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Roman Kyselov
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6777-9229
Kyselov.R@nas.gov.ua
Shevchenko Institute of Literature

"LOCI EXTRINSEC" IN KYIV-MOHYLA COURSES OF RHETORIC AND THEIR EUROPEAN SOURCES

Abstract
The impressive erudition of Baroque authors was often based not on extensive reading but rather on the use of specialized auxiliary sources. The educational practices of the time encouraged this habit. Since rhetoric was a discipline that involved a very practical application of knowledge, the authors of rhetorical courses often minimized theoretical content and gave considerable space to the so-called "external places" (*loci extrinseci*). These, among others, included pieces of erudition, maxims, fragments, emblems, symbols, and "hieroglyphs." Responding to the needs of schools and practicing orators, the European book market offered a wide selection of relevant sources, which authors of rhetorical textbooks and teachers abundantly used. The professors of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy were no exception. Most lecturers provided students with a substantial amount of "semi-processed" material, so that the owner of the recorded lectures could always quickly compose/compile an oration suited to any typical life situation. Depending on the user, this material could serve as a shortcut to avoid the effort of thinking, or, conversely, act as a stimulus for creative thought, generating new and refined contexts.

Keywords: rhetoric courses, rhetoric manuals, textbooks, early modern education, "loci extrinseci," erudition, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Kyiv-Mohyla professors.

When reading Baroque works of the 17th and 18th centuries, especially speeches, modern readers – including researchers – are often struck by the erudition of the writers. Although in some cases the information drawn from various sources genuinely reflects the authors' reading, the overall impression of such broad knowledge among Baroque writers should be tempered by an understanding of the methods and means of contemporary education.

Theory

To begin with, I would like to recall a few key terms from rhetorical theory relevant to the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. When composing a speech, one has an idea or statement to convey to the listener or reader. In Latin, this is referred to as a *propositio*. To prove or substantiate *propositio*, one needs arguments (*argumenta*). Finally, in order to find

the necessary arguments, one refers to *loci* (literally "places"), which are the sources of those arguments.

The theory of *loci* in rhetoric is rooted in *Rhetoric* and *Topics* by Aristotle, *Topics* by Cicero, and *The Orator's Education* by Quintilian. Aristotle and subsequently Cicero and Quintilian divide arguments into two groups based on their sources and call them *ἄτεχνοι*/*inartificialia*, which lie outside the art of rhetoric, and *ἔντεχνοι*/*artificialia*, which orators produce themselves.

Although Kyiv-Mohyla lecturers constantly included Cicero's name in the titles of their courses,[1] and some even claimed that their lectures followed Tullius's approach (Kononovych-Horbatskyi, 1635/1636), their biggest actual and not only symbolic authority on rhetorical theory was the Spanish Jesuit Cipriano Suárez (1524–1593). This was true at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and in all educational institutions modeled after the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum*. The list of sixteen "internal sources" and six "external sources" in early modern school rhetoric is based on the authority of Suárez. However, in his work *De arte rhetorica* (*On the Art of Rhetoric*), Suárez himself doesn't specify *loci* as internal or external but only generally refers to the sources as *loci*, which are respectively correlated with inherent arguments (*argumenta insita*, or, alternatively, *inhaerentia*, *artificiosa*) and remote arguments (*argumenta remota*) (Suárez, 1591, pp. 29–30). Following Cicero, Suárez also calls the latter arguments "brought in from the outside" (*quae extrinsecus assumuntur*, p. 30). These arguments from outside are derived primarily from authority and consist of testimonies (*testimonia*, p. 30). Suárez writes that these "remote" or "introduced" arguments are called *sine arte* (that is *inartificiales*) not because they do not require skill, but because they are not generated by the art of oratory itself. However, oratory still uses them in an artistic way (*arte tractat*, p. 26). In the case of "external sources," *locus* and *argumentum* itself are essentially the same thing, as these arguments come already fully made. So, technically, until it is used, it remains *locus*, and when it is inserted in some oration, it is already an argument.

I cannot say for certain who first referred to the groups of sources providing rhetorical arguments or to the arguments themselvesas *loci intrinseci* and *loci extrinseci*, but by the early 17th century, these terms were already in use. Among the influential authors of the early modern rhetorical manuals, we can find these terms, for example, in *Orator extemporaneus* (*The Extemporaneous Orator*) by Michael Radau, first printed in 1650, or *Novus candidatus rhetoricae* (*The New Candidate of Rhetoric*) by François-Antoine Pomey, printed in 1668, but the terms must have come into use much earlier, as the first preserved Kyiv-Mohyla course of rhetoric by Yo. Kononovych-Horbatskyi (1635/1636 school year) already used them, as did all subsequent Kyiv courses I am familiar with.

The sixteen internal sources are definition (*definitio*), partition (*patrium enumeratio*), etymology (*notatio*), derivation (*conjugata*), genus (*genus*), species (*forma, seu differentia, seu species*), similarity (*similitudo*), dissimilarity (*dissimilitudo*), contrariety (*contraria*), features and circumstances (*adjuncta*), antecedents (*antecedentia*), consequents (*consequentia*), cause (*causae*), contradiction (*repugnantia*), effects (*effecta*), and comparison (*comparatio*). The group of six external sources, as they are presented by Suárez, who followed Quintilian's classification of judicial evidence, comprises precedents (*praejudicia*), rumours (*fama*), written documents (*tabulae*), interrogation under torture (*tormenta*), testimony under oath (*jus jurandum*), and witnesses (*testes*). Whereas

[1] "Tullius's Tree," "Tullius's Fields," "Tullius's Ship," "Tullius's Garden," "Tullius's Rostra," "Tullius's Rivers," "Tullius's Arm," etc. (Stratij et al., 1982, pp. 11–151).

the authors of the Kyiv-Mohyla courses I reviewed reproduced the mentioned "internal sources" without change from Suárez or other manuals that are identical in their coverage of this issue, the traditional Quintilian's list of "external sources," reproduced in Suárez's work, did not appear satisfactory to them. I can only name a non-Mohylean Ukrainian textbook, *Epitome praeceptorum rhetoricorum*, published in 1764 in Pochaiv, where the authors discuss the traditional *loci extrinseci* without additional commentary (pp. 20v–23). Suárez (1591) himself emphasized that the sphere of judicial decisions had passed from orators to lawyers, and these external arguments had to be known only as part of the theory of ancient rhetoricians (p. 54).

Therefore, Suárez's successors felt the need to significantly expand this list. After all, practicing orators took much more from the outside than Quintilian's set offers. It is true that even Aristotle (1926) in his *Rhetoric* (book 2, chapter 20) mentioned "examples" (which include real stories, fables, and parables) and maxims (*γνῶμαι*) as useful material for rhetoricians, but these were beyond the classification of sources for arguments (p. 273). Quintilian himself mentions these *exempla* elsewhere (book 5, chapter 11, p. 298 in the 1698 Strasbourg edition). However, even beyond the "examples," which are not present in Suárez's classification, early modern practicing orators drew upon many rhetorical arguments of various types from external sources. Being disciples of the second scholasticism, with their love of comprehensive classifications and schemes, they wanted to give these external sources the authority of a theory.

As for Kyiv-Mohyla courses, the list of "external places" in the case of Yoasaf Krokovskyi, who taught rhetoric at the Kyiv-Mohyla College in 1683/1684, looks rather original. After giving the classic list of the six points mentioned by Aristotle and Quintilian and ending it with "testimonies," he says that all of these relate to legal proceedings (*forensibus causis servant*, p. 164). Whereas "for us rhetoricians, testimony is the authority of scholars and glorious men, which is revealed and shown" by special means – thirteen in number, according to Krokovskyi. These are: saying (*sententia*), proverb (*adagium*), paradox (*paradoxum*), axiom (*axioma*), riddle (*aenigma*), apophthegm (*apophtegma*, "question and apt answer"), symbol (*symbolum*), hieroglyph (*hierogyphicum*, "a sign of some object or saying expressed by an image," p. 167v), emblem (*emblema*), prophecy (*oraculum*), example (*exemplum*, true or fictional story about manifestations of virtues or vices that should be imitated or avoided), fable (*fabula*), and miracle (*prodigium*) (Krokovskyi, 1683/1684, pp. 164–171).

Dionisii Muravskyi,[2] in his course *Rostra Tulliana* (*Tullius's Rostra*, 1701/1702), after the classical list of "external places," also says that they are related to judicial rhetoric, and there is little sense for a common orator (*politicis oratoribus*) to ponder over most of them. Testimonies (*testimonia*), however, are also useful for common eloquence. They include maxims, proverbs, paradoxes, problems, hieroglyphs, symbols, riddles, and apophthegms. Then he mentions examples (*exempla*), without specifying whether they belong to "external places" or not, and says that they include fable (*fabula*), apologue (*apologus*), parable (*parabola*), historical facts (*historia*), and so on (Muravskyi, 1701/1702, p. 84v).

Ihnatii Myshtalskyi, the author of the course *Janua oratoriae facultatis* (*The Door of Oratorical Faculty*, 1707/1708), does the same. He lists six traditional external places and, in summary, says that Cicero and Quintilian call all these

[2] The names of the lecturers and the dates of the courses are indicated based on my own attribution, which sometimes differs from common data and will be substantiated in a separate publication.

places "testimonies" (*testimonia*), and testimonies in orations occur when the speaker quotes another author, who is distinguished for knowledge and scholarship, in order to illustrate or refute a statement. He names prophecies, miracles, divination, and authority of both secular and sacred writings, things, stories, scholars, orators, and poets as varieties of these testimonies (Myshtalskyi, 1707/1708, p. 248).

Of course, Kyivan lecturers were not the first or the most original in deviating from the traditional scheme.

For example, Michael Radau (1661), the author of the mentioned *Orator extemporaneus* (1st ed. – 1650), which was extremely popular in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and particularly in Ukraine, adds to the classic list of judicial "external" things "authority, examples, hieroglyphs, apophthegms, fables, customs of different peoples, antiquities, etc." (*authoritas, exempla, hieroglyphica, apophtegmata, fabulae, mores gentium, antiquitates*) (p. 6). Some of these points can also be found in Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, although they are not classified as *loci*.

One of the most important early modern theorists of rhetoric, the French Jesuit Nicolas Cossin (1583–1651), in his work *De eloquentia sacra et humana* (*On the Sacred and Secular Eloquence*, 1630), departs from the classical division, calling the sixteen usual "internal places" *loci communes* and dividing them into *interni* (*definitio, genus, differentia, species, partium primariarum enumeratio, conjugata*) and *externi* (the remaining ones listed above) (Cossin, 1630, p. 198).

What others refer to as *loci extrinseci*, *loci remoti*, or *loci assumpti*, Nicolas Cossin calls "sources of invention" (*fontes inventionis*). At this part, he thoroughly ignores Quintilian's list of judicial rhetoric and provides ten sources of arguments that a modern speaker may actually need (Cossin, 1630, pp. 184–198). These are history (*historia*), apologues and fables (*apologi et parabolae*), proverbs (*adagia*), images (*hieroglyphica* – and here he mentions symbols as well), emblems (*emblemata*), authoritative testimonies of ancient authors (*testimonia veterum*), aphorisms (*γνῶμαι*), Holy Scripture (*sacrae literae*), laws (*leges*), and knowledge of things or erudition. The last point Cossin calls *ratio et solertia in locis* (literally "intelligence and wittiness in places") and links it to Aristotle's categories (Cossin, 1630, p. 196).

Practice

However, I don't aim to focus on the variety of classifications of "external places," but rather on their practical application in rhetoric courses and in the activities of early modern speakers.

Rhetoric was a discipline with direct and widespread practical applications. This is especially evident within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and that tradition continued in the part of Ukraine that was later incorporated into the Russian Empire. The early modern encyclopedic scholar Szymon Starowolski (1588–1656) connects the flourishing of eloquence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with the establishment and development of educational institutions in the state and assures that nowhere else oratory is so deeply rooted as among the "peoples of Sarmatia." He lists a lot of life situations that require appropriate speeches:

After all, in Poland, when someone noble is born or dies, the orations of the visiting neighbors – whether congratulatory or mournful – are delivered before a large audience. Similarly, when weddings are celebrated, when rivals are called upon to renew their friendship, when lawsuits are brought, when positions are obtained, when those who have returned from war or a long journey are welcomed, when provincial meetings are organized for the good of the community, when local envoys are sent to the general assembly of the state, or when tribunal

judges are elected – every year and from every locality – they always speak in an oratorical manner and in accordance with the prescriptions of rhetoricians. Not to mention the custom of publicly reading out the opinions of senators, or the spokesmen who appear before the king or parliaments, or the preachers who address the people in every church on every Sunday and holiday throughout the year. After all, hardly anyone can truly call himself a Polish nobleman if he does not know how to speak on every subject in a skillful and elegant manner (Starowolski, 1628, pp. 19–20).

Thus, in European societies, there was a significant demand for practicing orators, and educational institutions had to take this need into account, graduating not only experts in high philological theory but also truly skilled speakers. Consequently, in the first half of the 17th century, significant changes in the methodology of teaching rhetoric began to occur, as evidenced by printed texts. In brief, theory increasingly aligned with practice and generally received less attention, while greater emphasis was placed on practical instructions and examples of speeches grouped by clearly defined genres and regular topics. Often, each topic was accompanied by an appendix of ready-made arguments drawn from *loci extrinseci*.

Let us take, for example, the very popular manual by the Protestant author Konrad Dietrich from Ulm (now in Germany) *Institutiones oratoriae* (*Oratorical Instructions*), which was first published in 1613 and went through 17 editions. After briefly outlining rhetorical theory, Dietrich moves on to the types and genres of eloquence. Interestingly, Kyivan lecturers regularly classify genres and topics of speeches according to life situations (holidays, weddings, funerals, obtaining a position, arrival of a governmental official, etc.), while Dietrich, in a demonstrative kind of eloquence, distinguishes three classes of objects according to a logical principle: people (*personae*), actions of people (*facta personarum*), and things (*res*), and within these classes, he deals with more specific topics of speeches. Thus, for the orations praising people, the author indicates seven thematical groups: 1) in relation to nation and motherland (*e subjectis natione sive patria*); 2) in connection with parents and birth, talents, and upbringing (*educatio sive disciplina*); 3) in relation to education (*doctrina*), age, customs, way of life (*vitae genere*), gifts (*dotibus*) of the soul, body and good fortune; 4) in connection with actions; 5) in connection with the consequences of actions and rewards for them; 6) in connection with death; 7) posthumous testimonies (fame, monuments, etc.) (Dietrich, 1615, pp. 38–40). The materials on each topic consist primarily of ready-made arguments, listed according to Dietrich's original classification of *loci*.

For example, one needs to write a speech that glorifies the principality of Hesse. To do this, an author can choose arguments from the ready-made set, where they are grouped in sections covering Hesse's location, its inhabitants, kings and princes, soil quality and mild climate, large number of cities, governmental system (*politia*), customs, religious worship, and history (Dietrich, 1615, p. 58). Ultimately, Dietrich provides references to books where one can find quotations from prominent authors, relating to the country. In this way, all the topics popular among orators are addressed in his guide.

Authors from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth began to write rhetoric manuals in a similar way, and those works were extremely popular in Kyiv. This was done, for example, by the already mentioned lecturer from Royal Prussia, Michael Radau (1617–1687), whose *Orator extemporaneus* was published 25 times between 1650 and 1739, and by Jan Kwiatkiewicz (1630–1703), a professional lecturer in rhetoric, philosophy, and theology whose places of activity included Lviv. His textbook *Suada civilis hujus eavi genio et nostratis*

politiae ingenio... accomodata (*Secular Suada, Adapted to the Spirit of Our Age and the Character of Our State*), first published in 1672, was extremely helpful for practicing orators. Even in 1738, the Kyiv-Mohyla course of rhetoric *Aerarium eloquentiae* (*The Treasury of Eloquence*) referred to the mentioned Jesuit manuals of Radau and Kwiatkiewicz as authoritative sources (Tsyhanok, 2014, p. 122).

Of course, the idea that a rhetorician should have ready-made standard arguments on a given subject is not new; Aristotle himself wrote about it (Aristotle, 1926, p. 293). However, early modern school theory elevated this piece of advice to the level of a primary guideline. They even invented a special term for this kind of raw materials – *eruditiones* – which can be defined as pieces of knowledge suitable for rhetorical use. These tools provide the text with a respectable sound and the speaker with a characteristic of awareness and education in the eyes of the audience. *Eruditiones* could include arguments drawn from some or all of the external sources, except aphorisms, which seem to have always been presented separately.

Jan Kwiatkiewicz does not stick to the above-mentioned classifications, but for each topic, he presents a wide range of arguments, which mostly relate to "external places" in the classical sense. He mainly divides the arguments he offers into *eruditiones*, *acumina* (witty texts that stimulate thought and cause intellectual pleasure), *sententiae*, and, for some topics, he separately provides symbols and emblems. Michael Radau gives examples, symbols, hieroglyphs, apophtegms, and aphorisms (which include folk proverbs).

Let's imagine that an orator must deliver a speech of gratitude (*oratio gratiarum actoria*). To do this, he can open the section on gratitude speeches at Radau's book (Radau, 1661, p. 427) and have a wide range of sayings on gratitude (pp. 430–432). For example, he might like this one, presented as Aristotle's words: *Immortales sunt gratiarum horti* ("Gardens of gratitude are immortal.") It's very simple and even banal, but it's an opportunity to mention Aristotle. In addition, he can use a vernacular Latin proverb: *Beneficium da coecus, accipe videns* ("Give good blindly, and receive it looking.") Then, in the same chapter, the manual's user would find the subsection *Exempla* ("Examples," p. 432) providing a wide variety of historical and literary facts and situations that can give his text and the orator himself an image of being intellectually fundamental. In addition, there is a model speech with which someone can thank a ruler for receiving some position (*[oratio] gratiarum actoria pro dignitate collata*, pp. 427–429). Perhaps this is the most typical situation with the need for gratitude speeches, as within other topics, Radau offers more examples that involve situational variations. If, on the same occasion, the orator preferred to use the manual by Kwiatkiewicz, then in addition to *eruditiones*, *sententiae*, and *symbola*, he would also find descriptions of typical content schemes (*modus hanc orationem scribendi*) (Kwiatkiewicz, 1679, pp. 202–203) and a few ready-made introductions for this particular kind of speeches (pp. 204–205).

Demand creates supply, and the market in Europe was gradually filling up with publications that contained thematically organized *eruditiones* and sayings – that is, arguments derived from "external places" – often accompanied by pre-prepared speech samples. The scholar Marijke Spies once surveyed the auxiliary literature for orators from the leading Dutch early modern publishers, which included many offerings of the mentioned type (Spies, 1999, pp. 79–91).

One of the pioneers – and also the most prolific compiler – of such practical literature was Matthäus Tympe (1566–1616), a Catholic priest and scholar who taught in Cologne and Münster. For example, in his book *Aureum speculum principum* (*The Golden Mirror of Rulers*, 1617), he gives a selection of examples

concerning various types of rulers and leaders to illustrate different virtues and all kinds of worthy deeds. The selected points refer to many spheres of a ruler's activity and achievements, which include keeping flatterers away, controlling one's feelings when leading others, visiting the sick, constructing necessary buildings in cities and restoring destroyed ones, organizing libraries for public use and replenishing them persistently, and even "honoring those who work hard on the land and inducing people by offering large rewards to engage them in agriculture (*agriculturae studium*)" (Tympe, 1617, pp. 36–49).

In the book *Speculum magnum episcoporum, canonicorum, sacerdotum* (*The Great Mirror of Bishops, Canons, Priests*, 1614), he offers the same kind of material concerning representatives of the clergy. Here, he gives arguments for 200 numbered virtues and worthy deeds. These include seeking benefits not for oneself but for the flock; listening willingly to the disputations of the learned men; and, unexpectedly enough, even not being overly concerned with sophistication and ornamentation in sermons (Tympe, 1614, pp. 186–187).

In his collection *Mensa theolophilosophica* (*A Theological and Philosophical Meal*, 1615), Tympe organizes the material according to commonplaces (*per locos communes*), among which are greed, books, wine, anger, heretics, music, medicine, and others. For every point, he provides riddles, anecdotes, and other arguments from "external sources." The compiler offers both high and low-style semi-finished products. The latter kind, for example, includes an instruction for pulling a bird egg through a finger ring (Tympe, 1615b, p. 19). Baroque techniques of lowering the high sometimes look cynical even to a modern reader: the events associated with the crucifixion of Christ, for instance, become the subject of an anecdote (p. 68).

Leaving aside his several other collections, I must mention Tympe's *opus magnum* in this field – a work with a rather defiant title *Dormi secure: vel Cynosura professorum et studiosorum eloquentiae* (*Sleep calm, or the Guiding Constellation of Professors and Students of Eloquence*, first printed in 1611). It contains 120 topics, which were popular among rhetoricians. Each topic is divided into structural parts: *exordium*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, (*confutatio*), *epilogus/ peroratio*. Each structural part is accompanied by thematic guidelines, including numerous arguments from "external places" (aphorisms, examples, etc.)

A curious detail is that Matthäus Tympe, in connection with the aforementioned book *Mensa theolophilosophica*, was included in the catalog of plagiarists compiled by Jacob Thomasius (Thomasius, 1679, p. 29 of *Accessiones* [*Appendix*], § 694). As Thomasius notes, the author of the collection of witty riddles and anecdotal stories, *Sphinx theologico-philosophica*, Johann Heidfeld, accused Tympe of plagiarizing from his book. In that context, Heidfeld makes interesting remarks about the literary practices of Jesuit schooling, the tradition of which was followed by the Kyiv-Mohyla College:

> The Jesuit school produces such compilers who, even though they pull the entire commentaries of others, compile, filch, and do not make even the slightest mention of the authors through whom they have made progress, still wish to appear as good men – indeed, as lights of the Church <...>. (Heidfeld, 1631, p. 960)

Heidfeld continues this phrase with intense, abusive language. However, despite emotional generalizations, his statement was not far from reality in certain cases. It is natural that, having been trained to compile from smaller details, some graduates of the collegia could later treat not only selected *eruditiones* and sayings but any textual fragments from the works of others as legitimate material for compilation.

The Kyiv-Mohyla authors of rhetoric courses willingly used both modern rhetoric textbooks and the auxiliary literature

mentioned above, including the works by Matthäus Tympe. Understanding that not all students would have access to supporting literature later in their lives, most lecturers included many arguments from "external places" in the parts of their courses that deal with genres and topics. So did Yoasaf Krokovskyi, the author of the first extant rhetoric course (1683/1684 school year) from the period of restored education at Kyiv-Mohyla College after the times of Ruin.

Still in the theoretical part, he relates the notion of erudition (*eruditio*) to allegory: "The speech may be induced by erudition when a person or thing is used in place of a vice or virtue, provided they are similar to or in some way refer to those: for a liar, a Cretan; for knowledge, Pallas; for a brave man, Mars; for a drunkard, Bacchus or a frog, etc. – such substitutions are commonly made" (Krokovskyi, 1683/1684, p. 53v). Then he provides students with a 7-page list of common allegories in alphabetical order. Moving on to specific genres and topics, the professor of rhetoric explains the abundance of provided "external places":

> in keeping with our promise and custom, we shall gather and condense into a compendium those things which are scattered across various places, both to address the scarcity of books and to touch upon matters related to the preparation of nearly all speeches and certain official functions we deal with. (p. 67v)

The practical orientation of Krokovsky's rhetoric course – typical of most other courses taught at the Kyiv-Mohyla College – is evident from the titles of the subsections in the paragraph on orations celebrating the birth of a descendant: "1. The method for arranging the parts of a birth oration, that is, for its invention and disposition (theoretical instructions – *R. K.*)." "2. Pieces of erudition for praising someone's birth and infancy." "3. Symbols serving to praise infants with relation to the dates of their birth." "4. A few apophthegms on the same matter." "5. Rites customarily observed in connection with births and infants." "6. Sayings, notes, and maxims pertaining to births and infants." "7. Ways of praising someone on the occasion of their birth. (samples of orations – *R. K.*)" (Krokovskyi, 1683/1684, pp. 67v–80).

This approach proved to be favored and maintained. Almost two decades later, during the 1702/1703 school year, the lecturer Ilarion Yaroshevytskyi presents the same topic of the orations on the decendent's birth (*oratio genethliaca*) in the form of a brief composition guide, sample speeches, and a large number of relevant sayings and *eruditiones*. He does not even refer to any rhetorical terms but just provides textual "raw material" categorized by specific thematic issues. Here are fragments to demonstrate how it looks:

> If you had to announce in the house of a warrior that a great hero was born: k) If a boy was born to an Albanian, his brothers-in-law would bring him military gifts with the following words: 'Arm yourself, my dear, for you have come for war, not for peace.' l) Gjergj Kastrioti, nicknamed Skanderbeg, i.e. Alexander the Great, was born with an authentic image of a sword on his right hand, formed by nature. (Pontanus) m) The founders of Thebes and their descendants bore the birthmark of a spear on their bodies, which is also attributed to the Spartans. n) The descendants of King Seleucus were born with an anchor on their hips. o) Hercules, while still an infant, smothered snakes with his hand. (Seneca). (Yaroshevytskyi, 1702/1703, p. 6).

And more:

> If you were to provide the reason why a newborn baby is a joy and a delight of its home: a) Recall what Cornelia said when she pointed to her sons: 'These are my ornaments.' (Valerius Maximus, book 4, chapter 4.) b) 'I will never call myself unhappy, for I have given birth to Gracchos,' – the words of the mentioned Cornelia. (Seneca, chapter 16) c) Cicero

> after his return: 'What is dearer to the human race, given by nature, than one's own children?' (*Horologium principum* [*The Clock of the Rulers*], Book 2) d) There is an ancient saying: 'The fragrance above all fragrances is bread, the taste above all tastes is salt, and the love above all loves is that for one's children'" (Yaroshevytskyi, 1702/1703, pp. 5v–6).

The didactic work *Horologium principum* (*The Clock of the Rulers*, 1st edition – 1529), mentioned in the given examples, was written by the Spanish author Antonio de Guevara (?–1545). In addition to narration, it contained a systematic collection of sayings with references to sources, and therefore, was popular among Kyivan lecturers and students. Among others, Krokovskyi refers to it (1683/1684, p. 74). We can also see the lists of aphorisms from de Guevara's work among added miscellanea in the notebook of a rhetoric student of the 1706/1707 school year (Manuscript collection No. 307/113P, 450–501).

The same approach is demonstrated in the rhetoric course by Dionisii Muravskyi, taught in the 1701/1702 school year. For example, in the section on *gratulationes victoriae* (orations on military victories), the lecturer advises students on content and structure, then provides a sample speech congratulating Hetman Mazepa on his victory in the campaign against the Turks and Tatars. Finally, he offers lists of "external" arguments, grouped as sayings, *eruditiones*, and symbols (Muravskyi, 1701/1702, pp. 167v–168). He follows the same pattern in the subsections on other genres and topics.

When presenting arguments from "external places," Kyiv-Mohyla rhetoric lecturers used the aforementioned and similar collections, but in their references, they usually named only the original authors of aphorisms or stories retold. However, one can occasionally find indications of their real sources. For example, in Ilarion Yaroshevytskyi's course of the 1702/1703 academic year, there are *eruditiones* with the names of Tympe, the aforementioned de Guevara, the prolific author of auxiliary literature for rhetoricians Jesuit Jacob Mazen (1606–1681), and other authors.

Often, we can come across the lists of arguments from "external sources" in student notes outside the main body of a rhetoric course. However, since the same material sometimes appears in the notebooks of different students from the same year of study, we may conclude that it was the professor who recommended or assigned them to make such extracts from specialized literature. There are also some direct indications that such appendices to the main sets of lectures were dictated by the professors. The manuscript comprising lectures on poetics *Cunae Bethleemicae* (presumably, 1687/1688 school year) and the course of rhetoric *Orator è mente Tulliana* (presumably, 1688/1689 school year), also contains an appendix titled *Conditorium includens eruditionem historicam symbolicam et stemmaticam allusionem. Aperitur ad usum studiosae iuventutis Kiiovomohilaeanae in poesi Anno Dei Hominis 1686* (*The Repository Containing Historical, Symbolic, and Heraldic Erudition with Allusions. Opened for the Use of the Diligent Kyiv-Mohyla Youth in (the Class of) Poetry, in 1686*) (Manuscript collection No. 499/1799P, pp. 106–145v).

The ready-made arguments from "external places" in Kyiv-Mohyla rhetoric courses are numberless, but I believe that the provided examples sufficiently illustrate the practice discussed in the paper. This tradition remained consistent over many decades. Trained in Orthodox or Jesuit colleges in the way described, the authors later looked for "external" arguments in auxiliary literature themselves. In his panegyrics, Stefan Yavorskyi used Diego de Saavedra Fajardo's emblematic collection *Idea Principis Christiano-Politici 101 Symbolis expressa* (*The Idea of the Christian Political Ruler Expressed in 101 Symbols*) (Awianowicz, 2020, p. 255), and Hryhorii Skovoroda drew material from the Amsterdam

collection *Symbola et emblemata selecta* (*Selected Symbols and Emblems*) (Chyzhevskyi, 1934, p. 5). Of course, the sources of *eruditiones* for both secular speakers and preachers could include not only thematic collections but also orations or sermons by their colleagues. For example, Margarita Korzo discovered that in his funeral oration for Leontii Karpovych (1620), Meletii Smotrytskyi used a topos about the five varieties of death and life, taken from the work of the Franciscan Philippe Bosquier (Korzo, 2021, p. 455). However, the application of these skills by famous authors is beyond the scope of the paper.

Conclusions

1. The impressive erudition of Baroque speakers was typically based not on personal reading experience but on the use of auxiliary sources, which provided an abundance of rhetorical "building materials" – *loci extrinseci* classified according to traditional situations and topics.
2. The auxiliary content from contemporary rhetorical guides and manuals was accessible to Ukrainian students of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries, if not for everyone in the form of books, then at least within the materials given by their lecturers. The rhetoric courses taught at the Kyiv-Mohyla College/Academy were highly practical. Most lecturers provided students with a substantial number of ready-made sample orations, along with even more "semi-processed" content, so that the owner of the recorded lectures could quickly compose or compile the necessary oration in any typical life situation.
3. The theoretical point of *loci extrinseci* demonstrates that classical rhetorical theory underwent adaptation to suit the practical needs of rhetoricians. Ukrainian lecturers typically preferred new European classifications to the reproduction of the ancient scheme.

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Анотація

Позірна ерудиція барокових авторів часто ґрунтувалася не на широкому читанні, а на використанні спеціалізованих допоміжних джерел. Тогочасні освітні практики заохочували цю звичку. Оскільки риторика була дисципліною, яка передбачала регулярне практичне застосування знань, автори риторичних курсів часто зводили до мінімуму теорію і відводили значне місце так званим зовнішнім місцям (*loci extrinseci*). До них належали «вчені відомості» (*eruditiones*), афоризми, фрагменти, емблеми, символи, «ієрогліфи» тощо. У відповідь на потреби шкіл і ораторів-практиків європейський книжковий ринок пропонував широкий вибір відповідних джерел, якими рясно користувалися автори підручників із риторики та викладачі. Професори Києво-Могилянської академії не були винятком. Більшість лекторів надиктовувала студентам багато текстового «напівфабрикату», щоби власник записаних лекцій завжди міг швидко скласти / скомпілювати орацію, придатну для будь-якої типової життєвої ситуації. Залежно від користувача, цей матеріал міг слугувати засобом, що дає можливість уникнути розумових зусиль, або, навпаки, виступати стимулом для творчої думки, породжуючи нові та вишукані контексти.

Ключові слова: курси риторики, посібники з риторики, підручники, ранньомодерна освіта, «loci extrinseci», ерудиція, Києво-Могилянська академія, києво-могилянські професори.

Roman Kyselov is a PhD in Philology and a Senior Reseacher at Shevchenko Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv). Currently, his research interests focus on Kyiv-Mohyla Academy rhetoric courses from the 17th and 18th centuries and the culture of using sources in early modern Ukrainian literature.