tirati in lingua regolata italiana</i> , Venezia, 1578.	
	••Simón Abril, <i>Progymnasmata de Aftonio</i> , Zaragoza, 1584 (lost)

## Commentaries on Aphthonius' text

### *European commentaries*

In Agricola's edition of the *Lucubrationes aliquot lectu dignissimae...*, published in Cologne in 1539 by Johannes Gymnicus, Alardus Aemstelredamus included a long commentary on Aphthonius' text. This commentary, despite not being widely disseminated as would have been expected from the first commentary by a humanist, had a profound influence both on the ensuing commentaries and on the reworkings made by other humanists. In his scholia, Alardus deals with questions of translation, metrics, geography, history, usages and rhetorical manuals. He divides his commentary in two parts: the first comes after the theoretical section of Agricola's translation and the second comes after the example, and is always based on a word or an expression from the Latin text. The size of the scholia varies from one exercise to the other; the longest are those dedicated to *fabula*, *laus*, *thesis* and *legislatio*. Alardus' knowledge of rhetoric is wide-ranging; he refers to authors such as Aristotle, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, Priscian and also the contemporaries, Trebizond, Valla, Mosellanus, Erasmus or Melanchthon. There are numerous quotes and references; they are used to support the information he provides, and may consist in reproducing a fragment, recommending the consultation of a passage or a work, or mentioning an author. The number of authors cited is very high and includes the classics, Christians and the contemporaries; likewise, quotes and references to the Bible are plentiful. As for the examples, in addition to those of Aphthonius, he provides many more, generally undeveloped, in the quotes included in the scholia.<sup>21</sup>

21. D. García de Paso, "La *sententia*..."; T. Arcos Pereira and M. D. García de Paso, "El comentario de Alardo...".

Lorich's commentary became an editorial success during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was edited many times throughout Europe, together with the version made by Agricola or, as mentioned before and for a small group of editions, with that of Escobar. A first edition of the Agricola translation was published by Lorich in 1537. It contained no commentary but only the usual reading guides of this type of texts. In 1542 in Marburg, Christianus Egenolphus published a *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo* translation, accompanied by an extensive commentary that was corrected and extended in the 1546 edition, and reproduced again and again spreading its influence throughout Europe,<sup>22</sup> possibly more as a handbook for teachers than as a textbook for students.<sup>23</sup> Lorich's commentary did not separate the scholia into theory and examples as Aphthonius had done, contrary to Alardus. Unlike the latter, he includes a theoretical section of a general nature about the exercise, preceding the glosses of the text, which are based on words and expressions of the Latin version. At the end of the scholia, Lorich offers additional examples, with no commentary, except for the occasional observation. Although Lorich does not expressly mention Alardus, it is possible to trace his influence in the commentary, as proven by the numerous coincidences between them.<sup>24</sup> Lorich's advantage over Alardus lies in his numerous elaborated examples and his abundant textual quotes.<sup>25</sup>

In 1567, Camerarius published the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius in Leipzig, in a bilingual Greek-Latin edition, reissued in 1570 and in 1588 in the same city. The exercises were complemented by a selection of examples from Greek poets and prose writers translated into Latin by the humanist. They illustrate *fabula, narratiuncula, chria, sententia, comparatio, ethopoeia* and *descriptio*. Camerarius mentions that he did not find it appropriate to include examples of *locus communis, encomion* and *uituperatio, thesis* and *rogatio legum* because he considered them more demanding and more appropriate to a later stage of learning. The handbook concludes with a brief commentary on the progymnasmata and the additional examples, in which it deals with questions of translation, textual criticism and terminological aspects. Camerarius' main contribution consists of the numerous examples of Greek authors translated into Latin.

In Europe, no other commentary was comparable to that of Lorich until that of the German humanist Burchardus Harbart was published, including a commentary on the translation of *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo*. Harbart published in 1591 in Leipzig his *In Aphthonii sophistae Progymnasmata commentatio*, which includes a bilingual edition of the text of the Greek rhetorician. This was reprinted with modifications in the same city in 1596. The *Commentatio* is heavily influenced

22. D. L. Clark, "The Rise and Fall...", p. 261; L. D. Green and J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric...*, p. 28-30.

23. The influence of Lorich's commentary is not only illustrated by the numerous editions of his work, but also by its use in other commentaries, as we shall later see, and in its adaptations of the exercises in Latin or vernacular languages. An example of this is *A booke called the Foundation of Rhetorike* by Richard Rainolde, published in 1563 in London by John Kingston, which had a great influence in England.

24. T. Arcos Pereira and M. D. García de Paso, "El comentario de Alardo...".

25. M. E. Cuyás de Torres, "Afonio en el Renacimiento..."; et "Lorich: el lugar común..."; M. D. García de Paso and G. Rodríguez, "Los poetas clásicos..."; et "Los Comentarios..."; T. Arcos Pereira and M. D. García de Paso, "El comentario de Alardo...".

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by Lorich, from whom he takes not only the translation but also examples and comments. This is the last commentary made on the text of Aphthonius by a humanist in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to the previous ones, which started from a term or expression of the Latin version, Harbart uses the question-answer procedure to develop his exposition. The desire to spread knowledge that was characteristic of the Reformation can be perceived in the examples contributed by Harbart, added to those he takes from Lorich, and must be emphasized. Although in the Lorich's manual it is possible to find examples linked to the Lutheran movement in the 1542 edition, examples omitted in later editions,<sup>26</sup> in Harbart they acquire a clear indoctrinating character. Harbart considers that rhetoric must be in the service of theology in order to understand the sacred texts and transmit their message in a simple way, in accordance with Melancthon's theories, as Rodríguez Herrera has shown.<sup>27</sup>

### *The commentaries in Spain*

A commentary on the text of Aphthonius was also published in Spain. Years before the publication of Harbart's commentary, in 1567, the Spanish humanist Juan de Mal Lara published in Seville, in the press of Alonso Escribano, his *Scholia in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, with Agricola's translation, dedicated to the Count of Gelves, Álvaro de Portugal, and intended for his disciples in his Seville school. This commentary shows that, despite the absence of Spanish editions of Lorich's work, Mal Lara knew it well, as well as Alardus' and Theon's 1541 translation by Camerarius. However, Mal Lara's *Scholia* are not a mere compilation of previous authors. Instead, they show an original understanding of some aspects of the progymnasmatic theory and a clear pedagogical vocation, as shown by his synoptic tables and the addition of other teaching contents: a list of rhetorical figures, a summary of Joannes Despauterius Niniuita's catalog (Lyon, 1536) and the *Author innominatus* treatise, which was also found in the Salamanca editions of Agricola's version, as mentioned above. In contrast to the commentary by Lorich, who added numerous examples to his scholia to Aphthonius' text, that of Mal Lara, like that of Alardus, only provides scholia to the text of the Greek author and, to amplify the examples, he refers to classical and humanistic sources. As for its content, Mal Lara deals with *realia*, translation and other aspects related to the textbook, as Lorich and Alardus had done. It should be highlighted that the Seville humanist attaches great importance to *circumstantiae*, which he treats at length and independently (in the *Prolegomena*) since they influence all progymnasmata and not just *narratio*. It should also be noted that his understanding of the *fabula* has original features and, like Lorich and Alardus, he knew and used many classical and humanistic

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26. We have consulted the 1553 and 1578 editions, printed in Frankfurt by Christianus Egenolphus, and that of 1596, published by Jacobus Chouët.

27. G. Rodríguez Herrera, "Tradición y originalidad..."; et "*Rhetorica, ancilla Theologiae...*".

authors, among whom Erasmus stands out, despite being considered in Counter-Reformation Spain as an author far removed from orthodoxy.<sup>28</sup>

Along with the great commentaries above, we have already mentioned that versions of Agricola and Catanaeus were published in Spain with brief scholia, of which we have not found any similar ones in other commentaries on the Greek rhetorician's text. Thus, in 1552, Palmireno published in Valencia, in Joannes Mey's printing house, a miscellaneous volume dedicated to Jerónima Ribota with Catanaeus' translation of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*. To this he added some brief commentaries, *scholiola*, and a section on how to recognize the *status* according to Hermogenes, taken from the translation of Bonfini's hermogenic work, published in Lyon in 1538.<sup>29</sup> In the commentary, Palmireno uses Lorich as his source and points out that his commentary will not be extensive because he will only point to the sources and that he will follow Theon's recommendation (*Prog.*, 70) to adopt examples suitable to the exercises from the ancient authors.<sup>30</sup>

Years later, in 1556, El Brocense published Agricola's translation in Salamanca, accompanied by some brief annotations on the majority of the exercises. In these, he preferably refers to classic Latin authors in general, or points out works and authors in which examples can be found; among the humanists, he only mentions Poliziano in the scholia on the example of *narratio*. Only Aphthonius' examples are developed, except in the *thesis* case, in which he includes an additional one. There are some coincidences with Lorich and he takes from Priscian the possible types of *narratio*: *recta*, *inclinata*, *coniuncta*, etc., but we also find commentaries that are not present in these authors, as Ureña<sup>31</sup> has pointed out in his study of the handbook. As we have already mentioned, the text of the *Author innominatus de rhetoricis* completes the volume.

Francisco Escobar's commentary on his translation of the *Progymnasmata* is quite different. His initial purpose was to make a commentary on all the exercises, but illness forced him to limit it to the *fabula*. It differs from the other commentaries in that it does not consist of *scholia* to Aphthonius' text, but is about the definition of the concept of *fabula* and its relation to other forms of narration (parabola, example and fable, and, within the latter, poems, apologues and arguments). Escobar organizes his commentary in three sections: *inuentio*, *tractatio* and *usus*. He deals with *doctrina recepta* but with a methodology more appropriate to teaching. As for the authors, he only mentions classic authors, and in a limited number, without textual quotes, since he uses them as authority to support his explanations, as models for the student and as an example of theoretical aspects. He offers a small number of examples, some from tradition, such as that of Agrippa Menenius; and,

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28. T. Arcos Pereira and M. E. Cuyás de Torres, "Los *Scholia*..." "Los comentarios..." "La narración..."; M. D. García de Paso and G. Rodríguez, "Los poetas clásicos..." et "Los Comentarios..."; T. Arcos Pereira and M. D. García de Paso, "El comentario de Alardo..."

29. Antonius Bonfini (1538), p. 381-383.

30. V. Pérez Custodio, "Los *Progymnasmata* de Aftonio publicados por Palmireno..." T. Arcos Pereira, "El ejemplar salmantino..."

31. J. Ureña Bracero, "Algunas consideraciones..."



as a peculiarity, it stands out that he uses the change of colour of the rose in the *fabula* and not in the *narration*.<sup>32</sup>

Table 2. Aphthonius' *Scholia* in Europe and Spain

Europe	Spain
••Alardus Aemstelredamus, Colonia, 1532	
••Reinhardus Lorichius, Marpurgum, 1542; Francofurtum ad Moenum, 1546	
	••Palmirenus, Valentia, 1552
	••Franciscus Scobarius, Barcino, 1558
	••Joannes Mal Lara, Hispalis, 1567
••Burchardus Harbart, Lipsia, 1591	
••Escobar's edition, <i>cum notis ex commentariis Hadamarii</i> , [Heidelberga], 1597	

## Tables, diagrams and summaries, representations of the Greek rhetorician's text

### *Compendiums in Europe*

From a very early stage, Aphthonius' text was adapted to use in classrooms using summaries, diagrams or tables. The first summary can be found in Lorich's 1537 edition, with Agricola's version, as already mentioned. This same summary is also found in the Vratislava edition of 1540, a miscellaneous volume containing the version of Agricola of the progymnasmata, examples of exercises (of *chria* by Estéfano Nigro, of *thesis* and Mosellanus' *legislatio*), the *refutatio* of the barbarians' opinion on Jerome and the *confirmatio* of Dido's suicide for love by Mosellanus and the speech on the Bacchanalia by Titus Livy, which he wrongly attributes to Cato.<sup>33</sup> We must emphasize that these same examples are included in Lorich's 1542 edition, with the same error of attribution of the Bacchanalia speech. The summary is in an fold-out folio, bound after the first sheet of Mosellanus' *refutatio* and presents all the exercises with the definition, typology and various tips on treatment.

We have already mentioned in the translation section that the 1549 Paris edition by Wechel contained a summary (*schema*) of the exercises. It is characterized by its

32. T. Arcos Pereira and M. E. Cuyás de Torres, "Los comentarios...".

33. *Aphthonii* (sic) *Sophistae Progymnasmata Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete. Acceserunt breues cuiusque Progymnasmatis tabulae, cum aliquot exemplis. s. l. [Vratislaviae]*, 1540. Together with the version by Agricola, it contains: *Exempla Chriae ex Stephano Nigro. Refutatio de Mosellano: Quod uanum sit quae iacent barbari de Hieronymo ob libros Ethicorum in primis Ciceronis lectos flagris caeso. Tabula breuiter complectens dispositionem omnium progymnasmata. Refutatio de Mosellano Quod uerum sit quod Vergilius scriptum reliquerit, Didonem amoris impatientia mortem sibi conscisse, confirmationis exemplum. Locus communis in ebrium de Mosellano. Quod ducenda sit uxor; Thesis de Mosellano. Reprehensio legis Iuliae iubentis adulterum in ipso scelere deprehensum statim occidi, de Mosellano. Comprobatio legis qua apud Heluetios cauetur, ne quis inuitatione ad bibendum urgeatur, de Mosellano. M Porcii Catonis consulis ad populum in foedum Bacchanalium ritum concio, ex T. Liuiio.*

organization according to the *tria genera*, by not including definitions but types and treatment of each exercise, and deals with specific aspects such as the *uirtutes* and the *circumstantiae* in the *narratio* or the *promythion* and the *epimythion* in the *fabula*.

In the last decade of the century, another summary of Aphthonius' textbook intended for the classroom appeared. In 1593, Matthaëus Baderus, a professor in Landau and rector of the *Gymnasium* in Frankfurt, published in this city, in Johannes Spies' press, a textbook with three summaries: firstly, a compendium of Melanchthon's rhetoric with additions of Crusius' *Quaestiones rhetoricae, Rhetoricarum Institutionum Lib. II ex D. Philippi Rhetoricis, et D. Crusii, commentariis collecti*; secondly, another compendium from *De Copia Verborum et Rerum* by Erasmus; and, finally, some *Aphthonii Rhetoris Προγυμνάσματα in tabellas redacta et exemplis singulis illustrata*. As García de Paso has pointed out,<sup>34</sup> the Baderus' handbook does not innovate, as he himself recognizes, but merely summarizes the progymnasmata from Lorich's commentary on tables that take the form of keys. He eliminates what is not essential (etymology, difference...) and presents a fixed structure, because for him order and method are foremost. It consists of a theoretical part with definition, classification (*species*) and treatment, and examples. Lorich is his source, both in the theoretical part, in which he differs very little from the German humanist, and in the examples, which are all taken from him. In his selection, there are neither biblical subjects nor matters related to the Reformation, but only texts of classic authors and humanists. Finally, as mentioned above,<sup>35</sup> Escobar's Heidelberg edition (1597) included an extensive summary of the progymnasmata, which sketched the theory of the three Greek rhetors: the *Tabulae progymnasmatum Aphthonii et Theonis et Hermogenis, interprete Prisciano*.

### *Compendiums in Spain*

Only a year after Wechel's edition, in 1550, the same summary was published in Salamanca in Agricola's version, which implies a regular contact with European editorial policies.

In the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Juan de Mal Lara, who had studied in Salamanca and Barcelona and had, therefore, been in contact with printers from the two cities and knew the interests of the professors of both universities, published in Seville his *Scholia in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, as already mentioned. To the Latin version and its *scholia*, he added an *Epitome progymnasmatum Aphthonii* dedicated to the Count of Gelves. The *Epitome* begins with the *circumstantiae* and in the exercises it includes definition, typology, treatment... It is not possible to compare Mal Lara's text to the Lorich's edition of 1537, the Vratislava edition of 1540 or the Wechel / Portonarius' edition, since it exhibits significant differences with them.<sup>36</sup>

34. M. D. García de Paso Carrasco, "*Aphthonii Rhetoris Προγυμνάσματα in tabellas redacta...*".

35. See note 18.

36. M. D. García de Paso Carrasco and G. Rodríguez Herrera, "El metatexto...".

Table 3. Compendiums of progymnasmata in Europe and Spain

Europe	Spain
••Reinhardus Lorichius, Marpurgum, 1537	
••Vratislava edition, 1540	
••Christianus Wechelus, Lutetia, 1549	
	••Andreas de Portonariis, Salmanticae, 1550
	••Joannes Mal Lara, Hispalis, 1567
••Matthaeus Baderus, Francofurtum ad Moenum, 1593	
••Escobar's edition, <i>Tabulae progymnasmatum Aphthonii et Theonis et Hermogenis, interprete Prisciano</i> , [Heidelberg], 1597	

### **Progymnasmata based on Aphthonius**

Despite the success achieved by Aphthonius' textbook and its widespread dissemination in Europe, some humanists soon brought up the question that all the exercises, as well as the suitability of the practical exercises proposed, needed to be adapted to the historical, educational and social circumstances of their time. For this reason, they approached the progymnasmata with their own criteria, basing it on the handbook by the Greek author but seeking a better adaptation to the reality of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by simplifying the exercises, proposing new examples and adapting to the social and political situation of the time. These manuals were preferably written in Latin, but there was no shortage of writings in the vernacular languages, such as those of Rainolde in England or those of Guzmán or Céspedes in Spain.

#### *European progymnasmata based on Aphthonius*

The first to implement this approach was Petrus Mosellanus, who published in 1523 in Leipzig *De primis apud rhetorem exercitationibus praeceptiones Petri Mosellani in priuatum discipulorum suorum usum comparatae* in the printing house of Melchior Lotter. His intention was to adapt the treatise of the Greek rhetorician to his time, thus offering more benefits to the students and improving the eloquence of the Latin and the vernacular language in Germany. As García de Paso points out,<sup>37</sup> Mosellanus starts from Aphthonius' text, but eliminates everything that is not useful for practice. He reduces the number of exercises, omitting *chria*, *sententia*, *comparatio*, *descriptio* and *ethopaeia* and aspects that he considers unnecessary, such as the origin of the *fabula* and its typology. On the other hand, the definitions are his own, and those of the *fabula* and *thesis* must be highlighted because he modifies them, including their characteristic features, the moral in the *fabula* and the fact that it is a *quaestio*, and the absence of *circumstantiae* in the *thesis*. Likewise, he

37. M. D. García de Paso Carrasco, "De primis apud rhetorem exercitationibus...".

includes precepts to facilitate treatment, which, in many cases, refer to the classical texts of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* or Quintilian; he changes the placement of the *locus communis* placing it after the *uituperatio*. In addition, he includes practical advice. Finally, in the examples he uses some by Aphthonius (three), others by Latin authors (two) and, mainly, his own texts (seven). There are no biblical or religious examples. His influence on later authors has been addressed by García de Paso,<sup>38</sup> who has shown how Lorich uses Mosellanus' handbook, citing and not citing the source, and that Alardus uses it to a lesser extent.

Around 1548, Antonio Lull published in Basel, in Ioannes Oporinus' press house, his *Progymnasmata Rhetorica*, reprinted in 1551 in the same city and in the same printing house. Years later, in 1572, it was published anew in Lyon, in the printing house of Guillelmus Rouillius. The handbook is an example of the reworking of the progymnasmata with a reduction in the number of exercises and a reformulation of the textbook and the examples. As Cuyás de Torres has pointed out,<sup>39</sup> in the 1550 edition the topics of *fabula*, *sententia*, *locus communis*, *uituperatio* and *legislation* are not addressed. This edition only deals with the *prosopopoeia* and adds *gratiarum actio* and *consolatio*; it alters the order and does not follow the definitions by Aphthonius. On the other hand, for most of the examples, one per exercise, Lull uses Aphthonius' examples, with the exception of *descriptio* and *prosopopoeia*, for which he uses texts from Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the second edition of 1551, he includes the *locus communis*, without an example, and a section dedicated to *De quantitate siue amplificatione*. In the 1572 edition, two sections are included: *De exordio* and *De peroratione*. Although Lull's early education took place in his native Mallorca, he soon left for Burgundy and taught in Dole. Therefore, we believe that he should be included among European humanists of this century, because his professional and academic activity took place in Europe and not in Spain.

### *Spanish progymnasmata based on Aphthonius*

In Alcalá in 1569, Alfonso de Torres published a reworking of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*, the *Rhetoricae Exercitationes*, in the presses of Joannes a Villanova, designed for his students at the University of Alcalá. As Violeta Pérez Custodio has shown in her study and edition of the treatise,<sup>40</sup> the Spanish humanist followed Aphthonius' manual its general outlines, but introduced his own features. He altered the order of the fourteen exercises, dividing them, as Quintilian did, into those of the grammarian and those of the rhetorician, and he assigned *fabula*, *sententia*, *chria* and *ethopoeia* to the former and *narratio*, *refutatio*, *confirmatio*, *locus communis*, *laus*, *uituperatio*, *comparatio*, *descriptio*, *thesis*, and *legistatio* to the latter. In the theory, he followed Aphthonius' structure (definition, typology, procedures for amplification) and drew heavily on Lorich's commentary. He did not

38. *Ibid.*

39. M. E. Cuyás de Torres, "Las ediciones..."; "Las variantes...".

40. V. Pérez Custodio (ed.), Alfonso de Torres. *Progymnasmata*.

follow literally any of the Latin translations of the Greek rhetorician existing in his time, although he was closer to that known as *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo*, together with his own innovations. In the practice section, he increased the number of models with respect to Aphthonius; he included twenty-two, of which three are in Aphthonius, fourteen are related to subjects included in Lorich and five do not correspond to those present in other textbooks.<sup>41</sup> As for the sources, together with Aphthonius and Lorich, whom he does not mention, he used Theon, Quintilian, Priscian, Trebizond and Erasmus. He knew the work of Agricola and Melanchthon, although his greatest influence was Lorich's commentary.

Table 4. Progymnasmata based on Aphthonius in Europe and Spain

Europe	Spain
••Petrus Mosellanus, <i>De primis apud rhetorem exercitationibus praeceptiones</i> , Lipsia, 1530	
••Antonius Lullus, <i>Progymnasmata Rhetorica</i> , Basilea, 1548 (?), 1551, 1572	
	••Alfonsus Turritanus, <i>Rhetoricae Exercitationes</i> , Complutum, 1569

## Progymnasmata inserted in rhetorical manuals

One way to disseminate the exercises was to include them in rhetorical textbooks. It was intended that this would offer textbooks a broader content that would include not only the preliminary exercises, but also other aspects that were required for student education. This made it easier for the teachers and the needs of the classrooms were attended to. However, there is no shortage of textbooks in which progymnasmata are included in a single chapter added to the rhetorical manual. In general, this kind of insertion usually led, in many of these textbooks, to a reduction of the number of exercises, the abandonment of the more widespread Latin versions and, therefore, a reworking of the text and the increase or decrease in examples, many of them without any connection with the progymnasmatic tradition of Aphthonius.

### *Progymnasmata included in European rhetorical manuals*

In 1540, Camerarius published his *Elementa rhetoricae siue Capita exercitiorum studii puerilis et stili* in Basel in J. Oporinus' printing house and, five years later, an enlarged edition in the same city and with the same printer, which was published several times in Basel and in Leipzig.<sup>42</sup> It was not the usual handbook of rhetoric; instead, it provided the necessary contents for training students in prose and verse composition: progymnasmata, epistolary textbooks, treatment of figures, *decla-*

41. *Ibid.*, p. ci.

42. On the editions of this work, see L. D. Green and J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric...*, p. 94; T. Arcos Pereira, "Los *Elementa Rhetoricae sive capita exercitiorum...*", p. 47.

mationes and verse composition. On the progymnasmata, it should be noted that they do not follow the order or the number of Aphthonius' textbook. The *fabula* and *narratio* are treated together, followed by *expositiones et descriptiones*, *chria*, *sententia*, *ethologia*, in which the epistolary textbooks, *comparatio*, is included. Next, *paraphrasis*, *subiectum rationum* or *αἰτιολογία*, *allegoria* and *aenigmata* are treated, followed by the *locus communis*, the joint treatment of *probatio et reprehensio*, *laus et uituperatio*. The handbook continues with *De carminibus componendis*, and concludes with the *thesis*, which includes the *legislatio*, and *declamationes* and *materiae fictae*. We have, therefore, the traits that will be found to a greater or lesser extent in this type of textbook: a reduction in the number of exercises, an alteration of the order and an attempt to link the progymnasmatic textbooks with new contents. In each exercise, numerous examples are included, because Camerarius believed that both theory and practice were essential to the learning process. In the theory, we find reworkings that in some cases move away from the *doctrina recepta*, as occurs when treating *fabula* and *narratio* jointly. In this case, he tried to solve the problem of the treatment of *narratio* in the rhetorical manuals that the commentators had tried to solve in the scholia. However, the most striking aspect of the *Elementa* lies in the joint treatment of *reprehensio*, *confirmatio*, *laus* and *uituperatio*, which Camerarius justified by using the same *modi tractandi*. We must also highlight the inclusion of the epistolary textbooks in *ethologia* or *ethopoeia*, which Camerarius justified on the grounds that Greek authors linked the panegyric and epistolary composition to the prosopopeia, possibly due to the fact that Theon had included this type of composition in the exercise.<sup>43</sup> We are therefore faced with an original approach to the progymnasmata, which had not been done before and which attempts to solve the problems that the teaching of the exercises posed in the classroom, and its connection with other textbooks in the first levels of rhetorical training.

In 1593, another German humanist, Georg Henisch, published his *Praeceptionum Rhetoricarum Libri V et Exercitationum Libri II* in Augsburg, in Michael Mangerus' press, in which he inserted a treatment of the progymnasmata in Book II of the *Exercitationum Libri*. As Rodríguez Herrera<sup>44</sup> points out, Henisch deals with Aphthonius' fourteen exercises but in a different order (*fabula*, *narratio*, *chria*, *gnome*, *thesis*, *confirmatio et refutatio*, *locus communis*, *laus et uituperatio*, *descriptio seu ephrasis*, *ethologia*, *legislatio* and *comparatio*), adjusting them to their relationship with the *tria genera causarum*. On the other hand, he includes the *copia* procedure to amplify the exercises, not with declension as we find in Theon but with the introduction of nouns, pronouns, adverbs, etc. As for the examples, Henisch offers a great variety taken from Agricola, Alardus and Harbart along with others selected from Aesop, Herodotus, Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Quintilian and Martial. Only one contemporary example is included in the *narratio historica* and there is a complete absence of religious proselytism, which is striking with the director of

43. T. Arcos Pereira, *ibid.*; and "Los Progymnasmata en la obra de Joachimus Camerarius...".

44. G. Rodríguez Herrera, "Georg Henisch y la recepción...".

a Protestant *Gymnasium* whose source is Harbart. Rodríguez Herrera<sup>45</sup> considers that this fact is due to Henisch's tolerance, as he befriended both Catholics and Protestants from Germany, France, Italy and the Netherlands.

### *Progymnasmata included in rhetorical manuals in Spain*

Manuals were also published in Spain, in Latin and in the vernacular, in the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in which the exercises were inserted. In 1573 Palmireno published in Valencia the *Segunda parte del latino de repente*, in Romance language with additions in Latin, with some progymnasmata found in the "concejo octavo" (eighth advice) "para hablar buen latín de repente pero no para orar" (to rapidly speak good Latin but not to deliver a speech). Pérez Custodio<sup>46</sup> studied the exercises in this work and showed that it is an adaptation of the *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo* version with Lorich's commentary, although his name is not mentioned, possibly due to the inclusion of the German humanist in the *Index*. Along with Lorich's influence, the influence of Torres can also be discerned in the *chria* and the *legislatio*. Palmireno omits the *sententia* and *confirmatio*, simplifies precepts, quotes and, in all the exercises, deals with the definition and the amplification procedures, and, in some, includes the typology. The examples are taken from Lorich, but with an irregular distribution because they are not provided in all the progymnasmata. As Pérez Custodio has pointed out in her study, it is a simplification of the Lorich handbook, adapted to the needs of the classroom.

Five years later, in 1578, the Valencian humanist Pedro Juan Núñez published his *Institutiones Rhetoricae ex progymnasmatis potissimum Aphthonii atque ex Hermogenis arte dictatae*, in Barcelona, in Petrus Mali's printing house. A second edition was printed by Iacobus Cendrat in 1585 and a third in 1593, both in Barcelona but with some differences between them. The progymnasmata were included in the first book of the *Institutiones* and were independently reprinted in 1596 in Zaragoza, in Michael Eximinius' press. Núñez deals with the exercises after the *Prooemium*, the *Prolegomena artis rhetoricae* and the section *De diuisione totius artis* and before the explanation of the *status*. As Grau<sup>47</sup> has pointed out, they are based on Theon, Hermogenes and Aphthonius, but are simplified and accompanied by brief examples from Cicero. Each exercise comprises definition, parts, typology, function and its use in the discourse or in the various parts of the discourse. Núñez keeps the same number of exercises but, following Quintilian, modifies the name of some of them by adding a diminutive suffix: *fabula*, *narratiuncula*, *chria*, *sententia*, *refutatiuncula*, *confirmatiuncula*, *communis locus*, *laudatio*, *uituperatio*, *comparatio*, *ethopoeia*, *descriptio*, *thesis*, *legislatio*. He differentiates between the necessary ones, which are linked to parts of the discourse (*fabula*, similar to *exordium*; *narratiuncula*, to *narratio*; *chria*;

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45. *Ibid.*

46. V. Pérez Custodio, "Sobre el origen..."; and, "Teaching more than Rhetoric: Progymnasmata Handbooks in Spain during the Renaissance", *infra*, p. 257-261.

47. F. Grau Codina, *Las retóricas de Pedro Juan Núñez*.

*sententia*; *refutatiuncula*; *confirmatiuncula*, similar to *confirmatio*; *communis locus*, to *peroratio*) or to a whole discourse (*laudatio*, *uituperatio*, *comparatio*), and those that are only ornamental (*ethopoeia*, *descriptio*, *thesis*, *legislatio*). Since he treated the exercises in the first book, when he needs to explain parts of the discourse related to them, he refers to the treatment of this first book. After the individual treatment of the exercises, Núñez includes a final section, *De progymnasmatis in commune*, with a list of authors in which more examples are found. Almost all are classics, but he also adds Stobaeus. He also recommends that students learn to link the exercises in order to expand them and, finally, indicates with what procedures they can be applied to speeches, in which it is unnecessary to keep all the parts that he has explained.

In 1589, Juan de Guzmán, a disciple of El Brocense, published in Alcalá a handbook on rhetoric with some singular features. It is written in the form of a dialogue, deals only with the deliberative genre and includes a section dedicated to the progymnasmata. It is *La primera parte de la retórica, dividida en catorce combites de oradores*, written in Spanish. Pérez Custodio<sup>48</sup> studied the structure and sources of the progymnasmata found in the second “combite” and partially in the third. In the prologue, Guzmán indicates that for him practice must take precedence over theory, because he regrets that students, after many years of study, are unable to elaborate a discourse. He does not explain all the exercises, but only those that are usually assigned to the deliberative genre, following Lorich’s classification: *fabula*, in which he integrates aspects of the *narratio*, *chria*, *sententia* and *thesis*. On his sources, the author affirms that he has followed Plato, Aristotle, Hermogenes, Cicero, Quintilian, Aphthonius, Theon and Marcomano and, among the humanists, Agricola, Catanaeus, Erasmus and Núñez. Pérez Custodio also mentions that in addition to these authors, the influence of Alardus, Lorich and Escobar can be perceived. Thus, in the *fabula*, we find theoretical content and an example taken from Núñez, but there is also some influence of Escobar, because the *narrationis uirtutes* is placed before the *fabula*, as Núñez had done in his commentary. Guzmán also places the *circumstantiae* before this exercise, as Alardus had done. And the types of narration (“breve, confirmada, ilustrada”), also placed before the *fabula*, may have been taken from Hermogenes through Núñez, in Pérez Custodio’s opinion. Guzmán treats the *chria* and *sententia* together. In these exercises, Núñez’s influence is also discernible, in the examples and in the use of the version *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo*. On the other hand, in the *thesis*, Guzmán focuses on his definition versus the hypothesis and in the translation of terms, according to Pérez Custodio, he follows Lorich.

Bartolomé Bravo (1554-1607) published in Pamplona in 1589 an epistolary textbook, *Liber de conscribendis epistolis cum singulis cuiusque generis epistolarum exemplaribus*, to which he adds some *Progymnasmata siue praexercitationes oratoriae cum singulis cuiusque progymnasmatis exemplaribus*. These later appeared, in 1591, with an independent numbering and in 1596 were included in the fifth book of his *De arte oratoria ac de eiusdem exercendae ratione*, published in Medina del

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48. V. Pérez Custodio, “A proposito de las fuentes...”.



Campo. Bravo's position with respect to the incorporation of the progymnasmata in rhetorical textbooks evolved over the years. In his first handbook, Bravo followed the textbook of Aphthonius in the number and order of the exercises, although he changed the examples to adapt them to the philosophy of the Society of Jesus. Thus, to illustrate the exercises, instead of those offered by the Greek rhetorician, he used other strategies: fables, such as that of the lion and the fox; passages from the Bible, such as that of John, 13, or a Christian theme such as the comparison between Peter and Paul; contemporaries, like the Ghent episode, or moral problems, such as "obtaining a good does not justify lying". As for the treatment, he separated the theory from the examples, arranging first the epistolary manual, then the theory, then the figures and the period and, finally, the examples.<sup>49</sup>

However, as indicated by Violeta Pérez Custodio,<sup>50</sup> in his second treatise Bravo tried to reconcile Aphthonius' progymnasmatic tradition with that of Quintilian, but with a fundamental modification. He considers as minor exercises those that do not form a complete discourse, but instead serve for ornamental or amplification purposes (*fabula, narratio, ethopoeia, descriptio, locus communis* and *comparatio*), and as major ones those that constitute a complete discourse (*laus, uituperatio, chria, sententia, thesis, confutatio, refutatio, legislatio*). Furthermore, since in his textbook some of the exercises are treated in the first and the second books, he avoided unnecessary repetitions, leading to a reformulation of the theory, treatment or examples of some progymnasmata. Thus, since he deals with the *laudatio* and the *uituperatio* in the first book (chapter 4.2) and in the second (chapter 6), in the section of the progymnasmata he refers to what is presented in these sections and only offers the example of *uituperatio*, that of Catiline, with two treatments, one brief and one amplified. Also, since the difference between *thesis* and *hypothesis* was dealt with in the first book (chapter 3), in the progymnasmata he explains the *capita* for its development and offers an example: *An litterarum studia sint amplectenda*.<sup>51</sup> It should be noted that Bravo was the first of the teachers of the Society of Jesus to try to include the progymnasmata in the rhetorical textbooks that were taught in Jesuit schools. Bravo paved the way for Pomey, Jouvancy, Pajot or Dominique de Cologne in addressing the inclusion of the exercises in Jesuit manuals of rhetoric in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The Biblioteca Nacional de España [National Spanish Library] conserves, under registration mss. BN 23 27, an unpublished work that contains some progymnasmata in Spanish: *Retórica en romance explicada por el maestro Baltasar de Céspedes, yerno del famoso Brocense* (1597). Céspedes structured his "De el arte de la Rhetorica" textbook in six sections that are preceded by the circumstances under the title "Qué, quién, adónde, cuándo, por qué y cómo" (What, who, where, when, why and how). The first four sections are devoted to the parts of rhetoric: invention, disposition, elocution and action; the fifth, to the heterogeneous parts of the sentence (exordium, narration, confirmation and epilogue) and the sixth to the amplification of the cause.

49. T. Arcos Pereira, "Los progymnasmata en las preceptivas retóricas de la Compañía de Jesús...".

50. V. Pérez Custodio, "La sincrisis de Quintiliano y Aftonio...".

51. T. Arcos Pereira, "Los progymnasmata en las preceptivas retóricas de la Compañía de Jesús...".

He includes a brief summary of the progymnasmata in this last section, which does not include the fourteen exercises, only the fable, the *chria*, the sentence, the commonplace, the comparison, the ethopoeia, the description, the thesis and the legislation. For the other exercises, he refers to other sections of the treatise. Narration, refutation and confirmation are dealt with in the fifth section dedicated to the heterogeneous parts of the sentence; and praise and vituperation in section one, devoted to invention, specifically in the subsection that deals with the demonstrative genre. As for narration, he indicates that its subject matter is facts and their virtues, brevity, clarity and verisimilitude; he adds that it can be simple or confirmed, if the circumstances are added and particularly those of the causes, and it must not be argued but narrated: “no se han de poner por vía de argumentación sino por vía de cuento” (they must not go through argumentation but through story); he ends by noting that it is amplified with descriptions and ethopoeias. On refutation, he distinguishes between refutation of reasons and refutation of facts; he points out that the latter is a *progymnasma* and that it is achieved by proving that what is said by the opposing party is obscure, improbable (cannot be believed), impossible, contradictory (things do not agree with one another in the same story), lacking decorum (indecent to people or time or place or other circumstances) and useless (done without a purpose). He concludes by recalling that everything must be proven by the circumstances. On confirmation, he only says that the procedures were already explained in various places. On the demonstrative genre, he merely states that “la cuestión principal es: este hombre es digno de alabanza o vituperación” (the main issue is whether this man is worthy of praise or vituperation) and that “los cabos o puntos son las cualidades de las circunstancias de la persona que acomodándolos a la alabanza o a la vituperación componen este género” (the ends or points are the qualities of the circumstances of the person who, accommodating them to praise or vituperation, make up this genre).

Table 5. Progymnasmata inserted in rhetorical manuals in Europe and Spain

Europe	Spain
••Joachimus Camerarius, <i>Elementa Rhetoricae</i> , Basilea, 1540, 1541, 1545, 1551, 1562, 1564	
	••Palmireno, <i>Segunda Parte del Latino de repente</i> , Valencia, 1573
	••Petrus Joannes Nunnesius, <i>Institutiones Rhetoricae ex progymnasmatis potissimum Aphthonii atque ex Hermogenis arte dictatae</i> , Barcino, 1578, 1585, 1593
	••Juan de Guzmán, <i>La primera parte de la retórica, dividida en catorce combites de oradores</i> , Alcalá, 1589
	••Bartholomaeus Brauus, <i>Liber de conscribendis epistolis...</i> Pompelona, 1589; Segouia, 1591

• Georgius Henischius, <i>Praeceptionum Rhetoricarum Libri V et Exercitationum Libri II</i> , Augusta, 1593	
	••Bartholomaeus Brauus, <i>De arte oratoria</i> , Methymna a Campo, 1596
	••Baltasar de Céspedes, <i>Retórica en romance explicada por el maestro...</i> , ms. (1597)

## Conclusion

As we have seen, the Spanish humanists of the 16<sup>th</sup> century approach the progymnasmata in the same way as their European colleagues: they publish or translate; comment on Aphthonius' text; rework the progymnasmata; or incorporate them in rhetorical manuals, in Latin or in the vernacular; they include diagrams or summaries in their works, either of their own making, like those of Mal Lara, or taken from European authors, such as the 1550 Salamanca edition of Agricola that reproduces those of the Wechel edition.

Furthermore, we have demonstrated that the Spanish humanists knew the European textbooks well, as shown by the influence the latter exerted on the Spanish texts. Thus, in the translation section, the first two Latin versions of the Greek rhetorician, those by Agricola and Catanaeus, were published in Spain, with a predominance of the former. There are no known publications of the mixed *partim Agricola, partim Catanaeo*, possibly due to the inclusion of Lorich in the *Index*. However, this does not mean that he was not used in the Spanish textbooks, as has been seen in the texts of Torres, Palmireno or Guzmán. Nor can we ignore the prestige granted in Europe to Escobar's Latin version, which was used in European schools with extracts of Lorich's scholia.

As for the commentaries, we must emphasize Lorich's extraordinary influence on the texts of the Hispanic humanists, which is comparable to that exerted on European humanists. In spite of being an author censored as unorthodox and, therefore, omitted from the list of sources of Spanish textbooks, his influence on them can be traced through a detailed study, as can be seen in Mal Lara, Palmireno—both in his scholia to the text of Aphthonius, and in his *Segunda parte del latino de repente*—, El Brocense, Torres or Guzmán.

Thus, the Spanish humanists showed that they were familiar with the manuals that were being published and disseminated in Europe and used them in their textbooks in a very similar way to their European colleagues.

## Primary sources

- AGRICOLA Rodolphus (1532), *Aphthonii Sopistae* (sic) *Progymnasmata, Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete accuratius emendata, luculentisque iuxta ac compendiaris illustrata commentariis per Alardum Aemstelredamum*, Coloniae Agrippinae, per Iohannem Soterem.
- (1539), *Progymnasmata, Rodolpho Agricola interprete... per Alardum Aemstelredamum emendata et additis scholiis illustrata*, Coloniae, per Ioannem Gymnicum.
- (1540), *Aphthonii* (sic) *Sophistae Progymnasmata Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete. Accesserunt breues cuiusque Progymnasmatis tabulae, cum aliquot exemplis*. s. l. [Vratislaviae].
- (1549), *Aphthonii Sophistae Progymnasmata Rhetorica, Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete*, Parisiis, excudebat Christianus Wechelus.
- (1550), *Aphthonii Sophistae Progymnasmata Rhetorica, Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete*, Salmanticae, excudebat Andreas de Portonariis.
- AUBERTUS Jacobus (Jacques Aubert) (1579), *Progymnasmata in Joan. Fernellii Med. Librum... de aditis rerum naturalium et medicamentorum causis* [...], Basileae.
- BADERUS Matthaeus (1593), *Rhetoricarum Institutionum Libri II ex D. Philippi Rhetoricis, et D. Crvsi, commentariis collecti, in usum scholae Francofurtensis ad Moenum additus est libellus De Copia Verborum et Rerum Erasmi (in breuissimas quaestiones et capita redactus: ac methodice tractatus. in fine quoque Aphthonii Rhetoris Προγυμνάσματα in tabellas redacta et exemplis singulis illustrata, studiosis eloquentiae per quam utilia*, Francofurti ad Moenum, excudebat Johannes Spies.
- BLEBEL Thomas (1584), *Rhetoricae artis progymnasmata: Ex Optimis Quibusque Autoribus Methodice conscripta, exemplisque tam sacris, quam philosophicis illustrata, & ad puerilem institutionem accommodata*, by Thomas Blebel, Lipsiae.
- BONFINI Antonius (1538), *Hermogenis... De arte rhetorica praecepta. Aphthonii... praeexercitamenta* [...] Antonio Bonfine [...] interprete, Lugduni, apud Seb. Gryphium.
- BRAHE Tycho ([1589]-1610), *Tychoni Brahe astronomiae instauratae progymnasmata, quorum haec prima pars de restitutione motuum solis et lunae stellarumque Inerrantium tractat praeterea de admiranda noua stella anno 1572 exorta loculenter agit*, Absoluta Pragae Bohemise.
- BRAUUS Bartholomaeus (1589), *Progymnasmata siue Praeexercitationes oratoriae cum singulis cuiusque progymnasmatis exemplaribus*, Pompeloniae, apud Thomam Porralem.
- (1591), *Liber de conscribendis epistolis ac de progymnasmatis seu praeexercitationibus oratoriis cum singulis tum cuiusque generis epistolarum tum singulorum progymnasmatum exemplaribus*, Segoviae, Excudebat Petrus Rhemensis.
- (1596), *De arte oratoria ac de eiusdem exercendae ratione Tullianaque imitatione libri quinque*, Methimnae Campi, Jacobus Canto.
- CAMERARIUS Joachimus (1541), *Θέωνος σοφιστοῦ προγυμνάσματα. Theonis sophistae Primae apud Rhetorem exercitationes, innumeris quibus scatebant antea mendis*

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- Ioachimi Camerarii Pabergensis opera purgata et in sermonem latinum conuersae*, Basileae, Sumptu et cura Ioannis Oporini.
- (1551), *Elementa rhetoricae, siue Capita exercitiorum studii et stili ad comparandam utriusque linguae facultatem*, Basileae, Johannes Oporinus.
- (1564), *Elementa rhetoricae, siue Capita exercitiorum studii et stili ad comparandam utriusque linguae facultatem... nuncque denuo cum emendatiora, tum locis aliquot auctiora, in lucem edita*, Lipsiae, in officina Voegeliana.
- (1570), *Aphthonii Libellum progymnasmatum, id est, Praeparantium Exercitationum*, Lipsiae, in officina Ernesti Voegelini.
- CATANAEUS Joannes Maria (1507), *Aphthonii Progymnasmata id est praeexercitationes Rhetorum et Luciani opusculum de componenda Historia nuper a Ioanne Maria Catanaeo latinitate donata et ad utilitatem legentium nunc primum publicata solertique diligentia emendata, per Caligulam Bacilerium impressum est Bon[oniae] anno Salutifere incarnationis MDVII.*
- (1517), *Aphthonii declamatoris optimi et utilissimi praeexercitamentorum libellus aureus Latinitate donatus et ad communem studiorum utilitatem diligentius recognitus. Non admiretur lector si quaedam ab impraesso exemplari Graeco diuersa offendet, quoniam qui transtulit alia interdum lectione ductus illa non probauit, impressum Romae apud Iacobum Mazochium Romanae Achademiae Bibliopo. Anno M.D. XVII Die XXI Mensis Nouembris.*
- CÉSPEDES Baltasar (1597), *Retórica en romance explicada por el maestro Baltasar de Céspedes, yerno del famoso Brocense*, edited by M<sup>a</sup> Dolores García de Paso, forthcoming 2020.
- COMITIBUS Natalis de (1550) *Hermogenis Tarsensis philosophi ac rhetoris acutissimi De arte rhetorica praecepta. Aphthonii item sophista praeexercitamenta nuper in Latinum sermonem uersa a Natale de Comitibus Veneto*, Basileae, apud Petrum Pernam.
- ERASMUS ROTEDORAMUS Desiderius (1971), *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores liber*, Jean-Claude Margolin (ed.), in *Opera Omnia*, ordinis primi, tomus secundus, Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, p. 79-151.
- GUZMÁN Pedro de (1589), *Primera parte de la Rhetorica de Joan de Guzmán, dividida en catorze Combites de Oradores*, Alcalá de Henares, en casa de Joan Yñiguez de Lequerica.
- HARBART Burchardus (1591), *Progymnasmata Aphthonii Sophistae, graece, ut ubi autore ipso conscripta sunt, cum versione latina et methodica explicatione [...] nunc publici iuris facta a Burchardo Harbart*, Lipsiae, Abraham Lamberg.
- HENISCH Georgicus (1593), *Praeceptionum Rhetoricarum Libri V et Exercitationum Libri II, autore (sic) Georgio Henischio B. medico et mathematico Augustano*, Augustae, Ex officina Michaelis Mangeri.
- <HERUETUS Gentianus> (1520), *Aphthonii Sophistae Praeexercitamenta interprete uiro doctissimo*, Londini, per Richardum Pynson.

- LORICHIUS Reinhardus (1537), *Aphthonii Sophistae Progymnasmata, Rodolpho Agricola Phrisio interprete, iam multo luculentius edita, quibus accessit Tabula commodio, quae breuiter omnes Aphthonii locos, uelut in speculo conspiciendos exhibet Reinhardus Hadamarius Rhetoricae candidato*, Marpurgi, apud Eucharium Ceruicornum.
- (1542), *Aphthonii sophistae progymnasmata, partim a Rodolpho Agricola, partim a Ioanne Maria Catanaeo latinitate quondam donata: iam recens longe tersius edita, simul ac scholiis luculentis, nouisque compluribus exemplis illustrata per Reinhardum Lorichium Hadamarium*, Marpurgi, in officina Christiani Egenolphi.
- LOSCUS Franciscus (1559), *Progymnasmata Dialectica*, Valentiae.
- LULLUS Antonius (1548?), *Progymnasmata Rhetorica*, Basilea, Joannes Oporinus.
- (1551), *Progymnasmata Rhetorica ad Generosiss. D. Franciscum Baumensem, Antonio Lullo autore, Addita sunt huic duo progymnasmata, quae in priori desiderabantur: Quantitas et Locus communis*, Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum.
- LLULL Antonio (1572), *Antonii Lulli Balearis Progymnasmata Rhetorica*, Lugduni, apud Guliel. Rouillium, sub scuto Veneto.
- MAL LARA Joannis (1567), *Ioannis Mallarae In Aphthonii Progymnasmata Scholia, ad illustrissimum Aluarum Portogallium, Comitem Geluensem*, Hispali, apud A. Escribanum.
- MOSELLANUS Petrus (1523), *De primis apud rhetorem exercitationibus praeceptiones P. Mosellani in priuatum discipularum suorum usum comparatae*, Lipsiae, in aedibus Melchioris Lottherii.
- NUNNESIUS VALENTINUS Petrus Joannes (1578), *Institutiones rhetoricae ex progymnasmatis potissimum Aphthonii atque Hermogenis arte dictatae*, Barcinone, ex officina Petri Mali.
- (1596), *Progymnasmata, id est, praeludia quaedam oratoria ex progymnasmatis potissimum Aphthonii. Dictata a Petro Ioanne Nunnesio Valentino Caesaraugustae*, apud Michaellem Eximinum Sanchez.
- OLDENDORPIUS Johannes (1540), *Actionum forensium progymnasmata, in quibus practica formandi actiones et exceptiones accurate monstratur*, Coloniae.
- PALMIRENO Juan Lorenzo (1573), *Segunda parte del latino de repente*, Valencia, en casa de Pedro de Huete.
- PETREIUS TOLETANUS Johannes (1539), *Progymnasmata Artis Rhetoricae Ioannis Petreii Toletani a cum annotationibus in Senecae declamationes, controuersias et deliberatiua*, Compluti, Joannes Brocarius.
- SANCTIUS BROCENSIS FRANCISCUS (1556), *Aphthonii sophistae Progymnasmata, Rodolpho Agricola interprete, cum scholiis*, Salmanticae, Excudebat Andreas a Portonariis.
- RAINOLDE Richard (1563), *A booke Called the Foundation of Rhetorik*, imprinted at London by Jhon (*sic*) Kingston. Facsimile reproduction of the copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with an Introduction by Francis R. Johnson, New York, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints (1945).

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SCOBARIUS Franciscus (1558), *Aphthonii sophistae progymnasmata, hoc est, primae apud rhetorem exercitationes, Francisco Scobario interprete. Quibus accessit eiusdem de fabula commentatio et quarundam exercitationum exempla. Ad consules ciuitatis Barcinonensis, Barcinone, Excudebat Claudius Bornatius.*

— (1597), *Aphthonii Sophistae Progymnasmata, Francisco Scobario interprete, cum notis ex commentariis Hadamarii. Eiusdem Aphthonii Fabulae nunc primum in lucem prolatae, [Heidelbergae], apud Hieronymum Commelinum.*

TELGIUS Joannes (1561), *Progymnasmata Rhetorica Summam Totius Artis Breuiter Complectentia, Coloniae, Haeredes Arnoldi Birckmanni.*

TURRITANUS Alphonsus (1569), *Rhetoricae Exercitationes magistri Alfonsi Turritani, amplissimi Diui Isidori collegii patroni et eloquentiae professore in Academia Complutensi. Ad illustrem uirum Doctorem Ferdinandum Suarez a Toletto, Alcalá, J. de Villanueva.*

*Veterum aliquot De arte rhetorica traditiones de tropis in primis et schematis uerborum et sententiarum non aspernanda me Hercle opuscula, nunc primum in lucem edita, cum quibusdam aliis, quorum ordo sequenti pagella describitur, (1521) Basileae, in aedibus Ioannis Frobenii.*