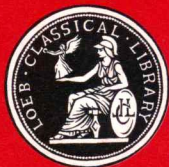


LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

QUINTILIAN
THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION
BOOKS 1-2



Edited and Translated by
DONALD A. RUSSELL

QUINTILIAN

THE ORATOR'S
EDUCATION

江苏工业学院图书馆

BOOKS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
DONALD A. RUSSELL

藏书章



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2001

Copyright © 2001 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 2001016920
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-674-99591-0

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB 1911

EDITED BY

JEFFREY HENDERSON

EDITOR EMERITUS

G. P. GOOLD

QUINTILIAN

I

LCL 124

PREFACE

This is essentially a new translation of Quintilian, though I have felt free to use the elegant Loeb version of H. E. Butler (1920–1922) wherever I wanted. My aim has been to make the *Institutio* more intelligible and usable both to students of classics and to others interested in the general history of rhetoric, which is a much more popular subject than it was in Butler's day. Hence all the analyses, subheadings, introductions, footnotes, and indexes.

I could not have made the attempt at all without the generous help of many friends. Professor Michael Winterbottom has put his unique knowledge of Quintilian unreservedly at my disposal. Professor J. N. Adams and Dr. Philomen Probert have helped me enormously, especially in the grammatical parts of Book One. Dr. Doreen Innes has read the whole, and done it a great deal of good. She and Professor Winterbottom have also been kind enough to share the proofreading with me. Tobias and Eva Reinhardt have undertaken a lot of work on the Indexes, and Tobias has helped me also in Book Five. My St John's colleagues Nicholas Purcell and Gordon Baker have also come to my aid, as indeed have all the friends I have had occasion to consult. Rachel Chapman has turned the manuscript into an acceptable collection of disks and printouts, and also had a sharp and kind eye for the many

PREFACE

problems of consistency that such a long work involves. I am immensely grateful to all these, and also to the editors and all connected with the production, and especially to Philippa Goold.

But it will of course be wholly my responsibility if the words of the publisher in George Borrow's *Lavengro* should prove prophetic: "I am not prepared, sir, to say that Quintilian is a drug, never having seen him; but I am prepared to say that man's translation is a drug, judging from the heap of rubbish on the floor." (See below, p. 28.)

St John's College
Oxford

D. A. Russell

INSTITUTIO ORATORIA
THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS	30
THE ORATOR'S EDUCATION	
BOOK ONE	
Introduction	46
Text and Translation	52
BOOK TWO	
Introduction	257
Text and Translation	262
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES	419

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Life of Quintilian

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was born at Calagurris (Cala-horra) in the upper valley of the Ebro, probably around AD 35. His father was skilled in rhetoric (9.3.73), and the "old Quintilian" named as a declaimer by the elder Seneca (*Controversiae* 10 *praef.* 2) is probably a member of the same family. Like the Annaei at Corduba, they were hoping to rise in the world with the help of rhetoric and advocacy. Our Quintilian went to Rome as a young man. He knew and admired Domitius Afer, orator and informer, and witnessed his declining years; Afer died in 59. He recalls also (8.3.31) a literary dispute between Seneca and Pomponius Secundus about the language of tragedy. Pomponius seems to have died in the early fifties.

We do not know when, or why, Quintilian returned to Spain. But he was there, ready to join Galba, when the latter set out for Rome to become emperor in 68. When Vespasian, early in his reign, offered salaries to some teachers in Greek and Latin rhetoric (Suetonius, *Vespasian* 18; Zonaras 11.17), Quintilian was a beneficiary. He then (by his own statement) taught and practised as an advocate for the next twenty years. His court work was important to him; he was thereby able to distance himself

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

from the mere scholastic declaimers, and offer a more "relevant" course to the ambitious young. We hear of four cases in which he was involved (4.1.19; 6.1.39; 7.2.24; 9.2.73). The most prestigious of these (4.1.19) was that involving Queen Berenice, the Jewish princess with whom Titus had fallen in love in Judaea: the case presumably happened during her stay in Rome between 75 and 79. By 85/6, Quintilian was a notable establishment figure: Martial's poem of that year (2.90) addresses him as "supreme controller of the wayward youth" and "glory of the Roman gown." It is easy, and perhaps not wrong, to see irony here, when the poet contrasts the successful advocate and teacher with his own modest wishes for "a night that brings sleep and a day without litigation." To Juvenal too (6.75, 280; 7.186), Quintilian is a type of the rich and successful careerist. His position improved further under Domitian, and he was ultimately (4 *prooem.* 2) made tutor to the two children of Flavius Clemens, who were destined to be the emperor's heirs. Late in life, too, he received *ornamenta consularia* (Ausonius, *Gratiarum actio* 7.31). By this time however he had retired from public teaching (2.12.12 perhaps implies that his retirement from practice was a bit later) and was engaged on the *Institutio Oratoria*, *The Orator's Education*. The chronology of these latter years, when his books were written, is of interest, and not altogether easy to sort out.

Our main evidence comes from the Prooemium to Book Six, his emotional introduction to his book on emotions, in which he grieves eloquently and lavishly for his elder son, the great hope of his life. (Fathers' hopes for their sons are central to Quintilian's views of education: "When the child is born," he says (1.1.1) "let the father

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

form good hopes of him.”) It appears that Quintilian, in middle age, had married a very young wife of good family. Two sons were born (we do not hear of daughters, but that does not mean there were none) and the wife then died, still under nineteen. The younger son died a few months after his mother at the age of five, when Quintilian was composing his essay “on the reasons for the decadence of eloquence.” The elder survived for a while, but died while the *Institutio* was being written. From the marriage to this last bereavement must have been ten or eleven years, perhaps a little more; but we cannot give an absolute date for the marriage. That the *Institutio* was completed before the disgrace and death of Flavius Clemens (who was accused of “atheism,” apparently Judaism, or, according to later tradition, Christianity, at the end of his consulship in the summer of 95) seems to follow from the fact that the reference to Quintilian’s tutorship of the two boys (4 *praef.* 2) was not removed when the work was handed over to the bookseller Trypho, who had long been complaining of delay. We may guess that Quintilian died soon after the completion of the book; if this is so, he did not live to see Domitian’s murder or have to adapt himself to the new regime, as so many of his pupils did.

Among these pupils was the younger Pliny, who acknowledges Quintilian as a teacher (*Epist.* 2.14.9, 6.6.3), and perhaps also Tacitus. At any rate, Tacitus’ *Dialogus de oratoribus*, composed under the new regime but having a dramatic date of 73, appears to challenge Quintilian’s educational ideals, and certainly does not endorse them (see esp. C. O. Brink, *CQ* 39 (1984) 472–503). Of its three main characters, Messala takes a very Quintilianic line about education, but does not share Quintilian’s optimism about

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

future progress. He remains a simple *laudator temporis acti*. Aper is a modernist of whom Quintilian would not have approved; and Maternus advances political arguments to explain "decline" which are alien to Quintilian as we know him from the *Institutio*.

"Decadence of Eloquence"

But what about the lost, and much discussed, *De causis corruptae eloquentiae*, "Decadence of Eloquence"? There are a number of passages in the *Institutio* from which its tendency can be inferred: 2.4.41, 2.10.3, 5.12.17-23 (?), 8.3.50-58, 8.6.76, 10.1.125 (?). As we have seen, 6 *praef.* 3 gives an indication of its date. Like the *Institutio*, it is a work of retirement, a reflection of a lifetime's teaching and advocacy, not the programmatic polemic of a younger man. It is the professor's valedictory lecture, not his inaugural. From the references to it, it would seem to have been largely concerned with style (or at least with what Quintilian puts under *elocutio*), including tropes (8.6.76), and with the extravagances and mistakes of declaimers who have lost touch with the real world (2.10.3). It evidently dealt also with the origins of declamation itself in the fourth century BC (2.4.41). That it contained a critique of Seneca is less certain (see 10.1.125), and Quintilian's well-advertised dislike of the greatest prose writer of the century may well date from an earlier period, maybe even from some antipathy between two groups of Spanish *literati* on the make. To judge from Quintilian's inclusion of *decorum* (11.1) under *ornatus*, and so under *elocutio*, and from his discussion of *cacozelia* (8.3.56-58), it would be surprising if *De causis* did not have a strong moral ten-

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

dency (*vir bonus dicendi peritus*, "the good man skilled in speaking," is a key idea with him) and an insistence on the connection between morals and manners of writing and speaking. No doubt Tacitus knew this book; but his veiled response to Quintilian in the *Dialogus* seems to be to Quintilian's attitudes as a whole, without distinguishing between the shorter work and the long synthesis.

The Institutio: Sources and General Structure

It is the comprehensiveness of this synthesis that makes the *Institutio* unique among extant ancient works on rhetoric. It is this which made Richard Volkmann (1885, vi), himself the great nineteenth-century synthesizer of classical rhetoric, speak of Quintilian as offering an "Ariadne's thread" in the confused tangle (*in dem krausen Gewirre*) of rhetorical concepts and technical terms. The Elder Pliny's *Studiosus*, lost but apparently comparable in purpose (Pliny, *Epist.* 3.5.5), since it traced the whole education of the orator "from the cradle," can hardly have been more than half as long. Quintilian regarded his work as a piece of scholarship, involving not only the fruit of his own teaching experience, but a study of a large amount of the "literature" of the subject, even if some of this seemed to him unprofitable. Much of this technical writing is lost and unknown to us, but it is clear that he read very widely. It would be unfair to think that his reports of the views of others—his "doxographies" of "parts of speech," "status theory" and so on—are all based on pre-existing compilations. He often refers to the classics of early rhetorical theory—Plato, Aristotle, and Isocrates—but the extent of his direct knowledge of these is doubtful. His interpreta-

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

tions of the *Gorgias*, however (2.15, 2.21), imply a fairly detailed study of this text, which was indeed central to the "rhetoric v. philosophy" debate in Roman times (on this see D. Karadimas, *Sextus Empiricus against Aelius Aristides* (Lund 1996) 1–12). He also knew many Greek treatises of Hellenistic and later times, especially Hermagoras of Temnos and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; his dependence on the latter's *On Imitation* is such that one is tempted to question his first-hand knowledge of many of the Greek authors he recommends in 10.1. He also certainly made use of Greek writers on Figures and Tropes, such as the younger Gorgias (9.2.102, 106) and Caecilius of Caleacte, Longinus' "opponent" (9.1.22, 9.3.38). His most frequently used sources however were Latin. First among them was Cicero, the almost unassailable master both as an orator and as a theorist. Quintilian once adopts the unique procedure (9.1.26–45) of quoting long passages of *De oratore* and *Orator* to provide a framework for his own discussion of Tropes and Figures, a text, as it were, on which he offers a gloss.

There has been much dispute as to whether Quintilian used the book we know as *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. In a number of places (3.1.21, 5.10.2, 9.2.27, 9.3.64–71, 9.3.98) he quotes "Cornificius," and we notice that "Cornificius" says the same things as *Ad Herennium* IV. H. Caplan, in the excellent Loeb *Ad Herennium* (ix–xiv), takes a sceptical line. He stresses the point that "Cornificius" is usually cited after Cicero or among the Augustan authors (9.3.89), whereas *Ad Herennium* is usually (but not universally) believed to date from c. 80 BC, when Cicero was a young man. Others are more positive, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that "Cornificius" is identical with, at any rate,

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the last part of *Ad Herennium* IV on Figures and Tropes, whether or not Quintilian knew the text which we have directly or only through an intermediary.

Celsus, Pliny, and Valgius, authors of the first century AD, are also often quoted, usually to be criticized. Celsus in particular (known to us from the surviving part of his "encyclopedia," the elegant *De medicina* (ed. W. G. Spencer in LCL)), appears to have been uncongenial to Quintilian because he did not take a high enough moral line about the purposes and qualifications of the orator, and was unduly concerned to appear original (9.1.18). As to contemporaries, Quintilian resolutely declines to name them, for good or ill, just as he names no living authors in his list of recommended reading: "some will be heard of one day" (10.1.94).

In compiling such a comprehensive synthesis, Quintilian needed a scheme which would cover everything. He chose a traditional one (3.3.1): the Five Parts of Rhetoric, nowadays sometimes called "Canons." This organization goes back in its essentials to Aristotle, and was the framework of Cicero's rhetorical works (cf. *De inventione* 1.9) and of *Ad Herennium* (1.3). It even structures the specialist treatise of "Longinus" *On Sublimity* (8). The whole later corpus of Greek rhetoric centring on the work of Hermogenes is based on the same principle. In Quintilian, it works out as follows: Books III–VII, *inventio*, including *dispositio* as a subordinate item (VII); VIII–XI *elocutio*, with "memory" and "delivery" (XI.2–3) as ancillaries. The whole is prefaced (I–II) by a discussion of the primary education to be given before the boy goes to his rhetor, and also of various general topics regarding the nature of rhetoric—whether it is an art, or a virtue, and so on. These

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

topics were important in the defence of rhetoric against philosophy, and they naturally formed part of any curriculum which offered some sort of general education and did not confine itself to the purely practical. The later Greek *Prolegomena* (*Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe, 1921) are full of these arguments, and offer many parallels to Quintilian's discussion. Book XII stands outside this scheme. It constitutes in fact the second and third sections in another way of dividing the subject: Art, Artist, Work. This division is also in Quintilian's mind; he regards it indeed as "the best" (2.14.5). But his work is of course overwhelmingly concerned with Art, not with the other two, and this demands the "five-part" scheme, which therefore articulates most of the work.

There is no problem here. "Art, Artist, Work" will stand as a scheme, even if "Art" fills immensely more space than the rest. But there are other ways of breaking up the subject which do not sit so easily with the Five Parts.

(1) Forensic (some prefer the term Judicial), Deliberative, Epideictic. These traditional categories are set out in 3.4–11. Both in Invention and in Elocution (not to speak of Gestures), these three types (*genera*) of oratory have some common demands, and some which are peculiar to each. Quintilian has to bring in the special needs of each from time to time, as the context requires.

(2) Parts of a speech: Prooemium, Narrative, Argument and Refutation, Epilogue. This division of the subject is found in early rhetoric (e.g. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1414a30ff.) under the head of "Disposition" (*taxis, oikonomia*); but in the Hellenistic tradition reflected in Cicero's *De inventione* and in the *Ad Herennium*, it has been transferred to Invention, as in Quintilian. It is set out in 4 *praef.* 6, and

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

then in detail in Books IV–VI. It is the basic plan of many elementary treatises (e.g. Anonymus Seguerianus and Apsines), and was at all periods a natural basis for practical instruction. If it is used in this way, it does of course demand discussion of Invention, Elocution, and Gesture for each Part separately. In Quintilian's general scheme, however, these have their own place; and we therefore find the "Five Parts" (like the three *genera*) recurring where required, e.g. in 11.3.161–174, where recommendations are made for Gesture and Delivery in each of the Parts.

(3) The characterization of the orator's duties (*officia*) as "to inform, to please, and to move" (3.5) constitutes another possible way of organizing much of the subject, though it does not seem to have been used as the structural principle of any work. The three *officia* correspond to the three types of style (12.10.59; compare Cicero, *Orator* 69) and the relative importance of one or the other varies as the speech progresses—"information," for example, is crucial to the Narrative, emotional effect to the Epilogue.

None of these plans gives a curriculum. Teaching was practical, with many exercises and commented readings. So Invention, Disposition, Elocution, and Gesture were all involved at every stage. If *memoria artificiosa* was to be used (though Quintilian did not think much of it, 11.2), it would surely have to start very early, when the boy could master the system more easily and make it "second nature." In short, as Quintilian often makes clear (e.g. 1.4.17), the *Institutio* is a handbook for teachers and parents, and contains far more than it is wise to tell the average student. Looked at from this point of view, some features of its organization which at first sight seem surprising cease to matter very much. A striking example is