

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Papers from the University Studies series (The University of Nebraska)

University Studies of the University of Nebraska

5-1942

Teachers' Pay In Ancient Greece

Clarence A. Forbes

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/univstudiespapers>



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the University Studies of the University of Nebraska at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Papers from the University Studies series (The University of Nebraska) by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

Teachers' Pay In Ancient Greece

★ ★ ★ ★ ★
CLARENCE A. FORBES



UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA STUDIES

May 1942

STUDIES IN THE HUMANITIES NO. 2

Note to Cataloger

UNDER a new plan the volume number as well as the copy number of the University of Nebraska Studies was discontinued and only the numbering of the subseries carried on, distinguished by the month and the year of publication.

Thus the present paper continues the subseries "Studies in the Humanities" begun with "University of Nebraska Studies, Volume 41, Number 2, August 1941." The other subseries of the University of Nebraska Studies, "Studies in Science and Technology," and "Studies in Social Science," are continued according to the above plan.

Publications in all three subseries will be supplied to recipients of the "University Studies" series. Correspondence and orders should be addressed to the University Editor, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

University of Nebraska Studies

M a y 1 9 4 2

**TEACHERS' PAY
IN ANCIENT GREECE**

★ ★ ★
C L A R E N C E A . F O R B E S

STUDIES IN THE HUMANITIES NO. 2

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY AT LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA



SENATE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES

R. W. Goss, Chairman

M. A. BASOCO

C. A. FORBES

C. E. McNEILL WALTER MILITZER S. A. MCCARTHY

W. K. PFEILER

D. D. WHITNEY

BOARD OF UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

K. O. BROADY, Chairman

F. C. BLOOD H. P. DAVIS S. A. MCCARTHY

G. W. ROSENLOF

R. V. SHUMATE

EMILY SCHOSSBERGER, Secretary
and University Editor

To My Father

Teachers' Pay In Ancient Greece

Preface¹

ONE who ventures upon an account of how the teachers of Greek antiquity fared in the matter of remuneration might do well to begin by entreating exemption from such a penalty as the luckless Phrynichus brought down upon himself for his tear-provoking tragedy of the Μιλήτου ἄλωσις. The Athenians fined Phrynichus a thousand drachmas, we are told, "because he had reminded them of their own troubles."

Generally speaking, intellectual labors in ancient Greece prior to the Hellenistic Age were undertaken for their own sake, with no thought of securing material rewards.² The dramatists were spurred by competition, but not by visions of royalties. The poets, except for occasional ones like Pindar and Simonides, who would write poems to order for a consideration, were true devotees of art for art's sake. Herodotus labelled his work an "inquiry," and it was an inquiry carried out at his own expense "that the deeds of men might not be obliterated by time." This high-minded attitude became a tradition, and when the tradition was first violated by an entire group of learned men, the sophists, a cry of startled protest mounted to high heaven, and a dispute was inaugurated which did not subside for centuries to come. Should teachers be paid? and why? and how much?

¹ The following works will be cited in the notes only by author's name and page: J. W. H. Walden, *The universities of ancient Greece* (New York, 1909), E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen*² (Leipzig, 1914). *RE* refers to the *Realencyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll. All references to Libanius are based on Förster's edition.

² This point has been briefly developed by R. W. Livingstone in his eloquent book, *Greek ideals and modern life* (Oxford, 1935), 80f.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	5
Select Bibliography	9
Terminology	10
I Earliest Examples	11
II The First Sophistic	12
III The Schools of Oratory.....	20
IV The Philosophers	23
V Elementary Teachers	29
VI The Grammatici	33
VII Teachers of Technical and Special Subjects.....	35
VIII The Training of Slaves and Apprentices.....	39
IX The Philosophers under the Empire.....	41
X The Second Sophistic.....	43
XI Imperial Patronage and Public Salaries.....	46
XII The University of Athens.....	50
XIII The Minor Universities.....	52
XIV Reluctance in Payment.....	58

Select Bibliography

- ARNIM, HANS VON: *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa, mit einer Einleitung: Sophistik, Rhetorik, Philosophie in ihrem Kampf um die Jugendbildung.* Berlin, 1898.
- BARBAGALLO, C.: *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' Impero Romano.* Catania, 1911.
- BERNARD, ANTOINE: *La rémunération des professions liberales en droit romain classique.* (Bibliothèque de la Salle de Travail de Droit Romain de la Faculté de Droit de Paris, III.) Paris, 1936.
- BOECKH, AUGUST: *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener.* Dritte Auflage herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Max Fränkel. Berlin, 1886. 3 vols.
- CAPIES, W. W.: *University life in ancient Athens.* London, 1877.
- DILL, SAMUEL: *Roman society in the last century of the Western Empire.*² London, 1899.
- FREEMAN, KENNETH J.: *Schools of Hellas.* London, 1907.
- FRIEDLÄNDER, L.: *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine.*⁹ Leipzig, 1919-1923. 4 vols.
- GRASBERGER, L.: *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Altertum.* Würzburg, 1864-1881. 3 vols.
- GUINAGH, KEVIN: "The unpaid teacher of antiquity." *Classical Journal* XXVIII (1932-33), 366.
- HAHN, L.: "Über das Verhältnis von Staat und Schule in der römischen Kaiserzeit." *Philologus* LXXVI (1920), 176-191.
- HERZOG, RUDOLF: "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser." *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1935, 967-1019.
- LEUKFELD, J. C.: *Diatrise de praemiis veterum sophistarum, rhetorum atque oratorum.* Jena, 1719.
- LIEBENAM, W.: *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche.* Leipzig, 1900.
- PACK, ROGER: *Studies in Libanius and Antiochene society under Theodosius.* Univ. of Michigan Diss. 1935.
- SCHEMMEL, F.: "Der Sophist Libanios als Schüler und Lehrer." *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum und für Pädagogik* XX (1907), 52-69.
- . "Das Athenaeum in Rom." I. *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* XXXVI (1919), 91-95. II. *Philologische Wochenschrift* XLI (1921), 982-984.
- . "Die Schule von Berytus." *Philologische Wochenschrift* XLIII (1923), 236-240.
- SCHULTHESS, O.: Μισθός. *RE* XV, 2078-2095.
- SICKLE, C. E. VAN: "Eumenius and the schools of Autun." *American Journal of Philology* LV (1934), 236-243.
- SIEVERS, G. R.: *Das Leben des Libanius.* Berlin, 1868.

- WALDEN, J. W. H.: *The universities of ancient Greece*. New York, 1910.
- WELCKER, F. G.: "Bezahlung für Lehre und Vorträge." *Rheinisches Museum* I (1833), 22-39.
- WESTERMANN, W. L.: "Apprentice contracts and the apprentice system in Roman Egypt." *Classical Philology* IX (1914), 295-315.
- ZAMBON, ANGELA: Διδασκαλικά. *Aegyptus* XV (1935), 1-66.
- ZIEBARTH, E.: *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes*.² Leipzig, 1914.

Terminology

THE monetary reward of the teacher was designated among the Greeks by several different words. The regular word, which was commonly employed for the stipend of any one in the higher professions, was μισθός.¹ Limited to the pay of teachers were the three cognate words δίδακτρα, διδασκαλεία, and διδασκάλια.² A euphemistic term, apparently first hit upon by Epicurus but seldom used thereafter, was σύνταξις, "contribution."³ Plato once used τιμή,⁴ which is reminiscent of our word "honorarium." In the copious writings of Libanius we find not only some of the usual designations, but also a pair of new ones: ἀμοιβαί and τροφή.⁵ The word συστατικόν does not occur in the authors, but is given as a gloss on the Latin *minervalicium*.⁶

¹ Cf., e.g., Ar. *Nub.* 245, Herondas iii.10, Ath. x.437D, Themist. *Or.* xxiii. 289D. See Otto Schulthess, s.v. Μισθός, *RE* XV.2083f. Also used in this sense was the diminutive μισθάριον (Diog. Laert. x.4) and the compound μισθοφορά (Lucian *Eun.* 3).

² δίδακτρα: Theoc. viii.86; διδασκαλεία: Ps.-Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 26, Pollux vi.186; διδασκάλια: Plut. *Alex.* 7, *Lyc.* 13.10.

³ Epicurus *Fr.* 41 Bailey (184 Usener); Liban. *Or.* xxxi.19; Palladas *Anth. Pal.* ix.175.

⁴ Plat. *Protag.* 314B. Libanius also used this term (*Or.* liv.48).

⁵ ἀμοιβαί: Liban. *Or.* xxxiv.3; τροφή: *id.* *Ep.* 740.

⁶ Gloss. Philox. s.v. Minervalicium (Lindsay, *Glossaria Latina* II [Paris, 1926] 231).

I Earliest Examples

THE oldest tradition of Greek education, with teachers receiving their μισθός from the city-state, dates from the eighth century. It is unfortunate that our sole source for this tradition is the late and not too reliable historian, Diodorus Siculus. Diodorus declares that the legislation of Charondas, the first Greek lawgiver, provided for the compulsory education of all the citizenry of Catana and for teachers salaried from the common chest. "He supposed that otherwise," says the historian, "those who were poor in substance and unable to pay teachers from their private means would be deprived of the best things in life."¹ This is precisely the argument for universal, tax-supported education in the American democracy. If such a law has only an apocryphal connection with Charondas, it does at any rate reflect the educational practices of a later time in Magna Graecia and particularly in Thurii.²

It is from Magna Graecia that we have the first historical case of an individual who exacted fees for his work of instruction. This innovator was the well-known philosopher, Zeno of Elea, whose *floruit* was about 460 B.C. According to the author of the Platonic *First Alcibiades* (119A), his fee was a hundred minas, and he gave instruction at Athens to such men as Pythodorus, general in Sicily in 427, and Callias, the son of Calliades. Olympiodorus, in his commentary on the passage, speculated with curiosity on Zeno's motives for his unprecedented action.³ "But why, if Zeno was a philosopher, did he exact pay? Was it that he might accustom his pupils to scorn money? Or that he might help out those in want by taking from the well-to-do? Or that he might make an even distribution of wealth and preserve an equality by giving to the have-nots? He pretended to take the pay when he really did not. That was ever Zeno's way—he was given to pretending." Not every one will be inclined to follow Olympiodorus in his ascription of such high-minded motives to Zeno. His motive may have been much more ordinary and human.

¹ Diod. xii.12.4. A. Boeckh, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*³ (Berlin, 1886), I.154, fully aware that publicly salaried teachers were practically unknown before the Hellenistic period, labelled this supposed law of Charondas as a Hellenistic forgery. The same view is held by E. Schwartz, *RE* V.685.

² Ziebarth 32.

³ Olympiod. in *Plat. I Alcib.* 119A (pp. 140f. Creuzer).

II The First Sophistic

AS FAR as we know, the case of Zeno accepting fees was isolated among the pre-Socratic philosophers. It was not the philosophers as a class, but the sophists who instituted the common practice of charging fees—and among the sophists Protagoras of Abdera.¹ The fifth century, therefore, in which the life span of Protagoras wholly falls, marked the beginning of the practice of charging fees for private instruction; and the initiators of this practice, if we may neglect the isolated case of Zeno, were the sophists. Plutarch puts it briefly: “And indeed it then befell, as it were by chance, that a large crop of sophists sprang up in Hellas; and the young men, paying them a great amount of money, were filled with a conceit and opinion of wisdom.”²

A study of the period shows that this selling of wisdom for a price was one of the chief reasons for the unpopularity of the sophists with Socrates, Plato, and some of their followers.³ In fact, their exaction of high or at any rate substantial fees drew down upon the sophists wrath from several quarters. Some men, like Socrates and Plato, objected sincerely on principle; others were jealous of the wealth they accumulated; still others felt spiteful because poverty prevented them from enjoying the benefits of a sophist's instruction. As we learn from Plato,⁴ the pupils of the sophists were the gilded youth; and the sophists haunted Athens more than any other city, because nowhere else did they find such intellectual curiosity and such ability to pay for its gratification. Aristotle's branding of those who worked for pay as βάνανσοι⁵ was typical of a large segment of Greek thought all through the classical period. Isocrates and Aristotle were equally sharp in condemning the sophists for capitalizing on their in-

¹ Plat. *Protag.* 349A; Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i.10; Diog. Laert. ix.52 (οὗτος πρῶτος μισθὸν εἰσεπράξατο μνᾶς ἑκατόν); Suid. s.v. Πρωταγόρας (ἐπεκλήθη Λόγος ἑμισθός).

² Plut. *Plat. Quaest.* 1.1, 999F.

³ As Shorey observes (*What Plato said*, Chicago, 1933, 473), J. S. Mill himself corrected his own exaggerated statement that Plato's one and only reason for disparagement of the sophists was their exaction of fees.

⁴ Plat. *Theag.* 128A.

⁵ Aristot. *Pol.* viii.2.1 (1337b 13–15): βαναύσους καλοῦμεν καὶ τὰς μισθαρινκάς ἐργασίας. ἄσχολον γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταπεινήν.

adequate and showy knowledge.⁶ When Anytus in the *Meno*⁷ somewhat vehemently declared that young men were crazy to pay over money to the sophists, or even to listen to them at all, he was simply voicing the sentiments of all the Tories in Athens. Pollux collected, in part from Plato, a special vocabulary of abusive adjectives and choice epithets applicable to a sophist.⁸ A sophist was mercenary, the accusations ran, and hunted for paying pupils as a hunter does for his prey. "Your sophist," declared the Eleatic stranger in Plato's *Sophist*, "is a νέων καὶ πλουσίων ἔμμισθος θηρευτής."⁹ "Yes, he is a κάπηλος," said Socrates, "and he demands tribute from his pupils as a monarch does from his subjects."¹⁰ Ληψιλογόμισθος τέχνη is the description of sophistry by a writer of Middle Comedy.¹¹ In one of the letters of Alciphron the courtesan Thais compares her profession with that of the sophists, remarking that both courtesans and sophists employ the arts of persuasion solely for the sake of getting money.¹² Even as late as the fourth century Themistius, as a true follower of Plato, mutters against Protagoras, Prodicus, and Gorgias, "who advertised their wisdom just like any other salable merchandise."¹³

The example and the precept of Socrates and Plato, fortified by national feeling against mercenary tendencies in the upper classes, were wholly unavailing against the sophists' practice of charging a fee for their course. The sophists frequently excused their conduct by saying that their wisdom was worth a goodly price,¹⁴ and anyway a man values only what costs him something.¹⁵ "Guard your precious knowledge carefully, then," said Socrates in irony

⁶ Isocr. *Soph.* 13; Aristot. *Soph. Elench.* 165a 22: ἔστι γὰρ ἡ σοφιστικὴ φαινομένη σοφία οὕσα δ' οὐ, καὶ ὁ σοφιστὴς χρηματιστὴς ἀπὸ φαινομένης σοφίας ἀλλ' οὐκ οὐσης.

⁷ Plat. *Meno* 92A. Cf. *Resp.* vi.493A: ἕκαστος τῶν μισθαρονούτων ιδιωτῶν, οὓς δὴ οὗτοι σοφιστὰς καλοῦσι καὶ ἀντιτέχνους ἡγοῦνται, μὴ ἄλλα παιδεύειν ἢ ταῦτα τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματα.

⁸ Poll. iv.48.

⁹ Plat. *Soph.* 231D. Cf. the further opinion of the Eleatic stranger in 233B.

¹⁰ Plat. *Phaedr.* 266C: Thrasy-machus and his ilk are willing to teach rhetoric to any pupils οἱ ἂν δωροφορεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς βασιλεῦσιν ἐθέλωσιν.

¹¹ Ephippus *Fr.* 14 (II.257 Kock), according to the emendation of Meineke.

¹² Alciphron iv.7.4.

¹³ Themist. *Or.* xxiii.286C.

¹⁴ Protagoras in his imaginary speech in Plat. *Theaet.* 167C-D: ὁ σοφιστής . . . σοφός τε καὶ ἄξιός πολλῶν χρημάτων.

¹⁵ Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i.10.

to the superlatively clever Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, "and impart it only to the man who'll pay down the cash. I tell you, Crito, you simply must become a pupil of those two fellows, for they vow that they're able to teach anybody, of whatever age or condition, as long as he's willing to pay the price."¹⁶ In the first book of the *Republic*, Thrasymachus somewhat jestingly demanded a fee of Socrates himself before telling him the true nature of justice.¹⁷ Socrates, both here and in the *Laches*,¹⁸ ironically professed regret that he was unable to pay the sophists and reap the fruits of their wisdom. Euripides, on the other hand, being at least a partial admirer of the sophists, seems in one passage to urge his contemporaries to learn the arts of oratorical persuasion μισθοῦς διδόντες.¹⁹ After all, why should not the sophists be paid as well as other professional men, the physicians, the artists, and even some poets?

The tuition of Protagoras cost each of his pupils one hundred minas, and Protagoras boldly asserted that it was worth even more.²⁰ Large numbers of young men were willing to become his pupils at such a price, because he convinced them that he was superior to any other mortal in the ability to teach the sort of arguments that would prove persuasive before a court of law.²¹ Gorgias was also able to command the same sum,²² so that he and Protagoras became the richest of the sophists and well-nigh passed into a proverb.²³ Several allusions in ancient comedy²⁴ suggest a talent, or sixty minas, as the amount required by

¹⁶ Plat. *Euthyd.* 304A-C.

¹⁷ Plat. *Resp.* i.337D.

¹⁸ Plat. *Laches* 186C.

¹⁹ Eur. *Hec.* 814-819. P. Decharme, *Euripides and the spirit of his dramas* (London-New York, 1906), 36, attaches little weight to the passage.

²⁰ Plat. *Protag.* 328B.

²¹ Socrates elicited this testimony from Theodorus, a professed adherent of Protagoras: Plat. *Theaet.* 178E-179A.

²² Diod. xii.53.2; Suid. s.v. Gorgias.

²³ Plat. *Meno* 91D; οἶδα γὰρ ἄνδρα ἓνα Πρωταγόραν πλείω χρήματα κτησάμενον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς σοφίας ἢ Φειδίαν τε . . . καὶ ἄλλους δέκα τῶν ἀνδριανοποιῶν. Gell. v.3.7: (Protagoras got) pecuniam ingentem a discipulis annuam. Plat. *Hipp. Maior* 282B-C: (Gorgias) χρήματα πολλὰ ἠργάσατο καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τήσδε τῆς πόλεως. Isocrates (*Antid.* 155) knew of no wealthier sophist than Gorgias. See Ath. iii.113D-E for an allusion to the wealth of Gorgias and Protagoras as proverbial. On Gorgias see also Xen. *Anab.* ii.6.16 and Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i.13; on Protagoras, Themist. *Or.* xxiii.289D.

²⁴ Ar. *Nub.* 876 and scholia; Alexis *Fr.* 36 (II.311 Kock); Plaut. *Capt.* 274.

sophists for their course; but this is a round sum, exaggerated for comic purposes, and the only individual specifically named as receiving this amount is Aristippus, a philosopher rather than a sophist. Aristophanes, who rated Socrates among the sophists, would fain have us believe the untruth that even Socrates exacted pay.²⁵

The common run of sophists were satisfied with, or had to put up with, a mere ten minas or one thousand drachmas as their fee.²⁶ Isocrates ironically styles as a good bargain the offer of some sophists for a mere three or four minas to impart to a youth the secrets of virtue and happiness.²⁷ Of course, Isocrates' attack was partly motivated by a spirit of rivalry, for he as a teacher was in competition with the sophists, and it provoked his wrath to see them taking very small pay and promising extravagantly large results—far beyond what any sober and honest educator could promise. Comparable in irony to Isocrates' attack is the passage in the *Apology* where Socrates marvels at Evenus of Paros who truly possessed a knowledge of virtue and was ready to impart it to others for five minas.²⁸ Bryson and Thrasymachus were two other sophists who reaped small rewards, to judge by the sarcastic way in which a comic poet alluded to a student of the Academy as Βρυσσωνοθρασυμαχειοκέρματος—"one of the small-coin-seizing-Bryson-Thrasymachus-gentry."²⁹

Despite the rather extravagant promises made by each sophist, a few well-to-do individuals preferred to shop around among them at whatever expense. An example of this sort was Callias, the third of that name in the wealthy Callias-Hipponicus family at Athens. Among the various means which he employed of completely dissipating the family fortune, not the least was his expenditure on the sophists. He paid a lot of money, Socrates

²⁵ Ar. *Nub.* 98f. and 245f. A Greek engineer, in a recently published book, argues from Aristophanes that Socrates did at one period in his life teach for pay; this indefensible theory obtains short shrift at the hands of the reviewer, *Class. Phil.* XXX(1935), 190.

²⁶ Ps.-Plut. *Vitt. Decem Orat.*, *Lycurg.* 842C-D.

²⁷ Isocr. *Soph.* 4.

²⁸ Plat. *Apol.* 20B.

²⁹ Ephippus *Fr.* 14 (II.257 Kock), translated by Gulick. Bergk's identification of this Thrasymachus with the obscure dialectician and teacher of Stilpo (see Natorp, *RE* III.928) is most improbable; the sesquipedalian word of Ephippus would surely refer only to well-known figures.

tells us, to Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, and many others; and he scorned Socrates as an unpaid amateur of wisdom.³⁰

Prodicus of Ceos had a special lecture on correct diction which he valued so highly that he charged each person desirous of hearing it fifty drachmas.³¹ Socrates sighed over his own inability to speak authoritatively about correct diction, since he had never heard this famous and expensive lecture; all he had been able to afford was to hear Prodicus deliver an ordinary lecture, costing one drachma, on the same subject.³² On another occasion Socrates commented on the astonishing amount of money that Prodicus had garnered from the young men of Athens through his lectures.³³ The several lectures of Prodicus commanded various prices, as Socrates remarks in the following passage:³⁴ "What I say consists of echoes of Prodicus the wise, some bought for half a drachma, some for two drachmas, some for four drachmas. This man, you see, teaches nobody for nothing, but it is always his wont to repeat the saying of Epicharmus: 'Hand washes hand.' Give something and get something for it." Philostratus relates³⁵ that the famous fable of Heracles at the parting of the ways was used by Prodicus as one of his paid lectures during his Chautauqua tours, if that term might be misappropriated; but he does not tell us at how many drachmas it was assessed. Philostratus also describes Prodicus as covetous and ever courting pupils from the rich and aristocratic classes.³⁶

Another noted sophist was Hippias of Elis, with whom is concerned the Platonic or pseudo-Platonic dialogue, the *Hippias Maior*. In that dialogue Hippias is represented as boasting thus to Socrates of his record in making money by his art: "If you knew how much money I have made, you would be surprised. To pass over other matters, once I went to Sicily, and although Protagoras was staying there and enjoyed a great reputation, and

³⁰ Xen. *Symp.* i.5. Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 20A, *Crat.* 391B-C.

³¹ Aristot. *Rhet.* iii.14.9 (1415b 15); Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 360; Suid. s.v. Πρόδικον. Cf. also Themist. *Or.* xxiii.289D.

³² Plat. *Crat.* 384B.

³³ Plat. *Hipp. Maior* 282C. By Themistius (*Or.* xxiii.286C) Prodicus is grouped with Protagoras and Gorgias as one of the leading sophists in respect to income.

³⁴ Ps.-Plat. *Axiach.* 366C.

³⁵ Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i. introd.

³⁶ *Ibid.* i.12.

was older than I, still I, who was much younger, in a short time made more than one hundred fifty minas. Why, from one very small place, Inycus, I made more than twenty minas. . . . And in general I believe that I have made more money than any other two sophists put together—name any that you please.”³⁷ Socrates presently discovers by inquiry that the Spartans were much less susceptible to Hippias’ art so that in Sparta he made no money at all.³⁸ Although Socrates tried to make Hippias uncomfortable over this failure, it is really not surprising or discreditable. As Hippias said, the Spartans would not surrender their old style of education and were equally impervious to the persuasions of the sophists and the learning of the philosophers.

The evidence here presented about the prosperity of half a dozen of the most famous sophists must not blind us to the fact that there were scores of lesser sophists who were scarcely able to eke out a living. Isocrates, when speaking of the sophists by and large, comments on their small fees,³⁹ and in the following passage he claims that even Gorgias was not extravagantly rich. “Now, generally speaking, you will find that no one of the so-called sophists has accumulated a great amount of money, but that some of them have lived in poor, others in moderate circumstances. The man who in our recollection laid up the most was Gorgias of Leontini. He spent his time in Thessaly when the Thessalians were the most prosperous people in Hellas; he lived a long life and devoted himself to the making of money; he had no fixed domicile in any city and therefore paid out nothing for public weal nor was he subject to any tax; moreover, he did not marry and beget children, but was free from this most unremitting and expensive of burdens; and yet, although he had so great an advantage toward laying up more wealth than any other man, he left at his death only a thousand staters.”⁴⁰

Part of the trouble, no doubt, was the difficulty of collecting the fees that were due.⁴¹ Protagoras, the first to exact fees, already experienced this difficulty. In the list of his writings there is a

³⁷ Plat. *Hipp. Maior* 282D-E. Cf. the briefer statement in Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i.11.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 283B-C.

³⁹ Isocr. *Soph.* 7.

⁴⁰ Isocr. *Antid.* 155f., trans. by Norlin (Loeb).

⁴¹ Plat. *Gorg.* 519C.

Δίκη ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ, that is, in all probability, a suit for unpaid tuition.⁴² His regular plan, as he explained it to Socrates, was to ask the full fee from the pupils who felt that the course was worth it, but to allow any dissatisfied pupil to take oath in the temple as to what value he set upon the course and then pay only that amount.⁴³ In the *Theaetetus* Socrates, with a glance at the famous dictum ἄνθρωπος μέτρον, politely queried whether one really ought to go to Protagoras and pay his large fee when each man is the measure of his own wisdom anyway.⁴⁴

With Euathlus, a rich Athenian youth, Protagoras made a special agreement that half of the fee should be paid in advance and the other half should be forthcoming only in case the skill in speaking, which he promised to impart, should enable Euathlus to win his first case in court. When considerable time had elapsed after the completion of the course and Euathlus gave no sign of entering the courts, Protagoras threatened to institute a law-suit against him. "If I win," said the wily sophist, "you must pay the fee; and if you win, the terms of our original compact still compel you to pay the fee." Hereupon Euathlus showed himself an apt if rather disconcerting pupil: "Nay," he said, "if I win, it means that the court absolves me from paying; while if you win, our private bargain absolves me." Thus neatly caught in his own trap, Protagoras was unable to collect.⁴⁵

Unpleasant experiences of this character even among the earliest sophists led to the custom of obliging the pupils to deposit their fees in advance with a third party who acted as banker and custodian. Isocrates waxed satirical over the men who professed to teach virtue but had so little real faith in their profession that

⁴² Diog. Laert. ix.55. Cf. Schulthess, *RE* XV.2083.

⁴³ Plat. *Protag.* 328C; Aristot. *Eth. N.* ix.1.5 (1164a 24ff.). A covert allusion is made to the same practice, unique with Protagoras, in Plat. *Theaet.* 165E.

⁴⁴ Plat. *Theaet.* 161D-E.

⁴⁵ The story is told most fully in late Roman sources: Gell. v.10 and Apul. *Flor.* 18 (p. 36 Helm). Quintilian (iii.1.10) speaks as if Protagoras collected his usual fee of one hundred minas from Euathlus. See also the briefer notices of Diog. Laert. ix.56 and *Rhet. Graeci* IV.180 Adnotatio (ed. Walz). The very similar story of the law-suit instituted by Corax against his pupil Tisias appears to be merely an unhistorical doublet of the Protagoras-Euathlus episode, and is found only in late sources: Sext. *Emp. adv. Math.* ii.96, *Rhet. Graeci* IV.13f. and VI.13 Walz, and Zenobius iv.82 (*Paroem. Gr.* I.107 Leutsch-Schneidewin).

they would not trust the very receptacles of their instruction.⁴⁶ Aristotle too spoke with a quite Platonic malice against the sophists in this matter. "Some people," he said, "get their money in advance and then fail to live up to their extravagant promises. Probably the sophists have to act this way, since otherwise nobody would pay such fellows for their knowledge."⁴⁷

If the fee was forthcoming, the customary pay-day was the Feast of the Pitchers in late February or early March. Athenaeus recorded that: "At Athens it is the custom on the Feast of the Pitchers for gifts and fees to be sent to the sophists, who also themselves invited in their disciples for entertainment."⁴⁸ Athenaeus learned of this custom from a passage in a comedy by the fourth-century philosopher Eubulides.⁴⁹

The career of the First Sophistic lasted only a few decades and was terminated in the fourth century, when under stress of hard times few could afford to pay the lowest fees asked by the sophists.

⁴⁶ Isocr. *Soph.* 5.

⁴⁷ Aristot. *Eth. N.* ix.1.6-7 (1164a 27ff.).

⁴⁸ Ath. x.437D.

⁴⁹ Eubul. *Fr.* 1 (II.431 Kock).

III

The Schools of Oratory

THE close kinship of the professors of oratory with the sophists is obvious, but the most illustrious such professor certainly did not count himself among the sophists whom he criticized severely. Lest we risk making some uncomfortable bed-fellows, it might be best to treat the professors of oratory separately.

One of the most famous teachers who ever adorned the Athenian schools was Isocrates.¹ Entering the teaching profession for the avowed purpose of making money,² he first opened a school in Chios with nine pupils in attendance. When he received his first fees, his biographer relates that he wept to think how he had sold himself to his pupils. So highly did a well-born Athenian of the best period value his absolute independence that he regarded serving others for pay as illiberal. Of course Isocrates later transferred his school to Athens, where he had about a hundred pupils and became so rich that he outdid the sophists and was able to undertake the expense of a trierarchy. Part of his wealth, to be sure, was derived from his services to various men as a "ghost-writer"; thus for a speech which he composed for Nicocles, the king of Cyprus, he received an honorarium of twenty talents.

Such was the fame of Isocrates' school that students flocked from all over the Greek world to take his course, and he helped greatly in making Athens the educational center which it continued for centuries to be.³ To his fellow-citizens, the Athenians, he gave free tuition, but all others paid his regular fee of ten minas, one thousand drachmas.⁴ This sum, be it noted, was customary with many of the sophists. Since Demosthenes was his fellow-citizen, it is necessary to regard as false the charming story

¹ The source for the following statements regarding his school and fees is, unless otherwise specified, the pseudo-Plutarchean biography in the *Vitae decem oratorum*.

² Isocr. *Antid.* 161f.; Theopompus *FGrHist.* 115 F 25.

³ On the paying pupils now coming to Athens from as far away as Sicily and Pontus cf. Isocr. *Antid.* 224 and 226.

⁴ Cf. the pseudo-Demosthenic speech c. *Lacritum* 40 and 42; Plut. *Demosth.* 5.6; the *vita* by Zosimus.

found in pseudo-Plutarch to account for the fact that Demosthenes was not among his many illustrious pupils. The story was that Demosthenes, unable to pay a thousand drachmas for his tuition, offered to pay two hundred drachmas for a fifth of the course. This offer Isocrates repudiated with the remark: "My course is like a good fish, Demosthenes. I will sell it whole, but not in slices."

But Isocrates had no objection to selling the whole course twice to the same man, as happened in one instance. Ephorus of Cyme, destined to be known among the greatest historians of Greece, failed to profit by the course and his father Demophilus, disgusted with his son but still retaining faith in Isocrates, produced a second thousand drachmas and ordered Ephorus to repeat the course. The surprised Isocrates punningly dubbed his pupil Diphorus,⁵ took great pains with him, and sent him forward on the highroad to a brilliant success.

Among the pupils of Isocrates we know of only two who engaged in the professional teaching of oratory: Theodectes and Isaeus. Theodectes is said to have taught oratory for pay,⁶ presumably before he became established as a leading tragic poet. Isaeus appears to have been the chief teacher of Demosthenes in the art of oratory. Abandoning his regular school, Isaeus took Demosthenes for four years of private tuition.⁷ The fee, being for a long period of individual instruction, was much larger than what was customary for a routine course under a professional teacher: it was ten thousand drachmas.⁸ Demosthenes had trouble with shortness and inadequate control of his breath, and there is a tradition that he paid the famous contemporary actor Neoptolemus ten thousand drachmas to train him how to speak whole periods without pausing for breath.⁹ If these statements about Demosthenes, found in the pseudo-Plutarchean *vita*, are true, no other Greek before the millionaire Herodes Atticus ever had such an expensive education.

⁵ Or Disephorus, according to the *vita* by Zosimus.

⁶ Theopompus *FGrHist.* 115 F 25 (Phot. *Bibl.* 176, p. 120 Bekker).

⁷ Ps.-Plut. *Vit. decem orat.*, *Demosth.* 844C.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Isaeus* 839F. Altogether less likely is Plutarch's suggestion (*Demosth.* 5.6: ὅς τις λέγουσι) that Isaeus taught Demosthenes for no pay, as a sort of charity case (ἀμοιβή, says Suidas s.v. Ἰσαῖος).

⁹ *Ibid.* *Demosth.* 844F; Phot. *Bibl.* 493a, line 21. A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* I² (Leipzig, 1885), 336, casts doubt upon this tradition.

In the following centuries, the Hellenistic era, we hear little of the pay of professors of rhetoric. In the late second century a gymnasiarch of Eretria named Elpinicus "provided at his own expense a rhetor and a *hoplomachos*, who devoted themselves in the gymnasium to the boys, the ephebi, and the others who cared to profit by their instruction."¹⁰ The professors at the school of Rhodes, so famous for training public speakers, must have had some system of tuition fees, but we have specific information about only one of them, Apollonius of Alabanda (ca. 100 B.C.). Apollonius taught for money, but he did so in a conscientious way. Those pupils whom he judged incapable of becoming orators he sent away to occupations for which they seemed better suited, and he did not permit them to waste their time and money on him.¹¹

The fact that teachers of oratory in the first century B.C. customarily did teach for pay, while at least some philosophers did not, was brought out by Philodemus in various fragments of his work on rhetoric found in the Herculanean papyri.¹² The pay, however, was small.¹³

¹⁰ IG XII.9.234 = SIG³714. The inscription was found in the gymnasium at Eretria.

¹¹ Cic. *de Or.* i.28.126.

¹² Philodem. *Rhet.* vol. II pp. 159-160, 254-256 Sudhaus.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 83: πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ ἀξιόους πρᾶττεται μισθούς, οὐχ ἡ ῥητορικὴ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτό.

IV The Philosophers

Ἀλλὰ διὰ τί μόνη ἡ φιλοσοφία οὐκ εἰσπράττεται μισθούς, τῶν ἄλλων τέχνων τοῦτο ποιουσῶν; To this question posed by Olympiodorus¹ his own reply is that other teachers undertake to make their pupils craftsmen, but the philosopher promises to make them good. It is not as simple as all that, however, for many philosophers did demand remuneration for their teaching.

That Socrates and Plato declined to accept fees is well known.² Xenophon reports³ a remark of Socrates to the effect that those who took fees were thereby enslaving themselves, since they laid themselves under the compulsion of conversing with a definite set of people—namely, those who paid the fees. To a free lance like the Attic Satyr, who loved to talk with any random smith or cobbler, the necessity of so confining oneself to paying pupils seemed intolerable. When the orator Antiphon compared selling wisdom with selling a house or a himation, a perfectly legitimate business transaction, Socrates insisted that his analogy was at fault.⁴ Selling wisdom is like selling beauty. The seller of beauty is a prostitute, the seller of wisdom a sophist, but the man who imparts wisdom freely to a friend is a gentleman and a good citizen. The curious thing about the sophists, as far as Socrates could see, was that, although they boasted to be teachers of virtue, they sometimes had to denounce their own pupils for injustice in failing to pay their fees.⁵ On another occasion Socrates reminded Hippias that, unlike the sophists, “none of the men of old ever expected to get a fee in money or to make a display of their wisdom among all sorts and conditions of men. They were so simple that they failed to observe how valuable is money.”⁶ With such

¹ Olympiod. in *Plat. I Alcib.* 119A (p. 140 Creuzer).

² Xen. *Mem.* i.2.60: (Socrates) πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς καὶ ἀστοὺς καὶ ξένους λαβὼν οὐδένα πώποτε μισθὸν τῆς συνουσίας ἐπράξατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀφθόγως ἐπὶ ἑαυτοῦ. Cf. i.6.3 and 11. Socrates did accept presents of food and the like, but not of money: cf. Diog. Laert. ii.65, 74, 80; Sen. *Ben.* i.8.1-2.

³ Xen. *Mem.* i.2.6.

⁴ *Ibid.* i.6.11-13.

⁵ Plat. *Gorg.* 519C; cf. 520C.

⁶ Plat. *Hipp. Maior* 282C-D.

pungent and stalwart assertion did Socrates speak his mind concerning paid teachers. Perhaps the feeling has not been uncommon among teachers of the present day that they are indeed slaves, as Socrates thought, bound with numerous shackles and fettered to a life of wearisome and servile drudgery.

That Plato agreed with his master in principle and practice with regard to the sale of wisdom is clear.⁷ He may also have been influenced by the Pythagoreans, as he so often was, since they too professed abhorrence for paid instruction and held that teachers who accepted fees were like innkeepers in their mercenary and vulgar aspect.⁸ Furthermore, it was easy for the wealthy Plato to be high-minded in monetary matters, as many cynical moderns have observed—without knowing that they were anticipated by Olympiodorus: ἴσως δὲ ὁ Πλάτων ὡς εὐπορῶν ἀμισθίαν ἐπετήδευσε.⁹ In the *Laws* Plato proposed that all the schools and gymnasia of the ideal city should be provided with publicly salaried teachers, but that citizens should be spared this degradation and that all the teachers should be foreigners.¹⁰ Reprimanding Isocrates for taking fees, Plato turned his attempted justification against him.¹¹

Probably it was inevitable that the example of the sophists should infect the philosophic schools, and this in fact soon happened. Xenophon remarked with some asperity on the Socratic who, after receiving the freely given philosophic lessons of the master, turned around and sold their little portions of wisdom for a high price, and would discourse with none but paying pupils.¹² Chiefly in his mind was Aristippus, first among the disciples of Socrates to charge fees for his instruction.¹³ While the fact, resting on the authority of the Peripatetic Phantias, is indisputable the ancient sources disagree on the amount of the fee. The claim of Alexis that it was a talent may be dismissed as a comic

⁷ Diog. Laert. iv.2 (quoting a spurious letter, which nevertheless states the truth): Πλάτων μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων τοὺς παρ' αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας ἐποίει. Gifts Plato would accept, and the tyrant Dionysius gave him over eighty talents (Diog. Laert. iii.9, quoting Satyrus and Onetor).

⁸ Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* xxxiv.245.

⁹ Olympiod. in *Plat. I Alcib.* 119A (p. 141 Creuzer).

¹⁰ *Plat. Legg.* vii.804C-D, 813D-E.

¹¹ *Stob. Ecl.* ii.31.110c.

¹² *Xen. Mem.* i.2.60.

¹³ Phantias ap. Diog. Laert. ii.65; Suid. s.v. Ἀρίστιππος.

exaggeration.¹⁴ According to Diogenes Laertius,¹⁵ the fee was five hundred drachmas or five minas; according to pseudo-Plutarch,¹⁶ it was the same amount as was usually asked by the sophists, a thousand drachmas. Aristippus made practically the same defense as the sophists did, saying that he took fees not out of covetousness for money, but in order to make his pupils understand what things really deserved to have money spent on them.

After Aristippus had made the initial defection, no special criticism was aroused by the action of two other pupils of Socrates, Aeschines¹⁷ and Antisthenes,¹⁸ when they too began to charge fees. Speusippus, Plato's nephew and successor as scholarch of the Academy, was accused by hostile tradition of taking fees *παρ' ἐκόντων καὶ ἀκόντων*.¹⁹ As for the Megarian School, von Arnim points out that in many respects it was spiritually more akin to the sophists than to Socrates, and he therefore thinks it probable that the Megarians took fees.²⁰ There is no direct evidence pro or con.

While Aristotle vigorously condemned the sophists for selling their worthless knowledge, he thought it ethical for philosophers to receive some recompense for their genuine wisdom. In fact, he declared that philosophers, like one's parents and one's gods, can never be adequately repaid and one must simply do what he can by them.²¹ How great financial rewards Aristotle received for the education of Alexander we do not definitely know. He can hardly have taken fees for his ordinary instruction in the Lyceum, or else we should have heard of it from some critic of the philosophers.²²

Toward the end of the century—after Aristotle's death—a poetical manifesto on the wretched reward of philosophers was issued by Crates, the Cynic philosopher of Thebes. "Put down for a

¹⁴ Alexis *Fr.* 36 (II.311 Kock).

¹⁵ Diog. Laert. ii.72.

¹⁶ Ps.-Plut. *de Liberis educ.* 7, p. 4F.

¹⁷ Diog. Laert. ii.62 (ἔμμεσθαι ἀποδόσεις).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* vi.4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* iv.2, quoting a spurious letter of the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse. Cf. Ath. vii.279E.

²⁰ H. von Arnim, *Leben und Werke des Dio von Prusa* (Berlin, 1898), 22: "Von Eukleides wissen wir nicht, ob er sich seine Lehrthätigkeit bezahlen liess, für die jüngeren Mitglieder der Schule ist es höchst wahrscheinlich."

²¹ Aristot. *Eth. N.* ix.1.7 (1164b 2ff.).

²² L. Grasberger, *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum* (Würzburg, 1864-1881), III.394.

cook," said Crates, "a thousand drachmas, for a doctor one; for a flatterer thirty thousand, for an adviser smoke; for a courtesan six thousand, for a philosopher half a drachma."²³ Of course Diogenes and all the thorough-going Cynics, presumably including Crates, practiced mendicancy as a consequence of their philosophic doctrine and there could be no question of their asking or accepting pay for their diatribes. Bion of Borysthenes must have already deserted Cynicism for Cyrenaicism when he began to take fees.²⁴

In spite of the pessimistic statement of Crates it was possible in this period for a philosopher with a great reputation to amass considerable wealth from the fees of his students. Let the famous Stoic Chrysippus serve as an example of this.²⁵ Lucian satirized him²⁶ for justifying by the argumentative processes of the Stoics his practice of charging fees. Quintilian listed three of the greatest Stoics, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, as among those who accepted pay from their pupils;²⁷ and most of the other Stoics surely followed these bell-wethers. The fragments of Chrysippus' writings show that he recognized three acceptable ways for a philosopher to support himself: by royal patronage, by dependence on friends, or by teaching.²⁸ Incidentally he remarked that, while it might be more high-minded to allow deferment of a fee, it was safer to collect in advance.²⁹

As to the amount of the fee demanded by the Stoics,³⁰ we have one specific statement by Cicero, probably resting on good Greek sources. It appears that a favorite jest of Carneades, the pupil of the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon, was: "If my logic is correct, I have you in my power; if it is false, Diogenes shall give me back my mina." Cicero explains that a mina was the customary tuition fee of the dialecticians.³⁰

Not all the Stoics could agree with Chrysippus in this matter, for Stobaeus relates that the members of the school disputed whether the acceptance of pay for teaching is honorable or be-

²³ Crates *Fr.* 13 Diehl, from Diog. Laert. vi.86.

²⁴ Stob. *Ecl.* ii.31.97.

²⁵ Cf. von Arnim, *RE* III.2503.

²⁶ Lucian *Vitarum auctio* 24.

²⁷ Quint. xii.7.9.

²⁸ Chrysippus *Frag. Mor.* 693 (*SVF* II.174), from Plut. *de Stoic. repugn.*

20.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 701.

³⁰ Cic. *Acad.* ii.30.98.

neath the dignity of philosophy.³¹ Lucian made his stand on the question very clear. In his *Icaromenippus*, one of the amazing spectacles that Menippus sees from the moon is the Stoic Agathocles suing a pupil for his pay.³² In the same dialogue Menippus says that when he was puzzled about the phenomena of the universe he determined to resort to the best of the philosophers. "For a considerable sum down," he says, "and more to be paid when they should have perfected me in wisdom, I was to be made an airy metaphysician and instructed in the order of the universe."³³ Despite the heavy payment Menippus received little enlightenment.

The principles of the Epicureans set them at variance with the Stoics and the rhetors in the matter of accepting fees. Epicurus himself had deemed fruitless the sophistic education for which he had paid.³⁴ Philodemus scolded the rhetoricians for their insistence on paid instruction (which, he said, failed after all of its purpose of making statesmen), while he praised the philosophers, i.e., of his own Epicurean school, for giving their knowledge freely.³⁵ Nevertheless, it was impossible for Epicurus and the teachers who succeeded him to exist on nothing, and it appears that each student in the Garden had to pay an annual "contribution" (σύνταξις) of 120 drachmas.³⁶ The fragments of Epicurus show that he received with gratitude gifts of food. Professor DeWitt remarks in a recent article³⁷ that, "Since the practice of accepting fees as a token of gratitude for the correction of faults is defended in the case of Epicurus,³⁸ it may be inferred that fees were collected on this basis in Epicurean circles generally." Thus the theoretical Epicurean magnanimity relative to fees was in practice subject to some modifications.

The Academics, as far as we know, clung to the principle of Plato against taking fees, even though this often entailed hardship

³¹ Stob. *Ecl.* ii.7 (II.109f. Wachsmuth) = Chrysippus *Frag. Mor.* 686.

³² Lucian *Icarom.* 16. Agathocles is perhaps fictitious, but in any case he merely stands as a typical representative of his sect.

³³ *Ibid.* 5.

³⁴ Philodemus *Rhet.* vol. II pp. 254-256 Sudhaus.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 46, 56f., 83, 159f., and 258.

³⁶ Epicurus *Fr.* 41 Bailey (184 Usener), with Bailey's translation and commentary.

³⁷ *Class. Phil.* XXXI (1936), 205.

³⁸ Philodemus *περὶ παρρησίας Fr.* 55 Olivieri.

for them.³⁹ The Neoplatonist Olympiodorus in the sixth century of our era still boasted: μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος σώζονται τὰ διαδοχικά, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῶν δημεύσεων γινομένων—i.e. Plato's principle was faithfully observed by his successors, even when they were oppressed by the many confiscations of the later Empire.⁴⁰ The Peripatetics, for whom the principle of accepting pay had been authorized by their founder, Aristotle, doubtless took advantage of the authorization. For instance, Athenion, a Peripatetic of the early part of the first century B.C., is said to have made a start as a poor man, delivering lectures where a voluntary collection was taken up among the hearers (ἐρανικαὶ ἀκροάσεις), and later to have accumulated considerable wealth as a *Wanderlehrer* by lecturing in Messene and the Thessalian city of Larissa.⁴¹

The philosophers of Alexandria were forced to engage in paid teaching during the latter half of the second century B.C., when they along with the other representatives of letters and the professions fled headlong from Alexandria in all directions to escape from the brutish King Ptolemy VIII Physcon.⁴² The refugee scholar, seeking to earn his bread in a new domicile, is a person well-known today, but also known in history's book of yesterdays.

³⁹ The accusation that Speusippus exacted fees (see p. 23) is probably only a baseless slander.

⁴⁰ Olympiod. in *Plat. I. Alcib.* 119A (p. 141 Creuzer). Cf. Creuzer's note in explanation of the passage.

⁴¹ Posidonius *FGrHist.* 87 F 36. Wilcken, Ferguson, Jacoby, and other historians now agree that this rascal Athenion, known only from Posidonius, was not—as was earlier believed—identical with the better-known rascal Aristion.

⁴² Andron of Alexandria *FGrHist.* 246 F 1 and Meneclēs of Barca *ibid.* 270 F 9 (from *Ath. iv.* 184B-C).

V Elementary Teachers

NAMELESS and buried in oblivion are nearly all of the countless teachers of the primary schools of Greece. Of their pay little is known save that it was scanty and often neglected.

In 480 B.C., when the wives and children of the Athenians fled before the arrival of the Persians, they found a refuge in Troezen. Plutarch declares that in a decree proposed by Nicagoras the Troezenians voted to pay teachers to keep up the active education of the Athenian boys.¹ Such public support of education at this period was almost unknown, and the story may be one of Plutarch's apocryphal anecdotes.²

One passage of Plutarch,³ speaks of ὁ μισθὸς τῶν παιδαγωγῶν, and argues that there should be results from paying the *paedagogus* in the improved behavior and etiquette of the children in his charge. Perhaps, as Navarre has suggested,⁴ this allusion implies that the slave *paedagogus* sometimes assumed the custody of boys from several households, and all except his owner would pay for this service; or else the function of *paedagogus* was sometimes fulfilled by free men of low social status—as we recall that the *paedagogus* of Horace was his freedman father. A remark of Dio Chrysostom⁵ about people who sneer at those whose father was a γραμματοδιδάσκαλος or παιδαγωγός surely implies that free men could be *paedagogi* and earn wages in that low and mercenary capacity.

In Athens an ordinary *paidotribes*, who supervised the physical education of children, charged a mina for his year's course and collected the whole sum in advance.⁶ Socrates, in his discussion of whether virtue can be taught, observed that the Athenian statesman Thucydides paid out his money to the best wrestlers of the

¹ Plut. *Them.* 10.5.

² A. Bauer, *Themistokles* (Merseburg, 1881), 131, expressed doubts regarding the authenticity of the decree cited by Plutarch.

³ Plut. *An virtus doceri possit* 2 (439E-F).

⁴ Dar.-Sagl. IV.272 n.24.

⁵ Dio Chr. Or. vii.114.

⁶ Ath. xiii.584C, referring to the fourth century B.C. Kenneth Freeman, *Schools of Hellas* (London, 1907), 134, suggested that possibly the αἰεὶ in this passage meant that one who paid the mina became a life member of the palaestra. On the παιδοτρίβου μισθός see also Plat. *Gorg.* 520C.

time, Xanthias and Eudorus, to teach his two sons wrestling, and the excellent results justified the expenditure; but, strange to relate, he did not educate the boys in virtue, which would have cost nothing.⁷

The great Epicurus, in the days of his youth in Samos, helped his father Neocles to teach the rudiments in an elementary school "for shamefully little pay."⁸ When the guardians of the youthful Demosthenes had mismanaged his inheritance, one of the consequences was that his teachers were deprived of their pay.⁹

Hellenistic literature and inscriptions give us more abundant information, and we learn that the situation had improved somewhat for the elementary teachers, but was still bad enough. A common view of the schoolmaster is epitomized by the following epigram of Aratus:¹⁰

"I mourn for Diotimus, who, upon a bleak rock set,
Teaches the young in Gargara their endless alphabet."

We may be sure that the labor of Diotimus and his brethren was as poorly remunerated as it was monotonous.

The poet Callimachus, before he entered into fame and power, was a humble and poverty-stricken teacher in a grammar school of Eleusis, the suburb of Alexandria.¹¹ The avaricious man of Theophrastus,¹² if his sons were sick part of the month, would make a certain deduction from the teacher's fee; and in the month of Anthesterion, when there were a great many holidays, he would gratify his stinginess by keeping his sons out of school altogether and thereby saving the entire fee. When pay was forthcoming, it was due on the thirtieth day of each month; "the bitter thirtieth asks for the pay of the *grammatistes*," laments poverty-stricken Metrotime in the *Διδάσκαλος* of Herondas.¹³ It was a cynical saying of the pseudo-Menander¹⁴ in this period that

⁷ Plat. *Meno*. 94C-D.

⁸ Diog. Laert. x.4.

⁹ Demosth. in *Aphob.* i.46; Plut. *Demosth.* 4.2.

¹⁰ *Anth. Pal.* xi.437, translated by R. G. MacGregor.

¹¹ Suid. s.v. *Καλλίμαχος*. Callimachus alludes at least four times to his poverty in this lean period: *Hymn to Zeus* 94-96, *Epigr.* 26.1f., 32.1f., and 46.5f.

¹² Theophr. *Char.* 30.14 Diels.

¹³ Herond. 3.9f.

¹⁴ Menand. *Monost.* 337 (IV.349 Meineke).

Μισθὸς διδάσκει γράμματ', οὐ διδάσκαλος. The Cynic Bion of Borys-thenes remarked that pupils were just like the ages in Hesiod—gold, silver, and bronze; the golden pupils paid and learned, the silver paid and didn't learn, the bronze learned and didn't pay.¹⁵

In some cities, however, public elementary education was the rule in the Hellenistic period, and under this system teachers were better and more regularly rewarded for their services. In 162 B.C. King Eumenes II of Pergamum endowed or helped to endow public education in Rhodes by a gift of 280,000 medimni of wheat. The interest on the principal realized from the sale of the wheat was used to pay the teachers of the Rhodian youth.¹⁶ It was almost exactly at the same time that Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, gave a similar endowment to Delphi.¹⁷ The Delphians sent an embassy to ask for the gift; probably they were encouraged by the good fortune of the Rhodians. Attalus gave them 10,800 silver drachmas, and one of the express purposes of the gift was to insure regular monthly pay for the teachers. A rare case is fully recorded in an inscription¹⁸ of one Menander, son of Daedalus, from Thyrraeum in Acarnania, who taught grammar in the gymnasium at Delphi about 84 B.C. He gave his instruction gratis and, when pressed by the city to accept a free will offering that was taken up for him, he refused the money with the remark that he was sojourning in Delphi for the honor of the god and out of respect to the city. Thus the ancient reputation of Delphi as a holy city attracted educational assistance alike from a potentate of Asia Minor and from an obscure grammarian of an equally obscure town in Acarnania. Thespiae, too, in nearby Boeotia, had an obscure benefactor in Protogenes, son of Protarchus, whom a civic decree honored "for his expenditures on the instructors of the children."¹⁹

The most famous records of the second century B.C. which are concerned with public education and remuneration of the teachers are two lengthy decrees, one from Miletus²⁰ and the other from

¹⁵ Stob. *Ecl.* ii.31.97 (II.218 Wachsmuth).

¹⁶ Polyb. xxxi.31.

¹⁷ *SIG*³ 672.

¹⁸ *BCH* xxiii (1899), 572.

¹⁹ *IG* VII.1861.

²⁰ *SIG*³ 577.

Teos.²¹ When Eudemus of Miletus gave his city the large sum of ten silver talents for educational purposes, a civic decree was passed setting up general regulations for the schools and providing for the pay of teachers from the endowment. Carefully chosen teachers were to be paid monthly according to the following salary scale: four *paidotribai*, 30 drachmas each; four teachers of grammar, 40 drachmas each. Noteworthy here, as in Teos, is the change in emphasis in the Hellenistic period from physical education to grammatical and literary education. Even the forty-drachma teachers of Miletus were poorly paid, receiving little more than common sailors in the Athenian fleet during the fifth century were sometimes paid.²²

The school laws of Teos called for two *paidotribai* with an annual salary of 500 drachmas, about 41 per month, and teachers of grammar in three grades at the respective salaries of 600, 550, and 500 drachmas. Not content with these teachers, somewhat better paid than at Miletus, the Teans made provision for three other teachers of special subjects. A *hoplomachos* was hired for not less than two months in a year at a fixed stipend of 300 drachmas—high pay if he served the minimum time. A teacher of archery and javelin-throwing was the lowest paid man in the school system and received only 250 drachmas. The highest paid of all was the music teacher or *citharistes*, at 700 drachmas.²³ All of these teaching positions were endowed by a gift of 34,000 drachmas from Polythrus, a rich citizen.

The high value that was set upon instruction in music during the Hellenistic period is apparent from the Tean inscription, and this is corroborated by the rustic but sincere offer made by a Theocritean goatherd to the bucolic singer, Daphnis: "Ah, if thou wilt but teach me some lay, even to me, as I tend the goats beside thee, this blunt-horned she-goat will I give thee, for the price of thy teaching, this she-goat that ever fills the milking pail above the brim."²⁴

²¹ SIG³ 578. A full discussion of both of these inscriptions is given by E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes*,² Leipzig, 1914.

²² J. F. Dobson, *Ancient education and its meaning to us* (London-New York, 1932), 27.

²³ Cf. Menand. Fr. 495 Kock (Quint. i.10.18), where a *senex*, describing his outlay on the education of a young lad, says: *psaltis se et geometris multa dedisse*.

²⁴ Theocr. viii.85-87, translated by Lang.

VI The Grammatici

THE *grammatici* were a class of teachers who rarely got rich and who sometimes found it difficult to scrape a decent living. Martial shook his head over the lot of the *grammatici* and rhetors. "Don't let your son become a teacher, Lupus," he wrote, "if he wants to make money."¹ Furthermore, just as today, the contrast between their meager income and the riches enjoyed by ignoramuses who chanced to be successful *aurigae* or gladiators augmented teachers' dissatisfaction with their sorry lot.²

Munificent benefactors of education occasionally smoothed the financial path. Zosimus of Priene signalized his term as gymnasiarch by hiring at his own expense a grammarian to oversee the philological studies of the Prienian ephebi.³ Mantidorus, gymnasiarch at Eretria, some time in the first century B.C., paid a Homeric scholar to come over from Athens and lecture.⁴ Other cases of this kind are unknown, and they must have been all too rare.

Unique and unexplained is the success story of the grammarian Epaphroditus of Chaeronea. After getting a start as a penniless freedman, he grew so rich as a teacher at Rome during the Neronian age that he was able to accumulate a library of 30,000 volumes.⁵

It was the opinion of the erotic epigrammatist Strato of Sardis that it was a privilege to be the teacher of handsome boys, and he playfully scolded teachers who asked pay for enjoying such a privilege.⁶ Incidentally, it cannot be denied that παιδεία and παιδεραστία did, as Strato hinted, sometimes go hand in hand.

¹ Mart. v.56.

² Juvenal vii.242f.

"Haec" inquit "curas, et, cum se verterit annus,
accipe victori populus quod postulat aurum."

³ Hiller von Gärtringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene*, no. 112 (after 84 B.C.).

⁴ IG xii.9.235. The Homeric scholar, otherwise unknown, was Dionysius, son of Philotes.

⁵ Suid. s.v. Ἐπαφρόδιτος.

⁶ Anth. Pal. xii.219.

More serious and worthy reasons why a *grammaticus* should sometimes ask no pay appear in the case of Alexander of Cotyaeum, one of the teachers of Marcus Aurelius. That Alexander was well paid by his imperial pupil is sure, but it is known that he was willing to enrol among his pupils what we might call "charity cases." According to his eulogist Aristides, Alexander not only refrained from dunning such of his students as were unable to pay, but he even gave them money out of his own pocket to help them along.⁷

Few *grammatici* were in a position to make gestures of generosity. Libanius tells of a *grammaticus* teaching a boy for a couple of loaves of bread and a little other food.⁸ Palladas, a penniless schoolmaster all his life, never ceased voicing poetic groans about his lot. What does it profit a man, he exclaims, to be a teacher of the classics? "The wrath of Achilles was the cause of pernicious poverty to me, too, since I adopted the profession of a grammarian."⁹ . . . "I sell Callimachus and Pindar and all the cases in the grammar, being myself a sore case of poverty."¹⁰

The state occasionally cast a benevolent eye upon the *grammatici*, fixing their public salaries and commanding or guaranteeing that they be paid, notably in the reigns of Severus Alexander, Diocletian, Constantine, Gratian, Theodosius, and Justinian. The details of the emperors' decrees and actions in this matter will be found chronologically discussed in Chapter XI.

⁷ Aristides *Or.* xxxii.16 Keil (I.139f. Dindorf).

⁸ Liban. *Or.* xlii.26. Even if the grammarian Arrian in Athenaeus (iii. 113D-E) is not fictitious, the comment about him is perhaps ironical: ψαμμαχοσίους ἔχει μαθητάς . . . καὶ πλοῦτον ἀπηγέγκατο . . . ὑπὲρ Γοργίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν.

⁹ Palladas *Anth. Pal.* ix.169, trans. Paton.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ix.175, trans. Paton.

VII

Teachers of Technical and Special Subjects

THIS chapter also can begin only with the fifth century, when the example of the sophists apparently took effect on all classes of teachers. In a passage based on Plato,¹ Themistius declares that Iccus of Tarentum, the *gymnastes* or athletic coach, and Herodicus of Selymbria, the *paidotribes*, were regular sophists, who ἐχρηματίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν νέων.² This statement, however, while probable enough in itself, is not warranted by the passage in Plato, and it is unlikely that Themistius had further specific evidence. That athletic coaches did require a fee from their pupils as soon as they acquired a certain proficiency in their chosen sport is a fact adumbrated by Plato in another passage.³

Certainly the first medical school had a system of tuition fees, even as early as the fifth century. To this century Herzog⁴ assigns the well-known doctors' oath, which specifically exempts members of faculty families from paying tuition, and thereby implies that all others were obliged to pay, in an amount unknown to us. A literal interpretation of a passage in Plato⁵ also suggests that Hippocrates was accustomed to assess fees at his school in Cos, and another passage makes a blanket statement that all doctors who gave instruction required pay for it.⁶

What sparse testimony we can gather from later times confirms the belief that this Hippocratic tradition of requiring tuition fees from medical students was adhered to throughout antiquity. For example, we hear that the doctors of Alexandria, scattering to other cities to get away from the execrable Ptolemy VIII Physcon, relieved their poverty in their new homes by teaching.⁷ Lucian discusses an imaginary case of an impoverished youth who re-

¹ Plat. *Protag.* 316E.

² Themist. *Or.* xxiii.290A.

³ Plat. *Gorg.* 520C.

⁴ R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde* (Leipzig, 1899), 202. Charles Singer, however, in *The Legacy of Rome* (Oxford, 1923), 281f., holds that the oath was originated by the Romans in early imperial times.

⁵ Plat. *Protag.* 311B.

⁶ Plat. *Meno* 90C-D.

⁷ Ath. iv.184B-C.

ceived his medical education free through the charity of his teachers.⁸ The implication, even in this fictitious case, is that fees were ordinarily required. Also exceptional, we are given to understand, was the good-natured physician Iamblichus of the sixth century of our era who taught his skill to others freely.⁹ A passage of Olympiodorus pretty clearly says that it was always customary for doctors to receive pay from their pupils.¹⁰

That public salaries for certain professors of medicine at Rome were inaugurated by Vespasian and continued by Hadrian has been inferred by various scholars from a passage in the *Digest*,¹¹ but the passage refers only to a grant of immunity, and Barbagallo rightly denies that we are justified in assuming from this a grant of salary.¹² In the third century, however, Alexander Severus did grant salaries and assign lecture rooms to medical professors, and Rome was for a time a center of medical education.¹³

A Greek lad who desired to receive technical instruction in one of the various fine arts, trades, or professions other than medicine, was not likely to get his instruction or training for nothing. Socrates suggested to Theages that if he wanted his son to become, for example, a painter, a flutist, or a harpist, he would have to make up his mind to spend money to that end.¹⁴ On another occasion he reminded Anytus that if they wanted any one to learn flute-playing, the thing to do was to send him to "those who promise to teach the art and who take pay for it."¹⁵ Doubtless Greek artists and professional men received pay from their private pupils. Pamphilus of Amphipolis, a famous painter in the fourth century, took a very broad view of what it meant to teach painting, and developed a ten-year course for which he charged no one less than a talent. Apelles and Melanthius were among those who paid him such a fee.¹⁶ The music masters like Chryso-

⁸ Lucian *Abdicatus* 24.

⁹ Leontius Scholasticus *Anth. Pal. (App. Plan.)* xvi.272.

¹⁰ Olympiod. in *Plat. I Alcib.* 119A (p. 140 Creuzer).

¹¹ *Digest* I.4.18.30. Cf. S. Reinach in *Dar.-Sagl. s.v. Medicus*, III.2.1674 (following Brian and Jacquy); Charles Singer, *op. cit.*, 282.

¹² C. Barbagallo, *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' Impero Romano* (Catania, 1911), 84 n.1.

¹³ *Script. Hist. Aug., Sev. Alex.* 44.4.

¹⁴ *Plat. Theag.* 126E.

¹⁵ *Plat. Meno* 90D-E.

¹⁶ *Plin. N.H.* xxxv.76.

gonus who taught at Rome the *lautorum pueri* earned an income fit to make the rhetors green with envy.¹⁷ Quintilian tells the pretty anecdote of Timotheus, the illustrious piper of the time of Alexander the Great, who demanded a double fee from pupils who had already had instruction (presumably inferior) on the pipe.¹⁸ This story must be the remotest ancestor of our proverb about "paying the piper."

Among the teachers of special branches in the Hellenistic period, the earliest and best known are the *sophronistai* at Athens. These are first recorded about a decade before the death of Alexander. Each of the ten *sophronistai* received a drachma a day in salary from the state, and his services consisted of a general superintendency of the ephebi of his tribe in their military and gymnastic training.¹⁹ Strabo specifically says that the military instructors, the teachers of riding (*πωλοδάμναι*), the teachers of fighting in armor (*όπλομάχοι*), and whatever others there were in the Syrian Apamea were salaried by the state.²⁰ This must have been true in all Hellenistic cities which strove to train a citizen army. The financial burden imposed on the cities by these salaries was occasionally relieved by wealthy patrons of education. An unknown gymnasiarch of Pergamum, shortly before the city passed into Roman hands, in addition to his other services to the ephebi and *neoi*, "provided a supply of all kinds of arms and brought in an instructor at his own expense."²¹ The wording of the text surely implies that the instructor was a *hoplomachos*, who could teach the use of the arms. Only a few years later the gymnasiarch Strato, probably stimulated by the example of his predecessor, provided at his own expense for the Pergamene ephebi two instructors in addition to the two hired by the city.²² For the ephebi and others at Eretria, Elpinicus donated the services of a *hoplomachos* as well as of a professor of rhetoric.²³ The declamation of

¹⁷ Juvenal vii.175-177. Cf. Mart. iii.4.8 and v.56.9 on the *ars pecuniosa citharoedi*.

¹⁸ Quint. ii.3.3.

¹⁹ Aristot. *Ath.* 42.3, Phot. *Lex.* and *Lex. Seguer.* s.v. σωφρονισταί. Cf. C. A. Forbes, *Greek physical education* (New York, 1929), 128-131.

²⁰ Strabo xvi.2.10 (752 Cas.).

²¹ *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiii (1908), 376f. no. 1.

²² *Ibid.* xxxii (1907), 279ff. no. 11, partly restored by Ziebarth, 59.

²³ IG xii.9.234 = SIG³ 714. See p. 20.

Libanius where a miser complains of having to pay a teacher of military tactics for the training of his son perhaps alludes to the classical rather than the Hellenistic epoch.²⁴

A rescript of the Emperor Constantine²⁵ to Felix, the governor of Africa, mentions a shortage of architects and grants immunity from personal taxes to students of architecture and their parents. The rescript also stipulates: *Volumus . . . ipsis qui discent salarium competens statui*. A slight alteration of the text here from *discent* to *docent* has been suggested, and the emendation is most plausible. An adequate salary from the public exchequer for the teachers would be an excellent way of encouraging schools of architecture.

²⁴ Liban. *Decl.* xxxiii.17: ἐμοὶ δὲ ἦν ἀνάγκη μισθοδοτεῖν τε τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν τακτικῶν.

²⁵ *Cod. Theod.* xiii.4.1 (A.D. 334).

VIII

The Training of Slaves and Apprentices

ORDINARY slaves seldom received any formal training for their tasks. Aristotle casually mentions, however, a man at Syracuse who devoted himself for a consideration to teaching young slaves how to perform their menial duties.¹ Even earlier, in the fifth century, a teacher of slaves must have been a not altogether unknown phenomenon, for Pherecrates wrote a comedy entitled Δουλοδιδάσκαλος.

A couple of papyri from Roman Egypt mention pay for teachers who instructed slaves in skilled, professional tasks. Although rarely mentioned by our sources, this sort of thing must have been common in Roman times when there were so many trained and specialized slaves. One of the papyri is a fragmentary agreement to pay a hundred drachmas of Ptolemaic silver (fifty down and fifty at the end of six months) for the instruction of a slave in accompanying other instruments with the flute.² The other is a contract apprenticing a slave to a shorthand-writer for a period of two years; the pay of 120 silver drachmas was to be given in three equal instalments, the second and third instalments being due only when the slave could manifest a certain degree of proficiency.³

In the first century of the Empire slaves were also trained for medical service by doctors. The instruction given, however, was too brief to produce capable medical assistants (*medici servi*, as they were called), and the doctors were accused of engaging in this teaching solely for the easy money which it brought in. Galen, who cherished a high ethical standard for the medical profession, in a glance back at the preceding century lashed out at Thessalus of Tralles as a charlatan. Thessalus, living at Rome in the Neronian age, practised flattery more effectively than medicine. These experts in the art of flattery, Galen complains, got a lot of pupils from among the slaves of the bed-chamber who were past the

¹ Aristot. *Pol.* i.2.22 (1255b 22-25).

² BGU IV.1125 (13 B.C.).

³ POxy. IV.724 = Wilcken *Chrest.* 140 (A.D. 155). Cf. J. G. Winter, *Life and letters in the papyri* (Ann Arbor, 1933), 72; Angela Zambon, *Διδασκαλαί, Aegyptus* XV (1935), 1-66.

bloom of their youth (i.e., *servi cubicularii exoleti*). "Our friend Thessalus, noticing this, not only flattered the rich at Rome in other matters, but also easily got very many pupils by promising to teach them the τέχνη in six months."⁴ In the year 93 or 94 Domitian put a stop to this abuse by the following recently discovered rescript to Licinius Mucianus and Gavius Priscus: "I have adjudged it necessary to check by stringent measures the avarice of the physicians and teachers whose skill (*ars, τέχνη*), which ought to be transmitted only to a limited number of free-born young men, is being most shamelessly sold to many slave chamberlains selected for the training, and this not to serve the ends of humanity but to increase their own income. Whoever, therefore, shall receive pay for training slaves, shall be dispossessed of the immunity from taxation granted to him by my deified father, just as if he were to give instruction in a foreign state." This rescript gives striking confirmation to the accurate analysis of the situation by Galen, and to the justice of his complaint.⁵

The apprentice contracts from Egypt, partly because of their fragmentary preservation, give little information about pay for the master who undertook to train the apprentice. In many trades, of course, the apprentice's work was sufficient pay and no money was involved. One badly preserved contract⁶ of the sixth century of our era mentions μισθός, and its editor, H. I. Bell, says: "Probably the μισθός was . . . a premium paid by the apprentice's father for the training." One clause of the contract perhaps stipulated that the last instalment of the pay should be given only after the apprentice passed an examination. Olympiodorus specifically says that τεχνῖται in general took pay from their pupils or apprentices (οἱ προσιόντες), and he gives as examples of what he means by τεχνῖται physicians and carpenters.⁷

⁴ Galen *de Methodo medendi* (X p.4 Kühn), quoted and explained on page 1013 of R. Herzog's important article, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1935, 967-1019.

⁵ See the Latin text of the rescript, restored and fully discussed by Herzog in the article mentioned in the preceding note.

⁶ *PLond.* V.1706.

⁷ Olympiod. in *Plat. I Alcib.* 119A (p. 140 Creuzer).

IX

The Philosophers Under the Empire

UNDER the Empire it was jestingly remarked by Lucian that the only art which might be learned without expense was the art of the diner-out.¹ The professors of philosophy were now almost unanimously ready to take fees,² in quest of which they cooled their heels at the doors of the gilded youth.³ By way of exception, the well-to-do Plutarch, who set up a kind of branch of the Academy in Chaeronea where he gave philosophic lectures to a circle of pupils, took no pay and condemned the sophists' practice of making money out of wisdom.⁴ Herein Plutarch was, as usual, faithful to the example set by Plato.

The Stoics, in this period as formerly, clung to their belief that it was entirely proper for a philosopher to ask compensation for his teaching. Of course this belief earned for them the customary meed of denunciation from some quarters. Apollonius of Tyana, for instance, in a letter⁵ to his sworn enemy, the Stoic Euphrates, thus vented his indignation: "Some blame you for taking money from the emperor,⁶ which would not be absurd if it were not apparent that you have taken pay for your philosophy so many times, and to such an extent, and from so many people whom you have persuaded into believing that you are a philosopher." The emperor Antoninus Pius noted with displeasure how greedy about his salary was the Stoic Apollonius, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius and Verus.⁷

Lucian, too, while he thought the acceptance of fees by sophists

¹ Lucian *Paras.* 18.

² *Ibid.* 52.

³ The second-century Platonist Taurus grew melancholy at the spectacle: philosophos ultro currere, ut doceant, ad fores iuvenum divitum (Gell. vii.10.5).

⁴ Plut. *San. tuend. praec.* 16 (131A) πολλοὶ τῶν ἡτόρων καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν . . . διὰ μισθοῦς ἐξαγόμενοι παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Cf. Georg Böhm, *Plutarch's Dialog 'Υγιεινὰ Παραγγέλματα analysiert und auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Giessen Diss.), Bottrop i.W., 1935, 4.

⁵ Apoll. Tyan. *Ep.* 51 (in Kayser's Philostratus, vol. I). While the letter may be spurious, it gives correct historical expression to the sentiments of Apollonius.

⁶ Euphrates died in 118, before imperial salaries for professors of philosophy were introduced. Since the letter is presumably a forgery, it is best to suppose that this is an anachronism on the part of the forger.

⁷ *Script. Hist. Aug., Pius* 10.4.

was quite natural and proper, felt otherwise about the same practice among the philosophers, and he never lost an opportunity to criticize on this score both the Stoics, who were evidently the chief offenders, and the teachers of any and all sects. Thus, for example, he makes the Peripatetic Cleodemus accuse the Stoics of pressing their pupils relentlessly if they fell in arrears with their tuition fees,⁸ and he describes an aged Stoic haling a pupil to court with such fury at his dilatoriness in payment that only the intervention of friends kept him from biting off the nose of his hapless debtor.⁹ Again, Apollo remarks before the tribunal of Zeus on the success of the Stoic Timocles in earning fees from private lessons.¹⁰ Through the mouthpiece of Menippus Lucian issues complaints against the philosophers of any and all schools who profess to despise money, yet teach for pay,¹¹ and who grieve when crossing the Styx in Charon's boat because they will no longer be able, by beguiling the young, to get money for their wisdom.¹² In one passage Lucian laments the hireling's lot of all those who sell their knowledge—the teachers of literature, rhetoric, and music as well as the philosophers; although he acknowledges that athletic coaches deserve nothing better. Teachers excuse themselves for submitting to such degradation by saying that poverty drives them to it, but the fact is that they do not escape poverty even so; for even if they succeed in collecting their fees, they make barely a subsistence wage.¹³ Why, in Hades Menippus saw kings and satraps reduced by poverty to selling salt fish or teaching children the ABC.¹⁴

The late sophist Themistius held exactly the same view as Lucian—that it is fitting for a sophist but unbecoming to a philosopher to take fees from students. Is he a true philosopher or a hypocrite who wrings his fee out of pupils even if they are poor or orphans, and then goes abroad smoothly preaching that all the gold on earth and under it is of no consequence as compared with virtue?¹⁵

⁸ Lucian *Conv.* 32, cf. 36.

⁹ Id. *Hermot.* 9, cf. 80.

¹⁰ Id. *Iup. Trag.* 27.

¹¹ Id. *Menipp.* 5. Nigrinus, sharing this sentiment, gave instruction gratis: id. *Nigrin.* 25f.

¹² Id. *Dial. Mort.* x.11.

¹³ Id. *de Mercede cond.* 4f.

¹⁴ Id. *Menipp.* 17.

¹⁵ Themist. *Or.* xxi.261 B-C.

X

The Second Sophistic

DURING a part of the imperial period, the sophists once more sprang up and flourished in the Graeco-Roman world. Education was now in some places and to some extent supported by the imperial treasury, and the positions salaried by the emperor were eagerly sought after. In the days of Septimius Severus and Caracalla the sophists resident in Rome were divided into the salaried and the unsalaried.¹ Let us consider first those teachers who either flourished before the salaried positions were made available or else who failed to secure one of these coveted posts.

In Gaul, even in the Augustan Age, the influence of the Greek culture of Marseilles had aroused such zeal for learning, as we hear from Strabo, that sophists were being imported to provide their paid instruction for the young. While some of them were secured at private expense, others were hired by the cities.² Prospective pupils who lived closer to Greece, for example in Thrace, Pontus, and all parts of the Near East, often found it more feasible to go to the schools of Athens than to bring sophists into their residential localities. These foreign youths, flocking from all quarters, poured tuition fees into Athenian coffers and barbaric sounds into Athenian ears.³ Of course some cities had native sophists who answered the purpose well enough for most of the local youths. Thus in the first century the Bithynian city of Prusa had the maternal grandfather of Dio Chrysostom who gained his fortune partly by imperial gift but partly also by teaching.⁴

Throughout the Mediterranean world Greek teachers, generally less scrupulous than they had been in the days of national independence, were holding forth to the young the seductive bait all too familiar in modern American education: a quick and profit-

¹ *Digest* xxvii.1.6.11.

² Strabo iv.1.5 (181 Cas.).

³ Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* ii.1, p. 553 Olearius.

⁴ Dio Chrys. xlv.3. Von Arnim estimated that the teaching career of Dio's grandfather fell approximately in the principate of Claudius. Dio did not tell whether he was a sophist or grammaticus, but the former is presumably the case, since a grammaticus would hardly have made a fortune or have been a friend of the Roman emperor.

able financial return to follow upon the completion of an easy course of studies. "Everywhere you go," said Apollonius of Tyana to an uneducated youth,⁵ "you will find a class of people hitherto unknown to you, called teachers. If you will give them a little of your money you will be sure of getting more in return, for they will teach you the rhetoric of business—and it's easy to learn!"

From Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* it is possible to glean scattered comments on the pay of several of the dazzling masters of the Second Sophistic. These we may take in the order followed by Philostratus, omitting for the time being those who held salaried chairs at Athens.

Scopelian, like many modern physicians, determined his fee by individual ability to pay.⁶ For the instruction of the young millionaire Herodes Atticus he got the fat reward of thirty talents. Lollianus of Ephesus, before his appointment to an officially salaried chair, had a great reputation and was wont to charge handsome fees.⁷ For the privilege of hearing three declamations by Polemo, Herodes Atticus voluntarily gave 250,000 drachmas—a fabulous sum.⁸ Because Chrestus of Byzantium had a hundred paying pupils, he refused even to try for the imperial chair of rhetoric at Athens and sniffed at its stipend of 10,000 drachmas.⁹ Philostratus praised Apollonius of Naucratis because it was easy to come to terms with him on the question of pay.¹⁰ The hard and fast rule of Proclus of Naucratis was that one payment of a hundred drachmas entitled anybody to come and hear his lectures forever or for as long as was desired.¹¹ The wealthy Damianus of Ephesus paid ten thousand drachmas each to Aelius Aristides, lecturing in Smyrna, and to Adrian of Tyre, lecturing in Ephesus; and when he himself became teacher instead of pupil he would exempt from the payment of fees any poor students who came to him from abroad.¹² Heraclides of Lycia derived enough income from his lectures so that he was able to spend ten talents in buy-

⁵ Philost. *Vit. Ap.* vi.36.

⁶ Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i.21, p. 519.

⁷ *Ibid.* i.23, p. 527.

⁸ *Ibid.* i.25, p. 538.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii.11, p. 591.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii.19, p. 600.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii.21, p. 604.

¹² *Ibid.* ii.23, pp. 605f.

ing an estate near Smyrna; with fitting gratitude he gave the name of "Rhetoric" to this country place.¹³

Deliberately excluded from Philostratus' account of the sophists was the most famous of them all, Lucian. Plainly Lucian owed his exclusion to his defection in middle life from the sophistic to the philosophic ranks. In the period, however, -while he was still active as a sophist and was scouring the urban centers of culture from Asia Minor to Gaul, his brilliance netted him excellent financial returns. In Gaul particularly he was, according to his own affirmation, among the highest paid of the sophists.¹⁴ Allegorically he described Wealth as one of the charming attendants of Lady Rhetoric,¹⁵ and to a boy ambitious to become a sophist he spoke with ironical encouragement of the riches and honor which might accrue to him through the unscrupulous practice of the rhetorical art,¹⁶ although he warned him that a conscientious teacher of old Attic eloquence would demand a stiff fee in advance.¹⁷

It is clear that the more successful and famous sophists of this period were, as a class, the best-paid and the richest teachers of antiquity. For them it was a golden age, and they lived in ease and luxury, admired by all and not made uncomfortable by the annoying questions of a Socrates.

¹³ *Ibid.* ii.26, p. 615.

¹⁴ Lucian *Apol.* 15.

¹⁵ *Id. Rhet. praec.* 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 9.

XI

Imperial Patronage and Public Salaries

THE Roman emperors from the very beginning made determined efforts to enlist the support of cultural interests for the imperial regime. The account of their efforts to gain control of the schools, first in Rome itself and then through all the provinces, especially those where Hellenic education prevailed, forms a valuable chapter of the empire's history.¹

By Suetonius' testimony,² the first emperor to seek control of the schools by the establishment of positions salaried from the fisc was Vespasian. In view of the well-known penuriousness of Vespasian it is somewhat surprising to hear that he fixed 100,000 sesterces as the annual emolument of Latin and Greek rhetors at Rome. He must have hoped that there would be an adequate return for this outlay in the consequent support of the imperial policy. Quintilian, the first occupant of the Latin chair thus endowed, was no flatterer, but he was loyal and influential. An inscription recently discovered at Pergamum,³ near the ruins of what Wiegand believes to have been a Roman gymnasium, gives the text of an edict of Vespasian, dated December 27, 74, granting to *grammatici*, *rhetores*, and doctors exemption from taxes and from having people quartered upon them. This is a new proof that it was part of Vespasian's program to enlist the friendship and support of the professions.

Hadrian was the next emperor whom we know to have cultivated the professors, and his biographer declares somewhat vaguely that he enriched all of them;⁴ but the unworthy ones he enriched only as a preliminary to grimly ousting them from the

¹ See Corrado Barbagallo, *Lo stato e l'istruzione pubblica nell' Impero Romano*, Catania, 1911; L. Hahn, "Über das Verhältnis von Staat und Schule in der römischen Kaiserzeit," *Philol.* LXXVI (1920), 176-191; R. Herzog, "Urkunden zur Hochschulpolitik der römischen Kaiser," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1935, 967-1019.

² Suet. Vesp. 18.

³ R. Herzog, *op. cit.* 967-972.

⁴ *Script. Hist. Aug., Hadr.* 16.8: omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit.

profession.⁵ Hadrian, the founder of the Athenaeum at Rome, is probably the emperor referred to by Tatian in the following sentence of his address against the pagans: "Why, the philosophers among you fall so far short of their ascetic profession that some of them get from the Roman emperor 600 pieces of gold a year, for no good reason except that they may not wear a flowing beard for nothing."⁶ The date of Tatian's remark shows that he could not have been referring to the philosophic chairs endowed by Marcus Aurelius in the year 176, and Schemmel⁷ therefore connects these philosophers with the Athenaeum at Rome.

Antoninus Pius "bestowed honors and salaries on the rhetors and philosophers through all the provinces."⁸ That Antoninus paid these salaries out of the treasury is not likely; the municipalities were in general called upon to include them in their local budgets.⁹ The benefits of Marcus Aurelius were mostly bestowed upon the University of Athens and may be reserved for discussion in connection with that university.

Severus Alexander paid regular salaries to rhetors and *grammatici*, as well as to members of certain other favored professions.¹⁰ The other emperors of the third century seem to have paid no favor to teachers; the days of the Military Anarchy were black ones for education and culture.

Constantius Chlorus, in 297, a few years before he became emperor, decided to revive the schools of Augustodunum (Autun), and appointed Eumenius, a man of Attic descent, to carry out the task at a salary of 600,000 sesterces a year.¹¹ This huge salary, derived from the imperial treasury, Eumenius voluntarily contributed toward a rebuilding program.

The reforms of Diocletian and his edict of 301 establishing a maximum scale of prices were temporarily important for teachers.

⁵ *Ibid.* 16.11: Doctores, qui professioni suae inhabiles videbantur, ditatos honoratosque a professione dimisit.

⁶ Tatian *Or. ad Graecos* 19. This speech was delivered between 163 and 173: Christ-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*⁸ II.1288f.

⁷ *Phil. Woch.* XLI (1921), 983f.

⁸ *Script. Hist. Aug., Ant. Pius* 11.3.

⁹ Walden 87.

¹⁰ *Script. Hist. Aug., Sev. Alex.* 44.4.

¹¹ *Paneg. Lat.* ix, Eumen. *Pro instaur. scholis orat.* 11.2, 14.5. See the discussion by C. E. van Sickle, "Eumenius and the schools of Autun," *AJP* LV (1934), 236-243.

Elementary teachers of reading, writing, or physical training were to get fifty denarii (22 cents) a month per pupil. Teachers of arithmetic or shorthand were to get seventy-five denarii (33 cents). Teachers of architecture were to get a hundred denarii (44 cents). Teachers of Greek, Latin, or geometry were to get 200 denarii (87 cents), and the highest reward was reserved for the sophist or teacher of public speaking: 250 denarii (\$1.09).¹²

As Diocletian's edict did not long remain in force, irregularities in payment speedily became rife once more. In 321 a rescript of Constantine peremptorily commanded that the *grammatici* and other professors be paid their fees and salaries,¹³ and this was reiterated in 333.¹⁴ Dill observed that the *curiales* of the fourth century, oppressed by an increasingly heavy financial burden, were surely often tempted to retrench on educational expenses. "An impoverished municipality would cut down the salaries of its professors, or pay them very irregularly."¹⁵

In 376 Gratian promulgated an edict with regard to the teachers in Gaul.¹⁶ Dill has suggested¹⁷ that the teachers owed this edict to the influence wielded upon Gratian by his former tutor, Ausonius of Bordeaux—an influence which presently led to Ausonius' elevation to the prefectureship of the Gauls and subsequently to the consulship. The salary which Gratian fixed for rhetors was twenty-four annonae, for Greek or Latin *grammatici* twelve annonae. Rhetors were evidently, in the estimation of Gratian and his advisers, twice as valuable as *grammatici*. In Trèves, however, the then seat of the empire, higher salaries were to be paid in order to attract there the best talent: thirty annonae for a rhetor, twenty for a Latin *grammaticus*, but only twelve, as in the other cities, for a Greek *grammaticus*, "supposing a worthy one could be found." The schools of Gaul were now flourishing, but the study of Greek was declining.

¹² *Edict. Imp. Diocl.* vii. 64-74. The equivalents in American money by the gold standard were computed by Frank, *Econ. Hist. of Rome*² (Baltimore, 1927), 504.

¹³ *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 3.1-2.

¹⁴ *Cod. Iust.* x.53.6.

¹⁵ Samuel Dill, *Roman society in the last century of the Western Empire*² (London, 1899), 402.

¹⁶ *Cod. Theod.* xiii.3.11.

¹⁷ Dill, *op. cit.* 159, 402.

The later emperors added little new in regard to professorial salaries, but limited themselves merely to issuing confirmations of grants, privileges, and immunities already bestowed by law. Thus in 414 Theodosius confirmed for teachers and doctors, together with their wives and children, the tax exemptions and complete relief from public burdens which his predecessors had granted.¹⁸ In 425 occurs the first mention of professors of law as enjoying public salaries and privileges on a parity with other teachers; this was when the University of Constantinople was reorganized by Theodosius and two professors of law were installed on the faculty.¹⁹ In the Western Empire King Athalaric (526–534), hearing rumors that some teachers were not getting their pay, gave orders that all professors of grammar, eloquence, and law should get their established emoluments without any diminution.²⁰ Justinian decreed in 534 that Carthage should have two *grammatici* with a salary of seventy *solidi* (about one pound of gold) and two rhetors with the same pay; but it is not clear whether the amount specified was for one teacher or for the pair.²¹ Finally in 554 Justinian issued a general order for the continuance of public salaries for *grammatici*, rhetors, and professors of law.²² Then the record breaks off and we have no assurance that Justinian's regulations remained long in force.

¹⁸ *Cod. Theod.* xiii.3.16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* xiv.9.3 = *Cod. Iust.* xi.19.1.

²⁰ Cassiod. *Variae* ix.21.

²¹ *Cod. Iust.* i.27.1.42.

²² *Iust. Nov.* 164.22.

XII

The University of Athens

LET us next take a glance at the University of Athens and consider the financial rewards of the professors there. There is evidence that the first Roman emperor to provide for regular salaries to chosen teachers in Athens was Antoninus Pius. He caused to be established a so-called "political" (i.e. municipal) chair of rhetoric at Athens, with an annual salary of a talent paid by the city; the first occupant of the chair was Lollianus of Ephesus,¹ and one of his successors was Apollonius of Athens.²

The next imperial patron of higher education at Athens was Antoninus' successor, Marcus Aurelius. This famous philosopher-king was educated by the best private tutors, and when he arrived at maturity he realized what a valuable education he had received from them. In his *Meditations*³ he jotted down among the lessons that he had learned from different sources: "From my grandfather's father, to dispense with attendance at public schools, and to enjoy good teachers at home, and to recognize that on such things money should be eagerly spent." Being aware, however, that many could not afford an expensive private education, he determined to bestow a boon upon both teachers and students by endowing professorships whose incumbents would need no support from fees. When he visited Athens in 176 he conferred other honors upon the city and in particular he gave orders to have teachers of every branch of knowledge chosen to receive an annual stipend from his treasury.⁴ Thus Marcus Aurelius became the greatest benefactor of education in his age.

The first occupant of the chair of rhetoric, which was one of those thus endowed by Marcus Aurelius, was Julius Theodotus, a native Athenian. His annual salary was 10,000 drachmas.⁵ Unknown are the first incumbents of the chairs of philosophy, one in each of the four schools: Stoic, Epicurean, Academic, and

¹ Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* i.23, p. 526 Olearius.

² *Ibid.* ii.20, p. 600.

³ *M. Ant.* i.4, trans. by Haines.

⁴ Dio Cass. lxxii (lxxi).31.3; cf. Zonaras xii.3.

⁵ Philost. *Vitt. Soph.* ii.2, p. 566.

Peripatetic. Their choice had been entrusted by the emperor to his former teacher, the eminent Herodes Atticus, who was too wealthy to be bribed and too cultured and sophisticated to make any bad choices. Each of the four men received the same salary as did the professor of rhetoric.⁶ The unphilosophic scramble for the Peripatetic chair upon the death of its occupant is satirically described by Lucian in his *Eunuchus*.

Endowments intended to be perpetual are among the follies of mankind. The supporting funds always contrive in some way or other to vanish. In the very next century after their establishment, the professorial endowments provided by the Antonines were diverted to other purposes because of the hard, troublous times and lack of interest in culture that followed the death of Alexander Severus. "The Imperial Chairs at Athens were left vacant, though the city, to whom her University was dear, still managed to reserve some funds for the salaries of Grammarians and Sophists."⁷

During the fifth century the schools of Athens enjoyed the munificent support of their last benefactor, Theagenes. A brief notice in Suidas tells us how this little known individual "spent large sums of money on teachers, physicians, and the general welfare of his city."⁸

In the year 529, when Justinian, desiring to destroy the last props of paganism, issued his famous decree closing the schools of Athens, his principal means of enforcing his decree was the abolition of the imperial salaries which had evidently been again restored in the fourth or fifth century.⁹ Thereafter the old Greek university education was dead, and learning beat a retreat to the monasteries.

⁶ Lucian *Eunuch*. 3 and 8.

⁷ W. W. Capes, *University life in ancient Athens* (London, 1877), 64. Cf. Walden 171.

⁸ Suid. s.v. Θεαγένης.

⁹ Procop. *Anecd.* 26. No one should suppose that Justinian, the builder of the world-renowned church of Holy Wisdom in Constantinople, was an enemy of education as such, but only of pagan education.

XIII

The Minor Universities

WHEN we pass from Athens to the other university cities, we encounter the occasional practice in the fourth century of paying professors in staple food supplies, rather than in money.¹ Since prices were fluctuating and the currency was being debased, this scheme had considerable merit and was in fact widely adopted for salaried positions. The University of Constantinople accorded its thirty professors a monthly allowance of two hundred medimni of wheat and two hundred jars of olive oil.² This allowance was not intended to debar the professors from obtaining pecuniary compensation from their pupils, and the result was the same kind of degrading struggle for a more numerous enrollment which afflicts the American university and college today. Too rare was the high-minded man like Themistius who made it his boast that he was neither mercenary nor unfair in competing with the other professors; he neither asked the students for money nor did he pay out money to get students (μισθὸν δὲ οὔτε εἰσφέρουσιν οὔτε ἀποφέρονται).³ When Libanius taught at Constantinople, from 350 to 352, he enjoyed, besides countless gifts from the emperor including revenue-producing real estate,⁴ a regular salary either from the emperor or from the city, or perhaps from both.⁵ This salary (ἡ ἐκ βασιλέως τροφή or ἡ ἐκ πόλεως τροφή) was transferred to others shortly after Libanius moved permanently back to the city of his birth, Antioch.⁶ Some arrears he endeavored to collect through a messenger, Agroecius.⁷

In the city of Antioch free public schools were inaugurated by a decree of Emperor Probus (276-282), which provided that the

¹ At Antioch: Liban. *Or.* i.109; xxxi.15.

² Themist. *Or.* xxiii.292A. The professors were said τῶν βασιλέως ἐσθίειν: Liban. *Or.* i.37.

³ Themist. *Or.* xxiii.288C-289B and 294A.

⁴ Liban. *Or.* i.80.

⁵ Id. *Ep.* 454 and 572.

⁶ *Ibid.* 446 and 454.

⁷ A letter to Themistius (*Ep.* 463) asked him to use his influence in helping Agroecius get the money. *Ep.* 464 also seeks to enlist the aid of Photius, a magistrate, in the same cause.

Antiochene teachers' salaries be paid from the public exchequer.⁸ This salary was called ἡ βασιλικὴ τροφή or τὸ παρὰ βασιλέως δεδόμενον εἰς τροφήν.⁹ Zenobius, one of the teachers, received good pay, and had the revenue from some real estate added to his other income.¹⁰ As for Libanius, although he received the public salary, he experienced some vicissitudes. His salary was cut off for a period when Elpidius was prefect of the Orient,¹¹ but half of it was restored by Salutius (Salustius), Elpidius' successor. It appears that for some reason Libanius also had an allowance of grain from the governor of Phoenicia, when the political wind blew the right way. When Polychronius was governor, about 360–361, he discontinued Libanius' allowance,¹² and in 362 we find Libanius imploring his successor, Julian, to restore it.¹³ The plea was probably granted, and Julian's successor, Gaianus, continued the allowance.¹⁴

When Libanius had returned to his native city of Antioch in 354 to commence there his last and longest period of professorial work, he had found grievous conditions prevailing in the schools. In his own school he had at least four subordinate teachers, whose public salaries had been delayed, denied, or diminished.¹⁵ These four, unlike Libanius, were not natives of the city, but had been attracted there by reports of rich lucrative rewards awaiting educators in Antioch. They came, alas! too late. What Zenobius alone had received was apportioned among the four of them, without the extra revenue from real estate.¹⁶ So far were they from being able to send money home, as they had hoped, that they were delighted if their relatives could send them an occasional gift of money. They rented lodgings or else had homes encumbered by debts; they could afford few slaves, still less marriage and a family to support; and while their predecessors in Antioch had been

⁸ Malalas *Chronog.* 12 (p. 302 Dindorf). Probably the imperial, rather than the municipal, treasury was what Malalas had in mind.

⁹ Liban. *Ep.* 132 and 207.

¹⁰ Id. *Or.* xxxi.20.

¹¹ Id. *Ep.* 740. Elpidius (Helpidius) held this magistracy for about two years, 360–362.

¹² Id. *Ep.* 28.

¹³ *Ibid.* 740.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 800.

¹⁵ Id. *Or.* xxxi.19 and 31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 23.

haughty and fussy patrons of smirking silversmiths, they owed awkward debts to the baker and were all too familiar with the pawnshops.¹⁷ The old families of Antioch, now comparatively impoverished, were no longer inclined to give generous or at least decent remuneration for the private tutelage of their sons.¹⁸ Libanius delivered a strong speech in behalf of the teachers. He felt that the parents involved, mostly *curiales*, could give the teachers, if not money or wheat or wine, at least some pieces of land.¹⁹ One of their sophists, he reminded them, had already been drawn away to Caesarea, a smaller city, by more lucrative prospects there.²⁰

Although Libanius spoke, with a sentiment of yearning, about the old days when professors were made rich by the crowds of youngsters eager to acquire learning,²¹ he exhibited his own high-minded and disinterested motives by either accepting no pay whatever (save that he did not decline to take gifts from his pupils or their parents²²) or allowing his pupils to pay him or not, just as they saw fit.²³ He expressed his sympathy for the poor by saying that to take fees from them was as bad as to rob a dead man.²⁴ His lenient attitude caused the poor to pay him nothing because of their poverty, while the rich declined to pay because they took the lordly attitude that they did any sophist a favor by listening to him. In his early years at Antioch, Libanius did a good turn to an old Antiochene teacher, Gaudentius, by taking his son Silvanus as a free pupil.²⁵ Of another pupil at Antioch, Eutropius, Libanius indignantly said that his father committed two misdeeds: first, by spoiling a good farmer to make a bad pupil and, second, by "depriving the Muses of their pay."²⁶ The father

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 10-12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 29. Section 9 also emphasizes the poverty of the pupils.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 17.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 42. If the sophist in question was Priscio (cf. G. R. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius* [Berlin, 1868], 276), it is at any rate probable that Acacius also left Antioch and went to Palestine for exactly the same reason: cf. Liban. *Ep.* 289 and Walden 175 n.3.

²¹ *Id. Or.* xxxi.25 and xliii.3.

²² *Ibid.* iii.9 and liv.17.

²³ *Ibid.* xxxvi.9. Libanius knew each student's circumstances and his ability to pay, but he chose not to wrangle (*Or.* iv.14).

²⁴ *Id. Ep.* 340.

²⁵ *Id. Or.* xxxviii.2.

²⁶ *Ibid.* iv.17.

of Eutropius, it appears, basked in political favor, and the rhetor did not dare to demand from him the tuition for his son which he made no move to pay. By way of contrast with Eutropius, there was Epiphanius, son of Artemius, a much more brilliant pupil, who was taken out of school by his father to be put to work. Libanius expostulated with Artemius for this and declared that the teacher, Theotecnus, would be willing to keep Epiphanius as a non-paying pupil, just in order to have the pleasure of helping such a promising lad who was sure to be a future ornament to the city.²⁷

Other Syrian cities besides Antioch competed for the services of distinguished sophists, and isolated cases are known from Palestine and Arabia. Thus Syrian Chalcis in the fourth century voted a public salary to the sophist Domninus.²⁸ Apamea provided Gerontius with such a goodly income that Libanius congratulated him on being better off than professors at Athens.²⁹ In the fifth century both Antioch and Tyre wanted to get Procopius of Gaza as a rhetor, but Caesarea in Palestine secured his services, "partly by force, partly by flattery, and partly by trying to bait him with a lot of money."³⁰ In Arabia, at Elusa, the sophist Eudaemon of Egypt taught with the grant of the imperial salary.³¹

In Berytus the *antecessores* or professors in the school of law were permitted to receive fees from the students, and in the year 425 they were placed on a parity with the sophists in receiving a salary from the state.³² In 533 Justinian ordered that the law schools in the Roman Empire should be limited to three, Berytus, Constantinople, and Rome, and in 554 he commanded the continuance of the professorial salaries at these three schools.³³

The school of Alexandria suffered various misfortunes and tribulations. In the year 212 Caracalla, on a wanton pretext, abolished all the benefits and privileges of the Peripatetic phi-

²⁷ Id. *Ep.* 910.

²⁸ Id. *Or.* liv.48.

²⁹ Id. *Ep.* 1391.

³⁰ Choricus *Or. Fun. in Procop.* 12.

³¹ Liban. *Ep.* 132. Eudaemon is located in Elusa by the evidence of *Ep.* 315; cf. Walden 172.

³² The source of this information is the Syriac life of Bishop Severus of Antioch, cited by F. Schemmel, "Die Schule von Berytus," *Ph. Woch.* XLIII (1923), 238.

³³ Iust. *Nov.* 164.22. Cf. Schemmel, *Ph. Woch.* XLI (1921), 984.

losophers there, including their maintenance at public expense in the Museum.³⁴ The Alexandrian Neoplatonists, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, seem to have enjoyed public maintenance (δημοσία σίτησις); we know this to be true of Hermias,³⁵ and it presumably was likewise true of Theon, Hypatia, and the others. An obscure notice of Damascius³⁶ declares that Ammonius, the Neoplatonist of about 500, was a grasping man, ready to do anything to get money.

In Rome the Athenaeum, founded by Hadrian, was frequented by sophists and philosophers. The professors of philosophy were customarily imported from Athens and were paid a public salary.³⁷ A certain Celsus, son of Archetimus, in the fourth century promised to give philosophical instruction gratis to the Roman youth. Symmachus requested the emperor, Theodosius, to honor this unselfish scholar by making him a Roman senator.

In this era the strife between paganism and Christianity was reflected in the mutual taunts hurled back and forth about the mercenary motives of the pagan and the Christian teachers. When Libanius accused Bishop Basil the Great and all other bishops of being stingy and grasping, Basil replied that it was the sophists and not the bishops who were mercenary. "It is the profession of the sophistic tribe to make money out of words. What bishop ever sold words or made his disciples pay a fee? You sophists are the ones who offer your words for sale, the way pastry-cooks offer their honey-cakes."³⁸ The emperor Julian, plunging into the debate, denounced the Christian teachers for making a living by teaching the works of the great pagan writers, Homer and Hesiod, Thucydides and Demosthenes. "They thereby confess that they are most shamefully greedy of gain," he said, "and that, for the

³⁴ Dio Cass. lxxvii.7.3. This assault by Caracalla left the other phases of learning in the Museum unaffected.

³⁵ Suid. s.v. Αἰδεσία; cf. Christ-Schmid II^o.1065.

³⁶ Damascius *Vit. Isid.*, ap. Phot. cod. 242 (p. 352 Bekker). The identification of this Ammonius αἰσχροκερδής is probable, but not altogether certain.

³⁷ Symm. *Ep.* x.5: Inter praecipua negotiorum saepe curatum est ut erudiendis nobilibus philosophi praeceptores ex Attica poscerentur. The letter shows that these *philosophi praeceptores* normally received a salary, and Celsus surprised and gratified the Romans by asking nothing.

³⁸ Bas. *Ep.* 348 (also in Förster's Libanius, vol. XI, pp. 588f.).

sake of a few drachmas, they would put up with anything.”³⁹ When he was emperor, Julian saw to it that none of the publicly salaried professorships in the empire fell into the hands of a Christian.⁴⁰

³⁹ Julian *Ep.* 61 Bidez-Cumont, p. 423B (trans. by Wright).

⁴⁰ *Cod. Theod.* xiii.3.5 (A.D. 362) provides that all professorial appointments should be subject to the emperor's approval; the animus of such a law is obvious.

XIV

Reluctance in Payment

THE reluctance of students, or of their parents, to make proper payment of tuition fees was not less pronounced under the Empire and in the last epoch of ancient education than it had been in earlier centuries. In rare instances the teachers may have been blameworthy, for Quintilian rebuked teachers who kept pupils under their tutelage longer than was necessary, *partim cupiditate diutius exigendi mercedulas*.¹

Pay-day was now no longer the Feast of the Pitchers, as in old Athens, but January 1, New Year's Day, and this was the most welcome day in the year for teachers.² The happiness of many of them, however, was likely to be clouded by the failure of certain pupils to pay up. Juvenal describes how the rhetors were expected to give full and painstaking instruction in the arts of declamation and debate, but no one wanted to settle with them when pay-day rolled around. "You dun me for a fee? Why, what have I learned?"³ Such rebuffs helped drive many a rhetor to suicide; Juvenal gives one Greek and one Roman example.⁴ With his customary exaggeration the satirist asserts that a teacher rarely got his fee without going to law for it.⁵

The dilemma in which teachers found themselves was briefly stated by Libanius as follows: if you don't exact your pay, you don't get it; if you do exact it, the pupil is sure to make trouble.⁶ Even those who were able to pay their fees frequently took pleasure in refusing,⁷ somewhat like the modern gentlemen who make it a point of honor not to pay their tradesmen's bills. The number of students in a classroom furnished no adequate gage of the teacher's revenue in fees, for many of them would have

¹ Quint. xii.11.14.

² Liban. Or. ix.16, cf. Ep. 340. Among the Romans, teachers were paid annually in March. Macrobian. Sat. i.12.7: Hoc mense mercedes exsolvebant magistris, quas completus annus deberi fecit.

³ Juv. vii.155-158.

⁴ Ibid. 203-206.

⁵ Ibid. 228f.

⁶ Liban. Or. lxii.34.

⁷ Ibid. 19.

been obliged to admit, if they were driven to it, that they paid nothing at all.⁸

A favorite, but despicable, trick was to abandon a teacher and go to another after a few weeks or months. If the hapless teacher who was thus abandoned dared to mention such a thing as payment he was promptly withered by a running fire of abuse: "I've just been wasting my time here, I don't know a thing, I didn't get anything out of the course, I've been too slow about leaving, I should have done it long ago. Pay for ignorance isn't customary. Goodby."⁹ Another trick was for the pupil to get money from his father ostensibly for the sophist's pay, but actually the scapegrace would spend it on drinking, gambling, and sweethearts—the sophist might whistle for his money.¹⁰ Or, as Themistius and the epigrammatist Palladas both suggest, counterfeit coins might be foisted on the teacher if he were not wary.¹¹ In sum, Libanius assures us that there may be rich teachers, but they surely obtained their riches either by inheritance from relatives or by currying favor with the magistrates and public officials upon whom they fawned. "A man cannot get rich from students' fees."¹²

Professors and teachers could have legal recourse to the provincial governor if their public salary or private fee was not forthcoming. This applied to *ludimagistri*, *grammatici*, *geometrae*, and *rhetoires*. Philosophers were excluded from this privilege, "since the first thing they ought to avow is scorn of mercenary work." Professors of law were likewise debarred from suing for their fees, since the dignity of legal learning was above any calculable monetary value and was not to be degraded by seeking a fee for it in court. The moral is, said Ulpian tersely, "collect in advance."¹³

Libanius is not the only man in this period who complains repeatedly of the shabby treatment accorded to teachers. Symmachus in Gaul bemoans the "withdrawal of support from the

⁸ *Ibid.* xxxi.30–31; cf. iii.6–8.

⁹ *Ibid.* xliii.6; cf. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii.6.

¹¹ Themist. *Or.* xxi.261C; Palladas *Anth. Pal.* ix.174.

¹² Liban. *Or.* li.14.

¹³ Digest 1.13.1; on the philosophers § 4; on the lawyers § 5; on the *ludimagistri* § 6. See Barbagallo, *op. cit.*, 185–187; Clyde Pharr, "Roman legal education," *Class. Journ.* XXXIV (1938–39), 265.

teachers of the Roman youth,"¹⁴ and intercedes with the praetorian prefect in behalf of the endangered professorial salary of Priscian.¹⁵ He thinks it ought to be a matter of pride with a rich and powerful nation to bestow ample rewards on the teaching profession. St. Augustine, coming to teach rhetoric in Rome, conceived a strong hatred for the pupils there who, like their brethren at Antioch, conspired to shift from one teacher to another for the sole purpose of avoiding the payment of tuition.¹⁶ Palladas alludes bitterly to the same practice: "If any one agrees to pay a gold coin for a whole year, he changes his teacher in the eleventh month before paying up, and is so ungrateful as to make fun, too, of his former master after robbing him of a whole year's fee."¹⁷ Constantine in an edict of 333 commanded that there should be no neglect of payment of fees and salaries to teachers,¹⁸ and Gratian in 376 established a salary scale for the guidance of municipalities.¹⁹ These edicts did little good, and the laws might as well have been silent.

With the inadequate and uncertain financial emoluments which it offered, the teaching profession now attracted few men of more than mediocre attainments. The school of Libanius at Antioch produced few teachers because the students preferred to enter some walk of life which promised a more rosy financial future.²⁰ Teachers had fallen upon evil days, education was being increasingly neglected, and the ancient world was sinking into the Dark Ages. The experiment of leaning on the imperial government and the municipalities for the support of higher education had in the long run proved to be a failure.

¹⁴ Symm. *Ep.* v.35 Seeck.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* i.79.

¹⁶ Aug. *Conf.* v.12.

¹⁷ Palladas *Anth. Pal.* ix.174, trans. by Paton. See Kevin Guinagh, "The unpaid teacher of antiquity," *Class. Journ.* XXVIII (1932-33), 366.

¹⁸ *Cod. Iust.* x.53.6.

¹⁹ *Cod. Theod.* xiii.3.11.

²⁰ Liban. *Or.* lxii.30f.