

# Leeds Studies in English

**Article:**

Elsa Strietman, 'Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric',  
*Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 32 (2001), 439-79

**Permanent URL:**

[https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object\\_id=124843&siloleft.library=GEN01](https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=124843&siloleft.library=GEN01)



*Leeds Studies in English*  
School of English  
University of Leeds  
<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lse>

## Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric

Elsa Strietman

In a monumental study<sup>1</sup> about the rhetorician and humanist Cornelis van Ghistele, Mireille Vinck-van Caekenberghe concluded that Van Ghistele was neither a great poet nor a great translator. However, his translations of the Ancients into the vernacular and his extensive use of classical material in his own Dutch and Latin writings, made him an extremely important figure in the context of Rhetoricians' culture as well as in the budding Renaissance culture of the Low Countries in the later sixteenth century.

Vinck-van Caekenberghe's work elicited admiration but also received some substantial criticism from reviewers, criticism that was understandable since in the thirteen years between the completion of the research and the date of publication Rhetoricians' studies had moved on. The main objections were that the evaluation of Van Ghistele's work remained somewhat hampered by Vinck-van Caekenberghe's ahistorical approach and that her ultimate conclusion did not do justice to either the humanist/Rhetorician or his work.

Nevertheless, the great merit of this study was founded on precisely the painstaking detail with which the author showed both the wider context of sixteenth-century Rhetoricians' culture and that of the early Renaissance and the multifarious ways in which Van Ghistele participated in both. He was a highly significant figure whose work shows the expansion of a Rhetoricians' culture which gradually allowed the infiltration of the classics and fused its own traditions with the new literary culture. We should adjust Vinck-van Caekenberghe's image of Van Ghistele as a somewhat clumsy forerunner to the great and canonized literary lions of the Dutch Golden Age to that of a positive creator in his own time and his own right. This does not deny the merits of Vinck-van Caekenberghe's work, whilst allowing Van Ghistele his place under the stars.

Van Ghistele was the literary leader, *factor*, of the Antwerp Chamber of Rhetoric De Goubloeme (The Marigold) and must have written many plays in his period of office (1550?-1570?). None of these plays has survived except a few

contributions to the, by now famed, Rhetoricians' competition (*Lantjuweel*) in Antwerp in 1561. These consist of a *Presentacie*, introducing the proposed contribution of *The Marigolds* to the competition, a *Prologhe* and the *spel van sinne* (a morality) itself, as well as an epilogue. The *Presentacie* expresses joy that peace has chased away discord and sorrow and that it is now possible for the flowers of Rhetoric to lift their heads to the sunshine. The peace referred to is that of Cambrai, 1559, which ended one of the many wars between France and Spain. Many Chambers of Rhetoric had flower names and this enabled the comparison in the *Presentacie*: *De Goubloeme* and the other Chambers can now, in loving harmony, practise their art. The *Prologhe*, a dialogue between the allegorical character *Antwerpia* and *Honest Art*, a lady, elaborates this theme and outlines the aims of the competition: to cherish and to promote the art of Rhetoric and to further the glory of Antwerp.

The theme of the 1561 competition was the relationship between commerce and art, worded as a question '*Dwelck den mensche aldermeest tot consten verweckt?*' (What inspires mankind most to the arts?) The answers to this question were expected to centre on commerce as a source of inspiration. The organizers had been very concerned indeed to come up with a theme that avoided any religious or political controversy, not surprisingly, since the Low Countries were increasingly troubled by both in this latter part of the sixteenth century.

Van Ghistele's *spel van sinne* concerns itself with the origins of the liberal arts, amongst them, prominently, the art of Rhetoric; the form is that of a discussion between a number of allegorical figures. The central figure is that of *Mankind* who is besieged by the ideas of *Avaricious Heart*, the spirit of all that is mean and grasping, the evil face of capitalism. Fortunately, *Mankind's* other instructors are of a different ilk; *Reason*, *Honourable Fame* and *Intelligent Spirit* counteract *Avaricious Heart's* malicious suggestions and demonstrate with a wealth of mythological, historical and biblical detail how the liberal arts developed and how they became the instruments of all that is good in the hands of scholars and philosophers. Trade and commerce, if conducted with integrity and without greed, can only be beneficial to the arts, in particular the art of Rhetoric. Indeed, without the skills of the *artes*, trade and commerce would not flourish.

As is so often the case in Rhetoricians' plays the message is enforced by an extra medium, that of the *toog* or *figure*, a pictorial aid to understanding, which sometimes can take the form of a *tableau vivant*, sometimes of a text or picture. In the edition<sup>2</sup> of the plays performed in the competition which the printer Willem Silvius published in 1562 a picture is included of what could have been presented as a *tableau vivant* on the stage, but might also have been a painted pictorial aid.

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

Certainly, the explanation given, detail by detail, to *Mankind*, tallies with Silvius' representation.

The antecedents of the picture are complex and link this Rhetoricians' play with the popular and immense emblemata production<sup>3</sup>; the fact that Van Ghistele chose to use it shows his knowledge of the humanist culture of his time and demonstrates also how much, at that time, the vernacular culture of the Rhetoricians was widening out and becoming a Renaissance culture.

Van Ghistele does not omit to include God the Father and the Holy Spirit as ultimate sources of inspiration for the arts but the major part of his text is a roll-call of mythological and classical sages whose part in the promotion of Rhetoric and her sisters seamlessly fits into the frame formed by the Christian history of creation and salvation. Many of the descriptions and legends referred to must have come from encyclopedic writings or from the florilegia used in schools or universities, and here too the emblemata literature makes its presence prominently felt.

In the edition of 1562 the text of the play is accompanied by short glosses, sometimes no more than the name of the philosopher or scholar referred to in the discussion. Some are difficult to decipher and I have had to let some go without explanatory annotation. Though it is a task not undertaken for this contribution, there is much to be discovered and to be discussed with reference to Van Ghistele's material and sources and the annotations in the printed text which were very likely supplied by the author rather than the printer. Vinck-van Caekenberghe discusses in detail Van Ghistele's sources and the poetic theories which he implicitly voiced in these contributions to the competition and she refers to a number of other studies as well.<sup>4</sup>

In this case, however, I have limited myself to giving a translation of Van Ghistele's *Presentacie*, the *Prologhe* and the *spel van sinne*, with a few annotations. There is no modern edition of the Antwerp plays in their entirety and none of the texts has so far appeared in translation.

I offer this translation, with due modesty and acknowledging its defects, to one who has done a very great deal for the noble art of Rhetoric and its modern revival: to Meg Twycross, *A lady dressed in many colours with a pen and a scroll in her hand, seated upon a waggon, next to a pile of masks and pointing to Many Characters. Selete. Here they sing and play.*

*Elsa Strietman*

# De Goubloeme van Antwerpen.



## PRESENTACIE

Just as the Marigold always closes  
itself in the night with a sad aspect  
and is unfolded again by the sunshine,  
waking in the blessed dawn,  
so also we, growing flowers, likewise,  
with all our fellow-brothers unified,  
have woken up. For sorrow has vanished  
in the light of the peace which shines brightly upon us  
and they, for whom the oppressive darkness of discord

5

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

caused endless suffering and heavy burdens, 10  
are now inspired, as is clearly apparent,  
to artistic endeavour and the creation of joy  
because of the peace which lightens all hearts.

And also (for you, artistic Gillyflowers,<sup>5</sup> inspire us, you who are  
inclined to gentleness in lovely ways 15  
and to all that a real artist can achieve),  
we Marigolds as one man address you  
with a loving presentation  
so that we can inspire everyone  
to increasing virtue, without disturbance, 20  
and to a loving accord, shunning  
all argument which might hinder or prevent;  
for virtue nor joy can be maintained,  
even if all her laws are just,  
if discord sets her face against them. 25

And therefore we now unite in harmony  
amongst all flowers of Rhetorica  
which we now see here gather.  
Yes, I hope to be as unfalteringly faithful  
as was incomparable Pylades to Orestes, 30  
and to bring all together in a loving accord;  
to make this clear to all  
we now show you our honourable Motto  
with an honest willing heart,  
urged to do this by the active spirit 35  
which inspires an ingenious find,  
so that love will be elevated  
now that discord has been banished.

Therefore, noble princes, receive graciously  
that which our art offers you; 40  
even if the art is in itself imperfect.  
Only our willing heart,  
which directs itself so passionately towards you,  
aspires, not to glory (inviting criticism)  
which often generates a doubtful rule, 45  
but because we would show virtuously

according to the meaning of our Motto,  
that we, as gentle brothers, in all honour,  
would arouse in ourselves the nature of our art,  
avoiding all that would hinder, and thus increase  
joy, virtue and loving togetherness. 50

## PROLOGHE

### *Characters*

Antwerpia  
Honourable Art, *a woman*

My soul rejoices thoroughly  
because the tempest of bloodthirsty Mars  
has now vanished and his standard is broken,  
and the banners of peace are now unfurled  
which have been hidden for a long time. 5

Now joy is rising everywhere  
and all are inclined to the solace of art.  
Therefore I, Honourable Art,  
am now cherished by all,  
especially by incomparable Antwerpia, 10  
which now shows her pleasure like a maiden,  
her love for me in a triumphant mode,  
and has received all my lovers graciously.

Now to her I will wend my way  
and honour her with thanks in my heart. 15  
I have seen her, so will turn to her  
and greet her most joyfully:

May Noah's grace, Abraham's blessedness,  
Joseph's prosperity and audaciousness  
be bestowed on you always. 20

Oh, unblemished maiden, worthily bepearled  
who are a flower in this world  
and whose nourishment benefits all.

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

*Antwerpia*

Oh Honourable Art, be welcome.  
To serve you pleases me greatly 25  
though all that praise makes me ashamed,  
for I am not worthy of such accolades.

*Honourable Art*

On the contrary, I would endeavour  
to voice even more praise.  
Just as we see the moon shine clearly 30  
under all the stars in heaven's firmament  
so you shine, oh, maiden excellent,  
brighter than any in all of Europe.  
Would you not be worthy of praise?  
It would be an uncouth character 35  
who would in any way denigrate you.  
To me you reveal now instantly  
your virtuous intelligent nature,  
for to arouse enthusiasm for me,  
you desire that all good arts 40  
will be revealed in all their benevolence.

*Antwerpia*

Reason and nature both advised me:  
for those who spurn you, flower most worthy,  
are useless parasites here on earth.  
The world which was wild and uncouth 45  
and mankind which was very uncivilized,  
you have educated so graciously  
that the intelligent person who embraced virtue  
now acknowledges freely how greatly  
you help us and how miserably 50  
you are spurned by the blockheads.

*Honourable Art*

Why you, Antwerpia, should amply be lauded,  
is that you want to broadcast my name and my fame



*Elsa Strietman*

so that all should delight in me,  
and to cause the coarse of mind, 55  
who are cruel and stern and in everything fierce,  
to incline towards me and artistic endeavour.

*Antwerpia*

Yes, you should by all men alive  
be honoured, as is befitting.  
The coarse of mind scorn your doctrine 60  
which is, however, divinely enriched.  
Thus I have desired for the sake of your love  
(as you have declared here yourself) to know,  
by means of my townsmen, the Gillyflowers,  
how best to arouse in the vulgar of mind 65  
a wish to serve you and to cherish  
your artistic gifts in every respect;  
for you are the flower and you wear the crown,  
oh loveliest beauty, curing with joy the sick of heart.

*Honourable Art*

I cannot thank you sufficiently 70  
and barely repay you for all you have done:  
you have summoned all rhetoricians  
here into Brabant, to attend this great feast,  
so that all those inclined to the art  
can delight in joyous and refined experiences. 75

*Antwerpia*

That's my intention, for those who engage  
in you, noble art, mild, pure and modest,  
must endeavour, gently and tranquilly,  
to profit from a harmonious unity.  
Should that fail, then small comfort 80  
or profit will ensue from the art.  
Love and unity enable us all  
to gain fame full of honour  
from serving you, here on earth,

since you improve a true and valiant artist. 85

*Honourable Art*

Where conflict and discord have the upper hand,  
there I am rejected and exiled and hurt.  
But now we will yield to my true lovers  
and let them speak, as they do it so well.  
We will be the audience and we'll listen 90  
in what manner they will enhance my fame.  
The subject of their speech will be seemly;  
All bad behaviour will be nipped in the bud.

*Antwerpia*

For my subjects will now perform  
(they are Marigolds growing in virtue) 95  
not for fame but for love, as befits youthful artists,  
and show how you are truly worthy of praise!

*Honourable Art*

We hope to have pleased you so far,  
noble lords, with this simple admonition,  
may you graciously receive it as our Prologue. 100

**TSPEL VAN SINNE OF THE AFOREMENTIONED  
MARIGOLDS.**

*Characters*

Mankind, *dressed in an antique mode, with in his hand the litteram  
Pythagoræ.*<sup>6</sup>

Avaricious Heart, *dressed in red, with in his hand a rattle.*<sup>7</sup>

Intelligent Spirit, *a Youth dressed in white, singing.*

Honorable Fame, *a lady, clad in a golden yellow silk costume, with two  
wings.*

Reason, *a lady.*

*Elsa Strietman*

*Mankind,*

Avaricious Heart, you torment me too much,  
where I go or stand, woman or man, your clutch  
holds me tight, whether I eat or drink,  
you're near, eager and diligent, I think.

*Avaricious Heart*

That's so you can use his wealth, Mankind, 5  
like an honourable lord, in body and mind.  
For she is a powerful lady, excellent,  
who rules all the world's regiment.  
Everything around her is luxurious,  
like a Queen's ambiance, 10  
well-known amongst the most famous,  
an earthly Goddess' radiance,  
and you could have her and gain profit,  
only through me, and you well know it.  
Adhere to her, with your heart and your mind, 15  
for wealth is the blood and soul of mankind.

*Mankind*

But she is fickle and faithless.  
Today towards this one she gives her riches,  
tomorrow she smiles on the other and helps him.  
And that on the whim 20  
of Fortuna, whose moods are her laws;  
and many she mercilessly draws  
away from her in just a moment;  
then their lifestyle, so opulent,  
such is Fortuna's government, 25  
will perish in miserable sadness.  
He who was in Croesus' regiment,  
she causes to plummet, like Icarus,  
it's clear everywhere, into wretchedness.  
Even though wealth is a great Princess 30  
and helps many out of danger, yes,  
Fortuna rules her as a mistress.

*Avaricious Heart*

I know: don't trust Fortune's machinations  
nor build your foundations  
on her: she rules over man's passion 35  
in an untrustworthy fashion.  
But I, Avaricious Heart, will not fail you,  
since you will maintain love true  
for wealth, and through my inspiration  
will last its domination, 40  
until Lybitina's temptation<sup>8</sup>  
destroys you. That smile  
of Lady Fortuna will bring oppression  
in a very short while.  
With a friendly mien she will beguile 45  
some, (by no means all mankind)  
whom she will later despoil. But I'll,  
Avaricious Heart, never leave you behind.

*Mankind*

And if in riches I took my delight  
and through your crafty cunning might 50  
have them day and night in my possession  
causing my destruction,  
would virtue (I cannot help but ask you)  
allow this and be able to bear it too?  
He who is upright in his opinion, 55  
for him wealth holds no attraction  
but he feels great condescension,  
(which shows that he is wise)  
towards all wrongs, whatever their temptation.  
Equally, riches cannot entice 60  
him; in no way does he rise  
to their false promises;  
fragile, sickly human nature's demise  
is caused by this short-lived rubbish.

*Pausa*



*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

*Avaricious Heart*

Your grief will increase  
if you deal with him much  
but wealth will not cage you as such;  
be wise: do not give him credence! 95

*Mankind*

Surely I can give him audience,  
that is my intention, I wish it.  
Well, why silent, Intelligent Spirit?  
You can be vociferous, I inferred from your singing.

*Intelligent Spirit*

Those hearts which are frightened need cheering, 100  
but going on for too long is a bore.

*Mankind*

Do tell me what makes your heart sore,  
For your spirit plays in joyous fashion.

*Intelligent Spirit*

It's for her whom I love with a passion,  
the most worthy I know in world's place, 105  
for she does possess divine grace  
and her being is without comparison;  
and she's pure and chaste in addition;  
she's worthy of my praise above all,  
of my veneration the object principal, 110  
and I loyally laud her with singing.

*Mankind*

Who is this whose praise you like spreading  
for whom you carry a torch with such flame?  
Tell us her name.

*Intelligent Spirit*

She's called art.

I tell you straight out: she is famous. 115

*Avaricious Heart*

And often (as can be seen) quite ravenous.  
If you love her with such fire, begad,  
then you're truly an amorous lad –  
but this falls on deaf ears, I surmise.

*Intelligent Spirit*

Oh Avaricious Heart, you are unwise 120  
to speak of the nature of art so derisory;  
it is because you act mostly advisory,  
urging people to chase after powerful wealth;  
and many a person lost spiritual health,  
I tell you no lies, in the most cruel way. 125

*Avaricious Heart*

Nonsense, who's able to hinder or to gainsay  
the chap who gains riches on earth?

*Intelligent Spirit*

*Amphias et Phocylides<sup>9</sup>*

War and Fortuna can certainly mean a dearth  
of the power of wealth and make it vanish;  
but art you will not be able to banish, 130  
neither war nor Fortuna's army  
will diminish her steadfast constancy;  
by your side she will remain  
and many she's given great gain  
who erstwhile sat in a place quite low. 135  
She'll give you the means and she'll show  
you the way to honest and virtuous endeavour,  
and all who decently use her  
she's made brave and always held in esteem.

*Avaricious Heart*

True, but also so poor, it would seem, 140  
that they can barely touch with their bread

the end of another loaf; instead  
in poverty's hamlet they forage.

*Intelligent Spirit*

Those are the ones who with manners savage  
and unwise abuse the art foolishly. 145  
If the captain steers his ship stupidly,  
is his trouble the fault of the sea?  
Art wants to be used with dignity  
from folly of mind no delight she derives:  
they are not all cooks who carry long knives, 150  
that they meddle with art is a shame.  
See this valiant figure, 'tis Honourable Fame,  
one of art's lovers and respected no end.

*Mankind*

I think she's got ten on each hand,  
but you alone are not in her troupe. 155

*Intelligent Spirit*

Many love her and she loves the whole group,  
noble and ignoble, as is her nature  
and all her followers of respectable stature  
who favour her in harmony  
form a sweet unified company. 160  
You, Honourable Fame, of great reputation  
will certainly give us your confirmation  
that art gives her bounty in ways quite manifold.

*HF appears blowing a trumpet*

*Honourable Fame*

No sweeter sound than that which I, Fame, unfold  
who announce honest gain in all crannies and nooks; 165  
and as is attested in so many books  
honest gain was born in the land of Greece.  
So I'll blow my trumpet once more with force  
for to my actions many pay heed.



*Mankind*

What sound is that, that tone so sweet? 170  
I don't hear that often, I have to say.

*Intelligent Spirit*

It's Honourable Fame, who is on her way,  
and what I said before is still true about art:  
Fame showed her always the highest regard.  
Without Fame the love of art would loose its worth. 175  
Just as fortune rules wealth on this earth  
(wealth which is praised by Avaricious Heart),  
so what greatly increases the standing of art  
is the power unparalleled, the power of Fame.

*Avaricious Heart*

Do I have to suffer much more of the same 180  
and listen to the drivel that is given voice?

*Mankind*

Avaricious Heart, do hold your noise,  
I want to listen to what Fame has to say.

*Honourable Fame*

All those who live under heaven's choir  
can leave nothing behind that's immortal 185  
to their benefit except praise eternal,  
which is only achieved with perfection  
by Intelligent Spirit who holds in affection,  
with all his powers, the noble art  
and those who adore her with all their heart. 190  
Without boasting I can praise their worth  
and call them blessed even whilst on this earth.  
They bestow honour on every country and town,  
all immoral behaviour they cause to go down  
and within a short span of time they receive 195  
praise which will never decrease but will achieve  
that it shines forever as a clear light.

Look, here is Intelligent Spirit, all his might  
is bent upon art, with great concentration.  
I look forward now to his presentation. 200  
But why does Avaricious heart occupy  
the place next to him, with unrest as ally,  
that enemy of all art, to what end?

*Intelligent Spirit*

Honourable Fame, you are my friend,  
your voice is balm for my spirit, 205  
and honest gain is sweetly nourishing it,  
it's a medicine for the soul and won't fail.

*Honourable Fame*

Out of love for you I come with my tale.  
But first tell me, answer me freely 210  
why do I see you here in the company  
of Avaricious Heart, no friend of ours,  
who panders to wealth as a slave at all hours  
and denies virtue to himself and mankind.

*Intelligent Spirit*

Fame, fame you are of such powerful mind;  
I shall explain the reason and make this clear: 215  
It's art alone that gives me joy and cheer,  
and Avaricious Heart can't harm my health  
but he would like to lure mankind to wealth;  
I hate it as I hate a spider full of poison.

*Honourable Fame*

Blessed are those who use wealth within reason, 220  
for honest benefit, and know its deprivations;  
for them art's lustre will know no limitations.  
But Avaricious Heart will gain no ground,  
for him my trumpet will make no triumphant sound  
but only for those, wherever they may dwell, 225  
whom I can enlist to cause art's ranks to swell,

*Elsa Strietman*

even if Avaricious Heart goes on mocking  
mankind, with restless grief tormenting  
and inciting him to all kinds of serious mischief.

*She blows again*

*Mankind*

Honourable Fame, your sweet words make me believe 230  
that I can put my trust in you, without hesitation,  
but I would like to ask you for information:  
what do you call your instrument, that trumpet?

*Honourable Fame*

I call her Honest Gain; that's what you'll get 235  
when, like art's lovers, you like to hear her play.  
Avaricious Heart, restlessly, longs to make you sway  
and pursue dishonest gain which causes great corruption.  
Just like a sick man develops a lasting aversion  
to the sweetness of food, and, I'm not unjust,  
likewise Avaricious Heart views with great disgust 240  
Honourable Fame whenever she appears  
and honest gain sounds discordant in his ears;  
it makes him vomit, it's often proven, truly.

*Mankind*

I think I understand your declaration fully;  
it makes me desire to practice art unblemished, 245  
through honest gain, for which my heart is famished;  
you sang its praises. And you get lost, away from here,  
Avaricious Heart, leave me alone, I don't want you near,  
your sharp practices I fear; they make me shiver.

*Avaricious Heart*

Well, Honourable Fame, I don't exactly quiver 250  
with excitement at any of your games, they're a bore!  
I'll try another place, a more promising shore.  
There's little point in staying, no advantage.

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

*Honourable Fame*

Look, here comes Reason, there's a worthy personage,  
he'll help us show that it's just and wise 255  
that everyone should bow to art and realise  
that she's greater than wealth, whatever its reputation.

*Reason appears, clad in blue with a bridle in her hand*

*Reason*

Who could still doubt what is the true situation?  
Aided by me, Reason, art will greatly benefit  
and you, Honourable Fame, will send her honest profit, 260  
forever in this world and in such a fashion  
that wealth (hunted by avaricious people with a passion)  
is not heeded for itself; 't will be quite natural  
to use it in a manner, entirely beneficial.  
For art, a philosopher once said, and wisely, 265  
makes mankind great, and gives liberality,  
which is why we speak of the liberal arts  
which with various gifts enrich people's hearts,  
suitable to each; this is, Intelligent Spirit, through you.

*Intelligent Spirit*

Grammar is a sweet kernel from which we do 270  
receive the first inspiration for our art.  
Dialectic also plays her well-mannered part  
and also Rhetoric, very praise-worthy,  
a gift which not only makes us happy  
but stirs, teaches, shows what is virtuous. 275

*Honourable Fame*

Astronomy has made many famous  
and given them greatness through the ages  
And Cosmography describes, in all its stages,  
the world with the help of the arts.  
Geometry who measures all parts, 280  
gives each satisfaction, one mustn't forget.

*Reason*

And Arithmetic needs to be added to that,  
whilst Music must not be left behind:  
she plants joy in the heart of mankind  
and chases away melancholy with her might. 285

*Intelligent Spirit*

These are such gifts of which scholars write  
(which the ignorant may well despise).  
but for art's lovers it is a great prize.  
Without the enhancing spirit of art, I can tell,  
no realm can be governed at all well 290  
as Fame will explain now in detail.

*Honourable Fame*

Therefore Aristippus<sup>10</sup> considered, without fail,  
'twould be better to beg for a living  
than to lack art's talents and teaching,  
which dignifies not just the individual 295  
but gives to the common weal in general  
honourable profit which can't fail to please.

*Mankind*

Your words, Honourable Fame, do increase  
my feelings, ever more, ever better,  
of the love towards art that I harbour 300  
and which makes me reject with passion  
wealth, which is only a temporal possession,  
and much inferior to art, as I hear.

*Reason*

They must be foolish or mad, it is clear,  
or like creatures without reasonable thinking, 305  
to cast doubts on art's wonderful blessing,  
and despise what we all should adore,

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

*Intelligent Spirit*

which we all need,

*Reason*

which is worth more  
than any other thing under the sun's light.  
A wise philosopher<sup>11</sup> once did write  
that all the gifts that art can bestow  
are given by God to us here below;  
Art's fame'll never die but with all her might,  
will serve her, you see, far and wide,  
will encourage her lovers with benefits,  
reveal art's gifts and all well-deserved profits  
which have ever been given to man.

*Philon* 310

315

*Mankind*

Such great gifts! Is't possible that I can  
receive those and that her grace so sweet  
will also come to me?

*Intelligent Spirit*

Indeed!

I, Intelligent Spirit, will be helping.

320

*Reason*

I, Reason, will assuage your great longing;  
for without me you would not achieve it.

*Honourable Fame*

True, it's needful for all to perceive it  
for just as God governs the world and mankind  
so reason is ruler over man's mind,  
a Microcosmos, that is the name:  
a small world, which derives its fame  
from wise scholars with a great reputation.

325

*Intelligent Spirit*

The body, I'll give you this explanation, 330  
consists of four different elements,  
but the spirit is of divine components;  
we humans need Heaven's inspiration  
for art.

*Reason*

I can say without hesitation,  
and it's written: when the mistress is away *Phocylides* 335  
the household is often thrown into disarray  
by servants and by conflictuous perturbation.  
Just so the senses are often affected by disturbance  
when reason is not there to help complete  
or start a thing.

*Honourable Fame*

Be clever, try to meet 340  
Reason and dog his footsteps in pursuit;  
then you can use pure, honest art for good,  
her decent gifts will bring you joyous gain.  
But first I must, without causing you pain,  
unveil the origins of art with a visual explanation 345  
so that your heart will sense a great elation *He opens [the curtain]*  
and you'll desire to live in virtue and honesty.

*Mankind*

Here is a lovely picture,<sup>12</sup> see,  
but what does it mean? I haven't got a clue.

*Honourable Fame*

Now, Mankind, I'm happy to help you construe 350  
its significance and to help clarify  
what art is. Look, seated there on high,  
on that vast pillar, that square stone,  
that is Mercury, placed as on the throne

HONOS ALIT ARTES.



*Ut Sphaerae Fortuna, cubo sic insidet Hermes,  
Artibus hic varijs, casibus illa praest  
Lubrica sed casus fortuna mimatur iniquos  
Ast certam miseris ars bona praestat opem.*

*fideus.*



*Elsa Strietman*

of noble art, written in free expression, 355  
for he first held art's gifts in his possession  
and lent them to us, as many witnesses agree.

*Reason*

Look, there is Fortune who must bend her knee,  
standing on a round globe, in precarious balance,  
and as a counterweight against her force 360  
is Mercury, ready, at all hours; if she should fall,  
brought down by her unstable poise upon that ball,  
she'll try and get his help: he's constant,  
for the nature of art is valiant and reliant,  
while Fortune's promises are 'easy come and easy go', 365  
whom she favours today, tomorrow tumbles low;  
she holds out greatness as often as she makes it disappear.  
Her riches aren't gifts but loans; they don't linger here.  
Today she proffers truths which are tomorrow's lies.

*Honourable Fame*

It's easy to be deceived; Fortune's ties 370  
consist of sudden cruel accidents,  
like fire, mishap, illness' torments,  
trading disasters, be it on water or on land.  
Lovely art gives with a generous hand,  
no creature would be denied her bounty. 375

*Mankind*

Honourable Fame, can you explain to me:  
why does Mercury who fosters art's progression,  
hold that rod, with such a brave expression,  
with two knotted snakes? What a strange sight!

*Honourable Fame*

I'll do my best to clarify, to shed some light: 380  
It's a sign of peace, that rod he grasps  
and the two fearless writhing asps,  
one a sweet female, the other is a male,

signify that his wise reason must not fail  
to avail itself of arguments worded in such a way 385  
that neither clerk nor layman can gainsay  
their great wisdom, nor contradict by right.

*Mankind*

And who are those people standing aside,  
as if they're there to help, as faithful as they can?  
One is a woman, the other is a man; 390  
I'd like to know: what's their significance?

*Intelligent Spirit*

The lady's name is given as Experience,  
the man, depicted as Mercury's neighbour,  
holds a spade called Diligence; his name is Labour,  
so it is a fitting tool. Their help is stable; 395  
without it Mercury would not be able  
to bring the blessed arts to earth  
for us. These are helpers of great worth,  
who've given loyal service without intermission  
for centuries.

*Honourable Fame*

I have a strong suspicion 400  
that art cannot achieve any success  
without diligent Labour, and I must stress  
that Experience plays an essential part.

*Mankind*

This explanation has gladdened my heart;  
I'm happy now I understand the depiction; 405  
a heart of stone would surely feel emotion  
and warm to art and all her lovers too.

*Honourable Fame*

In the beginning God was the first Creator, who  
used the Holy Spirit and its powerful nature,

described so well and with such truth in Scripture. 410  
Philosophy also came into existence *Philo[sophia]?*  
through God, and then made her presence  
felt in our hearts, a gift incomparable  
and of great use and help to spirits mortal,  
encouraging us to look beyond our earthly cares. 415

*Reason*

So that we will be able to have our share  
of Heaven; as Philon openly stated.  
He thought Philosophy was so elevated,  
saying that she is a science which clearly explains 420  
all that to Divine and human concerns pertains,  
as mother of all science worthy of great esteem.

*Honourable Fame*

It was Philosophy's invention, it would seem,  
that made Mercury adorn with statues of gold  
the land of Egypt. She caused Lycurges<sup>13</sup> bold  
to give good laws to Lacedemonia. 425  
And it was also through Philosophia  
that Solon<sup>14</sup> gave Athens great prosperity;  
that Pythagoras had the inventivity  
to give the towns in Greece good laws  
and ordinances; that there were no flaws 430  
in what Plato did in Arcadia,<sup>15</sup> as we find;  
that the thoughts of his philosophical mind  
and that of others, that is for sure,  
have left a legacy that will endure  
in this world, of honourable fame. 435

*Reason*

We cannot omit from this Astrology's name, *Laus Astrologie*  
the spirit of nature found her worthy of praise  
and Mercury too thought her divine;  
Thales Milesius,<sup>16</sup> with her help, earned  
great fame; the first to have learned 440

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

about the sun's eclipse, through experiment.

*Honourable Fame*

Ptolemaeus<sup>17</sup> did research into the firmament  
of heaven, whilst he lived in Greece.

He learned from Atlas' expertise  
about the stars and their condition:

445

in that science Atlas held a top position.

Poets sang in his honour, of old,  
he carried the world on his shoulders, they told,  
and their songs spread his fame far and wide.

Cleostratus' knowledge<sup>18</sup> we should not deride:

450

he revealed the signs of heaven. All these men  
were clever scholars with great acumen,  
whose learning earned them immortality.

*Reason*

Neither must we forget Geometry,  
that is an art most laudable  
and in many ways very valuable  
with a subtlety which shows perfection.

*Laus Geometrie*

455

*Intelligent Spirit*

She needs Arithmetic for her correction,  
sisters born of one mother, very loyal.

*Reason*

Forts and castles, cities and palaces royal  
were built precisely as they calculated.

460

*Honourable Fame*

It was in Egypt, Plinius<sup>19</sup> narrated,  
that this subtle art was first employed,  
because the river Nile destroyed  
and inundated all its separate parts,  
which were rebuilt with the help of these arts  
and every one as good as new.

465

*Reason*

Before Abraham, Josephus<sup>20</sup> knew, *Josephus de antiquitatibus*  
came into Egypt, it was an unknown art.  
After that 'twas Plato, who was very smart, 470  
who brought her into Greece, so much is plain;  
and pupils who could not master or attain  
this art, were from his school expelled.

*Honourable Fame*

Pythagoras, who in virtues excelled,  
a hundred oxen for a sacrifice donated, 475  
a hecatombe it's called (that's stated),  
because he judged he'd found the apogee  
of perfection in this art; who would not agree  
that his fame should be broadcast all over the earth?

*Reason*

Arithmetic is also of great worth *Laus Arithmetice* 480  
because it makes the merchants affluent.  
'Twas Mercury who first did invent  
this art in Phoenicia; 'twas important in trade  
which needed accurate sums as an aid.  
So from Phoenicia this art then came 485  
and was held in high esteem, her fame  
increased, since God himself set great store  
by it.

*Intelligent Spirit*

Without this art, what's more,  
trade and commerce could not progress,  
and it's important that we stress 490  
its practitioners, many of enormous repute.

*Honourable Fame*

So it's important that we should  
remember Archimedes and Eudoxus<sup>21</sup> too.  
Of great importance in this is Euclid, who

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

should be honoured for his contribution, 495  
since he made all that was in a rough condition<sup>22</sup>  
very smooth: his name should live forever.

*Mankind*

It is right: these scholars are all clever,  
these masters of art of divine inspirations  
should be the rulers and lords of all nations, 500  
for without the arts and their learning  
the world would be coarse, rough and unfitting  
for people; we would all be, I bet,  
like dumb beasts.

*Intelligent Spirit*

*Laus Rhetorice*

However, we mustn't forget  
Rhetoric, which is the food of eloquence, 505  
which helps to sweeten man's existence;  
without her, without reason he would be,  
like animals.

*Honourable Fame*

Aristides<sup>23</sup> would agree:  
Mankind would not be fit to rule  
if eloquence had not been the tool 510  
with which unreason was put down;  
Mercury gave her a pearly crown;  
her merit is greater than all silver or gold.

*Reason*

*Diffinitio Eloquentie*

This is an art which gives riches untold  
to mankind; his wise words she enhances. 515  
She will not allow wrong utterances,  
she's considered Queen of humanity  
by Princes and Emperors.

*Honourable Fame*

Take oratory,

which, in Athens, she created;  
but to sum up all that was narrated 520  
by Athenian orators long ago,  
would be tedious.

*Reason*

I'm sure you know  
that the Lacedemonians embraced  
this art soon after and then raised  
it to new heights of sense and wisdom. 525

*Honourable Fame*

The Romans too made her very welcome  
and showed that they were quite ingenious  
in using her; at least that is what Tullius<sup>24</sup>  
tells us in *Oratore* of the excellence 530  
of orators and their eloquence,  
and that it is most desirable to find  
orators with a scientific mind,  
who will be able to teach the ignorant  
or a simple person.

*Reason*

So they were adamant  
that orators who were very smart 535  
should be revered as masters of their art,  
even though hate and envy tried their best  
to diminish that

*Honourable Fame*

in their own evil interest.  
But their names forever more will live!

*Intelligent Spirit*

And now we come to Music who can give *Laus Musice* 540  
joy to Mankind and stir their feeling  
and get even those creatures moving

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

who have no reason, as Orpheus found,  
who first in Thrace with Music's sound  
inspired wild beasts to dance and sing. 545

*Honourable Fame*

Mercury possessed a very special thing  
(which he gave to Orpheus), an instrument.

*Reason*

It's very true that Musica is excellent  
for David ( a man much loved by God)  
drove out all melancholy thought 550  
with Music, made odes and Psalms also.

*Honourable Fame*

With his harp he calmed Saul's heart, long ago,  
for when Saul suffered his fits of insanity,  
inspired by the devil (this happened frequently),  
then David would come to him and play 555  
and sing songs of praise to God; the way  
he played his harp evoked sweet calm,  
which always chased away the harm  
done to Saul's spirit by devilish inspiration;  
this Scripture tells us.

*Reason*

Its strongest exhortation 560  
is that we should express our gratitude  
with psalms, honouring Our Lord's beatitude,  
and also with all the instruments of Musica.

*Honourable Fame*

Once upon a time wise laws in Arcadia,  
in a manner most efficacious, decreed  
that everyone had to learn Music sweet  
till they were thirty years at least.  
And when this custom then decreased

*Caecilius Plinius et Raphael*  
*volescet anima?*<sup>25</sup> 565



and disappeared, as Plinius outlines,  
they fell into such evil designs 570  
that they incurred the hate of all humanity.

*Reason*

There's no shame in singing excessively  
in praise of Music. In all provinces  
she was, and is, loved by Kings and Princes  
who honour her and treat her graciously. 575

*Intelligent Spirit*

She is the foundation of Poetry, *Artis Poetice Laus*  
and Poets are exalted beings  
who in all their writings 580  
use song and clever composition.

*Honourable Fame*

The praise of Poets should have no limitation 580  
for a Divine Spirit sets them aflame;  
Philon gave them the gracious name  
of Children of God with sacred art.  
This same gift lodged in Ovidius' heart;  
there is in each of us, he states, *Est Deus in nobis; agitante*  
a God, who evidently activates *calescimus illo. &c.*<sup>26</sup> 585  
and sets alight these passionate fires  
with which the heavenly spirit inspires  
us, as if we're a field divinely sown.

*Reason*

Music gladdens our heart, as is known, 590  
as does Poetry, but she helps to better *Omne tulit punctu[m] qui miscuit*  
our morals; this is according to the letter *utile dulci*<sup>27</sup>  
of Horace: in amusing and teaching, he said,  
he hits the nail on the head  
who can instruct and entertain. 595

*Honourable Fame*

Homer is the father, I am certain,  
and the head of all the famous bards;  
Euripedes was a master in these arts:  
he did it through his tragedies,  
Aristophanes through clever comedies, 600  
princely compositions, it's well known,  
just as Sophocles has shown  
a learned doctrine, of great value.  
But I must stop; if I'd pursue  
all these great poets and their fame, 605  
I would need to be better at this game  
than Mercury himself; he is the peak!  
Had I a hundred tongues with which to speak,  
and yet a hundred, I must stress again,  
I could not even begin to attain 610  
the proper level of praise that's due  
to these poets laureate.

*Reason*

Very able too  
were the Romans and very expert;  
and eternal praise is their just desert.  
We should to Virgil first award it 615  
for his great work.

*Honourable Fame*

He was rewarded  
by St. Augustine, who took his part,  
he was a devout lover of all art.  
He wrote a poem, forty lines in length,  
in which he honours, with considerable strength, 620  
Maro's name and his eternal memory.

*Ergo ne supremis potuit vox  
improba verbis.&c.*<sup>28</sup>

*Intelligent Spirit*

Petrus Crinitus wrote a wonderful history  
which long ago did bring to light  
*Petrus Crinitus*

all the poets' lives which might  
be worthy of being lovingly remembered. 625

*Mankind*

I think that you have engendered  
a fire, Honourable Fame, in my heart  
to serve the very core of lovely art,  
just as the Poets have done long before;  
and I would like to hear some more: 630  
which art should I, with steadfast application,  
pursue the most; which will improve my station,  
from which will I receive most benefit?

*Honourable Fame*

The art by which you will most profit,  
I almost forgot, but it's essential, *Laus Crammatice*  
of all the arts esteemed she is the principal 635  
and will show you the way without doubt:  
that's Grammar. She can be proud,  
and with reason; she is the very base  
of all the good arts; turn your face 640  
towards her: and then you'll progress.

*Reason*

That is why Mercury did stress  
that he practised this art primarily,  
for no other art (however much you study)  
can without Grammar be understood. 645

*Honourable Fame*

Many scholars however expert and good  
took Vives<sup>29</sup> advice and paid heed  
when he said: Grammar's what you need!  
*Grammatici* they called themselves with pride  
and set other epithets aside 650  
even if they had brought them reputations  
as poets or orators.

*Mankind*

These secret foundations  
Of all noble arts in God found their origin.

*Reason*

Without Grammar it is impossible to begin,  
they who try are deceived by stupid folly, 655  
like young birds who are in a frenzy  
to fly whilst their wings are not yet grown.

*Honourable Fame*

There are other arts which are known  
as clever craft: you must recall  
Masonry is one, famed above all 660  
because countries and towns receive decoration  
from her; so much skilful ornamentation  
with which Architecture lends her a hand.

*Reason*

And there are others, you understand,  
we can't name them all; 'tis too much. 665  
But there is one which I must name as such,  
worthy of mention, you'll agree,  
as one of the arts that are called 'free',  
every bit as important as Poetry divine.

*Honourable Fame*

*Laus picture*

That is Pictura, painting, an art so fine,  
esteemed everywhere and considered to be  
worthy of honour as a form of silent Poetry.  
For just as Poetry can evoke emotion in Mankind  
so also is Pictura able, as you'll find,  
but without words, to make his senses aware. 675  
Just as a Poet can, with learned verbal care,  
tell tales and stories of days long ago,  
so can a painter wars and battles show  
and bring to life things that have happened

as if we saw them before our eyes at present; 680  
painting should be esteemed to a high degree.

*Reason*

And what's more, everywhere you now see  
that a Painter with his brushes and skills  
shows forts, castles, countries, cities and only fills  
a small canvas which depicts all that. 685

*Honourable Fame*

That is why Zeuxis<sup>30</sup> was not at all sad  
to show off the tricks of his trade,  
against famous Parrhasius,<sup>31</sup> and made  
(and this was meant as a test  
to see who could use his skills best) 690  
a painting of a vine so natural,  
that he managed to deceive all  
the birds; he deserved to be well-known!

*Reason*

But hear what then Parrhasius has shown:  
a linen cloth painted with such perfection 695  
that Zeuxis thought it was a real protection  
for a painting that he wanted to exhibit.  
But when Zeuxis wanted to remove it,  
he found himself deceived and defeated.

*Honourable Fame*

The birds had found themselves cheated 700  
by Zeuxis' craftmanship, so delicate,  
but what Parrhasius managed to create  
was even better: so that the art  
did cheat the artist.

*Reason*

Wasn't that smart?  
That's why for ever and a day 705



gives Mankind the greatest encouragement  
to practise the arts to their lasting benefit. 730

*Honourable Fame*

Because without honourable fame, what profit  
would an artist be able to enjoy? I believe,  
his work would almost make him grieve  
and his love of art would soon disappear. 735

*Reason*

That's why we build on honourable fame here,  
and intelligent spirit must then use its influence  
to attain art for all clerks of poetic excellence.  
that's what I, Reason, wish to make clear.

*Honourable Fame*

Therefore Princes and Lords must bow here  
to art, for she brings great prosperity  
to countries and towns. 740

*Mankind*

She brings harmony,  
in short, and love to brothers in art,  
wisdom and virtue are very much part  
of an artist and show his honest nature. 745

*Reason*

Avarice, who is an evil figure,  
who darkens wisdom and virtue,  
should be exiled; we should listen to  
honest profit, spread her fame and reputation  
and that of art.

*Honourable Fame*

This is our salutation,  
to you, my Lords, from all the Marigolds,  
we hope you liked what you were told: 750

that all noble arts evoke our admiration.

755

May this provide Mankind with ample inspiration.

FINIS

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> M. Vinck-van Caekenberghe, *Een onderzoek naar het leven, het werk en de literaire opvattingen van Cornelis van Ghistele (1510/11-1573), rederijker en humanist* (Gent: KANTL, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> *Spelen van sinne vol scoone moralisacien* (Antwerp: W. Silvius, 1562).

<sup>3</sup> Vinck-van Caekenberghe, *op.cit.*, pp. 205-07.

<sup>4</sup> Vinck-van Caekenberghe, *op.cit.*, pp. 289-342.

<sup>5</sup> *De Violieren* was the name of the Antwerp Chamber which organised the competition in 1561.

<sup>6</sup> The letter Y, symbol of the choices to be made in life: the narrow steep road to salvation on the right and on the left the wide and easy road to perdition.

<sup>7</sup> Literally: unrest or trouble, but here portrayed as a thing that does not stop, hence the translation 'rattle'.

<sup>8</sup> Lybitina is the Roman goddess of funerals; here therefore a metaphor for death.

<sup>9</sup> Not clear, though Phocylides was a term referring to a gnomic hexameter poem composed in Miletus in the first half of the 6th century BC or to its poet. Cp. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996), p. 1173 (hereafter *OCD*).

<sup>10</sup> Aristippus was an associate of Socrates; the first to charge a fee for teaching; *OCD* (1996), p. 161.

<sup>11</sup> Philo of Alexandria, c. 20 BC-50 AD, Jewish hellenist philosopher; *OCD*, p. 1167-68.

<sup>12</sup> This is an emblem from a collection by Andreas Alciatus, first published in Augsburg 1531, then in Venice, 1546; cp. A Henkel and A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1978) and M. Vinck-van Caekenberghe, *op. cit.* pp. 204-06. The text above the picture reads 'Honour feeds the arts', the quatrain below is paraphrased in Van Ghistele's text, ll. 353-401.

<sup>13</sup> Lycurgus, c. 820 BC, Thracian king, founder of Sparta or Lacedaemon; *OCD*, p. 897.

<sup>14</sup> Solon, sage, lawgiver and poet, laid the foundation of the society of classical



Athens; *OCD*, p. 1421.

<sup>15</sup> Plato (*Republic*, 10) refers to the long-standing quarrel between Philosophy and Poetry and to the superiority of Philosophy. Only if the Poets are willing to take advice from Philosophy can they be admitted to the ideal state. *OCD*, pp. 1169-70.

<sup>16</sup> Thales of Miletus, c. 640–546, one of the seven sages of Greece, mathematician and astrologer, was thought to have prophesied the eclipse of the sun of 28 May 585; *OCD*, p. 1491.

<sup>17</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus of Alexandria, active c. 142–c. 170, geographer and astronomer; his writings were the main source of geographical and mathematical knowledge in the Middle Ages; his cosmographical writings were a summary of the entire astronomical knowledge of the Ancients; *OCD*, p. 1273-75.

<sup>18</sup> Cleostratus of Tenedos, astronomer; cp. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1952), 6; *OCD*, p. 196.

<sup>19</sup> Gaius Plinius Secundus or Pliny the Elder, 23/4–79 famous for his *Naturalis historia*; *OCD*, p. 1179-98.

<sup>20</sup> Flavius Josephus, c. 37–95, Jewish historian; *OCD*, p. 798-99. Van Ghistele refers here to his *Antiquitates Iudaicae* which were by 1561 available in Dutch translation.

<sup>21</sup> Eudoxus of Cnidus, c. 390–c. 340 BC substantially advanced number theory and strongly influenced Euclid; *OCD*, p. 565-66.

<sup>22</sup> Euclid's *Elements* were enormously influential in the Middle Ages as in more recent times. This particular remark may refer to the fact that he clarified and advanced our understanding of mathematics; *OCD*, p. 564.

<sup>23</sup> Publius Aelius Aristides, 117–after 181, was a sophist and man of letters who studied in Athens and Pergamum; cp. *OCD*, p. 160-61.

<sup>24</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero's *De oratore* was very influential in humanist poetic theory and Van Ghistele's 'Diffinitio Eloquentia', too, clearly owes much to Cicero.

<sup>25</sup> Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus or Pliny the Younger, c. 61–c. 112; *OCD*, p. 1198. The rest of this gloss is unclear.

<sup>26</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 5.

<sup>27</sup> Horace, *Epistula ad Pisones*, l. 343.

<sup>28</sup> M. Vinck-van Caekenberghe, *op. cit.* pp. 323-24 explains this confusing reference to St Augustine as stemming from an ode to Vergil by the Roman emperor Octavius Augustus, which was included in a work by the Florentine humanist Petrus Crinitus, *Libri de poetis latinis* (1505) which Van Ghistele mentions in l. 624. I should add that Van Ghistele's gloss is incomplete and should read: 'Ergo ne supremis potuit vox improba verbis/tam dirum mandare nefas?' ('Could then the wicked voice cause such a dreadful crime to the noblest words?').

*Cornelis van Ghistele's Defence of Rhetoric*

<sup>29</sup> Juan Luis Vives (born Valencia, 1492 – died Bruges, 1540), a Spanish-Dutch humanist.

<sup>30</sup> Zeuxis of Heraclea, c. 397 BC (?), painter; *OCD*, pp. 1638-39.

<sup>31</sup> Parrhasius, c. 397 BC, painter, *OCD*, p. 1116.

<sup>32</sup> Apelles of Colophon and Ephesus, c. 332 BC, was the only painter whom Alexander the Great allowed to paint his portrait; *OCD*, p. 118-19.