

## THE SCHOOLING OF SLAVES IN FIRST-CENTURY ROME

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The training of slaves in clerical skills to increase their value was common, but, as C. A. Forbes remarks, “it is easier to discern the results than the processes of servile education in antiquity.”<sup>1</sup> No doubt teachers in the tradition of Cato’s Chilon (Plut. *Cato Maior* 20.3) served in the *paedagôgia* of the massive households.<sup>2</sup> In the majority of homes, however, not only might time and expertise for such instruction be lacking, but the numbers simply would not warrant the formation of a class. In these circumstances young slaves might be apprenticed to a scribe or accountant.<sup>3</sup> A common course, however, was to enroll slaves at school;<sup>4</sup> scholars have overlooked important evidence to this effect.

The opening lines of Martial’s well-known address to the schoolteacher repay fresh scrutiny (*Epig.* 10.62.1–5):

Ludi magister, parce simplici turbae:  
sic te frequentes audiant capillati  
et delicatae diligat chorus mensae,  
nec calculator nec notarius velox  
maiore quisquam circulo coronetur.

<sup>1</sup>“The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity,” *TAPA* 86 (1955) 359. For the level of attainment deemed proper for a slave see below, pages 14–15.

<sup>2</sup>On *paedagôgia* see S. L. Mohler, “Slave Education in the Roman Empire,” *TAPA* 71 (1940) 266–79.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Forbes (above, note 1) 333 f.; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London 1969) 113.

<sup>4</sup>It has been surmised that slaves might attend *grammatodidaskaleia* in the Hellenistic world, but no conclusive evidence has been adduced; cf. Forbes (above, note 1) 326 f. Mohler (above, note 2, 266) and Forbes (342) infer that slaves attended the *notarius* and *calculator*, but miss the decisive quality of Martial’s evidence; neither mentions the clientele of the *ludi magister*. Nevertheless, their deductions have attracted little attention in subsequent works on ancient education, which leave the impression that these teachers were only for the freeborn; cf., e.g., H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l’éducation dans l’antiquité* (Paris 1977) 397; S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1977) 78, 184. M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971) 46, independently infers: “It would be from

The severity of teachers is proverbial;<sup>5</sup> hence the appeal for humanity at the outset—as likely to succeed as the search for a knot in a bullrush—solicits a smile. The next two verses evoke a grin, for the prospect of a large and loving enrollment renders topsy-turvy the real world situation where teachers hunger for and are hated by pupils.<sup>6</sup> But who constitute this prize catch? Scholars identify the *capillati* as freeborn boys of good family;<sup>7</sup> and the appeal of droves of pupils who promise lucrative fees is readily comprehensible. But difficulties then arise with the interpretation of *delicatae* . . . *chorus mensae*.

Friedlaender, Bridge and Lake, and Liebenwein take *mensa* as a schoolroom table and *delicatae* as an epithet transferred from *chorus*. But a table was not normal schoolroom furnishing, and, since numerous pupils could be accommodated better on the regular benches, the point of its deliberate introduction is difficult to grasp.<sup>8</sup> Again, it is possible that Martial has in mind a street-school, a common feature of the ancient city; for *circulo coronetur* suggests equation of the teacher with a *circulator*, a raucous street-performer.<sup>9</sup> The noise from such a school would certainly annoy, and, if such an institution is meant, furniture fades from the picture completely.

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the *calculator* too that the freedman Hermeros in Petronius learned to do his percentages.” (See below, page 16.) Presumably Clarke realizes that he was educated as a slave boy, but he does not explore further the schooling of slaves, which lies outside the scope of his work.

<sup>5</sup>Note lines 8–11 of the epigram under study; see further Bonner (above, note 4) 143–45.

<sup>6</sup>For the teacher-pupil relationship see note 5. For enrollment, *Epig.* 10.60; Bonner (above, note 4) 131 f. For the poverty of *ludi magister*, *ibid.* 149 f., and note Plut. *De vit. aere al.* 6 *ad fin.*, where employ as a doorkeeper or *grammatistês* is countenanced only in the direst of financial straits.

<sup>7</sup>The Delphin edition (London 1822) explains: “Sic multos habebas discipulos ingenuos, nobiles, cirratos”; F. A. Payley and W. H. Stone, *Select Epigrams from Martial with English Notes* (London 1868): “so may your school be attended by crowds of gentlemen’s sons”; cf. L. Friedlaender, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Libri mit erklärenden Anmerkungen* (Leipzig 1886); E. Post, *Selected Epigrams of Martial* (Boston 1908); R. T. Bridge and E. D. C. Lake, *Select Epigrams of Martial* (Oxford 1908); B. Romano, *Marziale: Epigramme* (Milan 1927) no. 112; K. Liebenwein, *Martial Epigramme* (Graz 1967<sup>3</sup>). All other editions and translations which I have been able to consult seem likewise to assume that the *capillati* are freeborn; cf. too Sister Florence Marie, “*Frequentes Capillati* (Martial 10.62),” *CJ* 61 (1966) 153–56.

<sup>8</sup>On school accommodation and equipment see Bonner (above, note 4) 115–31.

<sup>9</sup>For street-schools see *ibid.* 116 f. For the *circulator* as street-rhymester cf. Jerome *Epist.* 53.7; Augustine *contra Iul. op. imp.* 5.15; Schol. on Persius 1.134; Martial *Epig.* 2.86.11 f.; 10.3.2; and probably 1.41.11: *non optimus urbicus poeta*. At *Satyricon* 68.6 f., where *circulator* seems to be used in this sense, he is equated with the clamorous *mulio* (cf. Juvenal 3.235 ff.; Martial *Epig.* 5.22.7 f.). Dio Chrysostom (*Oratio* 20.9 f.) shows that open-air schools and street-recitals might be held side by side.

In any case, it seems more natural to refer the words in question to dining. Thus Payley and Stone explain: “*chorus mensae*, the little company that stands round your well-supplied table. — *delicatae* refers to the superior viands given to youths of good family: ‘parlour-boarders’, as we call them.” But any such interpretation must suppose conjoint dining on a *regular* basis. This arrangement, which is nowhere else attested, would normally be rendered undesirable by the teacher-pupil relationship and impossible by the teacher’s poverty. And even in a dream-world situation it is difficult to envisage. The schoolroom, if indeed Martial has one in mind, would need incredible organization, were facilities for a banquet breakfast or lunch to be provided; and it is not easy to picture the *ludi magister* hosting regular evening symposia for his young pupils. It is perhaps pedantic to object to the potential drain on the teacher’s newly found wealth, but it is certainly reasonable to expect a more comprehensible mark of prosperity and affability.

So long as the *capillati* are accepted as freeborn, an alternative explanation of *delicatae* . . . *chorus mensae* is hard to find. But slave pages were called *capillati*, and Martial elsewhere uses the word in this sense.<sup>10</sup> *Delicatae* . . . *chorus mensae* aptly recalls a principal function of these pages—waiting table.<sup>11</sup> *Delicatae* well describes a table attended by page waiters, but is readily transferred (or returned) to a servile chorus, for *delicatus* is a regular designation for a pet slave; so here Martial’s use recalls the affection of masters towards *capillati*, an affection which encompasses care for education.<sup>12</sup> Martial conjures, then, a bumper crop of slave boys for the *ludi magister*.<sup>13</sup> He clearly accepts as normal that *servuli* should be sent to the *ludus litterarius* and the schools of the *calculator* and *notarius*.

<sup>10</sup>*Epig.* 3.58.31 (where the *capillati* are pages from a *paedagogium*, not “young aristocrats” as Lewis and Short think); cf. 12.70.9; 12.97.4; see too Friedlaender (above, note 7) on *grex capillatus* at *Epig.* 2.57.5. Such *capillati* are mentioned frequently in the *Satyricon*: 27.1; 29.3; 57.9; 63.3; 70.8. For their being a mark of prosperity see note 11 and cf. Juvenal 11.145–50; Horace *Sermo* 2.8.70.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Mohler (above, note 2) 269, 275 f., 277; Mau, “*Deliciae*,” *RE* 4, 2 (1901) 2438. Martial’s use of *chorus* calls to mind Trimalchio’s singing pages (*Satyricon* 31.4–7). Presumably *capillati* were noted for shrill voices.

<sup>12</sup>A *delicatus* could be a *capillatus* chosen for singular affection (cf. *Satyricon* 63.3), but the implied *delicatus chorus* here refers to *capillati* as a group; cf. Cicero *Pro Milone* 28: *muliebri ac delicato ancillarum puerorumque comitatu*. For *delicati* cf. Mau (above, note 11) 2437 f. W. J. Slater, “*Pueri, turba minuta*,” *BICS* 21 (1974) 133, notes that pets were usually, but not necessarily, slave children. T. P. Wiseman, *BICS* 23 (1976) 15–17, and E. Rawson, *CQ* 28 (1978) 190, note 16, in their attempts to disprove that Camerius (Catullus 55, 58b) was Lesbia’s *delicium*, overlook this statement. The status of Martial’s *capillati* is, however, clearly servile. For the education of such slaves cf. Plut. *Crassus* 2.6; *Satyricon* 75.4; Statius *Silvae* 2.1.113–19; note too P. Veyne, “Vie de Trimalcion,” *Annales (ESC)* 16 (1961) 218–21.

Petronius provides further proof that this practice was common.

At *Satyricon* 58.1 Giton bursts into derisive laughter at Hermeros who has just tongue-lashed Ascyrtos for similar effrontery. Giton's appearance and stance (*qui ad pedes stabat*) allow the freedman to malign him as a slave pet and to continue abusing Ascyrtos, cast now as an indulgent *dominus*. He calls down upon the pair the wrath of Athena for their unworthy intrusion into the field of liberal study (7). As human teachers were notoriously severe with tardy pupils (see note 5), so punishment of unsatisfactory progress by the goddess of learning would be hellish. To prove this charge, Hermeros poses a riddle, confidently prefacing it with a wager (8): *ad summam, si quid vis, ego et tu sponsiunculam: exi, deferō lamnam. iam scies patrem tuum mercedes perdidisse*. It has been thought that these words commence an address to Ascyrtos, the reference to a *pater* seeming inapplicable to a supposed *servulus*.<sup>14</sup> But owners would treat pets as natural children and indulge them with a liberal education.<sup>15</sup> So Hermeros addresses Giton, and continues to vilify "master" and "slave" now as fond "father," who has spoiled his pet with a liberal education, and wastrel "son," who has gained nothing but superciliousness from the experience. When he proffers his own training in basic arithmetic and letters as more suited to a *servulus*, the clear sense is that he received it as such.

The training of slaves in clerical skills, termed *litterae communes* in later antiquity (Lactantius *Inst. Div.* 3.25.9 f.; Isidore *Orig.* 1.3.1; 1.4.2), was uncontroversial. But liberal study was properly the preserve of the freeborn

<sup>13</sup>It can no longer be taken for granted that the *cirratī* of *Epig.* 9.29.7 and Persius 1.29 are freeborn. The deductions of Mohler and Forbes about the clientele of the *notarius* and *calculator* are now confirmed (above, note 4).

<sup>14</sup>Cf., e.g., E. T. Sage, *Petronius: The Satyricon*, rev. B. G. Gilleland (New York 1969); M. Heseltine, *Petronius*, rev. E. H. Warmington (London 1969) 125, note 3; K. Müller and W. Ehlers, *Petronius Satyricon* (Munich 1965); E. V. Marmorale, *Cena Trimalchionis* (Florence 1961<sup>2</sup>); A. Maiuri, *La cena di Trimalchione di Petronio Arbitro* (Naples 1945); L. Friedlaender, *Cena Trimalchionis* (Leipzig 1906<sup>2</sup>) on *non didici geometrias*. Friedlaender has made the most elaborate case which even posits a lacuna before these words. His arguments may be countered briefly. (i) That Ascyrtos attempts to reply at 59.1 does not prove that the foregoing abuse is directed solely at him. He is maligned throughout 58 as Giton's *dominus*; so it is quite natural that he should try to answer. (ii) The reference to the *anulos buxeos* stolen from an *amicae* (10) does not prove that Ascyrtos is here the addressee. Ascyrtos is the *amica*—a jibe against his sexual orientation—and Giton is the thief—a jibe against his fidelity and false assumption of airs and rank. (iii) That Hermeros challenges the addressee to a contest of credit does not rule out Giton "da ein Sklave ueberhaupt keinen hatte." A pampered favourite from a solid household could well command credit. Hermeros' point is that Giton and Ascyrtos are transparent phonies. (iv) The force of *pater* is explained above.

<sup>15</sup>Statius *Silvae* 2.1.76–119; 5.5.66 ff.; cf. Seneca *Ben.* 3.21.2 and see too Veyne (above, note 12).

upper class (at Rome of knights and senators; cf. Horace *Sermo* 1.6.72–78; Cassius Dio 52.26.1). The intrusion of freedmen could be regarded as improper: thus Horace (*ibid.*) recalls his father's *daring* in bringing him to Rome for an education befitting the son of any knight or senator, and Petronius pillories, albeit with a smile, the academic and bibliophile pretensions of Trimalchio (*Satyricon* 48.4; 55–57; 59.4 f.). It is understandable, therefore, that a slave with a liberal education might provoke hostility (Philo *Legatio* 166; cf. Horace *Sermo* 2.7). Domitian even outlawed, in certain circumstances, the education of slaves in liberal studies.<sup>16</sup> Hermeros, then, shows similar indignation from an opposite perspective and, at the same time, reveals the concept of a servile education. Seneca attests that this concept was current.

At *Tranq.* 9.5, where a warning is issued against enslavement to the collection rather than the study of books, the MS reads: *sicut plerisque ignaris etiam servilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt*. Madvig emended *servilium* to *puerilium*, reasoning “nullae erant serviles litterae, nedum dominis addiscendae.”<sup>17</sup> But since Seneca has just played on the concept of liberal study (*studiorum quoque quae liberalissima impensa est tam diu rationem habet, quam diu modum* [4]), the servile/liberal antithesis is attractive; thus Koch and Vahlen would retain *servilium*.<sup>18</sup> This argument has evidently failed to persuade subsequent editors who print Madvig's *puerilium*.<sup>19</sup> But it is clear from our knowledge about the training of slaves in letters, and now from Hermeros' remarks, that *serviles litterae* conveys a recognized sense. So the reading *servilium* should be retained. Seneca's expression not only emphasizes the dichotomy between craft literacy and liberal culture, but assures that a servile education was a recognized concept.

There can be no suspicion, therefore, that Petronius has tailored Hermeros' case and cause uniquely for the context; rather he has him

<sup>16</sup>See the edict published with commentary by R. Herzog, “Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der roemischen Kaiser,” *SB preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 32 (1935) 976–1019; Forbes (above, note 1) 348–53.

<sup>17</sup>*Adversaria critica ad scriptores Graecos et Latinos* (Copenhagen 1871–1874) 2.379.

<sup>18</sup>H. A. Koch, *L. Annaei Senecae dialogorum libri duodecim*, completed by I. Vahlen (Leipzig 1879). Friedlaender and Marmorale (above, note 14) cite the Senecan passage, reading without comment *servilium*.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. L. D. Reynolds, *L. Annaei Senecae dialogorum libri duodecim* (Oxford 1977); R. del Re, *Seneca Operette morali* (Bologna 1971); N. Sacerdoti, *Seneca Dialoghi* (Florence 1971); G. Barbero, *De tranquillitate animi* (Turin 1960); C. Barini, *De tranquillitate animi* (Milan 1953); M. I. Castiglioni, *Della tranquillità dell'anima, Della brevità della vita* (Turin 1946<sup>2</sup>); F. and P. Richard, *Seneca Traités philosophiques* (Paris 1935–36); J. W. Basore, *Seneca Moral Essays* (vol. 2; rev. ed. London 1935); R. Waltz, *Sénèque Dialogues* (vol. 4; Paris 1927); E. Hermes, *L. Annaei Senecae dialogorum libri XII* (Leipzig 1905).

describe his training against a background of practices and prejudices familiar to the Roman audience. In turn, the arrangements for his education will represent a common pattern for the training of slaves.

Whatever the truth of Hermeros' claim to have been a king's son who voluntarily entered slavery (*Satyricon* 57.4), it is clear that he was brought to Italy as a child and there sold into forty years of servitude. It was possible to buy *servuli* already trained in clerical skills (Plut. *Cato Maior* 21.7; cf. Suet. *Gram.* 4.5), but the contrast Hermeros draws between his treatment as a slave boy and Giton's assures that he was educated after purchase by his Italian owner (cf. 29.3 f.; Juvenal 11.146–50 with Mayor's notes). He recalls the advice of his teacher (58.13): "*sunt vestra salva? recta domum; cave, circumspicias; cave, maiorem maledicas.*" *Recta domum* shows that he was educated outside his household, and the fluctuation between singular and plural points to class-instruction. The subject matter identifies the institution as the school of a *calculator* or a *ludus litterarius*.<sup>20</sup> The circumstances of Hermeros' training, revealed incidentally, contain no hint of abnormality. Hence confirmation of the above deduction from Martial: slave boys commonly attended certain schools. This knowledge now serves to elucidate the vexed statements of Echion about the education of his *cicaro* at *Satyricon* 46.

Echion suspects that Agamemnon has been listening to his prattle with disdain and springs to the offensive: he maintains the worth of his mundane but material assets against the more polished but impoverished culture of the rhetor. Yet the freedman will not yield totally the field of higher learning, for he claims reflected prowess in the promise of a child whom he introduces thus (46.3): *et iam tibi discipulus crescit cicaro meus. iam quattuor partes dicit; si vixerit, habebis ad latus servulum*. Because of Echion's solicitude, the boy is usually taken to be his son; *habebis ad latus servulum* is then explained as proverbial or attributed to the speaker's inability to forget his servile past.<sup>21</sup> But at its other occurrence (71.11) *cicaro* denotes a pet slave. It has been noted that such pets were treated as natural sons; indeed Statius (*Silvae* 5.5.80) refers to his adoptive pet as *primo genitum*, which recalls the name of Echion's *cicaro*, Primigenius, and gives cause to wonder whether it was a recognized affectation to dub

<sup>20</sup>Clarke (above, note 4) thinks that Hermeros attended a *calculator*. But the *ludi magister* taught arithmetic as well as letters.

<sup>21</sup>Note, however, the comment of M. S. Smith, *Cena Trimalchionis* (Oxford 1975): "On the other hand, Echion's concern for the boy's education does not prove that a boy of free birth is meant." Smith remarks too that Primigenius is a common servile name; cf. note 22.

such *servuli* thus.<sup>22</sup> Echion's introductory description should, then, be taken literally: the *cicaro* is a *servulus* and a *discipulus*.<sup>23</sup>

A freedman was well aware how training as a slave could benefit after receipt of freedom (cf. 29.4); he could be expected, therefore, to take special pains over the formation of his pet. But the lowly Echion, who may not even have acquired servile letters himself, would ambitiously project his pet into studies beyond his own comprehension and standing. The scene is thus set for a spoof on the fond indulgence of pets, social advancement through education and servile intrusion into liberal learning.

Echion voices pride over his pet's progress but dissatisfaction with his teacher (46.5): *ceterum iam Graeculis calcem impingit et Latinas coepit non male appetere, etiam si magister eius sibi placens sit. nec uno loco consistit, sed venit, dem litteras, sed non vult laborare*.<sup>24</sup> It is commonly assumed that the teacher is a home tutor, and a supposed lacuna after *venit* has provided opportunity to gloss the words towards this sense.<sup>25</sup> *Nec uno loco consistit* has then been referred to the master's inability to settle either himself<sup>26</sup> or his pupil<sup>27</sup> to the matter at hand. *Dem litteras*, if allowed to stand,<sup>28</sup> has been referred *inter alia* to a request from the teacher for clerical work, for reading material, for payment by cheque, or even to a request from the pupil for work.<sup>29</sup> A more straightforward interpretation of the passage is now at hand.

Echion is a poor man (cf. *pauperorum verba*, 46.1) and it is to be expected that he will send his *cicaro* to a school which will not be above the level of a *ludus litterarius*. A cheap *ludus* was the street-school (see above, page 12), but the street-teacher was always liable to move in search of a richer supply of pupils. Now the obvious sense of *nec uno loco consistit* is that the teacher does not stay for long in one location; hence cause to

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Dessau, *ILS* 1570, 2567, 8016 and perhaps 7794.

<sup>23</sup>Echion may not foresee the child attending the rhetor as a regular pupil, but rather suggest on the strength of the boy's promise that Agamemnon may some day wish to purchase him as a slave assistant; cf. Suet. *Gram.* 19.1: *Scribonius Aphrodisius Orbilius servus atque discipulus* . . . A truly servile path to liberal culture!

<sup>24</sup>For this punctuation cf. H. Schmeck, *Cena Trimalchionis* (Heidelberg 1964<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Smith (above, note 20) *apparatus* and commentary; P. Perrochat, *Le festin de Trimalcion* (Paris 1962<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>26</sup>Cf., e.g., Friedlaender's translation, Marmorale and Müller and Ehlers (above, note 14).

<sup>27</sup>Cf. W. B. Sedgwick, *The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius* (Oxford 1950<sup>2</sup>); W. Arrowsmith's translation (Ann Arbor 1959).

<sup>28</sup>The supposed lacuna (above, note 25) has been thought to end *(qui)dem*.

<sup>29</sup>Clerical work, F. Buecheler, *Petronii satirarum reliquiae* (Berlin 1862); reading material, Marmorale, Sage and Gilleland (above, note 14); cheques, F. Lamer, *PhW* 47 (1927) 831; pupil's request, G. C. Whittick, *RhM* 100 (1957) 392 f.

identify him as a street-teacher. A reluctance to pay such a teacher in advance is understandable, but he would need some commitment. There is extant from Egypt a letter of appointment which stipulates the duties and future payments of a *notarius*, to whose training a slave has been committed.<sup>30</sup> The problematic *dem litteras* fits well a request for a letter similar to this contract.<sup>31</sup> So the overall sense of Echion's words runs: "The lad is doing well at school, even though his teacher suits himself. He doesn't stay in one place either, but he has come all the same to get a contract, although he won't fulfil its terms."

That Echion's solicitude for the boy's formation should have led him to a truant teacher is a touch worthy of Petronius. And a glimpse at his subsequent antics will confirm the present interpretation. Disillusioned with public schooling, Echion has turned to private tuition (46.6): *est et alter non quidem doctus, sed curiosus, qui plus docet quam scit. itaque feriatis diebus solet domum venire, et quidquid dederis, contentus est*. Echion does not speak condescendingly, as is often thought, but in his pathetic way admires the type of teacher Quintilian warns against (*Inst. Orat.* 1.2.9 f.). He cannot, of course, afford a full-time tutor; so this micromath comes to the house on his days off teaching school (*feriatis diebus*) and tutors at a price that meets his competence and Echion's means.<sup>32</sup> Nor does this pedagogue *sans pareil* teach the mere rudiments to the boy, *nam litteris satis inquinatus est* (46.7), but law from *aliquot libra rubricata* which the fond Echion has supplied.<sup>33</sup> In a liberal education a normal progression was from home tuition to public schooling. Echion inverts—or perverts—this sequence; for his *cicaro* has regressed from unsatisfactory public schooling to more pretentious and less satisfactory private tuition. The proud owner meanwhile continues to cherish, somewhat pathetically, his high hopes for the boy's future. The parody is

<sup>30</sup>A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* I (London 1932) no. 15.

<sup>31</sup>The right direction was taken by Lamer (above, note 29) who suggests: "der Lehrer kommt immer nur und fordert Gehalt, scil. mit Schecks; s. Ovid. ars am. 1 428 *littera poscetur*." But note that Ovid applies *littera* to written promise of future payment.

<sup>32</sup>On school-holidays see Bonner (above, note 4) 139 f. On certain festivals pupils might bring gifts to their teacher (*ibid.* 148 f.), but it should not be thought that the *cicaro* attends the school of the *alter magister* who comes looking for handouts. Such an interpretation would render *itaque* senseless, and misses the transition from the *ludi magister* to the *praeceptor domi*.

<sup>33</sup>*Emi ergo nunc puero aliquot libra rubricata* (7). The force of *ergo*, generally overlooked, guarantees this interpretation. At 48.4 Trimalchio reflects: *ego etiam si causas non ago, in domusionem tamen litteras didici*. The acquisition of clerical skills would surely have equipped the *cicaro* sufficiently for Echion's household. But he has progressed to law, explains Echion, *quia volo illum ad domusionem aliquid de iure gustare*. Comic pretentiousness!

typically Petronian,<sup>34</sup> and its point of departure the schooling of slaves, which is again assumed to be a subject of common knowledge.

Martial and Petronius show that slave boys commonly attended certain schools. Since the *ludi magister*, *calculator* and *notarius* were lowly figures, excluded from the sphere of liberal learning,<sup>35</sup> the presence of slave boys in their schools need not surprise unduly; in turn this clientele goes to account for their disesteem. But a view common among modern scholars is that *ludus litterarius*, *schola grammatici*, *rhitoris schola* constituted one normal sequence of liberal study.<sup>36</sup> That freeborn children attended the *ludus litterarius* is clear, but it is noteworthy that Martial makes his prize pupils the pages, not the children of the affluent.<sup>37</sup> An inescapable suspicion is that the presence in a *ludus litterarius* of children destined for a liberal education was not readily imaginable.<sup>38</sup> In sum, there is cause to believe that in first-century Rome the *ludi magister* (the *calculator* and *notarius* too) ran a lowly type of technical school which peddled craft literacy to children, slave and free, to enhance their employability, but that the elements were usually acquired elsewhere by children embarking upon a liberal education.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup>Cf. the education of Habinnas' pet (68.6 f.). In this case the master was surely wealthy enough to have the boy educated at home, but he boasts of his savings and sagacity in sending him *ad circulares* (contrast *circum doctores*, Horace *Sermo* 1.6.82).

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Bonner (above, note 4) 160. The prestige of the teaching *notarius* may have risen in the later Empire; cf. Marrou (above, note 4) 449 f.

<sup>36</sup>Cf., e.g., F. A. G. Beck, "Education V.3," *OCD*<sup>2</sup>; Clarke (above, note 4) 11; Marrou (above, note 4) 389–91.

<sup>37</sup>Note that Horace's father had him avoid a cheap *ludus* in Venusia (*Sermo* 1.6.72 f.) and Pliny describes a boy attending such an institution as *pauper* (*HN* 9.8.25).

<sup>38</sup>It follows that such children would not normally attend a *calculator* either—a step sometimes supposed before *grammaticae*; cf., e.g., Bonner (above, note 4) 184–88.

<sup>39</sup>See Booth, "Elementary and Secondary Education in the Roman Empire," *Florilegium* 1 (1978) 1–14.