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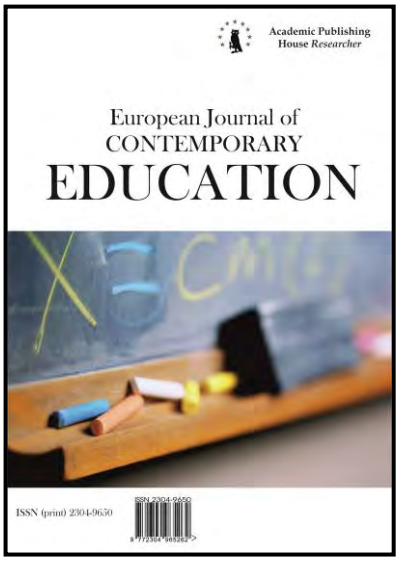

Social Status of a Teacher in Ancient Rome

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Abstract

The source base of the study consists of literary works of fiction and publicistic genre, letters of the Republic citizens and subjects of ancient Roman emperors, who bear witness of the attitude of contemporaries to the profession of a teacher, determine its prestige and social significance. This preconditioned the aim of the study to determine the social status of a Roman teacher. The authors claim that the latter depended on both formal and informal factors. However, personal level of professional achievements, attractive individual traits, morality, support from influential people were more important than belonging to a particular class of mentors or state regulation of education. The teacher's authority regulated his right to corporal punishment of students and influenced the amount of remuneration. The researchers believe, that a certain criterion to determine the prestige of the profession is the quantitative indicator of payment, as well as the regularity of its implementation. The teacher's wealth increased his place in the system of social relations and, conversely, was a consequence of patronage by the authorities. However, the incomes of most teachers remained low, which, in combination with other criteria of prestige of the job, allows to conditionally establish the status of a teacher at a level "below average".

Keywords: ludi magister, grammarian, rethor, Ancient Rome, Republic, Empire, the Principate, the Dominate.

1. Introduction

Each epoch has its own peculiarities of public attitude to education and its residents. The specifics of social development, as well as the progress of pedagogical science determine the

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particular nature of an educator mission, the set of professional requirements to him, and, finally, his moral code, which reflects the guidelines of the public. The independence of each stage of the ancient Roman school (elementary, grammatical, rhetorical) determined the subtle aspects of this issue. As Roman poet Lucius Apuleius metaphorically claimed, "the cups of the Muses" received different didactic content: the first – the cup of a reading teacher, a man of letters – lays the foundations; the second – the cup of grammarian – saturates with knowledge; the third – the cup of the rhetorician – arms with eloquence (Apuleius, 1959: 351–352). The necessity to "fill each of the cups" produced not only the inherent methods of teaching, but also defined complementary professional competencies, remuneration and the corresponding place in society, which, of course, did not escape the attention of contemporaries. The latter left us not only dry documents (unfortunately, mostly fragmentary), but also a vivid reflection of the images of teachers and their work in the form of compositions of various genres – both artistic and philosophical. Their combination within one study contributes to the objectification of knowledge about the ancient Roman school, its staff, the social place of educators of the antiquity, where modern education has taken roots. In fact, this idea determines the purpose of the publication – on the basis of scientific interpretation of literary sources to specify and generalize the place of teachers in ancient Roman society. Its fulfillment involves solving the following tasks: 1) to find out professional and moral requirements to teachers; 2) to define the limits of didactogeny acceptable in society – the "privileges" of Roman didactics; 3) to establish the level of teachers' remuneration. Such goal setting corresponds to both understanding of the concept of "social status" (the position of an individual (or a group of people) in the system of social connections and relations, due to the membership in a particular social community which determines its set of rights and responsibilities) and criteria relevant to the epoch: the prestige of the profession, socially determined significant professional qualities (responsibilities/requirements), rights and privileges, material security, lifestyle (Fudorova, 2009).

2. Materials and methods

The basis of the source base of the study are the works of poets, dramatists and writers of ancient Rome (the Latins and the Greeks) – Aulus Gellius, Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Apuleius, Arbiter, St. Basil the Great, Horace, Libanius, Lucian, Macrobius, Martial, Ovid, Plautus, Juvenal – contemporaries who reflected in their works various aspects of teaching activities, public attitudes to pedagogues and the content of their work, etc. The analysis of pieces of fiction is supplemented by the study of the works of the Church Fathers: Augustine of Hippo, St. Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian, the epistle of Pliny the Younger and Seneca, speeches of Cicero, biographical essays by Plutarch and Suetonius, and rhetorical studies by Quintilian and Tacitus.

In solving the set tasks, the authors turned to the following research methods: general scientific methods – generalization and systematization, the ascent from the concrete to the abstract, analysis and synthesis; historical methods – system-functional analysis, diachronic method; pedagogical methods – obtaining of scientific information in order to establish regular connections, relationships, dependencies and construction of scientific theories; literary methods – cultural-historical, sociological, literary hermeneutics (metaphysical and normative components).

3. Discussion

The authors have a historical discussion with well-known researchers of ancient Rome and Roman Enlightenment in particular – Anna and Nicholas Bolgov, G. Boissier, L. Winniczuk, P. Guiraud, G. Zhurakovsky, L. Karsavin, H. Marrou, T. Mommsen, J. Paroz, M. Sergeyenko, T. Perfilova, E. Watts, J. Ussing, T. Ziegler, K. Schmidt. Some previous works of the article authors underpin current publication. (Kudinov, 2018; Kudinov, 2019; Kudinov, 2020a; Kudinov, 2020b; Kudinov et al., 2019).

Most of the scholars mentioned above set a fairly broad task in their researches – to give a full characteristics of the education system of ancient Rome (during its entire history or a later period of its existence). In particular, the narratives of Soviet scholars included semantic blocks of parental rights, care for preschoolers, family upbringing, organization of the educational process, evaluation of advanced pedagogical thought. The authors supported their positions and conclusions with the statements of contemporaries, consideration of the plots of literary works,

analysis of artistic images. The questions of the teaching profession prestige and material support were organically intertwined in the outline of the text (Zhurakovsky, 1940; Sergeyenko, 1964). It is noteworthy that the latter aspect causes the most controversy in the assessments of researchers – the consequence of the difference between the data which has survived to the present day.

Among modern authors in the context of the chosen topic, the works of the Russian researcher T. Perfilova deserve special attention. She not only specified the professional requirements for ancient Roman teachers and analysed the position of rhetoricians in the period of domination, but also tried to reproduce the very spirit of the Roman high school (Perfilova, 2002a; Perfilova, 2002b; Perfilova, 2003; Perfilova, 2004; Perfilova, 2005).

The problem of the social status of the teacher, "dissolved" in broad professional essays on the history of Roman education, still requires a separate study, focusing on the facts that would reveal it in different periods of the Roman past. We are sure that this area of research needs the widest coverage. This article briefly reflects the main positions of its authors.

4. Results

The place of a teacher in the social hierarchy of Ancient Rome is a question of both general nature, which depends on the understanding of the prestige of education and the teaching profession on the whole, and specific one, depending on the level of schooling where the mentor worked – elementary (trivial), grammar or rhetorical school. Despite the fact that the first sip of "the cups of the muses" gave the keys to all subsequent knowledge, it was never highly valued in Rome. The profession of a teacher of the first stage (ludi magister, primus magister, schola magister) did not gain prestige and was generally equated with the work of a craftsman, in which G. Zhurakovsky was inclined to see the parents imitating the prevailing mood in society (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 348). A teachers of a trivial school (ludus, ludus litterarum) sought out pupils themselves, which in conditions of fierce competition from similar ludi magisters did not always ensure success. In particular, the Roman poet Markus Valerius Martial (AD c. 40 – c. 104) ridiculed his aquaintance Munna, who "was used to teach only two students" (Martial, 1891: 651). The poet Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC – AD 17) in "Fasti" called primary school teachers "a crowd without pay" and advised them to turn to Pallas to help in the search of students (Ovidius, 1874: 61).

Correspondingly, low social status of ludi magister was reflected in the professional level of the teaching staff of the trivial school. Tacitus tangentially noted in his speeches about the art of oratory that elementary school gives little to students, because here they "make no effort either to study the works of great writers, or to understand antiquities, or to know things and people, and past events" (Tacitus, 1969: 393). However, it would be wrong to accuse all ludi magisti of incompetence. An inscription on a tombstone found in Capua testifies to the well-deserved authority of the literacy teacher Furius Dionysius Filocalus (I BC) – he called himself an aurunc, was very intelligent, and most importantly, had high morals: was chaste in behavior with students, friendly to fellow citizens, and "didn't deny anything to anybody, didn't offend anyone" (Sergeyenko 1964: 174; Petrovskiy, 1962: 76).

The fleeting mentioning of "letter" schools teachers in literature contrasts with the wider interest in the figures of grammarians and rhetoricians – the main carriers of topical scientific knowledge, and sometimes the creators of ancient literature and science ("scholars with a wide range of interests, sometimes writers, almost always literary critics and lawmakers of taste", Sergeenko). Although the society tolerated to some extent the low knowledge of ludi magister, it was not so lenient towards the grammarian (grammaticus) and rhetor and made quite high demands on their knowledge (especially in literature), linguistic, communicative and mnemonic abilities, moral qualities and, finally, a clear public position. Obviously complementary to this is the astonishment of the poet Decimus Junius Juvenal (AD c. 60 – c. 127) with the erudition of a teacher known to him: "He has brought with him any character you please; grammarian, orator, geometrician; painter, trainer, or rope-dancer; augur, doctor or astrologer: All sciences a fasting monsieur knows, And bid him go to Hell, to Hell he goes!" (Juvenalis, 1885: 44). Hence we see one of the leading tasks of ancient pedagogy – "first of all we should develop the memory of children, because it is the treasury of the knowledge" (Pseudo-Plutarch, 1913: 17). Part of Quintilian's book The Art of Speaking in Public is devoted to the strengthening of memory. In particular, the author summarized the methods of memory improvement known to him.

Finally, Juvenal generalized the basic knowledge that allowed a grammarian to prove his qualifications: "he must never be at fault in his grammar; he must know all history, and have all the authorities at his finger-tips. If asked a chance question on his way to the baths, or to the establishment of Phoebus, he must at once tell you who was the nurse of Anchises, what was the name and birth-place of Anchemolus step-mother, to what age Acestes lived, how many flagons of Sicilian wine he presented to the Trojans" (Juvenalis, 1885: 137-138). The grammarian Sulpicius Appolinaris(AD II), a man of incredible knowledge of literature, was noted for his detailed and apt commentaries on literary works, reasonable interpretation of words, and composing of poetic paraphrase of Terence's plays (Aulus Gellius, 2007a: 126, 240, 348; Aulus Gellius, 2007b: 30, 69-73, 107-109, 227-228, 318-320, 369-370, 389-392; Pokrovskiy, 1942: 72). Erudition lurking in the studing out grammatical rules was a real weapon in the hands of a teacher, the key to his authority, which was not inferior to many educators of Roman high school and served as an argument in the confrontation between grammarians and rhetors. For a reason the grammarian Domitius the Mad (AD II) contrasted his mission to "the opponents": "But I will send you a book, in which you will find what you ask. For I, a grammarian, am inquiring into the conduct of life and manners, while you philosophers are nothing but mortualia, or 'winding sheets,' as Marcus Cato says" (Aulus Gellius, 2007b: 326). Even when the eminent grammarian was dying, his words still rang in the memory of his students, as in the poem on the death of Fespesius, where Gregory the Theologian on behalf of Attica asked: "Who now maintains the glory of my wisdom?" (Gregory the Theologian, 2007: 289).

Cicero also emphasized high requirements for the knowledge of middle school: "for just as if one who professed to teach grammar should speak with impropriety... such conduct has the worst appearance in these men, because they blunder in the very particular with which they profess that they are well acquainted" (Cicero, 1975: 251). The need for self-control without the right to make an unfortunate mistake was noted by the philosopher and statesman Lucius Anne Seneca (4–65): "A scholar will blush for shame, not if he makes a grammatical blunder intentionally, but if he makes it unintentionally" (Seneca, 1977: 231). An extensive list of professional requirements for grammarian can be found in Institutes of Oratory by the eminent Roman educator and rhetorician Marcus Fabius Quintilianus: mastery of the content of various works, of historical information and biographies of famous people, music theory, astronomy, philosophy (Quintilian, 1834a: 32). Getting into the essence of various sciences, grammarians took up the pen themselves. Thus, the grammarian and poet Publius Valerius Cato (I BC) was glorified as the "Latin siren"; Marcus Verrius Flaccus (c. 55 BC – AD 20) was an author of a number of grammatical works, including the first alphabetical dictionary in Latin De verborum significatu, parts of which have survived, historical and religious works; Quintus Remmius Palaemon (AD I) standardized Latin grammar of his time in the work Ars, which later more than one generation of middle school teachers relied on; Quintus Terentius Scaurus (AD II) left behind a treatise On Orthography, as well as a study On the mistakes of Ceselius. Of course, this list could be continued.

An exemplary teacher in the sense of intellectual versatility, according to the writer Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 70 – after 122), was the teacher of Gaius Julius Caesar, the grammarian Marcus Antonius Gnipho (I BC), who received a good education, had an exceptional memory, spoke Hellenic as freely as Latin, and in addition "had a kind and gentle soul" (Suetonius, 1993: 222). Libanius saw the recognition of the rhetorician's professionalism in his ability to "hold noble youth", in his students' success in public speaking and employment ("famous students pave the way for those who have not yet attended school"), and finally "in respect from them, from parents, from citizens, and newcomers", and in the amount of students. The latter depended, he clarified, not only on the professional level of the teacher, but also on the friendship with the authorities ("parents entrust their sons not because of their art of speech, but because of their influence") (Libanius, 1916: 14, 171, 474-475).

John Chrysostom outlined the criteria for teachers professional success (unconditionally to the level of education and its nature – secular or spiritual) through the achievements of students: "Every teacher, when he sees that a student firmly remembers previous lessons and actually proves the fruit of them, teaches him further knowledge with greater diligence" and, correspondingly, "when he does not notice in a student any fruit of his efforts, he mourns a lot, because he has worked in vain"; "When a teacher is glorious, then a student is obedient, then a student is confident in the success of his studying; when a teacher is willing, then he himself reaps the fruits of his

labor; then his student is diligent and appreciates the art of his teacher to such an extent that the learning with him is the most valuable to him"; "When a student sees vicious teachers, he becomes worse then they are, because he does not stop at the degree of corruption of his teacher" (John Chrysostom, 1898: 59, 88; John Chrysostom, 1901: 736; John Chrysostom, 1906: 946). Thus, the saint emphasized the responsibility of a teacher for the results of his work.

However, after the emphasis on the intellectual and moral virtues of youth mentors by their contemporaries one should not assume exclusively respectful attitude towards teachers. In the society of the late Republic and the Principate, where pleasure and money were sometimes valued above moral imperatives, a person even with exceptional knowledge, as a rule, did not evoke piety. According to the apt quotation of the Italian writer and popularizer of science Alberto Angela, middle and senior teachers "with rare exceptions, were perceived as a bookstore or a computer" (Angela). The grammarian in literature had to master the facts, not to reproduce the main idea of the works. This is well demonstrated by the dialogue quoted by Aulus Gellius between the philosopher Favorinus and an anonymous grammarian, who flaunted the subtleties of the cancellation of words, but could not give a correct interpretation to them (Aulus Gellius, 2007a: 204-208).

Requests to rhetoricians deserve special attention. First of all, they were valued because of a wide knowledge of the sciences. Poet and rhetorician Decimus Magnus Ausonius (310–395) gratefully mentioned his very erudite rhetorical teacher Staphylius in Burdigala (Bordeaux): "As a grammarian you rivalled Scaurus and Probus; as a rhetorician, most ready; in history you knew all Livy and Herodotus. You knew every branch of learning and all the lore which Varro stored in his innumerable tomes. Your heart was golden, your tongue persuasive and your speech unflurried; no hesitating was there and yet no hurrying" (Ausonius, 1993: 46) [T. Perfilova according to the epitaphs of Ausonius, using the method of content analysis, built a whole hierarchy of professional requirements: 1) extensive scientific knowledge; 2) oratory talent; 3) excellent memory; 4) the ability to teach; 5) the ability to write poems and prose; 6) sharp mind, seriousness, impeccability of gestures (Perfilova, 2003)].

Macrobius in his Saturnalia introduces the image of the rhetorician Eusebius (AD V), an "outstanding rhetorician among the Greeks, a good connoisseur of Latin eloquent and educated man", who among intellectuals at banquet proceedings gives a lecture on expression of pathos based on Virgil's Aeneid (Macrobius, 2009: 21, 34, 100, 150-171, 299-301). In the satirical work Teacher of Rhetoric by the Greek writer Lucian (c. 120 – after 180) such valuable competences of a rhetorician as the knowledge of the works of "cold" Plato, "devoided of any charm" Demosthenes and "talker" Socrates and following "old masters" of oratory sound as the antitheses to ignorance. The fee for achieving the professionalism as a teacher is "work, sleepless nights, water instead of wine and perseverance" during a long time of training (according to Lucian, "whole Olympiads" – not less than eight years). The embodiment of diligent study and self-improvement are lovable images of philosophers and teachers of youth, such as the Athenian Demonax and the "leader" (perhaps his prototype was the same Demonax) – a true beacon of science (Lucian, 1987: 324–335, 368, 371). The Gaul-Roman poet Sidonius Apollinaris (430–486) assessed his friend the rhetorician Publius Csentius as an extremely educated man who, according to the poet's metaphor, was "embowered by by the nine Muses" (Late Roman, 1982: 557). The words of Quintilian, who longed to see the orator (and at the same time any rhetorician) as a sage, "perfect in all knowledge", can serve as a generalization of the above (Quintilian, 1834a: 52-59). Thus, throughout the period of the Empire, the requirements for a high level of knowledge and outlook of teachers did not change.

An important feature of respectful rhetoricians is the presence of a creative spark, which was occasionally emphasized by contemporaries. And this is not surprising, because making of recitations, development of svazorii and controversies, finding convincing means of persuasion and adverting to acting skills required a certain heuristics from the speaker. In addition, the rhetoricians themselves acted as authors of artistic and scientific works. Thus, Libanius glorified his contemporary rhetorician Diphilus (AD IV), who "introducing old poets to the souls of the youth, was a good poet himself" (Mir pozdney antichnosti, 2015: 39). Apologetic works were written by the "Christian Cicero" rhetorician Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius (c. 250 – c. 325) (Pomyalovskiy, 1902: 84-86).

Being a kind and polite person in itself was not considered in the ancient world as an integral quality of a teacher. Immorality could coexist side by side with a high professional credo. Nevertheless, as contemporaries emphasized, high moral character favorably shaded grammarians and rhetoricians, gave them status in combination with knowledge. Quintilian believed that a rhetorician should be an "honest" person who "under strict supervision could take care of pure morality in students" (Quintilian, 1834b: 83-84). Evidently, the rhetorician Antonius Iulianus (AD II) met this criterion. According to Aulus Gellius he was "very noble and pleasant" (Aulus Gellius, 2007a: 41). Ausonius recognized many teachers in Burdigala as true examples of morality and family values, such as the rhetorician Luciol, whom he called "a gentle friend, a good brother and a faithful husband, a devoted son and father". The poet described the young grammarian Acilius Glabrio as "a polite, kind, reserved and cheerful man" (Late Roman, 1982: 66-67, 80). Finally, Quintilian in a rhetoric teacher's professiogram made a special emphasize on the love and tolerance to children, compliance with the rule of the golden mean in behavior (Quintilian, 1834b: 84).

Naturally, a highly moral teacher had a positive effect on students. The poet Aulus Persius Flaccus (34–62) responded with gratitude to the moral guidance of his mentor Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, who managed "to correct my perverted nature" and "subdue the spirit to the mind" (Roman Satire, 1957: 108). Emperor Marcus Aurelius in Meditations summarized moral lessons learned from communication with his teachers: the philosopher Quintus Junius Rusticus gently directed the future emperor to "curing and correcting his temper"; the philosopher Apollonius of Chalcedon taught in the spirit of Stoicism to "never leave anything to a chance", to pursuit the reason; philosopher Sextus of Chaeronea advocated the ideas of conformity of life to nature, benevolence, care, steadfastness, restraint, prevention of irritation; the grammarian Alexander of Cotiaeum advised not to judge those who make mistakes; rhetor Marc Cornelius Fronto taught not to trust aristocracy, greedy by nature, and so on (Marcus Aurelius, 2018: 24–25). As an adult, Marcus Aurelius asked Fronto to direct his reading, and the addressee, in turn, took care that the emperor in the breaks between public affairs built mind and body (Strelnikova, 1967: 143).

Christian authors were not impressed by the "ridiculous" knowledge of the rhetoricians. Therefore, in their professional assessments, they placed emphasis, above all, on the moral qualities of teachers. Thus, Gregory the Theologian in a letter to the rhetorician Eudoxius complimented the latter (perhaps due to the fact that it was Eudoxia who had been chosen to teach Gregory's supervisee, juvenile Nikovul) by noting in him the presence of "the rules of life", "quiet and simple temper", "a fruitful and exalted soul that is easy to guess", as well as "morbidity and physical infirmity", which were to promote, according to Gregory, with reference to Plato, a tendency to philosophical reflection (Gregory the Theologian, 2007: 391).

Contemporaries who possessed pedagogical and psychological technics were perceived positively among contemporaries. The historian Eunapius emphasized the psychological abilities of Libanius ("to recognize the character of a man and the inclinations of his soul"), his ability to incarnate in various images, break the canons of rhetoric and sense of humor (his ability to pin on the correspondents is well observed in his letters). The students could also attribute to their authoritative teachers extraordinary ("divine") abilities. For example, the philosopher Iamblichus was said to possess the gift of clairvoyance, levitation, and could perform other miracles (Roman historians, 1997, 1997: 234-235, 282-283).

In general, socially significant moral and personal qualities of the teacher complemented the portrait of an exemplary grammarian or rhetorician, a professional in his field. However, according to the apt clarification of the Russian researcher of Roman education T. Perfilova, teaching ethics still did not turn into the "code of honor", due to which the phenomena of didactogeny and other types of professional deformation were widespread (Perfilova, 2005: 19). Complaints from contemporaries about dipoldism or neglect of teachers' responsibilities are strong evidence of this. Thus, teachers of rhetorical schools, who "invented various labyrinths of reasoning", came under sharp criticism from Lucian, who, by the way, was once a rhetorician himself. In the fantasy novel Icaromenippus or The Sky-man, they are somewhat grotesquely portrayed as people of double standards who "hide their vile way of life under a dignified appearance", despise people, and deceive young people. In fact, such mentors were "despicable people", hypocrites, actors by nature ("ready to play on stage for seven drachmas") and narcissistic brawlers; their main virtues were "ignorance, arrogance, combined with impudence and shamelessness", malicious "derision of anyone who makes speeches" (Lucian, 1987: 209-210, 364-375). Seneca was also very critical of the

intellectual abilities of ordinary grammarians, unable, in particular, to correctly understand the meaning of the poetry of Virgil (Seneca, 1977: 275). Virgil's example was also used by Macrobius to rebuke "uneducated grammarians" ("a grammarian is not allowed to know anything more than the interpretation of words") (Macrobius, 2009: 94). The low "degree of mental development" of ordinary grammarians of the Republic, who made frequent mistakes in translations from Hellenic, was noted by the modern historian T. Mommsen (Mommsen, 1997a: 204). Intellectuals could not tolerate another common flaw – flattery to students and their parents in order to gain personal benefit. The reverse side of the coin of this phenomenon was pointed out by the author of Distichs of Cato: "A flattering teacher harms his own pupil with his delights" (Late Roman, 1982: 412). Thus, the shaky authority of the teacher directly depended on his knowledge, skills and erudition, which to some extent served as the equivalent of payment for his work. In this sense, the disqualification of a teacher in Roman society was not so much the "inferiority of glory" as the absence of students and, consequently, his empty stomach.

To some extent, a teacher's authority depended on the "correctness" of corporal punishment (St. Basil the Great described schooling as follows: "Here is the fear that knows no rest! [A student – author] is lazy, takes beatings, spends sleepless nights..."). The latter in one case promoted the teacher, while in another dissipated the perception by both children and parents if the punishment was used unmotivatedly (Basil the Great, 2008: 642). In general, the use of rods or sticks by teachers was understood by society: The better the teacher, the more capable he is, the more anger and impatience he shows in his classes – Cicero justified the methods of physical influence (Guiraud, 1899: 90). Scenes of beatings or allusions to them abound in the works of Roman authors: "Sneaky rod is the scepter of teachers" (Martial, 1891: 651); "Thou coosnest boyes of sleepe, and dost betray them To Pedants, that with cruell lashes pay them" (Ovidius, 1999: 51), "Then, when from the hippodrome and school of exercise you had returned home, clad in your belted frock, upon a stool by your masters would you sit; and there, when you were reading your book, if you made a mistake in a single syllable, your skin would be made as spotted as your nurse's gown" (Plautus, 1987: 217). Orbilius, with the help of poets, became an embodiment of cruel treatment of students in the history of pedagogy ("Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit": "Orbilius beat with a ferula and a whip", Domitius Mars). He introduced military dicipline at school (orbilism), for which his eminent student Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 BC – AD 8) called him "a bully" (plagosus) (Horace, 1982: 203).

The standardized practice of physical influence on students provoked protests and made leading teachers to search new ways to support discipline and motivation. Thus, Orbilius's former student, Marcus Verrius Flaccus, apparently mentally traumatized by beatings, replaced corporal punishment in his pedagogical activity with a system of competitions and rewards, thus basing educational activity on the principle of competition (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 359; Sergeyenko 1964: 175). Quintilian strongly rejected the appeal to "humiliating measures" stating that they only cause "habituation", depress the mood and isolate students (Quintilian, 1834a: 29-30). Finally, John Chrysostom instructed his followers that "the main task of a teacher is not to punish immediately, but to correct, and always to wait and be slow in punishment" (John Chrysostom, 1904: 650).

It is noteworthy that the Christianization of Roman society did not affect the right of teachers to use corporal punishment. Thus, Ausonius instructed his grandson-namesake not to be afraid of "dinning" knowledge in his head (Ausonius, 1993: 12). The Christian theologian Augustine of Hippo (354–430) admitted in Confessions that when he was lazy at school, he was beaten. Moreover, the elders approved of this "custom" and even the parents of the future father of the Church "continued to laugh at these beatings, my great and severe misfortune at the time" (Augustine, 2005: 17–18). John Chrysostom also treated the punishment at school with restraint, describing a typical picture: a child complained to his mother about having been punished by a teacher, and she instructed the child that "being afraid of the teacher is good for him" (John Chrysostom, 1896: 83).

Such notes partly formed misconceptions in the history of pedagogy about the strict discipline of the Roman school on the model of Spartan (Guiraud, 1899: 90-91; Pedagogical encyclopedia, 1929: 326). Obviously, fights at school between teachers and students were quite common and arose depending on local traditions of upbringing, the attitude of adults to corporal punishment of adolescents, the authority of the teacher and the extent of abusive behaviour. Of course, such situations illustrate the actual normalization of didactogeny (Kudinov, 2020a: 122).

A certain index of the prestige of the teaching profession was the remuneration, which depended not only on the recognition of a teacher's intelligence, but also on the type of school. In particular, the earnings of ludi magister were often smaller than the income of the average urban artisan. The entrance fee for a teacher during the Principate was only 1 as. No wonder Juvenal called the students those who "worships Minerva with a modest penny fee" (Juvenalis, 1885: 164). According to Libanius, a literacy teacher Optatus generally taught children for a payment in kind – a couple of loaves of bread "and other food that is added to them" (Libanius, 1914: 189). Unlike grammarians or rhetoricians, ludus teacher could not afford a chair (Libanius wrote "throne") – the sign of pedagogical authority – and were satisfied with stones under the buttocks (chamaididaskaloi – "teachers who sit on the ground") (Watts, 2019: 318). Home teachers were in a similar position. One of the heroes of Gaius Petronius Arbiter's The Banquet of Trimalchio told that one of his son's mentors, "not very educated but diligent", received payment during holidays and was satisfied with "whatever he was given" (Roman Satire, 1957: 139). This forced ludus teachers to look for additional earnings. In particular, the above-mentioned Furius Filocalus from Capua forged by drawing up wills (Sergeyenko, 1964: 174).

Grammarians and rhetoricians received much more for their work, but there was also a difference in the payment to these two categories: "And yet, small as the fee is – and it is smaller than the rhetor's wage – the pupil's unfeeling attendant nibbles off a bit of it for himself". Juvenal slandered the fact that in a year a grammar teacher earned as much as a rider who won in the circus only once. Accordingly, the poet concluded, in the world "there is nothing on which a father will not spend more money than on his son" (Juvenalis, 1885: 134, 136, 138). Moreover, students and their parents were often not kind enough to pay for their educational services in a timely manner and could even challenge a grammarian or rhetorician's claim for a monetary contribution (Roman Satire, 1957: 223).

During the Republic, the salaries of grammarians, especially the Greeks, were higher than under the rule of the emperors. In the first half of I BC "So high was the value, and so great were the rewards, of grammarians, that Lutatius Daphnides... – remarked Suetonius, – was purchased by Quintus Catullus for two hundred thousand sesterces, and shortly afterwards made a freedman; and that Lucius Apuleius, who was taken into the pay of Epicius Calvinus, a wealthy Roman knight, at the annual salary of ten thousand crowns, had many scholars". Due to his popularity among the Romans, the grammarian Gniphon, who never asked for the payment "but generally left it to the liberality of his scholarship" built his own house in the capital. However, the real example of wealth among grammarians was Palemon, who, according to Suetonius, "was so luxurious, that he took the bath many times in a day". His income annual income from school made 400 thousand sesterces [At that time, a modius of wheat wheat (8,704 liters of wheat) cost an average of 12 aces or 3 sesterces.], which corresponded to more than the average annual income of senators, although here he had to concede in payment to unscrupulous intermediaries ("the pupil's unfeeling attendant nibbles off a bit of it for himself; so too does the steward", Juvenal). He used the capital obtained by intellectual labor to acquire tailor's workshops and vineyards, which gave him no less wealth than his profession. Material wealth was also achieved by the Latin grammarian Publius Atilius, to whom the people's assembly of the citizens of Como awarded the title of decurion, "and who bequeathed his inheritance to the republic". Against this background, the situation of some failed grammarians, who in their old age sold property and dragged the lives of beggars, looked unattractive. In particular, the famous poet and grammarian Publius Valerius Cato, "did not find a guarantor", gave his villa to the creditors and huddled in a shabby hut. The above-mentioned Orbilius in his declining years lived in poverty (Petrovskiy, 1962: 101; Suetonius, 1993: 221-228; Winniczuk, 1988: 208). Complaints of insufficient pay were also heard in the late period of the Empire's existence: "Small wealth and silent fame" – reads a poetic obituary written by Ausonius – had Greek grammars in AD IV in schools in Burdigala (Ausonius, 1993: 40, 221).

However, both in the period of the late Republic and the Principality, the position of the grammatici in the conquered provinces, where the administration needed teachers as well as legionnaires for the civilization of the barbarians, was much better. Their social status and financial reward were an order of magnitude higher than that of middle-level teachers in the Apennines. Juvenal advised the professor of rhetoric to go to Gaul or Africa: "Better go to Gaul or to Africa, that nursing mother of lawyers, if you would make a living by your tongue" (Juvenalis, 1885: 131; Roman Satire, 1957: 276). It was in Gaul ("the promised land to school teaching and schooling",

T. Mommsen) where significant centers of education araised – Burdigala, Augustodun, Massilia, Lugdunum, Tolosa and others. In Africa, according to the teachings of Apuleius and Augustine the Blessed, Madavra and Carthage were strong centers of enlightenment (Mommsen, 1997b: 34-35, 539-540; Pomyalovskiy, 1902: 336).

This difference in earnings leads to an unambiguous answer about income level of grammars. M. Sergeenko in this case came to the conclusion of the "middle", which held most grammarians. The scientist's arguments are based on the calculation of the annual fee, multiplied by a speculatively large number of students (Sergeyenko 1964: 183). However, this can hardly be equated with the rule. The good luck of the grammarians was lustful and depended on the intensity of competition, patronage by the authorities, the costs they took, and, finally, regional features. Given the frequency of mentions of the insolvency of grammarians, it is possible to adjust the generalization of M. Sergeenko towards the position "below average". L. Winniczuk agrees with this (Winniczuk, 1988: 208).

Senior teachers were at the highest level of remuneration. Indeed, famous rhetoricians often became very wealthy people and could count on positions in the state apparatus. Lucian described successful Hellenic rhetoricians who could afford clothes made of precious fabrics ("Tarentum fabric"), a purple cloak, expensive shoes ("When is eloquence ever found beneath a shabby coat?", Juvenal) (Lucian, 1987: 370–371). Greek intellectuals, to whom the Roman nobility sent their children to study, were highly valued. In particular, thirsty for knowledge Cicero, together with his brother Quintus and friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, mastered his eloquence with the best rhetoricians and philosophers of Athens, Rhodes and Asia, which allowed the future consul to develop a "Rhodesian style of rhetoric". Gaius Julius Caesar also studied oratory at Molo of Rhodes (Plutarch, 1964: 160; Pokrovskiy, 1942: 152; Utchenko, 1972: 123). Accordingly, obtaining new competencies from Greek teachers cost a lot. Cicero's teacher, the Greek Diodotus, upon his death in 59 BC bequeathed 100,000 sesterces to a student, a sum largely accumulated by teaching (Boissier, 1880: 75). Herodes Atticus, a rhetorician and philosopher, became extremely wealthy due to contributions from students (one of whom was the future emperor Marcus Aurelius), which allowed him to spend a lot of money on architectural renovation of Athens and conducting games. Aulus Hellius recalled that he taught not only in Athens but also in his luxurious villa in the suburbs (Aulus Gellius, 2007a: 7, 29; Gibbon, 2008: 120-121). Libanius pointed to a share of rhetoricians who were rich not because of teaching, but due to judicial practice (Libanius, 1916: 13-14). The wealth of some rhetoricians was ensured not only by pedagogical activities, but also by an advantageous marriage, advocacy, and inheritance of real estate (Perfilova, 2003). However, the general ratio of wealthy and poor rhetoricians in AD I was not in favor of the former ("Nevertheless that fortunate man is rare – rarer than a white crow", Juvenal).

However, even among the rhetoricians there were poor people who were forced to sell their intellectual property or possessions to prevent poverty. Juvenal compared the rhetorician's earnings to a "tesserae for bread" – a token tesserae frumentariae issued by magistrates to poor citizens to receive a certain amount of bread or money from the treasury (Roman Satire, 1957: 224). At the same time, the poet's words can be interpreted differently, in the sense of the proverb "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush": tessera was a small but stable social guarantee, while rhetorical delusion was a lustful path of gaining wealth. In fact, Cicero pointed out the same thing in his letter to his friend Lucius Papirus Paetus, who was in need. So Cicero urged the latter leave everything in Naples and immediately arrive in Rome, where he could get a "chair in a school", after which a "pillow" would appear, that is, a dining place (Cicero, 1950: 402). Juvenal and Cicero seem to hint at the obvious to their contemporaries – if you can not assert yourself in wealth in business, then become a teacher (grammarian or rhetorician); even though you do not get rich, you will not die of hunger.

The situation with payment of mentors improved when grammarians and rhetoricians received certain privileges from the state, in particular, obtained the rights of civil servants (during the reign of Titus Flavius Vespasian, AD 69–79) – they had the prospect of a career as a clerk ("If Fortune so choose, you will become a Consul from being a rhetor", Juvenal). In particular, Quintilian became the first rhetorician to receive a reward from the treasury of Vispasian. The position of the head of the department of Greek Rhetoric ("senior department") equated him with the status of the imperial librarian. Emperor Domitian entrusted him with the education of his sister Domitilla's grandchildren (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 404; Pokrovskiy, 1942: 346). In AD II there

were few rhetoricians on the state salary; it was given to the most prominent of them, such as Antonius Iulianus (Aulus Gellius, 2007b: 359). The peak of the Greek teacher's career in those times, T. Mommsen noted, was the position of secretary of the Greek department of the Imperial Chancellery (Mommsen, 1997b: 480). However, such promotion could be received by only the few. Most rhetoricians could hardly reach the income of a middle-ranking official. In one of his letters, Pliny the Younger speaks eloquently about bad luck of his ackaintance, who "went down turning from a senator into an exile, from a speaker (advocate – author) to a rhetorician" (Pliny, 1950: 111). An unattractive picture of the position of young teachers in the rhetorical school of the dominant era was painted by the famous rhetorician Libanius in one of his speeches to the citizens of Antioch: Antiochian rhetoricians live in rented apartments ("like shoe menders") or are forced to buy housing on credit, consider having many children as a punishment or avoid marriage because of the inability to support a family, have no slaves or own from one to three slaves [According to G. Kurbatov, the "middle class" of Antioch was satisfied with 10-15 slaves; artisans and butchers had from 1 to 3 slaves (Kurbatov, 1991: 71)], are in debt to bakers, to whom they later pay with their wives' jewels, "cursing their craft of rhetors" instead of having become farmers, civil servants or sailors. The reason was a violation of the salary payment by the municipality. Low wages are directly linked to the humiliation that rhetoricians resort to in order to improve their financial situation. Finally, the low image of the profession is complemented by the "arrogant disregard" with which officials address rhetoricians (Libanius, 1914: 221-224; Libanius, 1916: 172). The young Athenian rhetoricians Proeresius and Hephaestion until they became famous shared the same carpets on which they practices the profession (Roman historians, 1997: 270-271).

Fixed remuneration of rhetoricians depended on the stability of the state. Thus, during the reign of the Flavian dynasty, the rhetoricians of a number of educational institutions were assigned a fixed salary – approximately 100,000 sesterces each (for example, the annual salary of a centurion at that time was 13,500 sesterces). Conversely, after the empire had gone through a crisis in AD III, payment rate was reduced by several times. In particular, Emperor Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus (284–305) in 301 established a rhetorician's salary at 250 dinars, and the grammar maximum at 200 dinars per month per student, while a magister institutor literarum, a primary school teacher earned no more than 50 dinars, which in general was a meager sum, given the fall in the value of this coin eight times since the beginning of the rule of the statesman (Mommsen, 1997b: 480; Ussing, 1878: 102-103, 155). G. Zhurakovsky commented that such norms could only provide the "basic subsistence level" when considered together with additional monetary contributions of students (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 448).

The remuneration of the teachers of senior school was also affected by the state regulation of education. As far back as during the reign of the Antonine dynasty, municipal and state schools generously subsidized by the emperors began to appear alongside private educational institutions. From the second half of AD IV, the municipalization of education was replaced by the process of nationalization of grammar and rhetoric schools. Teachers were appointed to public schools by the monarch at the request of the decurions. At the same time, candidates for positions were examined (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 450, 456). The decrees of the emperors Gratian (375–383) and Theodosius the Great (379–395) determined the size of salaries and the number of departments in rhetoric schools. Thus, in the residence of Gratian in Augusta Treverorum (Trier) rhetoricians and grammars of Latin and Hellenics from AD 374 received res omnes quae ad victum pertinent ("everything necessary for nutrition") – respectively, 30, 20 and 12 annonae (annona – annual harvest of grain) of bread (in other cities the salary of rhetoricians did not exceed 24 annonae or 15 thousand sesterces) (Perfilova, 2002b; Zhurakovsky, 1940: 457; Ziegler, 1911: 21). In addition to a fixed fee, rhetoricians were not deprived of the opportunity to receive payments from students, which, according to Libanius, was done by the latter in confidence.

The paradox of the Dominate era was that the aggravation of the state crisis in AD IV was consistent with the improvement of teachers position in remote regions of the empire, especially it concerned grammarians and rhetoricians (and that is quite conditional – remember the remarks of Ausonius) (Gordievich, 1894: 13; Guiraud, 1899: 84-85). According to Karsavin, education remained the exclusive feature of a noblemen, and elevated them above the barbarians (Karsavin, 1910: 31). G. Zhurakovsky in the analysis of the causes of this phenomenon is more prosaic: high school in Gaul was a means of strengthening imperial power on the periphery, combined with strengthening of local administrative nomenclature (Zhurakovsky, 1940: 453-454). This certainly

distinguished rhetoricians as a privileged group, favoured by local nobility – alliances between teachers and daughters of the rich became commonplace. Thus, the financial situation of the Narbonne grammarian Martial changed when "noble Clarence, impressed" by Martial's "gift, gave him his daughter to wed" (Ausonius, 1993: 45; Boyko, 2005: 56; Perfilova, 2003). Some teachers could afford to hold symposia, as Ausonius pointed out ("Your table is so refined that it is useless to look for flaws") (Ausonius, 1993: 36; Late Roman, 1982: 65).

However, in the last century of the Western Roman Empire, higher education was declining. Under the conditions of the gradual collapse of the state and the onslaught of barbarians, education yielded to self-interest, religiosity and martialism. "Few people respect science", "the concepts and knowledge of ancestors are being lost", "the number of idle people has increased so much that if not for the few sages, we would be mourning the genuine Latin language" – such remarks of contemporaries testified to the crisis of classical ancient education (Karsavin, 1910: 31–33).

The historian Ammianus Marcellinus observed the crisis in education in the second half of AD IV. During the reign of Constantius II (337–361), he pointed out, for the rich science was replaced by entertainment: "a singer is invited instead of a philosopher, and an animator instead of a rhetorician". And only in some enclaves, where there was a strong position of paganism, such as in Alexandria, "the spirit of life is still raging in the teachers of science" (Ammianus, 2005: 18, 292). The decline of the rhetorical school took place under strong pressure from adherents of the state religion. It is not for nothing that Gregory the Theologian, in a letter to Gregory of Nyssa, rebuked him for his choice of teaching profession, which he also compared to a career of a gladiator or an actor and contrasted with the faith: "do you prefer to be called a rhetorician rather than a Christian?" (Gregory the Theologian, 2007: 313). As a result, the prestige of the profession of rhetoricians declined.

5. Conclusion

Ancient Roman literature remains the main treasury of sources for the study of educational processes and pedagogical profession during the Roman period of Antiquity. Addressing it allows us to recreate the portrait of an exemplary teacher and at the same time reveal the characteristic flaws of Roman teachers who were criticized by contemporary intellectuals. Finally, it reproduces a concretized idea of the prestige of the profession.

A distinctive feature of the professional CV of an ancient Roman teacher was an organic combination of requirements for the level of knowledge, pedagogical techniques, speech and morality. Noteworthy, the knowledge itself, judging by the accents placed in the works by contemporaries, was the main characteristic of the teacher. Probably the set of requirements for teachers of secondary and higher Roman schools can be represented as follows: a high level of mastery of educational material, erudition; free possession of literary Latin, devoided of solecisms and barbarisms, Hellenics (in the period of Dominate – in the form of the so-called Attic language); highly developed mnemonic abilities; the ability to maintain discipline, including through corporal punishment, but without abuse. The conditional right to punish depended to some extent on the intellectual authority of the mentor and the public consent to the use of physical force. Requirements for the morality of teachers varied depending on the spirit of the era. A clear civic position, adherence to conservative views on morality in the late period of the Republic gave way to liberalization, lenient attitude to "human weaknesses", which, in fact, caused some disappointment in the behavior of teachers by intellectuals. The depravity of young people by teachers was a frequent occurrence. However, pederasty did not become the norm of school life and was condemned by supporters of proper ethical and sexual education of the youth. An important indicator of the attitude to teachers in society's was remuneration, which was determined by a number of factors: 1) servicing a certain "bowl of muses" – literacy teachers traditionally occupied the lowest step in remuneration, while grammar and rhetoric teachers were paid better; 2) strengthening or weakening of the elite and state athorities attention to education (here the period of the late Republic and the early Dominatethe can be considered foreground epochs in remunerationcan); 3) regional elites' attitude to the education — as early as in the era of the principality attractive conditions for wages were created in Athens, Gaul, Africa, in some remote provinces; 4) favoring of certain teachers by the authorities and statesmen; 5) high professionalism or socially significant qualities of the teacher, which made him competitive in the market of educational services, provided a sufficient number of students.

Thus, the prestige of the teaching profession in ancient Rome was determined by the combination of formal (belonging to a certain level of education, state regulation of rights, privileges and remuneration of teachers) and informal factors (significant individual and professional traits, the authority of the teacher). The very presence of the title of grammarian or rhetorician by itself did not introduced the teacher to the rank of respected people. His authority was gained in the audience, in public speeches, in court, in disputes with colleagues, in correspondence and communication with influential people, by the ability to win the affection of students, parents and benefactors. Due to this, the income of teachers also fluctuated (even in times of domination with the established scale of remuneration, it differed due to the right to charge fees from students). Certain level of wealth achieved by a teacher consolidated the public perception of his life success. Since prosperity and recognition were achieved by a minority, this suggests that teachers, although it is difficult to imagine urban intellectual life, cultural environment and jurisprudence of ancient Rome without them, took the below average position on the ladder of social relations. Possession of material means of production, successful legal practice or a career of an official guaranteed higher earnings and were valued higher than knowledge. The place of intellectuals in the public life of the state as a whole remained secondary.

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