

CICERO'S WRITINGS AS LEARNING TEXTS FOR HUMANITIES STUDENTS

FROM AUGUSTUS WILKINS TO CICERO DIGITALIS

Victoria PICHUGINA, Emiliano METTINI,
Yana VOLKOVA

The heritage of the ancient Roman politician, orator and thinker Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BC – 43 BC), is considered as a set of texts that over centuries have been included in the curricula for humanities students, significantly changing the narrative tradition and detecting a way of understanding what is related to humanities. The key questions for the authors is the following: how and for what purposes was Cicero's heritage presented to humanities students in educational texts in the first two decades of the 20th and 21st centuries? At the beginning of last century, scholars' attention to Cicero was largely due to Augustus Samuel Wilkins (1843–1905), Paul Monroe (1869–1947) and his disciple Ellwood Cubberley (1868-1941). Many textbooks compiled by P. Monroe, A.S. Wilkins and E. Cubberley were published one after another. Thanks to the educational books of P. Monroe, A.S. Wilkins and E. Cubberley, different approaches to presenting Cicero's works for educational purposes were developed. It is these approaches that were reflected in educational books for humanists a century later. In Russian textbooks, sourcebooks, and anthologies on history of pedagogy, Cicero was mostly a figure of omission not only in the first decades, but throughout the entire 20th century. At the beginning of the 21st century, many learning books for humanities students appeared. Their authors and compilers consider Cicero as an author who left a conceptual description of pedagogical reality (a detailed description of educational process) and chose a narrative description (description of what happened through the eyes of those who take part in it). We have to regret that the Russian domestic

HYPOTHEKAI

2021. Вып. 5. С. 191-213

УДК 37.01

HYPOTHEKAI

2021. Issue 5. P. 191-213

DOI: 10.32880/2587-7127-2021-5-5-191-213

tradition of including Cicero's heritage in the content of humanitarian education has hardly undergone any changes over a century: fragments of his works continue to be presented on a small scale, are practically not grouped according to key issues, and rarely accompanied by pedagogical commentaries. The question of why some texts were selected while others were not, can be asked to every author and compiler who included Cicero's texts in their books for humanities students. The search for answers to this “eternal question” can be associated both with the flexibility of the humanitarian curriculum, and with the personal preferences of the authors and compilers of learning books.

In one of his letters, Pliny the Younger quotes the following poetic lines: “...which after ages / Judge to be worthy of taking place by those of the son of Arpinum” (Plin. Ep. III.21.5; tr. by B. Radice). This question, posed by Pliny the Younger, still worries humanities students. The legacy of Mark Tullius Cicero — an ancient Roman politician, orator and intellectual — is not only an important part of the vast corpus of sources about the ancient pedagogical past, but also texts that have been included in the liberal arts curriculum for centuries. At the beginning of the 21st century, scholars argue that Cicero not only managed to convince the Romans that engaging in the humanities is a worthy profession¹, but also changed the narrative tradition that determines the framework for understanding the humanistic reality.

The questions when Cicero's texts began to be perceived as educational and what the dynamics of the popularity of his works as educational texts remains understudied. The fashion to read Cicero was fickle, but a number of his writings became the basis for Western European education — “great books”, that is, texts that must be read and studied, the fragments of which are placed in textbooks, sourcebooks, and anthologies. The tradition of including Cicero's legacy in the content of liberal arts education has been formed. This tradition only fragmentarily manifested itself in Russian curricula and texts because of the absence of equally deep sources and connections. Not being able to cover the entire content of liberal arts education, let us formulate the key question:

¹ Christes, Klein, Lüth (2006). S. 19.

how and for what purposes is Cicero's legacy presented to humanities students in learning texts in the first two decades of the XXth and XXIst centuries?

Cicero's works as learning texts for humanities students in the first two decades of the XXth century: what was it like?

At the beginning of the last century, the attention to Cicero on the part of scholars and especially students of pedagogical specialties was largely due to the merit of August Samuel Wilkins (1843–1905). He was a translator and author of commentaries to the edition of Cicero's "De Oratore liber primus" by Karl Wilhelm Piderit, and then carried out the publication of the commented works by Cicero: the complete edition of "Cicero De Oratore" (lib. I. – iii, Oxford, 1879-1892), two Cicero's speeches (1871 and 1879), and a critical edition of all Cicero's rhetorical works (1903). Wilkins also authored the following books: "Roman Antiquities" (1877), "Roman Literature" (1890), and "Roman Education" (1905).

Wilkins' publications contributed to both the expanded use of Cicero's rhetorical works for educational purposes and an increased historical and pedagogical attention to Cicero's ideas and especially to his work "On the Orator", which manifested itself at the beginning of the 20th century. In the preface to Cicero's "On the Orator", Wilkins says that his goal was to make Karl Wilhelm Piderit's book "available to English students"¹. This goal was achieved on a much larger scale than it had been planned: American scholars became absorbed in reading "On the Orator" as well. In his book "Roman Antiquities" (1877)², Wilkins managed to present Cicero as an author, whose views and opinions shaped the attitudes to the ancient Roman everyday life, and encouraged to look at it as a source of the existing educational ideals. Wilkins' logic was reflected in a number of educational books of the early XXth century, which included a block on the history of Roman education. In "Roman Literature" (1890)³, the chapter "The Golden Age of Roman Literature" is arranged in such a way that Cicero dominates the poetry and prose of this time, which is called "the time of Cicero"

¹ Wilkins, tr. and ed. (1868). P. vi.

² Wilkins (1877).

³ Wilkins (1890).

The chapter dedicated to his life and work begins with the words: “Cicero is the most prominent figure in the literature of the Republic ...”¹ In this book, Wilkins proposes to look at Roman literature through the eyes of Cicero, urging scholars to read his writings.

“Roman Education” (1905)² was positioned as a textbook for students who knew at least a little Latin, and Cicero was presented there as a key figure. Each of the six parts of the textbook contains notes in the margins, that is, offers a reading guide option. There are references to Cicero’s writings and a detailed discussion of his views on education in each part, while in some parts they cover even several subsequent pages. Wilkins begins the first part by discussing a quotation from Cicero’s “On the Commonwealth”, which juxtaposes the wise Roman state structure with the Greek one: “In the first place, [our ancestors] did not desire that there should be a fixed system of education for free-born youth, defined by law or prescribed by the state or made identical for all citizens. The Greeks, on the other hand, expended much labor in vain upon the subject of education” (Cic. Rep. IV.3.3; tr. by G.H. Sabine and S.B. Smith). Here, Wilkins made a note in the margins — “Home Education”, since Cicero, in his opinion, points to the strict regulation of Roman education by the unlimited power of the father in the family. Without additional commentary, it is not always clear that in “On the Commonwealth” Cicero by no means affirms the priority of home education; he only emphasizes that father’s pedagogy at home sets the tone for all other pedagogical influences. In other words, the outline of the curriculum for the Roman humanities student is set at home, and then expanded and supplemented.

With quotations from “On the Commonwealth”, “On Duties”, “Brutus”, “On the Orator”, “In Defense of Lucius Licinius Murena”, “Tuskulan Disputations”, “Orator”, “Against Gaius Verres” and Cicero’s letters to various addressees, Wilkins illustrates the sections discussing the goals and content of school and out-of-school Roman education. In the section on the school curriculum, Wilkins argues with Theodore Mommsen about the role of the Laws of the Twelve Tables before and during Cicero’s life. In the section on the curriculum for student orators, Wilkins tries to demonstrate its content using the example

¹ Wilkins (1890). P. 40.

² Wilkins (1905).

of Cicero who studied under the Greek mentors thanks to the efforts of his father. Sometimes idealizing and sometimes ironizing, Wilkins incorporates Cicero's heritage into the content of liberal arts education, paying tribute to the depth and breadth of pedagogical problems that he touched upon in his writings. Such an approach will appear in educational texts for humanities students only at the beginning of the XXI century; Wilkins' contemporaries preferred to reduce the pedagogical ideas of Cicero to the sphere of the orator's education and hardly notice how deep his pedagogical narratives were.

Another person who did not allow Cicero to go unnoticed by humanists was Paul Monroe (1869–1947) — the author of numerous books on the history of education as well as the author and editor of a five-volume encyclopedic work on education. Monroe was an innovator both in the methodology of the history of pedagogy and in the theory and practice of contemporary education. He managed to turn the history of ancient education into an attractive area both for researchers¹ and for all humanists interested in the formation and development of key pedagogical ideas and educational practices.

In the introduction to "Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period" (1901), Monroe writes that he wants to offer more than a plan for the study: in his book, "the interpretation is purposely left in a large degree to the student"². The book is in two parts (Greek and Roman), each containing seven sections. The sources are preceded by the author's text, where Monroe gives a general description of the period and state of affairs in education, and are accompanied by the author's notes in the margins (as A.S. Wilkins once did in his book on Roman education). Of the many Cicero's works of different genres, Monroe chooses only one — "On the Orator"³, fragments of which he places in two sections of the second part of his anthology: "Early Roman Education in General" and "The Orator as the Ideal of Roman Education". Monroe says, "On the Orator" "indicates esteem in which

¹ His ideas inspired his contemporaries so much that one of the history of education teachers wrote an article on how Monroe represented the Greek ideal of liberal arts education: Mackie (1937). P. 88-91.

² Monroe (1901). P. vi-vii.

³ Probably, this choice resulted from the popularity of this speech after it was published by A.S. Wilkins.

the laws were still held from the educational point of view, even though they had ceased to hold first place”¹. Monroe defends a somewhat different, but close to this one, position by repeatedly singling out from all Cicero’s works the treatise “On the Orator” and placing it in the “A brief course in the history of education” (1907)². Cicero dedicates “On the Orator” to his brother Quintus and, before speaking about the role and mission of laws, provides an extensive commentary on the state of affairs in eloquence and points out the mandatory study of ancient Greek wisdom by a future orator. Monroe ignores this pedagogical message of Cicero, probably because here Cicero brings the Greek and Roman parts together, and in the author’s commentary above, Monroe has already mentioned their opposition in the field of education.

In our opinion, Monroe’s statement about respect for laws from the educational point of view requires an extended commentary, since it is included in a publication designed to support the reader’s educational, rather than research, interest. The ideology of Roman education, according to Monroe, went back to the Laws of the Twelve Tables, which Cicero repeatedly referred to in many works. In “On the Orator”, Cicero states: “Though the whole world grumble, I will speak my mind: it seems to me, I solemnly declare that, if anyone looks to the origins and sources of the laws, the small manual of the Twelve Tables by itself surpasses the libraries of all the philosophers, in weight of authority and wealth of usefulness alike” (Cic. De Or. I.195; tr. by E.W. Sutton). Trying to assert the priority of the Romans over the Greeks, Cicero tends to exaggerate by defining the Laws of the Twelve Tables as almost the ultimate wisdom (but not the basis of the Roman pedagogy, as Monroe points out). But later he suppresses emotions and explains his position. According to Cicero, knowledge of law is the basis for the Roman wisdom, and therefore it is necessary for a future orator, whose curriculum already included the arts and sciences valued by the Greeks. Such a top orator, politician and trial lawyer as Cicero could not but understand: whatever Plato asserted in his time about the educational power of laws, a person’s *humanitas*, being adequate to human nature, cannot be reduced to tablets regulating only typical relationships.

¹ Monroe (1901). P. 333.

² Monroe (1907).

After the reader has become acquainted with the Laws of the Twelve Tables, Monroe introduces a small passage from “On the Orator” and starts with the above quote. He accompanies it with just one note emphasizing the importance of the Laws of the Twelve Tables for education. Monroe includes a much bigger fragment “On the Orator” into the second subsection (Cic. De Or. I.III-VI; XI-XVI; XIX-XXIV¹) and accompanies it with numerous margin notes. Where Cicero speaks of the importance of the art of eloquence and pays tribute to Greece, which has always strived to be the first in it, Monroe makes the following note: “Oratory becomes the aim of education at Rome”². In the following passages, according to Monroe, Cicero speaks about the main qualities of an orator (“Essential qualifications of an orator”), the breadth of his basic knowledge (“Breadth of knowledge essential”) and some types of oratory reasoning (“Only certain types of oratory discussed”)³. In our opinion, the key points are somewhat different from those of Monroe: Cicero explains that the difference between an oratory and an empty chat is that the former is backed up by knowledge; nevertheless, one should not demand from an orator, who has many social responsibilities, the knowledge of everything. However, what Monroe would later call a mandatory breadth of knowledge, according to Cicero, should be narrowed, but not at the expense of the cause. Monroe needs an educated orator to instruct the youth of his own time, so he considers it possible to neglect Cicero’s original messages.

Without bothering the reader with the analysis of all Monroe’s comments, we should note that he diligently highlights some and obscures other Cicero’s points. Monroe offers a somewhat coarse crystallization of the pedagogical reality of the past for all those who want to see it in the structure of liberal arts education through Cicero’s eyes. “Source Book...” by Monroe is an interesting guiding experience for the humanities students in the early XXth century; an experience that interests us by its special interpretation of Cicero’s pedagogical ideas and narratives.

Monroe’s “A Textbook in the History of Education” (1905)⁴ is divided into fourteen sections, which follow one another in chronological

¹ Here we have preserved Monroe's style of citation.

² Monroe (1901). P. 428.

³ Monroe (1901). P. 429-430.

⁴ Monroe (1905).

order. Monroe makes a striking departure from pedantic chronological accuracy in the preface by mentioning the ancient Roman pedagogy first and then the ancient Greek one. Pointing to the specifics of the presentation of educational material, he speaks of the most significant, from his point of view, figures on the historical and pedagogical scene: “Many men are slighted who in themselves are prominent enough, but who contribute little to a dominant movement or add but little to the ideas already presented. In giving the ideal of Roman education, the analysis of the training of the orator by Tacitus or Cicero, though quite as important as that of Quintilian, would have added little to the present discussion”¹.

One of the sections of the textbook is “The Romans: Education as Practical Training”, where the ancient Roman educational ideals and educational practices are characterized according to periods. Monroe repeatedly mentions Cicero², calling him the first Roman who rose “to prominence and to power through oratory”³ and defined education in terms of eloquence, “meaning knowledge of content and of form of literature”⁴. Monroe calls Cicero’s style and argumentation “a living tongue” that predetermined the educational canon of the Latin language for many centuries. Despite the fact that in the introduction to the textbook, Monroe chooses between Quintilian and Cicero not in favor of the latter, the American school for Monroe is impossible without the history of education, while the history of education is impossible without Cicero.

In the preface to “A Brief Course in the History of Education” (1907)⁵, Monroe writes that this book is a condensed version of the 1905 textbook. It is addressed to teachers and students who cannot afford a significant number of academic hours to study the history of education, therefore “many topics, especially those that demand a philosophical treatment such as most non-collegiate students are unprepared to give”⁶ are omitted. Monroe suggests getting acquainted with a brief

¹ Monroe (1905). P. viii.

² Monroe (1905). P. 192, 356, 358, 366, 372ff, 384, 387, 425.

³ Monroe (1905). P. 192.

⁴ Monroe (1905). P. 366.

⁵ Monroe (1907).

⁶ Monroe (1907). P. V.

course and perceives it as a basis for studying a vast subject that is revealed in a variety of texts. In terms of volume, the non-brief course is about twice as long as the brief one. For example, the section on Roman education, which is of interest to us, occupied forty-three pages in the textbook of 1905, while in the textbook of 1907, it occupied twenty pages. The reduced sections excluded the references to a number of personalities in support of the key ideas, while Cicero retained his position. Again, Monroe mentions "On the Orator" and calls the year of the publication of this work (55 BC) a landmark: "...this date may well be taken as the dividing point between the two eras"¹. Monroe implies a watershed between the ancient Greek and ancient Roman educational ideals, and he calls Cicero the great Roman who transformed the idea of education.

"A Cyclopedia of Education" (1911-1913)² became a part of Monroe's ambitious vision to present the pedagogical reality of the past for the present and the future — a vision that he approached with all seriousness. The volumes represented the work of several hundred authors³, whose articles were arranged alphabetically and were accompanied by hundreds of illustrations, diagrams, figures, cross-references and bibliographic references⁴. In this encyclopedic work, a significant place is occupied by the history of ancient education, presented both through general issues and in persons. The second volume includes a lengthy article about Cicero authored by Gonzalez Lodge, an American classical philologist and author of the famous "The Vocabulary of High School Latin". The priority in the article is given not to the biographical information, but to the vast legacy of Cicero and his role in the development of Roman culture and education. Emphasizing the importance of Cicero for the Renaissance, the author of the article does this by pointing out Cicero's special style, which became part of the educa-

¹ Monroe (1907). P. 87.

² The book has gone through many reprints, being released in five, then in three volumes.

³ This work in five volumes included more than three thousand pages, and among the authors was P. Monroe himself, as well as E. Cubberley, who will be discussed below.

⁴ For more information about the publication of this fundamental work, reprints and encyclopedias on education that appeared after it, see: Brickman, Cordasco (1970). P. 324-337.

tional program of that period: “Consequently, all students of Latin imitated Cicero from the beginning, and the position he then occupied in the schools has not been seriously impaired up to now. At the outset his letters, his Offices, as well as his orations, were read by schoolboys, but as the time devoted to Latin has diminished, a selection from the orations has come to be the chief work studied in schools, although various attempts have been made to read a few of the letters in illustration of the history of the period, or of Cicero's own character”¹. Lodge’s article provides an in-depth overview of the research in Cicero’s legacy including the publication data of the key works². Lodge devotes the next article, which is larger than the one on Cicero, to Cicero’s style, which is viewed with regard to who, how and why studied Cicero in school and outside it.

The third person who drew humanists’ attention to Cicero at the beginning of the last century was Ellwood Cubberley (1868–1941), a disciple of P. Monroe and the author of numerous works on the history of education. In his “Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education with selected Bibliographies” (1902)³, Cubberley offers forty chapters for study (twenty-two in the first and eighteen in the second semester), with subchapters. In the “Roman Education” chapter, which has four subchapters, the author gives priority to Quintilian⁴ in educating the orator (there is only one reference to Cicero’s “On the Orator”)⁵.

In “The History of Education: Educational Practice and Progress Considered as a Phase of the Development and Spread of Western Civilization” (1920)⁶, Cubberley speaks of Cicero as either a student who mastered oratory in Greece, or as a critic of the Greek type of education, or as an author of educational texts⁷. In this book¹, Cicero and Quintil-

¹ Monroe, ed. (1911) P.5.

² Among other things, Lodge points to a number of Cicero editions for school: Lebreton’s *études sur le langue et la grammaire de Ciceron* (Paris, 1907), Zielinski’s *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden* (Leipzig, 1904) и Laurant’s *Etudes sur le style des discours de Ciceron* (Paris, 1907).

³ Cubberley (1902).

⁴ As we remember, Monroe would choose between Quintilian and Cicero in favor of the former in the book of 1905.

⁵ Cubberley (1902). P. 42.

⁶ Cubberley (1920).

⁷ Cubberley (1920). P. 47;71-72; 59;73.

ian are viewed as figures of equal significance, whose texts have stood the test of test being educational texts as well, and must be studied by modern students.

In "A Brief History of Education" (1922)², Cubberley only mentions the name of Cicero, since the form of presentation does not imply references to either specific authors or their works. Probably, Cicero could have received more attention in the second edition of the book, which Cubberley planned to turn into a full-fledged textbook, but as Paul Monroe's textbook had occupied this niche, Cubberley's scientific interests had to change³.

Cicero was included twice with the same text "On the Orator" in the anthology on the history of education "Readings in the history of education a collection of sources and readings to illustrate the development of educational practice, theory, and organization" (1920)⁴. The anthology contained twenty-nine chapters in chronological order tracing the history of education from ancient Greece to the 1910s. The anthology was conceived as a supplement to his course of lectures on the history of education. Cubberley thought most highly of his "twins" ("History of Education... " and "Reading..."). "He had been generous in the former in the use of illustrations and reproductions, but the latter to this day are a convenient and scholarly source of many documents of importance to the history of education"⁵.

The third part of the anthology "The Education and Work of Rome" contains two sets of fragments from Cicero's "On the Orator" and is subtitled "Cicero: The Importance of the Twelve Tables in Education" and "Cicero: Oratory the Aim of Education". Cubberley borrows the same fragments from "On the Orator" as Monroe: in the first case, he cites the same fragment, and in the second, he significantly reduces the

¹ This book arose from Cubberley's experience at Harvard and Stanford and reflected the specific features of his teaching style: "One reason for his facility in producing excellent textbooks is the fact that his lectures are so well organized that when they are completed for any one course they make a textbook in themselves" (Benjamin [1933]. P. 3).

² Cubberley (1922).

³ Arnstein (1954). P. 79.

⁴ Cubberley, ed. (1920).

⁵ Arnstein (1954). P. 79-80.

fragment selected by Monroe probably not to exceed the average volume of quotations for each author. In the introduction to this part, Cubberley indicated that it would enable the reader to trace the evolution of the Roman boy's education over a considerable historical distance, at the end of which the purpose of education was to prepare an orator. Cubberley did not make any margin notes in "On the Orator" but included in this part a fragment from "The History of Rome" by Theodore Mommsen (the year of publication is not indicated; probably 1854–1856), repeating what A.S. Wilkins did it in his 1905 edition. This fragment, according to Cubberley, gives an insight into the life of a Roman citizen during the period of the Republic¹. Mommsen's somewhat pretentious text dwells about the beautiful soul of a noble and free Roman citizen, whose life is hard but covered with glory. The main feature of the Roman is civic pride, the traces of which we, modern people, still continue to discover. The peculiar pedagogical discourse of Cicero, conceived in Rome during the transition from the Republic to the Empire, was based on a special understanding of civic pride through the prism of glory. Monroe's notes in the margins of "On the Orator" as well as Mommsen's text, which Cubberley includes in his book, are more consistent with Cicero's early work "On Invention", but this essay remains outside the scope of both Monroe's and Cubberley's textbooks.

Books by P. Monroe, A.S. Wilkins and E. Cubberley were published one after another, which forced their compilers to choose different logics for presenting the material: Cubberley chose between Quintilian and Cicero in favor of the first in his book of 1902, and Monroe did the same in his book of 1905; Wilkins juxtaposed the texts by Cicero and Mommsen in his 1905 book, and Cubberley did the same in the 1920 book. Each of the three can be questioned why some texts were selected, while others were not. With regard to Cubberley, G. Arnstein tried to answer this question by pointing out 24 names of famous educators chosen by Cubberley and carved on the front of a university building at Stanford². Among these names, we will find the name of Quintilian, but not of Cicero³. G. Arnstein believes that this list of name gives

¹ Cubberley (1920). P. 27.

² An attempt to understand the features of Cubberley's "scalpel" is discussed in the following paper: Bezrogov, Pichugina (2018).

³ Arnstein (1954). P. 75.

us next to nothing for understanding Cubberley's principle for selecting them: even if we keep in mind that he put practice above theory, why is J. Dewey not on the list? That is, can we consider his choice not in favor of Cicero accidental or was it a deliberate strategy of turning Cicero into a figure of silence — the strategy that Cubberley chose while maneuvering between the books of Wilkins and Monroe? They, in turn, did the same thing and missed two important points, which A. Gwynn's book "Roman Education: from Cicero to Quintilian" (1926) was based on, for example. Quintilian is indeed an iconic figure in Roman education, but his instructions to the orator were an attempt to revive the ideals of Cicero's treatise "On the Orator" in the changed context of Roman society. Thanks to Quintilian, Roman schools did indeed receive a sufficient supply of grammar and rhetoric textbooks, but "no teacher was found who could speak with Quintilian's authority, no orator sufficiently interested in the theory of his art to produce a second *De Oratore*"¹. A. Gwynn focuses on the fact that the heritage of an author should be assessed according to the impact on the audience it was intended for. Cicero's works, in his opinion, found their audience. But this cannot be assumed about the writings of Quintilian and Tacitus, since they failed to produce their own Cicero. To paraphrase A. Gwynn, we can say that Cicero launched a liberal arts education program that was successfully mastered by many orators including Quintilian and Tacitus.

This conclusion was drawn by none of the three great historians of education preoccupied with the choice between Cicero and Quintilian². The fragments of Cicero's texts selected by P. Monroe and E. Cubberley illustrate the importance of his views for the liberal arts curriculum but do not allow one to see the originality of Cicero's peda-

¹ Gwynn (1926). P. 242.

² For domestic textbooks, anthologies and sourcebooks on the history of pedagogy, Cicero remains a figure of silence throughout the entire XX century. He is not mentioned in a number of sourcebooks (the anthology compiled by V.A. Glebovsky, St. Petersburg, 1903; the anthology compiled by I.F. Svadkovsky, M., 1935; the anthology compiled by A.I. Piskunov, M., 1971, etc.). Trying to demonstrate the features of ancient Roman pedagogy, the compilers often give preference not to Cicero, but to Quintilian and his work "The Institutes of Oratory").

gical views and evaluate his role in changing the narrative tradition that enabled us to understand the humanistic reality. Both of them believed that their textbooks would be compared and, probably, shared by the humanities students of several generations ahead.

***Cicero's works as learning texts for humanities students
in the first two decades of the XXI century: what is it like now?***

The strategies for representing Cicero in learning texts in the first decade of the XXI century are the result of a tradition that has existed since the 40s of the XXth century and inextricably linked Cicero and Quintilian. Thus, in the essays by G.E. Zhurakovsky¹ (1940), there is a chapter entitled "Cicero's Pedagogical Ideas" followed by the chapter "Quintilian's Pedagogical Ideas", again connecting the two authors. G.E. Zhurakovsky considers Cicero's life and career from the perspective of the evolution of his pedagogical ideas, which are accumulated in "On the Orator", "On Duties", "On the Commonwealth", "Tusculan Disputations", though, according to the compiler, they do not form a "complete pedagogical system". The significance of Cicero's legacy, which is also emphasized in the chapter on Quintilian², is determined not only by the important information about the civil and family education of his time, but also by the clear definition of the disciplines included in the liberal arts curriculum.

In the textbook edited by Z.I. Vasilyeva "History of Education and Pedagogical Thought Abroad and in Russia" (2002), both Cicero and Quintilian are provided with one page each. The authors do not discuss any particular writings of Cicero and limit themselves to the controversial conclusion that it is hardly possible to trace any difference between Greek and Roman education. In this and other Russian textbooks, Cicero and Quintilian personify ancient Roman education, but their works are not deeply analyzed and their pedagogical views are not revealed. The general logic of Russian learning books for humanities stu-

¹ Zhurakovsky (1940).

² In the textbook on the history of pedagogy by N.A. Konstantinov, E.N. Medynsky and M.F. Shabaeva, there is no mention of Cicero, while Quintilian is called "the most famous of the Roman teachers". In this textbook, like in many other Russian anthologies and sourcebooks, Quintilian alone represents the entire Roman pedagogy (Konstantinov, Medynsky, Shabaeva [1982]. S. 18).

dents is as follows: ancient texts are presented in chronological order and not grouped according to the key issues.

A different logic is revealed in Western European textbooks, anthologies and sourcebooks. The preface to the anthology “À l'École des Anciens: Professeurs, élèves et étudiants” (“Learning From the Ancients: Teachers, Pupils and Students”), compiled by Laurent Pernot (2008), explains that the teachers in the broad sense of the word were chosen from a mentor or a secondary school teacher to a fashionable intellectual and the “shaper of souls”¹. Further, it is explained that it is impossible to consider the figure of a teacher without the figure of a student sitting in the first or last row, no matter how good or bad they are. Starting from the thesis that Antiquity glorified many brilliant examples of teachers and students, the compiler distributes the sources into eight sections, each of which is provided with a short preface and contains several subsections that include small fragments of original sources (which is caused by the pocket format of the book). Cicero's texts are placed in several sections and subsections, respectively: a fragment from “About the subdivisions of oratory” (Cic. Part. Or. 126) — the section “Education in love” (the subsection “Platonic love”), fragments from the writings “On the Orator” (Cic. De or. II.2-4), “About the Ends of Goods and Evils” (Cic. De FV1-3) and “Brutus, or On the Famous Orators” (Cic. Brut. 305-307) — the section “Stories about pupils” (subsection “Encounters of Greece with Rome”), “The Philippics” (Cic. Phil. II.42-43) — the section “A hard life of a teacher” (subsection “Down with the teachers!”). Here is the last of Cicero's quotes included in the Anthology to make the reader smile: “And was it in order to collect all these arguments, O you most senseless of men, that you spent so many days in practising declamation in another man's villa? Although, indeed, (as your most intimate friends usually say,) you are in the habit of declaiming, not for the purpose of whetting your genius, but of working off the effects of wine. And, indeed, you employ a master to teach you jokes, a man appointed by your own vote and that of your boon companions; a rhetorician, whom you have allowed to say whatever he pleased against you, a thoroughly facetious gentleman; but there are plenty of materials for speaking against you and against your

¹ Pernot (2008). P. 7.

friends. <...> And what wages have you paid this rhetorician? Listen, listen, O conscript fathers, and learn the blows which are inflicted on the republic. You have assigned, O Antonius, two thousand acres of land, in the Leontine district, to Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician, and those, too, exempt from every kind of tax, for the sake of putting the Roman people to such a vast expense that you might learn to be a fool” (Cic. Phil. II.42-43; tr. by C.D. Yonge).

In the book “Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook” (2009) edited by Mark Joyal, Iain McDougall, and John Yardley¹, Cicero’s legacy is well represented in the following sections: 1) “Early Rome to c. 100 BC” (Cic.Brut. 104, 211; Cic.Leg. 2.59; Cic.Rep. 4.3.3; Cic. De.or. 2.1-4; Cic. De.or. 3.93-95); 2) “Reading, writing and literary study: Late Roman Republic and Empire” (Cic. Q. fr. 2.4.2; Cic.Att. 4.15.10; Cic. Q. fr. 16.21.3-6); 3) “Teaching and learning the liberal arts and rhetoric: Cicero to Quintilian” (Cic.De.or. 1.19-20; Cic.De.or. 1.187-88 и Cic.Arch. 1.2; Cic. Q. fr. 3.3.4; Cic. Brut. 305-10, 314-16; Cic. Caec. 47). In the Introduction, the compilers write that modern Western education finds its origins in the practices, systems and schools of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which prepares the reader to the meeting with the key figures in educational theory and practice. Cicero is identified as one of these figures by the compilers.

Cicero’s pedagogical legacy is included in the content of liberal arts education more often for contrast, not for comparison. One of the chapters of the anthology “Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook” (2009) begins with the paragraph “From Cicero to Quintilian” and repeats part of A. Gwynn’s 1926 work mentioned above. The compilers weaken the contrast by highlighting the similar views of Cicero and Quintilian on the theory and practice of rhetoric. In the anthology, Cicero is presented as a person concerned with the upbringing of the younger generation who urges young people to observe the laws, to be responsible in the choice of books for reading, to learn from Greek mentors whenever possible. Cicero’s speeches “Against Quintus Caecilius” and “In Defense of Aulus Licinius Archias the poet”, writings “Brutus”, “On the Commonwealth”, “On the Laws”, “On the Orator”, as well as his letters on various topics are qualified as significant.

¹ Joyal, McDougall, Yardley, eds. (2009).

Cicero's private life is also the subject of attention when it comes to the famous Greek mentors he studied from and chose for his son.

This subtle combination of the personal and the public reflects the new logic of incorporating Cicero's pedagogical legacy into modern liberal arts education. It can be traced, for example, in "Geschichte der Pädagogik: Von Platon bis zur Gegenwart" ("History of Education: From Plato to the Present", 2010), where Cicero's pedagogy is defined as one of the origins of the humanistic pedagogy of the Renaissance, for which wisdom meant bringing together words and deeds¹. The author's attention is attracted, first of all, to Cicero's "On Duties" where wisdom and eloquence are inextricably linked, helping a person to act for the benefit of himself and others. The question of what should be considered the starting point has always been controversial for the history of education. Some researchers choose to start with Plato while others suggest Rousseau, as it is done, for example, in the French anthology "Quinze pédagogues. Idées principales et textes choisis" ("Fifteen Teachers. Basic Ideas and Selected Texts", 2013)², which did not include ancient pedagogy and, accordingly, the pedagogy of Cicero³.

The authors of the Oxford textbook "Childhood and education in the classical world" (2013) first list Cicero's writings "On Old Age", "Brutus", "Tusculan Disputations", and "On the Orator" where the author describes man's ages including childhood with its difficulties and risks. "On Duties", "On the Commonwealth", "On the Nature of the Gods", "On Friendship", as well as the speech "In Defense of Murena" and Cicero's letters are mentioned to support the reasoning about the life and customs of the Roman family. In the chapter "Socialization of a Roman Child", the authors devote several pages to Cicero's private life, first talking about the birth of a child and early care on the example of Cicero's son Mark, and then examining in detail Cicero's educational influence on the grownup Mark and Cicero's brother Quintus⁴. The genre of the textbook does not imply any citation or analysis of quotations from the works of one or another author, as Wilkins did, for ex-

¹ Böhm (2010). S. 18.

² Houssaye (2013).

³ For an overview of French anthologies, see: Bezrogov, Pichugina (2018).

⁴ Grubbs, Parkin, Bell, eds. (2013). P. 266-267; 270-271.

ample. The reader is only pointed to Cicero as the author of texts that allow seeing the narrative dimension of the pedagogical reality.

In the anthology “*Tempi del pensiero. Storia e antologia della filosofia. Età antica e medievale*” (“Time for Thinking. History and Anthology of Philosophy. Part 1. Antiquity and the Middle Ages”, 2011)¹, Cicero is shown as a philosopher who specified what a duty and obligations should be like, which, with all due respect to the rules of civil society, varies significantly depending on a person’s social status and life circumstances. All these concepts form the basis for the concept of “*humanitas*”, which Cicero included in a number of contexts (including the pedagogical ones) and supplemented with many words (“*moralis*”, “*qualitas*”, etc.). Cicero’s legacy is considered as a set of texts, where a number of ideas become guidelines in particular life situations. According to the compilers of the anthology, Cicero believed this form of presentation to be the most suitable for Roman noblemen who were unable to identify with any philosophical school or become professional philosophers. Therefore, the purpose of his writings is to search for the probable, i.e. what can be tested and approved². The anthology contains only one fragment from Cicero’s treatise “*The Academica*” that dwells on Socrates and reflects some of the features of his pedagogical method (Cic. Acad. I.45).

In the anthology “*Storia romana. Antologia delle fonti*” (“History of Rome. Anthology of Sources”, 2016, under the general editorship of Elio Lo Cascio), the emphasis is placed not on Cicero the mentor or Cicero the philosopher, but on Cicero the politician. This corresponds to the structure of the anthology, in which the sources are divided into sections with an emphasis on institutions related to public administration. Numerous quotes from Cicero’s writings³ are intended to illustrate the

¹ Cambiano, Cambiano (2011).

² Lo Cascio, ed. (2016). P.298.

³ Cic. Balb. 53; Cic. Brut. 27.102, 27.104, 27.106; Cic. De or. II.12.52-53, II 9.36, II 15.62-64; Cic. Div. I.48.107; Cic. Flac.15; Cic. Leg. I.2.5-9, II.4.9, II.23.59, III.8.19-9.20, III. 9.22, III.15.34-16.36, III.19.44; Cic. Leg. agr. II.27.73, II.5.10, II.35.96; Cic. Off. II.25.89; Cic. Planc. 27.66; Cic. Rep. II.1.1-3, II.13.25, II.15.28, II.16.29-30, II.19.34, II.20.35, II.22.39, II.33.58, II.36.61, III.9.16; Cic. Tusc. I.16.38, IV 1.1-3, IV.2.3-4; Cic. Verr. III.5.11-12, III.12, V.56.145-146, V.59.154.

features of his time, without, however, overlooking the role of Cicero in the development of contemporary rhetorical education. The author of a textbook on philosophy, which is similar in structure to an anthology¹, adheres to the same logic. The textbook includes an extensive commentary on Cicero but only one of his quotations (Cic. Off. I.20) in the subsection that contains quotes on freedom and individuality.

In the preface to one of the anthologies² we have already examined, the compilers complain that students continue to feel the need for illustrated anthologies on the ancient pedagogical legacy. One of the authors of this article co-authored such an anthology — “Антология педагогического наследия Древней Греции и Древнего Рима” (“Anthology of the Pedagogical Heritage of Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome”, 2019)³. The anthology contains fragments of translations of ancient Greek and Latin texts devoted to the upbringing and education of younger generations. The sources, some of which published in Russian for the first time, are grouped to present the ancient city as a set of educational spaces: the space of the city square, the space of the mentor’s school, the space of the feast, the space of the theater, the space of home, sports and recreation. All the text fragments in the anthology are provided with pedagogical commentaries, including the fragments from the speeches “In Defense of Aulus Licinius Archias the poet”, “In Defense of Marcus Caelius Rufus”, “In Defense of Quintus Roscius Gallus the Comic actor”, and the fragments from Cicero’s letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Titus Pomponius Atticus. The inclusion of the fragments of Cicero’s speeches and letters but not his other writings in the anthology is explained by the structure of the anthology, whose compilers invited the reader to consider seven types of sources: biographical and doxographic sources, speeches, letters, compositions of different genres, epigrams, dramas and satire, treatises, and dialogues. Fragments from Cicero’s texts of all other genres are included in the anthology “Марк Туллий Цицерон. Антология гуманной педагогики” (“Mark Tullius Cicero. Anthology of Humane Pedagogy”, 2017)⁴ published a little earlier. In this anthology, excerpts from Cicero’s pedagogical writings are

¹ Johnson (2018).

² Joyal, McDougall, Yardley, eds. (2009).

³ Pichugina, V.K., Bezrogov, V.G. sost. (2019).

⁴ Pichugina, V.K., Volkova, Ja.A. sost. i komm. (2017).

divided between five sections. The section “Education of an Orator” includes fragments from “On Invention” and “On the Orator”; the section “Education of a Citizen” comprises fragments from “On the Laws” and “On Duties”; the section “Education of a Family Man” — fragments from “On the Laws” and Cicero’s letters to his brother, friends and relatives; the section “Education of the Self” — fragments from “On the Laws”, “On Duties”, “About the Ends of Goods and Evils”; the section “Education Through Culture” — fragments of speeches and “Tusculan Disputations”.

Thus, in the first two decades of the XXst century, there was a tendency towards the historical and pedagogical study of Cicero’s legacy and a broader presentation of his texts for educational purposes. Now it is difficult to imagine a learning book for humanities students which would include fragments of only one Cicero’s writing “On the orator”, as P. Monroe once did in his book.

***Cicero’s writings as learning texts for humanities students:
from offline to online***

Throughout his life, Cicero struggled to introduce a curriculum in the content of liberal arts education. Nowadays Cicero’s legacy is a part of the world humanities curriculum since Cicero’s ideas have a high heuristic potential. The review of textbooks, anthologies and source-books of the first decades of the past and present centuries, which include quotations and small fragments of Cicero’s texts, allows us to see the different goals set by the authors and compilers. There is no single reading program for Cicero, and there will never be, since each specific humanities speciality requires its own Cicero.

In many of his writings, Cicero shifted from a conceptual description of reality (a detailed presentation of what happened) in favor of its narrative description (an account of what happened through the person with whom it happened), which is especially important for understanding the nature of humanistic reality. In order to outline the curriculum for humanities students, he often appeared in the content of the liberal arts education in a truncated or distorted form. New technologies allow humanities students to independently search, select, compare, and build a hierarchy of Cicero's texts, compile their own paper and online an-

thologies¹. Cicero is increasingly appearing in the “Cicero Digitalis”² format, which opens up new opportunities for reading his texts and comprehending the nature of humanistic knowledge through them.

The article was received on February 10, 2021

The article was received after reviewing on March 11, 2021

REFERENCES

- Arnstein, G.E. (1954) “Cubberley: The Wizard of Stanford”, *History of Education Journal* 5.3, 73-81.
- Benjamin, H. (1933) “Cubberley: The Master Teacher”, *The Phi Delta Kappan* 16.1, 3-4,8.
- Bezrogov, V.G., Pichugina, V.K. (2018) “Ramki dlja istoriko-pedagogicheskoy antologii ili Skal'pel' Jellvuda Kabberli”, *Istoriko-pedagogicheskij zhurnal*, 2, 41-52.
- Böhm, W. (2010) *Geschichte der Pädagogik: Von Platon bis zur Gegenwart*, 3. Auflage. — München: Verlag C. H. Beck oHG.
- Cambiano, G., Mori, M. (2011) *Tempi del pensiero. Storia e antologia della filosofia. Età antica e medievale*. Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Carr, W.G. (1933) “Cubberley: The Master Historian”, *The Phi Delta Kappan* 16.1, 5-6.
- Christes, J., Klein, R., Lüth, C. (2006) *Handbuch der Erziehung und Bildung in der Antike*. Darmstadt: WLissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Cubberley, E.P. (1902) *Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education with selected bibliographies*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Cubberley, E.P. (1920) *The history of education: Educational practice and progress considered as a phase of the development and spread of western civilization*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin company.
- Cubberley, E.P. (1922) *A Brief History of Education*. Cambridge-Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Cubberley, E.P., ed. (1920). *Readings in the history of education a collection of sources and readings to illustrate the development of educational*

¹ Pichugina (2020). P.149-150.

² This is the title of a recent conference on Cicero's legacy in the digital age: <https://www.archaeology.wiki/blog/agenta/cicero-digitalis/> (Aug., 2021).

- practice, theory, and organization*. Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Fraser, J.W. (2013) “Where Is Ellwood Cubberley When We Need Him? A Response”, *History of Education Quarterly* 53.2 (Special Theme Issue: If Life Were Endless, What Would You Study?), 170-176.
- Grubbs, J. E., Parkin, T., Bell, R. eds. (2013) *Childhood and education in the Classical World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guite, H. (1962) “Cicero’s Attitude to the Greeks”, *Greece & Rome, Second Series* 9.2, 142-159.
- Gwynn, A. (1926) *Roman education: from Cicero to Quintilian*. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
- Houssaye, J. (2013) *Quinze pédagogues. Idées principales et textes choisis: Idées principales et textes choisis* (Pédagogues du monde entier). Paris: Edition Fabert.
- Johnson, L. (2018) *The philosophy handbook. Practical readings and quotations on wisdom and the good life*. Independently published.
- Joyal, M., McDougall, I., Yardley, J. C., eds. (2009) *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook. Routledge Sourcebooks for the Ancient World*. London – New York: Routledge.
- Konstantinov, N.A., Medynskij, E.N., Shabaeva, M.F. (1982) *Istorija pedagogiki: uchebnik dlja studentov pedagogicheskikh institutov*. 5-e izd. Moskva: Prosveshhenie.
- Lo Cascio, E., ed. (2016). *Storia romana. Antologia delle fonti: a cura di Elio Lo Cascio*. Milano: Monduzzi Editoriale.
- Monroe, P. (1901) *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*. New York and London: Macmillan.
- Monroe, P. (1905) *A text-book in the history of education*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Monroe, P. (1907) *A brief course in the history of education*. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Monroe, P., ed. (1911) *A cyclopedia of education*. Vol. II. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Pernot, L. (2008) *A l'Ecole Des Anciens: Professeurs, élèves et étudiants*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Pichugina, V. (2020) “Creating Personalized Anthologies Using Primary Sources”, Pinar Durgun, ed. *A Handbook for Teaching about the Ancient World*. Vol.1. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 149-150.

- Pichugina, V.K., Bezrogov, V.G. sost. (2019) *Antologija pedagogičeskogo nasledija Drevnej Grecii i Drevnego Rima*. Moskva: Russkoe slovo-uchebnik.
- Pichugina, V.K., Volkova, Ja.A. sost. i komm. (2017) *Mark Tullij Ciceron. Antologija gumannoj pedagogiki*. Moskva: Neolit.
- Wilkins, A.S. (1877) *Roman Antiquities with illustration*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Wilkins, A.S. (1890) *Roman Literature*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Wilkins, A.S. (1905) *Roman education*. Cambridge: at the University Press.
- Wilkins, A.S., tr. and ed. (1868). *M. Tullii Ciceronis de oratore liber primus, with notes of K.W. Piderit*. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.
- Zhurakovskij, G.E. (1940) *Očerki po istorii antichnoj pedagogiki*. Moskva: UchPedGiz.