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QUINTILIAN AND THE GREAT IDEAS CONCEPT: CULTURAL  
REGRESSIVISM AS AN EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVE IN A  
CRISIS CULTURE.

The University of Oklahoma, Ph.D., 1974  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

QUINTILIAN AND THE GREAT IDEAS CONCEPT:  
CULTURAL REGRESSIVISM AS AN EDUCATIONAL  
ALTERNATIVE IN A CRISIS CULTURE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY


CLIFF SCHIMMELS

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

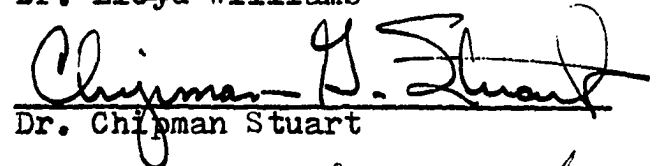
AUGUST, 1974

QUINTILIAN AND THE GREAT IDEAS CONCEPT:  
CULTURAL REGRESSIVISM AS AN EDUCATIONAL  
ALTERNATIVE IN A CRISIS CULTURE

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I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Pulliam, my committee chairman, who first introduced me to Quintilian and has supervised the study with a diligence and a humaness which are befitting to Quintilian's concept of a teacher. To the other committee members, Dr. Lloyd Williams, Dr. Chipman Stuart, and Dr. Michael Langenbach, I am grateful for their concern, cooperation, and suggestions and for their individual and unique contributions to my professional and educational growth. Because of them, my experience at this level has been a fulfilling and significant endeavor.

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Finally, to Mary--typist, proofreader, critic, librarian, and wife--who has graciously understood the loneliness of scholarship, I express my love and appreciation.

DEDICATION:

To Paula, Larry, and Kristina, my "little Quintilians" whose presence made this work both necessary and pleasant.

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QUINTILIAN AND THE GREAT IDEAS CONCEPT:  
CULTURAL REGRESSIVISM AS AN EDUCATIONAL  
ALTERNATIVE IN A CRISIS CULTURE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

In A. D. 95 when Quintilian published the twelve books of the Institutes of Oratory, conditions in Rome, politically, socially, and educationally, were in a state of flux. The empire had enjoyed an intermittent release from the shackles of tyranny with the deaths of Nero and Galba and the emergence of the Flavian emperors, but Domitian had not shown the leadership sensitivity of his father who preceded him. Terror and fear were evident. Socially, the Roman aristocracy was in the latter stages. Provincials had occupied the emperorship, bringing with them a broader concept of citizenship and a wider senatorial representation. Cries of moral degeneration were common, and Quintilian himself composed a treatise on the decline of oratory.

The educational trends of the period reflected these conditions. Liberal educators, using Seneca as a model, had

projected an educational system which proposed the natural growth of the student. They rejected detailed study of language, literature, or rhetoric as proper material for the education of the orator, the Roman gentleman. The traditional educators who remained were austere, frequently severe, taskmasters who motivated students with whips rather than exciting pedagogy.

Quintilian viewed these conflicts with alarm. As a young man, he had been successful politically, coming to Rome from his native Spain with the future emperor, Galba. In Rome, He was a successful pleader and a distinguished teacher of rhetoric. Vespasian had honored him with the first official state professorship and a government stipend. Despite this success, he was disturbed by the prevailing conditions, so the Institutes of Oratory were designed to propose an educational formula for restoring cultural stability and eloquence as found in viro bono dicendi perito, the perfect man.

As a true Roman, Quintilian was a traditionalist. For him, the changes had come too quickly, and sensible men had lost their discerning reason. It was not that Seneca was all bad, but his apostles followed him blindly, without reason or critical judgement. The decline of oratory represented the decline of culture--art, music, literature,

rhetoric, and drama. The Roman Empire was being threatened from within by a creeping effeminacy.

His solution to these trends was a definite, purposeful system of education which stated its ultimate goal in objective terms then gave specific directions for obtaining that goal. Since the culture was degenerating, it needed restoring to a former plateau. Cicero of the first century B.C. had been the one Roman who had come nearest to eloquence, so he should be the manifestation of the desired product. Because there were no contemporary heroes, students would have to pursue the ancients as models for imitation in style and morality. An educational system that effectively taught the wisdom of the past was his hope for bringing stability into a state of crisis.

Despite his proposal for turning backward for subject matter, Quintilian was radically progressive in many of his insights. Such factors as humanism, recognition of individual differences, and education of the whole child distinguished him from his peers. Thus, he proposed a new formula for presenting the traditional liberal arts education in a culture in crises.

#### B. Statement of Problem

The following study was designed to analyze Quintilian's educational philosophy and methodology in light of both

educational and cultural conditions in Rome during the second half of the first century and to see if his proposals constituted a viable educational alternative. Although the educational positions were examined for consistency and applicability, it has been assumed that the analysis of the proposals of a classic educator of Quintilian's stature is sufficient to make the study worthwhile. Since it was further assumed prima facie that the present conditions in the United States constitute a crisis culture, consideration was given to Quintilian's concept that an intelligent population, educated by a serious study of the wisdom of great thinkers, could produce cultural stability.

This concept was then traced through the philosophies and methods proposed by the contemporary proponents of the Great Ideas or Great Books concept.

Questions considered in the investigation were:

1. Is there a relationship between Quintilian's educational philosophy and methods and that of the Great Ideas proponents?
2. Did Quintilian's educational proposals offer viable solutions to the problems of first century Rome, and does the Great Ideas concept offer solutions to current problems?
3. To what degree does a specified subject matter dictate educational methodology?

### C. Review of the Literature

Although the Institutes were published in approximately A.D. 95, it was not until the fourth century that Quintilian's

direct influence became apparent in the educational writings. St. Jerome (c. 331-420)<sup>1</sup> was probably led to Quintilian because of his interest in education.<sup>2</sup> Quintilian is frequently quoted directly in the works of Jerome, but the most significant character of the pagan Quintilian's influence upon the Christian schoolmaster is found in his suggestions for a proper education for a young girl. In a letter addressed to Laeta, Jerome lists instructions for her daughter's education which are very closely related to those of the Institutes. Jerome recommends that the young girl begin with Greek rather than Latin; that she learn her letters by playing with ivory blocks and by tracing them in wax with a stylus; that she be praised and rewarded; that she be given passages to learn by memory, both for training the mind and developing morals; and that her studies always be exciting and stimulating. All of these suggestions were made by Quintilian approximately three hundred years before they appeared in Jerome's letter to Laeta.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1967), Vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup>H. H. Horne and C. R. Smith, Quintilian on Education (New York: New York University Bookstore, 1936), p. 64.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

In the sixth century, Cassiodorus recognized Quintilian's Institutes as supplemental material in the study of eloquence, and he recommended that the works of both Quintilian and Cicero be bound together.<sup>1</sup> Also in the sixth century, Isodore of Seville, when he composed his encyclopedic study, the Origines, paid tribute to Quintilian for furthering and elucidating the Greek discipline of rhetoric.<sup>2</sup> With the endorsement of these two authoritative writers, Quintilian was obviously well-known as a rhetorician during the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

During the ninth century, Servatus Lupus, a well-educated scholar, student of both Rabanus and Einhard, was best known for his attempts to acquire the classics for study. He attempted to borrow from scholars throughout the world, requesting from the Abbot of York a copy of the twelve books of the Institutes. He later requested from Pope Benedict III complete copies of the works of Cicero and Quintilian, mentioning that he had only incomplete copies.<sup>4</sup>

Quintilian's educational thought was evident both in schools and the treatises of the twelfth and thirteenth

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>F. H. Colson, Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1924), p. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Sandys, Classical Scholarship, p. 487.

centuries. Perhaps the most distinguished recognition was the School of Chartres. This was originally the Cathedral school of that city, and in the eleventh century was a famous seat of learning. It received new distinction when Bernard and his brother Theodoric were headmasters during the twelfth century. During their administration, the school was modeled in general method upon the educational proposals of Quintilian.<sup>1</sup> At the monastery at Bec during the twelfth century, a monk, Stephen of Rouen, further abridged his incomplete version of the Institutes into an abstract of about one-third of its original size, emphasizing the educational prescriptions.<sup>2</sup> Wibald, another twelfth century scholar and abbot of Stavelot and Corvey, in a letter to Mangoldum praises the Institutes as a worthy educational text. After referring to several ideals from Quintilian such as consideration of individual differences, he concludes the discussion by admonishing his friend to read Quintilian.<sup>3</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, a twelfth century historian, quotes twice from the tenth book of the Institutes.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the thirteenth century encyclopedist, Vincent of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 539.

<sup>2</sup>Colson, Quintilian, p. li.

<sup>3</sup>Horne, Quintilian, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup>Colson, Quintilian, p. lii.



Beauvais, demonstrates a thorough knowledge of Quintilian, using the ancient more as a moral and philosophical authority rather than rhetorical authority.<sup>1</sup>

According to Colson, there are other general references to Quintilian throughout the medieval literary works, and in Becker's Catalogues of Libraries, Quintilian is mentioned five times (Bec, Michelsburg, Durham, Salzburg, and one of unknown origin).<sup>2</sup> All this evidence points to the conclusion that during the medieval period prior to the fourteenth century, Quintilian enjoyed some popularity, but was not as well-known nor widely-read as the chief poets or Cicero or even Seneca.<sup>3</sup>

Conditions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, radically altered Quintilian's position in the history of Western thought. The barbarians had been touched by civilization, and they looked to the classic writers of Greece and Rome for cultural direction. The result was a sweeping revival of Latin study, particularly in Italy; and the scholars divided their time between copying and translating existing manuscripts and searching for those which had been lost. For several centuries prior to this time,

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<sup>1</sup>Horne, Quintilian, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup>Colson, Quintilian, p. lvi.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

there had been only incomplete copies of the Institutes of Oratory available to the copy monks and the scholars.

Nevertheless, these mutilated texts were influential to such men as Petrarch who supplied annotations to his particular manuscript.<sup>1</sup> Boccaccio maintains in the Decameron that Quintilian would be a suitable name to call the eloquent friar.<sup>2</sup> Salutati, chancellor of Florence, quotes the first and tenth books frequently.<sup>3</sup> Jean de Montreuil and Nicholas de Clemanges, two Frenchmen, both quote Quintilian although they seem to place more emphasis on the study of actual oratory than on a formal study of rhetoric.<sup>4</sup> Gasparino da Barzizza, an Italian, is reported to have put so much trust in Quintilian that he attempted to supply the missing portions of the mutilated text in his own words; and Vergerius cites several ideas similar to Quintilian in his educational manuscript.<sup>5</sup>

A list of extant codices, supplied by Horne and Smith, indicate the availability of the Institutes during the Middle Ages:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. lvii.

<sup>2</sup>Horne, Quintilian, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>Colson, Quintilian, p. lviii.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. lix.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

1. Ambrosianus I, now at Milan, 10th century.
2. Bernensis, 10th century.
3. Bambergensis, 10th century.
4. Nostradamensis, 10th or 11th century.
5. Harleianus, a complete manuscript now in the British Museum, 11th century.
6. Turicensis, now at Zurich, supposed to be the one discovered by Poggio at St. Gall, 11th century.
7. Forentinus, presented by the Bishop of Strausburg to his Cathedral library, 11th century.
8. Pratensis, the abridgement made by Stephen of Rouen for educational purposes, 12th century.
9. Joannensis, at St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th century.
10. Puteanus, 13th century.
11. Vossianus I, 13th century.
12. Vossianus III, 14th century.
13. Almeloveenianus, date uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

Probably the most significant date in the study of Quintilian after the initial publication of the Institutes of Oratory in circa A.D. is the year 1416. During the summer of that year, Poggio, a papal secretary attending the Council of Constance (1414 to 1418), was filling his spare time searching for old manuscripts. One day his search took

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<sup>1</sup>Horne, Quintilian, p. 71.

him and his friends, Bartolomeo and Cencio, to the monastery of St. Gallen in Switzerland. There he discovered a complete copy of the Institutes of Oratory, the first that had been available for centuries. He was so excited that he hastened back to Constance and copied the entire manuscript himself in 53 days.<sup>1</sup>

This discovery, making available the entire work of the ancient humanist educator, insured Quintilian of a place of prestige during the Renaissance. The school at Mantus illustrates the influence of Quintilian upon all Renaissance humanists. Vittorino da Feltre used Quintilian as a model for himself, and his students became Quintilian scholars and authorities. Laurentius Valla opened a school of eloquence in Rome to pay homage to Quintilian. Matteo Palmieri patterned his ideal citizen in the Vita Civile after the ideal orator of Quintilian. Pope Pius II borrowed from Quintilian's prescriptions for the early training of boys. Guarino da Verona, as professor of Greek at Ferrara, conducted his school largely by the Quintilian formula. Agricola, the father of German humanism, is reported to have made a complete copy of the Institutes. Erasmus even apologized for having written on teaching because Quintilian had already said everything that needed said about the subject.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

Juan Luis Vives introduced Quintilian to Spain and became known as a second Quintilian. In the University of Wittenberg, a course in rhetoric required the reading of Quintilian. Sir Thomas Elyot in his famous manuscript, The Boke Named the Governour, adopts Quintilian's ideal as a student prepared in the art of speaking and his concern for early childhood instructions. Elyot encourages his pupils of fourteen to read Quintilian.<sup>1</sup>

All of these references by the humanist educators of the Renaissance acknowledge Quintilian's great influence in educational thought throughout the modern ages of the Western world.

During the past two centuries, Quintilian has been frequently translated, interpreted, and abridged, both by classical scholars and educators. The English translations include one by Reverend John Shelby Watson. This literal translation, complete with notes, was at first published in London in 1856. It was later reprinted in 1887 and 1903. The 1903 reprint by George Bell and Sons of London is frequently available in two volumes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 72-76.

<sup>2</sup>Quintilian, Institutes of Oratory, translated with notes by Rev. John Selby Watson, 2 Vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902).

H. E. Butler completed his translation for the Loeb Classical Library series in 1922. Its four volumes were published by G. P. Putnam Sons of New York, and is presently available from the Harvard University Press. This translation is common in the United States because of availability. The four volumes consist of a Latin-English presentation of the entire manuscript with some annotations by Butler.<sup>1</sup>

Colson's edition, which was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1924, is valuable for its author's scholarship in the introduction and annotation. Horne calls it classical scholarship at its best.<sup>2</sup>

Some translators have abridged the educational references of the twelve books of the Institutes, and have published the abridgements, usually with lengthy introductions which provide background material for Quintilian as a man, the period in which he wrote, and his influence upon educational thought. One such publication is Quintilian on Education by William Smail. This 1938 manuscript was published by Clarendon Press of Oxford. After a thorough introduction, Smail presents an English translation of most of Book I, the

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<sup>1</sup>Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria, trans. by H. E. Butler for Loeb Classical Library, 4 Vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921-22).

<sup>2</sup>Quintilian's Institutio Oratorio, trans. by F. H. Colson, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1924).

first portion of Book II and Chapters 1, 2, 10, and 11 from Book 12. Smail's introduction presents a factual but simple analysis of many of the more significant educational proposals made by Quintilian.<sup>1</sup>

Another manuscript of this nature is a rather obscure but very valuable publication by H. H. Horne and C. R. Smith. This 1936 monograph, Quintilian on Education (now out of print), was available through the New York University Book Store. Its long and thorough introduction by Horne provides a scholarly analysis of Rome and Roman education during the first century, plus presenting Quintilian as a man, his influence throughout the ages, and an estimate of Quintilian in reference to conditions in America during the 1930's. The second portion of the manuscript presents a lively translation of Book I and Book II and excerpts from the other books as they pertain to education. This dissertation study has relied heavily upon both the introduction and the translation of Horne and Smith's manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

A current publication by George Kennedy is entitled Quintilian. It was published in 1969 by Twayne Publishers, Inc. of New York. After a presentation of Quintilian's

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<sup>1</sup>William M. Smail, Quintilian on Education (New York: Columbia Teachers College Press, 1938).

<sup>2</sup>Horne and Smith, Quintilian on Education.

background and career, Kennedy analyzes Quintilian's discussion on education and rhetoric and considers him as a critic. For the most part, the analysis is presented in a chapter by chapter sequence. The chapter on education is the briefest and probably the most general while the chapter on rhetoric is the most developed, the most specific, and the most technical. Thus, Kennedy's discussion of Quintilian as a theorist of rhetoric offers a departure from most contemporary writers who are principally concerned with the ancient as an educator.<sup>1</sup>

In his Quintilian and the Education for the Vir Bonus, (unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Berkley, 1970) Wade Wright Egbert concluded that the vir bonus could most effectively be produced in the contemporary American setting in the private schools.<sup>2</sup>

Quintilian has also received distinction in various anthologies of educational thinkers. Gwynn, in a 1926 manuscript Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian, discusses the education prescribed by the Institutes in chronological order. He further draws both similarities and

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<sup>1</sup>George Kennedy, Quintilian (new York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1969).

<sup>2</sup>Egbert Wade Wright, Quintilian and the Education for the Vir Bonus (unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of California at Berkley, 1970).



dissimilarities between Quintilian and Cicero.<sup>1</sup> Robert Ulich in his 1950 edition of History of Educational Thought utilizes the educational thought of Quintilian to demonstrate the difference between the Greek idealism and the Roman practicality. He then traces Quintilian's influences as an educational humanist.<sup>2</sup>

Quintilian as an educator has also received attention in periodical articles during the last fifty years. In a period from 1920 until the present, there have been more than thirty-five journal articles covering a range of material from discussion of qualities of translations to educational theory. Some of the articles which were most significant to this study include an article by M. M. Odgers which enumerates Quintilian's quotations and references from the Greek and Latin literature. The conclusion of Odgers from the information is that Quintilian was far more accurate and copious in citing Latin references.<sup>3</sup> An article by Shiler presented a case for Quintilian's Stoicism and the reason for his obvious dislike of Seneca.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Aubrey Gwynn, Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), pp. 180-241.

<sup>2</sup>Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought (New York: American Book Company, 1950), pp. 51-60.

<sup>3</sup>M. M. Odgers, "Quintilian's Use of Earlier Literature," Classical Philology, XXVIII (July, 1933), pp. 182-188.

<sup>4</sup>E. G. Shiler, "Quintilian of Calagurris," American Journal of Philology, XLI (July, 1920), pp. 205-222.

Researchers have also pursued specific points of reference in Quintilian's position. In one article, Rose makes the point that Quintilian relied on the Gospel of Mark for his illustration of the precocious intellect.<sup>1</sup> Colson rejects the contention because these illustrations were common throughout the empire.<sup>2</sup> Laing maintains that as an educator, Quintilian's content could not be considered separately from his methodology.<sup>3</sup> Winterbottom examines the conditions of oratory during the time when Quintilian wrote and reaches the conclusion that the educator placed a moralistic importance on rhetoric out of necessity.<sup>4</sup> Kennedy summarizes that Quintilian must have been a practical, sensible man because Vespasian, a practical, sensible man, put such high trust in him.

Kennedy also makes the point that Quintilian did not write the Institutes of Oratory out of any compulsive need but wrote them as a labor of love. Nonetheless, he was confined by Roman tradition, and he failed to achieve anything consequential in his own age.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>H. J. Rose, "Quintilian the Gospels, and Comedy," Classical Review, XXXIX (February, 1925), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>F. H. Colson, "Quintilian, the Gospels, and Christianity," Classical Review, XXXIX (November, 1925), pp. 166-170.

<sup>3</sup>G. H. Laing, "Quintilian, the Schoolmaster," Classical Journal, XI (June, 1920), pp. 515-534.

<sup>4</sup>M. Winterbottom, "Quintilian and the Vir Bonus," Journal of Roman Studies, LIV (1964), pp. 90-97.

<sup>5</sup>George Kennedy, "Estimate of Quintilian," American Journal of Philology, LXXXIII (April, 1962), pp. 130-146.

#### D. Delimitations of Study

The principal source of material in this study was Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria, published in twelve books in A.D. 95. For the most part, this study utilized the Loeb Classical Library translation by H. E. Butler. This text of four volumes has both the Latin and English text side by side. Throughout the study, the translation was compared with other translations, particularly those of J. S. Watson. This allowed immediate comparisons between both printed versions and the researcher's interpretation. For background material, this study drew heavily from the records of first century historians, Tacitus and Suetonius.

Since the predominant consideration of this study concerned Quintilian and his setting, the Great Ideas concept did not require comprehensive examination. The concept was investigated only in the areas where it was assumed to relate to Quintilian's approach to education and to the specific questions of this research. The study did not intend to imply Quintilian's direct influence on the proponents of the Great Books concept, but was interested only in pursuing any relationships which might exist. Most of the ideas used were taken from editorial material in the Great Books of the Western World series. Volumes of

particular interest included Volume I of Gateway to the Great Books series and Volumes I-II-III of the Great Books of the Western World. The first volume is titled The Great Conversation and is a joint effort of Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer Adler. Other books by these authors, as well as those of Scott Buchanon, Stringfellow Barr, Jacques Maritain, and Mark Van Doren, provided further positions regarding the Great Ideas concept.

The Great Ideas concept in actual educational practice was observed first hand during a visit to St. Johns College, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

## CHAPTER II

### ROME AS A CRISIS CULTURE IN THE FIRST CENTURY

#### A. Introduction

I am entering on the history of a period rich in disasters, frightful in its wars, torn by civil strife, and even in peace, full of horrors. . . . Yet the age was not so barren in noble qualities as not also to exhibit examples of virtue. Mothers accompanied the flight of their sons; wives followed their husbands into exile; there were brave kinsmen and faithful sons-in-law; there were slaves whose fidelity defied even torture; there were illustrious men driven to the last necessity, and enduring it with fortitude; there were closing scenes that equalled the famous deaths of antiquity. Besides the manifold viscissitudes of human affairs, there were prodigies in heaven and earth, the warning voices of thunder, and other intimations of the future, auspicious or gloomy, doubtful or not to be mistaken. Never surely did more terrible calamities of the Roman People, or evidence more conclusive, prove that the Gods take no thought for our happiness, but only for our punishment.<sup>1</sup>

With this note of despair, chaos, and variety, Tacitus began his Histories which cover the span of time during which Quintilian rose to national prominence and spent his

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<sup>1</sup>Tacitus, The Histories, trans. by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), pp. 189-9-.

efforts designing an educational system to meet the needs of a people in a state of crisis.

But Tacitus had an advantage over Quintilian. He was able to evaluate the era in retrospect, looking back from a time of national and political stability. When Quintilian began his educational career in Rome in approximately A.D. 70, he had only the bleak warnings of empirical history and the turmoil of the present as a basis for planning and development; and it is important to recognize the influence of the history of the Empire upon his philosophy and his educational practices.

Quintilian probably first encountered the Roman Empire during the reign of Claudius, who became emperor in A.D. 37; and lived through the administrations of Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

#### B. Political Crisis

For most of those years, the government was, in effect, ruled by the military; and aspirants to the emperorship manipulated for military endorsement while incumbents drained the state treasurers with promises, rewards, and bribes to the soldiers.

Claudius himself was elevated to the throne by a military coup. Gaius Caesar was murdered by his own guard.

In their haste to name the next emperor, the guard found Claudius hiding in the palace and promoted him immediately.<sup>1</sup> Although the position did not come as easily for his successors, all the other emperors of the first century, with the exception of Titus, Nero, and Domitian, were elevated to the office by the military.

During the first century, the termination of the office of emperor was as abrupt as the promotion. Of the eight emperors who served during Quintilian's lifespan, five suffered violent deaths.

Death, however, was not a penalty reserved for emperors. In almost all administrations, there were frequent assassinations and cruel torture for enemies of the emperor. Nero was perhaps the most infamous of the tyrants. His assassinations ranged from his own mother, Agrippinna, to his devoted teacher, Seneca. Domitian, however, was as cruel because he tortured the victims and made public display of their agony.<sup>2</sup>

On at least two occasions, teachers were assassinated. Although the account is not entirely clear either in Tacitus or Suetonius, apparently Nero ordered the death of

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<sup>1</sup>Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, trans. by J. C. Rolfe (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1930), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 359-365.

his boyhood teacher, Seneca. In a defense for his life, Seneca bequeathed his wealth to the emperor; and at that time, Nero praised him lavishly. But sometime later, when Seneca attempted to intercede to Nero concerning justice for a friend, Nero ordered Seneca's death. At hearing the decree, Seneca slit the veins in his arms and legs, drank poison, and plunged into a steaming bath.<sup>1</sup> Claudius also had teachers destroyed. When his wife, Agrippina (mother of Nero), reported to him that his other son, Britannicus, had greeted Nero with an uncomplimentary term, Claudius ordered the death or banishment of the teachers.<sup>2</sup>

Excluding the internal strife among the royalty, the period of Quintilian's life could be termed as a period of general peace and rather rapid political progression.

Although there were frequent military skirmishes in the provinces, none of these was consequential. In fact, the legions were so inactive that they were frequently employed in various kinds of construction. Perhaps the most consequential of these skirmishes was the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70.<sup>3</sup>

Claudius made a series of changes in the administration of the empire which greatly reduced the prevalent Roman

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<sup>1</sup>Tacitus, The Annals, trans. by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), pp. 172-173.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>3</sup>Tacitus, The Histories, p. 295.



aristocracy. He elevated freedmen to the position of equality with citizens. After first following a practice of not promoting senators who could not prove at least five generations of Roman citizenship, he later promoted a freedman to the Senate, the only stipulation being that he could be adopted by a knight. According to Suetonius, these freedmen were actually ex-slaves and not free-born sons of ex-slaves. Claudius attempted to pass some of the emperor's decisions to the Senate, and he appointed provincials to the Senate.<sup>1</sup>

Under Seneca's leadership, the first half of Nero's administration was just as progressive. Frugal spending allowed surplus revenue; and significant legislation in many areas was passed. But the second half of the administration was almost an exact contradiction to the first half. Foolish expenditures depleted the revenue, and the emperor resorted to debasing the coinage as a temporary measure to gain spending power.<sup>2</sup>

Although Galba's reign was too filled with his personal insecurity to allow too much major reform, his presence as

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<sup>1</sup>Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars, trans. by Robert Graves (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1957), p. 196.

<sup>2</sup>Frank Frost Abbott, A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions (Boston: Ginn and Company, Publishers, 1902), p. 296.

emperor was in itself an example of the political progress of Rome. Galba was a provincial, a Spaniard, who was first named emperor by his own legions in Spain. This marked a significant deterioration of the Roman aristocracy, and it opened the way for the Flavian emperors who followed. The administrations of Otho and Vitellius, both during the year of A.D. 69, were too short to indicate governmental trends; but these short administrations do illustrate the flippancy of crown succession during the period. Both were promoted into the palace by their legions and both were displaced in bloody civil wars. Vitellius was actually killed in a bloody battle in the streets of Rome.<sup>1</sup> At the ascension of Vespasian, the military was in complete command of the Imperial throne. By establishing a basis for a line of succession, Vespasian stabilized both the government and society.

Vespasian, the first of the Flavian emperors, invoked many administrative and constitutional reforms. He himself was a humble man. Having lived most of his life outside Rome, he was not impressed with family heritage or aristocratic tradition. Having never been wealthy, he was also shrewd and disciplined in managing the financial transactions.

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<sup>1</sup>William Morey, Outline of Roman History (New York: American Book Company, 1900), p. 248.

He managed to restore order in the various provinces and he strengthened the border defenses. He conducted a census, and on that basis rearranged the senate and equestrian order. He initiated public work projects which would serve the greatest number of citizens. He also commissioned various teachers as state instructors. But it was his practice of bestowing the right of citizenship and the privileges of senatorial rank on provincials which greatly distinguished his reign and led to unity and a loyalty to the central government.<sup>1</sup>

Titus' administration was similar to his father's except that he was more liberal in his spending. Although Domitian made some administrative changes which resembled a trend toward monarchy, these came after the publication of the Institutes and are extratopical to this study.<sup>2</sup>

The conclusion to the above information is that during the first century the government of Rome was marked with extremes--from Nero's excessive financial indulgences to Vespasian's frugality; from Titus' kindness and gentility to Domitian's brutality and tyranny; from the aristocracy and nobility of Claudius to the commonness of the Flavians. It would be impossible to determine the total effect of

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<sup>1</sup>Abbott, Roman Political Institutions, pp. 307-309.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 310.

this political instability and change upon the general attitudes and the lives of the masses, but it is obvious that many important governmental decisions were made in a spirit of urgency.

### C. Social Crises

During the first century, Rome also underwent significant social change. One of the most important of these social changes was the fluctuating attitude toward Roman citizenship. During Claudius' reign as emperor, legislation was passed which gave the slave the right to obtain his freedom. Subsequent legislation gave the freedmen equality with citizens in such favors as serving in the Senate. Despite this, the freedman's position was not fully identified until Vespasian became emperor.<sup>1</sup>

Actually, the rise of the freedmen society was as much a matter of economic expediency as it was political liberality. Traditional Roman law prevented the members of the Senate from accumulating any wealth by the practice of commerce. In the early stages of the empire, talented freedmen could distinguish themselves as teachers or physicians, but as the empire grew, impelling a greater range of commerce and trade, the freedmen were in a position to engage in this trade. Thus, some of them amassed great fortunes

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

and became very wealthy, even though their social and political positions were not solidly established. Nevertheless, laws still limited some of their privileges. During Nero's administration, legislation prevented a freedman from marrying into a senatorial family.<sup>1</sup>

Another major social change during the first century resulted from the decline of the aristocracy. The Roman aristocracy represented a major connection between the Empire and the Republic. The Romans had developed some new attitudes and had adjusted to some new political machinery, but the aristocracy served as a reminder of what the civilization was founded upon. It was symbolic of the tradition which distinguished the Romans from the remaining parts of the world. It represented the formidable sense of security, stability, and practicality that characterized the aristocracy and permeated the society. The decline of the aristocracy, manifested in the elevation of Galba and the subsequent Flavians to the emperorship and further manifested in Vesapcian's promotion of freedmen to the Senate, symbolized significant social change, both in attitude and in practice.

The status of public pleading was further evidence of the deterioration of the basic tradition. In the era of

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<sup>1</sup>Tacitus, The Annals, p. 132.

the Republic, pleaders did not receive any remuneration for their service. Thus, pleading was an art practiced for its eloquence and power. During the early years of the Empire, the consequences of the pleading became so important that the more effective pleaders demanded payment; and some became quite wealthy from the practice of their skills.

Some equated this practice with the death of cultural eloquence, so after forceful persuasion, Nero invoked a limit on the amount which a pleader could demand.<sup>1</sup> Later, Vespasian decreed that pleaders could receive no payment.

Another indication of the social instability of Rome during the first century was the fluctuating position of the language. Claudius promoted the Latin language, and he, himself, became somewhat of a linguist, adding letters to the alphabet and composing grammar textbooks. Yet, the use of the Greek language was common, and teaching of both Greek language and literature was a common practice in the schools of the early empire. Vespasian's demand for a unified language indicates his fear of the adverse effects of the two languages.<sup>2</sup>

Other crises appeared in the first century in the form of natural disaster. On two occasions, once during Nero's

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>2</sup>Suetonius, Lives, (Graves), p. 205.

administration and once during Vespasian's administration, the city was heavily damaged by fire. During Titus' administration, Mount Vesuvius erupted, destroying villages, farms, and human life for several hundred square miles.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. Religious Crisis

Religiously, Rome wore a shallow veil of traditionalism during most of the first century. Belief in the ancient superstition is verified frequently in both Suetonius and Tacitus. Both recorded the omens which were interpreted as the God's indicators of the political and social changes which occurred.

The occurrence of the omens, some rather bizarre, achieve some veracity in that both Suetonius and Tacitus relate similar descriptions. Nevertheless, there is evidence in both authors that the traditional religious superstitions were waning.

Tacitus also makes references to Nero's execution of the Christians living in Rome during the first century. Despite the author's apparent dislike for the dogma of the Christian movement, he obviously had respect for its potential to invoke a religious revolution throughout the empire.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>2</sup>Tacitus, The Annals, p. 168.

The evidence of this chapter supports the conclusion that during the first century, the Roman civilization was in a state of flux. Politically, the imperial powers changed eight times in sixty-three years. The character of the government revolved from tyranny to stability to tyranny. The source of the power changed from the Caesars to Galba and the Flavians. Yet, behind all this stood a semi-idle, compulsive military ready to take the government into its own hands at the point of dissatisfaction.

Socially, the first century was exemplified by the rise of a freedmen society. The freedman, whether native or provincial, was given the right to distinction in teaching and medicine, then in business, then in government, and eventually into the Senate itself. But this climb was continual, not continuous. Legislation frequently imposed restraints upon the freedmen, and the declining aristocracy exercised its diminishing influence. In the midst of the rise of this new social class, natural disaster taxed the city, and reconstruction costs frequently depleted the state finances.

Religiously, the Romans, bound by their traditions, paid homage to the superstitions of ancient polytheism while both Stoicism and Christianity gained active converts.



This was the state of affairs in Rome when Quintilian went there as a young boy (during the administration of Nero) to serve as apprentice to the pleader Domitius Afer. This was the state of affairs when he re-entered Rome with his fellow countryman, Galba. This was the state of affairs when he was promoted to the position of first official schoolmaster by Vespasian. This was the state of affairs when he was appointed tutor of Domitian's grandnephews and found time to write the Institutes of Oratory.

Thus, Quintilian had experienced a civilization in a state of flux, a state of emergency; and his suggestions for a school system for that civilization at that point would have surely been based on his awareness of the crises around him.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES AND PRACTICES OF QUINTILIAN'S CONTEMPORARIES

##### A. Introduction

An educational system, if it is in tune with the society which it serves, reflects the general temper and character of the age. This was true of the educational system during the first century. Chapter II presented the culture of the times as being in a state of political, social, and religious crisis. Conditions changed so rapidly despite apparent allegiance to a history of rich traditions that the citizens had difficulty identifying their position in the scope of things at any one point of time. The same milieu was present in the educational realm. The contradicting poles of the civilization demanded an educational system to meet their particular philosophies and positions; thus the educators themselves were forced to various alternatives, experiments, and changes. The educational system in Rome during Quintilian's professional life was as varied as the men who worked in it.

Much of the debate centered around two issues: the Greco-Roman influence and the position of the family and state in the education of the youth.

#### B. Greco-Roman Debate

Actually, the Greco-Roman debate was as old as the Roman civilization itself. The Romans were borrowers and imitators, so it is natural that they would borrow their educational practices from the people who had most distinguished themselves in the academic world. During the early years of the Republic, the Romans produced no literature, no art, no history, and very little knowledge of sciences and architecture. For several centuries, the education of the Roman youth was left entirely to the family. The father would teach the young son the skills of agriculture and military, and this education was considered sufficient.<sup>1</sup> But as civilization became more widespread and its administration became more complex, there developed a need for proficiency in other areas. Consequently, the conquered Greeks were utilized as teachers. The practice of sending the Roman boys to organized schools to be educated by Greeks can be dated to approximately 272 B.C. when Livius Andronicus, the first Greek to write in Latin, came to

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<sup>1</sup>H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, trans. by George Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1956), p. 312.

Rome.<sup>1</sup> There is some question as to how these early instructors were paid. Of course, many were slaves and merely performed the task for their masters who received the bounty from their services. There is strong evidence that for several years, the teachers were simply given rewards and gifts by the students, rather than receiving regular payment.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the Greeks were involved in the education of the Roman boys, and they turned for subject matter to those things which they knew best--the Greek language, the Greek literature, and the Greek civilization. The Romans even accepted the Greek concept of a culture based on a study of rhetoric, literature, and philosophy.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the consensus acceptance of the general philosophy of Greek education, the Romans never made a full commitment to the total package of Greek practices. Being a practical people, the Romans rejected much of the idealism of the Hellenic influence. Also, the Romans were spectators while the Greek idea of education frequently demanded

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 330.

<sup>2</sup>Gwyn, Roman Education, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>Frederick Eby and Charles Arrowood, The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 516.

participation. For example, the powers of Rome would never condescend to dancing or allowing their sons to be taught the styles of dancing; thus much of the training of the gymnasium was not suitable for the future Caesars.<sup>1</sup>

During the days of the Republic, the Greek influence in the Roman culture through education was frequently protested. Cato was the most adamant of these protestors, expelling the Greek teachers from the state and setting an example of a strictly Roman education by teaching his own son. Plutarch captured both the spirit of his action and some of the trends of the educational practices in the following quotation:

Cato, himself would teach his son to read, although he had a servant, a very good grammarian, called Chilo, who taught others; but he thought it not fit, as he himself said, to have his son reprimanded by a slave, or pulled, it may be, by the ears when found tardy in his lessons; nor would he have him owe to a servant the obligation of so great a thing as his learning; he himself, therefore taught him his grammar, law, and his gymnastic training.<sup>2</sup>

The transition from the Republican age to the imperial age was more than a simple political change, bringing with

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<sup>1</sup>S. S. Laurie, Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 323.

<sup>2</sup>Plutarch, "Marcus Cato," The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans, trans., The Dryden Translation (Chicago: The Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), p. 286.

it a new Roman culture.<sup>1</sup> The Roman poets, led by Virgil and Horace, began speaking for their own people. Although their works were still largely imitative in style, they were Roman in content and spirit. Livy recorded the Republican history; and Terence wrote Roman satires.

This Romanization of literature and culture gave the schools of the first century a new dimension. Finally, the Roman educators had an option; they could choose between the Greek idealism or the Roman practicality. By the time Domitian became emperor, the educators had the writings of hundreds of Romans for subject matter. Such notables as Cicero, Seneca, and Tacitus in oratory and Cato in agriculture gave the educators ample material. Despite this, many traditionalists, both educators and laymen, rejected a full commitment to a Roman system. The instability of the period must have provoked much thought to the earlier age of the Republic when rhetoric was an art, synonymous with virtue and eloquence; and developing this art was a process of synthesizing the temperament of the Greek culture into the fervent Roman life. Thus, the Greco-Roman debate was as common during the last decade of the first century as it was during the first decade.

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<sup>1</sup>This was the cultural environment which had its beginning in the late Republic when such men as Julius Caesar gave charisma and dignity to government power, and Cicero gave eloquence and style to the art of oratory.

## C. The Role of the Family

The other educational debate of the first century was the role of the family in the educational process. The pater familias was the key to the Roman social structure from the beginning of the Republic throughout the history of the Empire. The laws protected the rights of the father, giving him absolute authority over the sons. Thus, the principal purpose of all education was to teach filial obedience and loyalty. As stated previously, for many years the sons were educated at home by the fathers. Although most of their lessons were in the practical areas of agriculture and war, they apparently learned the rudiments of the native language. There are indications that literacy was common among the Romans several years prior to the first recorded schools.<sup>1</sup> After the civilization had developed to allow public pleading, the sons were educated at home by the fathers before they were apprenticed to some distinguished pleader for the finishing and polishing of their skills.

Because of this tradition, the practice of sending the young men to schools was never fully endorsed by the Roman aristocracy. This debate was still current during the last half of the first century. When the emperor,

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<sup>1</sup>Gwyn, Roman Education, p. 15.

Vespasian, appointed Quintilian to the position as first state schoolmaster, he endorsed schools as a way of Roman life. The decision was not immediately popular, and Quintilian himself speaks to the issue in the Institutes of Oratory when he considers the relative merits of both sides of the question. Quintilian ultimately reaches the position of favoring the schools because of the value of socialization, but this was apparently not the final statement in the debate.<sup>1</sup> As the Roman fathers watched much of the culture change and the tradition of Republic disappear during the first years of the Empire, they frequently expressed concern over the possibility of losing the pater familias role. Consequently, it was common for wealthy parents to employ family tutors. Many of the well-known educators of Quintilian's age spent some of their professional life as private tutors. This list includes such names as Seneca, Verrius Flaccus, and Quintilian himself.

Despite the debates in philosophy, aims, and content, the educational system in Rome during Quintilian's professional life was relatively well-organized structurally with a specific curriculum, definite age brackets, and defined duties for the teachers in each school.

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<sup>1</sup>Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian, trans. by H. E. Butler, pp. 41-53.



## D. The Ludus

The oldest of these established schools was the Ludus, the native elementary school, which had a history dating back to the very beginning of the Republic. The name itself literally means play, and surely the term has some significance; yet by the first century the Ludus was a very serious part of the Roman educational ladder. Although many of the children were still receiving their early education at home, the Ludus served both boys and girls from the ages of seven to twelve. The curriculum included the Twelve Tables, which the children learned verbatim; elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic; some training in religion through religious stories; and some stories from the great national legends.<sup>1</sup> The Ludi were indigenous Roman institutions, and Latin was the appropriate language. Because of phonetic consistency of the language, syllabic approach to reading was the most obvious.<sup>2</sup> However, it appears that teaching methods were for the most part derived through consequence and accident before Quintilian published the Institutes of Oratory and attempted to give some scientific analysis to the various methods. Writing was taught largely through copying. In fact, copying seems

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<sup>1</sup>Laurie, Historical Survey, pp. 336-337.

<sup>2</sup>C. A. Forbes, "Why Roman Johnny Could Read," Classical Journal, LV (November, 1959), p. 52.

to have been a common teaching procedure through much of the student's career. The schools were located in various places in the city, frequently in dimly-lighted, dismal rooms. The discipline was usually very severe, and the teaching uninspiring and uninteresting.<sup>1</sup>

#### E. The Grammar School

The second school in the educational ladder was the grammar school for young men between the ages of twelve and fifteen years. Although it had a Greek influence, deriving its name and some of its curriculum from the Greeks, the educational division was representative of the early empire. Originally, the curriculum consisted of grammar, literature, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, music, religion, geography, and gymnastics.<sup>2</sup> Because of this, grammarians frequently were criticized for offering too broad a curriculum. Marcus Verrius Flaccus and Quintus Remmius Palaemon, two notable grammarians, will be discussed later in this chapter because of their relationship to Quintilian.

#### F. The School of Rhetoric

After the students had completed the grammar school, they then were ready to attend the rhetorical school. This link in the ladder was very definitely indigenous to

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<sup>1</sup>J. F. Dobson, Ancient Education and Its Meaning to Us (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963), pp. 105-109.

<sup>2</sup>Laurie, Historical Survey, p. 338.

the Imperial age, and grew to prominence despite bitter opposition. Actually, the schools followed the philosophical approach of the Athenian, Isocrates, in that they offered a practical approach to teaching oratory. The reasons for the rise in popularity include the rising importance of oratory in the Roman life, the objective approach to public speaking offered by such men as Cicero and Quintilian, the need of Roman youth for a higher degree of verbal proficiency to participate in a more complex governmental structure, and the apparent weakness of the grammar schools.

Actually, the training of the rhetorical school was much broader than the term might imply. After the Roman youth assumed the toga virilis at age fifteen, he then attended the rhetorical school for polishing his skills in most areas of public life. These schools were the training for the practice of law, debating in the Senate or directing a military legion. Thus, the orator was the ideal of the educated man.

The curriculum consisted chiefly of practice in declaiming, speaking, and debating. The rhetoricians devised hypothetical legal and ethical situations which served as material for the declaiming. Competition was a prominent tool in the teaching technique. Imitation was

also a common practice, so it was necessary for the rhetorician to be accomplished himself. Because of the participative nature of the schools, the students were given a practical study in such subjects as astronomy, geometry, and philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

When the Roman youth finished the rhetorical school at approximately twenty years of age, he, if he were particularly wealthy and ambitious, would travel to such places as Athens or Alexandria, where he would join a scholarly association with other young men to enter discussion about the various sciences and arts. Vespasian furthered and stabilized this practice by assembling a library in Rome, so the men could continue their education without leaving home.<sup>2</sup>

A more comprehensive understanding of Quintilian's educational position should be gained from an analysis of some of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors. The grammarians, Flaccus and Palaemon, and the moral philosopher Seneca appear to have direct relationship to Quintilian.

#### G. Verrius Flaccus

Verrius Flaccus was born in approximately 10 B.C. He attracted attention as a grammarian because of his unusual teaching techniques. He utilized competition, pitting the

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<sup>1</sup>Quintilian, Institutes, Book I.

<sup>2</sup>Frank Graves, A History of Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1921), p. 263.

students against themselves in their writing and offering a prize of a book to the winner. He was selected by Augustus to tutor the emperor's grandsons, so he gave instruction in the palace, for which he received 100,000 sesterces a year. His major work, De Verborum Significatu, was the first Latin lexicon ever written. It was an encyclopedic approach to such broad subjects as history and grammar, and it was frequently illustrated with quotations from the writings and men in Roman history. He was honored at death with a statue.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that he made a solid impression on the young Quintilian.

#### H. Palaemon

Q. Remmius Palaemon was apparently Quintilian's teacher. He was born a slave and received his education by accompanying the master's son to school, a common practice of the times. He was set free to become a leading teacher of grammar at Rome. Suetonius was concerned particularly about Palaemon's moral character and devotes more than one-half the passage about Palaemon to a discussion of his vices. He quotes both Tiberius and Claudius as declaring that no one was less suitable to be entrusted with the education of young men.<sup>2</sup> Palaemon was gifted with a remarkable memory,

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<sup>1</sup>Sandys, Classical Scholarship, Vol. I, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup>Suetonius, Lives of the Grammarians, trans. by J. C. Rolfe (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1930).

readiness of speech and the ability to compose poetry. He was arrogant, stating that letters had been born with him and would die with him. His major work, Ars Grammatica, was the first scholastic treatise on Latin grammar. He distinguished the four declensions, included rules for correct speaking, and illustrated with quotations from the ancient poets.<sup>1</sup>

### I. Seneca, the Younger

Born in approximately 4 B.C. in Spain, Seneca, the Younger, was taught by his father, a famous rhetorician and faithful follower of Cicero. He identified with the Stoic philosophy while he was still a young man, and remained a Stoic, at least philosophically, until his death. He entered public life at Rome and was in various stages of favor and disfavor with the imperial powers until he was appointed by Claudius to be the tutor of the young Nero. It was through this alliance that he grew to a position of national prominence and historical significance. Although some of his biographers minimize Seneca's activities, apparently he engaged in the intrigue and licentiousness which was rampant during the Claudius-Nero administrations, perhaps to the point of engaging in an affair with Agrippinna, mother of Nero, in an attempt to insure his high position in the

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<sup>1</sup>Sandys, Classical Scholarship, Vol. I, p. 201.

government. For the first five years of his administration, Nero was content to leave the problems of the empire to his philosopher-counselor-tutor; but the internal struggling among those beneath the emperor forced Seneca into retirement and eventually into apparent involuntary suicide. Despite his great accumulation of wealth and his indulgence in the luxuries and vices of the era, he championed Stoicism until his death in A.D. 65.<sup>1</sup>

Seneca, like Quintilian, searched for the formula for producing the vir bonus, the man of virtue and eloquence. But unlike Quintilian, he searched in the area of idealistic philosophy and not through the works of the grammarians or rhetoricians. For him, the Stoic philosophy was the only liberal study, liberating the will from the bondage of the desire. Mental discipline was important in educating the young, but this alone did nothing to form the virtuous man. In fact, he condemned those who engaged all their time in the study of useless letters. He opposed those who engaged in literary and philosophical criticism because they spent their worthwhile time in meaningless pursuits. Thus, he disapproved of most of the activities of the schools of rhetoric because they spent their time debating hypothetical

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Abbott, A History and Description of Roman Political Institutions (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1902), p. 296.

situations; and he also set himself from most Roman "philosophers" who participated in minute linguistic scrutinization. He did frequently exhibit his ability in the activities of logic, and his writings attest to his command of rhetorical style, so his criticism came from a deep understanding of the problem and not from a superficial analysis.

As a Stoic, he was a man of action, and he showed contempt for any educational practice which did not lead to a practical action.

Through his Stoicism, he became an advocate of a moral revival. He had come to the conclusion that man's natural course is to corruption and degradation, and the only salvation was through the moral philosophy found in the position of Stoicism. Thus, his solution to the political, social, and religious crises which the Romans faced in the first century was to be found in the liberalizing study of theoretical philosophy, and not in the exacting details of a disciplined education received at the feet of the grammarians or rhetoricians.

Because of his high government status and because of the popularity of Stoicism during the troubled times of the Nero administration, Seneca became a major influence in both rhetorical style and rhetorical education in the latter



half of the first century. In achieving this distinction, he was merely following the pattern of his father, the Elder Seneca, who was a famous interpreter and synthesizer of Cicero. The Elder Seneca actually began tarnishing the silver oratory of Cicero when he developed new techniques and a new vocabulary. Declanatio became the word for school exercise while controversia was used for the very popular imaginary, and sometimes absurd, law suits.

The rhetoires then substituted historical and logical proof for more emotional means of embellishment and coloring. Seneca himself stated that the speaker's job was not only to convince, but to please.<sup>1</sup>

The Younger Seneca was more interested in the moral issues of the universe than the fine art of oratory; thus he followed his father's precedent of utilizing the styles of declamation. As stated previously, he became a strong influence in establishing educational trends of the times and these were the trends which Quintilian, as well as others, cited as the evidence of degradation of the noble art of oratory.

Since Seneca believed that the solution to man's problem could be found in the study of moral philosophy, he maintained that orators, or at least declaimers, could

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<sup>1</sup>Gwyn, Roman Education, p. 170.

spring naturally from a study of philosophy without an analysis, study or practice in the art of oratory.

It is difficult to ascertain how much influence Seneca had upon Quintilian. Regardless of what he says superficially, Quintilian frequently indicates Stoic tendencies, and the critical reader may see strands of the Senecan philosophy in his positions. Yet, Quintilian's educational positions are so opposite to those of Seneca, one must wonder if the entire theme of the Institutes of Oratory is a counter attack of the Senecan school of rhetoric.

It is logical to assume that Quintilian could have known Seneca personally since he was an apprentice to the great pleader Domitius Afer, who died in the early part of Nero's administration.<sup>1</sup> It is well within reason that Quintilian, as the young apprentice to the distinguished figure about the capitol, could have sustained an acquaintance with many of the more important figures. Thus, he could have known Seneca personally. It is more comprehensible, however, to assume that Quintilian was at least acutely interested in Seneca's career during the latter stages of his life when he was chastised, humiliated, and

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<sup>1</sup>Tacitus, The Annals, p. 146.

destroyed because of his relationship to the Emperor and because of his philosophical position.

There are many parallels in the two careers. Both were provincials from Spain. Both were important pleaders in Rome; and both were appointed tutors to heirs-apparent to the imperial robes. It is an unanswerable question as to how much the younger Quintilian tried to avoid the mistakes of his predecessor. The decline of oratory for the elevation of philosophy had cost Seneca his imperial favor, his position, his wealth, and eventually his life. Quintilian must have been aware of this when he devised an alternative system of education, designed to restore the Silver Age of Ciceronian oratory.

#### J. Pliny, the Elder

Another figure of apparent educational influence in the time of Quintilian was Pliny the Elder, who lived from A.D. 23 to A.D. 79. His chief literary work was Naturalis Historia, an encyclopedic treatment of many areas of human knowledge including art and grammar. His discussion of ancient art is perhaps one of the most comprehensive and most definitive statements concerning the subject, and his discussion of grammar is thought to have been a significant influence on Quintilian's treatment of grammar found in the first book of the Institutes of Oratory.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sandys, Classical Scholarship, p. 204

### K. The Successors and Students

A study of Quintilian's successors and students can also provide some important insights into the educational patterns of the latter years of the first century. One of the most distinguished of those who are generally thought to have been Quintilian's students was Pliny the Younger. Born in A.D. 61, he was an orphaned nephew of the elder Pliny. He led an active political life in Rome, and his writings provided posterity with a view of Roman society somewhat different from that of his friend Suetonius. Instead of focusing on the foibles, weaknesses, and extravagances of the governmental elite, Pliny presented a society which was warm, humane, and effective. He presented a formula for social life which was apparently widely received in the latter part of the century. This formula called for active participation in state affairs during the years of youth and a more subdued life of administering the rural estates during the later years. In this age of leisure, the most important function of the citizen was reading and imitating the masters in pursuit of developing literary style. For him, this was an imperative activity because literary style was necessary for filling the emptiness of life and providing the transitory nature of human life with some stability. Of course, the goal of this study was the sharing of this style with others in quiet contemplation,

small discussions, and general performances. He seemed to feel that acceptance and appreciation by a large number of people were indications of excellence in literary style. Although his emphasis on a retiring life of leisure in the country is different from Quintilian's admonition to full participation in the affairs of the state, many of Pliny's thoughts do indicate his dependence on Quintilian's insights. His oratorical style is modeled on Cicero and Demosthenes; and he, like Quintilian, denounced the Senecan influence. His theory of cultivating the literary taste as a means for developing the fullness of virtue and the good life is also similar to Quintilian's position.<sup>1</sup>

It is thought that the satirist, Juvenal, might have also been a student of Quintilian since he pays the master a high compliment, calling him brave, wise, noble, and handsome.<sup>2</sup> Juvenal, unlike Quintilian, points to the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero as examples of the dangers of a political career. In addition to praising Quintilian as a humane director of youth, he criticizes contemporary practices of affectation of language and literature.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Dill, Roman Society, pp. 141-173.

<sup>2</sup>Juvenal, The Satires, trans. by Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), p. 98.

<sup>3</sup>Sandys, Classical Scholarship, p. 208.

Another teacher of interest in the study of Quintilian is Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. Although he was born in the latter part of Quintilian's life (A.D. 90), he champions many of the same causes. He denounces Seneca and pays high tribute to Cicero. He also praises the early Roman literature and implies that virtue can be gained from reading the ancient authors.<sup>1</sup>

These were the educational conditions in Rome during the first century. These were the conditions which Quintilian had studied during his work as a private teacher, a state-paid educator, and a private tutor to heirs-apparent to the imperial throne. It is no mystery then that his educational treatise, composed during the last decade of the first century, should be the most comprehensive and most thorough educational work produced by a Roman. His task was as much editing and synthesizing as it was creating and innovating.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

## CHAPTER IV

### QUINTILIAN'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

#### A. Background - His Life

Since there are many discrepancies among the scholars regarding the exact chronological sequences of Quintilian's life, it is virtually impossible to insist upon specific dates for events; nevertheless, most authorities do agree upon several factors which would have been significant to his life and service to the schools and society of Rome.

Quintilian was born in the ancient city of Calagurris in Spain some time during the decade of A.D. 30 to A.D. 40 with 35 being the date established by consensus. Very little is known of his family except that his father was probably a pleader or a teacher of rhetoric of some importance. The elder Seneca refers to a declamation by the elder Quintilian,<sup>1</sup> and Quintilian himself mentions a passage from his father for an illustration of a point in the Institutes of Oratory. He states, "I do not know that

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<sup>1</sup>Horne, Quintilian, p. 33.

there is any reason why modesty should prevent me from illustrating this point from my own family."<sup>1</sup> Quintilian also compares his son's potential in eloquence to that of the grandfather's. Although the family was not of senatorial rank, apparently the father was interested in the proper education for his son and provided him with the best possible experiences. Quintilian frequently refers to the teaching techniques he encountered as a student. Some he endorses and some he criticises; but he implies that he was a serious student. It is difficult to determine how early the young Quintilian, following the pattern of the prodigy of most aspiring provincial families, was sent to Rome for climaxing his education. One ancient author maintains that Quintilian was the student of Remmius Palaemon,<sup>2</sup> a man of rather questionable character who made several contributions to the study of Latin grammar and whose model is followed closely in many parts of Quintilian's

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<sup>1</sup>ix. 3.73. (To expedite footnoting, the references to the Institutes of Oratory will be denoted with the classical numbering system. The Roman numeral refers to the Book; first Arabic numeral refers to the chapter; and the second Arabic numeral refers to the paragraph. Unless otherwise stated, the references and direct quotations will refer to the H. E. Butler Edition of Loeb's Classical Library.)

<sup>2</sup>Gwyn, Roman Education, p. 181.



treatment of grammar in Book I of the Institutes. In fact, Quintilian quotes Palaemon on a minor point of grammar.<sup>1</sup>

It is definite from Quintilian's writings as well as those of other ancients that Quintilian was a student of the renowned pleader Domitius Afer. Afer, a prominent figure in the courts of Nero, died in either A.D. 58 or 59. Quintilian's frequent references to Domitius implies that the relationship was stronger than that of a casual observer. He quotes either directly or indirectly from Afer thirteen times<sup>2</sup> and refers to him twenty-five times.<sup>3</sup> Among those references, Quintilian praises him as an accomplished orator. "(He) is superior in art and in every department of oratory, indeed he may be marked with the old orators without fear of contradiction."<sup>4</sup>

Quintilian commends Domitius for avoiding the contemporary practice of striving for too much rhythm. "To such an extent did he avoid the voluptuous effect of soft and delicate rhythm, that he actually interposed obstacles to break the natural harmonies of his language."<sup>5</sup> Quintilian

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<sup>1</sup>i. 4.20.

<sup>2</sup>M. M. Odgers, "Quintilian's Use of Earlier Literature," Classical Philology XXVIII (July, 1933), p. 186.

<sup>3</sup>Horne, Quintilian, p. 344.

<sup>4</sup>x. 1.118.

<sup>5</sup>i. 4.21.

appreciates his teacher's wit and Roman patronage. "I asked what poet in his opinion came nearest to Homer, and he replied, 'Virgil comes second but is nearer to first than third.'"<sup>1</sup> Finally, Quintilian, in the closing pages of the Institutes, uses Afer as the pathetic example of the great man who is not content to retire with grace but continues to perform after he has reached senility.

Domitius Afer was by far the greatest of all the orators whom it has been my good fortune to know, and I saw him, when far advanced in years, daily losing something of that authority which his merits had won of him; he whose supremacy in the courts had once been universally acknowledged, now pleaded amid the unworthy laughter of some, and the silent blushes of others, giving occasion to the malicious saying that he had rather "faint than finish." And yet even then whatever his deficiencies, he spoke not badly but less well.<sup>2</sup>

This evidence leads to a conclusion that Domitius Afer had been a strong influence in the life of Quintilian, who as a young man was associated with this influential and successful pleader in the court of Nero.

Nothing is known of Quintilian's activities between the decade of A.D. 58 (Afer's death) and A.D. 68, but he obviously returned to Spain. Perhaps with his education complete, he returned to his home to begin his career as a pleader or perhaps he returned to assist in his father's school.

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<sup>1</sup>ix. 1.86.

<sup>2</sup>xii. 11.3-4.

Regardless of the nature of his activity, Quintilian achieved some distinction during that decade because he is next accounted for in A.D. 68 when he returned to Rome amidst the entourage of his fellow countryman Galba who was to be the first provincial to achieve the title of Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

He became very busy, enjoying both a professional practice in the courts as well as prestige as a teacher of eloquence. As a pleader during Vespasian's administration, he was apparently prominent because he refers to one of his peculiar cases where he pleaded in favor of Queen Bernice, the Jewish concubine of Titus, while she was acting as judge.<sup>2</sup> The change in emperors at the death of Galba and the promotion of Vespasian apparently did not affect his role in either activity. As an educator he was appointed by the emperor as the first Professor of Rhetoric of Rome. This appointment carried a state stipend which supplemented the fees he gained from his private students. Thus, Quintilian became a rather wealthy man. Jerome sets the date of this appointment at A.D. 88,<sup>3</sup> but this is an obvious error because Quintilian indicates that the Institutes, written prior to Domitian's death in A.D. 96, are the

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<sup>1</sup>Smail, Quintilian, XIV.

<sup>2</sup>iv. 1.19.

<sup>3</sup>Smail, Quintilian, XIV.

result of twenty years of teaching experience. The appointment must have occurred in the early stages of Vespasian's reign which began in A.D. 69.

The Institutes of Oratory is the major work directly contributed to Quintilian. He does mention two other works which were circulated under his name, but both of those were class notes published by overly-zealous students.<sup>1</sup> Another treatise, De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae, is now lost. As noted above, the Institutes were published before A.D. 96, probably in 95. In the message to the publisher, Quintilian states that he worked two years on the composition. From a passage within the manuscript, he affirms that during this time he was appointed by the Emperor Domitian as the tutor of the Emperor's grandnephews. Also, in the Prologue of Book VI, he shares his personal tragedies during the period of composition. First, he lost his young bride. He then lost his only two sons.

Again, there is much disagreement about the time of death for Quintilian. Some authorities feel that Quintilian preceded Domitian in death while others feel that he lived long enough to see the fruits of his publication, living well into the second century, as late as A.D. 118.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>i. pro. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Watson, Institutes, p. vii.

### B. Quintilian's Character

In order to facilitate an understanding of Quintilian's philosophical system, it is necessary to investigate those factors in his writing which give some insight to his character, his personality, and his specific intellectual frame of reference.

First, it is obvious from his comments that he was a stern, austere man who felt that much of the social change in early stages of the transition from republic to empire was detrimental to the Roman structure, and was contradictory to the basic nature of man. His statements also indicate that he was too serious about his career and his personal improvement as both a pleader and rhetorician to spend much of his time involved in the licentious living that characterized some of the Roman elite of the time.

Quintilian condemns the contemporary practices of rearing children in a life of ease and comfort. He suggests care in picking the infant's nurse, making sure that she is of good character and well-educated<sup>1</sup> and then in a very significant passage when he is responding to the criticism that associations in schools might contribute to a student's immorality, he states,

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1.4.

I would that we did not too often ruin our children's character ourselves. We spoil them from the cradle. That soft upbringing, which we call kindness, saps all the sinews both of mind and body. If the child crawls on purple, what will he not desire when he comes to manhood? Before he can talk, he can distinguish scarlet and cries for the very best brand of purple. We train their palates before we teach their lips to speak. They grow up in litters; if they set foot to earth, they are supported by the hands of attendants on either side. We rejoice if they say something over-free, and words which we should not tolerate from the lips even of an Alexandrian page are greeted with laughter and a kiss. We have no right to be surprised. It was we that taught them; they hear us use such words, they see our mistresses and minions; every dinner party is loud with foul songs, and things are presented to their eyes of which we should blush to speak. Hence springs habit, and habit in time becomes second nature. The poor children learn these things before they know them to be wrong. They become luxurious and effeminate, and far from acquiring such vices at schools, introduce them themselves.<sup>1</sup>

One characteristic in Roman society which disturbs Quintilian was the trend toward effeminacy. He attacks any trend, any habit, or any activity which would challenge the role of Roman male supremacy. In early training the students' reading should be "manly, combining dignity and charm . . . must not degenerate into sing-song or the effeminate modulations now in vogue."<sup>2</sup> This is not a fleeting fancy of a senile schoolmaster because, as pointed

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<sup>1</sup>i. 2.6-8.

<sup>2</sup>i. 8.3.

out earlier, Quintilian praises Domitius Afer for his non-rhythmic style. But he is disturbed by the current trend. "For purity at any rate and manliness, if I may say so, we must certainly go to (ancient) writers since today even our style of speaking is infected with all the faults of modern decadence."<sup>1</sup> He ultimately reaches the conclusion that such present practices in the schools as taking fierce competition out of the declaiming could be compared to the abominable practice of castrating slave boys to prevent them from exhibiting the full qualities of manliness. Thus, he reaches the final statement, "I take nature for my guide and regard any man whatsoever as fairer to view than a eunuch."<sup>2</sup>

He denounces all forms of obscene languages or allusions<sup>3</sup> and he suggests severe restrictions for the use of humor for the orator. He does not accept any activity which would suggest a theatrical tendency such as imitating another person or using oneself as a source of humor. He does endorse some of the wit of his ideal orator Cicero, particularly his use of puns.<sup>4</sup> Quintilian pleads historical

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<sup>1</sup>i. 8.9.

<sup>2</sup>v. 12.19.

<sup>3</sup>vi. 3.47.

<sup>4</sup>vi. 3.89.

precedent as basis for his criticism, "I shall content myself with following the good old rules of Roman modesty . . ." <sup>1</sup>

Quintilian also establishes a case for the value of disciplined, exacting productive labor. His suggestion that lessons begin when the child is still very young is indicative of the value he places on work. He realizes the need for worthwhile play, but to delay studies is not a profitable use of time. Quintilian's life is sufficient illustration for his esteem of work. Beginning as a provincial, he rose to prominence with the Roman emperor. He distinguished himself in two professions simultaneously, and he produced the most comprehensive research document on education published by an ancient.

The educational system he proposes is exacting, comprehensive, and awesome in its scope. His encyclopedic approach to subject matter exempts no knowledge or field of study as appropriate material for the training of the orator. In the final book of the Institutes, he defends his curriculum by establishing the priorities. "But it is ourselves that make the time for study short. If all (wasted) time were spent on study, life would seem long enough and there would be plenty of time for learning. As it is we count not the years which we have given to study but the years we

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<sup>1</sup>vii. 3.39.



have lived."<sup>1</sup> This attitude toward hard work and the disciplined life influenced the proposals which he makes for the education of the Roman ideal.

Despite this austerity, Quintilian frequently exhibits qualities which indicate that he was a warm, humane, and understanding man. His understanding of the young students and his propensity to leniency with their behavior will be discussed in the succeeding chapter of this study. Further insight into his nature is gained from the Prologue to Book VI during which he discusses his personal problems. His bride died at nineteen years of age. Following her death, the younger son died. Then during the composition of the Institutes, the older son, approximately twelve, died also.

The flow of both language and emotions indicates sincere grief. His questioning of the tragic pattern of human life is inconsistent with most of his positions in the Institutes, but it is typical of men of all ages at a time of grief and despair. He remembers his wife's virtues, her sweetness and love, and his eulogy for his son obviously wells from a deep and sincere paternal affection. He extols the boy's natural abilities, grace, and charm with superlatives which might be considered the ramblings of a non-objective parent, but his recollections of insignificant

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 11.89.

incidents in the child's life are passionate examples of parental pride. The child preferred the father to the nurse or grandmother. The child preferred to be in the presence of men rather than women. The child exhibited specific acts of courage during the extended illness which leads Quintilian to question how he himself mustered the courage to carry out the Roman custom of taking the last breath from the lips of the dying into the lips of the surviving.

From this grief, Quintilian pursues the questions of providence which are typical results of sincere remorse. "What further use can I hope to be on earth when heaven thus frowns upon me?"<sup>1</sup> "My only fault is that I still live."<sup>2</sup> "No man grieves long save through his own fault."<sup>3</sup> But in the final statements of the Prologue, failing to find reason in the universe for his despair, he reconciles himself to the task of finishing the Institutes out of his obligation to posterity. "But I still live and must find something to make life tolerable, and must needs put faith in the verdict of the wise, who held that literature alone can provide

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<sup>1</sup>vi. pro. 3.

<sup>2</sup>vi. pro. 4

<sup>3</sup>vi. pro. 14.

true solace in adversity."<sup>1</sup> Ultimately he states, "But for this very reason I must rouse myself to face my task with greater spirit, since it is easy to despise fortune, though it may be hard to bear her blows."<sup>2</sup>

Another feature in the Quintilian personality which affected his philosophy was his fierce competitive spirit. Perhaps this spirit was natural for provocative and sensitive provincials who realized the obstacles in rising in status in the imperial society. The Roman structure provided them an opportunity to rise, even to senatorial ranks, but these honors came to the provincials through hard work and distinguished achievements. They were not the results of accidents of birth as was the case for many native Roman citizens. Quintilian laments the death of his son which is even more tragic because had he lived, the son might have been adopted by a senator. Apparently, the rise in status was important to Quintilian.

On the other hand, his competitive spirit might have been the result of his strong Roman allegiance. He had been a diligent student of the Roman writers and heroes; and a common thread through the Roman success story was the competitive strain.

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<sup>1</sup>vi. pro. 14.

<sup>2</sup>vi. pro. 15.

It also is possible that Quintilian was more of a competitor because of training. He discusses the practice of his own masters of using a competitive framework for structuring the class. The students competed in declamation performances once a month. The winners were given select positions in the classroom and were awarded special prizes.<sup>1</sup>

Regardless of the origin, this competitive spirit was a consequential factor in Quintilian's philosophy of virtue and the good man. Although he defines the orator as a good man skilled in speaking, he contends that the number one duty of the pleader is to win the case regardless of the techniques which must be used. In explaining the techniques for presenting the propositions, he suggests almost complete license, "Sometimes we shall even have to hoodwink the judge and work upon him by various artifices so that he may think that our aim is other than what it is."<sup>2</sup>

In Book XII when he is drawing the final picture of the orator as a man of all virtue, wisdom and reason, he deals with the inconsistency of the competitive license and general virtue. "Everyone must allow what even the sternest of the Stoics admit, that the good man will sometimes tell a lie, and further that he will sometimes do so for

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<sup>1</sup>i. 2.3.

<sup>2</sup>iv. 5.5.

comparatively trivial reasons."<sup>1</sup> For him, competitive debate is a natural process. "Still it is in the nature of things conceivable that just causes may lead two wise men to take different sides, since it is held that wise men may fight among themselves."<sup>2</sup> Quintilian's educational system was designed to produce the perfect orator, whose first principle was to win.

Another factor in Quintilian's philosophy and the subsequent proposals for education was his strong Roman loyalty. Perhaps as a provincial, he feels a stronger allegiance to his country than did many of the native citizens. He does have favorable things to say for the Greek language. He would begin the children in the Greek language, and he criticizes the Latin language for being harsh.<sup>3</sup> But his support of the Greek culture tends to weaken after he praises the language. He realizes the greatness of Demosthenes, and he respects him as a great, trained orator; but Quintilian loved Cicero with a passion that almost obstructs critical judgement. Although he lists the Greek authors in the list of subject matter, Roman preference is established through sheer frequency. In the twelve books of the Institutes of

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 1.38.

<sup>2</sup>ii. 17.32.

<sup>3</sup>xii. 10.27.

Oratory, there are 1100 references to Roman authors as support and illustrative material. Approximately 660 of those are direct quotations. There are only 200 references to Greek and only eighteen direct quotations.<sup>1</sup> Odgers further contends that the direct quotations from the Greek authors are frequently misquoted, so he concludes that Quintilian was not as diligent in his study of the Greek authors as he was of his native Romans.<sup>2</sup>

Quintilian also shows his strong Roman loyalty by including Domitian in the list of accomplished poets in Book X. His praise of his emperor has been the object of critical attack throughout history. It does appear, though, that Quintilian was not the kind of man to be frightened, and the Institutes were composed early in Domitian's reign before he had begun his tyranny and annihilations. Obviously, Domitian was not much of a poet. Quintilian's praise was at the risk of ruining his entire reputation as a teacher and as a scholar. This surely sprang from a compelling loyalty to the crown which had served him well.<sup>3</sup>

In establishing Quintilian's philosophical position, it is also important to investigate the possibilities of

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<sup>1</sup>Odgers, "Earlier Literature," p. 183.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>3</sup>x. 1. 37.

his religious feelings. Since he does not take a formal position himself and since he makes no mention of some of his alternatives, it is necessary to make inferences from the material.

The first inference of frequent support is that Quintilian did not believe in the traditional Roman superstitions which were common during the first century. Unlike Tacitus and Suetonius, he does not make frequent reference to the oracles, the soothsayers, or the natural phenomena indicating the will of the Roman gods. There is only one reference to the power of the Roman immortals to influence natural happenings, and he labels that account as "purely fictitious."<sup>1</sup> In other passages, he does suggest his skeptical nature regarding the traditional approach to the gods. "For we inquire sometimes into the nature and forms of things; as for instance whether the soul is immortal or whether god is to be conceived of in human form."<sup>2</sup> Although it is interesting to note the use of the singular common word form for God (deus), this does not lend itself to evidence of monotheism because of the possibility of irregularities in the translations.

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<sup>1</sup>xi. 2.16.

<sup>2</sup>vii. 4.10.

Although he himself makes no mention of it, some scholars have investigated the possibility that Quintilian might have been influenced by the Christian religion. By the end of the first century, Christians were present in Rome and there is evidence that the Gospel of Mark was available to Roman citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Further, Quintilian was appointed by Domitian to tutor the sons of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla. Legend claims that she was later exiled because of her Christian faith. Colson reasons that Quintilian, being a great supporter of the parentage and the home in the education of the students, would probably have had communications with the parents and could have well discussed the Christian religion.<sup>2</sup> Rose carries the argument further by maintaining that Quintilian's parable of the sower illustration for the precocious child is too similar to Christ's parable as found in Mark:3 to be accidental. This contention is probably not too sound because Quintilian used agricultural metaphors and similes frequently throughout the Institutes. He also used the sea and the principles of navigation as sources for his similes. (There is somewhat of a trend in that he used the

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<sup>1</sup>Colson, "Quintilian, the Gospels, and Christianity," pp. 166-170.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Rose, "Quintilian, the Gospels, and Comedy," p. 17.



agricultural allusions more frequently in the first books and he used the sea allusions more frequently in the latter books.)

If Rose's argument is to be considered, then investigations must be made of other passages including a line from the Prologue of Book IV. "But I have set my hand to the plough and must not look back,"<sup>1</sup> which greatly resembles Christ's admonition to the skeptical follower as found in Luke 9:62. Rather than making an issue of these similarities, it is probably worthwhile to realize that idioms frequently travel from society to society and from language to language; and the New Testament authors held no monopoly on phrases and expressions.

Throughout the Institutes, there are many questions regarding the nature of man in relationship to the nature of providence or divinity. Without being explicit himself, Quintilian is ultimately led to Stoic positions for answers to those questions. In Book XII, he frequently takes a Stoic stand in support of a premise. He maintains that there is value in pursuing perfection although it may not be reached.<sup>2</sup> Success becomes a personal, internalized pursuit. "For the first and greatest of the aims we set before us,

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<sup>1</sup>iv. pro. 17.

<sup>2</sup>xii. 1.8.

namely that we shall be good men, depends for its achievement mainly on the will to succeed; and he that truly and sincerely forms such resolve will easily acquire those forms of knowledge that teach the way to virtue."<sup>1</sup>

Quintilian finds fault with the formal schools of philosophy because they are too far removed from realities. The philosophers use their medium for ivory-tower protection from problem-solving, and Quintilian believes in the man of action. Seneca, with his Stoic philosophy, had complicated the style of oratory and rhetoric and had over-emphasized the natural development of man to the point that diligent study was considered worthless. The emperor Domitian in an attempt to purify the society, had begun his reform by expelling the philosophers from Italy.<sup>2</sup> With this unpopularity, it would be difficult for Quintilian, a state teacher and a tutor of the heirs-apparent, to pay public homage to the Stoic philosophy, but he could safely reach the conclusion that, ". . . so it should be easier to live according to nature than counter her will."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 11.10.

<sup>2</sup>Suetonius, Lives, p. 302.

<sup>3</sup>xii. 11.13.

## C. View of Man

Since Quintilian finds fault with the philosophers as being too narrow and too inactive, he does not elaborate upon a specific philosophical position. Nevertheless, he states that all people who consider the questions of virtue, justice and equity are natural philosophers; and since his perfect orator must be schooled in these precepts, then he should truly wear the title of philosopher. Thus it is possible to ferret a philosophical position from the Institutes.

For Quintilian, man is the rational animal. Reason is the natural possession, the gift of the maker. "Reason, then was the greatest gift of the Almighty who willed that we share its possession with the immortal gods."<sup>1</sup> Reason is the thing that distinguishes man from the beasts. It gives him the power to develop his abilities and faculties in such a way to affect the social progress. For Quintilian, this premise was prima facie, so obvious that it left no position for debate or contradiction. In discussing the difference between the species and genus of an argument, Quintilian develops the following sentence to illustrate the ultimate contention. "That which is neither rational nor

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 16.14.

mortal nor an animal is not a man."<sup>1</sup> All characteristics are inherent within man so the argument is the epitome of sound logic. This idea is important in further investigation into his educational philosophy. If man is the rational animal and reasoning is the natural ability, then Quintilian would perceive the young students with the built-in talents for learning. Of course, training is an essential quality, but the ability to absorb this training is inherent within the student.

Quintilian does recognize the degrees with which nature endows men, but his opening contention is that most children have enough basic ability to profit from instruction. "You will find that most are quick to reason and ready to learn. Reasoning comes as naturally to man as flying to birds, speed to horses and ferocity to beasts of prey."<sup>2</sup> This observation is vital at this point because many phases of Quintilian's educational system will describe it as an elitist system, one which is available and has value to only a select few. It is true that his ultimate goal is the ideal orator. But it must be remembered that this orator is the embodiment of the Roman man of action, he who can control the soldiers, persuade the citizens and move the empire when

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<sup>1</sup>v. 10.58.

<sup>2</sup>i. 1.1.

necessary. So for Quintilian, the elitism is not through natural causes but results from improper training at improper stages. With this position well established, Quintilian carries the debate of natural gifts versus training throughout the twelve books. In the Preface of Book One, he states that, "without natural gifts, technical rules are useless."<sup>1</sup> But he points out in the opening paragraphs that those natural gifts are more universal than others may think. It is natural for men to think, and it is natural for men to profit from education.

In the debate between nature and training, Quintilian leans slightly toward the natural, but he points out that no person can achieve his actuality without training. "To conclude, nature is the raw material for education; the one forms, the other is formed. Without material art can do nothing, material without art does possess a certain value, while the perfection of art is better than the best material."<sup>2</sup>

In discussing the best possible way to handle certain legal cases, he reaches the conclusion that some things are too broad to be covered in training. "In all these cases it is common sense that must decide and common sense cannot be taught."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>i. pro. 26.

<sup>2</sup>ii. 19.3.

<sup>3</sup>vi. 5.2.

Just as there are degrees of natural talent, such as memory, a good voice, and grace, there are degrees of value in training. Rather than training being of most value to the most talented, the opposite is frequently the case. "The more unattractive the natural appearance of anything, the more does it require to be seasoned by charm of style."<sup>1</sup> However, the desirable situation is a symbiotic relationship. "That which is most natural is that which nature permits to be done to the greatest perfection."<sup>2</sup>

In addition to establishing the inherent quality of reasoning and rationality within man, Quintilian deals with the role of emotion in the mental makeup. He distinguishes between the Greek divisions of *ethos* and *pathos*. For him, *ethos* is continuous and *pathos* is momentary. Rather than being dichotomous, the two spring from the same nature and sometimes differ only in degree. The *ethos* serves as a buffering agent, tempering the impulses and allowing sound judgement to operate. *Pathos* generally refers to the more violent emotions such as anger, and it serves to stimulate the man to action. These are natural characteristics of a person's makeup, but training can establish some rules for their proper employment.

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<sup>1</sup>v. 14.35.

<sup>2</sup>ix. 4.6.

In establishing his position on educational philosophy, particularly the nature of subject matter, Quintilian relies heavily on his concept of the human mind. For him, the mind of the child is unformed and in the state of development. Since the mental faculties of critical evaluation are not so sharp in the young, then the material which fills the mind must be censored to prevent moral perversion. The principal reason for training the mind is that it is the source of the rational, moral judgements which the person makes. Thus, proper training of the mind serves a dual purpose. It develops the mental powers, but it also develops the moral character. ". . . the impression made upon his character."<sup>1</sup> This principle will be frequently evident in Quintilian's suggestions for the appropriate subject matter.

Since the mind is basically potential, then it is necessary to examine its powers, its formation, and its functions. First, the mind has the power to deal with only one thought at a given time, but these thoughts are transient so that varied images and impressions can be perceived in rapid succession. "The attention of the mind must be directed not to some one thing, but to a number of things in

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1.36.

continuous sequence."<sup>1</sup> However, ". . . the mind cannot devote its undivided and sincere attention to a number of things at the same time . . ."<sup>2</sup> Courses in a child's education should be presented simultaneously because the mind has the ability to receive the varied sequences, but care must be exercised in preventing any two impressions to be presented simultaneously; and the classroom climate must be conducive to learning.

In illustrating the development of the mind, Quintilian uses the analogy of an empty vessel. The mind is that empty vessel, and the good teacher learns the appropriate techniques and the proper amounts to be poured into the mind at a particular stage of development. The young child has a mind similar to a small-mouthed vessel, and the teacher should realize that he must pour into that mind drop by drop.<sup>3</sup> That opening is expanded by training. Courses in such fields as geometry are of value if for no other purpose than training the mind so it can absorb more. "The mind is exercised by the variety and multiplicity of the subject matter."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>x. 7.16.

<sup>2</sup>x. 3.23.

<sup>3</sup>i. 2.28.

<sup>4</sup>ii. 4.20.



The best appraisal of a student's potential is a memory which is quick to take in and faithful to retain,<sup>1</sup> but this memory can be improved through training and developing memory techniques; so the potential of the mind can actually be expanded. The gifted teacher is aware of composition of the mind and utilizes appropriate methods in the general development. Since the mind is the source of the virtue and character and since the mind cannot entertain both vice and virtue simultaneously ("To this must be added the fact that the mind will not find leisure even for the study of the noblest of tasks unless it first be free from vice."<sup>2</sup>), it is imperative that the teacher uses concern in recommending subject matter and in presenting the material. "Further, the loftier and the more elevated the mind, the more powerful will be the forces which move it; consequently, praise gives it growth and effort increase, and the thought that it is doing something great fills it with joy."<sup>3</sup>

These positions lead Quintilian to an optimism and complete faith in the ability of the human race, both individually and socially. Perhaps this feeling stems from his reaction to Stoicism and perhaps the feeling springs

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 3.1.

<sup>2</sup>xii. 1.4.

<sup>3</sup>i. 2.30.

from his complete understanding of his place in the scope of universal mankind. Regardless of the reason, he places a unique faith in man's ability to achieve what he aspires to achieve. Of course, for Quintilian, the desired aspiration would be perfect eloquence; and for him, this is very much a real possibility.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, fathers should begin to expect this for children from the moment of birth,<sup>2</sup> and educators should treat every student as if he were a young Alexander capable of conquering the world. He eventually reaches the conclusion that ". . . though our ideal of perfection may dwell on a height that is hard to gain, it is our duty to teach all we know, that achievement may at least come somewhat nearer the goal. But why should our courage fail? The perfect orator is not contrary to the laws of nature, and it is cowardly to despair of anything that is within the bounds of possibility."<sup>3</sup>

However, it is necessary to examine this optimism in another sense. Obviously, Quintilian believed that all men were created with enough equality to achieve this perfection, but in discussing appropriate courtroom procedures he contends that one of the best weapons is the argument of the

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<sup>1</sup>i. pro. 20.

<sup>2</sup>i. 1.1.

<sup>3</sup>i. 10.8.

accidents of circumstances. He enumerates those accidents: parentage, nationality, country, age, education and training, bodily constitution, fortune, condition, natural disposition, occupation, personal ambitions, past life and previous utterances, passion, and design.<sup>1</sup> It appears that Quintilian's optimism about the potential of mankind to achieve perfection is qualified by the circumstances prevalent in an individual's life.

Quintilian does, however, present a solid understanding of his unique role in the universal scope of mankind. Except for a few comments in the Prologue of Book VI when he questions providence following the death of his son, he consistently seems to consider himself among the last of the ancients but at the dawn of a great civilization. He realizes his debt to past societies. "Antiquity has given us all these teachers and all these patterns for our imitation, that there might be no greater happiness conceivable than to be born in this age above all others, since all previous ages have toiled that we might reap the fruit of their wisdom."<sup>2</sup> More importantly, he realizes his debt to posterity. He is not disturbed by the protests that no one alive can achieve perfection in eloquence because he is not writing for the

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<sup>1</sup>v. 10. 24-29.

<sup>2</sup>xii. 11.22.

last generation to inhabit the earth. If his rules do not yield the ultimate fruit in this age, they perhaps will somewhere in the eternity of time.<sup>1</sup> He cites Socrates as example of this. Since Socrates was not understood by the men of his own age, his greatest sense of obligation was naturally to posterity. Although Socrates was bright enough to save himself in the courts, he chose the more noble cause of posterity. Thus, ". . . at the cost of a few last declining years, achieved through all the ages life everlasting."<sup>2</sup> By understanding where he stands in the scope of history, Quintilian indicates an insight into the overall destiny of the human race.

#### D. Virtue

Perhaps Quintilian's most controversial philosophical position is in the realm of this axiology. Quintilian is an absolutist. The ancients have established the absolute rules, both in their writings and in their lives. The absolute rules are to be inculcated into the young of each generation. The human mind is an empty vessel to be filled with previously agreed upon conclusions and those conclusions will, if the student is properly educated, synthesize through

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 1.20.

<sup>2</sup>xi. 1.10.

the mind into the moral decisions and actions of the person. Although there are minor evolutionary trends in language, even the rules for debate, reading, speaking--the rules for eloquence--are established by antiquity. Cicero was the embodiment of the eloquence of the Silver Age of Rome, and that eloquence could only be restored by reestablishing those rules of style and morality which were common in that age.

In Quintilian's system of values, virtue is almost synonymous with eloquence. The perfect orator is the good man skilled in speaking, and no immoral man could hope to come close to the apex of the eloquence. Although this virtue originates in natural impulses, it can be improved through instructions;<sup>1</sup> and the context of that instruction lies in the study of the established rules set down by the ancients. "It is still more important that we should know and ponder continually all the noblest sayings and deeds that have been handed down to us from ancient times."<sup>2</sup> Quintilian is never completely specific about what those absolute rules of virtue actually are, but he does list courtesy, kindness, moderation and benevolence as important attributes to the orator.<sup>3</sup> The virtuous man is foremost a

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 21.

<sup>2</sup>xii. 2.29.

<sup>3</sup>xi. 1.42.

man of action. "Natural justice is found in actions of inherent worth."<sup>1</sup> Practice is of much more value than theory, and the best education is that which most resembles the actual world.

Up to this point, Quintilian's axiological system is consistent, and his educational practices are for the most part based upon his absolute system. But a controversy arises when Quintilian attempts to reconcile his competitive nature in the courtroom with his positive virtues. The first principle for the eloquent orator is to win. Of course, good orators will take only good cases so they are justified in employing any techniques available for winning, but this position does infringe upon the practice of establishing absolute rules. This paradox leads him to a position of relativity, "There are many things which are made honorable or the reverse not by the nature of the facts but by the causes from which they spring."<sup>2</sup> Because of this axiological inconsistency, there must be serious questions raised regarding his educational system based on inculcation and indoctrination.

Quintilian's philosophical position in viewing the universe is Stoic. He perceives the natural plan for the

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<sup>1</sup>vii. 4.5

<sup>2</sup>xii. 3.36.

universe and for its inhabitants. He endorses this plan as good, eternal, and profitable. (" . . . tiny insects still toil for the common weal.") Man, to achieve his purpose in this plan, is to ascertain his natural qualities, and then to train himself so that his natural qualities may be realized to the fullness in the service of that natural plan. The state is apparently a product of that plan and service to the state is fulfillment of that natural obligation. Evil is any selfish practice which will prevent that fulfillment. This position is summarized in the Twelfth Book. "For if the world is governed by providence, it will certainly be the duty of all good men to bear their part in the administration of the state. If the origin of our soul be divine, we must win our way towards virtue and abjure the service of the lusts of our earthly body."<sup>1</sup>

#### E. Structure of Society

Quintilian's position regarding the structure of society follows closely to his view of the universe. There is a natural plan for socialization; consequently, the social rules are almost as absolute as the rules of the universe. The social process of language will serve as an example of his position. "Language is based on reason,

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 2.21.

antiquity, authority, and usage."<sup>1</sup> He does consider the opinion of the majority in language as well as other areas of society as a pertinent influence, but there is a danger in listening to majority alone because the majority may make a wrong decision. When he wrote this, Quintilian had observed several social changes in Rome, and most of these had resulted in increasing majority. Freedmen and even slaves had become factors in social developments. The aristocracy had virtually expired during Vespasian's administration, and the Roman majority had taken a character very similar to the American Jacksonian majority. Consequently, Quintilian modifies the vox populi-vox deus position by stating, "I will therefore define usage in speech as the agreed upon practice of educated men, just as where our way of life is concerned, I should define it as the agreed practice of all good men."<sup>2</sup> Generally he takes a typically Roman conservative position to any kind of change. If there is to be change, the present is better than the future; but the past is better than the present. With this attitude, he condemns contemporary practices in society and condemns the schools for teaching these practices. He condemns too much applause,

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<sup>1</sup>i. 6.1.

<sup>2</sup>i. 6.45.



too much effeminacy, and the theory that eloquence can be achieved without hard work.

In his educational proposals, Quintilian is eventually caught in his own conservatism. He attempts to initiate a new teaching technique only to find his efforts repulsed because of long-standing custom.<sup>1</sup> This failure seems to have impressed him to the point that he questions whether or not his entire treatise can initiate any change in the immediate age of its publication. His concern with the ageless future indicates his fear of the futility of an endeavor of proposing some radical changes for a society not willing to change.

#### F. Purpose and Goals of Education

Quintilian's views on the purpose and goals of the educational system are limited. He wrote the Institutes of Oratory as a textbook to direct the teaching of a specific group of students in a specific area. His expressed intentions were to record the rules and techniques for producing the ideal orator, the man of eloquence. This eventual product can be generalized somewhat because the oratorical education was considered by the first century Romans as the proper training for several professions including the military, statesmanship, and teaching as well as actual

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 5.2.

court-room performance. Nevertheless, a small percentage of the Roman population was represented in these professions and subsequently in those schools of oratory; so Quintilian's proposals were directed to a select few. Although he may be labeled an elitist, it is probably more accurate to state that he did not intend to write a general textbook; and he leaves the education of the other professions to those people who knew the fields.

Some generalizations can be made, however, by combining several of his philosophical positions. Quintilian believes that the universe is ruled by a providential plan, and his ideal orator is a man who could best fit into that plan. The education he proposes is concerned with developing the natural gifts, abilities, and impulses of the students.

The education should first make the person good--virtuous. The subject matter should be selected in such a way that the student is presented the rules for virtuous living. The teacher should himself be a good man and his interactions with the students should stimulate them to the wisdom of virtue and justice. The final product of Quintilian's school, the man of eloquence, is ". . . above all a man of virtue and good sense . . ."<sup>1</sup> The educational

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<sup>1</sup>xii. 3.8.

system should produce a man of action. School activities should resemble as closely as possible the activities of life so that the final product is not ". . . blinded by the sun's glare."<sup>1</sup> As pointed out previously, the educated men are to make the rules governing language, and the good men (apparent results of proper education) are to make the social rules. The educational system, then, has the responsibility of influencing society as well as reflecting that society; but since progress, for Quintilian, is returning to the Silver Age of Ciceroian eloquence, proper education should lead the society back to the style of that age.

The educational system is also to produce a life-long student. Quintilian's subject matter is all inclusive, and it would be impossible for any person to acquire all the rules of art, all the direction for composition, presentation and evaluation, all necessary knowledge in the related fields of political science, geometry, music, and still acquire from the ancients all the mandates for wisdom, justice and virtue within one school career. The formal educational period is to introduce the structure and inspire the urge because ". . . the love of letters and the value of reading are not confined to one's schooldays but end only with life."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>i. 2.19.

<sup>2</sup>i. 8.12.

## G. Subject Matter

Perhaps the one characteristic in Quintilian's educational philosophy which most distinguishes him from his contemporaries is his view of the appropriate place of subject matter in the educational scheme, particularly in the education of the eloquent orator. The moral philosophers, influenced chiefly by Seneca, had emphasized that eloquence was natural; thus it should be allowed to develop naturally as a student applied himself only to the philosophical questions of morality and justice. They discredited the need for diligent study of grammar, literature, or the techniques of construction and delivery. Consequently, the education of the orator had grown away from a definite body of subject matter established by authority as the required study for success. For this reason, Quintilian apparently sees the need for reestablishing a case for subject matter; and much of his philosophy is centered around that case.

For Quintilian, almost every form of study is appropriate material. He states, "For my own part, I hold that the material of rhetoric is composed of everything that may be placed before it as a subject for speech."<sup>1</sup> From this position, he then presents an elaborate and encyclopedic explanation of subject matter which covers every realm of

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 21.4.

study. In Book I, he includes an exhaustive study of grammar. He defends the inclusion of music, geometry, physical training, stage craft, astronomy, history, philosophy, and literature in the curriculum. His illustrations reveal his personal store of knowledge of historical precedent, and his recommended bibliographies are comprehensive. He also includes in this repertoire thorough instruction in all aspects of the art of oratory.

Many of his proposals are based on this encyclopedic approach to fields of study to be included in an education. He emphasizes that formal education should begin as quickly as the child is alert enough to begin learning and acquiring. He realizes the danger of presenting too much too early, so he advocates the need for making the studies exciting and entertaining for the young student. Yet, he still feels the need for the student to begin acquiring the subject matter early because any accomplishment, regardless of how small, would be better than no achievement at all. From this early beginning, the student should continue his active studies throughout his life. Hard work and concentrated study of even the most minute aspects of grammar, oratory, and historical knowledge are required for the training of the perfect orator.

Quintilian himself admits that his coverage of such aspects as grammar, figures, logic, construction, rebuttal, and delivery are more exacting and more elaborate than that of his contemporaries; but he maintains that these things are necessary and appropriate components of subject matter.

A book by book analysis of the twelve books of the Institutes of Oratory indicates the thoroughness of his approach to subject matter. Book I presents the curriculum for the early infant training and the grammar school. Chapter IV establishes a case for the study of literature as the foundation of the art of oratory. Chapters IV through VII include a very thorough analysis of Latin and Greek grammar including word choice, spelling, and parts of speech. Chapter VIII presents a discussion of reading, both of the recommended authors and the recommended style. Chapter IX establishes the rationale for a study of music and geometry while Chapter XI defends the study of the techniques of the comic actor. In Chapter XII Quintilian maintains that these studies can easily be learned simultaneously because the adolescent mind is more capable than most educators believe.

Book II presents a thorough discussion of the history and styles of rhetoric. Quintilian describes it in this

manner, "In the second book the subject of inquiry was the nature and end of rhetoric, and I proved to the best of my ability that it was an art, that it was useful, that it was a virtue, and that its material was all and every subject that might come up for treatment."<sup>1</sup>

In Book III, he chooses to ". . . discuss its (rhetoric) origin, its component parts, and the method to be adopted in handling and forming our conception of each."<sup>2</sup> Book IV begins a thorough description of the different parts of declamation or court room speeches including the exordium, the statement of facts, the proof, the refutation, and the peroration. Book V includes the various kinds of proofs and evidences. Book VI examines the ways to study and persuade judges and juries, and includes an analysis of emotions, wit, and humor. Book VII presents a study of types of logic to be applied in investigating cases and points of law. Book VIII discusses style while Book IX analyzes figures of thought and speech and other artistic designs and techniques. In Book X Quintilian compiles his list of great books and great authors. He presents methods for developing and training the memory in Book XI, and in

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 1.1.

<sup>2</sup>iii. 1.1.

Book XII he presents an elaborate picture of the perfect orator in action.

A further analysis of the bibliography presented in Book X will indicate his comprehensiveness regarding the nature of subject matter and will also indicate his emphasis on the ancient authors. Quintilian prefaces this list of authors with a discussion of the value of both reading and listening as skills for acquiring the finer arts of oratory. Although he realizes the importance of listening to great orators, he favors reading as a learning vehicle for its pace and solitude. "In reading, the critical faculty is a surer guide, inasmuch as the listener's judgement is often swept away by his preference for a particular speaker . . . Reading is free and does not hurry past us with the speed of oral delivery."<sup>1</sup>

With this emphasis on reading, he then feels compelled to enumerate the great writings which would contain the subject matter for a proper education for a young Roman who was being trained to take an active role in political and social life of the empire. "Most of my readers will, I think, demand that since I attach so much importance to reading, I should include in this work some instructions as to what authors should be read and what their special excellences may be. To do this in detail would be an endless task. Still, I

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<sup>1</sup>x. 1.17-19.



must not conceal my own personal convictions on this subject. I believe that there are few, indeed scarcely a single one of those authors who have stood the test of time who will not be of some use or other to judicious students . . . "<sup>1</sup>

For Quintilian the ultimate goal of a study of these writers is eloquence. Specific styles, solutions to social and political problems, and artistic oratory are only component parts of eloquence. The ideal orator is the ideal man, capable of handling all situations. At the conclusion of the list of great writers, Quintilian comments on the total effect of the Great Ideas subject matter on the student. "It is from these and other authors worthy of our study that we must draw our stock of words, the variety of our figures and our methods of composition, while we must form our minds on the model of every excellence."<sup>2</sup>

For Quintilian, this comprehensive approach to subject matter is consistent with his view of basic nature of the student. Since the student is potential, incomplete but capable of perfection, the procedure for completing the work begun by nature is to form the perfect man by introducing him to every aspect of human knowledge. The subject matter, presenting the proper sequence with the proper emphasis,

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<sup>1</sup>x. 1.37-40.

<sup>2</sup>x. 2.1.

would actually form the perfect orator. In a satirical statement, he condemns the contemporary professors who were denouncing exhaustive studies of the techniques of oratory. "Still let me congratulate these gentlemen on attaining eloquence without industry, method, or study."<sup>1</sup>

For him, perfection is not the result of moral philosophizing but is the result of hard work and study in all aspects of human endeavor. His censorship of certain authors and his discussion of which authors to present in sequence further supports the fact that he viewed subject matter as the responsible agent in forming moral character as well as rhetorical proficiency. His very first formal educational experiences would have the child reading and memorizing the moral maxims of the great men of history. His placing memory as the most important natural talent of the perfect orator also supports his view of the ideal student. Education consists of acquiring knowledge, and this knowledge should give the person the ability to find solutions to contemporary problems. Thus, the better the memory, the more knowledge can be stored and the more solutions and alternatives can be available. The perfect orator would be one who would have a solution or a workable alternative to every confrontation.

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 12.12.

Quintilian justifies this emphasis on subject matter because it has a natural origin. The rules of grammar, composition, delivery, or moral living constitute the subject matter and the rules are inherent within the area. Subject matter then consists of analyzing and cataloging for instruction those rules and techniques which lead to perfection. Men spoke long before they had the rules of grammar. The grammarians decided what habits made one person more effective than another, and they recorded those rules. By this procedure, the rules of desirable grammar became a part of the subject matter in the training of the orator. The same procedure applies to rhetoric. Great men delivered great orations before the rules for composition or delivery were recorded. Those rules were established, not by creative curriculum agents, but by careful critics who analyzed why one speaker was more effective than another. These rules then became the basis for the subject matter of rhetorical training.

Thus, the subject matter of education grew out of the existing arts. The subject matter was simply an analysis and not a forming agent of the art.

## CHAPTER V

### QUINTILIAN'S METHODOLOGY

For as a rule, boys are on the verge of manhood when transferred to the teacher of rhetoric and continue with him even when they are young men; consequently we must spare no effort to secure that the purity of the teacher's character should preserve those of tender years from corruption, while its authority should keep the bolder spirits from breaking out into licence. Nor is it sufficient that he should merely set an example of the highest personal self-control; he must also be able to govern the behaviour of his pupils by the strictness of his discipline.

Let him therefore adopt a parental attitude to his pupils, and regard himself as the representative of those who have committed their children to his charge. Let him be free from vice himself and refuse to tolerate it in others. Let him be strict but not austere, genial but not too familiar; for austerity will make him unpopular, while familiarity breeds contempt. Let his discourse continually turn on what is good and honorable; the more he admonishes, the less he will have to punish. He must control his temper without, however, shutting his eyes to faults requiring correction; his instruction must be free from affectation, his industry great, his demands on his class continuous but not extravagant. He must be ready to answer questions and to put them unasked to those who sit silent. In praising the recitations of his pupils he must be neither grudging nor over-generous; the former quality will give them a distaste for work, while the latter will produce a complacent self-satisfaction. In correcting faults he must avoid sarcasm and above all abuse; for teachers whose rebukes seem

to imply positive dislike discourage industry. He should declaim daily himself and, what is more, without stint, that his class may take his utterances home with them. For however many models for imitation he may give them from the authors they are reading, it will still be found that fuller nourishment is provided by the living voice, as we call it, more especially when it proceeds from the teacher himself, who if his pupils are rightly instructed should be the object of their affection and respect. And it is scarcely possible to say how much more readily we imitate those whom we like.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. General Methodology

In this statement of criteria for teachers, Quintilian covers most aspects of his proposed methodology for the education of the ideal orator. His position on methods of teaching, unlike his philosophical position, is specific, detailed, and prescriptive. He is more concerned with how to develop the ideal orator than with the question of his value to society once he was developed. His positions are based on his personal experience as a successful teacher and on his research of both contemporary and obsolete practices. Since the ultimate goal of his methodology is the ideal orator, he deems it necessary to begin the instructive prescriptions at infancy, something which had not been done previously.

In studying Quintilian, it is important to keep in mind that the design for the Institutes of Oratory was that

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 2.3-8

it was to be a textbook for teachers of oratory. It was not designed to be a philosophical statement of educational value or purpose. These things were assumed prima facie. Since the work was designed as a textbook of methods, the manuscript must be considered in its entirety as a statement of methodology. For the most part, the books are arranged chronologically beginning with early infant care and closing with a discussion of the proper age for retirement. The instructions for developing the brief are arranged in the order of presentation, beginning with the introduction and closing with the conclusion. Thus, even the organizational scheme of the manuscript represents a statement of appropriate teaching method.

In the quoted statement above, Quintilian, as he suggests the proper behavior of good teachers of rhetoric, also manifests many of the factors which permeate his educational methodology from infancy to retirement. First, Quintilian was the one Roman of the first century who advocated humanism in education. Frequently through the twelve books of the Institutes, he condemns contemporary practices which dehumanize children. Next, Quintilian was a first century champion of the education of the whole pupil. The intellectual development is important because it produced moral development. A child must be taught

through proper example as well as proper instruction. As a psychologist, Quintilian also recognizes individual differences and suggests activities which would account for those individual differences.

Quintilian's style of humanism is that derived from the exact meaning of the word and not that of the later Middle Ages which referred to a stilted study of classical literature. All of Quintilian's recommended educational practices are based on his idea of the worth of each individual student. In accounting for individual differences, he does recognize that some students do not have the same potential as others; but the teacher still has the same obligation to each student who has been entrusted to his instruction, regardless of the natural ability of the student. When discussing the merit of placing the younger students with the finest masters available, the Roman educator illustrates his point by referring to the occasion when Philip of Macedon placed the young Alexander with Aristotle, the epitome of instructional eloquence. Quintilian concludes, "Let us assume therefore that Alexander has been confided to our charge and that the infant placed in our lap deserves no less attention than he--though for that matter every man's child deserves equal attention."<sup>1</sup> This feeling

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1.24.

is repeated when he states, "In order that my young students (and I call them mine because the young student is always dear to me) . . ." <sup>1</sup> At this point, he is not referring to his specific charges, but is indicating his concern for those who read his works. This concern for the human potential and worth of every student constitutes the foundation for Quintilian's proposals.

He condemns flogging, a common practice among his contemporaries. His opposition is based on his humanistic approach. Flogging is not punishment fit for a noble Roman but is fit only for slaves. If the student is so insensible to instruction that flogging is considered necessary, he will not learn from the punishment but will only become hardened. Furthermore, flogging can be prevented if the master is a thorough disciplinarian. For this reason alone, utmost care should be used in selecting the masters for the young students. The right to corporal punishment in the hands of a scoundrel could lead to disastrous results. Finally, flogging is not representative of good child psychology. "When children are beaten, pain or fear frequently have results of which it is not pleasant to speak and which are likely subsequently to be a source of shame, a shame

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<sup>1</sup>vii. 3.30.



which unnerves and depresses the mind and leads the child to shun and loathe the light."<sup>1</sup>

Another aspect of Quintilian's humanistic approach lies in his opinion that education should be exciting and entertaining. Variety and competitions are the keys to this excitement. He begins this tone with the discussion of the very young student.

Above all things we must take care that the child, who is not yet old enough to love his studies, does not come to hate them and dread the bitterness which he has once tasted, even when the years of infancy are left behind. His studies must be made an amusement; he must be questioned and praised and taught to rejoice when he has done well; sometimes too, when he refuses instruction, it should be given to some other to excite his envy, at times also he must be engaged in competition and should be allowed to believe himself more often than not, while he should be encouraged to do his best by such rewards as may appeal to his tender years.<sup>2</sup>

(It is interesting to note the similarities between these suggestions and those which Rousseau lists for the young Emile.) Quintilian proposes changing activities frequently, giving the pen a rest by turning to reading and relieving the tedium of reading by changing subjects.<sup>3</sup> He opposes too much specialization of courses in the schools of literature

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 3.14-17.

<sup>2</sup>i. 1.20.

<sup>3</sup>i. 12.4.

because variety is needed to keep interest. Students should be presented music, literature, geometry, and physical training simultaneously to achieve highest interest. He condemns those who favor segmented presentation as not having enough confidence in the capabilities of the young mind, which is quicker and more active than the older mind. Competition is the first factor of motivation. The orator must be competitive, thriving on the reward system which distinguishes the winner. Although he never takes a definite stand on whether or not the orator should receive pay for his services, Quintilian is realistic in realizing the need for esteem for the winner. Eloquence might be a very noble means, but the ultimate end of eloquence is always victory. "So true is it that here is nothing which does not look for some reward, that eloquence despite the fact that its activity is in itself productive of a strong feeling of pleasure, is influenced by nothing so much as the immediate acquisition of praise and renown."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, competition in the classroom makes the instruction exciting. Quintilian recalls his own school days when his master had the young students declaim once a month in competition. The winner received the choice seat at the head of

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<sup>1</sup>i. 7.17.

the class. This system of overt rewarding was a definite part of Quintilian's educational practice.

Quintilian also advocates frequent praise and reluctant criticism. As quoted previously, the young student should be praised often, and the good teacher is one who looks for praiseworthy qualities. Praise is necessary in making the student realize his full potential and worth, while ". . . undue severity in correcting faults is liable at times to discourage a boy's mind from effort."<sup>1</sup> However, he faults the contemporary practices of allowing the students to heap lavish praise upon each other. His description of such a classroom scene is perhaps exaggerated, but he claims to have seen students leaping over desks to rush to congratulate the declaimer.<sup>2</sup> This practice is as dehumanizing as giving no praise. The students should not praise indiscriminately but should wait until the master has made a critical evaluation. Unwarranted praise might result in the declaimer being satisfied with less than his best.

Quintilian is also concerned with the techniques which would temper the natural impulses and fervor without curbing all creativity. His solution is to praise the present work

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 4.10.

<sup>2</sup>ii. 2.9.

produced by the student but to remind him that better things would be expected from him in the future.

Quintilian was also a first century advocate of the education of the whole pupil. His theory of learning, unlike Plato's deals with pouring knowledge into the brain; but all faculties of human senses should be utilized in doing this. He recommends mixing silent reading with listening so that both the eye and the ear can be utilized in the learning process. Although the perception of the eye is quicker than that of the ear, the listening will sometimes give greater interpretation because of the contributions of oral delivery. But it is not enough to train the child's mind. The ultimate goal of that training is his development of a moral and social conscience, and educational practices should be directed by this end. For this reason, schools are more desirable than private tutoring. Private tutoring might allow the master more individual time with the student for teaching knowledge and techniques, but the schools afford valuable socialization experiences. At the same time, school masters should be concerned with all aspects of the student's growth. They should be careful not to seat the younger boys with the older ones because of the evil influences (which were apparently common in that age). Although homosexuality might have been a practice condoned by such

nobles as Nero (as Suetonius charges), Quintilian considers the practice a blight on the masculinity which typifies the true Roman culture. Schoolmasters should take all precautions to avoid conditions which would permit the practice of homosexuality, and it is imperative that the teachers keep their schools free from charges of homosexuality. Charging the teacher with the moral development of the child was apparently not unique with Quintilian during the first century. As pointed out earlier in this study, Seneca was held accountable for Nero's adult behavior, and Claudius had punished teachers for not teaching his son proper respect. Nevertheless, Quintilian demonstrates a high regard for the human capabilities of all students, and he visualizes the good teacher as one who develops all capabilities.

Although he believes in elaborate and thorough instruction through reading and speaking, Quintilian also believes in teaching by precept and example as well. This is a cardinal principle in the selection of good teachers. A teacher should be a good declaimer himself so that he can serve as a model for his students. He also should be a man of high morals because the example is most important here too. He first presents this point when he discusses the proper nurse for the infant. "No doubt the most

important point is that they should be of good character; but they should speak correctly as well."<sup>1</sup> The children will learn by imitation and the worst impressions are most durable.<sup>2</sup> This imitation is an important tool of instruction throughout the student's educational career and his public career as well. Quintilian comments on the debt owed by orators to all past authors. "And it is a universal rule of life that we should wish to copy what we approve in others." He summarizes this point by saying, "The teacher should therefore be as distinguished for his eloquence as for his good character, and like Phoenix in the Iliad be able to teach his pupils both how to behave and how to speak."<sup>3</sup>

Quintilian also places emphasis on the use of imagery as an effective teaching device. In a discussion of successful emotional appeal in an orator, he refers to his personal use of empathy to achieve the images which provoke a sincere show of emotion. He discusses the use of drawings in the courtroom as a technique for achieving imagery; and he develops a thorough description of the use of figures because they are effective tools for arousing the emotions.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1.4.

<sup>2</sup>i. 1.5.

<sup>3</sup>ii. 3.12.

<sup>4</sup>ix. 1.21.

From these general methods and principles, Quintilian develops specific methods for each phase of the student's growth, beginning with early childhood, covering the education of the grammar or literature schools, and climaxing with a thorough description of the education in the school of rhetoric.

#### B. Early Childhood Methodology

It is important to preface this discussion by remembering that Quintilian was the first educator to place enough importance on early education to discuss it in an educational treatise. His predecessors had begun their educational proposals for the student first entering rhetorical school and had ignored all other training. Quintilian, however, acknowledges the importance of proper early childhood training. Since he is interested in training the ideal orator, he must leave no phase of the training untouched, and "Studies, like men have their infancies."<sup>1</sup>

His first advice for insuring proper methods of instructions is to see that the nurse, the paedagogi, and the parents exhibit proper conduct and proper speech in the presence of the infant. As stated previously, the nurses should be of good character and good speech. The paedagogi

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1.21.

should be of good speech and should not be allowed too much control over the children because they tend to get carried away with their own knowledge. They could easily make learning drudgery with excessive attempts at teaching. The parents, including the mother, should be as highly educated as possible. He cites several women who had achieved some mark of eloquence as examples of the perfect mother. He defends this position with several illustrations, apparently realizing its unpopularity among many Romans of the first century.

He recommends that the young students begin with a study of Greek since they will learn Latin from common use and since Latin studies derive from Greek. However, the Greek studies should not continue too long lest the student develop habits of erroneous pronunciation.

He can not accept a definite age for beginning instruction in reading, but maintains that literary training can begin as early as moral training. Of course these studies must be exciting and the parent should not expect too much gain. Any advancement at this age should be accepted as of more value than no advancement.

Children should learn the alphabet by recognizing and naming letters in order. They learn to name men by recognizing them, so they should learn letters by the same



technique. Another device is to give them ivory letters for play. (Quintilian was obviously not writing to the lower class citizens.) As quickly as he succeeds in identifying and naming the letters, the student should begin practice in writing by following the outlines of the letters cut in wax. Through this procedure there would be no need of the teacher directing the hand of the pupil.

Quintilian maintains that syllables must be learned by memory. Any short cut will result in bad spelling. As soon as the syllables are mastered, the child should begin constructing words. Reading should first be word by word and eventually sentence by sentence. The earliest readings should consist of the sayings of famous men so that the student can develop moral character from these maxims. He should also begin memorizing these because memory is the key to success in an orator, and it must be developed through constant practice.<sup>1</sup>

### C. Grammar School Methodology

Although he does not state a definite age for sending the young student to the grammaticus, Quintilian does begin his presentation of literature school with a lengthy discussion of the relative merits of school versus private tutor,

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1.1-37.

ultimately coming to the conclusion that schools are superior to private instruction for the production of the Roman man of action. In this discussion, Quintilian does place much importance on the quality of the master selected. He counters the charge that schools might corrupt the morals by stating that the Roman parents have corrupted the children far beyond the school's potential. (See Chapter Four.) But he also favors public instruction because of the psychological nature of teachers. (Teachers themselves, should frequently declaim to demonstrate excellence in speaking, and they perform better when there is an appreciable audience.) "The voice of the lecturer is not like a dinner which will only suffice for a limited number; it is like the sun which distributes the same quantity of light and heat to all of us. So too with the teacher of literature. Whether he speak of style or expound disputed passages, explain stories or paraphrase poems, everyone who hears him will profit by his teaching."<sup>1</sup> One other reason for the support of public training is that competition can be utilized fully. Younger students learn through emulation, and it is frequently more desirable to emulate their peers and classmates who are on their level than to emulate the master. But competition probably does more to stimulate real progress than any other

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<sup>1</sup>i. 2.14.

device, and the student can prepare for life by learning to compete in school.

The first job of the grammaticus is to analyze the students' individual abilities. The surest mark is a good memory which is quick to learn and faithful to retain. Students also must be studied so the teacher can apply the proper motivational technique. "There are some boys who are slack unless pressed on; others again are impatient of control; some are amenable to fear while others are paralysed by it."<sup>1</sup> This is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Quintilian's methodology. The curriculum is fixed, the same for all boys; but techniques may vary from student to student. This insight into early adolescent psychology distinguishes Quintilian from his contemporaries in the first century, and it is the insight which makes his methodology as progressive in the twentieth century as it was in the first century.

Students also need relaxation. Intervals of rest and holidays are very important. Games are important as well because character can be analyzed through observing the student at play. A gloomy student is probably not too gifted.

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<sup>1</sup>i. 3.6.

Specifically, the grammaticus should be concerned with two fields: the art of speaking correctly and interpretation of the authors, including the poets, the historians, and the philosophers. They should be studied for both content and vocabulary.

In grammar, Quintilian recommends that the student begin very basically and study the minute aspects of the language. (As stated in Chapter Three, this was a radical departure from the Senecan schools of oratory during the first century which claimed such study was worthless.) The student should begin with recognizing consonants and vowels. He should understand the appropriate use of each letter, and he should understand the use of prefixes and inflection. For Quintilian, the entire course of study for the perfect man of eloquence is based on a student's ability to decline nouns and conjugate verbs. From this, the study should contain all parts of speech, intonation, syllabication, and vocabulary.

Writing instruction is concerned most with spelling, and here one rule is predominant, "For my own part, I think that, within the limits prescribed by usage, words should be spelt as they are pronounced."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>i. 7.30.

The student's reading should be carefully supervised. He should begin with Homer and Virgil, although he cannot yet fully appreciate their merits. The grammaticus should make maximum use of each passage, having the student, as he analyzes a passage, give the parts of speech and the styles of rhythm. Students should also be taught how to scan, and they should read to develop critical judgement because some material available does not merit the time spent to read it.

Other techniques for the grammaticus include having the students paraphrase, particularly moral stories such as Aesop's Fables. Their writing assignments should include such things as moral essays and character sketches.

However, it is not sufficient for the student at this age to confine his studies to language and literature. If he is to be the perfect orator, he must be educated in every area which might present itself or its field of knowledge to a particular case. Thus, the student should learn the rudiments of music. From a study of music, the student will learn expression and control of both voice and body. Since music is closely related to literature, it is a definite required course of study before the student gets to the school of rhetoric.

Geometry is also valuable because, "It is granted that portions of this science are of value for the instruction of children; for admittedly it exccercises their minds, sharpens their wits, and generates quickness in perception. But it is considered that the value of geometry resides in the process of learning and not as with other sciences in the knowledge thus acquired."<sup>1</sup> In addition to this mind-building exercise, a knowledge of geometry is also vital in many court cases.

The student should also have some instruction from the comic actor because from him the student can learn some techniques of dramatization and gesturing. The actor should also correct the faults of pronunciation and enunciation.

Gymnastics are also important for good health and body training so long as the student does not spend too much time in these pursuits. This much emphasis on physical training in schools represents something of a departure from contemporary practices. The Romans were spectators. They considered actual participation and the preparation for participation as a waste of time. However, Quintilian's orator must be a man of action with the stamina to withstand the physical stress of study and debate. The body, like the mind, becomes healthy and strong through exercise.

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<sup>1</sup>i. 10.34.

As stated previously, Quintilian feels that the studies should be pursued simultaneously. At this age the student's mind is active and capable, and there is not sufficient time for such activities after the student enters the school of rhetoric.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. School of Rhetoric Methodology

In the passage of the good master which is quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Quintilian reveals many of the techniques which he deems important to the rhetorician. For Quintilian, the success of the education lies as much with the man as it does with the program. If the teacher is a warm, humane man with high standards who can demonstrate both good morals and good speaking, the student should profit. Quintilian, in recognizing individual differences, also realizes the duties of the students. ". . . they should love their masters not less than their studies, and should regard them as the parents not indeed of their bodies but of their minds. For as it is the duty of the master to teach, so it is the duty of the pupil to show himself teachable."<sup>2</sup>

With the responsibilities of both teacher and student established, Quintilian then elaborately develops the

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<sup>1</sup>The methods for the School of Literature are found in i. 2.-12.

<sup>2</sup>ii. 9.2-3.

methodology of the rhetoricians. Perhaps the most obvious principle of this methodology is the development of style through the study of authors for both analysis and emulation. The subject matter as listed in Chapter Four should develop moral character and eloquence, but a thorough study of the masters would also develop oratorical style. To develop this style, the rhetorician should present the faulty writers and orators as well as the excellent ones. Thus, the students can learn from faults as well as from achievements. Quintilian admits that, although he attempted to give instruction in the critical art of reading, he was not too successful because of a long established custom. Nevertheless, it is a good practice in the early stages of rhetorical training, and teachers should teach students the art of critical reading for the purpose of emulation. For Quintilian, emulation is a vital teaching technique for the student of rhetoric, but the consequential decision is which orator to emulate. For him, the answer is obviously Cicero.

Another feature of Quintilian's methodology in the school of rhetoric is the obvious emphasis on organization. In each phase of discussion, Quintilian presents his organizational scheme prior to the discussion. This technique would have made him a schoolmaster who was easy to follow and easy to record in student notes. (As previously



mentioned, some zealous students had published their class notes under his name.) He divided the composition of the case into the exordium, the statement of facts, the proofs, and the peroration. He then elaborately discusses the purposes, the content, and the development of each of these. From composition, he proceeds to the areas of oration including logic, style, use of figures, imitation, delivery, and ultimate excellence.

As established earlier, the basis for the composition of the Institutes of Oratory was to present a thorough discussion of the methods of schools of rhetoric. Since Quintilian was interested in producing the perfect orator and since his definition of that person demanded a man of high moral quality, he includes all phases of the educational experience. However, Books II through XI are principally filled with discussions of various methods available to the rhetorician and the student in the school of rhetoric. Thus the Institutes of Oratory constitutes an educational textbook, more intent in how to produce the orator rather than why to produce an orator.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE GREAT IDEAS PHILOSOPHY 1900 YEARS LATER

When Quintilian proposed a Great Books approach to subject matter, he laid a foundation for educational thinkers of all ages. Since the first century, there have been many attempts at education through the reading of the great authors who have passed the test of time. Actually, this was the approach which dominated educational practices throughout most of the Renaissance. However, these educational practices were designed to serve the elite of the Western world. So long as the social pyramid was based on a large slave or serf foundation, the elite could utilize their leisure by mastering classical language and classical literature. However, the romantic revolutions of the West--English, French, and American--not only changed the social structure but also changed the educational demands and subsequent practices; and liberal arts education in America became overshadowed by vocational training.

This chapter presents the results of a study of the philosophy of the Great Books concept as it has existed

during the twentieth century. Attempts were made to use the same criteria for investigation as were used for the study of Quintilian's philosophy, but this has been somewhat of an ambiguous effort because the many men who have proposed a Great Books educational approach differ in some of their basic philosophical positions. The most common agreement among all proponents is that reading the great books is a workable education plan. Specific references are used to delineate individual positions in regard to specific philosophical question.

#### A. Background

The first impetus of the Great Books idea was given by Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University. In 1910, P. F. Collier and Sons of New York published the Harvard Classics, a series of fifty volumes of classical works edited by Dr. Eliot, then president of Harvard. As he explains, himself, Dr. Eliot had frequently proposed that a five-foot book shelf could hold all the books necessary for a liberal education if one would simply contribute fifteen minutes per day to the task of reading. The publishers recommended that he make such a selection of fifty volumes for publication, and the Harvard Classics were the result. The Classics range in scope from Homer to Dana's Two Years Before the Mast.

They contain works of fiction, poetry, essays, drama, science, philosophy, government, and sacred writings.<sup>1</sup> (See Appendix B.) Actually, Eliot did not propose the Classics as basis for an education, but he proposed them as a substitute education. He did not specify an exact pattern for purposeful reading but he recommended several alternatives. He did, however, recommend re-reading and memorizing the most interesting passages because, "It is a source of exquisite and enduring delight to have one's mind stored with many melodious expressions of high thoughts and beautiful imagery."<sup>2</sup>

Eliot's attempt at the great books education has not been widely accepted by other advocates. Adler criticizes the plan for lacking a serious method of study. He compares the fifteen minutes a day reading plan to intellectual St. Vitus's dance, and he criticizes the collection for containing too many non-great books. Of course, Adler, as well as Hutchins, is too concerned with Eliot's elective system of university education to put too much trust in his Great Books emphasis. Adler feels that the basis of the Great Books program lies in its universal application, and the elective system which allows wide choice of subject matter contradicts that basis.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Charles W. Eliot, ed., Harvard Classics (New York: P. F. Collier and Sons, 1910), Vol. I, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Mortimer J. Adler, How to Read a Book (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 131.

Another significant attempt at the Great Books program was initiated at Columbia under the supervision of John Erskine. The program, called General Honors, was open to selected juniors and seniors. After reading one great book per week, the students discussed them with their teachers in informal seminar settings.<sup>1</sup>

In 1936, Robert Maynard Hutchins, then president of the University of Chicago, established the Committee on Liberal Arts to put some cultural vitality into college curriculum. To implement some change, he brought to Chicago two professors from the department of philosophy at the University of Virginia, Stringfellow Barr and Scott Buchanan. After one year at Chicago, Barr and Buchanan were persuaded to become the administrators of St. John's College of Annapolis, Maryland, and there they further implemented the program they had helped to engineer at Chicago.<sup>2</sup>

Although the program at Chicago operated for several years after 1936, St. John's College (now with a campus in Santa Fe, New Mexico, as well as the one in Annapolis) has become synonymous with Great Books education at the college level. Its program will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter VII of this study.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Gerald Grant and David Riesman, "St. John's and the Great Books," Change, (May, 1974), p. 30.

Another major contribution to the Great Books curriculum was the accumulation and publication of the Great Books of the Western World in 1952. This fifty-four volume series, published by Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., was edited by Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer J. Adler. Members of the Advisory Board included Stringfellow Barr, Scott Buchanan, John Erskine, Clarence Faust, Alexander Meiklejohn, Joseph Schwabb, and Mark Van Doren. In addition to containing many of the complete works of the authors ranging from Homer to Freud, the series comes complete with a guide for reading and studying the authors in a progressive manner. The authors are for the most part presented in chronological order, but the series distinguishes four main subject areas:

1. epic and dramatic poetry, satires, and novels
2. history and works in ethics, economics, politics, and jurisprudence
3. mathematics and natural science
4. philosophy and theology

A two-volume index, the Syntopicon, organizes 2,987 different topics.<sup>1</sup> (See Appendix C.)

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Maynard Hutchins, ed., Great Books of the Western World (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), Vol. I, p. 85.

## B. View of Man

In attempting to ascertain the philosophical positions, a beginning point should be an understanding of the view of the basic nature of man. Most proponents of the Great Books concept see man as a rational, non-evolving animal. This non-evolving aspect is the particular distinction of their philosophy and their proposal for educational subject matter. They do recognize the changes in society, and they recognize the human problems of adjusting to a new social order; but for them, the basic nature of man is the same now as it was for Plato. Consequently, any wisdom of the ancients is wisdom for the contemporaries. Adler summarizes the position. "There is not progress in everything. The fundamental human problems remain the same in all ages. We may succeed in accelerating the motions of life, but we cannot seem to change the routes that are available to its ends."<sup>1</sup> For this reason, the Great Books are always contemporary.

Hutchins labels this non-changing aspect as the elements of common human nature, and these are the same in any time or place.<sup>2</sup> He is discouraged by what he calls "the erroneous

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<sup>1</sup>Adler, How to Read a Book, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup>Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 66.

notion of progress" which maintains that real life is in a state of flux.<sup>1</sup>

The Great Books proponents also see man with almost infinite intellectual capabilities. Before going into his highly-religious description of man, Maritain first gives him the quality of ". . . an animal endowed with reason, whose supreme dignity is in the intellect."<sup>2</sup> This position of the dignity of the intellect is inherent within the commonly-held views of the worth and ability of mankind. Since the intellect represents the supreme dignity--the supreme humanity--the appropriate education must deal directly with enhancing intellect. The ultimate assumption from this position is that all men are capable of mastering the Great Books education. Van Doren is emphatic, ". . . Education is for all, and there can be no compromise with the proposition."<sup>3</sup> Hutchins sees the right to the Great Books education as the specific opportunity of America democracy. "The ideal of educating everybody to the limit of his possibilities is right if democracy is right.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>Jacques Maritain, Education at the Crossroads (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Mark Van Doren, Liberal Education (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1943), p. 30.



Democracy is right if every man should have the chance to develop as a man."<sup>1</sup>

Since this is the education necessary for all, then most men must be basically capable of obtaining this education. Of course, some people are more naturally gifted than others, and they will learn more easily. Teaching may be more difficult in some settings, but the Great Books curriculum, for the proponents at least, is not confined to the intellectually elite. Adler admonishes, "We have never tried our powers to the full. It is my honest belief that almost all of the great books in every field are within the grasp of all normally intelligent men."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the problem of the success of the curriculum becomes one of motivation and proper teaching, teaching the skills necessary for analytical reading; but most men are born with the basic ability to master the curriculum.

For most proponents of the Great Books, the mind is likened to a muscle which can only operate at its maximum when it is disciplined. They advocate serious training of the intellectual skills for the purpose of that discipline. Once the mind becomes disciplined or trained, it has achieved the freedom to make moral decisions. Thus, man

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Maynard Hutchins, Some Observations on American Education (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1956), p. 22.

<sup>2</sup>Adler, How to Read a Book, p. 30.

can more easily fulfill his potential. "Good moral and intellectual habits are required for the fullest development of the nature of a man."<sup>1</sup> Adler identifies the disciplined person as one who can "read, listen, and talk well,"<sup>2</sup> so apparently the disciplining process of the mind is the mastering of these skills.

Despite the emphasis on developing the intellect, and despite the hints that there are many intrinsic values within a Great Books education, the proponents still insist that man's ultimate function is one of practical action. As Adler comments, "We must act, however; that is the final word in every phase of human life."<sup>3</sup> It is obvious in the works of Hutchins, Adler, and most other Great Books proponents that the trends of society must be changed. Education is a means to the change, but the educated men must never retire into the dominion of their own intelligence. They must become responsible citizens in dictating human progress. Hutchins points out that, "Man is by nature free and by nature social. To use his freedom rightly he needs the

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Maynard Hutchins, The Conflict in Education (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Adler, How to Read a Book, p. 363.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 370.

discipline."<sup>1</sup> This social quality which is a natural element of mankind would necessitate his being a man of positive action. Thus, the educated man is a man of action.

Hutchins and Maritain, particularly, pursue another point in establishing their position regarding the nature of man. This point is the principle of unity as found in a common faith among people. When criticizing present universities, Hutchins talks of the medieval university which was bound and unified by its theology. The Greeks were unified through metaphysics. In America, laws restrict the extent of unity through theology in state universities, and metaphysics is not endorsed by science; so the curriculum lacks that element of unity found in a common pursuit of truth.<sup>2</sup>

### C. Structure of Society

The proponents of the Great Books curriculum maintain that man is by nature a social animal, thus society is a natural process. Although man's nature is not evolutionary, remaining basically the same in all ages, society is in a constant state of change. Hutchins is particularly alert to the progress of technology. For him, the splitting of the atom and the ability to leave the world are two events which have significantly changed the styles of human living.

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Conflict, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins, Higher Learning, p. 99.

Modern industrial nations have a new social order as well as a new economic order, and from such they have developed unique social problems. Technology has made a world community rather than a national or state community. Technology and its subsequent changes have also made the average American a man of leisure and a man capable of political power, the two factors which were once considered basic prerequisites for a liberal education. (Despite the positive aspects of these changes, they have put vocational demands upon the educational system. Intellectual growth has been minimized while vocational training has been emphasized.) Men have learned to act, but they have not learned to think. Thus, despite the technological progress, society needs restoring. It needs a spark of intellectualism which would result in wiser, more humane decisions. Society needs the same freedom that individuals can obtain through the disciplined mind. According to Hutchins, this is not an impossible task. "How is the society to be changed? There are only two ways: revolution and education."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Conflict, p. 48.

#### D. Purpose of Schools

For the advocates of the Great Books curriculum, schools have two functions: to produce manhood and by so doing to buffer undesirable social, political, and religious trends. For them, the first function of the proper education for a highly developed democracy is to develop humanity, to train the intellectual powers so that the individual can function more effectively as a human being. On this point, almost all proponents are specific and agreed. "The aim of liberal education is human excellences, both private and public."<sup>1</sup> Van Doren makes the same statement but individualizes the philosophy. "The aim of liberal education is one's own intellectual character. Liberal education makes the person competent; not merely to know or do, but also, and indeed chiefly, to be."<sup>2</sup> Hutchins connects thinking to man's humanity. "Liberal education consists of training in the liberal arts and of understanding the leading ideas that have animated mankind. It aims to help the human being learn to think for himself, to develop his highest human powers."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Great Books, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Van Doren, Liberal Education, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup>Hutchins, Conflict, p. 83.

Thus, the advocates of the Great Ideas curriculum agree that the first function of education--specifically liberal education--is to free a man to be human by training his intellect to function effectively. Hutchins, as well as the others, rejects any kind of vocational education before a person has become fully liberated through the Great Books process. Any ad hoc approach confines and binds the human rather than freeing and enhancing him.

Through this intellectual development, another aim accrues. The educated human being is now prepared to take action in acquiring a better way of life. Hutchins describes this action for an individual:

To put it another way, education is the process of learning to lead the good life. The permanence of the good habits that are formed by good acts, that induce further good acts, and so constitute a good life, is guaranteed by an intellectual grasp of the aims of life and of the means of achieving them.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond the good life for the individual, Hutchins sees the good life extended into society through education. In fact, he states that the improvement of society is the object of education,<sup>2</sup> but he hastens to explain that schools should not aim for nor propagate programs of social reform. They should educate each free man in the United States with the

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Some Observations, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins, Conflicts, p. 56.

education fit for a ruler. Then they should leave the social reform programs to educated men. If schools become engaged in social programs, they become just as ad hoc and destined as when they become engaged in vocational training. Both aims have a finite end. It is possible to train all the doctors, automobile mechanics or teachers that society needs. Then the schools would have fulfilled their ultimate goal. At the same time, if the ultimate aim is a social reform program, it is possible that the schools accomplish this end then lose their purpose. So social reform can not be a permanent aim of education. It must be a serendipitous by-product of intellectual men.

Hutchins further sees some solutions within educational content. Working on the theory that man does not evolve-- "We think that these books (Great Books prior to the twentieth century) shed some light on all our basic problems . . ." <sup>1</sup> -- he concludes that, "We are as concerned as anybody else at the headlong plunge into the abyss that Western civilization seems to be taking. We believe that the voices that may recall the West to sanity are those which have taken part in the Great Conversation." <sup>2</sup> The conclusion is obvious. Enlightened, intellectual men have a better understanding of

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Great Books, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. xii.

human problems; thus, they should have better access to the solutions to social problems.

#### E. Subject Matter

In regard to subject matter, the proponents of the Great Books concept are just that--proponents of the great books. They are generally silent about the proper material for younger children, but it is apparent that they expect these students to master the arts of reading, writing, and figuring. Hutchins does recommend that the children begin to read the Great Books as quickly as possible, maintaining that although they will not achieve thorough understanding, they will profit from the education.<sup>1</sup>

In higher education, the subject matter is fixed--the ideas from the list of the Great Books is the prescribed course of study. This material dominates the student's entire educational career. Through their attacks of Eliot's elective system at Harvard, it is apparent that both Adler and Hutchins reject any options outside the prescribed course, and the proponents seldom endorse extra-topical material or extra-curricular activities.

Actually, even the list of Great Books is somewhat of a fixed institution. Basically the same list which was

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. xvi.



first utilized in the University of Chicago program in 1936 is still being used. Buchanan made only minor adjustments during his tenure at St. John's but he, himself, became disenchanted with the assumed sacredness of the list. He had thought that the list and the subsequent curriculum would undergo constant evaluation and modification, including such updating as adding Oriental thought to the program. Those changes have not yet occurred.<sup>1</sup>

Adler enumerates the criteria for selection of the subject matter:

1. The Great Books are the most widely read through the ages.
2. The Great Books are popular, not pedantic.
3. The Great Books are always contemporary.
4. The Great Books are the most readable.
5. The Great Books are the most instructive, most enlightening.
6. The Great Books deal with the persistently unsolved problems of human life.<sup>2</sup>

Adler further recommends the selections because they are "the most potent civilizing forces in the world today."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Grant and Riesman, "St. John's and the Great Books," p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>Adler, How to Read a Book, pp. 328-335.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

## CHAPTER VII

### GREAT IDEAS METHODOLOGY

#### A. General Methodology

The proponents of the Great Ideas approach to education are, of course, more acutely interested in the content of education than in specific methodology required. Consequently, it is difficult to make realistic assumptions regarding what they consider as appropriate teaching methods. However, it is also important not to confine the Great Books curriculum to limited methods. The curriculum is preestablished and noncompromising, but the methodology should be exciting and innovative. In fact, according to the proponents, the failure of the liberal arts education was not in its ability to fulfill educational demands, but the liberal arts education failed because teachers and schools had failed to make the students see the value of the content. Even the liberal arts content had become too specialized, and teachers had failed to show the relationships between the various thinkers and strains of thought.

Because of this, progressive trends in teaching methods, if used properly, could be significant to teaching the Great Books. The danger, however, lies in the propensity to become too dedicated to a particular teaching method and lose the sight of the value of the subject matter. Hutchins makes this

point in regard to the use of technology in education. He visualizes the future when one expert might teach all physics courses in the nation via television. If the expert is not telegenic, an actor could be trained to do the work for him, thus eliminating poor teachers. Reproduction processes can make any style of art or science immediately available in the classroom, and programmed learning can allow a person to proceed at his individual pace. But all these technological contributions are of no avail if the purpose of the school is something other than developing an intelligent mankind through the study of great ideas.<sup>1</sup> Experimentation should continue in the search for effective methodology, so long as neither the content nor the aims are affected.

Perhaps the one educational method most commonly endorsed by the Great Books proponents is the dialectic of Socrates. This position is based on another, the assumption that reading the Great Books is not the end within itself but is a means to the final procedure of understanding and grasping the ideas presented. According to Hutchins, this was the procedure by which Socrates achieved clarification and comprehension of the basic ideas.<sup>2</sup> Buchanan experienced the Socratic method as a student of Alexander Meiklejohn at Amherst; he later based the entire program at St. John's on

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. Hutchins, The Learning Society (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 78-83.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

what he felt he had gained from that experience.<sup>1</sup> Buchanan even went so far as to suggest that a wide reading of Plato might well have a significant influence on the level of wisdom in this century.<sup>2</sup>

Another distinctive feature of the serious proponents of the Great Books education is the devotion to organization. As one example, The Great Books of the Western World have been carefully organized by the editors into chronological order, subject content areas, and into a ten-year reading plan. Adler, in How to Read a Book, minutely organizes all details and prescriptions for stimulating reading. He criticizes Eliot's Five Foot Shelf plan as being disjointed and too disorganized to be of intellectual development.<sup>3</sup> Thus, intellectual development is a serious endeavor which requires advanced planning and organization.

#### B. Early Childhood Methodology

Most of the proponents of the Great Books education are silent regarding early childhood education. (One is here reminded of Quintilian's reprimand to his contemporaries that if the perfect orator is the aim, the youngster must have proper training from birth.) Hutchins summarizes the argument by saying simply that "the sooner the young are introduced to the Great Conversation, the better."<sup>4</sup> Jacques Maritain, the

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<sup>1</sup>Grant and Riesman, "St. John's", p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Adler, How to Read a Book, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup>Hutchins, Great Books, p. xvi.

Thomist philosopher who endorses the liberal arts education does, however, list his insights in early childhood education; and because of his relationship to the Great Books concept, these merit some investigation. He introduces his comments by stating that at every stage of education, the knowledge should be adjusted to fit the learner's capabilities; and perfection at that level should always be within grasp of the particular age group.

He recommends two natural resources as those to be tapped in early childhood teaching, the active imagination and the great appreciation of beauty. Although the imagination is a threat, (teaching might be engulfed in a magic ocean), it can be used in a positive way. Since the teacher's task is to civilize the mind, he then must tame the imagination to the rule of reason.

The child's great sense and appreciation of beauty is another resource which creative teachers will utilize. The learning is enhanced in a beautiful setting. "Beauty makes intelligibility pass unawares through sense-awareness."<sup>1</sup> At this point, Maritain's methodology becomes engulfed in theology, and he reminds the teacher of the child's natural bent toward resentment, wickedness, and perversion.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Maritain, Education, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

## C. Elementary Education Methodology

Since he views intellectual growth as a result of the habit of constant and enlightening reading and discussion, Hutchins recognizes the need for establishing the habit early. "We have to begin in childhood to discover the delights of men, and the rewards of the life of the mind. The objects of formal, institutional education must be to develop the habits that promote and sustain the life of the mind."<sup>1</sup> This constitutes his recommendation for appropriate methodology in the elementary years.

Van Doren is more specific. His first principle, similar to that of Maritain's, is to permit the child to be a child and not consider him as an adult dwarf. The child should be given tasks within the realm of his ability. He should be given educational jobs which he can successfully master, and teachers do not have the right to demand that the child think or act as an adult. When he is asked to digest the news or to react emotionally to literature for which he does not have the emotional capacity, he is being bullied by adult reason; and the child resents that. Thus, early education is to train the observation, the imagination, and the memory. Any attempts to get him to act or think as a mature adult will only rob him of a naturally happy and credulous disposition. The three R's are the right material at this

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. Hutchins, Gateway to the Great Books, (Chicago: Encyclopaedic Britannica, Inc., 1963), Vol. I, p. 13.

this stage because they develop rather than require.

Van Doren proposes that the useful arts are particularly valuable as instruction tools. As the student participates with the elements of building, he grasps the general ideas and principles. The setting should be one of art, of use and of play.<sup>1</sup> Maritain also recognizes the value of play in elementary education as a tool of free expression, giving a poetic quality to the energies expended.<sup>2</sup>

Van Doren is not concerned that these proposals for elementary methodology--no physical brutality, no unusual demands, and no unhappy children--might resemble the suggestions of the progressive educators. These proposals have the authority of antiquity, and progressive education is to be commended for its tradition. Nevertheless, progressive education is not perfect elementary education because it lacks purpose and it ignores the values of the past.<sup>3</sup>

Another feature in Van Doren's proposal for elementary education methodology is common in several of the proponents. This is the theory that the teaching-learning process is a human process. He condemns the over-use of textbooks as dehumanizing just as Hutchins fears the overall dangers of an educational technology which will replace genuine human relationships between pupil and learner.

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<sup>1</sup>Van Doren, Liberal Education, p. 88-92.

<sup>2</sup>Maritain, Education, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Van Doren, Liberal Education, p. 92.

Van Doren maintains that the child acquires freedom only through discipline, both physically and mentally. "Memory is the mother of imagination,"<sup>1</sup> and needs to be trained. Through memory, thought is allowed to pursue and grasp deeper and more profound truths. "There should be no school in which the young mind fails to receive, like seeds destined to germinate in later years, a full sowing of sentences great men have spoken . . . "<sup>2</sup> The better trained the populace, the better the life available.

For Van Doren, the child should also be permitted to use all his senses in learning. The hands are particularly important tools for that purpose because "The child comprehends nothing which he is forbidden to touch."<sup>3</sup>

It is interesting to recognize the similarities between the methodology which Van Doren proposes for the elementary education and the methodology proposed by Quintilian during the first century.

#### D. Secondary Education Methodology

For Hutchins, as well as the other Great Books proponents, it is difficult to distinguish a distinctive break between secondary education and higher education because the liberal arts education should begin at the secondary level

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 97.



and continue into the higher education level. Hutchins, in 1936, saw a completely new school developing for this purpose. This, for him, was to be the distinctive feature of the emerging junior college. Since in 1936, the work force did not immediately need the high school graduates, the universal junior college was a solution both to an employment problem as well as an educational one. The student could begin his program of general (or Great Books) education at the beginning of the junior year in high school and could end it at the climax of the sophomore year in college. This two-year extension on the educational ladder would solve many problems for American education and society. The university could then spend its time and efforts on specialization and research.<sup>1</sup> The junior colleges seemed the logical development because the general education could not be offered under the direction of the existing public schools, and it could not be a part of the university program. It is obvious now that Hutchins has not had much effect on the general junior college movement.

Hutchins' specific suggestions for secondary methods commonly appear in the form of criticism. The comprehensive high school is too comprehensive. The secondary student gets only a minor introduction in far too many things; consequently, he never fully grasps anything. The disintegration of the

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Higher Learning, p. 9.

program has marred the effectiveness of teaching the common language, common stock of ideas, and common tradition which unite men. Basic education is thus basic to general intelligence.<sup>1</sup>

Since reading the Great Books provides the basis for the proper education, it is an accepted point with Hutchins that students be taught how to read effectively. The first avenue to reading is a thorough knowledge of English grammar. Through this scientific analysis of language, the student can understand the meaning and force of what is written. In addition, grammar disciplines the mind and develops logical processes.<sup>2</sup> Hutchins does not recommend the study of classical language or modern language as necessary to a general education. They are valuable only as specific tools. To grammar, he adds the rules of reading, rhetoric, and logic. He adds mathematics as the most effective way to teach correctness in thinking, but it should be emphasized to the student that mathematics has an intrinsic value other than its practical value.<sup>3</sup>

Adler is specific in his prescription for developing the kind of reflective reading which is the prerequisite for the Great Books education. He enumerates the rules throughout his manuscript, How to Read a Book. There are three kinds of

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<sup>1</sup>Hutchins, Conflict, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins, Higher Learning, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

reading: structural or analytical where the reader proceeds from the whole to its parts; interpretative or synthetic where the reader proceeds from the parts to the whole; and critical or evaluative where the reader judges the author.<sup>1</sup> There are then specific rules for developing each of these reading styles. The four rules for developing the analytical reading include: 1.) Classify the book according to kind and subject matter; 2.) State what the whole book is about with brevity; 3.) Define its major parts in the order and relation; 4.) Define the problem or problems the author is trying to solve.<sup>2</sup>

Adler does recognize different levels and techniques of education, when he states that ". . . we experience things through the exercise of our senses and imagination. To know anything, we must use our powers of judgement and reasoning, which are intellectual."<sup>3</sup>

Maritain views the secondary methods problem as one of adolescent psychology. To him, the normal adolescent is possessed with a penchant for knowing the truth. His mental atmosphere should be one of truth, and the educator should deal in truths rather than in self-consciousness or fulfillment. This impulse toward knowing some all-embracing truth

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<sup>1</sup>Adler, How to Read, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

is natural to the adolescent who could be compared to the early Greek thinkers who had an impulse to know truth although they had not yet accumulated the wisdom to know it. Maritain concludes the point by stating, "Common sense and the spontaneous pervasiveness of natural insight and reasoning constitute the dynamic unity of the adolescent's universe of thought, before wisdom may achieve in a man a stabler unity."<sup>1</sup> This passion for truth should permeate the styles of methods used in adolescent education.

Maritain is not alone in this line of thinking among Great Books proponents. There is frequent evidence of an attempt to understand adolescent psychology and to adopt appropriate methods. But neither methodology nor psychology must detract from the intent of the subject matter. Teaching is an arduous task and proposed short cuts are frequently deceptions. One observation of Hutchins serves as an example. "I must confess that I regard the popularity of the dogma of individual differences as a manifestation of a desire on the part of educators to evade a painful but essential duty."<sup>2</sup>

#### E. Methodology of Higher Education

The revolt against the classical dissectors and drillmasters was justified. The revolt against liberal education was not. The dissectors and drillmasters had no more to do with liberal education than

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<sup>1</sup>Maritain, Education, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup>Hutchins, Great Books, p. 51.

the ordinary college of liberal arts has to do with those arts today. And the fact that a method obtains sensational results in one field is not guarantee that it will obtain any results whatever in another.<sup>1</sup>

With this statement Hutchins clarifies the position of the Great Books methodology in higher education. He deplores the loss of the Great Books in the typical college or university education, but he places the blame for that loss largely upon the stilted and jejune teaching methods which were being employed. It does not make sense to him or the other proponents to the Great Books approach to throw out the content simply because the methodology was ineffective.

However, Hutchins and the other Great Books proponents are somewhat different from some educational critics. They have not been satisfied with the opportunity to criticize. They have offered an alternative, and they have implemented that alternative in educational practice. That educational practice is the experiment of St. John's College with campuses in Annapolis, Maryland and Santa Fe, New Mexico. In preparation for this paper, the researcher spent two days at the Santa Fe campus to observe the methodology in actual practice. Following is a report of that research.

The St. John's methodology consists of four general approaches: the seminar, the tutorial, the laboratory, and the formal lecture. The seminar is at the center of the program, and most of the other intellectual activities revolve

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

rather closely around what is occurring in the seminar. The reading list, which appears in Appendix D, is submitted to the student at the beginning of each year. The discussion schedule for the seminar is also developed for one year. Generally, the discussion topic requires about one hundred pages of reading per session. Thus the students can know the general nature of the seminar at any point in the school year. From nineteen to twenty-one students are assigned to a specific seminar group for an entire school year. Two tutors (the St. John's professors) are also assigned to the same group for a year. The seminars meet twice a week, once on Monday evening and once on Thursday evening. Although the class schedule calls for a two-hour session, discussions frequently last far beyond the two-hour limit. Attempts are made to keep the general spirit of the seminar at a formal level. Students are identified as Mr. or Miss. The tutor begins the session with a question, usually of a divergent nature, and students are encouraged to react to that question and interact with each other as well as with the tutors. The students do not raise their hands, but their ideas are treated with respect. According to the catalogue, the tutors are not to take an authoritative stand on the discussion, but may enter in as another party. Their job is to keep the discussion progressing. Again referring to the catalogue, the students, in addition to developing their insights into the Great Books being read, learn to support their opinions, keep to the topic, and differentiate between the styles of

writing being covered. The final aim is illumination.<sup>1</sup>

The tutorials in the curriculum lend foundation support to the seminars. There are three specific areas of tutorials. All students attend a language tutorial and a mathematics tutorial four days a week. Sophomore students attend a music tutorial three days a week. Again, the class size is small, usually from thirteen to fifteen students, and interaction is encouraged; however, the discussion here is based on assigned tasks and lacks the freedom of the seminar discussion.

The language tutorial is, according to the catalogue, an attempt to restore a study of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. In attempting to master the language of thought, the students study ". . . the fundamental ways words can be put together, the modes of signifying things, the varied connotations and ambiguities of terms, the role of metaphors and analogies, and the logical relations between propositions."<sup>2</sup> In the early phases of the program, there is a basic grammar and vocabulary study with emphasis placed on learning style through memorization of selected passages. The next phase of instruction is the careful reading of the Great Books. In this procedure, the students analyze passages for various aspects of style as well as meaning.

In the language tutorial, the students also master two foreign languages, Greek during the freshman and sophomore years and French during the junior and senior year.

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<sup>1</sup>St. John's Catalogue, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

The mathematics tutorial consists primarily of a study of the works of classic mathematicians. Euclid and Ptolemy are studied the first year; Copernicus and Apollonius constitute most of the second year study. Newton dominates the third year, and the fourth year is spent with Lobachevski's non-Euclidean geometry.<sup>1</sup> During these studies, the students are required to demonstrate the classical proposition; thus using both the understanding and knowledge of the classical ideas as well as demonstrating logical and calculative skills.

The music tutorial places great emphasis on studying the musical attributes of the classic works through the process of listening. The freshmen are required to sing in a chorus and the sophomores study music in the tutorial. When music is scheduled to be the subject of a seminar, the students prepare by listening to recordings of the works of those composers being studied.<sup>2</sup>

The scientific laboratory section of the curriculum also uses the Great Books for content. The classic experiments are reproduced in such a way that the student can learn through his own experimentation the roots, principles and historical thread of modern science. The lab sessions usually consist of from seventeen to twenty-one students who meet twice a week. Frequently, the tutor in charge is assisted

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 17.



by advanced students. During the lab sessions, the students may discuss a classical theory or may be involved in actual experimentation processes. The freshmen students study problems of measurement and the arguments which lead to a theory of matter in terms of discrete particles. They eventually deal with the periodical chart. The sophomores have an extensive study of living matter. The juniors deal primarily with physics. In addition to continuing the study in physics, the seniors return to pursue anew some of the problems which were raised during the first year.<sup>1</sup>

Each Friday night, all students attend a formal lecture in the main lecture hall. Although visiting lecturers may attend, usually the lecture is delivered by a faculty member. After the session, the students have an opportunity to question the lecturer. The catalogue is specific in stating that the principal rationale for the lecture is to teach the students the art of learning through listening.<sup>2</sup>

Student measurement is largely achieved through essays and oral examinations. In Santa Fe, each freshman, sophomore, or junior student presents an essay each semester. In Annapolis, the student presents one each year. Rather than the essay being a formal research paper, it is more of a position paper on some aspect of the seminar reading. At the sophomore

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 17-23.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

level, the essays are scrutinized closely by all sophomore tutors who then make a decision, based on the essay and general progress, as to whether the student should be allowed to continue in the program. The seniors present only one essay which is to be a manifestation of his scholarship.

In addition to the essays, the students are orally examined each semester by the seminar leaders regarding their insights into the Great Books covered. The senior oral examination represents a comprehensive examination of most of the material covered during the four years.

Another form of critical examination is the don rag. During the session, the student meets with his tutors and seminar leaders for oral appraisal. The student may defend himself or ask for advice. Grades are not discussed during this session.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the major feature of the program is that all students are reading the same material and experiencing similar learning circumstances at that particular phase of their academic career.<sup>2</sup>

There is danger in generalizing an atmosphere or a learning climate from the research of one brief stay on campus and the association with a limited number of faculty members; but there appears to be at Santa Fe, a spirit of humane, academic pursuit. On a spring day, students were sitting in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

the courtyard, but most of them were sitting alone, reading. In the coffee shop, there was some informal grouping; but most of the students, again, were sitting alone, reading. Prior to the beginning of the seminars, some students met on the lawn in informal groups, and groups met at the coffee shop after the seminar.

Most of the students appeared very interested in the program. In one seminar session of twenty-one freshmen students, eighteen took an active part in the discussion, two appeared very interested, and one appeared completely indifferent to the proceedings. Two students and one tutor were the most active in the discussion.

During personal interviews with the students, they appeared to be more interested in the organization and the humaneness than in the philosophical framework behind the Great Books curriculum. One freshman coed summarized her position in the common vernacular. "St. John's seems to have it all together."

Quintilian would probably endorse the St. John's program as effective educational practice. He would praise the fixed and established curriculum, and he would agree with the emphasis on the ancients. (Compare Appendix A to Appendix D). He would, however, probably criticize the curriculum for not giving enough credit to the good contemporary writers.

He would also agree with the aim of the curriculum as illumination, but Quintilian would probably raise a serious

question about the final product. His proposed curriculum led to a specific end--the good man skilled in speaking who would eventually take an active role in finding solutions for social and political problems. Horne refers to Quintilian's educational program as cultural vocationalism. Thus, the quality lacking at St. John's would be the vocationalism. Quintilian would want to know what the graduates had achieved; and as yet, St. John's does not make sweeping claims of alumni greatness as do some institutions.

Quintilian would probably be most excited about St. John's methodology. He would appreciate the variety of learning experiences, the humanness of tutors, the group size, and the scholastic demands. He would endorse the practice of teaching style through emulation, but he would probably encourage more declaiming.

Thus, despite a few discrepancies, Quintilian would probably praise St. John's as a noble educational endeavor.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

This study concludes in irony. In addition to presenting an analysis of Quintilian's educational thought, it traces his influence through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and even shows the strains of his thinking manifested in the contemporary Great Books educational approach. Yet, there is little evidence that Quintilian had any significant influence upon the immediate culture or educational system of the first century. Thus, the irony is that his specific educational proposals directed at a specific cultural environment have been more influential throughout most of the eras of history than they were during the time when those specific cultural conditions existed.

This irony brings the study to consider the question of why Quintilian was not more successful in achieving positive change in the Roman schools in the latter years of the first century and why those schools did not have positive effects upon the culture. A survey of Chapters II, III, IV, and V should provide possible answers.

Chapter II of this study discussed the cultural conditions in Rome during the time in which Quintilian lived, taught, and wrote the Institutes of Oratory. The most

conspicuous condition, or at least the characteristic which has been most developed by historians, was the political instability. In the total scope of Roman history, the empire was still in its infancy. The Roman citizens had not yet totally defined the characteristics of good government through the administration of the single head. The powers of the Senate vacillated from one emperor to the next, depending upon how much power the emperor was willing to surrender to the senators. The peacetime military (there were no major conquests during the first century except for the conquest of Britain and the destruction of Jerusalem) was, however, a major power, and the success of the emperors depended largely upon their ability to win the favors of the legions. Imperial succession was not fully defined, either; and the reign of the Caesars ended with the death of Nero and the ascension of Galba, a provincial, to the throne. In spite of the seemingly humane and sensitive administration of the first Flavians, especially Vespasian and Titus, the Romans still did not trust their government in the hands of a single individual. Thus, the apparent paranoia and subsequent tyranny which had been obvious in the administrations of later Caesars reappeared in the administration of Domitian.

The social conditions in Rome were also undergoing abrupt changes during the first century. The old aristocracy

was clinging to its last threads of distinction while the rights of citizenship were being more-widely distributed with each generation. Slaves became freedmen and freedmen became citizens. All Italians were granted citizenship in one decree, and some provinces, particularly Spain, were in some ways more Roman than the Eternal City, itself. Consequently, all things which the aristocracy had represented were diminishing. The virtues of eloquence, bravery, and masculinity had lost their appeal. Both Suetonius and Tacitus, first century historians of the aristocratic class, were careful to note which tyrants died in typical Roman fashion of bravery and dignity.

The social position of the family was also undergoing transition. For centuries, the family had represented the ultimate social unit in the Roman culture. The fathers, acting as the family priests, determined whether the infant child should live or be left for the gods. The lessons of the children consisted always of teaching the child parental obedience. The laws of inheritance were prominent parts of the Twelve Tables. In the latter stages of the Republic and the beginning stages of the empire, schools began to replace the family education, and the family began to lose its central force. Quintilian's appointment by Vespasian as the first official schoolmaster was a significant event in the

history of Roman cultural change.

The old religious dogmas were also losing their emphasis during the first century. Although Tacitus and Suetonius referred frequently to the omens and signs of the traditional superstitions, Quintilian refers to such a story only once and then he discounts its veracity. In spite of some Imperial decrees to banish Stoic philosophers in the latter part of the century, Stoicism was still a dominant factor in religious thought during the time when Quintilian wrote. Seneca's philosophical position had Imperial endorsement for several years; and with this impetus, his Stoicism would not be easily forgotten. Christianity was also becoming a force in religious thinking during Quintilian's lifetime. While Quintilian was trying to teach students moral wisdom through the thoughts of the great men who had lived before them, the Apostle Paul, was incarcerated in Rome for trying to teach that moral wisdom was the result of the divine revelation exemplified through the person of Jesus Christ.

All of this evidence in Chapter II indicates that during the first century, Roman cultural was in a crisis, changing rapidly and dramatically.

Chapter III presented the status of education during the first century. The schools in the empire were rapidly becoming more Roman in their content and methodology. The contributions of the Roman writers in history, literature, and philosophy were replacing the past curriculums which had been heavily dependent upon the Greek culture. Schools were



also becoming more popular institutions, replacing traditional family tutoring. The three schools in the ladder were the *ludi*, the school of grammar, and the schools of rhetoric. Selection processes eliminated students at each level. The schools were, however, still private affairs, and the schoolmasters' success depended upon their ability to attract students. Consequently, the tones of the instruction had become less idealistic and more practical. The emphasis upon elaborate and thorough instruction in grammar, rhetoric, and logic had declined. Practice replaced theory. Seneca had advocated achieving eloquence through the study of moral philosophy rather than rhetoric, and this position heavily influenced the education in the later decades of the century.

Thus, Chapter III indicated that during the first century, the schools in Rome had become more localized, more specific in aims, more practical, and the curriculum had become more vocational despite the uninspiring methodology and severe punishment which were common.

Chapters IV and V examined Quintilian's educational proposals as alternative programs in the light of both the cultural and educational conditions of the times. In his philosophy, Quintilian saw his version of the schools serving one purpose--producing the perfect orator, the man of eloquence, the good man skilled in speaking. To do this, education must begin early and must be a serious business throughout the

life of the individual. (Quintilian, thus, became the first educator to write about early childhood or elementary education.) For him, the subject matter was universal. The perfect orator should know almost everything. A major portion of his knowledge, though, came from reading the great authors from the beginning of recorded literature to the present. From these authors the student not only should learn the facts presented but he should also gain moral insights which lead him to sound decisions. He should also learn style and rhetorical finesse from reading these masters.

Quintilian was alarmed by social and educational trends, so he advocated stabilizing conditions by returning to the wisdom and eloquence of a past age. Despite his encyclopedic listing of authors and works, Quintilian believed that the epitome of eloquence and the ideal of the educated man was Cicero. Thus, if schools could produce men with the eloquence, the virility, and the virtue of Cicero, these enlightened men could (and should) take the initiative in returning society to a saner plateau.

For Quintilian, contrary to what Seneca had taught, eloquence could not be achieved without a thorough dedication to mastering the rules of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. This required disciplined students, and effective and serious teachers. Nevertheless, Quintilian advocated humane treatment of students. He deplored corporal punishment. He recommended play, games and competition as teaching tools. He

advocated recognizing and teaching to individual differences, and acknowledged the advantages of using all senses in the educational process. He based his humanism on the thought that teachers should consider each student as a future Alexander, pregnant with unlimited potential and requiring the full attention of the teacher's finest efforts.

But, alas, Quintilian apparently had little input into the educational practices of his times. There is some indication that during the latter stages of the first century, schools did become somewhat more humane,<sup>1</sup> but this was probably the result of competitive schoolmasters vying for students rather than from insights found in the Institutes of Oratory.

Political and social conditions also stabilized during the second century, but that was probably more the result of good government from the Emperors Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antonius Pius, and Marcus Aurelius rather than from reform movements within the educational system.<sup>2</sup>

Reasons for Quintilian's lack of influence in his contemporary setting are implied from this study. First, the schools in Rome during the first century were not major forces in shaping progress or destiny. As in the Greek states, the polis, the city itself, was the chief educative force; and the Romans learned their eloquence, their morals, and their

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<sup>1</sup>Marrou, Education in Antiquity, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup>Abbott, Roman Political Institutions, pp. 317-320.

virtues more from the Forum than from the classroom. The Empire provided an outlet for social and political climbing, and the Roman fathers were interested in discovering the quickest routes to success for their sons. The route proposed by Quintilian was too long and too arduous. Although his educational aims were vocational - producing orators - his approach was too theoretical. The public was demanding declamation without eloquence, and the schoolmasters were willing to offer shortcuts.

Quintilian was a man out of place. He was a traditionalist in an age of change. In educational methodology and child psychology, he was approximately 2,000 years before his time; but as a social theorist, he was traditional. He deplored the new morality and the permissiveness which had been an outgrowth of the Imperial age. He condemned its presence in government, in schools, in music, in literature, and in art. Nevertheless, Roman culture was changing, and advocates of change were looking forward, not backward. The Greek authors had been satisfactory subject matter before the Romans began writing; but once Rome had its own literature, it was no longer expedient to study the Greek culture.

Despite his plea to the contrary, Quintilian's educational proposals constituted a system for the elite. It is obvious that not everyone could achieve eloquence. There were natural restrictions, and there were restrictions of the accidents of birth. Wealth had to be a factor. When Quin-

tilian proposed ivory blocks as the first educational toys, he was not speaking to the freedmen class. When he discussed the different techniques to be used in handling students, he concluded that some would be more suitable for work in the fields. However, there is a paradox in limiting his educational proposals too much. If a person becomes wise and moral through reading the great authors, then only those persons who could seek the education of the eloquent orator could become wise enough to make moral decisions. If the cultural education is good for all men, then it must be available to all men.

There is an important point to be made, though, regarding Quintilian's educational methodology. Although he proposed a system of traditional subject content and of exacting and tedious study, he was probably the most progressive teacher in his age. His proposals for understanding children, for utilizing controlled play and relaxation, for varying the presentation, for mastering the teaching-learning process, and for organizing the curriculum in a palatable form constitute an alternative to the educational practices of his contemporaries. Quintilian's subject matter was fixed, traditional and a means to a specific end; but his proposals for teaching were progressive and innovative.

This study also investigated relationships between the Great Books educational approach in the twentieth century America to that of Quintilian. It was not implied that

Quintilian had directly influenced such thinkers as Robert Maynard Hutchins, Stringfellow Barr, Scott Buchanan, Jacques Maritain, Mark Van Doren, or Mortimer Adler. It simply indicated the relationships which might exist. Chapter VI pursued the relationships in educational philosophy and Chapter VII pursued them in educational methodology.

The distinguishing philosophical characteristic of the Great Books proponents is the principle of the universality of man. Since man is the same at all times and in all places, his education should be the same. Thus, for them, like Quintilian, the proper subject matter consists of the great ideas of the great thinkers from the beginning of recorded thought. A comparison of the list of Great Books found in the appendices shows consideration of several of the same authors although one list was compiled almost 2,000 years before the other.

For the Great Books proponents, the purpose of the schools is to produce intellectual men who possess many of the same characteristics as Quintilian's man of eloquence. These intellectual men, like Quintilian's orator, should then become actively involved in the mainstream of social and political affairs.

The Great Books proponents are also alarmed by current social and educational trends. They deplore the commercial-

ization of educational institutions, and the compromising of standards to satisfy public demands.

Yet, the Great Books approach has not made significant contributions to the progress of American education. The one institution of higher education dedicated to the Great Books approach, St. John's College of Annapolis, Maryland and Santa Fe, New Mexico, had a total enrollment of 236 students in 1972. As the proponents continue to warn of the dangers of an ad hoc education, vocational schools are rapidly becoming prominent institutions in secondary and post-secondary education. The conclusion is obvious. The American people, as the Romans did, view schools as training centers. Theoretical or cultural education leading to intellectual development is satisfactory, perhaps, for a leisure class; but there is no leisure class. The American people are still demanding an educational system which trains persons for a specific job as quickly as possible, and the Great Books educational proposal is too time-consuming.

Despite the philosophical pleas that the Great Books is the education for all men and is within the realm of all men, the Great Books education is now still an elitist position. As a statement of its excellence and perhaps a warning of its severity, St. John's includes high school honors in its catalogue. Forty-seven per cent of the students finished in the top ten percent of their classes and another twenty-two per cent finished in the second ten per cent.

Approximately twenty per cent of the students were recipients of National Merit honors. St. John's actually becomes a preparatory school for advanced studies in such fields as education, law, medicine, philosophy, and theology. Thus, it is an education for persons who do not have to rush through a training session to gainful employment.

Regardless of the fixed nature of the curriculum, the Great Books program does provide an outlet for innovative and experimentive teaching methods. The St. John's program, utilizing seminars, small groups, and the dialectic method, presents an alternative approach to problems of methodology which now confront educators. Thus, it is possible to conclude again that the fixed and traditional curriculum does not dictate a traditional teaching approach.

The conclusion of this study is that neither Quintilian nor the Great Books proponents have significantly influenced the educational trends of their times. The proposals have been too aloof and too idealistic to meet the demands of practicality. Yet, these proposals merit continuous study and attention. Regardless of the nature of the changes inherent within the technological age, it is unwise to discard 2,800 years of recorded thought on the grounds that it is irrelevant. If man is to achieve his ultimate potential, he must have an opportunity to grasp his culture in its total perspective, Even if conditions do change and man does



evolve, he is still basically the same biological creature now as he was in the days of Homer. There are more physiological similarities than differences. It is logical then to assume that there are more intellectual and emotional similarities between contemporary man and Aristotle than there are differences. Thus, the study of man's endeavors, as recorded in the Great Books, is appropriate educational subject matter.

Quintilian merits continuous study if for nothing more than his educational methodology. In this age of mechanical teachers and systematic learning processes, the nature of the human relationship becomes increasingly important in the teaching-learning process. The dangers of alienation and identity loss are real problems in the adolescent society, and perhaps the most reasonable answers are those of the first century schoolmaster who admonished, "Let us assume therefore that Alexander has been confided to our charge and that the infant placed in our lap deserves no less attention than he."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>i. 1. 20.

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## APPENDIX A

### THE GREAT AUTHORS' CURRICULUM

Circa A. D. 94 (with Quintilian's Comments)

#### I. Greek Authors

##### A. Epic Poets

1. Homer: "He is like his own conception of Ocean, which he describes as the source of every stream and river; for he has given us a model and an inspiration for every department of eloquence".
2. Hesoid: Although he had too many names, his maxims of moral wisdom provide a useful model.
3. Antimachus: Literature teachers rank him second among the epic poets, but he is far from first. He should be praised for his vigor, dignity and elevation of language.
4. Appollonius: He is very consistent and deserves more distinction.
5. Aratus: He is too lifeless and monotonous (no scope for pathos).
6. Theocritus: He is too rustic and rural even for the town.
7. Pisandros: Admirable story of Hercules.
8. Nicander: Model for Virgil.
9. Euphorion: Praised by Virgil.
10. Tyrtaeus: Horace compares him to Homer.

##### B. Elegia Poets--(When our tastes are formed and we have the leisure.)

1. Callimachus and Philetas: These were the two best. Until critical faculties are formed, one should read only the best.

##### C. Iambic Poet

1. Archilochus: He has forcible style and is full of vigor and life.

##### D. Lyric Poets

1. Pindar: By far the greatest in virtue of his inspired magnificence, beauty of thoughts, rich exuberance of language.
2. Stesichorus: His greatness is in his choice of

subject because he tells of the great wars and great heroes. But he is redundant.

3. Alcaeus: Attacks the tyrants with "quill of gold."
  4. Simonides: Simple style but can excite pity.
- E. Old Comedy (preserves intact the true grace of Attic diction. Best resembles oratory.)
1. Aristophanes
  2. Eupolis
  3. Cratinus
- F. Tragedy
1. Aeschylus: The first tragedian, he is lofty and dignified but often uncouth. Later poets revised his works.
  2. Euripides: Joining Sophocles as one of the greatest, he yields great service to those studying oratory.
  3. Sophocles: He has logical attacks; compares with the greatest orators.
  4. Menander: He imitates Euripides, but is perfect in presenting actual life; thus very useful for declaimers.
- G. Historians
1. Thucydides: He is compact and fast paced; he, with Herodotus, is above all others.
  2. Herodotus: He is pleasant, lucid, and diffuse.
  3. Theopompus: He uses an oratorical style.
  4. Philistus: He is an imitator of Thucydides.
  5. Ephorus: According to Isocrates, he needs the spur.
  6. Clitarchus: He has good talent but is not accurate.
  7. Timagenes: He revives history after it had vanished for a period.
  8. Xenophon: He should be placed among philosophers.
- H. Orators: (Vast army because Athens produced ten in the same generation.)
1. Demosthenes: He is the greatest-the sole pattern of oratory. Such is the force and compactness of his language, so muscular his style, so free from tameness and so self-controlled.

2. Aeschines: He has more flesh and less muscle.
3. Hyperides: Although he has extraordinary charm, he is better qualified for minor cases.
4. Lysias: If the orator were only to instruct, he would be perfect. But he is a clear spring rather than a mighty river.
5. Isocrates: He embodies all grace and style--moral ideals, quick invention; but he is better suited for the fencing school than for the battlefield.
6. Demetrius: Although he is reported to have been the first to set oratory on the downward path, Cicero prefers him to all other orators of that age.

I. Philosophers: (Cicero derives much of eloquence from them.)

1. Plato: The king, he is supreme in acuteness, perception, and in his divine gift of style.
2. Xenophon: "The goddess of persuasion sat enthroned upon his lips."
3. Aristotle: He is equal in knowledge, multitude of writings, sweetness of style, penetration revealed by discovery, and variety of tasks essayed.
4. Theophrastus: He has superhuman brilliance of style.
5. Ancient Stoics: They do not indulge their eloquence. They are 'shrewd thinkers but not successful as orators.

II. Roman Authors

A. Epic Poets

1. Virgil: Domitius Afer compares him to Homer by "Virgil is second, but is nearer first and third." He has a superior uniformity which balances Homer's outstanding passages.
2. Macer and Lucretius: They are worth reading but not for forming of style.
3. Varro: His poems are translations, but he deserves attention.

4. Ennius: He deserves reverence simply because of the task.
5. Ovid: He is not serious enough for epics.
6. Cornelius Severus: He wrote one excellent book on the Sicilian war.
7. Serranus: Although he died young, he indicates highest talent.
8. Valerius Flaccus: He died recently.
9. Saleius Bassus: He shows poetic genius but not mellowed by age.
10. Lucan: He is fiery, passionate, and worthy to be imitated by orators.
11. Germanicus Augustus (Domitian): "What can be more sublime, more learned, more perfect in every detail than those works to which he devoted himself.....Who could sing of war better than he who wages it with such skill? To whom would the goddesses that preside over literature sooner lend an ear? To whom would Minerva, his familiar diety, more readily reveal her secrets? Future ages shall tell of these things more fully; today his glory as a poet is dimmed by the splendor of his other virtues."

B. Elegiac Poets: (The Romans challenge the Greek supremacy in elegy.)

1. Tibullus: The most terse and elegant.
2. Propertius: Preferred by some.
3. Ovid: More sportive than the others.
4. Gallus: More serious than the others.

C. Satire: (A Roman invention)

1. Lucilius: He is esteemed by most as the greatest satirist and by some as the greatest poet.
2. Horace: Since he is terser and purer in style, he must be rated first.
3. Persius: He wrote one book, but achieved distinction.
4. Living Satirists: Posterity will praise them.



5. Terentius Varro: Although the most learned of all Romans, he is likely to contribute more to the knowledge of the student than to his eloquence.
- D. Iambic Poets (Intermingled with other forms)
1. Catullus
  2. Bibaculus
  3. Horace
- E. Lyric Poets
1. Horace: About the only one worth reading. Sprightly, but lofty.
  2. Caesius Bassus
- F. Tragedians
1. Accius and Pacuvius: They are remarkable for their force of general reflections. Accius is the most vigorous, but Pacuvius the most learned.
  2. Varius: His Thyestes is a match for the Greeks.
  3. Ovid: His Medea shows his great talent, but rather than curbing it, he indulges it.
  4. Pomponius Secundus: He is the best of Quintilian's contemporaries.
- G. Comedy Writers (The Romans' weakest point)
- "The language of Rome (is) incapable of reproducing that graceful wit which was granted to Athens alone."
1. Afranius: He excels in comedy but uses indecent plots.
  2. Plautus
  3. Caecilius: He is extolled by the Ancients.
  4. Terence: He should have used a different verse form.
- H. History: "We hold our own with the Greeks."
1. Sallust: He is comparable to Thucydides.
  2. Titus Livius: He is comparable to Herodotus--wonderful charm, transparency in narrative, and eloquent speeches. Captures the emotions.

3. Servilius: A contemporary who is full of general reflections, he is not as dignified as history requires.
  4. Cremutius: Since his worst has been expurgated, his best reveals lofty animation and fearless reflexions upon life.
- I. Orators: In this, the Roman eloquence can match that of Greece.
1. Cicero: "I would set Cicero against any one of their orators without fear of refutation." But he does not compare him to Demosthenes because the Greek deserves special style. The two differ only in style - Demosthenes more concentrated; Cicero a more natural art; Demosthenes excels because he came first in time so that Cicero could profit from his efforts. "The name of Cicero has come to be regarded not as the name of a man but as the name of eloquence itself."
  2. Asinius Pollio: He has great gifts of invention and precision of language but lacks the style of Cicero.
  3. Gaius Caesar: If he had had the time, he might have equaled Cicero.
  4. Caelius: He has good natural talent, but he had a short life.
  5. Calvus: His too severe self-criticism robs him of his talent.
  6. Servius Sulpicius: Three speeches gained him a good reputation.
  7. Cassius Severus: He needs to be read with discrimination because he lacks dignity of style.
  8. Domitius Afer: He is superior in art and may be compared with the old orators.
  9. Julius Africanus: He shows great energy, but is too elaborate in style.
  10. Trachalus: He is a recent orator who is superior in oral delivery.
  11. Vibius Crispus: He is better in private than public cases.
  12. Julius Secundus: He has fluency and grace which would have distinguished him had he lived longer.

## J. Philosophers

1. Cicero: He is a rival of Plato in philosophy.
2. Brutus: He is more of a philosopher than an orator.
3. Cornelius Celsus: A follower of Sextii, he has grace and polish.
4. Plautus: He contributes a knowledge of the Stoics.
5. Catius: He provides insight into the Epicureans.
6. Seneca: Although Seneca has much that is worth reading for edification; including the denunciation of vice; he is still to be rejected because of his corrupt style. He has pleased the young students with his faults, and they have loved him instead of imitating him. He might be of value for developing critical judgement.<sup>1</sup>

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1. These direct and indirect quotations are all taken from  
x. 1. 46-131.

APPENDIX B  
THE HARVARD CLASSICS BREAT BOOK LIST  
of CHARLES W. ELIOT, 1910

Volume I	Benjamin Franklin, John Woolman, William Penn
Volume II	Plato, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius
Volume III	Bacon, Milton's Prose, Thomas Browne
Volume IV	<u>Complete Poems in English</u> , Milton
Volume V	<u>Essays and English Traits</u> , Emerson
Volume VI	Poems and Songs, Burns
Volume VII	<u>The Confessions of St. Augustine</u> , <u>The Imitation of Christ</u>
Volume VIII	Nine Greek Dramas
Volume IX	Letters and Treatises of Cicero and Pliny
Volume X	<u>Wealth of Nations</u> , Adam Smith
Volume XI	<u>Origin of Species</u> , Darwin
Volume XII	<u>Plutarch's Lives</u>
Volume XIII	<u>Aeneid</u> , Virgil
Volume XIV	<u>Don Quixote</u> , Part I, Cervantes
Volume XV	<u>Pilgrim's Progress</u> , Donne and Herbert, Walton
Volume XVI	<u>The Thousand and One Nights</u>
Volume XVII	Folk-Lore and Fable, AEsop, Grimm, Andersen
Volume XVIII	Modern English Drama
Volume XIX	Faust, Egmont, etc., Goethe, <u>Doctor Faustus</u> , Marlowe
Volume XX	<u>The Divine Comedy</u> , Dante
Volume XXI	I Promessis Sposi, Manzoni
Volume XXII	<u>The Odyssey</u> , Homer
Volume XXIII	<u>Two Years Before the Mast</u> , Dana

Volume XXIV	<u>On the Sublime</u> , <u>French Revolution</u> , Etc., Burke
Volume XXV	J. S. Mill and Thomas Carlyle
Volume XXVI	Continental Drama
Volume XXVII	English Essays, Sidney to Macaulay
Volume XXVIII	Essays, English and American
Volume XXIX	<u>Voyage of the Beagle</u> , Darwin
Volume XXX	Faraday, Helmholtz, Kelvin, Newcomb, etc.
Volume XXXI	<u>Autobiography</u> , Cellini
Volume XXXII	Montaigne, Sainte-Beuve, Renan, etc.
Volume XXXIII	Voyages, and Travels
Volume XXXIV	Descartes, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hobbes
Volume XXXV	Froissart, Malory, Holinshed
Volume XXXVI	Machiavelli, More, Luther
Volume XXXVII	Locke, Berkeley, Hume
Volume XXXVIII	Harvey, Jenner, Lister, Pasteur
Volume XXXIX	Famous Prefaces
Volume XL	English Poetry, 1
Volume XLI	English Poetry, 2
Volume XLII	English Poetry, 3
Volume XLIII	American Historical Documents
Volume XLIV	Sacred Writings, 1
Volume XLV	Sacred Writings, 2
Volume XLVI	Elizabethan Drama, 1
Volume XLVII	Elizabethan Drama, 2
Volume XLVIII	<u>Thoughts</u> and <u>Minor Works</u> , Pascal
Volume XLIX	Epic and Saga
Volume L	Introduction, Reader's Guide, Indexes

APPENDIX C  
GREAT BOOKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD  
ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, EDITOR AND  
MORTIMER J. ADLER, ASSOCIATE EDITOR, 1952

Volume 1	The Great Conversation; The Substance of a Liberal Education
Volumes 2 and 3	The Great Ideas, A Syntopicon of Great Books of the Western World
Volume 4	Homer
Volume 5	Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes
Volume 6	Herodotus, Thucydides
Volume 7	Plato
Volumes 8 and 9	Aristotle
Volume 10	Hippocrates, Galen
Volume 11	Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius of Perga, Nicomachus of Gerasa
Volume 12	Lucretius, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius
Volume 13	Virgil
Volume 14	Plutarch
Volume 15	P. Cornelius Tacitus
Volume 16	Ptolemy, Nicolaus Copernicus, Johannes Kepler
Volume 17	Plotinus
Volume 18	Saint Augustine
Volumes 19--20	Saint Thomas Aquinas
Volume 21	Dante Alighieri
Volume 22	Geoffrey Chaucer
Volume 23	Niccolo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes
Volume 24	Francois Rabelais
Volume 25	Michel Eyquem de Montaigne

Volumes 26--27	William Shakespeare
Volume 28	William Gilbert, Galileo Galilei, William Harvey
Volume 29	Miguel de Cervantes
Volume 30	Sir Francis Bacon
Volume 31	Rene Descartes, Benedict de Spinoza
Volume 32	John Milton
Volume 33	Blaise Pascal
Volume 34	Sir Isaac Newton, Christian Huygens
Volume 35	John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume
Volume 36	Jonathan Swift, Laurence Sterne
Volume 37	Henry Fielding
Volume 38	Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau
Volume 39	Adam Smith
Volumes 40--41	Edward Gibbon
Volume 42	Immanuel Kant
Volume 43	American State Papers, Alexander Hamilton, John Stuart Mill
Volume 44	James Boswell
Volume 45	Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, Jean Babtiste Joseph Fourier, Michael Faraday
Volume 46	George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel
Volume 47	Johann Wolfgang Goethe
Volume 48	Herman Melville
Volume 49	Charles Darwin
Volume 50	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
Volume 51	Count Leo Tolstoy
Volume 52	Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky

Volume 53	William James
Volume 54	Sigmund Freud



APPENDIX D  
THE GREAT BOOKS CURRICULUM FROM  
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE - 1973

I. Freshman Year

- A. Homer: Iliad, Odyssey
- B. Aeschylus: Agamemnon, Choephoroe, Eumenides,  
Prometheus Bound
- C. Sophocles: Oedipus Rex, Oedipus at Colonus,  
Antigone
- D. Thucydides: Peloponnesian War
- E. Euripides: Hippolytus, Medea, Bacchae
- F. Herodotus: History
- G. Aristophanes: Clouds, Birds
- H. Plato: "Ion," "Meno," "Gorgias," Republic,  
"Apology," "Crito," "Phaedo," "Symposium,"  
"Parmenides," "Theaetetus," "Sophist," "Timeaus,"  
"Phaedrus"
- I. Aristotle: Poetics, Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics,  
Politics, "On Generation and Corruption"
- J. Euclid: Elements
- K. Lucretius: On the Nature of Things
- L. Plutarch: "Pericles," "Alcibiades"
- M. Marcus Aurelius: Meditations
- N. Nicomachus: Arithmetic
- O. Lavoisier: Elements of Chemistry
- P. Essays by: Archimedes, Toricelli, Pascal  
Fahrenheit, Black, Avogadro, Dalton, Wollaston,  
Gay-Lussac, Canizzaro, Mach, Bridgman, Couper,  
Morveau, Proust, Berthollet, Richter, T. Thomson,  
Whewell, Berzelius, Dulong, Mendeleev

## II. Sophomore Year

- A. The Bible
- B. Aristotle: "De Anima," "On Interpretation," "Posterior Analytics," "Categories," "Parts of Animals," "Generation of Animals"
- C. Apollonius: Conics
- D. Virgil: Aeneid
- E. Plutarch: "Caesar," "Antony," "Brutus," "Cato the Younger," "Pompey," "Cicero"
- F. Epictetus: Discourses, Manual
- G. Tacitus: Annals
- H. Ptolemy: Amagest
- I. Galen: On the Natural Faculties
- J. Plotinus: Fifth Ennead
- K. Diophantus: Arithmetic
- L. Augustine: Confessions, City of God
- M. St. Anselm: Proslogium
- N. Maimonides: Eight Chapters on Ethics
- O. Aquinas: Summa Theologica, Summa Contra Gentiles
- P. Dante: Divine Comedy, (Song of Roland)
- Q. Chaucer: Canterbury Tales
- R. Machiavelli: The Prince, Discourses
- S. Copernicus: On the Revolution of the Spheres
- T. Luther: The Freedom of a Christian, Secular Authority
- U. Rabelais: Gargantua and Pantagruel
- V. Calvin: Institutes
- W. Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli
- X. Montaigne: Essays

- Y. Viète: Introduction to the Analytical Art
- Z. Bacon: Novum Organum
- AA. Shakespeare: Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, The Tempest, As You Like It, Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, King Lear, Coriolanus, "Sonnets"
- BB. Kepler: Epitome IV
- CC. Donne: Poems
- DD. Harvey: Motion of the Heart and Blood
- EE. Descartes: Geometry
- FF. Pascal: Generation of Conic Section
- GG. Bach: St. Matthew Passion, Inventions
- HH. Haydn: Quartets
- II. Lamarck: Philosophical Zoology
- JJ. Mozart: Operas
- KK. Beethoven: Sonatas
- LL. Schubert: Songs
- MM. Darwin: Origin of Species
- NN. Verdi: Otello
- OO. Mendel: Experiments in Plant Hybridization
- PP. Stravinsky: Symphony of Psalms
- QQ. Des Prez: Mass
- RR. Poems by: Marvel, Donne, and other 17th-century poets
- SS. Essays by: Bernard, Weismann, John Maynard Smith, Dreisch, Boveri, Teilhard de Chardin

### III. Junior Year

- A. Cervantes: Don Quixote
- B. Galileo: Two New Sciences

- C. Hobbes: Leviathan
- D. Descartes: "Discourse of Method," "Meditations," "Rules for the Direction of the Mind"
- E. Milton: Paridise Lost, Samson Agonistes
- F. La Rochefoucauld: Maximes
- G. La Fontaine: Fables
- H. Pascal: Pensees
- I. Huygens: "Treatise on Light," "On the Movement of Bodies by Impact"
- J. Spinoza: "Theologico-Political Treatise"
- K. Locke: Second Treatise of Government
- L. Racine: Phedre
- M. Newton: Principia
- N. Leibniz: "Monadology, Discourse of Metaphysics," "Principles of Nature and Grace Founded on Reason," "Essay on Dynamics"
- O. Swift: Gulliver's Travels
- P. Berkeley: Principles of Human Knowledge
- Q. Fielding: Tom Jones
- R. Hume: "Treatise of Human Nature," "Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion," "Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding"
- S. Rousseau: Social Contract
- T. Adam Smith: Wealth of Nations
- U. Kant: Critique of Pure Reason, Fundamental Principles of Metaphysics of Morals
- V. Mozart: Don Giovanni
- W. Jane Austen: Pride and Prejudice
- X. Hamilton, Jay, and Madison: The Federalist
- Y. Melville: Billy Budd, Benito Cereno
- Z. Dedekind: Essay on the Theory of Numbers
- AA. Essays by: Boscovich, Thomas Young

## IV. Senior Year

- A. Shakespeare: Antony and Cleopatra
- B. Moliere: The Misanthrope, Tartuffe
- C. Goethe: Faust
- D. Hegel: Introduction to the History of Philosophy,  
"Preface to the Phenomenology," "Logic" (from the  
Encyclopedia), Philosophy of History, Philosophy  
of Right, Philosophy of Spirit
- E. Lobachevsky: Theory of Parallels
- F. Tocqueville: Democracy in America
- G. Lincoln: Speeches
- H. Kierkegaard: Philosophical Fragments, Fear and  
Trembling
- I. Wagner: Tristan and Isolde
- J. Thoreau: Walden
- K. Marx: Communist Manifesto, Capital, Political and  
Economic Manuscripts of 1844
- L. Dostoevski: Brothers Karamazov, The Possessed
- M. Tolstoy: War and Peace
- N. Lewis Carroll: Alice in Wonderland
- O. Mark Twain: Huckleberry Finn
- P. William James: Psychology, Briefer Course
- Q. Nietzsche: Birth of Tragedy, Beyond Good and Evil,  
Thus Spake Zarathustra
- R. Freud: General Introduction to Psychoanalysis,  
Civilization and Its Discontents, Beyond the  
Pleasure Principle
- S. Valery: Poems
- T. Jung: Two Essays in Analytic Psychology
- U. Mann: Death in Venice
- V. Kafka: The Trial

- W. Heidegger: What is Philosophy?
- X. Heisenberg: The Physical Principles of the Quantum Theory, Supreme Court Opinions
- Y. Millikan: The Electron
- Z. Poems by: Yeats, T. S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and others
- AA. Essays by: Faraday, Lorenz, J. J. Thomson, Whitehead, Minkowski, Rutherford, Einstein, Davisson, Bohr, Schrodinger<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Statement of the St. John's Program (Annapolis and Santa Fe: St. John's College, 1973-74), pp. 26-28.