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**OLD PRINT BY MARK FABIUS QUINTILIAN
FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE K. D. USHYNKY
SOUTH UKRAINIAN NATIONAL PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY**

The aim of the work is to analyze the historical context of the origin and content of the legacy of Marc Fabius Quintilian on the basis of the invented old print «Instructions to the Orator» in 1665. The research **methodology** is a set of principles of historicism, objectivity, systematics. The main research methods are historiographical and bibliographic, as well as the method of historical and bibliological and terminological analysis. The **scientific novelty** of the topic lies, first of all, in the formulation of the problem of scientific research of old prints of the funds of small libraries of Ukraine, which often keep in their bookstores rare and valuable publications.

Such studies make it possible to identify gaps and identify promising areas for further research. Significant ideology of the library storage system during the Soviet era, low level of proficiency in classical languages and even the languages of European countries of library staff sometimes led to almost complete loss of outstanding copies of human memory from scientific and educational circulation. The figure of Mark Fabius Quintilian has rarely been the subject of historical research. «Instructions to the Orator», the main and only authentic work of Quintilian, which has survived to our time, has a strong technical focus and provides rich material, especially to

classic philologists, historians of pedagogy and rhetoric. However, this material does not exhaust the content of «Instructions to the Orator». Many of the plots of Quintilian's major work have a historical context and political coloration and are of great interest to researchers. **Conclusions:** «Instructions to the Orator» differs from the usual textbook on rhetoric in that Quintilian proclaims his goal not only to teach the technique of eloquence, but also to educate a perfect speaker. The fruit of eloquence, accor-

ding to Quintilian, a true speaker should see not in selfishness or payment, but in himself, in his knowledge and nobility of thought. Such a position is natural in the framework of normative policy ideas about the free activity of a citizen in the public field. Thus, although in a somewhat modernized form, Quintilian gives all his advantages to the polis ideal of the speaker.

Key words: old print, rhetoric, oratory, Mark Fabius Quintilian, recitations, funds, catalogs.

Relevance of the research topic. In the Rare and Valuable Books Department of the South Ukrainian National Pedagogical University named after K. D. Ushynsky in Odessa, Mark Fabius Quintilian's 1665 book, «Instructions to the Orator», published by Lugduni Batavorum and Roterod, one of Leiden and Rotterdam's oldest publishers, was recently discovered [1]. Unfortunately, there is only the second volume, the title page is missing, the title can be read from the avant-title.

Analysis of research and publications. The figure of Mark Fabius Quintilian has rarely been the subject of historical research. Except for brief information and mentions in general works on the history of Roman literature [2, 7, 8] can be distinguished only a few studies. M. Albrecht pays attention to the problem of establishing the authorship of the «Declamations» attributed to Quintilian [9]. A. Borzunov focuses his article mainly on the question of Quintilian's political views [6]. In essence, the only narrowly specialized work in which Quintilian's attitude to «informers» is considered is an article by M. Unterbottom [5].

«Instructions to the Orator», the main and only surviving work of Quintilian, has a strong technical focus and provides rich material, especially to philologists, classics, historians of pedagogy and rhetoric. However, the content of the «Instructions to the Orator» is not limited to this material. Many of Quintilian's major works have a historical context and political coloration and are of great interest to researchers.

The purpose of the study is to analyze the historical context of the origin and content of the legacy of Marc Fabius Quintilian on the basis of the invented old print «Instructions to the Orator» in 1665.

Presentation of the main material. The author of this book is Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (Callaguris, modern Calahorra, Spain c. 35 – c. 96, Rome) – Roman rhetorician (teacher of eloquence), author of «Instructions to the Orator» – the most complete textbook of oratory, which has reached to us from antiquity. This book was studied in all rhetorical schools, along with the writings of Cicero. Quintilian is considered a reformer of the literary Latin style.

Sources differ on the origin of Quintilian. Some claim that he was born into one of the most noble families in Spain, while others claim that Quintilian is from a poor and insignificant family. One thing is for sure – both his father and grandfather were rhetoricians.

He was educated in Rome, preparing himself for a career as a judicial orator. Under the emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, he repeatedly appeared in court as a lawyer, but gained fame not by practical but by theoretical and teaching activities.

For about 20 years, Quintilian taught oratory to the noble and wealthy Roman youth. Among his students were also Pliny the Younger, and possibly Juvenal. At the zenith of his fame, Quintilian, grateful to the imperial house, sincerely praised Domitian, the cruel and bloody tyrant with whom he was friendly and apparently shared his views (in particular, he approved of the expulsion of philosophers from Rome in the early 1990s.). Domitian, in turn, supported Quintilian with money and honors – it is believed that Quintilian became his «rhetor consul» during his reign – an unprecedented case in Rome. The life of Quintilian, who experienced a sudden rise to the pinnacle of fame and fortune, cannot, however, be called happy: his young wife and two hopeful sons died, leaving the old man alone.

The last years of Quintilian's life were overshadowed by the growing terror of Domitian, the exile of the parents of his pupils, the former heirs of the emperor, and the consequent resignation.

In the history of pedagogy, Quintilian is considered the first classic of humane pedagogy. His words: «Father, when you have a son, place great hopes on him, for great hopes give birth to great pedagogy» [2, p. 147].

In late Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, Quintilian was little known. Its popularity with the humanists began in 1416, when the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini discovered the manuscript of the *Declamations* in the vault of the monastery of St. Gallen (St. Gallen, Switzerland). The book was rewritten and published by the Florentine humanist and lover of antiquity Niccolo Niccoli [3, p. 267–268].

Niccolo Niccoli was a member of the scribes' circle, which included Poggio Bracciolini, Jacopo Angelo, Leonardo Bruni, Roberto Rossi. Their constant occupation was studying and commenting on ancient classics, searching for ancient manuscripts. The patron of this circle, from which the Platon Academy later emerged, was Cosimo Medici [4, p. 125].

Niccoli spent a lot of money on manuscripts. Niccolò's fascination with ancient culture was so great that he was left alone and never married, and was willing to quarrel with friends because of the slightest differences over antiquities. According to contemporaries, he furnished his house like an ancient Roman one, he had a huge number of marble and bronze sculptures. In everyday life he tried to restore Roman antiquity in its entirety: dressed in a kind of toga, spoke the language of Cicero, not modern Tuscan, furnished his meals to the smallest detail in the ancient manner [4, p. 234].

Before his death, Niccolly wrote a will under which he transferred his entire library to Florence. And with a mandatory condition: books must be available to anyone [2, p. 143]. He instructed his executors to choose a suitable place to organize the library.

At that time, the book in Europe was in the full sense of the word behind seven seals, it was hidden from readers by the powerful walls of monasteries ... The idea of creating a public library was expressed by many.

After Niccolò's death, the Florentine businessmen (after all, they were merchants) counted and evaluated the books accurately, and there were 800 manuscripts in it.

However, Niccolly's last will could not be carried out immediately: debts lay in his library. The creditors were ready to sell the library in parts ... The payment with the creditors was made by the governor of the city Cosimo Medici. Moreover, he decided to add new books to Niccolli's collection. For help and advice, Cosimo Medici turned to the humanist and friend Niccoli, the secretary of the papal curia, Tommaso Parentucelli (later Pope Nicholas V) [2, p. 144].

To this day, a wonderful document has been preserved (in copy) – Parentucelli's «List». A copy of it is in Florence, in the National Library. The «List» is rightly called «the bibliographic canon of its time». This sample catalog lists the names of the authors and the names of their works. But, given that the catalog was intended for people who knew, Parentucelli was limited to indicating only the names of the authors and the postscript «all works».

The first public library was located in the monastery of St. Mark. The room, designed for 64 cabinets, was artistically decorated. This is where Nicoli's book found shelter. The library was headed by the monk Giuliano Lapaccini (a relative of Niccolo Niccoli and a confidant of Cosimo Medici). He put the books in order and compiled an inventory of this meeting. The library of the monastery of St. Mark has survived to the present day and is now housed in the State Library in Florence.

One of the important plots is Quintilian's attitude to the so-called «informers» or delectors (accusers) in political trials, many of whom were outstanding speakers.

The only work that examines Quintilian's attitude toward «informers» is an article by M. Unterbottom. According to M. Winterbottom, Quintilian, without publicizing his attitude to the delegates, nevertheless generally negatively evaluates their activities. The main conclusion of the author is that one of the most important demands made by Quintilian to the speaker he wants to raise, the requirement to be a «good man», is nothing more than a response to a situation where the brightest figures in the field of speech are not brilliant whistleblowers [5, p. 95–96].

A stronger basis can be given to the system of Quintilian's theoretical ideas about the speaker and his purpose.

«Instructions to the Orator» differs from the usual manual on rhetoric in that Quintilian proclaims his goal not to teach the technique of eloquence, but to educate the perfect orator (orator perfectus). Perfect, like, however, any speaker in the high sense of the word, cannot but be a «valiant man» (vir bonus). Otherwise he deserves only the name of a foolish intercessor or sorcerer (causidicis), but not a speaker. Quintilian refers to the Roman tradition: «The speaker must be, as defined by M. Cato, «a valiant man, skilled in speech» [6, p. 72].

What caused Quintilian's exceptional attention to this topic? How, the requirement for the speaker to be *vir bonus* was combined with the realities of the new regime? Do «informers» or orators like Galeria Trahala and Julia Secunda have anything to do with this story? Researchers answer these questions in different ways.

M. Unterbottom, which has already been discussed, sees here the direct impact of the political situation, a kind of response to the challenge of the time associated with the activities of «informers», the *vir bonus* is understood by him as an exclusively ethical category [5, p. 90].

M. L. Gasparov and T. I. Kuznetsova give preference to the influence of a tradition dating back to Cato the Elder and Cicero, but they believe that this tradition has undergone strong changes in Quintilian under the influence of time [7, p. 67]. The republican ideal of the citizen orator (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*), although declared by Quintilian, is in no way connected with the political realities of the Principate and therefore degenerates into an abstract and school-ceremonial ideal. The main task is to educate the future speaker of morality, which should be facilitated primarily by studies in philosophy [8, p. 190–191].

Both points of view are united by the a priori idea that the orator of the epoch of the Principate could not prove himself in politics except by divisiveness. But did Quintilian himself think so? To resolve this issue, it is necessary to consider the ratio in the «Instructions to the Orator» of the three main types of eloquence: deliberative (in republican times – actually political), judicial and speedictic (solemn).

Quintilian's clear preference for judicial eloquence requires no special evidence. Courts, starting from the period of the Principate, have become the main sphere of activity of orators, and Quintilian cannot but take into account the needs of his audience.

But it would be a mistake to think that Quintilian limits his orator's activities to the bench. Opportunities for the use of solemn eloquence are preserved and even expand: let us recall the famous eulogy to Trajan by the student of Quintilian Pliny the Younger and the panegyric of Quintilian himself to Domitian. Deliberative eloquence does not disappear either, transforming in accordance with the demands of the new time. This transformation is remarkable: it shows that Quintilian was not a naive school rhetorician proclaiming abstract ideals.

Quintilian imperceptibly replaces the traditional formula of «advising» the senate, the people and the army with advice to the senen and princeps, which is more in line with historical realities. Quintilian also responded to these realities by expanding the scope of deliberative eloquence. The Greeks and Cicero limited her to matters of government, Quintilian adds «advice» on non-political issues, in particular «advice» to friends. However, it is more important to note that Quintilian retains, somewhat modifying, the traditional civil-political core of deliberative eloquence and does not agree with the point of view widespread in his time that «advice should be about one pleasant, somehow about the structure of theaters, about the establishment of popular games» [6, p. 73].

In this way, «advising» the senate and the princeps gave the speaker the opportunity to participate in political life, without going beyond the requirements of the *vir bonus*. Julius Secundus and Galerius Trakhal, obviously, met such requirements. But what about the «informers»? Did they fit into the ideal of an orator – a «valiant man»?

Let us first turn to the general reasoning of Quintilian, which examines the motives worthy of an orator – *vir bonus*, which should be guided by the use of oratory.

The fruit of eloquence, according to Quintilian, a true orator should see not in «self-interest or pay of the litigants, but in himself, in his knowledge and nobility of thoughts». This position is natural within the framework of normative polis ideas about the gratuitousness of a citizen's activities in the public arena. *Vir bonus* cannot make eloquence out of «vile use and turn it into the acquisition of vile self-interest» [6, p. 74].

True, payment for legal services (which, as you know, was not perceived as a fee, but as a «fee», an honorary reward) was already common in the time of Cicero, and Quintilian does not demand a complete refusal of it, explaining that time and effort wasted on preparation and performance.

However, this «relaxation», no doubt, only applies to private litigation, and not speeches in the Senate. And in relation to payment for private affairs, Quintilian is unusually strict and considers such a payment possible only if the speaker does not have enough of his own funds, and in this case it is still necessary to scrupulously figure out «from whom, for what and how much you can get without offense». Could, with such strict requirements for the

30 speaker, cause the approval of Quintilian for the activities of «informers» who, speaking by no means on private matters, received as a reward from the princeps sometimes whole fortunes, calculated in millions of sesterces, and this is not counting the part of the property due to them by law convicted person.

Indeed, in the «Instructions to the Orator» there are at least three passages in which Quintilian's mouth sounds cautious (it should not be forgotten that the treatise was written in the time of Domitian), but quite definitely expressed condemnation of divisiveness as such. The key point explaining the motives of the condemnation is that «living by the craft of an informer and thereby enriching yourself is like robbery». This quote confirms the idea that Quintilian's attitude to «informers» was associated with the requirements for the orator – «a valiant man».

It should be noted that another such requirement is directly related to the activities of the dividers. The fact is that for the *vir bonus*, Quintilian considers it more worthy to act as a defender, not an accuser. «A valiant man (*vir bonus*) would certainly rather like to defend the defendants than to accuse them» [6, p. 75]. It becomes, in particular, understandable why, citing as examples the sayings of certain orators, Quintilian prefers to take them from defensive rather than accusatory speeches.

However, it would be wrong to think that Quintilian completely deprives the true orator of the opportunity to engage in accusation. On the contrary, if there are worthy reasons, he recognizes this activity as absolutely necessary. Among these reasons – and speak against the state, and even an insult to greatness (on the charge of which most victims of «informers» were convicted).

Thus, it is not a matter of the accusation as such, but of the motives of the accuser. If these motives are noble and virtuous, aimed at the benefit of the state and individuals, and not at selfish enrichment, then the prosecutor's activities are just. If «living by the craft of an informer and thereby enriching yourself is like robbery», then «exterminating internal infection is the business of the defenders of the fatherland». True, the search for «disinterested defenders» of the fatherland among his contemporaries was, apparently, a more difficult task for Quintilian and was not crowned with success. In any case, the examples he gives do not go beyond the republican time (Gortonsius, Lucullus, Sulpicius, Cicero, both Cato [6, p. 75].

The scientific novelty. The scientific novelty of those poles, now, in front of the staging of the problem of scientific advancement of old-timers funds of small libraries of Ukraine, who often acquire a wealth of information from their book holdings. Such a message will give you the ability to find lacunas and make more promising directly for those who have received it. Significant is the ideology of the system of acquiring library funds for the country's hours, the low level of life with classic moves and bringing the books of the European countries to the staff of the library libraries and books were brought up to the general public in the country.

Conclusions. Summing up, it should be noted that the position of Quintilian in relation to the divisors is ambiguous. He does not deny the necessity of their activity, but he does not approve of the real forms in which it poured. The polis ideal of the orator, to whom, albeit in a somewhat modernized form, Quintilian prefers, did not correspond to «informers» who cared not about the welfare of the state, but about their own. Much closer to this ideal were orators such as Julia Secunda and Galerius Trahala, who were not involved in self-serving and bloodthirsty eloquence, but also did not turn out to be political advisors and assistants to the princeps.

According to the content of the «Instructions to the Orator» Quintilian treated with irony the school recitations [2, p. 143–156]. However, it was his name that was put on the «Declamations» – two collections of an educational nature that give us an idea of how those general principles that were established by theorists of the art of speech were implemented. The question of whether these collections belonged to Quintilian himself was the subject of many discussions, and is currently being resolved negatively. The authorship of this book is attributed to Poggio Bracciolini, although there is a version that the author was an unknown rhetorician – a contemporary of Quintilian [9, p. 1366]. But this in no way diminishes the interest that these collections deserve: it is in them that we find that everyday schooling that, in all likelihood, any student of an ordinary rhetorical school was obliged to go through; we get a complete understanding of the techniques of teaching eloquence in its initial stages.

The first collection consists of nineteen recitations: at the beginning of each recitation the «incident» is stated, then the entire speech of the accuser or the accused is given, usually containing from 20 to 30 chapters; in the

speeches, all the walking rhetorical methods are abundantly used – imaginary dialogues, rhetorical questions, etc.; the construction of speeches for the most part strictly follows the traditional scheme: introduction, narration, refutation of the arguments of the opponent, and in the conclusion – an appeal to the judges [9, p. 1367].

The second collection has not been completely preserved: it consisted of 388 samples, but 145 have come down to us, starting with the 244th; the construction of each «incident» is somewhat different than in the first collection; the differences are as follows: in many cases, first of all, the formula of a law is given: however, it was possible to establish that among these laws there are many that belonged to more ancient times and were no longer in force in imperial Rome; there is also a mixture of two types of legislation – Greek and Roman – and, finally, some laws are even recognized as fictitious; however, all further argumentation in the recitations is based on the above law as valid [9, p. 1368].

The subject of recitations is extremely varied. Most of the recitations develop the following themes: tyranny murder, assassination attempts and conspiracies; military-patriotic themes – awarding of awards for military exploits and punishment of cowards, defectors, traitors and deserters; the pitiful fate of the exiles; many recitations are devoted to civil and criminal law: division of inheritance, deprivation of inheritance and protesting it; murder of the seducer or unfaithful wife, cases of poisoning [9, p. 1370].

Many «incidents» could serve as the theme of a tragic novel or a funny comedy. In all these diverse conflicts, two features stand out: first, in many imaginary trials, the main role (often the prosecutor) is played by a woman: sometimes it is a married elderly matron, insulted by her husband or son and filing a complaint of «ill-treatment», sometimes a seduced or kidnapped girl, demanding either marriage with the culprit, or large monetary compensation for the offense, or even the death penalty for the kidnapper. Some recitations raise psychological rather than legal questions: the wife is cheating on her unloved husband with her first fiancé; Forcibly divorced woman cheats on her second husband with her beloved first husband. There are even examples of true, romantic love: the wife refuses to leave her blind husband, although he cheated on her many times [9, p. 1372].

The eternal conflict between wealth and poverty comes to the fore in both collections very clearly: the rich and the poor are constant antagonists in the recitations; sometimes they are primordial enemies, sometimes, on the contrary, friends, hostile relations between which arise as a result of some accidental collision. In most cases, the fault is on the side of the rich man – he is insidious, cruel, lures the poor man into a trap, then does not plead guilty; sometimes, however, the poor man tries to cheat the rich man [9, p. 1373].

The collections of Quintilian's «Declamations» attracted the attention of researchers more from the side of textual criticism and determination of their belonging than from the side of the content, which is usually assessed as completely fictional.

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**Стародрук Марка Фабія Квінтіліана
з фонду бібліотеки Південноукраїнського національного
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Метою роботи є проведення аналізу історичного контексту виникнення та змісту спадщини Марка Фабія Квінтіліана на основі віднайденого стародруку «Повчання оратору» 1665 року. **Методологію** дослідження складає сукупність принципів історизму, об'єктивності, системності; основними методами дослідження обрано історіографічний та бібліографічний, а також метод історико-книгознавчого та термінологічного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** теми полягає, насамперед, у постановці власне проблеми наукового дослідження стародруків фондів невеликих бібліотек України, які часто зберігають у своїх книгозшивках рідкісні та цінні видання. Такі дослідження надають змогу виявити лакуни і визначити перспективні напрями подальших досліджень. Значна заідеологізованість системи зберігання бібліотечних фондів за радянські часи, низький рівень володіння класичними мовами та навіть мовами європейських країн персоналу бібліотек інколи призводили до майже повного випадення видатних екземплярів книжкової пам'яті людства з наукового та навчального обігу. Фігура Марка Фабія Квінтіліана рідко ставала об'єктом історичного дослідження. «Повчання оратору», головний та єдиний достовірний твір Квінтіліана, що дійшов до нашого часу, має яскраво виражену технічну спрямованість і дає багатий матеріал, перш за все філологам-класикам, історикам педагогі-

ки та фахівцям з риторики. Однак цим матеріалом зміст «Повчання оратору» не вичерпується. Багато сюжетів основної праці Квінтіліана мають історичний контекст та політичне забарвлення і становлять великий інтерес для дослідників. **Висновки:** «Повчання оратору» відрізняється від звичайного посібника з риторики тим, що Квінтіліан проголошує своєю метою не лише навчання техніці красномовства, а й виховання досконалого оратора. Плід красномовства, на думку Квінтіліана, істинний оратор повинен бачити не в корисливості або платі, але в самому собі, у своєму знанні та шляхетності думок. Така позиція природна в межах нормативних полісних уявлень про безоплатність діяльності громадянина на громадській ниві. Отже, хоча і в дещо модернізованому вигляді, всі свої переваги Квінтіліан віддає полісному ідеалу оратора.

Ключові слова: стародрук, риторика, ораторське мистецтво, Марк Фабій Квінтіліан, декламації, фонди, каталоги.

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