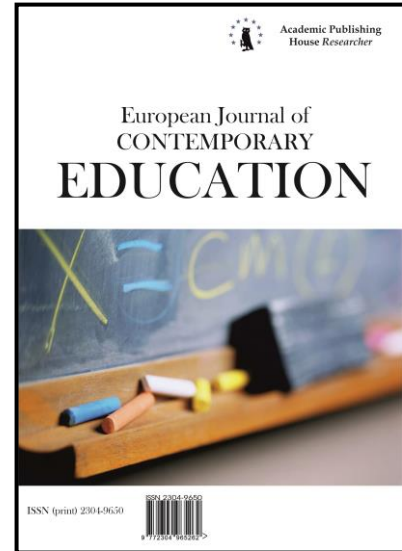




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Educational Process in Ancient Rome Schools

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Abstract

The relevance of this study is attributable to the influence of ancient school on the further development of European education. The focus of the publication is the organization of learning process in Latin schools. The historiographic base of the research is represented by profound scientific works on the history of pedagogy. Among them are the studies of T. Mommsen, K. Schmidt, J. Ussing, J. Paroz, L. Winniczuk and G. Zhurakovsky. The source base is represented by original works of Roman poets and theologians, including those with a memoir context: works of Seneca and Pliny the Younger, studies and letters of Quintilian, Tacitus, Cicero, Plutarch, Suetonius, literary works of Martial, Horace, Ausonius, Plautus, Apuleius. The publication presents a comprehensive review of the education system of ancient Rome: the main types of educational institutions are identified, the contents of the education is revealed, the methods and means of teaching activity are indicated, the role of physical influence on pupils in the Latin school is specified.

Some innovative approaches of Roman school, which are still relevant nowadays are specified – the organization of educational competitions, rewards for successes, group methods of work, practical approach to the content of education (on the principle of reproduction of connections to life), thoughts paraphrasing, phonological exercises, etc. In the end, it is concluded that three-tiered Roman education consistently provided students with knowledge relevant to their time. Under the Republic, its content was aimed at future success in the realization of private, public or state affairs. Moreover, a characteristic feature in middle and higher stages of Roman school was bilingualism.

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1. Introduction

The origins of modern European education system go back to classical era. Although it takes roots in ancient Greece, its widespread geographical extension (European continent, North Africa, Middle East) owes to the Roman Empire. It was during this period that the classical antique education achieved its thoroughness and determined impact on the further development of pedagogy, offering the following generations the model of enlightenment that prevailed at schools until the 20th century. As a rule, this system is considered by researchers in a comprehensive manner. The authors of this publication took the courage to isolate and analyze a didactic side of Roman pedagogy specifically, which, in fact, determined the purpose of this publication – to reveal the content of typical learning processes in Roman school.

2. Materials and methods

The peculiarity of this study is its interdisciplinary nature, since the authors turned to the analysis of not only the historiographic base, but also to works of art and pedagogical treatises – the main written sources of information about the past of ancient Rome education. The letters of Seneca and Pliny the Younger, the works of Quintilian, Tacitus, Cicero, Plutarch, Suetonius, literary works of Martial, Horace, Ausonius, Plautus, Apuleius represent an indispensable base for the exploration of Roman pedagogy (Apuleius, 1959; Augustine, 2005; Ausonius, 1993; Cicero, 1974; Horace, 1790; Horace, 1982; Livius, 1989; Martial, 1891; Plautus, 1987; Pliny, 1950; Plutarch, 1961; Plutarch, 1963; Plutarch, 1964; Quintilian, 1834; Seneca, 1977; Suetonius, 1993; Tacitus, 1969), since they reveal the vision or perception of contemporaries of the educational trends of the epoch. The task that we set ourselves is to go beyond the established approaches in the analysis of these sources in Russian historiography, to include as much as possible those parts of texts that have fallen out of sight of previous researchers (in our case, this is especially true for the consideration of the literary heritage of Ausonius and Saint Augustine of Hippo).

The methodological basis of the study consists of general scientific methods (generalization and systematization, convergence from concrete to abstract, analysis and synthesis) and methods: historical (system-functional analysis, diachronic method), pedagogical (scientific information obtaining in order to establish regular connections, relations, dependencies and the construction of scientific theories) and literary (cultural-historical, sociological, literary hermeneutics (metaphysical and normative components)).

This study is considered by the authors as a part of a wider scientific project, so the parts related to didactics (the organization and management of educational institutions, the state of school education, social status and professional self-realization of a teacher, funding and state regulation of educational institutions) have been left aside so far.

3. Discussion

The history of the education of Ancient Rome has aroused interest in many generations of historians and has often been considered in the context of extensive research as part of Rome citizens' public life. At the same time, it has also defined themes of individual specialized studies. The first category includes a profound work of German scientist T. Mommsen (The History of Rome) (Mommsen, 1997a; Mommsen, 1997b; Mommsen, 1997c). Here the history of education of the Romans is not isolated in the form of a paragraph, but is conveyed discretely by epochs in the flow of socio-cultural phenomena analysis. Such approach does not undermine the thoroughness and reveals the author's clear position regarding the relation between Hellenic and purely Roman components of education, and, finally, its content at each school stage. A detailed picture of the Romans' education development is given in the pages of the works of the Swiss researcher J. Paroz (The General History of Education for the Guidance of Students in Ordinary Schools), German scholars Ch. Schmidt (The History of Pedagogy by Charles Schmidt, Set out in the World-historical Development and in Organic Connection to the Cultural Life of the Peoples) and T. Ziegler (The History of Pedagogy), Danish scientist J. Ussing (Upbringing and Education of the Greeks and the Romans), etc. (Paros, 1875; Schmidt, 1890; Ussing, 1878; Ziegler, 1911). These authors described school education within general cultural and social development of the Roman (or generally

ancient) civilization. They determined the factors, which contributed to the contents of the learning courses, identified the features of the educational process, depending on the school stage (elementary, secondary, higher) and analyzed pedagogical views of Roman thinkers.

Worth of note are the works of the French historian P. Guiraud (*Private and Public life of the Romans*) and Ukrainian O. Gordievich (*Higher Education in Rome at the Times of the Emperors*), which, on the basis of various, including figurative, sources cover certain aspects of the Roman school (Gordievich, 1894; Guiraud, 1899).

In historiography of the 20th century the works of L. Winniczuk (*People, Morals and Customs of Ancient Greece and Rome*) and G. Zhurakovskii (*Essays on the History of Ancient Pedagogy*) could be distinguished. The scientists characterized the peculiarities of organization of each educational stage, investigated the influence of the Greek educational system on the Roman one and analyzed the pedagogical thoughts of Cato the Elder, Cicero, Quintilian, Seneca and other representatives of Roman pedagogical thought, distinguished the peculiarities of the school education organization and emphasized the practicality of the approach to teaching during the Republic period (Winniczuk, 1988; Zhurakovsky, 1940).

The urgent issues of modern theoretical pedagogy determine the need for an updated assessment of Roman education development, specification of innovative and demanded for its time components, emphasizing of those ways and methods of training, which determined the impact on the further development of education and are still used in contemporary schools (Magsumov, 2015; Cherkasov, Smigel, 2016; Shevchenko et al., 2018).

4. Results

The origins of Latin school education, probably, date back to The Roman Kingdom. The first information about a Roman school was given by the Roman historian Titus Livius (59 BC–17 AD), who dated it to 449 BC. In that time, according to him, in the eternal city, «among the benches» worked a school at the Forum. However, contemporary analysts of Livius consider this statement to be purely literary and attribute the real date of the first Roman school establishment to the third century BC, when, according to Plutarch, Spurius Carvilius, a freedman of Spurius Carvilius, opened the first school (about 250 BC) (A companion, 1921: 228; Livius, 1989: 152, 531; Winniczuk, 1988: 204). But the Romans by their own efforts did not progress further than primary school. T. Mommsen explained it by stating that for a long time in public life of the Republic «there was no differentiation in levels between educated and uneducated Romans» (Mommsen, 1997a: 457). Military and civil valor were valued much more than book learning.

Creation of classical ancient Roman education system became possible due to the extension of Greek influence. Confirmation of admiration over Greek education as early as in the third century BC is found in Plutarch's work *Parallel Lives: Lucius Aemilius Paullus*, a two-time consul of the Roma republic, tried to give his children not only traditional Roman education, but also Hellenic, for that reason he hired Greek grammarians, rhetoricians and even artists (Plutarch, 1961: 309). Gradually, from home-based tutoring, the Hellenes switched to the establishment of private schools in the territory of the Republic no later than II BC (not taking into account the schools of Greek cities on the Apennine Peninsula, co-opted into the Roman state in III BC), This fact, was localized in time by Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 BC):

But for a long time there remained,
and this day remain, some traces of rusticity;
For late the Roman writer applied his genius to the Grecian pages
And enjoying rest after the Punic wars began to search what useful matter
Sophocles, and Thespis and Aeschylus afforded (Horace, 1790: 270).

Finally, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (75–160 AD) linked the emergence of the first grammar school to the mission of Crates of Mallus (159 BC), an Ambassador of Attalus II, the King of Pergamon. Since then, the Romans «enjoyed their sons getting Greek education», which in that times aroused the anxiety of the supporters of Latin traditions and even led to the temporary expulsion of Greek philosophers (Plutarch, 1961: 447; Zhurakovsky, 1940: 305; Suetonius, 1993: 220).

However, as late as the second half of II BC, the Hellenic education was completely rehabilitated and began penetrating Roman society widely, spreading everywhere in the territories where the Republic ruled. In particular, after 82 BC, the proconsul of Hispania Citerior, Quintus

Sertorius arranged in Huesca, a school at his own expense for children of grandees of different ethnicities, where they got acquainted with «the science of Romans and Greeks» (Plutarch, 1963: 277; Mommsen, 1997c: 491–492).

The expansion of Hellenic educational sample was also facilitated by the fact that the Emperor Guy Julius Caesar granted Roman civil rights to Greek grammatici and rhetoris. Actually Roman grammar schools appeared at the turn of the II–I BC, facilitated, according to T. Mommsen by an intellectual, Roman equite Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconinus who, in selected company of young people, analyzed the content and philosophy of Roman authors' works. Back at that time the first Roman literary (grammar) school was opened by Marcus Postumius Sevius Nicanor, and about 90 BC the first Latin rhetoric school, to which, as Cicero recalled, came the students «who were distinguished by diligence» was established by Lucius Plotius Gallus. All this evidenced significant changes in the public consciousness of the Romans, the violation of the traditional way of life of quirites (Schmidt, 1890: 388; Mommsen, 1997b: 202, 635; Suetonius, 1993: 230). Along with the Hellenization of education changed the title of the middle level teacher's position – from litterator to grammarian, the phenomenon, explained by Suetonius: Latin concept of «litterator», which went beyond the actual pedagogical specialty and meant all those who could gracefully speak and write, was replaced with a new «custom», connected to the spread of Greek scholarship, to refer to teachers with more precise and relevant to their profession term.

In the republican period, the system of school education assumed the existence of such educational institutions: 1) ludus (luduslitterarum, luduslitterarius)– establishments of elementary education where both boys and girls were educated, which had no definite program and term of study (G. Zhurakovsky generalized the term of education in ludi as 4-5 years, taking into account the imperfection of the teaching methodology and the actual lack of books and methodological materials); 2) Grammaticus for boys aged 12-16 with a term of study of four years; 3) rhetor, for boys aged 16. Rhetoric schools, arranged according to the Greek model, could be Greek or Latin depending on language of tuition. This final stage of Latin education represented the prototype of institutions of higher education. Here the training lasted for 3-4 years and could be interrupted for army service. Together, all these stages, in the words of Lucius Apuleius corresponded to the «cups of the Muses»: The first cup is poured for us by the litterator, who begins to polish the roughness of our mind. Then comes the grammaticus, who adorns us with varied knowledge. ... is the turn of the rhetor, who puts the weapon of eloquence into our hands (Apuleius, 1959: 351–352).

All these stages existed independently of each other and did not involve sequencing. Ludus, as a rule, were attended by students from the democratic strata of the population, while affluent citizens preferred home-tutoring their children, including an in-depth course. In particular, Pliny the Younger (AD 62–114) advised his addressee, Cornelia, a mother of a son, who received basic education from home teachers, to give him to a rhetorical school straightway. So, the young man had mastered science at home until at least the age of 16.

For a long time, professional education was obtained exclusively in connection with the practice: after finishing Grammaticus boys could receive training from a manager of latifundia, mastering the profession of agronomist under his guidance, or from a lawyer, or a doctor, or, finally, to go to serve in the army or get a job as a public servant. Special medical schools and law schools (stations) appeared only during the time of the Empire. The most famous one was Lex Schola (law school of Berytus) opened in III BC in Beirut (Schmidt, 1890: 429).

In general, studying in grammar or rhetoric schools during late Republic time was prestigious, which Horace claims in his poetry to Gaius Cilnius Maecenas. The poet's father, a freedman and a petty landowner, «despite the poverty» gave his son to the prestigious Roman grammar school of a litterator Lucius Orbilius Pupillus in Rome, «where the children of the senators and the equites study, and was not ashamed to accompany son to his studies instead of a slave-pedagogue» (Blagoveshchenskiy, 1864: 20–21; Horace, 1982: 144). However, in the next era, the time of the flowering of pleasures, the love of knowledge has somewhat cooled down. «All the sciences have stood back, and mentors of free arts are sitting in empty corners without visitors», Seneca remarked. «There is no soul in the schools of philosophers and orators, but how many people are there in the kitchens of the belly-slaves, how many young people hang about at the stove!» (Seneca, 1977: 233).

The organizational aspects of learning were less influenced, though. In particular, both in republican and imperial epochs, elementary schools were often organized in the open air (at the

intersection of the street–trivium), under shelter behind the curtain, in light annexes to main buildings, on the roofs of the houses, or in one room of the teacher's apartment. The lessons here began at dawn (a contemporary, a lover to lie-in and a poet Marcus Valerius Martialis (around AD 40 – between 102 and 104 AD): «school teachers do not let live in the morning») and lasted until late at night with breaks for breakfast, lunch and walks. It is noteworthy that almost all of the lessons were «open», because anyone from the street could attend classes and listen to what the teacher said. Such scene is depicted on a fresco in Pompeii.

All Roman schools of the republican period were private. The duty to fund education for children was entirely borne by parents or guardians: «In the first place then, the parents are the builders-up of the children, and lay the foundation for the children; they raise them up, they carefully train them to strength, and that they may be good both for service and for view before the public. They spare not either their own pains or their cost, nor do they deem expense in that to be an expense. They refine them, teach them literature, the ordinances, the laws; at their own cost and lab our they struggle, that others may wish for their own children to be like to them» (Plautus, 1987: 192–193).

There was no fixed curriculum, so in a trivial school, teachers could interfere with the areas of knowledge that were usually given in grammar schools, and Grammaticus, in turn, could teach what was mostly in the competence of the rhetor. This was especially felt in the republican «antiquity», when Grammaticus in the absence of rhetor, taught children both sciences. And even later, when rhetorical schools were established, «Grammaticus still retained old exercises for the development of eloquence and themselves introduced the new ones – problems, paraphrases, appeals, etiologies», as a propaedeutic course of rhetoric – this state of affairs, according to the notes of Suetonius was preserved approximately to the middle of IAD (Suetonius, 1993: 221–222).

The law did not establish a compulsory education age. According to unwritten rule the education began no earlier than at 7, which was promoted by the authoritative opinion of a number of Greek philosophers. Nevertheless, there were exceptions to this rule. In particular, the famous rhetorician Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (AD 35 –around AD 96) encouraged parents not to waste time and teach literature before the age of seven (Quintilian, 1834: 6–7). In the same way, there was no upper limit for students' age. Although the acquisition of education traditionally concerned children and youth, however, it was aspired after by people of mature age. Quintilian implicitly advocated the need to acquire knowledge in a young (after adolescent) age. It was Seneca, who frankly confessed of attending the lessons of the philosopher Metronactus in Naples, which he explained to his correspondent with the proverb «you're never too old to learn» (Seneca, 1977: 145).

As a rule, the classes were small («Effective teacher will not bother himself with a crowd, with which he cannot handle», Quintilian). Duration of training and its organization were not strictly regulated. Vacations and holidays were usually during Saturnalia (December 17–23) («you call me to school, and I am still celebrating Saturnalia», Pliny the Younger), Quinquatrus (March 19–23), on other holidays and *nundinae* (together no less than 60 days a year). Teaching of town-dwellers could take place in summer, although according to unwritten rules, which, obviously, Martial described in the epigram «School teacher» termed the vacations starting no later than July to October Idus (Martial, 1891: 651). Horace also pointed out at eight months long duration of study – 8 times per year on Idus the pupils brought money to Orbilius for their education (Horace, 1982: 144). Thus, the duration of the training was regulated exclusively by calendar and agreement between students' parents and the teacher and, finally, depended on the will of the teacher.

Wax tablets, *cerae*, and pointed sticks, styluses, were used for writing. Closer to the imperial era, papyrus, inks, made of rubber, soot or fluids of the octopuses, and writing reeds (*calamus*) began to be used. The scrolls of books were put in a wooden box-capsule.

In the elementary schools where they studied reading, writing, arithmetic and the laws of Rome, the emphasis was on the reproduction of what the teacher said (Cicero recalled that in such a way he literally learned the laws of XII tables). When mastering literacy, the letter assembly method was used: first, the children learned to say letters, then to combine them into syllables, then into words, and, finally, to formulate whole sentences. Quintilian warned his colleagues of the haste in such exercises: «First of all, it is necessary to ensure that the student reads confidently; let him read slowly for a while; speed will come along with exercises». Otherwise, the rhetorician pointed out, the hurry could lead to the failure in training. He also protested against the widespread practice of learning letters without their illustration. He advised to study «all syllables

without exception», not relying on the memory of schoolchildren (Quintilian, 1834: 9–11; Paros, 1875: 42; Ussing, 1878: 106, 124; Zhurakovsky, 1940: 313). When teaching writing a child's hand was guided or a student was taught to lead lines on prepared samples, in particular, on boards with cut out letters. Subsequently, they proceeded to copying of words and sentences (which were taken from poetic writings). The spelling was polished with dictations, and sometimes with spelling exercises. G. Zhurakovsky, referring to the notes of Quintilian, commented on such training organization as highly ineffective: firstly, certain rules of spelling had not yet been developed in Latin, which naturally complicated the learning of grammar; and secondly, the practice of oral learning of the alphabet before writing only delayed the time of study (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 313).

Poetry also covered mathematics, which was studied by singing: «one and one two», etc. («One and one – two, two or two – four, I hated to drawl this song», Aurelius Augustinus). Then they counted on the fingers (the fingers of the left hand served to denote the units and dozens, and the fingers of the right hand were used for hundreds and thousands) and on abacuses, The later enabled to visualize counting in response to the complexity of Roman numerals (the limited amount of numerals and the absence of zero). Multiplication table was remembered in chorus following the teacher. The peculiarity of Roman mathematics was the practical connection of counting to a monetary circulation. The unit of measurement was an as coin, which in turn consisted of 12 ounces, while 16 asses corresponded to a silver denarius (after 130 BC). The scene of the division of as is found in the work of Horace *Ars Poetica*:

Roman lads learn long division, and how to split
A pound weight into a hundred parts. 'Then, tell me
Albinus' son, if I take an ounce from five-twelfths
Of a pound, what fraction's left? You should know by now.'

'A third.' 'Good! You'll look after your wealth' (Augustine, 2005: 27; Guiraud, 1899: 79, 87–88; Horace, 1982: 222; Paros, 1875: 43; Quintilian, 1834: 10; Ussing, 1878: 125; Winniczuk, 1988: 205; Zhurakovsky, 1940: 313).

In general, studies in elementary schools were considered by contemporaries to be superficial, because here, according to Publius Cornelius Tacitus (AD c. 50 – c. 120), children «did not make enough effort either to get acquainted to the works of great writers, nor to understand the antiquity, neither for the knowledge of things and people, nor for the events of the past» (Tacitus, 1969: 393). In the same time, in grammar school the approaches to learning were weightier than in elementary school. Grammar, as a leading subject, was divided into two parts – «the right way to express thoughts with words, and reading the poets» (Quintilian, 1834: 32). G. Zhurakovsky made a refinement for this formula: I – perfect mastery of Latin and Hellenic (especially teachers took care of the elimination of barbarism and solecisms); II – study of languages learning outstanding works of Greek and Latin literature, where particular attention was drawn to the metric – a system of verifying rules of poetry, the doctrine of the structure of versified speech, its rhythm (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 318).

Reading was accompanied by grammatical, stylistic, source and lexical explanations, interpretation of historical events, mythology, astronomy, geography, life and morals, biographical and bibliographic commentaries on authors of works, which provided a deep, albeit unsystematic assimilation of material from various branches of knowledge. At the same time philological criticism occupied a leading place in the educational process. As for the analysis of the content of the works, there was a lot of superfluous in it. Seneca ironized on this matter – instead of considering the moral content of the work, the teachers sought from the students the knowledge of trivia, for example, about the age of Patroclus and Achilles, the study of the chastity of Penelope, etc. Instead, Seneca suggested to analyze the meaning of the phenomena themselves (what chastity is and what its virtues, where it is contained – in the soul or body, how to love homeland, wife, children) (Seneca, 1977: 191–192).

The question of the language(s) of teaching in Latin grammar schools is a matter in dispute. There is an assumption, that originally exclusively Latin was used. In particular, the works of Greek authors were studied either in translation or in the form adapted by Latin writers. Later, Greek literature was studied in the original. At the same time, not knowing Hellenic by Roman children did not stop their teachers, who demanded immediate noticeable results in the study of works of the descendants of the Achaeans. «I have not yet known a single word in Greek», the Christian theologian Augustine of Hippo (AD 354–430), recalled, but I was forced to learn Greek without

giving me either rest or term, scaring with harsh punishment (Augustine, 2005: 28). Quintilian advised to start studying Greek first, and then master Latin, since many civilization achievements of Rome owed to Greece, in particular, in science (Quintilian, 1834: 5). G. Zhurakovsky concluded from this that the beginning of studying sciences in grammar school was inseparable from the knowledge of Greek, since the learning of Greek authors took place in the original language (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 318).

The main methods of teaching were reading with comments, explanations and lectures, translations from Greek into Latin and vice versa, doing written exercises in a class that sharpened literacy and style, translating poetry into prose, paraphrasing thoughts (reduction and extension), development of some *Sententiae*, writing a narrative on a mythological or poetic theme, doing exercises with chairs (concise statements about the actions or thoughts of a famous person), ethologies (the image of a literary or historical hero at a certain known moment, such as Achilles's thoughts on the death of Patroclus). According to the established tradition, the teacher clarified the rules on three examples, which is testified by the remark of Pliny the Younger, who asked his correspondent to tell stories, as if «according to the school rule». The processing of the text of the Latin author assumed the following procedure for mastering the material: I – dramatic well-worked reading; II – the interpretation of the work as a whole and in parts, including historical and geographical comments; III – critical analysis of the work in order to identify its advantages and disadvantages and proposals for correction; IV – critical conclusions. For the development of speech, the following method was used: for example, students read Aesop's fables, retold them, and then wrote down. Teachers frequently referred to the method, which reminded a prototype of the Lancasterian System—one of the students from the group was selected to replace the mentor for some time or serve as a tutor for his classmates. Of course, a significant place throughout the process of learning knowledge was given to remembering, which coincided not only with the pedagogical tradition, but also with the elementary shortage of books (Gordievich, 1894: 14; Guiraud, 1899: 81, 88; Pliny, 1950: 67; Ussing, 1878: 126–127; Zhurakovsky, 1940: 319).

In rhetoric school they taught the art of eloquence. The theory of oratory, firstly, assumed teaching the doctrine of material presentation and argumentation, text structuring, three means of high style (selection, combination, and figures of words), memorization and giving speeches, secondly, consideration of rhetorical examples, that could be followed, acquisition of skills to proclaim small speeches, and thirdly, doing oratory exercises on certain topics. From I BC, the consenter «rhetoric» was divided into two courses: at first, students read and analyzed literature, then learned to make panegyric, political and court speeches. To do this, they made translations from Greek originals, recited in Hellenic, took lessons from actors, listened for the art of pronunciation in the theatre, and finally attended classes of *phonascus*, who developed the voice of the students through a combination of dietetic rules and musical exercises (Schmidt, 1890: 388). Moreover, the erudition of a future lawyer, official, architect, engineer or physician had to go far beyond humanitarian disciplines. Therefore, in the course of preparation of speeches, students in rhetoric schools studied the basics of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, medicine and architecture (Mommsen, 1997c: 516–517).

The following rhetorical exercises were used *anaskeves* and *kataskesves* (exercises to justify or refute legends), 12 types of *progymnasis* (preparatory rhetorical exercises), as well as the main types – advisory or commemorative *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae*. *Suasoriae* represents a monologue, in which students on behalf of the historical or mythological character, who was in a difficult position, claimed his intentions and motives for resolving an urgent issue (for example *Suasoriae* Alexander the Macedonian wonders whether to enter Babylon, despite the warnings of augurs about the danger by Lucius Annaeus Seneca). *Controversiae* were studied by elder scholars. They represented speeches about confusing legal cases, where it was required to use arguments skillfully and inventively in order to confute or defend a certain statement in civil or criminal proceedings; for example, in such a situation, described by Lucius Annaeus Seneca: «The law gives the right to a raped girl to demand the death of her assailant or marry him without dowry. Some young man raped two girls at one night; one of them requires his death, another marriage».

In preparing the task, the following points were taken into account: 1) it was necessary to consider, what exactly to say; 2) to arrange the material in a certain order; 3) to make a speech and work over its composition; 4) remember it; 5) to give the speech; 6) to fill it with complementary quotations from ancient and new literature (Ausonius, 1993: 258; Ussing, 1878: 156).

When selecting topics, teachers often resorted to imaginary, often unbelievable (suprafidem) situations. St. Augustine of Hippo recalled that he was asked to prepare the speech «of Juno, angry that she could not distract the king of Tjeker from Italy, the task «troublesome enough to the soul» of a young student.

«Which words I had heard that Juno never uttered; but we were forced to go astray in the footsteps of these poetic fictions, and to say in prose much what he expressed in verse. And his speaking was most applauded, in whom the passions of rage and grief were most preeminent, and clothed in the most fitting language, maintaining the dignity of the character» (Augustine, 2005: 32–33).

Improving the form without sufficient thoughtfulness of the content, the selection of fantastic themes, finally, caused complaints over the institution of rhetoric school itself. Not without badinage Pliny the Younger wrote in one of his letters that «the school and the audience with their factitious affairs (sic) is a peaceful, harmless and happy place, especially in old age», meaning a good place for a sophist to earn a living and the absence of any practical benefit from the knowledge gained from him (Pliny, 1950: 41). In this phrase one can also see some self-irony of the author, aimed at the future, because he himself was a teacher at that time. Tacitus was disgusted with the methods of teaching in the rhetoric school: «tongue and larynx exercises in fictitious and unrealistic verbal battles», as well as with the questions like «reward for tyrant slaying, or whether the raped girl should chose death or marriage for her attacker, or the recourse to human sacrifice in a plague epidemic, or maternal incest or all the other daily performed in the schools, but rarely if ever in the Forum». Tacitus called rhetoric school «the schools of charlatans», because here teachers were allowed to talk on ordinary topics (gladiator games, circus performances, etc.) and did not give students really useful knowledge. For Tacitus oratory was rather a fact of history, not of the present, where rhetoric resembled an empty chatter, rather than demonstrated the practical skill of a specialist (Tacitus, 1969: 373, 393–394, 397).

This position without much critical processing has changed little in the estimations of the scientists of the modern era. In particular, the Danish historian of education of the 19th century J. L. Ussing mentioned «the emptiness and meaninglessness of classes in the rhetorical school», which was suffering from the «lack of taste» and attempts to preserve «the remnants of the former education» (Ussing, 1878: 164). Similarly, German philosopher T. Ziegler spoke of rhetorical training in the Roman school («rhetoric turned into sophistry and increasingly degenerated into formalism and word-splitting») (Ziegler, 1911: 20). T. Mommsen claimed, that show-off «nipped a really sincere eloquence in a bud», G. Zhurakovsky noted, that «the art of words t lost its practical meaning and turned into an end in itself» (Mommsen, 1997b: 636; Zhurakovsky, 1940: 329). Thus, in learning rhetorical art not the content of the speech was valued, but its effect, stylistic richness and technical perfection (chirognomy, acting skills, etc.). «Theoretical perfection and elegant form ... were always only the means for him [the Roman– authors], not a goal to master the language» – that’s how somewhat tendentially the historian of education K Schmidt generalized the content of didactics in rhetoric schools (Schmidt, 1890: 388).

Instead, some scholars of the ancient scientific heritage are receptive to didactics in rhetoric schools. «The whole program of rhetoric education, both theoretical and practical, seems at first glance totally detached from life. However, it is not. From theoretical point of view, they ensured the unity of ideological views and artistic tastes, without which any society is impossible», – proved the researcher of ancient literature M. L. Gasparov (Ausonius, 1993: 258). It is worth remembering, that while doing rhetorical exercises, students at the same time acquired or deepened their knowledge in history, philosophy, ethics and law, learned to translate from Latin into Greek, and vice versa. Furthermore, literary questions developed thinking, memory, imagination and speech.

Since studying rhetoric was mostly oral, students improved their skills in the field of shorthand in order to be able to record the thoughts of a teacher or a reader. Public readings and lectures performed by the teachers, as well as court hearings and people's assemblies served as examples of eloquence for youth, who adopted techniques of polemics («learned to fight participating in a fight», Tacitus), and then mastered them in declamations: «one of them was to blame, another to defend Odysseus, caught in front of Ajax’s corpse with a blood-red sword» (Gordievich, 1894: 20; Mommsen, 1997b: 636).

In AD I, the canon of education in the middle and upper school was stated: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic (logic), arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine, architecture. The first

subject was divided into learning Latin and Greek (in Greece itself, under Roman rule, Latin was not a compulsory school subject, whereas in the Romanized provinces in the late Empire, on the contrary, the teaching of the Greek language decayed). In the AD IV «after the exclusion of medicine and architecture from the list, the classical medieval «seven liberal arts» program for «free citizens» took shape. It was after the end the antiquity era, that the poet and philosopher Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (c. 480–524 AD) divided liberal arts into two groups. Grammar, rhetoric and dialectics were considered basic arts and made up trivium, while arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music were combined into quadrivium. It's worth noting that music and dance did not achieve such a respectable role as in Greek school. For a long time, art was considered no more than a kind of craft or aesthetic decoration of a cult, so studying art at school contradicted age-old understanding of the morality of a free citizen. The exception was made for Pyrrhic dance, a war dance, most likely Spartan in origin, mastered by young men for the development of physical strength and agility.

Many works that had a significant impact on the content of education were written during Republic and Empire times. Significant importance in studying literature was given to Alexandrian poetry. These works, in abstracts and adapted form, were included in school manuals. Some of them were mentioned by Martial: the books of Cicero, Maron and Tutilius. Studying in grammar school traditionally began with Homer. During the Empire, Homer lost priority to Virgil. Quintillian encouraged to study, the comedies of Menander, the verses of Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Terence. Finally, Ausonius called the obligatory elements of the program: the Iliad, works of Menander, Flaccus, Terence, Sallust (Ausonius, 1993: 12). T. Mommsen, based on the plots of Roman drama of the Republic era, came to the conclusion that the school program then corresponded, first of all, to the reading of the Trojan cycle and to the Iliad itself.

Later, the works of the «great four poets» – Virgil, Terence, Sallust, Cicero, and also the works of «school classics» by Lucan and Statius – were added to the list (Suetonius believed that the novelty of studying of «new poets» at school belonged to Quintus Caecilius in the time of Octavian August). Anyway, the selection of works for school education was not adapted for children and corresponded to the range of interests of adult educated Romans.

When students' admiration for the word of ancient intellectuals changed with boredom, their motivation was supported by physical punishment («harsh rods are teachers' scepters» Martial). Along with rods, whips (scutica), straps and ferules were used to «get across an idea». Reasons for punishment could be quite trifling, as could be seen from Plautus: «Then when you had returned home from the track and field, all neat and trim you would sit on your chair before your teacher with your book: and while you were reading, if you had missed a single syllable, your hide would be made as spotted as a nurse's gown» (Plautus, 1987: 217).

Lucius Orbilius Pupillus, a proponent of military discipline at school, was known for his heavy-handed approach in teaching («Orbilius stroke with a ferula and a strap», Domitius Marsus). One of his students was Horace, who perpetuated him as a flogger (plagosus):

I remember how Orbilius, with his cane, used to

Thwack us in time to those verses in the schoolroom (Horace, 1982: 203).

A common judgment can be found in Martial's epigram to the teacher at ludi school:

What right have you to disturb me, abominable schoolmaster,
object abhorred alike by boys and girls?

Before the crested cocks have broken silence,
you begin to roar out your savage scoldings and blows.

In general, the society was rather tolerant of the teachers using rods or straps. «The better, the more capable the teacher is, the more wrath and impatience he reveals in his lessons. It is painful for him to see that the student does not understand what he understood so easily and quickly», – justified Cicero the methods of physical impact (Guiraud, 1899: 90). Ausonius asked his grandson not to be afraid of «caning» knowledge into his body: Let no outcry, no sound of stripes, no dread make you quake as the morning hours come on. That he brandishes the cane for scepter, that he has a full outfit of birches, that he has a tawse artfully hidden in innocent wash leather, that scared confusion sets your benches abuzz, is but the outward show of the place and painted scenery to cause idle fears (Davis, 2018: 133).

Saint Augustine of Hippo in Confessions acknowledged that when he was lazy at school, he was beaten. At the same time, the elders approve of this "custom", and even the parents of the

future Church Father «continued to laugh at these beatings, my great and difficult misfortunes» (Augustine, 2005: 17–18). At the same time, punishment also often took forms of burdensome homework, which could be even worse for students than beating. Instead, teachers received the intended effect.

For example, famous Horace at school of Lucius Orbilius Pupillus mastered the Greek language, read Iliad in the original, understood the philosophy, learned to write poems. Cicero admitted that he owed his achievements in public activity «to his teachers and their labors» (Cicero, 1974: 98). Ausonius gratefully remembered his Greek grammarians, who «were the first to teach me, so that my voice and speech did not sound rude, even without finishing» (Ausonius, 1993: 40).

The graduates of rhetoric schools in IV–V AD swelled the ranks of Christian intellectuals, were elected to bishopric positions, became prominent theologians of their time (for example, Ambrose, Basil the Great, Saint Sidonius Apollinaris, or Saint Augustine of Hippo). All of them, in their own time, learned lessons from ferula. However, things could happen vice versa. In Plautus's comedy *Baccharia*, cited above, the opposite situation is described—the student hits the teacher back, so that the victim has to complain about the pupil to his father. Obviously, school fights between teachers and students were quite common and emerged depending on local traditions of education, the attitude of adults to the physical punishment of children, the authority of the teacher and the extent of rods misuse.

At the same time, students could be motivated without physical actions. Horace described one of such techniques: teachers encouraged children to study well, promising sweets. Reward instead of hitting was a practice adopted by Marcus Verrius Flaccus, a grammarian in Augustus and Tiberius times. He arranged competitions between his students with «wonderful or rare» books as a gift for the winners (Suetonius, 1993: 226). Sertorius held examinations at his school, giving awards to good students and golden necklaces «bullae» to the best. An example of an understanding attitude to students, according to Plutarch, was Sarpedon, the teacher of the future prominent statesman Cato the Censor, who «kept an explanation for the student ready, not a thrash. Finally, in order not to excite children» disgust to studying, Quintilian advised to turn the didactic process into fun, using praise, manipulation through jealousy for another child, who was temporarily paid more attention, arranging competitions among students, including didactic games in the form of questions-answers and rewarding them for good results. He explained these suggestions by his own feelings, experienced at school (jealousy, shame, triumph). Every month his teachers divided students into grades with hierarchy depending on performance level. It stimulated competition between children, the desire to outsmart others, and to succeed in the oratorical skill. These examples showed an alternative to physical punishment, which, according to the Roman teacher, by nature were not only «mean and characteristic only for slaves», but also demonstrated teachers' incompetence (Guiraud, 1899: 84; Plutarch, 1963: 277; Plutarch, 1964: 29; Quintilian, 1834: 8, 22–23, 29–30; Schmidt, 1890: 390).

5. Conclusion

Three-tiered Roman education, in spite of the independence of each stage, consistently provided students with knowledge, relevant of the time, based on the subjects of the humanitarian cycle, first of all, literature. The peculiarity of Roman education of the Republic era was its practicality (clearly manifested in learning of four arithmetical operations), the focus on future success in the realization of private, public or state affairs, bilingualism (Greek and Latin languages of study preconditioned by the powerful influence of Hellenistic countries culture on Rome. In the era of the Empire, erudition came to the forefront, especially in the field of «old» literature. At the same time, under the Dominate, the importance of other disciplines, which formed seven liberal arts, increased. Education of the highest rhetorical level was inseparable from practical skills of versification, writing and proclamation of speeches.

The Roman education system did not pay much attention to the conditions for learning organization – the society did not set strict requirements to school physiology, which led children, especially in elementary schools, to acquire knowledge not in proper conditions (lessons began too early, pupils stayed indoors for too long, lack of isolation and school furniture). Moreover, such unfavorable phenomena as physical punishment, didactogenia, low moral impact on children by

school community or teachers. All this led to the popularity of home-schooling among wealthy Romans, which often was not limited to the initial stage.

Although Roman education did not add much novelty to teaching tools and continued its existence on a material basis borrowed from the Greeks, we can trace certain innovations in it, noted both in pedagogical works and in literature characters: improvement of the methodology of texts analysis and public speeches preparation, the development of rhetorical culture through the mastery of acting and phonopedic exercises, the expansion of the set of methods for students' motivation to study (moral and material encouragement, competition).

However, humanistic suggestions in didactics did not acquire systematic character and entirely depended on the personality of the teacher. Organization, methods of teaching, selection of school material were not regulated and were conditioned by traditions and public opinion which gave teachers free hands in presentation of pedagogical creativity.

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