

UC-NRLF



LB 16 215

THE
THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF
TEACHING
ANCIENT EDUCATION

BEING

The Chancellor's English Essay

1885

BY

WALTER BISHOUSE B.

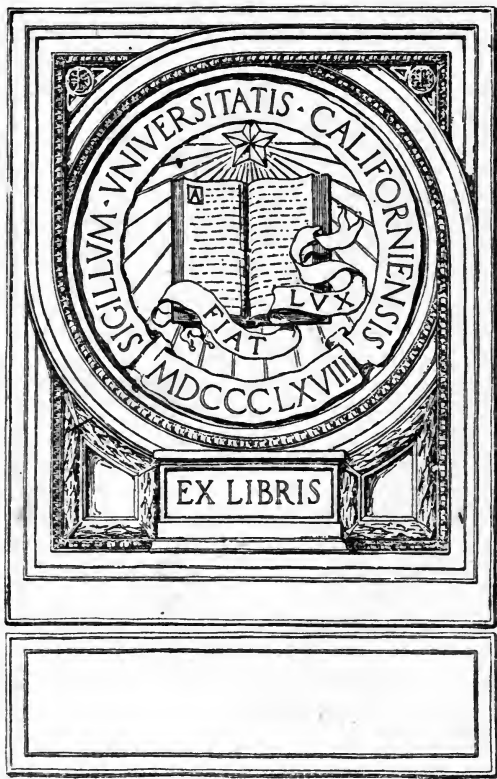
FELLOW OF HERTFORD COLLEGE

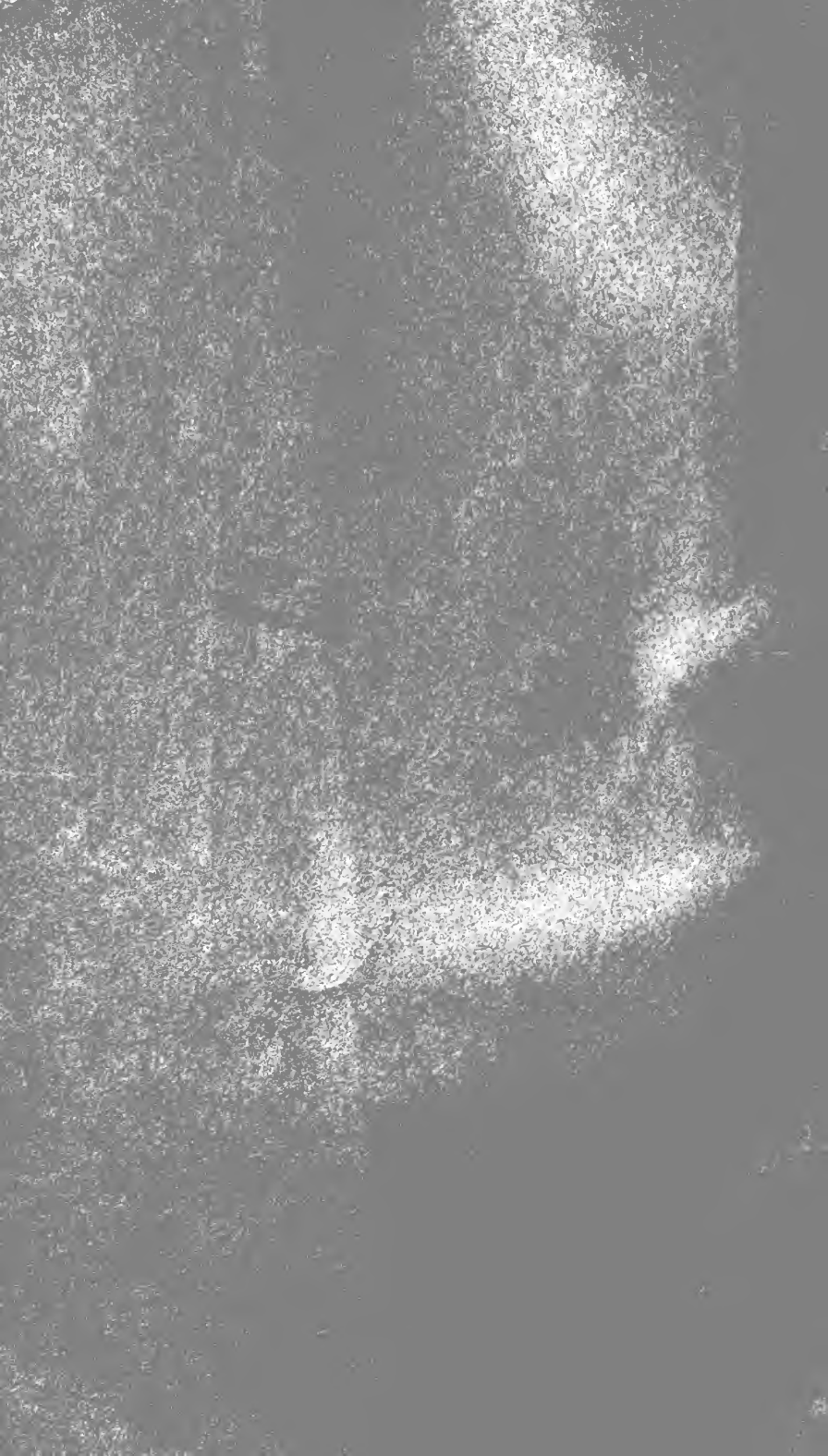
FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF NEW COLLEGE

ANASTATIC REPRINT OF THE EDITION OXFORD 1885

NEW YORK, 1910

G. E. STECHERT & CO.





THE

THEORY AND PRACTICE

OF

ANCIENT EDUCATION

BEING

The Chancellor's English Essay

1885

BY

WALTER HOBHOUSE, B. A.

FELLOW OF HERTFORD COLLEGE

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF NEW COLLEGE

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

ANASTATIC REPRINT OF THE EDITION OXFORD 1885

NEW YORK, 1910

G. E. STECHERT & CO.

LA 71
H 65

TO VINU
ANBONLLO

PREFACE.

IF 'a great book is a great evil,' a small book is, possibly, a greater still: nor can there be any excuse for the publication of a prize Essay like the present, save an excessive deference to custom. I have thought it better to publish the present pages in the original nakedness of their Essay form, rather than to simulate the appearance of an exhaustive treatise on Ancient Education. My aim has been to give a connected account of the main features of Ancient Education with illustrations from original writers, and I have ventured to add some remarks on Modern Education which I fancied, perhaps wrongly, to be not altogether out of place. For the many obvious inadequacies of the Essay I can only urge as a very partial excuse the fact that it was written during some months of foreign travel, with scanty opportunities for referring to many authorities of whom I should have been glad to make more use.

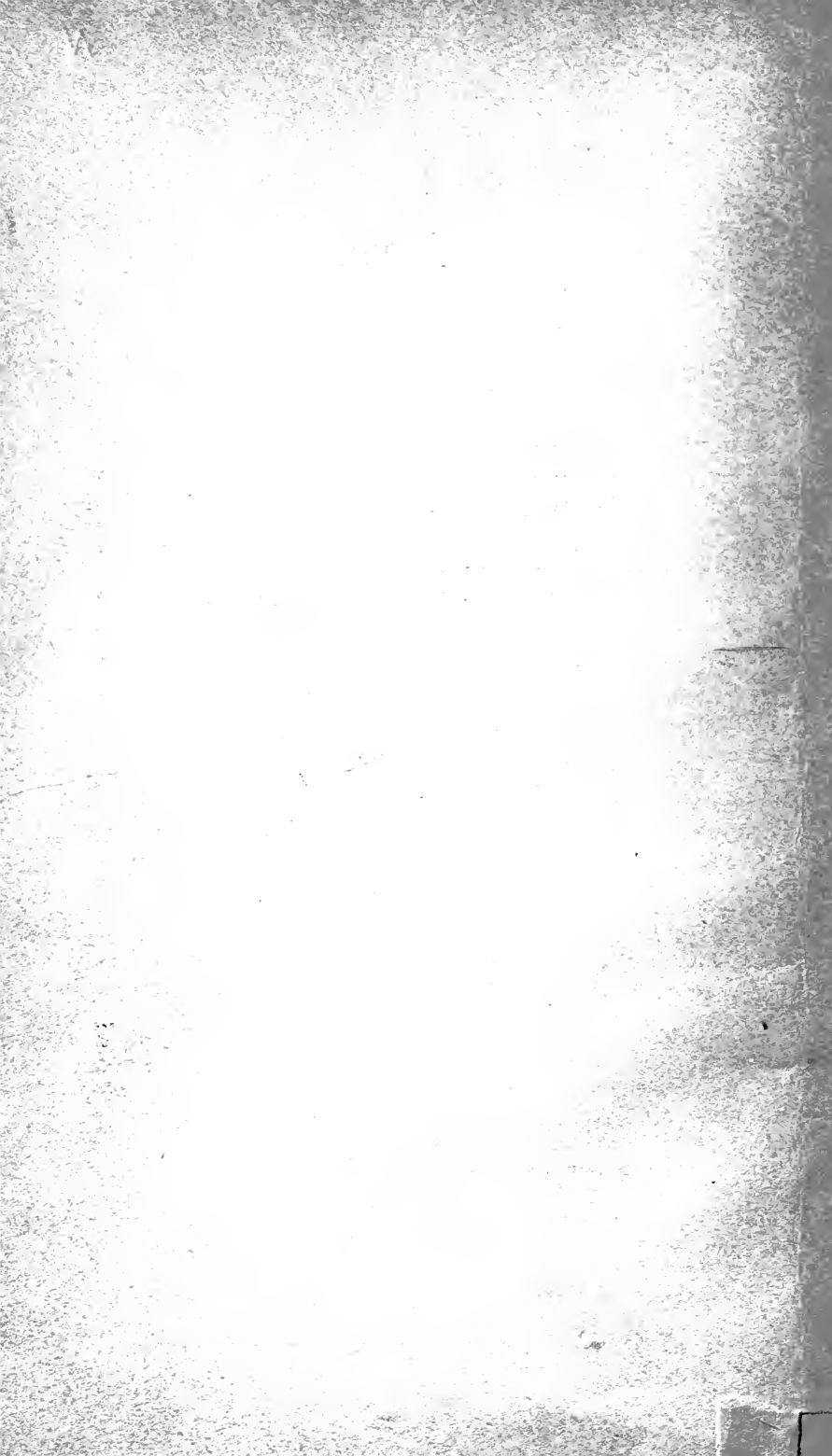
I am indebted to the kindness of *Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson*, of Balliol, for the references to Polybius on p. 15, and p. 31.

OXFORD, *July 1885.*

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. EDUCATION IN GREECE	3
§ 1. ITS DIVISIONS	3
§ 2. INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD	4
§ 3. INSTRUCTION IN <i>γυμναστική</i>	5
§ 4. EDUCATION IN <i>μουσική</i> , (α) <i>γράμματα</i>	9
§ 5. " " (β) MUSIC AND DRAWING	11
§ 6. EDUCATION OF CHARACTER AND MANNERS.	12
§ 7. EDUCATION IN GREEK STATES OTHER THAN ATHENS.	14
§ 8. FEMALE EDUCATION	16
§ 9. HIGHER EDUCATION (α) SOPHISTS AND RHETORS	16
§ 10. " " (β) SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY	20
§ 11. GREEK THEORIES ABOUT EDUCATION	22
III. EDUCATION AT ROME	29
§ 1. EDUCATION BEFORE THE PUNIC WARS	29
§ 2. RISE OF GREEK INFLUENCE	32
§ 3. EDUCATION IN TIME OF CICERO, (α) EARLY YEARS	34
§ 4. EDUCATION IN TIME OF CICERO (<i>cont.</i>), (β) GRAMMAR AND RHETORIC	36
§ 5. EDUCATION IN TIME OF CICERO (<i>cont.</i>), (γ) YOUNG MANHOOD	38
§ 6. EDUCATION IN TIME OF CICERO (<i>cont.</i>), (δ) PHYSICAL EDU- CATION	40
§ 7. EDUCATION UNDER THE EMPIRE	41
§ 8. QUINTILIAN	44
IV. COMPARISON OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN SYSTEMS	49
V. EDUCATION. ANCIENT AND MODERN	51



ANCIENT EDUCATION.

I. INTRODUCTORY

'What sculpture is to the block of marble, education is to the human soul.'—ADDISON.

IN attempting a discussion of the principles and the practice of Ancient Education we are met at starting by the question, What is Education? Where are we to draw the dividing line between the process which prepares us for life, and the life for which we are thus prepared? Are we to reckon the training of moral and physical qualities on an equal footing with the intellectual studies which in modern times we are perhaps most prone to associate immediately with the word 'Education'? We are not indeed called upon, at this stage at all events, to consider different theories as to the true end of Education; but we should be neglecting an important side of the enquiry if we did not give a liberal interpretation to the word. That such an interpretation was given by the Greeks and Romans to their equivalent words, 'παιδεία' and 'institutio,' is evident, not from a few passages, but from the whole tone and spirit of their writings and discussions on the subject. We see it on the one hand in the prominence of *γυμναστική*, on the other in the importance attached to *ἔθισμός*¹ as a factor in shaping a good moral character. To understand ancient education we must approach it from this point of view: and if we do so, it at once becomes plain that education is inseparably bound up with all that is deepest in national life, national character, and national history. Education is both a cause and an effect: it is the index of the moral state of the family, of the vitality or decay of religion, of the growth or arrest of culture: it is at the same time shaping the coming generation, and with it the whole destiny of a people. If there is any one lesson that the history of Rome teaches us, it is that national prosperity cannot coexist with moral decay, and in tracing the course of Roman education we find this moral decay writ large, beyond possibility of mistake. 'The Empire perished for want of men,'—in other words, from the immorality of society; immorality first producing and then aggravated by faulty education. Similarly on the intellectual side we perceive the connection between education and literature: in the earliest stages there is no culture, for

¹ Arist. (Eth. x) reckons it with *φύσις* and *διδασχῆ* as an element in morality.

there is no literature to use as material for culture ; education and literature rise *pari passu*, and are mutually dependent.

‘Education,’ says Paley, ‘in the most extensive sense of the word may comprehend every preparation made in our youth for the rest of our lives.’ Such too is the best interpretation of the word for the purposes of our enquiry.

To go further and attempt any definition of ‘Ancient’ may be thought dangerous, more especially in Oxford. Yet, for purposes of classification and arrangement, divisions are necessary, even though artificial and shallow. Education, like History, may be one and indivisible, and yet have its turning-points, its epochs, its ebb and flow. The most satisfactory line of division may probably be found in the spread of Christianity over the Roman Empire. For whilst there is a certain continuity both of practice and of theory, and though the study of classical authors continues to form so large a part of the education of to-day, there was too complete a change in the leading ideas and in the moral atmosphere of society, and more especially in the aims of the chief educating class, not to have a paramount effect on the educational system. At the same time also the proportion of the educated class to the whole population decreases, as the Northern invaders settle in ever increasing numbers on the territories of Rome, till by a gradual process learning becomes the monopoly of a class, and culture is well-nigh totally extinguished.

‘Ancient’ being thus limited in point of time, it remains to limit it in space. By the intrinsic value of their systems and theories, as well as by the more abundant evidence as to their nature, our attention is chiefly drawn to the two great countries of Greece and Rome. Of the educational views and customs of other nations of antiquity we have little knowledge, but our ignorance need cause us no great regret. The *Persians* we know, on the authority of Herodotus, were taught to ride, to shoot, and to speak the truth ; among the *Jews* non-professional education was probably confined to studies connected with the Scriptures : in *Egypt*, according to Plato, science was taught in the shape of geometry and astronomy ; but the system was stereotyped and unprogressive, if we may credit Plato’s statement that the ‘patterns of music, dancing, and painting have been fixed there for 10,000 years, and no others are allowed’¹.

Limiting our enquiry to the education of classical antiquity, it will be best to exhibit, in some detail and with illustrations from the original authorities sufficient to render the picture fairly complete, the systems of education which prevailed in the ancient world, and the theories projected for their amendment. We shall then be able to form a judgment of their strong and of their weak points ; to compare the main features of Greek education with that of Rome, and to contrast ancient education as a whole with more modern views. It may be that in so doing amongst much

¹ Laws, 656.

that is adapted only to a small city state and to a stage of society less complex than our own, amongst much that disgusts and repels, we may find some customs of which we regret the disappearance, and some ideas that we might labour to restore. The old things have passed away, but the monuments of ancient intellect and character may repay investigation as well as the ruins of stone, the work of men's hands.

II. EDUCATION IN GREECE

§ 1. ITS DIVISIONS.

λέγω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὡς δέκεται.—AR. *Nub.* 961

To the Greeks of succeeding generations the 'men who fought at Marathon' formed an ideal of virtue and simplicity and bravery, which their own age, in its supposed degeneracy, could only imitate at a distance. Aristophanes attributes the qualities which distinguished the *Μαραθωνόμαχοι* to the old system of education, the *ἀρχαία παιδεία*, which in his opinion was being fast supplanted by the sophistic instruction fashionable in his time, to the ruin of all robustness both of intellect and character¹. Of the extent of the ordinary system, and of its aim and its principles, we have sufficient means of judging. Our authorities are referring generally to Athens, but the same features apparently prevailed in other Greek states with the exception of Sparta.

The ordinary education was usually classified under two heads—*μουσική* and *γυμναστική*²; the one directed to the improvement of the mind, the other to that of the body. *Μουσική*, however, had a specialised as well as a general sense, and so in Aristotle we get another classification, *γυμναστική*, *μουσική*, *γράμματα*, and *γραφική*; the latter, he remarks, was not universal³.

Thus the ordinary education of an Athenian in the time of Pericles consisted in *γυμναστική*, and the two divisions of *μουσική*, music and letters. We have evidence that education was held to be of the greatest importance, and was widespread. In the Persian Wars, when the refugees from Athens sought for shelter at Troezen, we hear of arrangements being immediately made for the instruction of their children⁴, and Mitylene once punished the revolt of a colony by forbidding education⁵. When prosperity revived in Greece after the Persian Wars more attention seems to have been devoted to education, and new experiments were tried⁶. Some of these were short-lived, and no great change came over education till the appearance of the Sophists.

¹ *Nub.* 986 ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας Μαραθωνομάχους ἢ μὴ παιδεύσεις ἐθρεψεν.

² Plat. *Rep.* ii. 376 E.

³ Arist. *Pol.* v. (viii.) καὶ τετάρτην ἔνιοι γραφικὴν.

⁴ Plut. *Themist.* 10.

⁵ Ael. V. H. 15 πᾶσων κολασέων ἡγησάμενοι βαρυντάτην εἶναι.

⁶ Arist. *Pol.* v. (viii.) 6. 11 φρονηματισθέντες πάσης ἤπτοντο μαθησείας

Before proceeding to examine in detail the course of training in gymnastic and music, it may be well to say something of the early years of a Greek, and the management of children in the family.

§ 2. INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD.

Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years; this we call education, which is in effect but early custom.—BACON.

The management of children in the earlier stages of their existence naturally presents us with fewer contrasts to modern society. To this, however, there is one striking exception—the recognised power of the father to decide whether the offspring should or should not live. Infanticide and exposure were only the practical corollary from the authority of the paterfamilias, whose property the child was held to be: nor is there any reason to doubt that they were largely practised, where considerations of poverty or convenience suggested their advisability. Weakly infants were especially treated in this manner, and the custom no doubt accounts partially for the rarity of large families, which has been noticed as prevailing in Greek society. Supposing the infant to have survived this danger and to have been ‘taken up’ by his or her father at the *ἀμφιδρόμια* on the fifth day after birth, when the child was carried round the hearth¹, there was not, as far as we can judge, any lack of parental affection in the Greek character: love of children is as prominent as we should expect it to be, both in the Homeric poems and in tragedy. Classical literature does not unfortunately throw much light on the Greek nursery and the women’s apartments, where the first few years of the child’s life were spent. In the upper classes it apparently became unusual for mothers to suckle their own children, though the practice is recommended by Plutarch as natural and beneficial². At Athens Spartan nurses seem to have been the fashion; apparently it was thought that they would make the child harder: foreign nurses were not in demand, since foreign languages were not a part of education. On the *δεκάτη* presents were made to the child, and the name was given; sometimes the naming was a matter of dispute between the parents³. Of the apparatus of babyhood we have some slight notices. Cradles (*κλινίδια*) are not mentioned till Plutarch; dandling in the arms was prevalent then as now⁴; lullabies⁵ (*Βανκαλήματα*) were used; baubles (*περιδέραια*) were hung round the neck, and used as *γνωρίσματα*⁶, and among the earliest toys we find rattles (*πλαταγαί*), the invention of Archytas; go-carts (*ἀμάξιδες*)⁷, and dolls (*κοραί*) usually made of clay⁸, such as have been discovered in the tombs of young children at Corinth and elsewhere in Greece.

¹ Plat. Theaet. 160.

² Plut. de Educ. Puer. 5.

³ Ar. Nub. 61 *περὶ τὸν νόματος δὴ ντεῦθεν ἐλκιδορούμεθα.*

⁴ Plat. Legg. p. 790 *ἐν ταῖς ἐγκαλαῖς αἰεὶ σιεύουσαι.*

⁵ Theocr. Id. xxiv. 6.

⁶ Plut. Theseus 4.

⁷ Nub. 864 *τούτου ᾠρίάμην σοὶ Διασίοις ἀμάξιδα.*

⁸ Plat. Theaet. 146 *πῆλός κοροπλάθων.*

Coming to the period of early childhood, we have preserved to us the names of a number of toys and games¹. Among these were the hoop (τροχός), tops of various kinds (βέμβιξ, στρομβός), the tossing of pebbles and shells (πενταλιθίζειν, ὀστράκινδα), 'ducks and drakes' (ἐποστρακισμός), spinning coins (χαλκισμός), flying beetles (μηλολόονθη), blindman's buff (χαλκή μνία), and several different games with balls. The street seems sometimes to have been the scene of these sports². Sometimes we find a father playing with his children to amuse them³. Nursery tales then, as now, formed an important feature in the young life (γραῶν (τιτθῶν) μῦθοι); they were chiefly mythological, and thus came in for Plato's censure as instilling low views of the gods⁴. Various bugbears were invoked to frighten naughty children, of which some names are preserved⁵. Besides this frightening, actual castigation appears to have been applied. Sometimes a slipper was used for the purpose⁶. Attention was often paid to children's manners; they were taught to be seen and not heard⁷, and to pay respect to their parents and elders; nor, we may believe, was the reverence due to children entirely neglected⁸. Actual instruction during these years seldom went beyond what was picked up from nursery tales and the conversation of elders. School life began young, as, owing to the existence of small city communities, *day schooling* prevailed. Seven seems to have been the age recommended by theorists for beginning school life, but we may suppose that in actual practice the age varied with the forwardness of the pupil. Let us follow the pupil, ὃν φαμεν παιδεύειν, to school and to his gymnastic exercises.

§ 3. INSTRUCTION IN γυμναστική.

ἦν ταῦτα ποιῆς ἄγω φράζω
καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις προσέχην τὸν νοῦν,
ἕξεις ἕει στήθος λιπαρὸν
χροιδὴν λευκὴν. ἔμους μεγάλους
γλῶττιαν βαίαν.—AR. *Nub* 1009 sq

Despite of numerous incidental allusions, our knowledge of Greek education is so fragmentary that it is uncertain whether gymnastic training went on at the same time that a boy was going to school or not, and, if not, which was put first. Plato⁹ advises gymnastic training from six or seven till ten, followed by instruction in γράμματα, but he does not say whether or no he wished gymnastic to go on concurrently, nor what was the usual course Plautus speaks of both as going on in the same day¹⁰, but it is difficult to say how far his picture is true to Greek life. Here, per

¹ Chiefly in Pollux.

² Plat. Rep. 377, Laws 887.

³ Lucian. Philop. 28.

⁴ Cf. Theocr. xv. 11 (Gorgo and Praxinoe) τῷ μικρῷ παρόντος.

⁵ Rep. Book iii.

⁶ Plaut. Bacchides iii. 3. 23. Aristotle is apparently against carrying on both together, Pol. v. (viii.) 4.

⁷ Plut. Alcib. 2.

⁸ Plut. Agesilaus 25

⁹ E. g. ἀκκῶ, μορμύ, ἀλφιδῶ, λαμία, ἔμπουσα

¹⁰ Plat. Rep. σίγαι νεωτέρων παρὰ πρεσβυτέρων

haps, it may be convenient to take the 'corpus sanum' as the precedent condition of the 'mens sana,' and first to discuss the training of the gymnasium and palaestra, and the other sports which went to make up the physical training of the Greek.

The exact relation of the palaestra to the gymnasium has been disputed. According to Krause's theory, the former was intended for boys, the latter for young men: the palaestra was the private enterprise of the παιδοτρίβης, the gymnasia were built by the State for public use. Becker pointed out serious objections to this theory, quoting passages to prove the presence of boys in the gymnasia¹. If it was the case that boys practised in the gymnasia, we must suppose that they used a separate part of the building or went there only at certain hours of the day, as the law quoted by Aeschines² shows that attempts were made to prevent the presence of boys and men at the same time. Young boys would be accompanied to the palaestra and gymnasium, as to the school, by a παιδαγωγός—always a slave, and often not one of the best character³, whose duty it was to prevent them from getting into mischief and from forming undesirable acquaintances. The palaestra, as its name shows us, was a wrestling school; the gymnasium included grounds for running, archery, and javelin practice, and usually had baths attached to it. Vitruvius gives a description of a gymnasium, probably of that of Naples, which may have differed in some respects from the earlier Greek type. It is difficult to follow the whole of his description, but there was apparently a large open peristyle, 300 feet square, used for exercises⁴; opening out of this was a large *Ephebeion*; near this were cold and warm baths, and exedrae or saloons, with seats for the rhetoricians and philosophers⁵. There was also a stadium or race-course, where foot-races took place. The buildings were often very ornate, and were adorned with statues of gods and heroes, and altars where sacrifices took place on festivals. There were three at Athens, the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges; these were placed under the care of ten γυμνασιάρχοι. The office was one of the regular liturgies, and annual; the gymnasiarchs superintended the buildings, and could remove from them philosophers or teachers of whom they disapproved. They were assisted by inferior officers (ὑποκοσμηταί, etc.), and there was a staff of instructors (παιδοτριβαί and γυμνασταί). Probably the usual training of an Athenian youth would comprise the πένταθλον, leaping, running, throwing the δίσκος, throwing the spear, and wrestling, in which a contest was held at Olympia. Boxing and the παγκράτιον

¹ Ar. Aves 141 παῖς ἠραῖος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, Aesch. Timarch. 35, Luc. Navig. 4, Antiph. De Caed. Herod. 661 (of a μεράκιον) μελετῶν μετὰ τῶν ἡλίκαν ἀκοντίζειν ἐπὶ τῷ γυμνασίῳ (μεράκιον, however, appears to have been used of later boyhood.)

² Aesch. Timarch. p. 38 μὴ ἐξέστω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἡλικίαν ὄσειν εἰσεῖναι τῶν παίδων ἔνδον ὄντων.

³ Plat. Lysis 208, Plut. de Educ. Puer. 7 ἀνδράποδον οἰνολήπτων καὶ λίχνου.

⁴ This is apparently the αὐλή of Plato's Lysis (οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἔπαιζον ἔξω).

⁵ Cf. Euthyd. 271, Lysis passim, Theaet. 169 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπίεσαι ἢ ἀποδύεσθαι. κελεύουσιν.

were, we are told, forbidden at Sparta, and were less generally practised than the other exercises. Whether boys were trained on any particular diet, like the professional athlete, we do not know; indeed we know little of the athlete's diet; though from one or two passages we may infer that a heavy meat diet met with some favour among the athletes of that day¹, as among those of the present. The exercises of the gymnasia were thought to be best performed without the hindrance of clothing, and Greek sentiment, though apparently at first opposed to this practice, soon became reconciled to it². According to Pausanias³, married women were not allowed to be spectators at Olympia, and it is doubtful whether such was the custom in any Greek state with the exception of Sparta. Private gymnasia appear to have been the fashion among rich men⁴, just as afterwards at Rome gymnasia and palaestrae are found among the luxurious adjuncts of a nobleman's villa.

We may now leave details to consider the effect of this, the most prominent, side of Greek physical education. The training of the gymnasium and palaestra and the great contests at the public festivals of Greece, on which the aspirations of the successful athlete were centred, were an insoluble problem to the barbarian, and were seen by the Greek to form a distinctive feature in his national life⁵. The Romans emphatically condemned them, and their condemnation was anticipated by some few amongst Greek thinkers. Aristotle notices that they were frequently carried too far, interfering with the growth of the body, and making men brutal⁶. Plato remarks that the πολυσαρκία of the athlete interfered with mental work⁷. Euripides, in a well-known Fragment, complains of the uselessness of athleticism as well as of the exaggerated importance attached to it⁸. Philoemen translated his dislike of it into deed⁹, and would have none of it. Others objected to it, and not without ground, on the score of morality, from the peculiar dangers which attended the Greek palaestra.

Regarded as an instrument to produce bodily health¹⁰ and physique this gymnastic training was undoubtedly efficient up to a certain point. The body claimed its due share in education;

¹ Cf. Plat. Rep. i. in discussing the 'interest of the stronger,' 338 C, D.

² Plat. Rep. 452 οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ ἐδόκει τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀσχυρὰ εἶναι καὶ γελοῖα . . . γυμνοὺς ἀνδρας ὁρᾶσθαι.

³ Pausan. v. 6. 8.

⁴ Xen. de Rep. Ath. 2. 10 καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρά τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐστὶν ἴδια ἐνίοις.

⁵ See especially Lucian, Anacharsis 24 seq. Anacharsis is represented as discussing with Solon the efficacy of this training in time of war. Solon defends it on this ground, and also as part of a larger plan—the κοινὸς ἀγὼν περὶ εὐδαιμονίας.

⁶ Arist. Pol. v. (viii.) 4 λωβώμενοι τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὴν αὐξησιν.

⁷ Rep. 452.

⁸ Eur. Fragm. 84 κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα | οὐδὲν κάκιον ἐστὶν ἀθλητῶν γένους . . . πότερα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χερσίν | δίσκους ἔχοντες ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων χερὶ θείοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίοις πάτρας;

⁹ Plut. Philop. 3 πᾶσαν ἀθλησιν ἐξέβαλεν ὡς τὰ χρησιμώτατα τῶν σωμάτων ἐς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἀγῶνας ἀχρηστα ποιούσαν.

¹⁰ The gymnasia were dedicated to Apollo, the God of Healing, Plut. Symp. viii. 4. 5.

constant and regular exercise was the rule, and was viewed as serious work, not as mere relaxation. So far it was superior to any system which neglected physical education as a trifling matter, but probably inferior to the system of out-door games prevalent in the England of to-day, both in the general effect on health, and in the fostering of habits of discipline and self-reliance. As a direct training for warfare gymnastic was no doubt inadequate; but this was not its purpose, and in every state it was supplemented by drill and military exercise. In developing symmetry of form and that refined perception of beautiful form which raises Greek sculpture above the plastic art of any other nation, there is no doubt that the gymnasia were largely operative; unfortunately there is equally little doubt that they favoured the growth of the vice which leaves so black a stain on the Greek character¹. An attempt was made to deal with the evil by a stringent law regulating the presence of men in the gymnasia², but this appears to have become a dead letter, for there was little public opinion to back it up. Theophrastus³ represents the babler of his day using them as a lounge, and interrupting the boys at their lessons. Short of this graver vice, they were productive both of idleness and of quarrels⁴; here and there a Socrates might find in them his opportunity to convince the young Athenian world of ignorance or of sin; generally, however, they must have contributed to that 'corruption of youth' which was so groundlessly laid to Socrates' charge.

The gymnasia and the palaestrae are so prominent in Greek life, that we hear comparatively little of other games. Hunting was a pastime appreciated in some parts of Greece, especially in Sparta, where the surrounding country favoured it, and apparently in other parts of the Peloponnese, but it was impossible in a town like Athens⁵, situated in a region like Attica. Rowing, which might have been practised there, at least on the sea, would have been thought quite beneath the *καλοκάγαθός*. Swimming was apparently a common accomplishment, if we may judge from the proverbial expression for ignorance and incapability⁶; and Herodotus remarks on the inability of the barbarians to swim, as if it were the exception in Greece. There are some traces of games of ball having been played in the gymnasia; but out-door games of this kind, if known at all, certainly did not form any large part of an Athenian exercise. In a people which lived more out of doors than is possible in a northern climate the physical loss was not great; but, if with Plato⁷, we regard

¹ Cf. Ar. Nub. 978 seq., Plut. Quæst. Rom. 30 τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας πόλιν ἄλυν καὶ σχολὴν ἐντεκούσας καὶ κακοσχολίαν καὶ τὸ παιδερατεῖν. Cf. also Plat. Lysis 204 seq.

² Aesch. Timarch. 38 ἐν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτ' ἰσὶν θανάτῳ ζημιούσθαι.

³ Theophr. xix. (7) ἐς τὰς παλαίστρας εἰσὶν κωλύειν τοὺς παῖδας μανθάνειν.

⁴ Cf. id. ibid.

⁵ Xenophon, who wrote on Hunting, derived his experience from the Peloponnese. Plato discusses hunting in the Laws, but only approves of certain kinds, which demand skill and endurance (824).

⁶ μηδὲ νεῖν μηδὲ γράμματα.

⁷ Rep. 410 C.

gymnastic as aiming at the good, not only of the body, but of the mind, we may regret the absence of games which, whilst developing the muscles, develop also a boyish discipline and *esprit de corps*, and increase both independence of character and strength of limb.

§ 4. EDUCATION IN μουσική—(α) γράμματα.

ψυχῇ βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμονον μάθημα.—PLATO.

Greek parents, like those of our own day, often sent their children to school at an early age to keep them out of mischief at home¹, though, as boarding-schools were unknown, this could not be done so completely as with ourselves; for the same reason, however, school life could begin earlier. The age for beginning school life and its duration, depended largely on the incomes of the parents². Seven appears to have been a common age for beginning³, and fifteen or sixteen for leaving school.

Schools in which this elementary education in 'letters' was given apparently existed in every Greek town. In Mycalessus there seem to have been more than one⁴. Some of them were of considerable size: we hear of one at Chios with 120 boys⁵, and sixty boys were killed by an accident in a school at Astypalaea⁶. It thus appears that there were regular buildings, with a certain amount of furniture and apparatus for teaching⁷; doubtless there were also poorer schools where the teachers availed themselves of a hedge or a colonnade⁸.

School hours began early in the morning⁹, but it is uncertain how long they continued; holidays were given on festivals, which, like Christian saints' days, sometimes occurred in quick succession, so that Theophrastus tells us¹⁰ that an economizing parent did not send his children to school at all during the month of Anthesterion, as it contained so many holidays that he did not think it worth while to pay the fees. These fees, we gather from this and other passages, were paid every month; their amount is unknown, but was evidently small in the case of the ordinary school; nevertheless, payment not unfrequently fell into arrears or was evaded¹¹.

The elementary schoolmasters (*γραμματισταί*) were ill-paid and

¹ Lucian, Hermotimus 82.

² Plat. Protag. 326

³ Pseudo-Plato, Axiochus 366 Ε ὅπταν ἐς ἑπταετιαν ἀφίκηται, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Thuc. vii. 29.

⁵ Herod. vi. 27.

⁶ Pausanias.

⁷ School benches were in use. Cp. Dem. de Cor. where he taunts Aeschines with sponging the *βαθροί*.

⁸ Such teachers were called *χαμαιδιδάσκαλοι*, Scholiast on Arist. Eccl. 804.

⁹ Thuc. vi. 29 ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

¹⁰ Theophr. 26 the *αἰσχροκερδής*. Apparently these festival holidays were considered insufficient: we find Anaxagoras leaving a bequest to the town of Clazomenae on condition that the anniversary of his death shall be kept as a holiday in the schools.

¹¹ Demosth. in Aphob. i. 828, Theophr. Char. 22 καὶ τὰ παιδία δεινὸς (ὁ ἀνελεύθερος) μὴ πέμψαι ἐς διδασκάλου ὅταν ἢ τὸ ἀποδίδουαι, ἀλλὰ φῆσαι κακῶς ἔχειν ἵνα μὴ ἐνυβάλλανται.

little respected. Demosthenes taunts Aeschines with having been a teacher of letters¹. Lucian classes this branch of the educational profession with begging and selling fish². Apparently there was no test of a man's qualifications: he set up on his own account, and had to rely on the merits of his teaching for his success. The *παιδόνομοι*, or Council of Education, who in some Greek cities³ had the general supervision of the young, examined moral rather than intellectual qualifications in the teachers; but at Athens there was a laxity, which Plato deplores, about the control of instruction⁴, nor were there any public institutions provided at the general expense⁵. Of punishments and the maintenance of discipline in Greek *διδασκαλεία* we hear little; corporal punishment certainly existed, but we do not find any objections raised to it by Greek writers similar to those which are so strongly expressed by Quintilian⁶, though Plutarch considers that it might be dispensed with.

Instruction commenced with the alphabet and learning to read, children being first taught to recognise separate letters, and then proceeding to their combinations in syllables⁷. From the phonetic character of their spelling the task of a Greek child was easier than that imposed on English children. Something appears to have been done to make the study more interesting by means of a metrical alphabet⁸, and by the grammatical tragedy composed later on by Callias. Writing was done on tablets covered with wax with a pointed stylus, and was taught by means of copies; great quickness in writing does not seem to have been generally aimed at, as copying work was performed by slaves. When the pupil had attained a very moderate proficiency in reading and writing he was introduced to the works of the great poets of his country, and was taught the 'praises of famous men'⁹, and especially of the Homeric heroes. Homer was read aloud both by the teacher and the pupil, and great stress was laid upon good reading; large portions of the poems were committed to memory, and we hear of instances of men knowing them by heart all through¹⁰. Homer was in fact regarded as a moral teacher¹¹; his wisdom was thought to be due to inspiration; a quotation from Homer on any subject had all the force of a serious argument. The lyric and elegiac poets were also used in this way, and some scholars have thought that our text of

¹ Demosth. de Cor. ad fin. *ἐδιδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων.*

² Lucian, *Necyomant.* 17, Plut. *Alc.* 7.

³ E. g. Sparta, Xen. *Lac.* 2. 2. Cf. *Arist. Pol.* vii. 17. 5.

⁴ Plut. *Alc.* I. p. 122 *τῆς δὲ σῆς γενεσείας, ᾧ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καὶ τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας ἢ ἄλλου ὁτιοῦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδένι μέλει.*

⁵ Aesch. *Timarch.* p. 35. Plut. *Legg.* 804, where the public payment of teachers is his own suggestion.

⁶ Quint. *Inst. Or.* i. 3. 15, Plut. *Ed. Puer.* xi.

⁷ Plato. *Cratylus.* ⁸ Athenaeus x. 453.

⁹ Plut. *Protag.* 326 seq.

¹⁰ Xen. *Sympos.* iii. 5. Niceratus learnt the whole of Homer, to become an *ὄνηρ ἀγαθός*, and could still repeat it. Cf. *Isocr. Paneg.* 95.

¹¹ Plut. *Rep.* x. 599-601, where the condemnation passed on Homer shows the ordinary Greek feeling towards him as the 'educator of Greece.'

the poems of Theognis is only a school selection from his works¹. The study of poetry was not only made to exercise the voice and the memory, but since the poems chiefly dealt with the old mythology, they taught what was to the Greek of early times at once religion, philosophy, and history.

Turning from the literary² to the scientific side we do not find much to record. Counting was taught either by the fingers, or on the abacus, by means of pebbles³. The unit of notation on the abacus was 5, derived from the fingers, and the whole system was far more complicated than ours, from the absence of the symbol 0. The four simple rules seem to have been the limit of ordinary study in this direction. Geometry was esteemed as an 'exact' branch of knowledge, but not ordinarily taught; in this respect Plato considered that the Greeks might imitate the Egyptians, amongst whom it was commonly learnt⁴.

Such was the intellectual training of the young Greek. The range of study was not wide; it could not be so. Science did not exist; the acquisition of languages was not desired; history and geography were the history and geography of his own land. Written books were scarce, most of the teaching was done orally, and more reliance was placed on the memory. If Plato was right in emphasizing the advantage of the spoken over the written word⁵, Greek education was in one respect superior to more modern systems.

§ 5 EDUCATION IN μουσική. (β) MUSIC AND DRAWING.

ἄρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαῦκον, τούτων ἕνεκα κυριωτάτη ἢ ἐν μουσικῇ τροφή, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύεται ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὃ τε ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἡ ἁρμονία.—PLAT. *Rep.* 401 D./

'Solemn and divine harmonies recreate and compose our travailed spirits, and, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions.'—MILTON.

If we are inclined to wonder at the prominence of gymnastic in Greek education, the extraordinary importance attached to music strikes us as still more astonishing. We shall see afterwards the influence on character ascribed to it by Plato; and this view is not peculiar to him, but was shared largely by the Greek public. Music was not an 'extra subject:' both singing and instrumental music were part, and a large part, of an ordinary education. Instruction in music went on either during the same years⁶ that the boy was going to the *διδασκαλείων* or later. The

¹ Vide Mahaffy. *Old Greek Education*, ch. v. I ought to acknowledge the use I have made, in this and other places, of Professor Mahaffy's book

² As to grammar in our sense of the word it could not have been taught, for it hardly existed before the time of Aristotle: vide Arist. *de Interpretatione*. *Ar. Nub.* 662, etc.

³ *Ar. Vesp.* 656 mentions both kinds: λογίσαι φαύλως μὴ ψήφοις ἀλλ' ἀπὸ χειρὸς

⁴ *Plat. Laws* 817.

⁵ *Plat. Phaedrus*.

⁶ *Plat. Laws* 809 F need not be referring to the actual practice about learning music.

lyre was the instrument most commonly learnt, and *κιθαριστής* is the general term used for a music master¹. The flute² was fashionable at one time, but, according to the story, Alcibiades thought that flute playing was not becoming to his appearance, and his example sent it out of fashion. Plato enumerates six modes of Greek music—*Λυδιστί, μιξολυδιστί, συντονολυδιστί, Ἰαστί, Φρυγιστί, Δωριστί*. The Lydian and Ionian he condemns as soft (*μαλακαί*), the other kinds of Lydian as mournful (*θρηνωδεῖς*), whilst the Dorian and Phrygian are manly. Aristotle in criticising this decision says that the Phrygian mode was too exciting, and should have been proscribed³. Of these modes we may say, with Plato, *ταῦτα ἐς Δάμωνα ἀναβεβλήσθω*. Even to those who are well acquainted with modern music the subject of Greek music is extremely obscure, but we know that it differed widely from ours and would not be appreciated by a modern ear.

Of the songs which were taught we have not many notices: the usual subject seems to have been some incident in the national mythology, or the celebration of the praises of a goddess or a hero⁴; in the Dorian mode, which was held, by the old school at all events, to be the true national music of Greece⁵.

γραφικῆ, or drawing and painting, is spoken of by Aristotle as not being universally taught, and probably was rare in the fifth century B.C.: as to the method of teaching we have no information. From the fact that the word *ζωγραφία* is extended to painting in general we see that figure painting was the first to come into vogue, and this was chiefly confined to painting on vases: it is quite possible that only geometrical drawing was taught, except to those who intended to devote themselves to art.

§ 6. (1) EDUCATION OF CHARACTER AND MANNERS: INDIRECT EDUCATION.

What is the education of the generality of the world? Reading a parcel of books? No. Restraint of discipline, emulation, examples of virtue and justice.—BURKE.

‘Afterwards parents send their children to teachers, and bid them look after their manners more carefully than after their letters and their music⁶.’ This education of manners was carried on both at home and at school, and a certain quietness of behaviour and respect to elders (*εὐκοσμία αἰδώς*) were looked for from Greek children. They were to be ‘seen and not heard’, to walk quietly

¹ Plat. Protag. 327, Ar. Nub. 964 *εἶτα βαδίσειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς κιθαριστοῦ*.

² The Greek *αὐλός* was not identical with our ‘flute’ (*πλαγίανλος*).

³ Arist. Pol. viii. (v.) 5.

⁴ Ar. Nub. 966 *εἴτ’ αὖ προμαθεῖν ἀσμ’ ἐδίδασκεν . . . | ἡ Πάλλαδα περσεῖτολιν δεινὰν ἡ Τηλέπορον τι βόαμα*.

⁵ Ibid. *τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἣν οἱ πατέρες παρέδωκαν*. Cf. Plat. Laches 188 D *Ἑλληνικῆ ἁρμονία*.

⁶ Plat. Protag. 326.

⁷ Ar. Nub. 963 *πρῶτον μὲν εἶδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρίξαντος μηδὲν ἀκούσαι*.

in the streets¹, to stand up in the presence of elders², not to contradict their parents, or to call their father 'Iapetus' (Old Father Time)³. Then there were rules prescribed for eating⁴, what dishes to eat, and which hand to use in eating. When they had reached the stage of early manhood they were not to consider themselves the equals of their elders: in Sparta men under thirty did not enter the agora, and at Athens there prevailed a feeling against their making themselves conspicuous in the agora or the law courts⁵.

Good parents no doubt were anxious for the morality of their children, but we hear little of the influence of the mother, and this is the natural consequence of the position of women in Greece. There were dangers, as we have seen, in the gymnasium and the palaestra, with which the law attempted to deal, but apparently in vain. Care had to be taken in the choice of a γραμματιστής, and even more in selecting a παιδαγωγός, with whom the boy was naturally brought into close contact⁶. In some cases the law stepped in to aid morality: in the prohibition of loiterers in the gymnasia, in certain regulations about the hours of opening and closing schools, and the age and minimum number of pupils⁷, and in disqualifying from public life those who had been guilty of immoral practices⁸. Plato compares the state to a writing-master tracing out the laws for the guidance of the young⁹; but we have unfortunately only too much evidence to show that in the direction of morality the sanction of law was inadequate, whilst the sanction of religion did not operate at all.

In the general formation of character we can see the effect of several Greek institutions. The theatre was a powerful moral agent¹⁰, uniting in a way the power of the pulpit and of the stage; the influence of politics came more home to a greater proportion of Greeks than is possible in a large state: a young man could hardly avoid contact with the ecclesia and dikasteries of a democratically governed city. On the aesthetic side there were numerous festivals, splendid temples and an art developed under their shadow, such as contributed to make Athens the 'school of Greece'¹¹.

¹ Ar. Nub. 964, quoted above, p. 12, note 1. Cf. Plut. Ed. Puer.

² Ibid. 990 καὶ τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι προσιοῦσιν.

³ Ibid. 998 μὴδ' ἀντειπεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μὴδέν, μὴδ' Ἰάπετον καλέσαντα | μνησικακήσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν.

⁴ Plut. Ed. Puer. 7, Ar. Nub. 981-3.

⁵ Plut. Lycurg. 8, Isocr. Areopag. 202 complains of a change in this.

⁶ Plut. Ed. Puer. 7, Terent. Andr. i. 1. 24, Plaut. Bacch. iii. 1. and passim.

⁷ Aesch. Timarch. §§ 34, 35 πρῶτον ἐνομοθέτησαν περὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης τῶν παιδῶν τοῖς διδασκάλοις ἀπιστῶν φαίνεται ὁ νομοθέτης.

⁸ Ibid. § 48 ἐὰν ἐταιρήσῃ ἢ κωπορνευμένος ἦ.

⁹ Prot. 326.

¹⁰ Lucian, Anach. 22 καὶ ἐς τὸ θέατρον συνάγοντες αὐτοὺς δημοσίᾳ παιδεύομεν.

¹¹ Thuc. ii. 41 ξυνελάν τε λέγω τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν Ἑλλάδος παιδεύειν εἶναι. Cf. Isocr. Antidosis 295 ἄστῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

§ 7. EDUCATION IN GREEK STATES OTHER THAN ATHENS.

Our attention is so much fixed on Athens and Athenian life that we are apt to forget the existence of other Greek states: this arises partly from the superiority of Athens in art and culture, in statesmanship and oratory; partly from the paucity of materials which survive to throw light on the condition of other parts of Greece. Yet, though Athens gives us the best type, because it gives us the highest development¹ of Greek education, we must remember that the Athenians were but a small proportion of the population of Greece, and that though there was a certain similarity² between the systems of education prevailing in Greece, there were also considerable differences, and even startling contrasts. The most startling contrast to Athens in this as in other points was presented by Sparta. Sparta complied with Aristotle's axiom that the educational system of a state must be relative to its polity³, and the aim of the Spartan polity was excellence in war⁴; the leisure (σχολή) which others might employ in culture or philosophy was to the Spartan only an interval between two campaigns. At Athens there was indeed some military training, because Athenian armies, in common with those of every Greek state, were citizen armies; but it was the boast of Pericles that the burden was a light one, not interfering seriously with the general training or ordinary pursuits of a young citizen⁵, whilst as the result the Athenian soldier was no less brave than his Peloponnesian adversary. An Athenian youth (ἐφηβος) served for a short time, after reaching the age of sixteen or thereabouts, in the frontier guard (περίπολοι)⁶, which occupied the fortresses in the North of Attica, but did not engage in actual battle. They were subject to drill and discipline, but there was no very exacting system of training; the ἐφηβοί as a class do not appear till after the Peloponnesian War, and then they soon change their military character. But to return to Sparta: we saw that efficiency in war was the great aim, and we soon perceive that to secure this no interference with individual liberties or tastes was thought too harsh. It was this thorough supervision by the state that won the admiration of Plato and Aristotle⁷. At the head of the educational system was the παιδόνομος⁸, whose powers were extremely wide:

¹ οἷον ἕκαστόν ἐστι τῆς γενεᾶς τελεσθείσης, τοιαύτην φασιν εἶναι τὴν φύσιν (Ar. Pol. i. 2).

² Theophr. Char. prooem. πάντων ὁμοίως πεπαιδευμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

³ Ar. Pol. viii. (v.) ἰ δεῖ πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν παιδεύεσθαι.

⁴ Ibid. ii. τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο μὲν πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλοντο δὲ εἰρημεύοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι σχολάζειν. Müller (Dorians) claims that τὸ εὐκοσμον generally was their aim.

⁵ Thuc. ii. 39 καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπύθω ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἤσσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν.

⁶ Demosth. in Conon. gives a picture of the life among the περίπολοι.

⁷ See esp. Ar. Eth. x. 10. 13: except in Sparta a man lives ὡς βούλεται Κυκλωπικῶς θεμιστεύων παιδῶν ἢ δ' ἀλόχων.

⁸ Xen. de Rep. Lac. ii. ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἀντὶ τοῦ μὲν ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον παιδαγωγὸς δούλους ἐπιστάται ἀνδρᾶ ἐπέστησε κρατεῖν αὐτῶν . . . ὃς δὲ καὶ παιδόνομος καλεῖται τούτων δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀβροῖζειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα εἰ τις βραδουργοῖη κολάζειν

and he was provided with a staff of assistants called *σωφρονισταί* and *μαστιγόφοροι*. The life of the new-born infant was decided, we are told, not by the father, as elsewhere in Greece, but by a council of elders¹; at the age of seven the child was taken from its parents and put under regular public education (*ἀγωγή*); boys were distributed into *ἀγέλαι* or bands, and played and lived and were trained together. Letters were taught as a concession (*ἕνεκα χρείας*), but the rest of the education consisted in strict discipline and physical training. At the age of twelve this discipline became stricter², and so they entered on regular military service. Lycurgus, says Xenophon³, saw the value of the spirit of rivalry among the young; so the Ephors appointed three *ἱπαγρέται*, and each of these chose out one hundred *ἐφηβοί* as an honour, and those who were not chosen could challenge those who had been, and if successful could take their places. The Spartans did not neglect gymnastics, though they did not permit boxing and the pancratium; and they supplemented it by hunting, which was easily indulged in among the coverts of Taygetus. Music seems to have been cultivated at Sparta, especially the Dorian mode, to which, we may believe with Milton⁴, they marched into battle. Of education elsewhere in Greece we know next to nothing. We have already seen evidence for the existence of schools at Chios, Mycalessus and Astypalaea, and there is no doubt that they existed all over Greece, except perhaps in Aetolia and Acarnania. Naturally the extent of education varied with the character of the country and the life of the people; in a state like Elis, where country life prevailed, we should look for less culture than at Corinth or Aegina. Thebes had a reputation for stupidity and ignorance⁵, and Aeschines tells us of some Thebans who sent their sons to Athens, not being satisfied with their own schools.

The Arcadians, if we may trust Polybius, distinguished themselves by a singular zeal for music, due in that historian's opinion to the necessity of finding some cultivated pursuit which would counteract the rudeness and barbarity arising from the nature of their country and the inclemency of their climate⁶. Accordingly with them ignorance of music was made a subject of censure, though ignorance of anything else was easily pardoned⁷. And Polybius adds that the Cynaethi, who were Arcadians by race, differed from them in having more barbarous manners, and he attributes this difference to their neglect of musical studies.

¹ Plut. Lycurg. 16 τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι.

² Ib. διετέλουσιν ἀνευ χιτῶνος.

³ Xen. de Rep. Lac. iv.

⁴ Par. Lost, 'In solemn phalanx to the Dorian mood of flutes and soft recorders.'

⁵ Plut. de Herod. Malign. 31 (ἀγροικία καὶ μισολογία).

⁶ Hist. iv. xxi. 1' θεωροῦντες τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν αὐστηρίαν ἥτις αὐτοῖς παρέπεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ στεγνότητα τὴν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχουσαν, ᾧ ἐπινομοιοῦσθαι πεφύκαμεν πάντες ἄνθρωποι κατ' ἀνάγκην.

⁷ Ibid. iv. xx. 11 καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀρνηθῆναι τὸ μὴ γινώσκειν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἡγούσιναι· τὴν γε μὴν φῶδὴν οὐτ' ἀρνηθῆναι δύνανται, διὰ τὸ κατ' ἀνάγκην πάντας μανθάνειν

§ 8. FEMALE EDUCATION.

'Nunquam aliud natura aliud sapientia dicit.'—JUVENAL.

One of the most striking differences between the Greece of Homer and the Greece of Euripides is in the position of women. In the place of Andromache we have some nameless and unnoticed housewife¹, or—at once a consequence and a contrast—a brilliant Aspasia. In general, girls must have received what instruction they got from their nurses and their mothers; for them to go to school out of the house would have been thought indecorous. The Hetaerae enjoyed greater freedom, and in some cases obtained a 'higher education' by conversations with philosophers or poets, as probably did Aspasia by her intercourse with Anaxagoras and Pericles.

We hear of no gymnastic training for Athenian women; but the participation of maidens, if not of married women, in the Spartan palaestra was a remarkable feature in their system. They exercised in the presence of young men², and in a state of *γυμνότης*, though what is denoted by that is a matter of dispute³. They practised not only running, but wrestling, and, according to Pausanias, there existed at Olympia a representation of a Spartan woman (Cynisca) competing in a chariot race. To this training was partly due the large stature and good physique of Spartan women⁴.

Other instances of women taking part in gymnastic are found at Elis and Chios; and the maidens of Corcyra imitated Nausicaa in playing at ball⁵.

§ 9. HIGHER EDUCATION: (a) THE SOPHISTS AND RHETORS.

ἐπειθον καὶ κατηγοροῦν ἐμοῦ οὐδὲν ἀληθές, ὡς ἐστὶ τις Σακράτης σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστῆς, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς πάντα ἀνεζητηκῶς καὶ τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιῶν. —PLATO, *Apologia*, 18 B.

Powerful satire may sometimes be mistaken for history, and the mistake is more easily made when the satire is evidently earnest, and there is little else to guide us. Few satires have ever been written, none perhaps have ever been put on the stage, which excel in brilliancy and bitterness the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. The aim of the play is to ridicule and attack Socrates and the Sophists, or rather the Sophists as personified by Socrates. In the eyes of Aristophanes and the conservatives of the day, Socrates

¹ Thuc. ii. 45 τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χεῖροσι γενέσθαι μεγάλη ὑμῖν ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ.

² Plut. Lyc. 14 οὐδὲν ἦπον εἶθισε τὰς γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ ὀχεῖσθαι καὶ ᾄδειν τῶν νέων παρόντων.

³ Plat. Rep. viii. seems to have understood it as nakedness. Roman writers translate it by 'nudus.' Cf. Prop. iii. 14. 3 'inter luctantes nuda puella viros.'

⁴ Cf. Lampito, Arist. *Lysistrata*.

⁵ Athenaeus.

was the most prominent exponent of the new critical and individualistic school of thought; a school which was unsatisfied with the national mythology and accepted tradition, and which, whilst aiming at success in practical life, was reckless of morality and truth, if indeed it allowed their existence. That Aristophanes identified Socrates with the Sophists need not surprise us; they had much in common, and their points of difference were for the most part the least obvious and superficial; to the average Athenian Socrates was probably the most remarkable and eccentric of the Sophists; just as to the average Jew a greater than Socrates was but one of the Scribes and Pharisees¹, though the few could discern that he taught 'with authority.' We, however, know in what way Socrates differed from the Sophists, and how unjust to him it was that he should be caricatured as taking fees from his pupils², and devoting himself to physical science³, or as 'corrupting youth' by inculcating Atheism⁴, and by teaching them to sacrifice truth to success⁵. And our certainty that Aristophanes was wrong in identifying Socrates with the Sophists might lead us to suspect his picture of the sophistic teaching, even were we to acquit him of wilful exaggeration.

We need not here enter into the controversy which has raged round the words Sophist and σοφιστική: we have only to trace the effect of the Sophists on Greek education. They undertook to give more advanced instruction than the γραμματισταί offered; they taught for money⁶, and sometimes their fees were very high, and could only be afforded by the rich⁷. Many of them were strict about their fees, and insisted upon their being paid in advance; thus Isocrates is able to laugh at them for mistrusting their own teaching of virtue, since they would not trust for their fees the pupils whom they had undertaken to teach virtue⁸. Protagoras followed a different practice, allowing his pupils to pay whatever they thought his instruction was worth⁹. The comparison now frequently drawn between the Sophists and the crammers of our own day is in many respects a just one; with the development of political and social life at Athens, public speaking in the courts and the Assembly became of great importance, and the old education was felt to be inadequate. The Sophists came forward to fill the gap; they taught rhetoric for the manner of the speeches, and ordinary subjects to supply the matter. New theories were in the air: the Sophists could put a man in possession of the very newest ideas. Generally they travelled about Greece, staying for

¹ This point is well brought out by the author of 'Ecce Homo.'

² Nub. 97 οὔτοι διδάσκουσ', ἀργύριον ἦν τις διδῶ, λέγοντα νικᾶν.

³ Ibid. 225 ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν Ἥλιον.

⁴ Ibid. 367 ποῖος Ζεὺς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις· οὐκ ἔστι Ζεὺς: 247 θεοὶ | ἡμῖν νόμισμ' οὐκ ἔστι.

⁵ Ibid. 316 οὐράναι Νεφέλαι, μεγάλαι θεαὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς | αἵπερ γνῶμην καὶ διάλεξιν καὶ νοῦν ἡμῖν παρέχουσιν | καὶ τερατεῖαν καὶ περίλεξιν καὶ κροῦσιν καὶ κατάληψιν.

⁶ Plat. Rep. i. Thrasymachus is made to say ἀλλὰ δὲς ἀργύριον.

⁷ Plut. de Ed. Puer. 7.

⁸ Isocrates, κατὰ Σοφιστῶν § 7.

⁹ Plat. Prot. 328.

short periods at different places; sometimes they got their pupils to follow them about. They were a profession with many ideas and tendencies in common, but not in any sense a school: on the metaphysical side different sophists held widely divergent views, though their general tendency was sceptical. In morals they maintained the 'conventional' theory: 'fire burns both here and in Persia,' but morality is the creation of νόμος. In spite of this they were practically sound, as we see in Prodicus' moral work—the Choice of Hercules. The name σοφιστής was not generally one of contempt: long afterwards it was revived to designate the chief educational post at Athens. If they did not pander to public opinion, they did not rise above it: in this way they have been well compared to a modern newspaper, which, while wishing to improve the public mind, has to consider its circulation. Plato confesses that society is the great sophist: the σοφιστής suits his opinions to society: his σοφία is a knowledge of the varying moods of that 'great Leviathan,' the people¹. The objection to them felt by Plato and Socrates was partly the taking of money: partly their method of cramming² as opposed to sound and rational education. Isocrates, himself a philosophic rhetorician, gives us his views in his speech 'Against the Sophists,' where he attacks three classes of them³.—(1) The Eristic sophists (οἱ περὶ τὰς ἐρίδας διατρίβοντες), who promise more than they can perform, professing to impart absolute knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) to their pupils. (2) The teachers of political discourse (οἱ τοὺς πολιτικούς λόγους ὑπισχνούμενοι), who train men for public life. They do not aim at truth, but profess to impart an ἐπιστήμη λόγων and make men rhetors without taking account either of natural gifts (φύσις) or experience (ἐμπειρία). In reality a speech is a work of creation (ποιητικὸν πρᾶγμα) demanding imagination and originality—not merely mechanical (τεταγμένη τέχνη) give a man all the rules in the world, he may not be able to apply them to the particular case. (3) The writers of regular treatises on rhetoric, like Korax and Tisius in Sicily (οἱ τὰς τέχνας γράψαντες): such men teach litigiousness and greed (πολυπραγμοσύνη and πλεονεξία), not justice: for there is no system (τέχνη) which can make the bad man just.

The early Sophists were teachers of things in general: they taught with the object of enabling their pupils to attain success in life, and success at this period was usually obtained by effective speaking. Thus rhetoric became the most important feature of their teaching: it was to this branch that Gorgias specially devoted himself, whilst Protagoras was more a political, and Prodicus an ethical teacher. Both Protagoras and Gorgias treated metaphysical questions, and we have preserved to us their dicta on the impossibility of knowledge in general and of the knowledge of the

¹ Plat. Rep. 492 C.

² Ibid. 518 C φασί που οὐκ ἐνούσης ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπιστήμης σφεῖς ἐντίθεναι—whereas education is a περιαγωγή.

³ Isocrates, κατὰ τῶν Σοφιστῶν §§ 1-17.

existence of gods in particular¹. In pursuing these problems they paid attention to logic, then in its infancy, and at the mercy of every verbal quibble.

After the first generation of Sophists we get a division of labour among the professors of higher education: on the one hand we have the school of rhetoric with a master like Isocrates; on the other, the school of philosophy under a Plato or a Speusippus. We will see what Isocrates tells us of his own theory of culture (*φιλοσοφία*) in one of his so-called 'speeches'².

He starts from the same point at which he left off in his speech against the Sophists: no art can make good men out of the *κακῶς πεφυκότες*, but still men may improve themselves if they are ambitious and wish to speak well and persuade an audience, for they will choose noble themes, and will themselves be influenced by them: in short 'the professor of persuasion will cultivate virtue because virtue is persuasive'³: his *εἰκότα* and *τεκμήρια* are only good for a single occasion, but a good reputation is always valuable. (Isocrates forgets, we may remark, to notice that it is the reputation for virtue, not the virtue itself, which would be of use in this way.) Some men, he continues (§ 285), think philosophy useless, meaning by it the *τερατολογία* of the early philosophers (*σοφισταί*), and forgetting its practical and political side: 'and you' (turning to the Athenian public) 'keep your sons away from the best education, and so they spend their time in drinking bouts and useless amusements and the excitement of gambling-hells (*σκιραφεῖα*), or even in the training-schools of the *αὐλήτριδες*, and thus they lose all self-restraint, whereas a man must govern himself before he can govern his own household or his fellow-citizens.' 'Men, too, are inconsistent (291) in admiring those who are good speakers by nature, and condemning those who make themselves good speakers by study. The latter are really the most praiseworthy: it is this *παιδεία* which most distinguishes Hellenes from barbarians: more especially is Athens the school of the orator, giving the greatest prizes and affording the best opportunities⁴. The language of Athens is most widespread; among its citizens there is more versatility (*εὐτραπελία*) and culture (*φιλολογία*): for you to condemn education would be as absurd as for the Spartans to condemn war: it would be treason to the national idea—to that idea which by the results it has brought forth causes men to say that Athens is the only city in Greece; other aggregates of men are but villages.'

The salient feature of the system proposed by Isocrates is that, though by no means a narrow one, it subordinates everything to proficiency in speaking⁵. He would wish his pupils to be both

¹ E. g. *περὶ θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι εἶτε εἰσὶν, εἶτε μή*, and 'Nothing can be known: if it were known it could not be communicated.'

² *περὶ ἀντιδοσίας* §§ 270-302 (written in 353 B. C.).

³ Jebb, *Selections from Attic Orators*, p. 256.

⁴ *πάντων τῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἢ παιδεύειν ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλος.*

⁵ Cf. Quintilian, *post.*

virtuous and well informed, but the virtue is to add weight to his words, and the information is to supply material for his speeches, and to prevent him from falling into mistakes in them. Isocrates' scheme of education would have tended to produce orators like himself: and Isocrates, we can see from his numerous remaining works, reached the height of diffuseness and artificiality in rhetoric. By the smoothness and symmetry of his clauses, by the studied combination of sounds and avoidance of hiatus, by the arrangement of his transitions, Isocrates elaborated a style more artificial than any of his predecessors in Greece and more forcibly opposed to the greater naturalness and simplicity of modern eloquence. Isocrates aimed at political, not at juristic, eloquence; but it is only as a rhetorician, not as a politician or an orator, that he survives.

Isocrates appears to have given a regular course of teaching, and to have attracted pupils from all parts of Greece; in fact he formed a school somewhat analogous to the schools of philosophy which became so prominent at Athens in the fourth century before Christ.

§ 10. HIGHER EDUCATION: (β) THE SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

'Within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages: his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there and painted Stoa next.'—MILTON, *Parad. Reg.* iv.

Before the time of Plato the teaching of philosophy was fragmentary and irregular: one or other of the Sophists might indeed devote a whole course of lectures to philosophy, but they taught many subjects besides, and they wandered about Greece from city to city. Socrates confined his teaching to Athens, but not to any one spot: he preferred to avail himself, as opportunity offered, of the gymnasium¹, the banquet², the casual meeting in the street³, for the exercise of his 'maieutic' art. And, in a sense, his teaching was unsystematic: or rather the system lay in the method, not in the subject, of his teaching. Socrates received no fees, partook of no endowment, was under no state regulation except that vague prohibition, which ultimately caused his ruin, against preaching a new religion and corrupting youth. From this 'voluntary system' we can trace a gradual approach to a regular course of study in established schools.

The first step was the choice of a locality. Plato made the Academy, one of the three gymnasia of Athens, his haunt; Antisthenes taught first in the Cynosarges, then in the Stoa; Aristotle settled upon the Lyceum. Next came the formation of an endowment. Plato's successors apparently forsook the doctrine of their master—that teaching for money was 'simony,' and the fees of pupils formed a regular source of income. These were suppl-

¹ As in the *Lysis*.

² Plato, *Symposium*.

³ *Republic*.

mented by gifts and bequests from pupils or patrons of the schools, and with the growth of the endowment the school naturally secured a greater prospect of permanence. Plato is said to have nominated Speusippus as his successor (*διάδοχος*) and to have left to him the land which he had secured close to the Academy. The heads of this and of the other schools were called Scholarchs: in some cases they seem to have been nominated by their predecessors, in others to have been elected by the pupils, or at least by some of their number: in later times they were even nominated by the Areopagus. Each school maintained its own doctrines, or rather the doctrines of its founder, with very slight development, if indeed they altered them at all: Antisthenes and Aristotle, both of them pupils of the great master of the Academy, establish schools of their own when they find their doctrines in divergence from his.

It was from these philosophical schools that there developed under Roman rule an endowed and State-regulated professoriate, which has been named by some writers the 'University of Athens.' There were several different chairs established and endowed by the Emperors, and the highest post of all was that of the 'Sophist,' the name thus vindicating itself from the aspersions of Plato¹. To this seat of learning pupils came in great numbers from Rome, as they were already doing in the days of Cicero and Horace². Something is known, chiefly from Libanius, of the life of the students: they had their lectures and their gowns, their clubs and their literary discussions³, their rivalries and riots, their contempt for 'freshmen.' The subjects most generally taught were rhetoric and philosophy: arid and barren commentaries on old philosophers, diffuse and useless rhetoric: for the age of Athenian inspiration was gone, and amidst the temples and groves of Athens a generation that was 'too superstitious' was perpetually seeking in vain to hear 'some new thing'⁴.

Amongst other centres of learning Alexandria was pre-eminent. Splendidly equipped with libraries, situated in the meeting place of nations, it was cosmopolitan to a greater extent than Athens; it became the home of research and of minute criticism; it developed a school to which we can trace much that is harsh and obscure and pedantic in Roman poetry. To Alexandria we owe

¹ I found in April, 1885, the following inscription in the recently excavated temple at Eleusis—it is cut on a round altar:—

ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑΣ
Ο ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΚΗΡΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘΕΔΡΑΣ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣ
ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΞΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΣ.

² Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 43 'adiecere bonae paullo plus artis Athenae.'

³ Aulus Gellius (xviii. 2) gives us an account of a supper among students at Athens at which many points of useless erudition were discussed; e.g. the meaning of 'frustrari' in Ennius, what poet uses 'verant,' the tense of 'scripserim,' 'venerim.' The title of Gellius's work is *Noctes Atticae*, i. e. literary work done by Athenian 'midnight oil.'

⁴ 'For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.'—*Acts*. xvii. 21. For a fuller account of Athenian University life and an ingenious comparison with modern Universities, I may refer to Mr. Capes' work, entitled *University Life in Ancient Athens*.

the classification of studies into the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and the Quadrivium (arithmetic, music, astronomy, geometry).

After Alexandria, Rhodes was perhaps the most frequented of eastern centres of education. Tiberius in his retirement availed himself of the rhetorical instruction for which it was especially celebrated. In the West, Massilia kept alive its Greek traditions and Greek culture, in the midst of a non-Hellenic population, and we hear of young men of family being sent thither from Rome in the time of Cicero.

From this inadequate sketch of later education in Greece let us turn to examine the views of the great educational theorists of Greece.

§ II. GREEK THEORIES ABOUT EDUCATION

καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων γνωσέως καὶ ἀληθείας ἄλλο κάλλιον ἔτι τούτων ἡγούμενος ὀρθῶς ἡγήσατο.—PLAIO, *Rep.* 508 E.

For theories about education, as for theories in politics or metaphysics, we naturally turn to the master minds of Greece, to Plato and to Aristotle. Earlier thinkers had left isolated utterances, like Heraclitus¹, or gathered round them followers, like Pythagoras, with a *τρόπος βίου* to be followed by those that came after; indeed the Pythagorean brotherhoods were more than a dream; they became real institutions in the Greek cities of Southern Italy, societies in which asceticism was mingled with aristocratic exclusiveness, societies for 'plain living and high thinking,' not untinged with mysticism. Others too after Aristotle's day wrote upon education. Plutarch's work on the subject has come down to us, and is characterized by good sense and moral earnestness. His aim is practical; he does not take flight to the regions of Platonic theory, but he lays due stress on many important truths: on the influence of habit², the care needed in choosing companions and *παιδαγωγοί*³, on the true end of education⁴, the effect of praise and blame in discipline⁵, the duty of parents to their children⁶, on the caution needed in dealing with young men at the critical period of life⁷, on the training of the memory⁸, and the possibility of overdoing gymnastic exercises⁹. In all this Plutarch shows great insight into the practical principles and difficulties of education; but for some more ideal creation for the education of the State which, if not feasible here on earth, has nevertheless its

¹ ὕβριν χρῆ σβεννύειν μᾶλλον ἢ πυρκαϊήν. πολτμαθιη νόον οὐ διδάσκει.

² De Educ. iii. τὰς ἠθικὰς ἀρετὰς ἔθικὰς ὅν τις λέγων οὐκ ὄν πλημμελεῖν τι δόξειεν.

³ Ibid. v. he quotes the proverb ἂν χωλῶ παροικίῃς ὑποσκάζων μαθήσῃ.

⁴ I e. ἀρετῇ (ch. vii.), which is independent of fortune. πόλεμος οὐ λαφυραγωγεῖ ἀρετήν (Stilpo).

⁵ Ibid. ch. xi.

⁶ Ibid. xii. Parents should be αὐτοπναι καὶ αὐτήκοοι μυθήσεων, as far as possible.

⁷ Ibid. xiv.

⁸ Ch. xii. μνήμη παιδείας ταμείον.

⁹ Ch. x. ὕπνοι καὶ κοποὶ μαθήμασι πολέμων.

παράδειγμα laid up in heaven, we must turn to the pages of the Republic.

There we find two schemes of education, a lower and a higher, one ordinary, the other philosophic. The former is a development of the common Greek education in *γυμναστική* and *μουσική*¹; the latter is Plato's own creation, depending on and interwoven with his own philosophic ideas. We may first notice that Plato insists, not in one place but in fifty places, on the vast importance of education², especially in the young³, and its undue neglect at Athens⁴, where people rush off to a *σοφιστής* to get themselves or their sons educated, not knowing what manner of man he may be; and neither the sophist nor the pupil knows which of his educational wares is good, and which is bad. For this there is one remedy—education must be made a state question; the educators must be duly qualified and selected, the studies prescribed, the children regarded as belonging to the State rather than to their parents⁵. Education in Plato's view should begin, so to speak, before birth; the guardian must not only train up the children that are born, he must regulate marriage with a view to the production of the best possible offspring⁶, and deformed or unhealthy children must be destroyed. In the latter recommendation Plato did not go beyond the practice of Greek states, but the regulation of marriages and community of children, with the *ἰδαρίας φιλίας* resulting from universal relationship, was alien to a country where the bonds of family had been strongly cemented by religious sentiment and observance⁷. Yet, though we see that Plato was here misled by the analogy of animals, from which he also starts in dealing with women⁸, we feel that he has grasped a truth which is not always realised in modern times, though now it is again receiving emphasis from the doctrine of heredity—the truth that it is a crime willingly by reckless marriages to perpetuate misery, and disease, and vice.

In pursuance of the plan of community there must be public nurses⁹ and a public *crèche*. Early nurture is to last to the age of six or thereabouts, and this time is one of infinite importance, trivial as it seems in detail¹⁰. It was in the nursery, according to Plato, that the minds of Greek children were corrupted by the tales told them by their nurses, and by the stories out of Homer and the old poets about Gods and heroes, about death and the

¹ Rep. 376 *τίς οὐν ἡ παιδεία; ἢ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν βελτίω τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ χρόνου εὐρημένης.*

² Ibid. 519. It may change the *δεινότης* of the *δριμύ ψυχάριον* into *φρόνησις*, Laws 766. On it depends whether a man is *ἀγριώτατος* or *θειώτατος*. Cf. Tim. 87, Alcib. i. 122, Euthyd. 306, etc.

³ Rep. 377 *μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται καὶ ἐνδύεται ὁ τυπὸς δι' ἃν τις βούληται ἐνοσημῆσθαι.* Cf. Laws 804, 808.

⁴ Protag. 313

⁵ Laws 804.

⁶ Rep. 456–462.

⁷ Cp. the belief in inherited family curses, and the horror at the dying out of a family, due to the worship of ancestors by their real or supposed descendants.

⁸ Rep. 451.

⁹ Ibid. 461–2.

¹⁰ Laws i. 643. Right training in the nursery is the most important part of education.

world beyond. All this must be changed: ἐπιστατητέον τοῖς μυθοποιοῖς¹. The nursery tales of the future must instil courage and self-control; they must speak no falsehood about the nature of God, and the criterion of truth will not be historical accuracy, but consistency or inconsistency with the Divine attributes of truthfulness and perfection². The picture of the future life must be repainted, or how can they help fearing death? the οἶκία σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα—the κωκυτοὶ καὶ στῆγες καὶ ἔνεροι καὶ ἀλίβαντες must disappear³. We cannot allow Homer to represent Priam and Achilles as giving way to excessive grief⁴.

During this period (if we may read some of the instructions given in the Laws into the system of the Republic) exercise should not be neglected; at first children should be carried about by their nurses⁵; then from three to six there should be sports held in common for both sexes⁶.

From the age of six or seven to that of ten gymnastics must be practised. But it is a mistake to think that gymnastic is only for the body; it is for the soul as well⁷. Those who do not go beyond gymnastic become rough and harsh, those who neglect it become effeminate; gymnastic is wanted to develop properly the spirited part of the soul (τὸ θυμοειδές). Plato does not lay down minute regulations about gymnastic, for 'the soul can look after the body'⁸. The regimen of the professional athlete must be avoided as tending too much to sleep and idleness, but luxury and excessive indulgence of any kind must be avoided too; in this way 'invalidism' (νοσοτροφία) and the medical profession will be got rid of. The care of the body can easily be exaggerated, and a headache is often made an excuse for shelving a lesson in philosophy⁹. Gymnastic exercises must be supplemented by dancing, hunting, and contests¹⁰, regulated on the same principles and with the same view, and, if possible, the young should witness a military engagement, and receive their 'baptism of blood' at an early age¹¹.

After this training has been undergone for two or three years¹², there will begin a course of study in reading and writing, poetry and music, lasting about six years. All the regulations about nursery tales apply equally to the poetry which is to be studied later; with all possible reverence for Homer we cannot allow his poems in the State which we are founding. Epic poetry, however, consists only partially in imitation; tragedy and comedy are exclusively imitative, and imitation has a subtle influence on character¹³. No youth must be allowed to imitate a woman, or a man

¹ Rep. 377 B ὁ γὰρ νέος οὐχ οὐὶς τε κρίνειν ὅ τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὅ τι μή.

² Hence the three νόμοι παιδείας. Rep. 397-383. (α) God is the author of good only. (β) The Gods, being perfect, never change their forms. (γ) Being true, they do not deceive us.

³ Rep. 386-7.

⁴ Ibid. 388.

⁵ Laws 790

⁶ Ibid. 793.

⁷ Rep. 410 C.

⁸ Ibid. 404.

⁹ Ibid. 407.

¹⁰ Rep. 412 B χοροίαι, θῆραι, κνημησιαί, γυμνικὸι ἀγῶνες.

¹¹ Ibid. 467

¹² Apparently gymnastic training is not to cease at ten, but to continue contemporaneously with other studies.

¹³ Rep. 395 D αἱ μῆσεις εἰς ἔθη τε καὶ φύσιν καθίστανται.

in anger or trouble, or a slave; tragedy must be placed under the strictest surveillance. So much for style (*λέξις*); rhythms and harmonies, or modes, must also be suited to a state in which a man acts one part, not many¹, and they must be consistent with the subject matter. Only two modes will be allowed to remain, the Dorian and the Phrygian.

Simplicity is to be the aim of this side of education; on it depend grace, and harmony, and good rhythm². The education is not complete till the pupil can recognise, wherever they may meet him, the forms of the great virtues: of self-control, and courage, and generosity³. The proper balance of the soul will have been attained: the appetite will be under the control of reason, and the spirit will be enlisted on the side of the higher faculty. The object of this education is plainly a training of character; little is heard of the development of the intellect in the early years of life.

This education is not to be confined to one sex. The analogy of dogs suggests to us the fact that women have the same uses as man, and must therefore share the same education⁴. This principle must be applied even to gymnastics; we must not shrink from seeing women in the gymnasia—‘*honi soit qui mal y pense.*’ The difference between men and women is one not of kind but of degree; whatever a man can do a woman can do, though less effectively⁵.

If in his primary education Plato emphasizes the training of character, his scheme of philosophic study is not only intellectual, but of the most abstract kind. When the conclusion has been arrived at that philosophers must be kings in the ideal state, the question arises, Who is the philosopher, and what training must the philosophic nature undergo? The answer given by the Platonic philosopher is that the philosopher is a lover of knowledge, especially of true existence (*τὸ ὄν*), a man who can recognise the *ιδέα* in its manifestations, who is unsatisfied with the particulars and seeks for unity in the world of realities; especially does he yearn for the *ιδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*, which is to the world of knowledge what the sun is to the physical world. Such a character is both easily corrupted and hard to produce, and can only be formed by a course of study which draws the soul up to the world of reality⁶. Music and gymnastic will no longer avail; they are of the earth, earthy.

The simplest study which stimulates reason (*τῶν πρὸς νόησιν ἀγόντων*) is the science of number; then follows geometry. Plain geometry is in turn followed by geometry of three dimensions, astronomy, and harmonics. These are the *προοίμια*, the preliminary

¹ Rep. 397 E ἐπειδὴ ἕκαστος ἐν πράττει—οὐ διπλοῦς οὐδὲ πολλαπλοῦς.

² Ibid. 400 D εὐλογία καὶ εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ εὐαρμοστία καὶ εὐρυθμία.

³ Ibid. 402 C οὕτως οὐδὲ μουσικοὶ ἐσόμεθα πρὶν ἂν τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης εἶδη καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ ἐλευθεριότητος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ πανταχοῦ περιφερόμενο γνωρίζωμεν.

⁴ Rep. 451.

⁵ Ibid. 456 D πάντων μετέχει γυνή ἐπιτηδευμάτων κατὰ φύσιν, πάντων δὲ ἀνὴρ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀσθενέστερον γυνή.

⁶ Ibid. 521 D ὁλκὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν.

training; these studies must not be taken up, as they usually are, in an utilitarian spirit, or superficially and empirically; our labour will be spent in vain if we learn arithmetic in the spirit of a shop-keeper (*καπηλικῶς*), or think that we are astronomers when we gaze at the stars¹, or if we 'use our ears instead of our reason' in studying harmonics². When these sciences have been mastered we may proceed to the crowning science of dialectic, which Plato describes, with a wealth of metaphor, as a release from bondage, a turning away from shadows—a study without which a man is still in a dream³. Dialectic goes to the first principle of things, doing away with all hypotheses; and the dialectician, and he alone, can give an account of the essence of every kind of being⁴.

Care must be taken in selecting those who are to receive this education; they must be young when they begin the course, and sound in body and mind⁵, freedom must be allowed in education, for no study will bear fruit if it is pursued against the grain⁶. Nor is the study of dialectic without its dangers—young men just fresh from their first lesson in it behave like puppies and show their new teeth by biting each other⁷. The complete course of education will then be this. *προπαιδεία* till seventeen, then three years of gymnastic; following this comes ten years' study of the sciences, in order that their correlation may be grasped⁸. Those who succeed in this are to study dialectic for five years, and then must join in the practical work of life for fifteen years; after the age of fifty they may resume their contemplations, striving to penetrate still further into that world of reality where alone they can find light to guide them through this world of blurred images and indistinct shadows.

Plato's second scheme is thus bound up with his philosophical views; the true philosopher is the man who excels in abstract thought by which alone the *ιδέαι* can be grasped; therefore education must be abstract. In the *Laws* his discussion of the subject becomes again more general; it will suffice to notice the features which he emphasizes. Education must be public and compulsory; the minister of education will be one of the most important officers of the state⁹. 'Special' education is unworthy of the name; real education is a training in virtue from youth upwards¹⁰, qualifying a man to be a good ruler and a good subject. We must begin with quite young children, and must utilise their perceptions of pleasure and pain, the two

¹ Rep. 529. The stars must only be used as *προβλήματα* and *παρδείγματα*: the real object of study is *τὸ ἐν τάχως καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδύτης*.

² Ibid. 531 *τὰ ἄτι τοῦ νοῦ προστησάμενοι*. The real problem is to discover *τινες ἐμφωνοὶ ἀριθμοὶ καὶ τίνες οὐ, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑκάτεροι*. ³ Ibid. 533

⁴ Ibid. 534 *ὁ τὸν λόγον ἐκάστου λαμβάνων τῆς οὐσίας*.

⁵ Ibid. 535 *φιλόπονοι, μῆμῶνες—ἀρτίφρονες καὶ ἀρτιμελεῖς*. ⁶ Ibid. 537.

⁷ Ibid. 539 *αὐτοὶ ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχουσι χαίροντες ὡς περ ἀκυλῖα τῷ ἔλκειν τε καὶ σπαράττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πᾶσιον ἀεί*.

⁸ Ibid. 537 C *ὁ γὰρ συνοπτικὸς διαλεκτικός, ὁ δὲ μὴ οὐ*. ⁹ Laws 766.

¹⁰ Ibid. 645.

'counsellors' of man; pleasure must be associated with virtue and pain with vice¹. Music and dancing are of great importance, but nowhere except in Sparta and Crete is proper supervision exercised over them², or over poetry³. Innovation must not be allowed in music and dancing, or in sports; want of permanence in sports will lead to want of permanence in legislation⁴; a reverence for antiquity must be implanted; we must fix the types of songs and dances by consecrating them, as the Egyptians do. Gymnastic should include dancing and wrestling, which conduce to grace and health, and should be shared, at least partially, by women⁵. Horsemanship and military exercises should not be neglected; of hunting, some kinds are good, but others should be avoided. Every free man ought to rise early, before his slaves⁶, and have his day mapped out; boys should go to school at daybreak, and should be kept to work by strict discipline, for they are the most unruly kind of animal, possessing reason, but ill regulated. Everyone should read and write, and learn by heart selected poems (or, as an alternative, some discourse like the 'Laws'); they should practise the lyre for some years, and ought to know something of arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, studies usually neglected in Greece, but commonly pursued in Egypt⁷. There is an objection sometimes raised to astronomy, that it is impious to enquire into the causes of things; according to the truer view the exact reverse is the case⁸.

In comparing the Plato of the Laws with the Plato of the Republic, we find that in many of the main points they agree, in both we get state supervision and compulsion by the state, a censorship of poetry, and physical education of women. The tone of the Laws is, however, more religious in dealing with education, as on other points; greater stress is laid on training during infancy, and nothing is said of dialectic or after-education, whereas in the Republic Plato complains that only a few men ever continue their education at all, and they do it in the intervals left by money-making and the care of a family; and at last the lamp of their knowledge goes out, and, unlike the sun of Heraclitus, is never rekindled⁹.

Plato's education, like his state, is partly Hellenic, partly ideal¹⁰, suggested in some points by Sparta, in others deduced from his own philosophical tenets. If we wonder at the abstract studies of his higher education, and contrast them with the importance he previously assigned to training of character, we must remember that 'evil arises chiefly from ignorance,' and so this intellectual training is a moral training also. Whilst we can see that he does not realise so deeply or enumerate so

¹ Laws 653.² Ibid. 655.³ Ibid. 801.⁴ Ibid. 797.⁵ Ibid. 794-5, 804.⁶ Ibid. 807.⁷ Ibid. 819.⁸ Ibid. 821.⁹ Rep. 498 A. σθένυνται πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἡρακλειτείου ἡλίου ὄσον αὐθις οὐκ ἐξάπτονται.¹⁰ ἢν σὺ πόλιν-οἰκίσεις Ἑλλάγης ἔσται.

clearly as Aristotle the influence of *habit*, and aims at too great uniformity of system, he has grasped other truths. Gymnastic is not for the body only, but for the mind; education is not only for youth, but for age; knowledge must be elicited from within, not thrust in from without. Even if we were to judge his theories to be destitute of constructive value, his earnest eloquence would still remain to bear witness against all that is slothful or haphazard in education.

Aristotle's discussion of education in the *Politics* is unfortunately only a fragment, but it is sufficient to give us an outline of his views. His aim is a practical one (*οὐ γνώσις ἀλλὰ πράξις*, as in the *Ethics*), and his system is not bound up so closely with his philosophy. Education, he begins by saying, is a state question; each polity involves a corresponding tone or character (*ἦθος*) in its citizens, and to the development of this *ἦθος* education must be directed; therefore the education must be relative to the polity¹. A man, too, does not belong entirely to himself; he is a part of the state, and should be made to realise it². Thirdly, without state regulation we get negligence such as prevails all through Greece, except in Sparta³. Every man educates his children as seems best in his own eyes. Though based on general principles, instruction need not necessarily be uniform in all its details, and methods; indeed it is evident that different individuals require varying treatment⁴, for no art admits of perfectly rigid rules. Aristotle now asks what is the aim of ordinary Greek education: that education consists of *γράμματα*, *γυμναστική*, *μουσική*, and *γραφική*. Of these the first and last are taught for utility, the second aims at producing courage. The question of the aim of music is more obscure; possibly most people would say that pleasure was its object; this is not so: in reality it is for the rational enjoyment of leisure (*ἢ ἐν σχολῇ διαγωγή*). Whilst we must not omit to teach certain subjects which are useful or rather necessary, our ideal of education must not be mere utility; such a training would cramp the mind, and unfit men for virtue. A certain order should be observed in education; habits can be formed before the reason is ready for much exercise, and the training of the body should precede that of the soul⁵. Gymnastics are frequently carried too far, injuring the body and brutalising the mind; just as the Spartan training tends to make men brutal and not courageous. Up to puberty only light exercises should be allowed; ordinarily they are too violent, and hence few Olympic victors are successful both as

¹ Pol. v. (viii.) 1 τὸ ἦθος τῆς πολιτείας ἐκαστῆς φυλάττειν εἰώθε τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ καθίστησθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

² Ibid. μῦρον ἕκαστος τῆς πόλεως—δεῖ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν κοινὴν ποιέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀσκήσιν.

³ Eth. x. 10 13 ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλει ἰκάνην ποιούνται ἐπιμελείαν, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Ibid. 15 ἐτι διαφέρουσιν αἱ καθ' ἕκαστον παιδεῖαι τῶν κοινῶν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ ἰατρικῆς.

⁵ Pol. v. (viii.) 3. 13 πρότερον τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἢ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διανοίαν.

boys and as men. There should be an interval of three years for study, and then a course of heavier exercises; but regular training in both should not go on at the same time¹.

Music has several effects: it is an amusement, and men are apt to make their amusement into an end in itself², it is a cultured employment of leisure, and it has a profound moral influence, entering into and altering the whole character³; as we sympathise with the different states of mind which it can represent. Of the different modes the Lydian is melancholy, the Dorian sedate, the Phrygian enthusiastic. Socrates was wrong in leaving the Phrygian in his ideal state. Music must be learnt by actual practice, but neither the pieces learnt nor the instruments should be professional (*τεχνικός*).

Of higher education Aristotle does not treat in the Politics. In his philosophy he never quite reconciles the conflicting claims of the life of contemplation and the life of active citizenship, nor does he quite decide how far education is to lead up to one or to both. Yet in a way they are reconciled; the true politician is the philosophic politician, and he will need both depth of moral nature and a complete training in dialectic. Training in dialectic is the only kind of special education which is at the same time a 'liberal' education, the individual cultivated through dialectic as an end to himself alone becomes in this way the most effective instrument towards some ulterior end⁴.

III. EDUCATION AT ROME.

§ I. EDUCATION BEFORE THE PUNIC WARS.

Hoc patrium est potius consuefacere filium
Sua sponte recte facere quam alieno metu
Ut praesens absensque idem sit.—*TER. Adolph.* 1. 1. 47.

'Non his iuventus orta parentibus
Infecit aequor sanguine Punico.'—*HOR. Carm.* iii. 6. 33.

We have listened to Aristophanes lamenting the growing corruption of education and character in his own day; when we turn to Rome we hear complaints that are both louder and better founded. For the degeneracy of Greek education, if degeneracy there was, did not come from any foreign source; it was of native growth and origin; the change at Rome was

¹ Pol. v. (viii.) 4 ἄρα γὰρ τῇ τε διανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σώματι διαπονεῖν οὐ δεῖ.

² Ibid. 5 συμβέβηκε δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδίας τέλος.

³ Ibid. 5. § 16 ποιοῖ τινες τὰ ἥθη γιγνόμεθα δι' αὐτῆς. The same is the case in a less degree, he remarks, with sculpture.

⁴ Sir W. Hamilton. 'A liberal education is that in which the individual is cultivated, not as an instrument towards some ulterior end, but as an end to himself alone.'

worked by external influences, by Eastern luxury and by Greek refinement. 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio;' these words sum up the history of Roman education as well as of Roman literature. Every age gives expression to the feeling that 'it is no better than its fathers,' and were there no other proof than Horace's repeated assertions¹ of the depravity of his time we might ascribe the supposed falling off to his fancy or to his rhetoric. Unhappily by the evidence of crimes and laws², by the pages of history as well as by the voice of rhetoric, we are assured of the reality of this decay. Of the life of later times we have ample descriptions in the pages of Cicero and Horace, of Juvenal and Martial; of the older days the general features³ indeed are clear, but the details have to be gathered up and pieced together from fragments of contemporary writers, or discovered amidst an almost continuous record of triumphs and prodigies, of foreign wars and internal seditions. Yet, if we can draw some picture of the old life, we shall not have to go much further for an account of the old education; for it consisted not in systematic instruction or literary culture, but in the discipline of life.

The old education centred in the family; and at Rome the family bond was a stronger one than in Greece. Marriage was not yet looked upon as the necessary evil which Metellus Numidicus⁴ pronounced it to be; the penalties for adultery were severe and divorce was unknown⁵. The position of the mother was more dignified and less secluded than in Greece, and she had more influence in the bringing up of her children⁶. The power of the paterfamilias over his family was absolute⁷ in early times, though subsequently limited by law⁸. In Rome, as in Greece, abortion and exposure of children were practised, and there was the same custom of the father 'taking up' ('suscipere,' 'tollere') his child as a formal recognition; in later times this was supplemented by a 'professio,' or public announcement in the journals and registers⁹. At the *nundinae* the name was given, and presents ('crepundia')¹⁰ were made by relatives; then too the bulla or amulet of gold was hung round the neck, to be worn till the toga praetexta was laid aside¹⁰. Presiding over the Nundinae there was a

¹ Hor. Od. iii. 6 'Aetas parentum peior avis tulit | nos nequiores mox daturos | progeniem vitiosorem.'

² Tacitus's statement (Ann. iii.) 'corruptissima republica plurimae leges' is at any rate true of Rome.

³ Censor 102 B.C.

⁴ Till the time of Sp. Carvilius, circa 234 B.C.

⁵ Tac. Dial. de Or. 28 'Filius in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis . . . at nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae ancillae.'

⁶ Gaius, Inst. i. 131, 2, Dionys. Halicarn. Rom. Antiq. ii. 26, 27.

⁷ Justinian, Digest. 28. 2. 11, Codex. ix. 15.

⁸ Juv. ix. 84 'Tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes | argumenta viri.' Cf. ii. 136, Digest. xxiii. 3. 29.

⁹ Plaut. Epid. v. 1. 33.

¹⁰ Prop. iv. 1. 131 'Mox ubi bulla rudi demissa est aurea collo | matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga.' Juvenal's phrase ('aurum Etruscum') points to its supposed origin. Macrobius has a long discussion about it, Saturn. i. 6.

special deity (Nundina), and it is characteristic of the Roman religion that there were several shadowy and abstract divinities corresponding to the first wants and events of childhood¹. Nursing was in early times done by the mother, but afterwards nurses² became common, especially in the higher classes, where all family cares and responsibilities were unfashionable³. The first years of life would be spent under the mother's care; a Roman matron of the old type would look after the health and morals of her children, and would train them to speak correctly⁴; the reverence due to children, which Juvenal pleaded for in vain, was duly maintained in the days of Cato⁵. As the boy grew he became his father's companion, in his business and his recreation, in the forum or about the country estate; we hear of boys accompanying their fathers to dinner at the houses of friends⁶. Sometimes they seem to have waited at private banquets, and to have sung during the feast lays celebrating the praises of their ancestors⁷. It is said that sons of senators were allowed to be present at the debates in the senate⁸, and even to be with their parents on a campaign. In this way the young Roman got an early insight into the affairs in which he would one day have to take part, and could watch and profit by the example of his elders⁹. It was an education in action, designed to produce readiness and judgment in action, and it succeeded; this was the training of the Roman senators at the time of the senate's greatest glory. Towards his father the young Roman was taught to maintain an attitude of respect ('modestia,' 'pudor'); the father's word was to be law, both in small things and in great. Reverence and obedience were also demanded from him to the laws of the state, and to the gods of state; those great powers whom the city worshipped with ever increasing ceremonial, deities whom he might fear, if he could not love; nor had the religions of the East as yet begun to corrupt morality by degrading worships and obscene practices¹⁰. As for actual intellectual training by book learning there was little or none; Rome had no literature of her own, and of Greek literature she was still ignorant. Elementary schools existed apparently

¹ Such as *Levana, Edusa et Potina, Cumina, Vagilanus* (penes quem vocis initia).

² The nurse was sometimes called 'mater.' Plaut. Men. Prol. 19 'mater quae mammam dabat.'

³ Tac. Dial. 28, Aul. Gell. xii. 2.

⁴ Cic. Brut. 74, De Orat. iii. 12.

⁵ Plut. Cato Mai. ch. 20.

⁶ Ibid. Quaest. Rom. 33 διὰ τὸ παλαιῶν οὐκ ἐδείπνον ἔξω χωρὶς τῶν νιών;

⁷ Varro apud Nonius, s. v. *puerae* and *assa voce*.

⁸ Macrobius (Sat. i. 6), gives an amusing anecdote of the young Papirius who baffled his mother's curiosity as to the proceedings in the Senate: on the other hand Polybius scornfully denies the custom (Hist. iii. 20. 3), and his opinion is, of course, more to be relied on.

⁹ Pliny, Ep. 8. 14, 4 'Erat autem antiquitus usitatum ut a maioribus non auribus modo verum etiam oculis disceremus quae facienda max ipsi . . . haberemus: adolescentuli statim castrensibus stipendiariis imbueantur: inde honores petitori curiae assistebant foribus: et consilii publici spectatores antequam consortes erant.'

¹⁰ The worship of Cybele was introduced in 204, that of Bacchus had taken firm root by 186 B.C., the date of the S. C. de Bacchanalibus.

from early times both at Rome¹ and elsewhere², but the instruction given in them must have been nearly confined to reading and writing; possibly the pupils may have learnt by heart the 'rude Saturnian verses' of early Rome, and the little more prosaic Twelve Tables, the 'necessarium carmen' of Cicero's education³. As for physical training the Romans were at this period unacquainted with the Greek gymnasia, and even when they became acquainted with them they never showed any readiness to adopt them⁴. Their exercises aimed at hardiness and vigour of frame, not at gracefulness of limb, and no doubt Cato was not alone in actually labouring in the fields, and trying to raise a crop from the rocky Sabine hill sides⁵. Less utilitarian was the exercise obtained by riding and swimming⁶, both of which date from early times.

Such was the *ἀρχαία παιδεία* of Rome, the training which produced the old Roman character with all its excellences and all its defects. It aimed not at culture or erudition, but at steadiness of character and readiness in action; it sought to preserve habits of obedience, of simplicity, and frugality, to exalt reverence for law and devotion to the State, whilst making the family the unit of social life. For it was above all things a home training, carried on by the parents, and especially by the father: 'suus cuique parens pro magistro.' Plautus was expressing the feeling of Rome rather than of Greece, when he said⁷:—

'At illa laus est magno in genere et divitiis maximis
Liberos hominem educare generi monumentum et sibi!'

But this was not to last; the very triumphs which were secured by this training proved fatal to it, and the uncultured military power sank beneath the spell of Oriental luxury and Greek literature and art.

§ 2. RISE OF GREEK INFLUENCE.

'Odi homines opera ignava et philosopha sententia.'—PACUVIUS.

'Grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
Augur schoenobates medicus magus: omnia novit
Graeculus esuriens.'—JUVENAL.

The Roman had not to cross the Adriatic in order to come into contact with Greek influence; Cumae, and Tarentum, and Syracuse brought Greek language and thought close to him. From early times there must have been commercial intercourse

¹ Livy iii. 44 'Virgini venienti in forum (namque ibi in tabernis literarum ludi erant).' Cf. Dionys. x. 28.

² Ibid. v. 27—of Falisci—'plures pueri unius curae demandabantur.'

³ Cic. Leg. ii. 23 'discebamus enim pueri xii tabulas, ut carmen necessarium.'

⁴ Plut. Quaest. Rom. 30 τὸ γὰρ ξηραλοφεῖν ὑπερωρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι σφοδρὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴδὲν οἶονται οὕτως αἰτίον δουλείας γεγόναι καὶ μαλακίας ὡς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας, κ.τ.λ.

⁵ Cato, ap. Fest. p. 281 'agro colendo Sabinis silicibus repastinandis.'

⁶ Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 8 'ter uncti | transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto.'

⁷ Miles Gloriosus iii. 1. 110.

between Rome and Magna Graecia, resulting in the partial adoption of Greek words and Greek myths.

With the completion of the conquest of Italy, Tarentum and the Greek cities of the South fell before Rome, after invoking Pyrrhus in vain (282 B. C.). Sicily became a province after the First Punic War. It is not, however, till the Macedonian wars that we find a Philhellenic tendency; the 'liberation of Greece' by Flamininus in 196, though the liberty was but a shadow, yet shows the growth of Roman respect for the past of Greece. For some years before this Greek culture had appeared at Rome; Spurius Carvilius, a freedman, was, we are told, the first to open a school in which Greek was taught¹, and it was ominous that he too was the first Roman who was divorced. Livius Andronicus, who had been brought from Tarentum as a slave, was a schoolmaster, and translated the *Odyssey* chiefly as a school book. Latin literature thus originated in the school and under Greek influence. The plays of Plautus are not only Greek in their origin and in the life they describe, but they teem with Greek words with which the audience was supposed to be familiar², and of the earliest annalists of Rome, two—Q. Fabius Pictor and C. Acilius—wrote in Greek. We need not multiply examples; it is plain that it was Greek influence which developed Latin literature, and without a literature education cannot advance beyond the elementary stage. We may notice, however, the attempts to resist the tide; we see them most plainly in the outspoken denunciations of Cato the Censor³, the typical Roman. Cato foretold that corruption would be the result of the new movement⁴, but he so far yielded to the movement himself as to read Demosthenes and Thucydides, and we hear of his having a slave who was a good grammarian. Nor did Cato stand alone; in 161 B. C. the majority of the Senate decreed the expulsion of rhetoricians and philosophers⁵, but the decree was never carried out, and the number of literary slaves and freedmen increases all through the second century before Christ. The higher culture was patronized by many of the greatest men at Rome, by Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and then by the Scipionic circle. By the time of Cicero no education—still less the education of a future orator—was complete without the study of Greek⁶; and besides the actual study of the language, the whole scheme of instruction was no longer Roman, but Greek. Let us now trace its outlines.

¹ This must be the meaning of Plutarch's statement (Q. R. 59) *πρῶτος ἀνεῴξε διδασκαλείον*: elementary schools, as we have seen, existed before.

² E. g. 'machaera,' 'trapezita,' 'logus,' 'techna,' 'schema.'

³ 234-149 B.C.

⁴ Pliny, N. H. xxix. 7 'Quandoque ista gens suas literas dabit omnia corrumpet.'

⁵ Suet. de Clar. Rhet. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2 (Cicero explains why he did not go to Latin rhetores) 'Continebar doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant Graecis exercitationibus alii melius ingenia posse.'

§ 3. EDUCATION IN THE TIME OF CICERO.

(a) *Early years and Elementary Schools.*

‘Educit obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister.’

‘Prima cratera litteratoris ruditatem eximit: secunda grammatici doctrina instruit. tertia rhetoris eloquentia armat.’—APUL. *Flor.* 20.

The good influence of the parents on the early life of the child gradually waned as simplicity of life became more rare. It is noticeable that Cicero never alludes to his mother in the whole of his writings, and rarely to his father. Yet there were not wanting in the later Republic instances of careful early training. Horace tells us frankly of the debt that he owed to his father¹, and Tacitus contrasts the mothers of those days with the fashionable ladies of his own time². But we hear more of boys being entrusted to the care of slaves, who are variously designated as ‘custodes,’ ‘comites,’ ‘monitores,’ ‘pedisequi,’ and ‘paedagogi.’ It was the special function of the latter to accompany young boys to school, and in some cases they stayed and availed themselves of the lesson. The fashion was a Greek one, and the slaves were very often Greeks, from whom the language could be learnt; often too, at least in the time of Tacitus and Quintilian, they were worthless, and exercised a bad influence on their charges³.

The course of instruction had by this time become more defined and systematised; the ‘litterator,’ the ‘grammaticus,’ and the ‘rhetor’ successively undertook the training of the youth who aspired to a good education. Sometimes, however, when the parents were wealthy, all, or at any rate the earlier, of these stages were supplied by a tutor, generally a Greek slave or freedman⁴, who taught the ordinary subjects of the ‘ludus literarius,’ or of the grammarian’s ‘curriculum,’ as well as the Greek language, the knowledge of which was now common, but not universal⁵.

Though schools existed in country towns, we find boys being brought up from the country to Rome for the sake of education. Horace’s father was not satisfied with the instruction or the company at the school in Venusium, and brought his son to Rome⁶; Cicero’s father migrated from Arpinum to the capital for the same

¹ Hor. Sat. i. 6. 81 ‘Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes | circa doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum | qui primus virtutis honos servavit et omni | non solum facto verum opprobrio quoque turpi.’

² Dial. de Or. 28 ‘Sic Comellam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Iliam Augusti matrem praeuisse educationibus et produxisse principes liberos accepimus.’

³ Quint. i. 1. 8, Tacit. Dial. de Orat. i. 29.

⁴ Pliny, Epp. iii. ‘Praeceptores domi habuit; iam studia extra limen proferenda.’ Ibid. N. H. 35. 14 L. Paullus asked the Athenians ‘ut quam probatissimum philosophum mitterent ad erudiendos liberos.’ Cf. Cicero’s *Tyrannio* Ep. ad Q. F. iv. 4. 2.

⁵ The praetors in the provinces in Cicero’s time had their interpreters.

⁶ Hor. Sat. i. 6. 72 ‘Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni | quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti | ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera.’

reason¹. Seven seems to have been an ordinary age for going to the 'ludus literarius,' where instruction was given in 'reading, writing, and arithmetic.' In reading, sometimes the names of the letters and their order were learnt first; sometimes their form—the method preferred by Quintilian²; writing was taught by having letters marked out on wax tablets³; arithmetic by counting on the fingers⁴, or by the abacus; the study of the latter was not carried very far, but accuracy and quickness in ordinary calculation were valued by the practical or the commercial parent⁵. It was in the elementary school that boys began to learn poetry by heart—first hearing it dictated⁶, and the rod was called into requisition to stimulate the memory. The masters were known as 'litteratores,' but were often far from being 'literati,' and their position was neither respected nor envied. Orbilius, who probably belonged to this class, wrote a book on the sorrows of a schoolmaster, entitled the *Περὶ ἀλγῆς*, and we may be sure that they were no better off than the rhetors of Juvenal's day. They seem to have had assistants in the shape of 'hypodidascoli'⁸, and 'calculatores' or arithmetic masters. We hear of their holding out allurements to induce their pupils to learn⁹, but fear was the lever most commonly in use, and 'clamosi' or 'plagosi' are the epithets most usually applied to the teachers; the name of the instrument of torture was 'ferula'¹⁰. The school hours were in the morning, beginning early¹¹; holidays were usual at the Saturnalia¹², in December, and the Quinquatria¹³, in March. From a well-known passage in Horace¹⁴, it has been supposed by Hermann and others that all Roman boys had a 'long vacation' of four months in the summer, but Horace is referring to a school at Venusium, and is contrasting it in some respects, and possibly in this, with schools in the city. Hermann's theory, however, receives some support from Martial¹⁵, and it must remain uncertain in what class of schools these long holidays were the custom. The school

¹ Cic. de Orat. ii. 1.

² Inst. Orat. i. 1. 24-6.

³ Ibid. i. 28.

⁴ Cic. ad Att. v. 20 'Si tuos digitos novi certe habes subductum;' Ovid, Epp. ex Ponto ii. 3. 18 'Suppositis supputat articulis.'

⁵ Hor. A. P. 325 'Romani pueri longis rationibus assem | discunt in centum partes deducere: dicat | filius Albini,' etc. Cf. Quint. Inst. Or. i. 10. 35.

⁶ Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 69 'Non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi | esse reor memini quae plagosum mihi parvo | Orbiliam dictare.'

⁷ Suetonius, 'Illum quidem absolute, hunc mediocriter doctum,' de Gramm. § 4.

⁸ Cic. ad Fam. ix. 18 'Sella tibi erit in ludo tanquam hypodidascolo proxima.'

⁹ Hor. Sat. i. 1. 75 'Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores elementa velint at discere prima'

¹⁰ Juv. i. 15 'Manum ferulae subduximus;' Mart. xii. 57 'Negant vitam ludi magistri mane, nocte pistores;' v. 84 'Nucibus puer relictis clamoso revocatur a magistro.' Cp. ix. 68; Plaut. Bacch. iii. 3. 28 ('ferula' = Gk. *βάρανη*, which a scholiast derives from *νεαρὸς θήγειν*).

¹¹ Mart. xii. 57-ix. 30 'Matutinus magister;' ix. 68.

¹² Pliny viii. 7.

¹³ Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 197 'Puer ut festis quinquatribus olim exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.'

¹⁴ Hor. Sat. i. 6. 75 'Ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera.'

¹⁵ Mart. x. 62 'Ferulaeque tristes sceptrae paedagogorum | cessent et idus dormiant in Octobres: | aestate pueri si valent satis discunt.'

fees in the elementary school were trifling; on entering a fee was required (Minerval)¹; the ordinary fees were either paid monthly, as the passage from Horace would lead us to believe, or once a year, as seems to have been customary later, in March².

If the parent could afford it, the boy, after going through the 'ludus literarius,' would begin his higher education under a grammarian ('grammaticus').

§ 4. EDUCATION IN THE TIME OF CICERO (*continued*)

(β.) *Grammar and Rhetoric.*

'Mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire.'—QUINTILIAN.

The Romans became in later times a 'nation of grammarians, but the study of grammar was nevertheless an importation. In early days, Suetonius tells us, the science was unknown³, and when the 'scholae grammaticorum' were first introduced from Greece⁴ the provinces of the grammarian and the rhetor had not yet been separated⁵. The early teachers, like Crates of Mallus, who was said to have been the first to come to Rome⁶, gave instruction in both grammar and rhetoric. Soon, however, there came greater specialisation, and the pupil underwent a course of training, first from the grammarian and afterwards from the professor of rhetoric.

It was the task of the grammarian to read with his pupils the works of poets and historians, and to comment on the substance, but more especially on the form, of the writings, explaining, emending, and criticising⁷; he must be familiar with history and mythology, as well as with the forms of language, and the best models of expression. The object of the study was that the learner should acquire correctness of expression, in speaking, reading aloud, and writing, by familiarity with the best authors of Greece and Rome, besides gaining a store of knowledge on the subjects of which these authors treated⁸. Horace is probably referring to the 'schola grammatica' when he tells us how he learnt of the wrath of Achilles injuring the Greeks⁹, and Horace's works became in turn a favourite

¹ Juv. x. 116 'Quisquis adhuc uno partem colit asse Minervam' refers to this.

² Macr. i. 12 'Hoc mense mercedes exsolvebant magistris.'

³ Suetonius, de Illustr. Gramm. i. 'Grammatica Romae ne in usu quidem olim nedum in honore ullo erat . . . antiquissimi doctorum . . . poetae et semigraeci . . . nihil amplius quam Graeca interpretabantur aut, si quid ipsi Latine composuissent, praelegebant.'

⁴ Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. 10 'Eruditio liberalis et disciplina a Graecis.'

⁵ Suet. Rhet. iv. 'Veteres grammatici et rhetoricam docebant.'

⁶ 'Primus igitur quantum opinamur studium grammaticae in urbem intulit Crates Mallotes Aristarchi aequalis' (Suet. Gramm. 2).

⁷ Cic. Orat. i. 42. 187 'Historiae cognitio . . . verborum interpretatio et pronuntiandi.' Varro divides his task into four, 'lectio narratio, emendatio iudicium.'

⁸ Quint. Inst. Or. i. 4 makes two divisions, 'Recte loquendi scientia et poetarum enarratio . . . plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittat, nam et scribendi ratio coniuncta cum loquendo est, et enarrationem praecedat emendata lectio, et mixtum his omnibus iudicium.'

⁹ Ep. ii. 2. 42 'Romae nutrir mihi contigit atque doceri | iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.'

text-book for the young pupil¹, though never so universal as Homer and Vergil².

Of rhetorical teachers there were in Cicero's day two kinds, the 'rhetores Graeci' and the 'rhetores Latini.' We are told that the first Latin rhetor was L. Plotius Gallus, a freedman, and that when Cicero wished to study under him his friends objected, saying that a training in Greek would be more valuable to the future orator³. The conservatives of the period objected less to declamation in Greek than to having their own language reduced to rule and brought under the laws of rhetoric, and the censors of 92 B. C., Crassus and Domitius, issued an edict closing these 'schools of inscience⁴.' Suetonius gives us the words of this remarkable edict⁵, in which the schools of the Latin rhetors are condemned as a 'new kind of training⁵,' 'opposed to the customs of our ancestors,' 'places where young men idled away the whole day.' The rhetors were in fact regarded with much the same feelings as the Sophists had been by the partisans of Aristophanes, and it is remarkable that Crassus, one of the authors of this edict, was among the foremost orators of his day. Yet the rhetoric of Cicero's time had not reached the pitch of insipidity and artificiality which was attained under the Empire: the debates of the senate and the political importance of great trials made really effective speaking of more value than florid declamation, and consequently affected the processes of early training⁶. Cicero went for some time to the 'Graecae exercitationes' which his friends prescribed for him, and attained, as we see from his letters and philosophical works, a thorough knowledge of the Greek language and literature: before he was out of his 'teens he began composing poetry on Greek models: among his tutors were Archias the poet⁷ and Phaedrus the Epicurean. The grammarians and rhetoricians of his time, as at an earlier and a later date, were generally freedmen or slaves. Of their schools, their methods of instruction, and their status as a class, we have to wait for full information till the time of Juvenal and Quintilian.

¹ Juv. vii. 226 'Cum totus decolor esset | Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.'

² Quint. i. 8. § 55 'Optime institutum ut ab Homero et Vergilio lectio inciperet; utiles tragoediae; alunt et lyrii, si in his non auctores modo sed etiam partes operis elegeris.' Cicero's speeches were also read by boys; *vide* Cic. ad Q. F. iii. 1. 4.

³ Cic. apud Suet. Rhet. 2 'Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum opinione, qui existimabant Graecis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse.'

⁴ Tac. Dial. xxxv. 'L. Crasso et Domitio censoribus eludere, ut ait Cicero, ludum impudentiae iussi sunt.'

⁵ Rhetor. i.

⁶ Seneca, Contr. i. Pr. § 12 'Declamabat autem Cicero non quales nunc controversias dicimus.'

⁷ Cic. Brutus, lvi. 205, Pro Archia.

§ 5. EDUCATION IN THE TIME OF CICERO (*continued*).(γ) *Young Manhood: Completion of Education.*

'Sive quod es liber vestis quoque libera per te
Sumitur et vitæ liberioris iter.'—OVID, *Trist.* v. 777.

The study of rhetoric would ordinarily continue till about ¹ the sixteenth year, when the toga virilis or libera was assumed, and the bulla laid aside. In some cases this meant the end of education, in some the commencement of apprenticeship to political life or military training: to the future orator it was the beginning of a new period of education, under conditions of greater freedom. Cicero at this age does not diminish but rather increases the severity of his studies². Following a common practice³, he was now put under the care of the orator Scaevola, whom he accompanied to the forum and the courts, listening to his speeches, and to his 'responsa,' or 'opinions.' This was known as the 'tirocinium fori,' which in some cases was begun by an entrance into the forum with an escort, and a sacrifice on the Capitol. During this year, besides acquiring knowledge of law and of oratory, the young man has to learn how to bear himself, and to accustom himself to the ways of the forum⁴. Though allowed to begin speaking from this time, it was not thought consistent with modesty to do so at once. Hortensius began at the age of nineteen, and that was considered young⁵. But this training by experience was not all: during these years Cicero was continuing his study of rhetoric, and was practising declamation. Above all, he was prosecuting with zeal the study of philosophy, and that not with a view to writing the *Academica* or the *Tusculan Disputations*, but as an important and necessary part of the training of an orator⁶. The circumstances of the time made oratory of paramount importance: oratory became the final end of the highest education; and in Cicero's time, as in Quintilian's, the ideal standard of good oratory was put very high. Cicero did not mean by a good orator a man of natural gifts and fluency developed by sufficient practice in speaking, but a man of the widest culture and knowledge, well read in history and poetry, a dialectician and a philosopher: he must have

¹ The exact age was probably not fixed. Cicero and Persius (*Pers.* v. 30) assumed it at the beginning of their 16th year: Nero at 14, unusually early (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 41).

² Brutus xc. 'Noctes et dies in omnium doctrinarum meditatione versabar.'

³ Tac. Dial. xxxiv. 'Deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem locum in civitate obtinebat. Hunc sectari hunc prosequi huius omnibus dictionibus interesse assuescebat sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus.' Cf. Cic. de Amic. i.

⁴ Cic. Pro Caesio v. 'Nobis quidem olim annus erat ad cohibendum brachium toge constitutus.'

⁵ Cic. Brut. lxxv. 'Cum admodum adolescens orsus esset in foro dicere.'

⁶ Cic. Or. iii.; Tac. Dial. xxxii. 'Cicero quidquid in eloquentia effecerit non rhetorum Scholis sed Academiae spatiis se esse consecutum dixit;' *ibid.* xxxix. 'E multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omne rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia.'

strength of character also, an honourable ambition, and a control over his passions.

To return to the study of philosophy, in which Cicero and many of his contemporaries spent some time, instruction might be procured from stray philosophers who resorted to Rome, like Philo, into whose hands Cicero put himself¹, and we find in Cicero's letters notices of philosophers residing in the houses of wealthy Romans—σοφοὶ παρὰ πλουσίων θυραῖς. But it was not uncommon for young men to go abroad to Athens or Rhodes or Massilia to finish their course of rhetoric and to learn philosophy. In this way Horace resided for some time at Athens², and Cicero in an interval of quasi-leisure enforced by ill health went to Athens, and then travelled through Asia, availing himself everywhere of the best masters³. Travelling, especially in Greece and Asia, was also undertaken for amusement or general information, without any special object.

If the youth was destined for a military career, and oratory was only a secondary consideration, it was usual for him to gain experience by going on a campaign, and if his family had sufficient position and influence, he would be attached to the general and put under his charge⁴.

Such was the general outline of education during the latter years of the Republic⁵. We have the three steps of education more or less clearly defined—the teaching of the litterator, the grammaticus, and the rhetor; and to this was sometimes added the higher education in advanced rhetoric and philosophy; the aim of the whole being oratorical proficiency. Cato the elder had reckoned as elements of non-professional culture a knowledge of oratory, agriculture, law, war, and medicine: a comparison with this of Varro's list is instructive⁶. We find that he enumerates grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music: military science, jurisprudence, and agriculture are no longer general, but professional studies.

We have seen in what manner most of the studies mentioned by Varro were taught: we may now briefly notice the others—music, geometry, and astronomy, their place in Roman education being rather obscure. *Music* occupied a much less prominent position than in Greek education, and we may doubt whether instruction in singing was universal, though we find both boys and

¹ 'Totum ei me tradidi' (Brut. lxxxix.).

² Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 43 'Adiecere bonae paullo plus artis Athenae | scilicet ut vellem curvo dignoscere rectum | atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.'

³ Tac. Dial. xxx. 'Neque his doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat Achaïam quoque atque Asiam peragrasset, ut omnem artium varietatem complecteretur.'

⁴ Cic. Pro Caelio xxx. 'Cum autem paullum roboris accessisset aetati in Africam profectus est, Q. Pompeio proconsuli contubernalis.'

⁵ Some of the references given have been taken for purposes of illustration from authors of later date, where there is no reason to suppose any difference from the practice of Cicero's time.

⁶ Made by Mommsen, R. H. vol. iv.

girls trained in it for the purposes of religious ceremonies¹. Dancing was considered degrading², and was left to professional performers. *Geometry* is one of the subjects enumerated by Varro, and Quintilian held that it was necessary for an orator, but says nothing about teaching either geometry or astronomy. Geography came to be more necessary as Roman conquest extended, and wars with the Cantabrian or the Parthian stimulated enquiry about the neighbours of Rome³.

Most of the notices of the education of women come from later writers, and may be best discussed in connection with imperial times.

§ 6. EDUCATION IN THE TIME OF CICERO (*continued*).

(δ) *Physical Education.*

We need not be delayed long by the discussion of physical training at Rome, for, though physical vigour was not undervalued, physical education was never systematised. Horace gives us so good a picture of the sports and exercises from which a lovesick youth was absenting himself⁴ that it is perhaps worth quoting at length:—

'Cur apricum
 Oderit campum patiens pulveris atque solis?
 Cur neque militaris
 Inter aequales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
 Temperat ora frenis?
 Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? cur olivum
 Sanguine viperino
 Cautius vitat neque iam livida gestat armis
 Bracchia, saepe disco,
 Saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito?'

Here we have swimming, wrestling, riding, and throwing the iaculum and the discus, and we have frequent mention of hunting⁵: all these were thought valuable for the development of the body, and to be a good athlete was evidently considered honourable; but at the same time these exercises were not organized as a definite part of education with regular instructors like the Greek *παιδορρίβαι*. *Gymnasia* were not common till some time after the establishment of the Empire, when they took their place among the adjuncts of the great baths⁶; and they were always regarded by moralists as fostering idleness and immorality, whilst failing to develop

¹ Hor. Od. iv. 6. 31 'Virginum primae puerique claris | patribus orti . . . Lesbium servate pedem meique | pollicis ictum.'

² Cic. Pro Mur. vi. 13 'Nemo fere saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit.' Cf. Senec. Controv. Praef. § 1.

³ Prop. iv. 3. 35 'Et disco qua parte fluat *vincendus* Araxes.'

⁴ Hor. Od. i. 8. 8 seq.

⁵ Ibid. Ep. i. 18. 49 'Romanis solemne vires opus *utile famae* | *vitaque* et membris praesertim quum valearet | vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum | possis.' Cf. Od. i. 1. 26.

⁶ In the baths of Caracalla the site of the *gymnasia* can be tolerably accurately determined.

physique in any great degree¹: and in place of the games of the great Greek festivals the Roman was well content with the more brutal sport afforded by trained gladiators.

§ 7. EDUCATION UNDER THE EMPIRE.

'Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes.'—HOR. *Ep. to Augustus*.

With the establishment of the Empire we find in education, as in other things, greater elaboration and system: a process of assimilation and reduction to rule begins: imperial patronage is extended to education and educators: endowments multiply and schools spring up in the provinces, amidst the newer civilization of Gaul and Spain, as well as in the older province of Africa², which earned the title of 'the nurse of pleaders,' whilst St. Augustine, with pardonable patriotism, compares Carthage to Rome as a seat of learning³. Before the time of Suetonius grammar had become a common study in the provinces, and many of the best teachers taught there, especially in Gaul⁴. We have an interesting account in Pliny's letters⁵ of the condition of education in Northern Italy. Pliny mentions that when at Comum he found the son of a municeps going to school at Mediolanum, and on asking his father why he sent him so far away, he received the answer that there was no good school nearer. Pliny takes the opportunity of haranguing him and other parents on the advantages of having their sons educated nearer home⁶, and offers to contribute one-third of what they could raise: he would give more did he not think it better that the parents should contribute the greater part themselves, and thus be able to exercise more control over the teachers: 'for,' he says, 'where masters are paid out of public funds, *which is the case in many places*, inefficiency is generally the result⁷. This shows the prevalence of endowments or public pay of some kind, and Vespasian, we are told, spent an annual sum out of the *fiscus* on the payment of rhetors⁸, whilst

¹ Juv. iii. 115 *Transi | gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae;* Pliny, H. N. xxix. 8 *'Illa perdidere imperii mores;* xxxv. 47 *'Quibus exercendo iuventus nostra corporis vires perdidit animorum.'* Cf. Petron. lxxxv. and Seneca passim.

² Juv. vii. 147 *'Accipiat te | Gallia vel potius nutricula causicorum | Africa.'* Cf. xv. 3 *'De conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule.'*

³ Ep. xi. 8, 9 *'Duæ tantæ urbes Latinarum litterarum artifices, Roma atque Carthago.'* Cf. Salvian. de Gubern. Dei vii. *'Illic artium liberalium scholæ, illic philosophorum officinæ.'*

⁴ Suet. de Gramm. iii. *'Nam in provincias quoque grammatica pervenerat ac nonnulli de notissimis doctoribus peregre docuerunt, maxime in Gallia Comata.'*

⁵ Pliny, Epp. iv. 13.

⁶ Loc. cit. *'Ubi enim aut iucundius morarentur quam in patria aut pudicius continentur quam sub oculis parentum aut minore sumptu quam domi?'*

⁷ Ibid. *'Ne quandoque ambitu corrumpetur ut multis in locis accidere video in quibus præceptores publice conducuntur.'*

⁸ Suet. Vesp. xviii.

Quintilian received a salary from the public funds. In spite of this the lot of the ordinary teacher of grammar or rhetoric was an unenviable one, and they were notoriously ill-paid. The age of Juvenal was an age of luxury, but nothing, he tells us, cost a father less than his son's education¹. For this small reward the master had to submit to the constant monotony of the same lessons², and to the reproaches of parents if their children failed to come up to the expectations which their relations had formed of them³. Sometimes apparently they had to defend themselves against actual assault from their pupils⁴. Moreover they were expected to be omniscient: to have an answer ready for every question, even down to the name of the nurse of Anchises, or the age of Acastes⁵. They still came principally from the 'lower classes'—slaves and freedmen—even the most successful, like Staberius Eros, Caecilius Epirota, Verrius Flaccus, Julius Hyginus, and Q. Remmius Palaemon. The latter was one of the most successful teachers of his day, although a man of infamous character: how infamous may be best estimated from the fact that both Tiberius and Claudius declared him to be totally unfit to have boys entrusted to his care⁶. Indeed the morality of the masters was often very doubtful, and made the choice of a school a serious question⁷: we find Juvenal, Pliny, and Quintilian all insisting on the caution necessary in this respect if a father wished his son to escape corruption⁸. This was, however, only part of the general decay of morality, which the best of the emperors in vain endeavoured to arrest⁹. But the sanctity of family life could not be restored by bribes or penalties: purity and frugality were out of fashion¹⁰, and the family had become a centre of corruption and evil examples instead of the source of every wholesome influence¹¹. In his own home and from his own parents the Roman youth learnt extravagance and selfishness, dissolute conversation, even gross immorality: nor were matters mended if, as was not uncommon at this time, the parents saw little of their own children, and left them to the care of a Greek maid-servant, or a slave peda-

¹ Juv. vii. 187 'Res nulla minoris constabit patri quam filius.' Cf. *ibid.* 174 'Summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit frumenti.' Grammarians were worse off than rhetors; *ibid.* 217 'Minus est autem quam rhetoris aera.'

² *Ibid.* 154 'Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.'

³ *Ibid.* 158 'Culpa docentis | silicet arguitur si laeva in parte mamillae | nil salit Arcadico iuveni.'

⁴ *Ibid.* 213. Cf. Plaut. Bacch. 441.

⁵ Juv. vii. 233.

⁶ Svet. Gramm. xxiii. 'Principem locum inter grammaticos tenuit, quanquam infamis omnibus vitiis palamque et Tiberio et Claudio praedicantibus nemini minus institutionem invenum committendam.'

⁷ Juv. x. 224 'Hamillus.' Auson. Epigr. 123, 124, Eunus.

⁸ Juv. x. 228 'Exigite ut sic et pater ipsius coetus ne turpia ludant,' Pliny iii. 3, 4 'Jam circumspiciendus rhetor Latinus cuius scholae severitas pudor inprimis castitas constet.' Cf. Quint. ii. 2. § 4.

⁹ Augustus, Mon. Ancyrae. 'Exempla maiorum exolescentia revocavi;' Hor. Od. iv. 5. 22 'Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas'

¹⁰ Tac. Germania xix. 'Corrumperet et corrumpi seculum vocatur.'

¹¹ Quint. i. 2. 6, Juv. xiv. 32 'Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica magnis | cum subeunt animos auctoribus;' *ibid.* 52 'Morum filius;' Seneca passim, Tacit. Dial. xxix.

gogue¹, often chosen from among the most worthless of the household, by whose stories and examples the young mind could not but be influenced for evil. At school again, besides the danger of sending a boy to an unscrupulous master, there was the danger from his companions², which led some more careful parents to prefer a home education³. The times were out of joint, and it was beyond the power of the Emperors to set them right. The most powerful lever was wanting: religious ceremonies had multiplied, but religion was dead: it never had exercised any great moral influence, but now at the shrines of Bacchus, Isis, and Cybele, immorality was actually worshipped.

In the subjects taught in the schools, and in the general aim of education during this period, we do not encounter any great changes. We have the three stages under the litterator, the grammaticus, and the rhetor, though better defined; the aim of the system is still to produce the perfect orator, though liberty, the most essential condition of successful oratory, had vanished, and the empire had 'pacified' eloquence, as it had pacified all else⁴. It is a remarkable, almost a melancholy fact to notice, that at the very time when eloquence could do nothing to benefit the State, and very little to advance the fortunes of the individual, it was made more than ever the chief object of years of training. The natural consequence was that the style of speaking became unreal and vapid⁵, and the training unpractical⁶. But of this we shall see more when we come to examine the system elaborated by Quintilian.

We get indications at the same time of a growth of minute erudition, both amongst those who were engaged in teaching and among amateurs. The most minute points in mythology⁷ were discussed in connection with Homer and the tragedians, and much ingenuity was expended in evolving the pedantic obscurities of Lycophron and Callimachus, whilst Vergil's poems came in for a large share of attention, both as to substance and language⁸. Gellius⁹ gives us a number of questions discussed by a party of

¹ Tacit. Dial. 28 'At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis *plerumque vilissimus* nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntur. Quint. i. 2. 6 'Pudenda dictu spectantur, fit ex his consuetudo, inde natura.'

² Quint. ii. 2. §§ 14, 15 'Pueros adolescentibus sedere permixtos non placet: infirmitas a robustioribus separanda est, et carendum non solum crimine turpitudine sed etiam suspicione.'

³ Ibid. i. 2. 4 'Corrumpi mores in scholis putant: nam et corumpuntur interim. sed domi quoque: et multa eius rei exempla.'

⁴ 'Eloquentiam sicut omnia pacaverat,' Tacitus.

⁵ Tac. Or. xxxix. 'Est aliquis oratorum campus per quem nisi liberi et soluti feruntur debilitatur et frangitur eloquentia.'

⁶ Mart. vi. 19 'Tu Cannas Mithridaticumque bellum, et periuria Punici furoris | magna voce sonas manaque tota: | iam dic. Postume, de tribus capellis;' Tac. Dial. xxxv. On the 'suasoriae' and 'controversiae' see Juv. i. 16; vii. 162.

⁷ Suet. Tib. lxx. 'Grammaticos appetebat eiusmodi fere quaestiones experiebatur... quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter virgines.'

⁸ Juv. vii. 234 'Dicat quot Aestes vixerit annis | quot Siculus Phrygibus vini dona verit urnas.'

⁹ Aulus Gellius xviii. 2.

students at Athens, out of which the most important was, What was meant by Plato's community of women? amongst the other questions proposed were, What tense are 'scripserim' and 'venerim'? What poet uses 'verant'? What is the meaning of 'asphodel,' and *πλέον ἡμῖν πάντος* in Hesiod? The same author tells us¹ that a learned friend lent him his note-book to make use of in writing his 'Noctes Atticae,' but he found it quite useless, as it was full of discussions about the names of the comrades of Ulysses, and why Telemachus aroused Peisistratus with his foot and not with his hand. Erudition on such subjects, which, as Quintilian remarked, should be unlearned if once acquired², now passed for culture, and the early emperors were purists in orthography and grammar³.

— Of the education of women we get some notices in this period: in pre-imperial times they are rare. Virginia, according to the accounts given by Livy and Dionysius, was at her lessons in a *ludus literarius* in the *tabernae*, near the Forum, when she was seen by Appius Claudius⁴, and though the story may be mythical, it points to some kind of education having been given to girls beyond the home circle. The 'discipulae' mentioned by Horace are probably the pupils in a musical school⁵; but in Martial we get evidence of their frequenting elementary schools⁶, and perhaps they may have gone to the *grammatici* also. From Pliny⁷ and Seneca⁸ we find that they had *paedagogi*, and a system of home education. Sometimes ladies pursued their studies far, and affected erudition and literary criticism, even in their conversation at banquets⁹, like the bluestockings, of whose importunities Juvenal complains; but there is no evidence, and less probability, that these 'antiquariae' formed any considerable proportion of the flippant and dissolute society of the time.

§ 8. QUINTILIAN'S THEORY OF EDUCATION.

'Mea quidem sententia nemo esse potest omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus.'—CIC. *apud Quint.* ii. 21. 14.

There could scarcely be a better instance of the difference between the Greek and the Roman than the comparison of the theorists about education in the two countries. Quintilian sees no Platonic visions, and aims at no ideal end. He takes education

¹ Aulus Gellius xiv. 6 'Dat mihi librum grandi volumine "doctrinis omnigenis" ut ipse dicebat "praescatentem" quem sibi elaboratum esse ait ex multis et variis et remotis lectionibus, ut ex eo sumerem quantum liberet rerum memoria dignarum . . . recondo me penitus ut sine arbitris legam. At quae ibi scripta erant, pro Juppiter! mera miracula!'

² 'Quae erant dediscenda si scires.'

³ Augustus wrote 'maximus.' Claudius introduced reforms into the alphabet. Tiberius discussed mythological questions.

⁴ Livy iii. 44; Dionys. xi. 28.

⁵ Sat. i. 10. 90 'Demetri teque Tigelli discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.'

⁶ Mart. ix. 68 'Ludi scelerate magister invisum pueris virginibusque caput.'

⁷ Pliny, Epp. v. 16.

⁸ Sen. Epp. xvii. 4.

⁹ Juv. vi. 434 'Illa tamen gravior quae quum discumbere coepit laudat Vergilium.'

as he finds it, and in the light of his years of experience as the foremost man in the teaching profession at Rome¹ he criticises the methods which were in vogue, and suggests alterations. He lived in an age of words, not of action, when to speak fluently on any subject at a moment's notice was the accomplishment most envied by men of culture². There was little practical sphere for eloquence, and, if there had been, this training in 'suasoriae' and 'controversiae' would not have been likely to develop its practical side. Quintilian defends this race for eloquence by saying that we must seek eloquence for its own sake, and 'learn to love it ere to us it will seem worthy of our love'³. At the same time, by making it include almost every human excellence of mind and character, he renders it more easy for us to acknowledge it as an adequate aim⁴. It is the discussion of the means to this end that occupies the rest of his work, which is so characterized by earnestness and practical good sense, that it will repay us to follow him through his directions for the early training of the young orator.

The first necessity is that parents should be hopeful about their children, and sanguine of the results of education, for even those who are not brilliant gain something from study⁵; next, they must be careful in selecting nurses and paedagogi to look after their children; the nurses, besides, being respectable women, ought to speak correctly⁶, whilst the paedagogi ought to be either really well informed, or else conscious of their own ignorance, for with them 'a little knowledge is a dangerous thing'⁷. The parents, too, themselves ought to be cultured, mothers as well as fathers: a learned mother may, like Cornelia, contribute largely to her son's future success⁸. A mistake that is commonly made is to let children 'lie fallow' till the age of seven; but this is a waste of time⁹; education should begin early, and the earliest studies should consist chiefly in the exercise of memory, which is then most tenacious; they must, moreover, be made as agreeable as possible: 'the child cannot yet love them, but he should not hate them'¹⁰. It is preferable to begin by learning Greek, not Latin; Latin will be to a large extent spontaneously acquired, though some teaching will be

¹ Mart. ii. 90 'Quintiliane vagae moderator summe iuventae | gloria Romanae Quintiliane togae.'

² Gellius ix. 15 describes a young man speaking extempore, 'incipit statim mira celeritate.'

³ Quint. Inst. Or. i. 12 18 'Illam . . . reginam rerum orationem ponet ante oculos fructumque non ex stipe advocatorum sed ex animo suo et contemplatione et scientia petet perpetuum illum nec fortunae subiectum.'

⁴ Pref. § 9 'Oratorem instituimus illum perfectum qui esse nisi *vir bonus* non potest ideoque . . . *omnes animi virtutes* exigimus.'

⁵ i. 1. 3 'Nemo reperitur qui sit studio nihil consecutus.'

⁶ i. 1. 4 'Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est, recte tamen loquantur.'

⁷ i. 1. 8 'De paedagogis hoc amplius ut aut sint eruditi plene; aut se non esse eruditos sciant.'

⁸ i. 1. 6 'Nec de patribus tantum loquor: nam Gracchorum eloquentiae multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem.'

⁹ i. 1. 19 'Quantum in infantia presumptum est temporis, adolescentiae acquiritur.'

¹⁰ i. 1. 20 'Id in primis cavere oportebit, ne qui studia nondum amare potest oderit.'

necessary to ensure correctness of speech¹. Reading must be taught systematically: first the *forms* of the separate letters must be learned and then all their combinations into syllables². Writing should be taught by having letters cut on a board, for the child to trace out with his stylus, good and rapid writing is too seldom acquired. And Quintilian adds the somewhat curious remark, that slow writing interrupts thought³. The sentences in the copy-books should be made use of to convey good lessons, not mere empty phrases⁴. Learning by heart of passages from poets should also be encouraged, and careful pronunciation insisted on⁵.

So far the child's education may take place at home, but sooner or later parents must force the question whether they will keep their son at home or send him to a school. On the whole, public opinion is in favour of the latter course, but two weighty objections against it must be examined. Firstly, schools are fatal to morals; secondly, greater individual attention is possible with private tutors. The first objection is the most important: morals *are* corrupted at school, but then we must remember that they are corrupted at home also by bad example, and contact with luxury and immorality, and the vices of schools are brought there from home⁶. As to the second objection, one teacher can take care of several boys as well as he can of one, and the best teachers will be found in the schools⁷. You should always select your school carefully, and you need not choose one of the largest⁸. Then in other respects a school offers many advantages; there is the publicity which is so essential to the future orator⁹; the opportunity of gauging his powers, and being stimulated to rivalry; the acquisition of lifelong friendships¹⁰; the development of common sense and tact; the greater keenness and enthusiasm of the teacher, which cannot fail to react on the pupil¹¹.

The wise parent will thus prefer to send his son to school, but he must look out for a good school and a good teacher. The good

¹ Inst. Or. i. 1. 12-14.

² i. 1. 24-6: 30 'Syllabis nullum compendium est: perdiscendae omnes.'

³ i. 1. 30 'Tardior stilus cogitationem moratur.'

⁴ i. 1. 31 'Ii quoque versus qui ad imitationem proponuntur non otiosas velim sententias habeant sed honestum aliquid monentes.'

⁵ i. 1. 37 'Non alienum fuerit exigere ab his aetatibus, quo sit absolutius os et expressior sermo.'

⁶ i. 2. 4-8 'Corrumpi mores in scholis putant: nam et corrumpuntur interim, sed domi quoque . . . utinam mores liberorum non ipsi perderemus. . . pudenda dicta spectantur: fit ex his consuetudo inde natura, discunt haec miseri antequam sciant vitia esse: inde soluti et fluentes non accipiunt ex scholis mala ista, sed in scholas offerunt.'

⁷ i. 2. 9 'Optimus quisque praeceptor frequentia gaudet et maiore se theatro dignum putat.'

⁸ i. 2. 16.

⁹ i. 2. 17 'Ante omnia futurus orator adsuescat iam a tenero non reformidare homines neque illa solitaria et velut umbratili vita pallescere.'

¹⁰ i. 2. 20 'Mitto amicitias quae ad senectutem usque firmissime durant religiosa quadam necessitudine imbutae'

¹¹ i. 2. 29 'Adicio praeceptores non idem mentis ac spiritus in dicendo posse concipere singulis tantum praesentibus . . . maxima enim pars eloquentiae constat animo.'

teacher, besides being a man whose morality is above suspicion, must be possessed of judgment and discrimination. He will first of all ascertain the disposition and the abilities of his pupil, and will see what kind of stimulus it will be best to apply¹, he will encourage play as well as work, for it is natural to youth, and reveals character²; though of course there is danger of its being overdone. Further, the judicious master will be moderate in the infliction of punishment; he will not have to cover his own negligence by a promiscuous use of the rod, which is both degrading and useless, since boys become hardened to it³.

The earlier part of the course of study will be pursued under a *grammaticus*, the later under a *rhetor*. The province of the former includes correct speaking and the study of the poets; it is wider than at first sight it might seem to be, for with correctness of speech goes correct writing, and poetry embraces emendation and criticism⁴; whilst for the explanation of its subject-matter a knowledge of philosophy and science will be required; nor can the text be properly treated without some grasp of the principles of sounds and sound-changes⁵. For a good style of speech there are three principal requirements, (1) correctness, (2) clearness, (3) proper ornament: barbarisms and solocisms must be avoided, metaphors should be used carefully and sparingly, and unnecessary archaisms should not be affected⁶. Orthography is largely a matter of use, but otherwise it ought to be phonetic⁷; and though correctness in such matters may be thought useless pedantry, it is not really so, unless it prevents time being given to other matters⁸. Reading aloud is important; exact rules cannot be laid down for it, but it should be manly, expressive, and well modulated⁹. The passages read should be moral; Homer and Vergil are especially suited for such reading, and selections may be made from other poets¹⁰.

Other studies besides these will be wanted to complete the 'orbis doctrinae' before the boy is ready to be handed on to the

¹ Inst. Or. i. 3. 4-6 'Illud praecox genus non temere unquam pervenit ad frugem . . . sunt quidam nisi institeris remissi, quidam imperia dedignantur.'

² i. 3. 10 'Nec me offendet lusus in pueris neque illum tristem semperque demissum sperare possim erectae circa studia mentis fore;' *ibid.* 12 'Mores quoque se inter ludendum simplicius delegunt.'

³ i. 3. 15 'Nunc fere negligentia paedagorum sic emendari videtur ut pueri non facere quae recta sunt cogantur, sed cur non fecerint puniantur.'

⁴ i. 4. 2 'Haec professio cum brevissime in duas partes dividatur recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit, nam et scribendi ratio conjuncta cum loquendo, et enarrationem praecedat emendata lectio, et mixtum his omnibus iudicium.' ⁵ i. 4. 8.

⁶ i. 6. 43 'Fuerit paene ridiculum malle sermonem quo locuti sint homines quam quo loquantur.'

⁷ i. 7. 30 'Ego nisi quod consuetudo optinuerit sic scribendum quoque iudico quomodo sonat.' ⁸ i. 7. 35.

⁹ i. 8. 1 'Sciat ubi suspendere spiritum debeat, quo loco verum distinguere, ubi claudatur sensus, unde incipiat, quando attollenda vel submittenda sit vox.'

¹⁰ i. 8. 5 'Quae honesta sunt discant, ideoque optime institutum ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet . . . utiles tragoediae, alunt et lyriici, si in his non auctores modo sed etiam partes operis elegæris: elegeia vero et hendecasyllabi amoveantur.'

rhetorician. Some acquaintance with music is necessary¹, but the music must not be of the lascivious and effeminate sort now in vogue. Geometry too is a useful study, not only as a mental discipline, but in itself², whilst the cogent proof demanded by it is good logical practice for a speaker³. A brief training in elocution and gesture under a comoedus will not be a bad thing, and the exercises of the palaestra would teach the young to carry themselves with grace⁴.

The objection will doubtless be made that boys cannot bear the strain of so many studies all going on simultaneously. The truth, however, is that the mind can attend to several things at once, as we see in the citharoedus, whose voice and memory, hands and feet are all employed together: it is variety which increases our power of learning⁵, and learning is easier in childhood when the mind is still plastic and unformed.

The time will come when the pupil must be transferred to the care of a rhetor: the age cannot be laid down exactly for all, but must vary with the forwardness of the boy⁶: but the custom has recently been gaining ground of boys staying too long with the grammatici, who begin to think it their business to teach declamation⁷. The rhetor ought to be like a parent to his pupils⁸, and must therefore be above suspicion: he should try to prevent any temptations being thrown in the way of his pupils, and should not allow young men and boys to sit together⁹. Many parents make the mistake of sending their boys to an inferior rhetor first: but this only involves additional trouble in eradicating acquired faults: there is a story of the rhetor Timotheus to the effect that he used to demand double fees from those who had previously studied under another rhetor¹⁰.

The rhetor ought to begin where the grammarian leaves off, possibly going over some of his work again. Of the opposite faults of style—baldness and exuberance—he will prefer the latter: it is less displeasing and can be more easily cured¹¹; it is natural to youth and will work itself out. Boys want a great deal of encouragement, and become dispirited under excessive severity¹². It is a good plan for the teacher (such has been Quintilian's own experience) to give out his own 'fair copies' of exercises¹³, to be

¹ Inst. Or. i. 10. 15 'Non frustra Plato civili viro quem πολιτικόν vocant necessariam musicen creditit.'

² i. 10. 34.

³ i. 10. 37 'Ex prioribus geometria probat insequentia: nonne id in dicendo facimus.'

⁴ i. 11. 12-15.

⁵ i. 12. 7 'Facilius est multa facere quam diu.'

⁶ ii. 1. 7.

⁷ ii. 1. 3 'Itaque, quod maxime ridiculum, non ante ad declamandi magistrum mittendus videtur puer quam declamare sciat.'

⁸ ii. 2. 4 'Sumat igitur parentis erga discipulos suos animum . . . ipse neque habeat vitia nec ferat.' Cf Juv. vii. 237.

⁹ ii. 2. 14 'Infirmitas a robustioribus separanda et carendum non solum crimine verum etiam suspicione.'

¹⁰ ii. 3. 3.

¹¹ ii. 4. 7 'Materiam esse primum volo vel abundantiore atque ultro quam oporteat fusum . . . multum inde decoquent anni, multum ratio limabit . . . volo enim se efferat in adulescente fecunditas.'

¹² ii. 4. 10 'Dum omnia timent nihil conantur.'

¹³ ii. 4. 13 'Expertus sum prodesse quoties eandem materiam rursus a me tractatam scribere de integro iuberem.'

taken down and compared with their own attempts: whilst in marking the pupil's productions as satisfactory, or the reverse, allowance should be made for each one's age and ability and willingness to learn. Indeed a good teacher will note carefully the differences of intellect and character, and will see for what line of study each is best fitted¹. One may have a turn for law, another may be best suited for history, a third for poetry: and education ought to follow nature—at least up to a certain point: for though we must not fight against nature, we must endeavour to supplement natural deficiencies. We need not enter with Quintilian into the details of a rhetorical education, though his remarks as to the methods of teaching and the style to be aimed at are sound and discriminating. Of the three kinds of narratio—fabula, argumentum, historia—the rhetor should begin with the last: when the stage of declamation has been reached it should assume a more practical character than the ordinary 'suasoriae' and 'controversiae': if it is not a preparation for the forum it is either madness or ostentation². The best style to acquire is one which is free both from the harshness of Cato and the Gracchi and from the modern 'flosculi lasciviae.' Throughout his teaching the rhetor should stimulate attention by frequent questions³, and should read aloud and declaim himself, remembering that example is better than precept⁴.

IV. COMPARISON OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN SYSTEMS.

In the educational systems and ideas which grew up on different sides of the Adriatic we may find both common features and points of contrast. Both in Greece and at Rome the old order gives place to new in spite of regrets, denunciations, and vain attempts at reaction only, as we have seen in the one case; the development was the result of a developed national life, in the other of the revelation of a full-grown literature and a ripe culture to a people who had not matured any literature or culture of their own. And possibly for this reason the change at Rome was greater; the moral downfall was more complete, and whilst both systems ended in a 'sea of words,' as the importance attached to rhetoric became greater, even the epideictic displays of the pupils of Isocrates scarcely sank to so low a pitch as the 'suasoriae' and 'controversiae' of Juvenal's

¹ Inst. Or. ii. 8. 1 'Notare discrimina ingeniorum et quo quemque natura maxime ferat scire.'

² ii. 10. 8 'Si foro non praepararet (ista exercitatio) aut scaenicae ostentationi simillimum est aut furiosae vociferationi.'

³ ii. 5. 13 'Debebit praeceptor frequenter interrogare et iudicium discipulorum experiri . . . sic audientibus securitas liberit.'

⁴ ii. 5. 15 'In omnibus fere minus valent praecepta.'

time; whilst philosophy never occupied the same place at Rome that it secured in Greece: at Rome the only rival to rhetoric was etymological study and the minute criticism and interpretation of great writers, such as survive in the works of Aulus Gellius, Servius, and Festus. This was due in part to the influence of Alexandria, partly perhaps to the fact that the Romans were led to pay more attention to grammar by learning a foreign language.

At Rome, in contrast to the principles laid down by Greek theorists and to the actual practice of some Greek states, the law never interfered much in educational matters¹. in early times the unity of the family was too strong, and the power of the paterfamilias too decided: but even when the Emperors began to patronise and endow education we do not find any legislative regulations imposed on it, nor was it made compulsory.

In the subject-matter of education we find striking contrasts in the place given to gymnastic and music. The Romans did not neglect physical education, but they preferred to secure the end they had in view by indulgence in games and field sports, supplemented in due time by military drill and training: the palaestra was always mistrusted, and even where introduced was never thoroughly naturalised.

Music again was not entirely neglected at Rome: it formed part of the worship of the Gods: its place in a complete education is acknowledged by Quintilian; but no one ever assigned to it the same influence over character as Plato ascribed to it, or the same importance in the right employment of leisure that we find attributed to it in the Politics.

Lastly, in the theorists on education we find a great difference: Plato's theories are concerned with the whole place and aim of education in life, and with the life for which education is to prepare men; he puts forward a system differing widely from any that had been realised before, or has been since. Aristotle discusses the best subjects for education, and views it in its political bearings. At Rome there is nothing of this. Juvenal was as dissatisfied with the education of his day as Plato had been, but he only laughs at the fashionable rhetoric, or attacks with burning satire the corruption of the young by examples of immorality; whilst Quintilian's theories are but the expression of the experience of a teacher as to the best method of giving instruction in that subject which he, in accordance with the fashion of his day, regarded as the highest end of education.

¹ Cic. de Rep. 4. 3, says, speaking of old times, 'Disciplinam puerilem (de qua Graeci multum frustra laboraverunt et in qua una Polybius noster hospes nostrorum institutorum negligentiam accusat) nullam certam aut destinatam legibus aut publice expositam aut unam omnibus esse voluerunt.'

V EDUCATION—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

'I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all offices both private and public.'—MILTON.

πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει.—HERACLITUS.

'Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers.'—TENNYSON.

It would be difficult, or rather impossible, to pass a single sweeping judgment on Ancient Education, and to pronounce it good or bad, adequate or inadequate; we must adopt the less summary method of comparing the old and the new in some of their more important features.

As to the diffusion of education, it is, as Mommsen¹ remarks, a mistaken opinion that antiquity was greatly inferior to modern times, at least so far as elementary attainments are concerned, an enormous proportion of the population consisted of slaves, but the masters found it to their advantage that the slaves should be able to read, write, and count, whilst at Rome, as we have seen, Greek slaves were often employed as teachers of grammar. Nor can the ancients be accused of underrating the importance of education, whilst they did not fall into the delusion, unfortunately too common amongst the public speakers and legislators of our own day, that the universal diffusion of the three R's will of itself elevate the morality of the coming generation. They saw that character must be moulded by personal influence, and independence of action stimulated by experience in action; in the early systems both of Greece and Rome we see this personal influence active, and its decay is due to the degradation of individual character, the paralysis of political freedom, which overtook both countries. They saw—both Greek and Roman—though they acted differently upon the conviction—that physical training was essential to the development of a healthy mind, and was not without its direct effect upon character; on this belief the Greek founded that training in gymnastic which formed so singular and prominent a feature in his system.

Yet such a training was, perhaps less necessary then than at the present time, for there was less danger of excessive mental pressure. True that then, as now, the way of knowledge was narrow and rough and steep; yet in those days it was not long, and a great undiscovered country lay behind it. The world was young, and what history it had was not preserved; there was little intercourse between nations, and but slight need of learning a foreign language; the knowledge of nature, which has given later generations of men so marvellous a mastery over her resources, had not as yet been attained, was not yet dreamed of. Thus there was less hurry in education; it might finish earlier than ours, and still involve less pressure; nor was it then thought necessary to test the pupil's pro-

ficiency in his work, or his qualifications for some post or office, by constant examination. The declamation of empty rhetoric before an audience of parents and friends¹ was perhaps not more valuable as a gauge of future success in the forum, but at least it involved no dangerous strain. 'Aestate pueri si valent satis discut' might be said by Martial; to-day it would scarcely be taken as a serious opinion even from the champion of our greatest public schools. Yet, though this stimulus was lacking, we have no reason to suppose that the formation of habits of industry was rare. In many cases, especially at Rome, we find evidences of prodigious literary energy kept up through life; we find it in advocates and public men like Cicero, and in polymaths such as Varro and the elder Pliny. Perhaps nothing is more remarkable than the great general ability of Roman men of affairs: philosophers are sent to command armies, and provincial governors return home to spend their declining years in literary studies.

Ancient methods of instruction differed of necessity from ours; we have school editions and hand-books where they depended chiefly on oral instruction; more was left to the master's power of imparting knowledge, but if he was capable, the result would be more satisfactory than where the information has been chiefly acquired from a book; the knowledge is less artificial, is more easily retained by the memory, more readily brought into useful relation with other knowledge. Of all ancient writers on education, Quintilian is the one who has most knowledge of methods of instruction, and the quickest insight into the connection between character and learning, without which educators are but groping in the dark; it is one of the most cheering signs of modern education that the sympathy between pupil and master, on which he so strongly insists, is in this century again recognised as essential, after having been so markedly absent during the previous centuries from the majority of schools.

We have remarked on the fate which overtook both Roman and Greek education; they became more barren as they became more elaborate. In the one case philosophy and rhetoric, in the other rhetoric with grammatical and textual studies, monopolised talent and energy which might have been devoted to some more practical end. In modern education we may discern a two-fold danger; we may be allured by a wide but shallow culture, or fall into the opposite extreme of exaggerated specialisation.

The fate of education in Rome and Greece shows us how immediately it depends on the conditions of the society in which it prepares us to take a part: freedom perishes; men of ambition and ability are cut off from practical pursuits and from political success; they take refuge in erudition or speculation, or even in the display of those qualities which the loss of political life has now rendered useless.

¹ Persius iii. 45 'Morituri verba Catonis | discere, non sano multum laudanda magistro | quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis.'

The differences which we find existing between ancient and modern education are due partly to change of religion, partly to change in the structure of society, partly to the theories of educational reformers. Rhetoric did not at once disappear with the rise of Christianity, and in the fourth century we find traces of a Christian rhetoric which in pompous exuberance did not fall far short of its heathen predecessors¹. Gradually, however, the ecclesiastical spirit prevailed, and for centuries monasteries—more especially those of the Benedictine order—became the great educational centres of Europe. Education became less general, and more subordinated to religion; only those who were intended for a religious career would study the Trivium and Quadrivium of the arts and sciences; the youthful knight or squire had his own more athletic course of pursuits. To this period succeeded the Renaissance and the Revival of Greek learning, bringing with it the rise of a purely humanistic education, an education in words and language and style, of which such ample traces survive in the systems of to-day. This side of education was elaborated in the Jesuit schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it is to the Jesuits that we owe its more exaggerated features, such as the prominence of Latin themes and verses, as well as the machinery of forms and examinations.

Meanwhile opposing influences did not leave themselves without witness: ever and anon there have arisen from different quarters assailants of the established order of things—practical teachers like Comenius and Pestalozzi, philosophers like Locke and Milton, theorists like Rousseau, who have pointed out the flaws in existing systems—the perverted methods, the waste of labour, the fighting against nature, the neglect in developing latent faculties, the loss of all sense of proportion by which they saw the education of their day disfigured. In few cases, if any, has the voice of criticism been raised entirely in vain: much that was grotesque and irrational has disappeared from the curriculum and from the methods of instruction. There is more recognition of the necessity of sympathy in education and the impossibility of a merely mechanical instruction: some, though not sufficient, weight has been attached to the training of the senses and power of observation. Still we are in an educational chaos, and the reason is not far to seek: there is an absence of definite purpose and aim: of those who are educating and being educated the greater part scarcely know why they are gathered together. Knowledge has been increased: in science, literature, history, and art the subject-matter of instruction has multiplied and is multiplying with fearful rapidity. The polymathy of a Varro or a Pliny is no

¹ The following epitaph of a Christian rhetor of the 4th century is preserved on a sarcophagus in the Capitol Museum at Rome:—

Fl. Magnus IS. C. (?) urbis aeternae, cui tantum ob meritum suum detulit senatus amplissimus ut sat idoneum iudicaret a quo lex dignitatis inciperet. Praeceptor fraudis ignarus et intra breve tempus universae patriciae soboli lectus magister; eloquentiae ita inimitabilis saeculo suo ut tantum veteribus possit aequari.

longer possible: a choice must be made, but what is to guide us in our choice? Almost every subject has some value, both in itself and as a mental discipline. Some voices are still lifted in defence of a classical education, which, if in its origin an accident, is nevertheless, it is urged, invaluable in disciplining the mind and forming a cultured taste, while it furnishes the key to European history and literature and thought. Study science is the cry of another party: the hopes of mankind lie in the increase of that knowledge of nature which alone is power. And a third voice is heard—the voice of poverty, suggesting that it will be best to study whatever subject is most marketable,—for life has become more complex and the struggle is harder, and the strugglers more numerous: it is more difficult to ascertain what society wants, and the penalties of mistake have not been diminished.

Then, too, we have set up our examination idol, and are still worshipping it: the decree has gone forth that all the world is to be examined. We find it convenient to have a spur to exertion: it is convenient also to have a test and graduated measure of qualifications. Yet in the light of any true view of education who can doubt that the system is in many ways mischievous? More should be done to make studies interesting and attractive, to awaken a love of knowledge for its own sake and not for the sake of its marks, its honours, and its emoluments. Can anyone who has had constant experience of examinations, whose mental horizon has probably been bounded by the one immediately before him, doubt for one moment that a true love of knowledge has been stunted in him, a true method of enquiry hidden from him, the formation of clear and definite ideas hindered, and that if, like Shakspeare's knight, he has 'a mint of phrases in his brain,' he is unfortunately less their master than their slave?

Again—is our education of character satisfactory? It is perhaps worth noticing that a recent series of books on education bears on the cover a view of the interior of a library: our generation associates education with books—with books about books, or abstracts of books about books: the latter, in Platonic phrase, being fully three times removed from the truth. Education of character has a double aspect: there is the necessity of guarding against immorality, and there is the development of personality, of independence, of self-confidence. An Englishman may be justified in thinking that the double problem has been better solved by the public schools of his country than by any other method: and yet after all they are not flexible enough to suit individual character, and too often save the strong at the expense of the weak.

Something might be said of the inadequacy of our early training: with the altered position of women amongst us the mother can do more than the Roman, far more than the Greek, mother: but with us the father is more occupied, and even if the moral training of the child is attended to, it is too often thought that no training of the faculties of observation is necessary, and the victim of this

finds himself later on in life with some sense stunted and undeveloped, and 'wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.' Nor are matters mended if education begins too early, and instead of the senses being trained the memory is burdened and the understanding taxed, so that even though the physique may remain uninjured, the mind will never bear its due fruit. Against this sacrifice of observation to book-learning many voices have been raised, notably those of Rabelais and Rousseau, but they, like other theorists and satirists, found it easier to pull down than to build up. It was easy for Rabelais to draw an amusing picture of Gargantua's education under Tubal Holofernes and Jobelin Bridé, but we may doubt whether Rousseau's Emile, after having arrived at the age of twelve years¹ without knowing what a book was, would not have preferred to remain in ignorance for a longer period: probably he would have fulfilled only too literally the philosopher's paradox that the great end of education is not to gain but to waste time².

We have said that education is still chaotic: we do not mean that it should be level and uniform, but that it should be definite, and relative to a definite end; *χωρὴ τέλος ὁρᾶν*. There is a diversity of gifts and functions: 'non omnia possumus omnes:' each must be contented with a twig or a bough of the tree of knowledge. The work of education is to develop to the utmost the possibilities of each individual man, 'that nothing be lost,' not to pass a number of units through a certain process, in the hope that they may retain a superficial polish which will last through life. The friction of the world soon lays bare the baser metal.

¹ 'À peine à douze ans Emile saura-t-il ce que c'est un livre.'

² 'Le grand but de toute l'éducation ce n'est pas de gagner du temps. C'est d'en perdre.'



THE END.

uKa

TC 02007

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C020999474

255821

LA
71
H65

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

[Faint, illegible handwritten text and markings]

G. E. STECHERT & Co's Reprints of Rare Books

Arnold, W. T. The Roman system of provincial administration. Anastatic Reprint 1905. Cloth.	\$ 1.50
Beesly, E. S. Catilina, Clodius and Tiberius. Anastatic Reprint 1907. Cloth.	\$ 3.—
Bradley, F. H. Principles of Logic. Anastatic Reprint 1905. Cloth.	\$ 5.—
Bradley, F. H. Ethical Studies. Anastatic Reprint 1904. Cloth.	\$ 4.—
Cunliffe, J. W. The influence of Seneca on Elizabethan tragedy. Anastatic Reprint 1907. Cloth.	\$ 4.—
Dragendorff, G. Plant Analysis, qualitative and quantitative. Transl. by J. G. Green, s. l. Anastatic Reprint 1909. Cloth.	\$ 3.50
Drane, Mrs. A. T. Christian Schools and Scholars, or sketches of education from the Christian Era to the Council of Trent. Anastatic Reprint 1909. Cloth.	\$ 6.—
Fleay, F. G. Chronology of the London Stage 1576-1709. Anastatic Reprint 1909. Cloth.	\$ 3.—
Hazlitt, W. Schools, School-books and Schoolmasters. Secret Edition 1905. Cloth.	\$ 1.—
Hobhouse, W. Theory and practice of Ancient Education, being the Baccellor's English Essay 1885. Anastatic Reprint 1905. Boards.	\$ 1.—
Holl, J. B. Schools of Charles the Great and restauration in 9th century. Anastatic Reprint 1904. Cloth. Out of print.	
Maturo, H. A. I. Criticisms and elucidations of Catullus and Aetna. Revised, amended and explained. Anastatic Reprint 1905. Cloth.	\$ 1.—
Reddaway, W. F. The Monroe Doctrine. Reprint 1905. Cloth.	\$ 1.—
Sievers, Ed. Rhythmus des germanischen Alliterationsverses (From Paul and Braune, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, vol. X.) Anastatic Reprint 1909. Cloth.	\$ 3.—
Townsend, W. J. The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. Anastatic Reprint 1905. Cloth.	\$ 4.—