

A STUDY OF AUSONIUS' PROFESSORES

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ABSTRACT

A commentary on the text of Ausonius' Professores is supplemented by an examination of their date of publication, Ausonius' motives for writing and the school system at Bordeaux in the fourth century. Special attention is given to a comparison of the professorial image in Ausonius with that in other sources.

PREFACE

In a preface to Les étudiants de Libanius by P. Petit, Marrou, the foremost authority on Greco-roman education laments: "que des fois, rédigeant mon Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité, j'ai souffert de l'absence de tels travaux d'analyse, seuls capable d'élaborer les matériaux solides d'une authentique synthèse. Que des questions devaient demeurer en suspens, à se contenter d'une réponse hypothétique et provisoire". The present work has tackled nothing as formidable as the corpus of Libanius' works nor has it always removed elements of the hypothetical and provisory. But in treating the Professores as evidence for ancient education in my Master's thesis, I became aware that this work had never been subjected to an in-depth study. The present thesis aims at filling this gap.

Abbreviations for the titles of journals and periodicals follow the system of L'année philologique. Abbreviations for the names of ancient authors and their works follow, where possible, The Oxford Classical Dictionary. Otherwise a readily recognizable shortening has been employed. In the case of well-known collections, such as Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, edited by Herman Dessau, references have been indicated by the editor's surname followed simply by the number of the inscription. In the case of such standard works as

Syme's Tacitus or Boissier's Fin du paganisme complete details of publication have not been provided at first mention. The bibliography does provide such detail for all the works cited in this thesis.

Some peculiar and frequent abbreviations follow.

- CE Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Collected by F. Buecheler with a supplement by E. Lommatzsch. In Anthologia Latina, vol. 2. 1-3. 1926; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964.
- CGL Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, edited by G. Goetz, 1892; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965.
- Eusebius HE or Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica.
- Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
- Pan. Lat. Panegyriques latins. 3 tomes. Texte établi et traduit par E. Galletier (Budé; Paris: Belles lettres, 1949).
- Paulin. Euchar. Paulinus of Pella, Eucharisticus. In Evelyn White's Loeb of Ausonius, vol. 2.
- PLRE Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, volume 1, A. D. 260-395. By A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris. Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1971.
- RE Instead of PW for Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

- Bowen, History of Western Educ. A History of Western Education, volume
1: The Ancient World, by J. Bowen. New York:
St. Martin's Pr., 1972.
- Byrne, Prolegomena Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus
Magnus Ausonius, by M. J. Byrne. New York:
Columbia Univ. Pr., 1916.
- Clarke, Higher Educ. Higher Education in the Ancient World, by M. L.
Clarke. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Denk, Geschichte Geschichte des gallo-frankischen Bildungswesens,
by O. Denk. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1892.
- Etienne, Bordeaux antique Bordeaux antique, by R. Etienne. Bordeaux:
Féd. hist. du Sud-Ouest, 1962.
- Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul Schools of Gaul, by T. J. Haarhoff, 1920;
repr. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Univ. Pr.,
1958.
- Marrou, page no. Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, by
H. I. Marrou. 6e éd. Paris: Éditions du Seuil,
1965.
- Petit, Étudiants. Les étudiants de Libanius, by P. Petit. Paris:
Nouvelles Éditions Latines, n.d.
- Walden, Universities The Universities of Ancient Greece, by J. W. H.
Walden, 1909; repr. New York: Books for Libraries
Pr., 1970.

Wolf, Schulwesen Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike, by P. Wolf.

Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft,
1957.

Ausonius' Works

Details of editions of Ausonius are given below pp. 208ff.

Outside the Commentary these are indicated by the editor's surname.

The basic text used by this thesis is the Loeb edition (2 volumes,

1919; repr. 1968) of H. G. Evelyn White. The Commentary on Prof. 6

follows Pastorino's text which is printed below pp. 274f. Verse

references and readings are according to this text. Elsewhere readings

are altered according to the recommendations of the Commentary. Ab-

breviations used for Ausonius' works are as follows:

Praefatiunculae, Prefatory Pieces

Praefatiunculae

Ephemeris, The Daily Round

Ephem.

Domestica, Personal Poems

Domest.

Parentalia

Parent.

Commemoratio Professorum

Burdigalensium, Professores

Prof.

Epitaphia heroum qui bello

Troico interfuerunt, Epitaphs

Epit.

Eclogae, Eclogues

Ecl.

Cupido Cruciatus, Cupid Crucified

Cup. Cruc.

<u>Bissula</u>	<u>Biss.</u>
<u>Mosella</u>	<u>Mos.</u>
<u>Ordo Urbium Nobilium, The</u>	
<u>Order of Famous Cities</u>	<u>Ordo</u>
<u>Technopaegnon</u>	<u>Tech.</u>
<u>Ludus Septem Sapientium,</u>	
<u>The Masque of the Seven Sages</u>	<u>Ludus</u>
<u>De Caesaribus monosticha</u>	<u>Caes. Mon.</u>
<u>et tetrasticha</u>	and <u>Caes. Tetr.</u>
<u>Fasti, Conclusion to the</u>	
<u>Book of Annals</u>	<u>Fasti</u>
<u>Griphus Ternarii Numeri,</u>	
<u>The Riddle of the Number Three</u>	<u>Griphus</u>
<u>Cento Nuptialis</u>	<u>Cento</u>
<u>Epistulae</u>	<u>Ep.</u>
<u>Epigrammata</u>	<u>Epig.</u>
<u>Gratiarum Actio,</u>	
<u>Thanksgiving for his Consulship</u>	<u>Grat. Act.</u>

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I wish to thank my supervisors for their invaluable assistance. Dr. Paul has devoted much time to reading drafts and helping with problems. His patience and encouragement have been greatly appreciated. Dr. Dunbabin provided valuable aid in trimming and clarifying an unwieldy mass. To Dr. Meyer thanks are due for reading with alacrity and acumen a bulky work. My typist, Mrs. Faye Shaver, has achieved the impossible by finding her way, quickly and accurately, through the labyrinth of the manuscript presented her.

ALAN D. BOOTH

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CHAPTER I

THE DATES OF COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION OF THE PROFESSORES

A terminus post quem for the composition of the Professores can be drawn from Ausonius' address to Delphidius (Prof. 5). Two events deserve examination, the tempus tyrannicum of v. 23 and the Priscillianist affair mentioned in the concluding lines.

Byrne¹ takes tempus tyrannicum as the reign of Maximus (383-88), who ended Ausonius' influence at court by deposing his former pupil, Gratian. She cites vv. 23f., then, as evidence for the Professores not being complete before 389. Marx (RE 2, 2573) is of the same opinion.

But in the account of Delphidius' career, which prefaces the commentary to Prof. 5, it is argued that tempus tyrannicum refers to the revolt of Procopius (365). In any case it will be shown here that Delphidius knew nothing about Priscillian, which places his death before ca. 380. This in itself eliminates the possibility of relating the tempus tyrannicum to Maximus. Additional chronological considerations preclude this identification, but these will not be evident

¹Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1916), p. 69

until the Priscillianist affair has been treated.

In the address to Attius Tiro Delphidius (Prof. 5) Ausonius mentions datable events. The concluding lines run:

Minus malorum munere expertus dei
 medio quod aevi raptus es,
 errore quod non deviantis filiae
 poenaeque laesus coniugis.

This refers to the Priscillianist affair which involved his wife, Euchrotia, who was executed, and his daughter Procula (Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2.48, 51; Prosper Tiro Chron. s.a. 385; Jerome De vir. illust. 122). The execution of Euchrotia gives us a terminus post quem for the composition of this address, for she is called mulier vidua at the time of her death (Pan. Lat. 12.29.2 quoted below). So Delphidius cannot have been alive then. Now the execution of Priscillian and Euchrotia took place in 384/86, while the Synod of Bordeaux, the primary inquisition against the Priscillianists, met in 384.¹ Euchrotia and Procula, however, had to do with Priscillian before these dates. To show this it is necessary to attempt a rough dating of events in the compressed account of Sulpicius Severus. The point of interest for us is that this will show that Delphidius probably was not alive in the final years of Gratian's reign.

Sulpicius Severus (Chron. 47) informs us that Gratian issued a rescript threatening the Priscillianists with exile. At this stage

¹The complex problem of dates in this affair is reviewed by B. Vollmann, Studien zum Priscillianismus (St. Ottilien: Eos-Verl., 1965), who reasonably argues for late 384 or early 385.

Priscillian set out for Rome with Instantius and Salvianus (ibid. 48):
 ut apud Damasum Urbis ea tempestate episcopum obiecta purgarent. Re-
 jected at Rome, the three proceeded to Milan where they encountered
 the opposition of Ambrose and substituted money for argument (ibid.).
 Tum vertere consilia, ut...largiendo et ambiendo ab imperatore cupita
 extorquerent. The emperor is still Gratian, for Priscillian returned
 to Spain, and prosecuted Ithacius. The latter fled to Gaul, and it was
 during his attempts to procure justice that the rumour of Maximus'
 usurpation appeared (ibid. 49): Iam tum rumor incesserat, Clementem
 Maximum intra Britannias sumpsisse imperium. Ithacius subsequently
 made his appeal to Maximus, when the usurper arrived victorious at Trier.
 Maximus then ordered all Priscillianists to be brought before the Synod
 of Bordeaux.

Priscillian's first trip to Rome should probably be dated,
 therefore, 380/381. His journey took him through Aquitania, and the
 following is Sulpicius' account of his reception at Bordeaux (ibid. 48):

A Burdigala per Delphinum repulsi, tamen in
 agro Euchrotiae aliquantisper morati, infecere nonnullos
 suis erroribus. Inde iter coeptum ingressi, turpi sane
 pudibundoque comitatu, cum uxoribus atque alienis
 feminis, in quis erat Euchrotia, ac filia eius Procula:
 de qua fuit in sermone hominum, Priscilliani stupro
 gravidam, partum sibi gramminibus abegisse.

Here the husband of Euchrotia, Delphidius, is not mentioned, and
 Euchrotia is spoken of as if she is the mistress of property. Now
 Ausonius speaks of Delphidius as if he knew nothing at all about
 Priscillian. We can be fairly certain, therefore, that Delphidius was
 no longer alive at the time of Priscillian's first appearance in
 Bordeaux. Tempus tyrannicum cannot then refer to Maximus' revolt.

Ausonius mentions the error of Procula. We do not know what happened to her during the prosecutions, but she certainly was not executed. Pacatus, in his panegyric to Theodosius after Maximus' defeat, accuses the usurper only of the execution of Euchrotia (Pan. Lat. 12.29.2): Sed nimirum graves suberant invidiosaeque causae ut unco ad poenam clari vatis matrona raperetur. Obiciebatur enim atque etiam exprobrabatur mulieri viduae nimia religio et diligentius culta divinitas. If anything had happened to the daughter we would certainly have some mention in view of the all-inclusive tendencies of the panegyricists. It is tempting to think, then, that Procula's only involvement in the affair was her alleged pregnancy by Priscillian and abortion on his first visit to Bordeaux. If this is the error deviantis filiae referred to by Ausonius (Prof. 5.37), Delphidius' ignorance further confirms that his death occurred before ca. 380/381. It could be argued that the Procula story is a rumour, born at the time of Priscillian's trial before Evodius 385, who convicted the defendant on charges of obscene behaviour (Sulp. Sev. Chron. 50): convictumque maleficii, nec diffitentem obscenis se studuisse doctrinis, nocturnos etiam turpium feminarum egisse conventus, nudumque orare solitum, nocentem pronuntiavit. Sulpicius' account is, however, quite detailed, and he explicitly refers the rumour to Priscillian's first visit to Bordeaux. So it is again difficult to refer the tempus tyrannicum to Maximus' revolt.

Finally, with the account of Delphidius' life given by Ausonius it is scarcely possible to place his rise under Maximus. Jerome (Chron. s.a. 355) records: Alcimus et Delphidius rhetores in Aquitania

florentissime docent.¹ Ausonius tells us that Delphidius was something of a child prodigy. If in 355 Delphidius were between 17 and 20 years old, in 383, when Maximus seized the purple, he would have been at least 45. Ausonius describes him dying in middle age (Prof. 5.36): medio quod aevi raptus es. With this chronology Delphidius can qualify, but he will have led an incredibly busy existence in his final years.

Gratian was slain on August 25th 383.² The Synod of Bordeaux, from which Priscillian appealed to Maximus, apparently met in 384, and Priscillian's trial before Evodius and his and Euchrotia's execution may well have been early in 385, but at the latest 386. The time, then, from Delphidius' supposed elevation under Maximus to his death, which we know must have preceded Euchrotia's execution, could scarcely exceed two years. Following his initial rise, Ausonius tells us (Prof. 5.25ff.) that Delphidius underwent a period of ambitious machination, romping through a row of offices. Unfortunately we do not know what these were, but from Ausonius' account the natural inference is that Delphidius spent quite some time successfully promoting his career. His downfall came with a judicial accusation, from which his father's pleas extracted him. The case appears to have been one of importance, and again the process of law will have consumed some time. His political ambitions thwarted, Delphidius retired, without enthusiasm,

¹Cf. Jerome Ep. 120 Praef.: Delphidius me iam adolescentulo omnes Gallias prosa versuque suo inlustravit ingenio. (He was born 348).

²Cf. PLRE, p. 401, Gratianus 2.

to teaching. He pursued this profession long enough for Ausonius to form an estimate of his devotion. An implausible degree of chronological compression is surely needed to squeeze these events into two years, the period which can be allotted to them if the tempus tyrannicum refers to Maximus' usurpation.

The tempus tyrannicum cannot, then, refer to the reign of Maximus, and the composition of the Professores need not be after 388. However, we have established 385/6 as a terminus post quem for the composition of Prof. 5. We saw above Pacatus condemn, in his panegyric to Theodosius, the execution of Euchrotia under Maximus. Now Pacatus and Ausonius were friends (the Eclogues, the Technopaegnon and the Ludus are dedicated to him), and Ausonius likewise had no love for Maximus. His usurpation had brought about Ausonius' retirement from court, Ordo 9 on Aquileia contains a denunciation of him, and Theodosius, the victor over Maximus, showed favour to Ausonius in requesting an edition of his works (Praefatiunculae 3, 4). It is strange, therefore, that the Priscillianist affair is not treated with hostility towards Maximus in Prof. 5.

Feeling against the Priscillianists ran high at Bordeaux, where the Synod had been held to condemn them, and where mob violence had erupted (Prosper Tiro Chron. s.a. 385): *Burdigalae quaedam Priscilliani discipula nomine Urbica ob impietatis pertinaciam per seditionem vulgi lapidibus extincta est.* Ausonius' words (Prof. 5. 35ff.) imply belief in the charges, including the rumour about Procula's abortion, if this is the error (37f.):

*errore quod non deviantis filiae
poenaeque laesus coniugis.*

Ausonius followed a *καθ' ἑσθλότητος* policy during Maximus' reign, and from his mention of the Priscillianist affair in the Professores it seems he is avoiding offence to public opinion at Bordeaux and, at the same time, to imperial judgement. Prof. 5 was therefore composed during Maximus' usurpation, perhaps in 386 shortly after the execution of Priscillian and Euchrotia. There is nothing in the Professores as a whole to indicate that an excessive amount of time was spent in their composition, and we may justly suppose that all the addresses were composed around this same date.

Of course, the date of composition and the date of publication need not be the same. The collection of prefaces (Praefatiunculae 1-4) indicates various omnibus editions in antiquity. Individual works of Ausonius have addresses to the general reader (Domest. 4; Parent. Prefaces; Prof. 25; Epig. 1, 25), to specified persons (Eclogues, Cupido, Ludus, Griphus, Caesares), to more than one specific dedicatee (Technopaegnon, Fasti, Cento), to the general public and an individual (Bissula). Ausonius obviously published more than one version of his collected works, and republished various individual pieces¹. We do not have a dedication to a specific person at the beginning of the Professores which could help us fix a date of publication. The preface does show, however, that at some time the poet joined the Professores to the Parentalia:

¹For recent work on this subject see Prete, Ricerche sulla storia del testo di Ausonio (Rome: Ed. di storia e lett., 1960), where he reviews previous theories. His conclusions are in turn criticized by F. G. Sirna, "Ausonio, Paolino e il problema del testo ausoniano," Aevum, 37 (1963), 125-34, and by A. Pastorino, "A proposito della tradizione del testo di Ausonio," Maia, 14 (1962), 41-68, 212-43.

Vos etiam, quos nulla mihi cognatio iunxit
 set fama et carae relligio patriae
 et studium in libris et sedula cura docendi,
 commemorabo viros morte obita celebres.

The preface to the Epitaphs in turn shows that these, or at least the part of them dealing with the heroes of the Trojan War, were appended to the Professores:

Ausonius lectori suo salutem.

Ad rem pertinere existimavi, ut vel vanum opusculum materiae congruentis absolverem et libello, qui commemorationem habet eorum, qui vel peregrini [Burdigalae vel] Burdigalenses peregre docuerunt, Epitaphia subnecterem [scilicet titulos sepulcrales] heroum, qui bello Troico interfuerunt.

At some stage Ausonius arranged his works in this order. In the Ordo, the address to Aquileia (9.7) mentions the end of Maximus (388 A.D.), and this is described as a recens meritum (v.1). So the Ordo was composed 388/9.¹ Perhaps Ausonius arranged his epitaphic poetry in this sequence when he was preparing the edition requested by Theodosius (Praefatiunculae 3). This does not rule out the possibility that the Professores were circulated as a monobiblos immediately on completion.² Peiper (p. vii)³ thinks that works with a general preface or specific dedication were published separately, while those without dedications were published only in collected editions. Admittedly the Professores

¹See H. Szelest, "Die Sammlung „Ordo Urbium Nobilium“ des Ausonius und ihre literarische Tradition," Eos 61 (1973), 105.

²Cf. Evelyn White, p. xx, n.1., who also assigns the latest date in the Parentalia to 382 (24. 5, 16; placing Ausonius' birth in 310), and suggests that these pieces may have been complete then. A time lapse between the completion of the Professores and Parentalia may enhance the possibility of separate publication.

³Cf. S. Prete, "Problems, Hypotheses and Theories on the History of the text of Ausonius," Studien zur Textgeschichte und-kritik G. Jachmann gewidmet (Köln: Westdtl.-Verl., 1959), p. 199.

cannot have been issued as a single work with the preface the ms gives. But there is nothing to say that Ausonius did not eliminate an original preface on joining the Parentalia, Professores and Epitaphs.¹ We saw above that Ausonius' treatment of the Priscillianist affair indicates that the Professores were composed in Maximus' reign probably shortly after the executions and the stoning of Urbica. As he was dealing with teachers at and from Bordeaux, one can readily imagine him circulating his compositions to the eminent literary men of Bordeaux. There is no reason to think that the Professores first met the public in a conjoint edition with other works.

From the Praefatiunculae it is obvious that there was more than one edition of Ausonius' works made by the author himself. I do not intend here to go into the thorny question of the relationship of various editions to the manuscript tradition, but simply to examine possible dates for the inclusion of the Professores in a composite edition.

Peiper (pp. vii, ix) holds that the preface to the general reader and that to Syagrius (Praefatiunculae 1, 2) headed an edition of 383, whose pièce de résistance was the Mosella. Theodosius' letter (ibid. 3) intimates that he had read a previous edition of Ausonius' works, of which he would like to refresh his memory, and, at the same time read Ausonius' subsequent publications: [scripta] quae olim mihi cognita et iam per tempus oblita rursus desidero, non solum ut, quae sunt nota, recolantur, sed etiam ut ea, quae fama celebri adiecta

¹Perhaps Ausonius reworked an original preface to form Prof. 25.

memorantur, accipiam. Theodosius' words imply that he had read Ausonius' works some time ago. Since his request must have come after the defeat and death of Maximus (389), it is probable that this former edition dates from Ausonius' period at court. There were two Syagrii, consuls in 381 and 382 respectively.¹ Flavius Syagrius was prefect of Italy 380-382, but was replaced in office 382, by an interim prefect, which suggests he died in office. If he is Ausonius' dedicatee we might have a terminus ante quem for an edition. If, however, Flavius Afranius Syagrius is the dedicatee, we have no definite indication for the dating of an edition addressed to him, for it is not known when this person died.² It is not uncommon, however, to make dedications to people entering office (cf. Syme, Tacitus, 1, 112), and one might conjecture that Ausonius dedicated his works to him as consul designate 381 or consul 382.

There was then, at least one earlier omnibus edition which did not contain the Professores. They were contained in a composite edition between 386 and Ausonius' death (395 at the latest). This was not the edition requested by Theodosius, since the Parentalia and the Epitaphia have prefaces to the general reader. In the prose preface to Domest. 4 we read: *imagini ipsius hi versus subscripti sunt neque minus in opusculorum meorum seriem relati. alia omnia mea displicent mihi; hoc*

¹See J. R. Martindale, Historia 16 (1967), 254-57; PLRE, p. 862f., Syagrius 2,3.

²The PLRE tentatively makes this identification, but there seems to be no reason to prefer one Syagrius to the other.

relegisse amo.¹ The opusculorum series may be the omnibus edition which first included the Professores.

The edition for Theodosius is usually dated to 390 (e.g. Peiper, p. ix; Evelyn White, p. xxxvi). Pacatus, the friend of Ausonius, had the honour of delivering a panegyric to Theodosius at Rome in 389 (Pan. Lat. t. 3, 52). It is quite possible that the emperor honoured another Gaul by requesting an edition of his works about this time. Pacatus' star rose after his verbal effusion, and he was proconsul Africae 390, then comes rei privatae in 393.² It may even have been he who jogged Theodosius' memory about Ausonius and prompted the imperial request for an edition.

Around 390 is therefore one possible date for the Theodosian edition. Galletier (Pan. Lat., t. 1, xvi) believes this edition to have been formed ca. 392/3 when Theodosius was sole emperor and the appellation pater Romane (Praefatiunculae 4.21) would have been especially fitting. But this was a standard imperial address and one should not read too much into it.³ Another possibility has, however, been totally overlooked. Theodosius went to Constantinople 391, but returned to the west to remove the usurper Eugenius at the battle of the Frigidus, September 394. Now the exact date of Ausonius' death is not known. Fabre dates Ausonius' 27th letter to before

¹For revisions and improvements in the text by Ausonius see Pastorino, Maia 14 (1962), 47f.

²PLRE, p. 272, Drepanius.

³See A. Alföldi, Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 1971), pp. 91ff.

Christmas 394.¹ Ausonius may still have been alive in 395. It is possible therefore that the request for an up-to-date edition of his works came between the end of 394 and Theodosius' death at Milan on January 17th 395. If the request came at this date, we can never know whether Ausonius lived to complete the edition or Theodosius to receive it. The dedication to Theodosius (Praefatiunculae 4) need only prove that he began it.

It is generally agreed that there was a posthumous edition of Ausonius' works which followed shortly upon his death. Domest. 1 has a third party superscription and Scaliger emended litterariis in the heading of Epistle 20 to give the following reading: Pater ad filium cum temporibus tyrannicis ipse Treveris remanisset et filius ad patriam profectus esset. Hoc inchoatum neque impletum sic de liturariis scriptum.² From this it indeed appears that someone had access to the papers of Ausonius and they included this partially completed letter in an edition of his works. There seems to be no way of positively

¹Essai sur la chronologie de St. Paulin de Nole (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1948), p. 104.

²Prete, Problems, p. 204f. denies that this means the works were assembled in their present order in the ms (see below p. 13) by a compiler on Ausonius' death, asserting that only several strata in the ms formation need be indicated. But that someone had access to his private papers is surely proven by the phrase de liturariis, and it is difficult to see that this can have been other than someone arranging his works soon after his death.

identifying the editor,¹ but Sirna recalls a valid consideration: "Invero questa è l'opinione corrente: alla morte del poeta qualcuno avrebbe pubblicato le sue carte. Noi non tenteremo di negare che ciò sia accurato: ma avanziamo l'ipotesi che ben modesto debba essere stato il compito del presunto editore, giacché in massima parte l'edizione dovette trovarsi pronta alla morte di Ausonio stesso."² He asserts, moreover, that the editor found the works mostly in the order of the V ms, and places the edition at the end of 394 and the start of 395. If Theodosius' request came after the Frigidus, we might then have in the V ms (see below p. 14) the remains of the Theodosian edition begun by Ausonius but never completed. The frequent assertions that the edition presented to Theodosius was a private copy of Ausonius' works which cannot have affected the manuscript tradition may well be wrong.³

It has been argued that the Professores were composed ca. 386 and probably circulated as a monobiblos at this date. They were included later in a collected edition of Ausonius' works. This composite edition was probably used as the basis for the projected

¹R. Dezeimeris, Rémarques sur le texte de divers auteurs (Bordeaux, 1883), p. 85f., suggested Axius Paulus; F. Della Corte, "L'ordinamento degli Opuscula di Ausonio", RCCM, 2 (1960), 21-29, argues for Paulinus of Pella. The latter is followed by Pastorino, Maia 14 (1962), 240 ff., who rejects the favourite Hesperius on the grounds that he showed no literary inclinations.

²Aevum 37 (1963), 133f. This essentially follows Peiper, p. vii.

³E.g. Evelyn White, p. xxxvii; Prete, Ricerche, p. 95. n.1.

Theodosian edition. The ms shows a third party at work. This suggests that Ausonius died before completing an edition, probably the one intended for Theodosius. The ms order of his works may preserve the stage of reorganization reached by Ausonius before his death.

The Professores were preserved for us in a ninth century manuscript from around Lyons, known as Vossianus Latinus 111¹. The first humanistic edition of Ausonius had not known of this ms. It was found at Île Barbe by Sannazarius in 1502. He copied parts of this and two apographs were made from his copy, one of which is Vindobonensis 3261. It contains Prof. 1.31-34, 3.11-12, 20.7-14, 24.9-10, 25.7-10.² These were included in the Iuntine edition of Ausonius, 1517. The other apograph came somehow into the hands of Jerome Aleander, and was in turn used by the industrious scholar Mariangelus Accursius. Excerpts of the Professores contained therein appeared in his Diatribae in Ausonium Solinum et Ovidium published at Rome in 1524.

It was Étienne Charpin, bishop at Lyons, who first used the Île Barbe ms to publish the works therein contained in their entirety, and his 1558 edition of Ausonius was the first to contain the whole of the Professores. Vinet, however, was not impressed with Charpin's

¹For description see especially H. de la Ville de Mirmont, Le Manuscrit de l'Île Barbe, 3 fasc. (Bordeaux/Paris, 1917-19).

²For description see Peiper, "Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung des Ausonius," Jahrb. für klass. Phil., Supplb. 11 (1880), 345ff.; Schenkl, p. xxxiv. The most recent treatment of the textual transmission of the Professores in the 16th cent. is Gradilone, pp. 38ff.

reading of the ms, and wrote to him asking to see the original. When he received this, folio 12, containing Prof. 16.21-Prof. 21 inclusive was missing. However, subsequent editors have been able to supplement the extant Voss. Lat.111 with Charpin's edition to provide a complete text of the Professores.

CHAPTER 2

AUSONIUS' REASONS FOR WRITING THE PROFESSORES¹

The Preface reads:

Vos etiam, quos nulla mihi cognatio iunxit
set fama et carae relligio patriae,
et studium in libris et sedula cura docendi,
commemorabo viros morte obita celebres.
fors erit, ut nostros manes sic adserat olim,
exemplo cupiet qui pius esse meo.

Ausonius, then, claims to commemorate the professors because of (1) their personal fame (fama, viros ... celebres), (2) the glory Bordeaux gained through the merits of these deceased teachers (fama et carae relligio patriae), and (3) their kindred relationship to him through the bond of teaching (et studium in libris et sedula cura docendi).

Eulogy of personal fame is frequent, and this aspect receives prominence in the concluding address (26.1 ff.):

Valete, manes inclitorum rhetorum:
valete doctores probi,
historia si quos vel poeticus stilus
forumve fecit nobiles,
medicae vel artis dogma vel Platonicum
dedit perenni gloriae.

Although praise of fame is not limited to the occurrence of the words

¹Ch. Favez, "Une école gallo-romaine au ive siècle," Latomus 7 (1948), 224, briefly treats Ausonius' motives for writing the Professores. He rightly lists patriotism, but perhaps overestimates Ausonius' feeling for teaching. With Pichon (Les derniers écrivains, pp. 171-75) he believes in Ausonius' sincerity of feeling, but again this seems to be overrated. He offers no other reasons for Ausonius' choice of subject, yet his brief treatment seems to be the most comprehensive to date.

gloria and fama, their frequency indicates the pervasiveness of this topic: (1.42): nos tua fama iuvat; (3.8): quamvis nunc tua fama iuvat; (6.18f.): fama et meritis/inclitus; (16.14): Constantinopolim fama tui pepulit; (19.6): fama, magno qualis est par rhetori; (2.31f.): caduci corporis/dammum repende gloria; (13.3): esset Aristarchi tibi gloria Zenodotique; (14.7f.): tam generis tibi celsus apex, quam gloria fandi, / gloria Athenaei cognita sede loci. Ausonius, then, true to his professed intent does record the repute of his subjects, but the Professores are not all eulogy, for somewhat unexpectedly he remarks on their failings also. The significance of this will be discussed below.

Studium in libris might cause the reader to have false expectations. Bookish studiousness, which would naturally be inferred from this expression, is in fact condemned, teasingly, in the case of the antiquarian Victorius (22). Personal literary and rhetorical achievement is stressed at the expense of bookish research and learning, though there are some references directed to the studium in libris theme (cf. 2.13: paratus litteris; 4.15: doctrina nulli tanta in illo tempore). Nepotianus is praised for his close acquaintance with grammatical writings (15.12): Scaurum Probumque corde callens intimo. Of Staphylius we read (20.7ff.):

grammaticae ad Scaurum atque Probum, promptissime rhetor,
 historiam callens Livii et Herodoti.
 omnis doctrinae ratio tibi cognita, quantam
 condit sescentis Varro voluminibus.

The learning of Crispus and Urbicus is praised thus (21.25f.):

Ambo loqui faciles, ambo omnia carmina docti
 callentes mython plasmata et historiam.

Ammonius, conversely, is criticized for his lack of learning (10.38):
doctrina exiguus.

Ausonius, therefore, doubtless put some emphasis on learning in literature as opposed to literary ability. However, one was not to play the specialist professor like Victorius, who dealt with the obscurities of mythology and history rather than cultivating the more acceptable study of Cicero and Vergil.

Like studium in libris, sedula cura docendi, while referred to at various intervals, is overshadowed by other themes. The professors are called doctor or praeceptor here and there (4.6; 6.7; 12.7; 6.15; 25.2; 26.2), and teaching activity noted in passing (16.15; 17.10; 19.2; 20.2; 14.10). A more explicit reference is 2.16ff.:

... liberalis indigis
danda salute, si forum res posceret;
studio docendi, si scholam.

He mentions (8.5) the sedulum cunctis studium docendi of the Greek grammatici about whom he has little else to say, while Delphidius is criticized (5.33f.): nec docendi pertinax, / curam fefellisti patrum.
The clearest reference to the fellowship of teaching is at 3.1 f.:

Rhetora Luciolum, condiscipulum atque magistrum
collegamque dehinc, nenia maesta refer.

The asserted bonds of study in literature and care in teaching seem far inferior to the fama et carae relligio patriae reason.
Relligio entails two related facets, respect for his native city, and duty towards the dead, a combination neatly demonstrated at 25.7ff.:

ergo, qui nostrae legis otia tristia chartae,
eloquium ne tu quaere, set officium,
quo claris doctisque viris pia cura parentat,
dum decora egregiae commeminit patriae.

The address to Sedatus begins (19.1 ff.):

Relligio est, tacitum si te, Sedate, relinquam,
 quamvis docendi munus indepte[es] foris.
 communis patria est tecum mihi ...

Here again we have reverence for the dead combined with respect for the patria, as also in the introduction to Prof. 10:

Nunc ut quemque mihi
 flebilis officii
 relligiosus honor
 suggeret, expediam,
 qui ...
 ...
 ingeniis hominum
 Burdigalae rudibus
 introtulere tamen
 grammatices studium.

This sentiment recurs later in the same poem (vv. 32ff.):

relligiosum etenim
 commemorare meae
 grammaticum patriae.

The opening lines of Prof. 2 (Nec ne nepotes impii silentii/reum
ciebunt) and officium colo (v. 29) reflect the feeling of personal
 pious duty, which is expressed in the final couplet of the Praefatio:

fors erit, ut nostros manes sic adserat olim,
 exemplo cupiet qui pius esse meo.

However, that the desire to laud his patria through the
 achievements of its citizens is superior to the demands of personal
 respect is proven by his address to his uncle Arborius (16.1 ff.):

Inter cognatos iam fletus, avuncule, manes
 inter rhetoricos nunc memorandus eris.
 illud opus pietas, istud reverenda virorum
 nomina pro patriae relligione habeant.

Just as Milan (Ordo 7.2ff.), Athens (Ordo 15.6) and the people of the
 Moselle (Mos. 383) are lauded for their literary activity, so in the

Professores one major aim is to praise intellectual activity at Bordeaux.

In the first address, that to Minervius, Burdigalae columen

(1.1), we read a proud claim for the scholastic merit of Bordeaux (7f.):

adserat usque licet Fabium Calgurris alumnum,
non sit Burdigalae dum cathedra inferior.

Alethius Minervius' intellectual leadership at Bordeaux is praised

(6.18ff.):

Tu Burdigalae
laetus patriae
postque Pateram
clara cohortis
vexilla regens.

The body of Ausonius' uncle was returned to Bordeaux, bringing the memory of his fame to grace his native city (16.17f.), an idea spelt out more clearly in the case of Exuperius (17.16f.):

sed patriae te iura vocant et origo parentum
Burdigalae ut rursum nomen de rhetore reddas.

Likewise, though Sedatus had taught at Toulouse, his patria reclaimed him and his fame on his death (19.7f.). Conversely, Citarius from Syracuse is praised for the intellectual enlightenment he imported to Bordeaux (13.7f.):

urbe satus Sicula nostram peregrinus adisti
excultam studiis quam propere edideras.

Of the reasons Ausonius offers, then, glorification of his home town takes pride of place. The repute of the teachers, the fama aspect, is emphasized because it is through their reputation that Bordeaux is enhanced. The affinity claimed on the basis of the more scholastic aspect (studium in libris et sedula cura docendi) is left

rather in the background. The Professores were intended more to glorify the intellectual activity at Bordeaux than to pay tribute to schools, scholarship and the teaching profession.

This is not to say that Ausonius had no sincerity of feeling in the composition of these epitaphs. In some cases he shows affection in his eulogy (e.g. 1,2). Though Leontius' merit was lowly, he is warmly remembered as a friend from Ausonius' youth (7). Staphylius (20) was neither a citizen of Bordeaux, nor did he teach at Bordeaux. He is recalled purely to eulogize a friend. But if the professed officium towards the dead can involve genuine emotion, again it can be quite perfunctory as in the case of Thalassus (12) about whom Ausonius knows nothing, but whom he dutifully recalls. There are even those whom Ausonius recalls to criticize. Delphidius (5) was overambitious, while Ammonius (10), Herculanus (11), Exuperius (17), Victorius (22), have also their faults. Although not criticized, the failings of Marcellus (18) and Dynamius (23) are mentioned. Others seem only to be recalled for the sake of completeness (Thalassus 12, Iucundus 9). The Greek grammatici (8) and the Latin grammatici (10) are scarcely inspiring figures. To explain these elements, in addition to Ausonius' professed reasons for writing the Professores, we must recognize two further motives - amusement in old age and a desire to imitate the classics.

The date of the composition of the Professores has been treated above and found to be after 385/6. Ausonius composed these, therefore, in his aged retirement. Towards the end of the Mosella he writes (vv. 390ff.):

conde,

Musa, chelyn, pulsus extremo carmine netis.
tempus erit, cum me studiis ignobilis oti
mulcentem curas senique aprica foventem
materiae commendet honos; cum facta viritim
Belgarum patriosque canam decora inclita mores:
.....
quis mihi tum non dictus erit? memorabo quietos
agricolas legumque catos fandique potentes
praesidium sublime reis; quos curia summos
municipum vidit proceres propriumque senatum,
quos praetextati celebris facundia ludi
contulit ad veteris praeconia Quintiliani,
...

This passage does not, of course, refer to the Parentalia or Professores, but it does show the kind of material Ausonius was reserving for his leisured retirement. Among others he will commemorate the professors of the Moselle. But while he wants to laud these notables, one of his foremost aims, stated at the outset of the above passage, is to provide himself with a pleasurable pastime in old age.

There is nothing startling in the revelation that an author derives enjoyment from his work. I point to this aspect for two reasons. Firstly, it may be overshadowed by his professions of duty towards the dead and his patria. Then, we must not forget the way Ausonius' muse played.

In the preface to the Griphus Ausonius describes his urge to compose as poetica scabies, which is reminiscent of Juvenal's cacoethes scribendi (7.52) and Petronius' poetical morbis (Sat. 90). This scabies tended to include in his poetry all that could possibly be connected with his theme. Thus in the Griphus, which is a perversely ingenious list of things connected with the number three, from drinking laws to the Holy Trinity, he apologizes in the preface for omissions,

which he generously lists. Epistle 30 has an exhaustive catalogue of ways to say three, while Epistle 5 contains a lengthy list and assessment of oysters from various places. He wrote on the Fasti right up to his own time and composed quatrains to include and continue Suetonius' Caesares. The seven sages appear in a row to address us, and we have the Ordo Urbium Nobilium. The long list of fish in the Mosella (vv. 85-149) drew a tongue-in-the-cheek expression of incredulity from Symmachus. The topics of the Eclogues, days of the week, months, seasons, festivals all show a penchant for catalogue poetry. The Technopaegnon is composed around lists of monosyllabic words, and one piece (13) is even based on the characters of the Greek alphabet.

It has been suggested that Ausonius' love for list-poetry is a left-over from his days as school-teacher when he doubtless employed mnemonic rhymes, and some of his poems have been regarded as antecedents of the mediaeval versus memoriales.¹ Be this as it may, Ausonius liked

¹On making up lists of things as a pastime, Gellius 10.25. Pichon (Les derniers écrivains, p. 167) asserts there are two poets in Ausonius "un pédant de collège et un bon bourgeois", and that Ausonius would have been surprised to find us preferring the latter. Kaufman, Rhetorica und Klosterschulen, (Leipzig, 1869), p. 24, claims that Ausonius tried to make up for his lack of poetic genius by formulaic completeness. Ausonius was probably not conscious of any lack, but proud of his pedantic completeness. Byrne (Prolegomena, p. 67) writes: "The poet is fond of varying a theme (a common practice of rhetorical schools) by treating it in a series of epigrams (sometimes 6 or 8), for example, on the rhetorician Rufus or on Myron's cow"; ibid. p. 52: "Some of Ausonius' works are to be classed as versus memoriales which became so popular in the middle ages". The "question and answer" poem, Tech. 12, is very reminiscent of school exercises; cf. F. G. Kenyon, "Two Greek School-Tablets", JHS 29 (1909), 29-40. Aymonier, Ausone et ses amis, (Bordeaux: Delmas, 1935), pp. 99f. sees Ausonius' poetry beginning as marginalia! Boissier (Fin du paganisme, vol. 2, 70) denies deep emotions to Ausonius, whom he sees as playing with themes in metre. Etienne, Bordeaux antique (Bordeaux: Féd. hist. du Sud-Ouest, 1962), p. 261, would not regard the Parentalia and Professores as mere themes for sport. I agree in so far as there are some elements of sincerity, but this does not preclude the desire for poetic diversion, and it would be wrong to undervalue the factor of simple amusement for the author in these works.

to compose on subjects in series, the more complete the better. In the Parentalia this urge for completeness led to the inclusion of relatives barely known to the poet (21, 27, 29). The Professores, addressing as they do the deceased school-teachers of fourth-century Bordeaux, like the Parentalia, provided a body of material which could be treated with a degree of completeness. So Ausonius found a subject fitted to bring amusement to his poetical inclinations. The enjoyment he took in subjects which could be treated in this kind of entirety gives us one reason for his writing the Professores. It also goes far to explain why certain professors, who are not eulogized to the glory of Bordeaux, are included.

But this does not give us a wholly satisfactory answer to this problem. Ausonius desired to be complete to satisfy his own aesthetic ideals, but he wanted also to glorify Bordeaux. So why not eulogize all the professors regardless of their merits, or at least concentrate only on their good points? After all, despite its all-inclusive nature, the Parentalia is totally eulogistic. I think the answer lies in Ausonius' desire to imitate the classics.

Ausonius versified Suetonius' Caesares and added to the series. Paulinus, Ausonius' former pupil and friend, wrote a poem epitomizing Suetonius' three books on the kings of Rome (Ep. 23). Suetonius was well-known, therefore, to Ausonius and his friends. It is certain that Ausonius had the de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus in mind when he decided to compose the Professores, and perhaps even Cicero's Brutus. We can compare the example of Jerome, whose avowed aim was to show that Christian eloquence was as excellent as pagan, but who nevertheless enrols himself in the literary tradition of Cicero and Suetonius at the outset of his

De viris illustribus:

Hortaris me Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens, ecclesiasticos scriptores in ordinem digeram, et quod ille in enumerandis gentiliū litterarum viris fecit illustribus, ego in nostris faciam ... Apud Latinos autem Varro, Santra, Hyginus et, ad cuius nos exemplum provocas Tranquillum ... Itaque Dominum Iesum Christum precor, ut quod Cicero tuus, qui in arce Romanae eloquentiae stetit, non est facere dedignatus in Bruto, oratorum Latinae linguae texens catalogum, id ego in eius Ecclesiae scriptoribus enumerandis, digne cohortatione tua impleam.

Cicero and Suetonius left an account of eloquence and teaching at Rome, and the learned Ausonius, like Jerome, cannot have been unaware of this fact. Love for Bordeaux and love of imitating the classics will then have worked together in the production of the Professores. In fact, a comparison between the works of Suetonius and Cicero, on the one hand, and Ausonius on the other, can further convince us of Ausonius' dependence, while affording us added insight into Ausonius' motives for writing, his scope and tone.

Cicero was inspired by Atticus' Liber Annalis to write a history of Roman eloquence (Brutus 4-6, 20, 72, 74). The work is chronological, very complete, and, with the notable exception of Caesar, deals only with the deceased (251, 262, 269-271). There is also an element of self-laudation in the implication that Cicero himself is the acme of Roman oratorical achievement, which has since been curbed by the political scene (6-9).¹ Suetonius professes that he has been as complete as possible; Gram. 4 ad fin.: Clari professores et de quibus prodi possit aliquid dumtaxat a nobis fere hi fuerunt; Rhet. 1 ad fin.:

¹Cf. Douglas, Brutus (Oxford, 1966), p. xi; Martha (Budé, 1966), p. vii.

Illustres professores, et quorum memoria aliqua exstet, non temere alii reperientur quam de quibus tradam. He too presents us with a chronological series of teachers from earliest times.

Both Cicero and Suetonius, then, provide us with histories of oratory, rhetoric and grammatice at Rome, from earliest times to their own era. They deal only with the deceased, and treat their subjects in chronological sequence and as completely as possible. Likewise, Ausonius treats only the deceased. His temperament, which had a liking for completeness, was only too ready to follow his classical antecedents in this aspect. It is impossible to prove strict chronological sequence in Ausonius, for the dates and floruits of few of the professors are known. As in Cicero and Suetonius there were some overlaps, which preclude, in the short period treated by Ausonius, noticeable emphasis on this point. Nevertheless, chronological arrangement, however strict, was present in Ausonius' mind, as is shown by the opening lines of Prof. 14:

Eloquii merito primis aequande, fuisti,
Agrici, positus posteriore loco:
aevo qui quoniam genitus functusque recenti,
dilatus nobis, non et omissus eras.

Most important of all, Ausonius' dependence on these models explains why the Professores are not totally eulogistic. Cicero and Suetonius point to merits and faults, as does Ausonius. This aspect in Ausonius, which strikes one as strange in view of his professed reasons for writing, becomes understandable with the realization that Ausonius was imitating these models.

Two further considerations are relevant here. Philostratus'

βίαι σοφιστῶν may have been known by Ausonius and affected his tone.

The Vita Apollonii was circulated perhaps in translation (Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8.3.1). But a more instructive parallel to Ausonius is found in a work of Symmachus' father. Just over a decade before the Professores were written the father writes to Symmachus (Ep. 1.2.2):

a nobis quoque accipe bonorum aetatis meae exarata nuper elogia. nam quia nihil est quod agam, et si nil agam, subit me malorum meorum misera recordatio, inveni, quod illis libellis, quos nuper dictaveram, possimus adicere. scis Terentium, non comicum, sed Reatinum illum Romanae eruditionis parentem, hebdomadon libros epigrammatum adiectione condisse. illud nos, si fors tulerit, conamur imitari.

Like Ausonius he is writing as an enjoyable pastime. He is following a classical model (cf. too Symm. Ep. 1.4.1), and his model was well-known to Ausonius (see on Prof. 20.10 and note Mos. 305ff.: forsan et insignes hominumque operumque labores/hic habuit decimo celebrata volumine Marcei/hebdomas). In view of the friendship between Ausonius and Symmachus it is likely that the former knew of the father's work. And this work aimed at glorifying Rome though it is implied that faults were recorded along with merits. (Symm. Ep. 1.4.2): [Varro] illum triumphalem senatum parca laude perstrinxit: tu rutuvam proximae aetatis inluminas. difficile factu est, ut honor angustis rebus addatur. We shall see below that there is also a similarity in the temporal scope of the Professores and this work of Symmachus' father.

The element of self-glorification in Cicero's Brutus was mentioned above. The final couplet of the preface to the Professores reads:

fors erit, ut nostros manes sic adserat olim,
exemplo cupiet qui pius esse meo.

It is possible that, like Cicero, Ausonius viewed himself as the embodiment of the peak of oratory, and, in glorifying the professors of the past, he is implying that he is their climax. Of interest in this regard is Ausonius' attitude to Delphidius, in whom Ausonius criticizes ambition for office.¹ He did not refuse elevation himself and gained appointments for various relatives. Other professors are praised for holding office, but Delphidius had risen in a tempus tyrannicum. Maximus' tempus tyrannicum had curtailed Ausonius' influence at court. He was not inclined, therefore, to think kindly of anyone who had furthered himself during a usurpation. Like Cicero, (Brutus 6-9), Ausonius feels it necessary to console himself on his retirement from politics with the thought that he is doing so at the peak of oratorical and political achievement.²

We have seen, then, various reasons for Ausonius' writing the Professores. No one is sufficient to explain the tenor of the whole work. He was stimulated by an urge to glorify his native town, and this is combined with a genuine desire to eulogize some of the professors.

¹On Ausonius' attitude to ambition see below pp. 154ff.

²The relevant words of Cicero are: Ita nobismet ipsis accidit ut, quamquam essent multo magis alia lugenda, tamen hoc doleremus quod, quo tempore aetas nostra perfuncta rebus amplissimis tamquam in portum confugere deberet non inertiae neque desidiae sed oti moderati atque honesti. cumque ipsa oratio iam nostra canesceret haberetque suam quandam maturitatem et quasi senectutem, tum arma sunt ea sumppta, quibus illi ipsi, qui didicerant eis uti gloriose, quem ad modum salutariter uterentur, non reperiebant. Itaque mihi ei videntur fortunate beateque vixisse cum in ceteris civitatibus tum maxime in nostra, quibus cum auctoritate rerumque gestarum gloria tum etiam sapientiae laude perfrui licuit.

His love of versifying on material which could form a complete series of poems to provide himself with amusement should not be underrated. To this we can add the desire to imitate and emulate the classics, and we can perhaps detect an implication of self-glorification.

CHAPTER 3

THE ERA COVERED BY THE PROFESSORES

The works of Cicero and Suetonius have natural limits. The former gives us a history of oratory at Rome from its origins to his own day. Suetonius does the same for the teaching of rhetoric and grammaticae. As indicated above, Ausonius follows their pattern in dealing only with the deceased and in attempting to be as complete as possible. Ausonius might be expected to have set some limits to the scope of his work in the Praefatio, Coronis or Poeta, but he does not. From the Professores themselves, however, we do get indications of scope. Ausonius' life extended approximately from 310-394/5, that is, almost throughout the fourth century, and it is reasonably clear that he deals only with teachers from fourth century Bordeaux, the one exception being Staphylius (20).

The Greek grammatici (8) are little appreciated, but merit inclusion (v.7): quia nostro docuere in aevo. The shadowy Thalassus is included for the same reason (12.7f.):

set quicumque tamen, nostro quia doctor in aevo
vixisti, hoc nostrum munus habeto, vale.

Ausonius apologizes for the delay in addressing Censorius, and adds (14.3f.):

aevo qui quoniam genitus functusque recenti,
dilatatus nobis, non et omissus eras.

It is in fact evident that Ausonius had first hand knowledge about most of the professors. Many were personal friends of his. Minervius (1.11), Corinthius and Spercheus (8.9-16), Macrinus (10.11-13) and Arborius (16; cf. Parent. 3) are claimed to have taught him. Luciolus (3) was his fellow pupil, teacher and colleague. Herculanus (11), Victorius (22) and Glabrio were also colleagues in his school. Leontius is called his socius iuventae (7.13) and his brother Iucundus, sodalis (9.3). Social bonds are often mentioned or implied, as with Minervius (1), Alcimus (2), and Nepotianus (15) (cf. 13.12: *munere amicitiae*; 23.12: *iungeris antiqua ... amicitia*). However, Ausonius does not treat only his friends and contemporaries. Attius Patera belonged to the previous generation, but Ausonius had seen him in his youth (4.3f.):

tamen, quod aevo floruisti proximo
iuvenisque te vidi senem,
honore maestae non carebis neniae,
doctor potentum rhetorum.

He merits a commemoration because his teaching activity overlapped Ausonius' own time.

It seems clear that Ausonius' limits were partly imposed by memory. He has not tried to go outside his own times, nor has he attempted, after the pattern of Suetonius and Cicero, to trace the teachers of rhetoric and grammaticae from the beginnings of such studies at Bordeaux. His scope is similar to that of Symmachus' father who wrote epigrams on the notables of Rome (see above p. 27). The absence of school records may well have limited Ausonius'

scope.¹ Moreover, prolonged research would have been alien to his temperament. Witness the abuse poor Victorius suffers for his studious researches. Ausonius' poetica scabies inclined him to write on a maximum of themes with a minimum of effort. He even prides himself on celerity of composition, claiming that the Centio was rattled off die uno et addita lucubratione properatum (Prose Pref.). In the preface to the Griphus we read: *ac ne me nescias gloriosum, coeptos inter prandendum versiculos ante cenae tempus absolvi, hoc est, dum bibo et paulo ante quam biberem.* Epistle 25 is disparagingly described (Pref. ad fin.): *quod spatio unius lucubratiunculae effusi*, while in the preface to Epistle 12 again we meet the claim of verse speedily churned out. Ausonius, then, was not a man to attain to praise by scholarly historical investigations.²

¹One might expect there to have been some sources such as e.g. those Suetonius uses; official documents (Rhet. 1); writings of grammatici themselves (Gram. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 21); letters of grammatici and others (4, 10, 14, 25, 26); speeches (10, 22, if these are from speeches; also 26.29); poems (3, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 22), other works (1, 2, 4, 10, 15, 20, 25, 27); anecdotes and gossip (4, 5, 7, 23, 28, 29); statues and inscriptions (9, 17). Suetonius does rely on his own memory (4 ad fin.), presumably increasingly as he approaches his own day. On Probus (24) he cites no sources at all. (For this catalogue and comments on Suetonius' sources I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Bower of Queen's University, Belfast, N.I., who has kindly sent me the bones of an article soon to appear on Suetonius' sources and reliability).

²The claim of facile composition is traditional (see e.g. Cic. Arch. 18; Plut. Cic. 40; Hor. Sat. 1.4.9f.), but any reader of Ausonius will believe he did scribble off verse.

It is, however, a common assertion that the fourth century witnessed a renaissance of Latin literature after the barren years of the third. The schools of Bordeaux are usually regarded as having flourished at this time. Jullian (Ausone, p. 63) writes:

"L'organisation de l'école de Bordeaux doit se placer dans les premières années du ive siècle ... La création d'une haute école avec un cours complet d'études, me paraît l'oeuvre des empereurs de l'an 300. Elle se rattache, je crois, aux mesures prises par Maximian et Constance pour reconforter la Gaule affaiblie, stimuler¹ l'énergie de ses habitants et flatter la patriotisme gallo-romaine.

Also, Étienne, who places the fortification of Bordeaux in the time of the tetrarchy (Bordeaux antique, p. 204), sees the "university" as a contemporary foundation and dates this to 286 (pp. 235f.). The scope of the Professores itself is used as evidence for the foundation and flourishing of Bordeaux schools in this era. For example, Haarhoff, after expressing the same opinion as Jullian on the date and reasons for the foundations of the Bordeaux schools, remarks (Schools of Gaul, p. 48):

It may be noted, too, that the professors whom Ausonius commemorates had mostly died during his life-time; which seems to show that the professorial regime at Bordeaux belonged to the fourth century; for Ausonius in the Preface and Epilogue to his Commemoratio certainly gives the impression that he is going through the whole list of the "professores Burdigalenses" as a duty (officium) which is inspired by "carae relligio patriae".

Does the scope of Ausonius' work have, then, natural historical limits? Has he in fact given us a history of a "university" at Bordeaux from its foundation to his own day? To answer these questions it will

¹The same statement occurs in "Les premières universitaires françaises", RIE 25 (1893), 29.

be necessary to investigate (i) the status of education at Bordeaux before Ausonius' time, (ii) the interest of the members of the tetrarchy in education, and (iii) the concept of a university at Bordeaux.

(i) Education at Bordeaux before the Fourth Century

There can be no doubt that there were teachers and schools at Bordeaux in the first three centuries A.D. Bordeaux was a busy trading center in these centuries (cf. Etienne, Bordeaux antique, pp. 77ff.), and sufficiently important to have a school.¹ A document from Vipasca, a small mining community near modern Aljustrel in Portugal, among stipulations for the running of baths, shoe-repair and barbering, makes the specific provision that school teachers shall be exempt from taxation at the hands of the procurator of mines.² If this insignificant community had teachers, so had Bordeaux.

Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 47) thinks elementary schools existed in the first three centuries A.D. But higher schools existed in other Gallic towns. Charisius (Barwick, p. 263; 202.1K) reports the following statement from Cato's Origines: pleraque Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui. How much the good Cato actually knew about Gaul, I do not know. The heroic ideal (Iliad 9.443); μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἐμὲν ἀπρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων has a long history in literature. However, Suetonius (Gram. 3) records

¹Jullian, RIE 25 (1883), 28 thinks that money-seeking suppressed literary and educational drive in the first three centuries, and that Bordeaux was transformed from emporium to auditorium in the fourth century.

²CIL, 2,5181; Dessau 6891; FIRA vol. 1, 105; trans. Lewis and Reinhold, vol. 2, 191-94. Dated to second century.

the spread of grammatice to Gallia Togata apparently in the second century B.C. In the hinterland of Massilia Greco-roman education may have already made some impression, for Strabo (4.1.5) tells us of the private and public hiring of sophists in this area (cf. Justinus 43.4).¹

With Caesar's conquest Gaul was more fully opened to Roman influence, and the Romans realized the propaganda value of education for Romanization. Plutarch (Sert. 20) tells us how Sertorius instilled in the Spaniards loyalty to him through education, and Agricola did the same in Britain (Tac. Agr. 21).² Hostages were ideal material for Romanizing in this way, as the words Livy puts into the mouths of the ambassadors of Ariarathes (172 B.C.) show (42.19.4): quorum oratio fuit regem educandum filium Romam misisse, ut iam inde a puero assuesceret moribus Romanis hominibusque. Now Caesar took a generous portion of hostages in Gaul, and like Sertorius and Agricola he doubtless saw to their education in Roman liberal study, possibly intentionally substituting Roman for Druid education.³

¹On the civilizing influence of Massilia see Denk, Geschichte, chpt. 1; Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, pp. 4-10; T. D. Kendrick, The Druids (2nd. ed. 1928; repr. London: Cass, 1966), pp. 60-66.

²See Ogilvie and Richmond Agricola (Clarendon Pr., 1967), pp. 33ff., 224 where the grammaticus Scribonius Demetrius is identified as a teacher assisting in Agricola's programme.

³On Druids see Appendix A.

Unfortunately Caesar tells us nothing of arrangements for the education of hostages.¹ However, Suetonius alleges that, when the campaigning Gaius was short of enemies, he improvised with German hostages from a school on the Gallic side of the Rhine (Calig. 45):

Rursus obsides quosdam abductos e litterario ludo clamque praemissos, deserto repente convivio, cum equitatu insecutus, veluti profugos ac reprehensos in catenis reduxit; in hoc mimo praeter modum intemperans.

This may have been the sort of hostage school established by Caesar. A ludus litterarius is an elementary school. But during the revolt of Florus and Sacrovir the latter seized Autun and the sons of the Gallic nobility who were being educated there in liberalia studia as hostages for the behavior of their parents and relatives (Tac. Ann. 3.43). Liberal studies cover grammaticae and rhetoric (see below pp. 80, 92). This action neatly reverses Roman policy, and again the Autun school may date from Caesar's conquest.

To the foregoing references which show the existence of schooling in Gaul of the first century others may be added.² At

¹On Caesar's Gallic hostages see M. J. Moscovitch, The Role of Hostages in Roman Foreign Policy (Diss. McMaster, 1972). He does not mention indoctrination through education in Gaul, but is aware of this method of Romanizing (see e.g., p. 2). On Druidic education see Appendix A. See too N. K. Chadwick, The Druids (Cardiff: University of Wales Pr., 1966), pp. 70f. who suggests the planting of schools at old religious centres (Augustodunum, Tolosa, Burdigala, Lugdunum); and Koestermann on Tac. Ann. 3.43.

²Marrou (pp. 428f.) gives a list of the various Gallic towns where schools are attested, but, apart from this school at Autun, none of these can be dated definitely to the first three centuries. CIL 12. 1918 is described: Tabula longa, litteris saeculi primi altis. If this can be accepted, it would assure us of the existence of schools at Vienne in the first century.

Lugdunum in Gaius' time the study of rhetoric was well enough established for his institution of a rhetorical contest (Suet. Calig. 20), and the punishment of the loser was still notorious in the early second century (Juvenal 1.44). Jerome (Chron. s.a. 58) informs us of one Statius Surculus who taught at Toulouse, and Quintilian mentions Iulius Florus who was the prince of Gallic rhetors around the middle of the first century (10.3.13): in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum exercuit eam, princeps, alioqui inter paucos disertus ... It appears that his nephew, Iulius Secundus, also began his schooling in Gaul, possibly under his uncle. In the fragments of the De rhetoribus we read the name Sextus Iulius Gabinianus. Jerome (Chron. s.a. 76) notes: Gabinianus celeberrimi rhetor nominis in Gallia docuit. Tacitus (Dial. 26) cites him along with Cicero as a measuring stick for scholastici. Perhaps he had taught in Rome and later returned to teach in Gaul, like Florus above. Aper (Tac. Dial. 10.2f.) indicates that educated visitors came from his native Gaul to Rome. Juvenal recommends orators, whose merit was not given its due in Rome, to go to the more appreciative Gaul or Africa (7.1.147ff.). The same poet writes (15.111f.):

Gallia cauidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.

We can be certain, then, that schools of grammaticae and rhetoric existed at Bordeaux as elsewhere in Gaul of the first three centuries A.D. Martial refers to crassa Burdigala (9.36.2, if the reading is correct). This does not mean that the level of culture was so low at Bordeaux that one may doubt the existence of schools. Martial also refers to the proverbial stupidity of the Gauls (5.1.10): et tumidus Galla credulitate fruar. This tradition probably stemmed from the

history of hostility between Gaul and Rome. A nation's enemies are rarely pinnacles of virtue. North Africans were perfidious, Easterners effeminate, Gauls stupid.¹

¹E. Wölfflin, "Zur Psychologie der Völker des Altertums" ALL 7 (1892), 133-46; 333-42, gives lists of nasty names for non-Romans. He deals with Africa, Asia, Greece, Italy, but omits among other places Gaul. Sherwin-White, Racial Prejudice in Ancient Rome (Cambridge: Univ. Pr., 1967; repr. 1970) devotes his first sixty pages to the Northern barbarians. For unjustified racial slurs cf. Catullus 39 (with Fordyce's and Kroll's notes). Livy's Patavinitas belongs also to a literary polemic fashionable in Greek rhetoric; see K. Latte CPh (1940), (56-60); see too S. Trenkner, The Greek Novella (Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1958), pp. 7ff. For accusation of stupidity as ethnic abuse see M. Goebel, Ethnika (Breslau: Favorke, 1915), pp. 53f., 57-9, 63, 95f., 98, 107, 122. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, pp. 49ff., demonstrates and invalidates the tradition for Gaul, with reference to comments of Jerome and the Emperor Julian. There are many references to the glowing intellects of Gauls in the fourth century.

(ii) Literary Recession and the Revitalization of Education
in the time of the Tetrarchy

It is unlikely that there was any distinct break in studies in Gaul and at Bordeaux once they had been established. Literary histories often point to a dearth of literary activity in the second and third centuries, followed by a renaissance in the fourth. The common assumption is that education likewise faltered and revived. The suggested cause is the political chaos which is said to have stifled literature in the second and third centuries, while the relatively settled political era heralded by the tetrarchy was a catalyst in the restimulation of literary productivity.¹ In the "dark age", however, there was not perpetual anarchy and chaos, and a satisfactory cause for the apparent lull in literature is difficult to find.

Barnes, (Tertullian p. 189), describes the Latin west as a miserable contrast with the Greek east during these centuries.

¹J. P. Sullivan, Satyricon (London: Faber, 1968), p. 84, remarks in another context: "Now much nonsense has been talked about the state of art under constricting religious, political or social conditions ... in fact great literature has been produced in all sorts of societies where the extent and quality of civil liberty have been much diminished." T. D. Barnes, Tertullian (Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1971), p. 189, of the East in this era says: "Nor was the revival of Greek civilization cut short by the violent upheavals of the third century. Despite political anarchy, despite constant barbarian incursions, men still wrote works of literature, forerunners of the long centuries of Byzantine civilization."

Dismissing the spurious authors recorded in the Historia Augusta, he claims that Africa with its few pagan authors almost outproduces the rest of the west, being especially prolific in Christian writing (p. 192). Noting (p. 193) that before 300 virtually all the acta martyrum come from Africa, but none from Italy, Gaul or Britain, he concludes: "One must deduce that no one there was concerned to produce literature." Inasmuch as concerns the school-system, Barnes remarks that "no civilized society can dispense with lawyers, political orators or grammarians." But he qualifies this statement by pointing to the composition of the Panegyrici Latini, maintaining that the compiler of around 390 could not find a worthy specimen of panegyric to include between Pliny's and that of Mamertinus in 289. In this era "every other type of pagan literature died."

The earliest panegyrics in the collection transmitted to us, those of Mamertinus, are two of the best in clarity and adherence to the format prescribed by the rules of rhetoric.¹ Panegyric was not making a faltering fresh start. There had been some continuity in its traditions. In the pages of Aulus Gellius we leave the rhetor and grammaticus flourishing, while from the words of Eumenius' Pro instaurandis scholis oratio (Pan. Lat. 5) we infer an imperial move to revitalize education. But too often overlooked is the fact that Eumenius' harangue shows that schooling had continued at the Maeniana in the third century, weakened perhaps, but existing.

¹See Galletier, Pan. Lat. t.1, 17ff.

Tacitus (Ann. 3.43) proves the existence of schools at Autun in 21 A.D. Eumenius was sent as director to a school here (14.3; cf. 5.3): interitu summi doctoris. Twice (9.2; 14.1) we are told of a happy crowd of students meeting Constantius at Autun before Eumenius' appointment. He tells us that his grandfather, a teacher from Athens who had gained fame at Rome, was attracted to Autun through the reverence for learning there and had been an active teacher until past eighty (17.2-4). This had taken place before Eumenius' school-years and a decline in the popularity of the school there, the Maeniana (17.3): *Quamvis enim ante ingressum pueritiae meae intermissa fuerit eorum (i.e. the Maeniana) exercendis studiis frequentatio, tamen illic avum quondam meum docuisse audio ...* This break in the flourishing of the schools was apparently caused by the sack of the city by Tetricus (269-70; cf. Galletier. Pan. Lat. t.1, 111ff., and chapter four of the discourse). Eumenius' grandfather will have arrived in the late second or early third century (cf. Galletier, t.1, 113), attracted hither from the capital. So the school at Autun evidently flourished from the first to

past the middle of the third century.¹ The mention of a summus doctor and students before the appointment of Eumenius shows, nevertheless, that the sack of the town did not completely extinguish the scholastic spirit. The rebuilding of the school and repairs to the city were not feasible without imperial assistance, for the economy of Autun was evidently not healthy in the second half of the third century.² Even without the blow dealt by Tetricus, it is probable that there was a curtailment of the education boom. In present-day society we are well aware that under economic stress the education budget is one of the first to suffer. The strain on municipal resources doubtless affected the hiring of teachers at public and private expense.

¹Eumenius appeals to an aged Glaucus for aid in his reconstruction program. Galletier thinks that Glaucus was a teacher of Greek, possibly a friend of Eumenius' grandfather, also attracted by the renown of the school, rejecting the idea that he was an architect (pp. 113, 135 n.4). He is indubitably correct and would have more clearly seen this himself had he translated the Latin correctly. Eumenius writes (17.4): cuius ego locum, in quo, ut referunt, maior octogenario docuit, si ab isto venerabili sene (te, Glauce, appello, praesentem quem videmus, non civitate Atticum, sed eloquio) recoli ornarique perfecero, ipsum mihi videbor ad vitam tali professionis suae successione revocasse. The French translation of the last part reads: j'aurai l'impression d'avoir rappelé mon aieul à la vie, en lui succédant ainsi dans sa chaire. Galletier cites the final phrase (p. 119) as "une formule obscure qui défie la traduction". Tali...successione does not refer to Eumenius himself taking his grandfather's chair, but to Glaucus, on whom Eumenius is calling to fill the vacant chair. Unfortunately we cannot tell if this Glaucus had already been at Autun in some educational capacity, or whether he was a new appointee, perhaps new to the city, like Eumenius. It is not safe therefore to use him as evidence for the continuity of education at Autun.

²For rebuilding of Autun see Pan. Lat. 4.22, 7.22, 8.8ff. See also E. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1970), pp. 52-70, 98-123 for the parallel decline and restoration at Trier.

It seems fair to compare the situation of Bordeaux with that of Autun. Bordeaux's economy suffered in the third century (see Etienne, Bordeaux antique, pp. 204ff.). Education and literature probably waned, but will not have been totally extinguished.¹ But if the scope of Ausonius' work leads one to suspect that he is covering a period whose starting point was a sudden reflourishing of education, Eumenius' oration in fact provides us with a reason for this rebirth.

Eumenius had been magister memoriae to Constantius Chlorus, who sent him, with doubled salary, to be director of the school at Autun. It is regrettable that we are not better informed on the arrangement of municipal schools, but Eumenius' appointment was obviously extraordinary. He often returns to the idea that he is not being demoted, and is at pains to explain his position, since it was clearly strange for the emperor to appoint a director of schools in a municipality. This imperial interest in education is naturally of especial importance, as it may have been the spark which ignited a glowing era for education.

Eumenius is effusive in his praise of Constantius' care for education (6), and praise is accorded to the rulers in general, because they recognize the renewal of eloquence as a mainstay for the revitalization of the empire (19.4):

Quo magis horum nova et incredibilis est virtus et humanitas, qui inter tanta opera bellorum ad haec quoque litterarum exercitia respiciunt atque illum temporum statum, quo, ut legimus, Romana res plurimum terra et mari valuit, ita demum integrari putant, si non potentia, sed etiam eloquentia revirescat.

¹Denk (Geschichte, p. 94) infers from Parent. 16.5f. that Eusebius was teaching at Bordeaux in the third century. Ausonius says the voice of Veria Liceria's great-grandfather would need to be summoned from the tomb to praise her merits adequately. He may well have been a rhetor, but there is nothing to show that he taught at Bordeaux.

Now Alföldi examines the concept of a literate emperor, and literacy and illiteracy as topoi for praise and blame:

"As we have tried to show, with the aims that we have described they make it an essential characteristic of the good emperor to be versed in literature, or at least to support it, while lack of education is a main feature in the portrait of the tyrant ... Thus it often happens that we can trace two distinct valuations of the same emperor."¹

He proceeds to use the varying traditions about the members of the tetrarchy as an example. For instance, Constantine's dabbling in church controversy scarcely reveals acute intellectual competence. But to be "the Great" he had to have devotion to letters, and the sources dutifully record such attention. If an emperor were given a good press, he would be depicted as a benefactor of literature, and vice versa. The truth about imperial zeal or hatred towards letters is therefore hard to assess, and it is somewhat of a paradox that the truth about the literary interests of the tetrarchy can be deduced from the Panegyrici Latini.

In the first panegyric, that of Mamertinus to Maximian, we miss the topos of literary achievements. The nearest thing to it is a catalogue of official bureaucratic duties (2.2.3-4). Otherwise the physical labours of Hercules are emphasized. Likewise, in his second oration, delivered to the same emperor a few years later, Mamertinus omits, or rather inverts this topos. The praise is grouped under the general headings, pietas and felicitas. In the peroration these virtues are sharply contrasted with other virtues acquired through learning

¹A Conflict of Ideas in the Later Roman Empire (trans. H. Mattingly; Clarendon Pr., 1952), p. 112.

(19.2):

Etenim ceterae virtutes et bona cetera processu aetatis eveniunt, fortitudo annis accedentibus roboratur, continentia disciplinae praeceptis traditur, iustitia cognitione iuris addiscitur, ipsa denique illa quae videtur rerum omnium domina esse sapientia perspectis hominum moribus et exploratis rerum docetur eventis: solae cum nascentibus pariter oriuntur pietas atque felicitas; naturalia sunt enim animorum bona et praemia factorum.

Panegyrics, according to the rules of rhetoric, should include sections on birth and upbringing. The *ἀνατροφή* section was expected to contain some reference to education.¹ Mamertinus for Maximian and Diocletian fulfils this section thus (3.39; cf. 2.2):

Non enim in otiosa aliqua deliciisque corrupta parte terrarum nati instituti estis, sed in his provinciis quas ad indefatigabilem consuetudinem laboris atque patientiae fracto licet oppositus hosti, armis tamen semper instructus limes exercet, in quibus omnis vita militia est, quorum etiam feminae ceterorum gentium viris fortiores sunt.

These passages provide quite a contrast with the words of Eumenius

(8.1f.):

Credo, igitur, tali Caesar Herculus (i.e. Constantius) et avi Herculis et Herculi patris (i.e. Maximian!) instinctu tanto studium litterarum favore prosequitur ut non minus ad providentiam numinis sui existimet pertinere bene dicendi quam recte faciendi disciplinas et pro divina intelligentia mentis aeternae sentiat litteras omnium fundamenta esse virtutum, utpote continentiae, modestiae, vigilantiae, patientiae magistras. Quae universae cum in consuetudinem tenera aetate venerunt ad omnia deinceps officia vitae et ad ipsa quae diversissima videntur, militiae et castrorum munia convalescunt.

The panegyricists praised everything they possibly could. The omission of a "devotion to literature" topos and the veiled apology for

¹See Marrou p. 298; L. B. Struthers, "The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian" *HSPH* 30 (1919), 49ff., for tabulation of structure according to the Greek rhetoricians. Cf. also Quint. 3. 7.15.

the illiteracy of Maximian and Diocletian prove that these emperors were not inclined to benefit letters.¹ While Eumenius loosely includes all members of the tetrarchy in praise of devotion to literature, it is with Constantius he is especially concerned (see e.g. 6.1,4; 8.1,3). It was he who appointed Eumenius, and Eumenius presents and analyses the letter of appointment in his speech (16). It is likely, therefore, that the adoption of the Caesars and the formation of the tetrarchy, heralded an era of renewed imperial benevolence to literature. We have to look no further than the text of Eumenius for the reason for such a move. And this move could mark the beginning of a revival of schooling at Bordeaux, which would in turn explain the limits of the Professores.

Eumenius puts remarkable emphasis on the theme of loyalty through education. The rulers have taken an interest in his appointment (5.4):

ne hi quos ad spem omnium tribunalium aut interdum ad stipendia cognitionum sacrarum aut fortasse ad ipsa palatii magisteria provehi oporteret, veluti repentino nubilo in mediis adulescentiae fluctibus deprehensi, incerta dicendi signa sequerentur.

The proposed formation of virtues by learning has been mentioned above, and the subjects on the curriculum are noteworthy, as is the place of exercise (9.1):

Et sane, vir perfectissime, interest etiam gloriae quam tanti principes tot victoriis ac triumphis merentur ut ingenia quae canendis eorum virtutibus excoluntur, non intra privatos parietes, sed in publica ostentatione et in ipso urbis istius ore vegetentur.

¹It is true, however, that Diocletian reaffirmed the exemptions from Munera for teachers (Cod. Iust 10.53.4), but such grants were perfunctory; cf. Marrou, pp. 434f.

The Maeniana are naturally the choice spot for the education of the youth. Eumenius continues (10.2): Ibi adulescentes optimi discant, nobis quasi sollemne carmen praefantibus, maximorum principum facta celebrare (quis enim melior usus est eloquentiae?). And in the peroration we read (20.2ff.):

Videat praeterea in illis porticibus iuventus et cotidie spectet omnes terras et cuncta maria et quidquid invictissimi principes urbium, gentium, nationum aut pietate restituunt aut virtute devincunt aut terrore defigunt. Siquidem illic, ut ipse vidisti, credo, instruendae pueritiae causa, quo manifestius oculis discerentur quae difficilius percipiuntur auditu, omnium cum nominibus suis locorum situs, spatia, intervalla descripta sunt... Ibi fortissimorum imperatorum pulcherrimae res gestae per diversa regionum argumenta recolantur, dum calentibus semperque venientibus victoriarum nuntiis revisuuntur...

The drawing of functionaries from the rhetorical schools of the later empire is well-known. There were in fact no other schools from which to draw them. It would nevertheless have been convenient if loyalty could be instilled in future officials by constant panegyric of the emperor in their youth. On the basis of the evidence we have, however, it would be impossible to argue convincingly that a program of state propaganda through education had been instituted by the tetrarchs, to be continued throughout the fourth century. But, propaganda through education was used on occasion.

We have seen above Sertorius and Agricola use education to instill loyalty. Galerius' Caesar, Maximinus Daia, was certainly aware of the propaganda potential of the school-system. In his persecution of Christianity he had the Acta Pilati inserted in the school curriculum (Eusebius HE 9.5.1, 7.1). Julian the Apostate renewed this policy of persecution through education by forbidding Christians to teach grammaticae and rhetoric on the grounds that it was blasphemous for a

Christian to explain pagan authors (Cod. Theod. 13.3.5; Julian Ep. 61c).¹
 Conversely Justinian forbade pagans and heretics to teach (Cod. Iust.
 1.5. 18.4; Johannes Lydus p. 451 Dindorf).

We do not know of others appointed like Eumenius. There possibly were. But it seems certain that in the rebuilding in Gaul in Constantius' time the school-system was renovated, the immediate purpose being to reestablish the εὐεργέτης image of the emperor² and loyalty to the new regime. Ausonius, then, in the Professores may well be dealing with teachers who flourished from the resuscitation of education at Bordeaux by Constantius.³

¹An act which brought even a rebuke from the pro-Julian historian Ammianus (22.10.7; cf. 25.4.20): Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores.

²On this see Marrou, pp. 437f.

³Cf. Jullian, Ausone, p. 63; Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, p. 48. On the propaganda value of education, Pichon, Les derniers écrivains, pp. 77f., draws heavily on Eumenius; cf. Pavan, La crisi della scuola nel iv secolo d.c. (Bari: Laterza), pp. 17f. on the restoration at Autun to gain the favour of the lettered nobility, and on the propaganda value of instruction. R. R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries (Cambridge: Univ. Pr., 1954), p. 36, notes that when rhetoric became divorced from direct utility, its Romanizing effect became its main purpose, hence imperial grants etc. This view has been often expressed with minor variations (e.g. Monnard, De Gallorum oratorio ingenio, p. 30; P. Ssymank, Das Hochschulwesen im römischen Kaiserreich bis zum Ausgang der Antike (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1956), p. 1. There is general truth in the assertion that education was used for Romanizing and propaganda purposes, but one should beware of conceiving the idea of a continuous plan and machinery in operation. It helped the imperial image to be regarded as the benefactor of letters, hence the frequent, but ineffective grants of immunities to teachers (cf. Marrou, p. 434f). There is solid evidence, however, for occasional direct interference in education for immediate propaganda purposes. At Bordeaux such interference apparently provided impetus for a scholastic renaissance.

(iii) The Concept of a University at Bordeaux

Jullian, RIE (1889), 29, suggests that before the "renaissance" education at Bordeaux was on a private footing. Before Ausonius there is no evidence for the existence of municipal chairs at Bordeaux, but probably there were. In the well-known letter where Pliny records his attempt to found a municipal school at Comum, he speaks of corruption in many places (4.13.6): in quibus praeceptores publice conducuntur. Strabo, writing about the hinterland of Massilia, mentions the public and private hiring of rhetors and doctors by towns (4.1.5):

σοφλοτάς γούν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ κοινῇ μισθούμενοι καθάπερ καὶ ἰατρούς .

It seems likely therefore that the emporium of Bordeaux, thriving in the first three centuries, had instituted municipal chairs for teachers. By the fourth century, at any rate, municipal chairs are frequently attested in Gaul and throughout the Roman empire (see Marrou, p. 439), and Bordeaux is no exception. Ausonius tells us that he won a municipal post (Praefatiunculae 1.18: et nomen grammatici merui), but he had to leave his chair (of rhetoric) to take up his position as imperial tutor (ibid. 24): deserui doctor municipalem operam.¹

¹Cf. Grat. Act. 7; municipalem scholam apud Visontionem Lugdunumque.

So, there were municipal chairs at Bordeaux, but it has become an established practice to speak of the "University of Bordeaux," "university" being a term of which Marrou says (p. 317): nous ne pourrions commencer à employer le mot sans trop d'anachronisme qu'à partir du ive siècle de notre ère. Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 135) draws a comparison between the "university of Bordeaux" and the teaching of classics at Oxford. But the term "university" as applied to Bordeaux can be misleading, for to the modern mind university suggests a large complex containing a variety of disciplines and a supporting administrative arrangement. There was not the diversified curriculum familiar to us. Only grammaticae and rhetoric were taught at Bordeaux. Nor was there interrelationship of courses and studies. A teacher might have assistants whose teaching he directed (e.g. Ausonius' subdoctor, Victorius, Prof. 22), but, as Bolgar well expresses it (The Classical Heritage, p. 34): "There is never any suggestion that these teachers co-operated in the way that modern school-teachers co-operate. They merely co-existed as lecturers in different faculties co-exist in the modern university."

"A school for the ancients was merely a geographical expression" writes Bolgar in connection with his above comments. This is not exactly true. The word "school" implies "edifice" to the modern mind, schola or ludus to the ancients meant rather a teacher and a collection of pupils.¹

¹E.g. Suetonius tells us of Verrius Flaccus (Gram. 17): transiit in Palatium cum tota schola.

To date, archaeology has not revealed any central school building at Bordeaux, nor does any ancient text, Ausonius included, mention one.¹ We must beware of imagining too grandiose an affair, and there is a strong possibility that a special building or buildings did not exist.

In the Greek world gymnasias have been excavated, and the accommodation for education in them is tolerably clear.² The Emperor Hadrian built the Athenaeum at Rome, which was a place of learning presumably styled after the model of the Greek gymnasium.³ Aurelius Victor records of him (Caes. 14.3): *gymnasia doctoresque curare ocepit*. Archaeology has not revealed gymnasias as common intellectual centres in the west and Victor's vague plural may refer to Hadrian's activity in the East.⁴

In all parts of the ancient world, schools could be held almost anywhere. Various references name pergulae (Suet. Gram. 18; Juv. 11.137; August. Conf. 1.16.26; SHA Firmus et alii 10.4), while

¹Cf. Etienne, Bordeaux antique, p. 237: "Il est plus difficile d'en fixer l'emplacement (i.e. de l'université) car aucun texte ancien ne s'est soucié de la préciser...seule une trouvaille archéologique lèvera cette incertitude."

²Delorme, Gymnasion (Paris: de Boccard, 1960), chpt. 9.

³The literary sources on this building are assembled and discussed by F. Schemmel, "Das Athenaeum in Rom," PhW 36 (1919), 91-95.

⁴For his endowment of gymnasias at Athens, Panamara and Smyrna see E. G. L. Ziebarth, Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen (1914; repr. Groningen; Bouma, 1971), pp. 80ff.

exedrae¹ and open porticoes² provided alternative locations. Classes could even be held on the street in the midst of other business.³

¹See H. I. Marrou, "La vie intellectuelle au Forum du Trajan et au Forum d'Auguste," MEFR (1932), 93-110; E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), vol. 1, p. 456.

²M. Della Corte, "Scuole e maestri in Pompei antica," Studi Romani 7 (1959), 621-634; "Le iscrizioni graffite della Basilica degli Argentari nel foro di Giulio Cesare," BCAR 51 (1933), 111-130.

³See M. Nilsson, Die hellenistische Schule (München: Beck, 1965), pp. 79f., 92ff.; Dio Chrys. Or. 20.9; Anth. Pal. 11.437; Just. Epit. 21.5. Denk (Geschichte, p. 47) of primary schools says: "Da diese Schulen häufig an öffentlichen, an Kreuz- und Dreiwegen (in triviis) sich befanden, so wurde ihnen die Bezeichnung Trivialschulen beigelegt und das in ihnen gelehrtete Wissen hiess Trivialwissenschaft (trivialis scientia), worunter man die drei Gegenstände, Lesen, Schreiben und Rechnen begriff." Denk unfortunately does not quote sources for this statement, and I know of no occurrence of the phrase trivialis ludus or the like. However, Quintilian does say (1.4.27): Litterarii paene ista sunt ludi et trivialis scientia. It is just possible that there is a reference to cross-road schools here. In this connection it also occurs to me that Callimachus' Ibis may impugn the learning as well as the plagiarism of Appollonius. Strabo (17.823) describes this omnivorous, omni-pollutant creature as a common sight at every cross-roads (τραδός) in Alexandria. If this was a common location for primary schools, the professor of the Mouseion may have accused his enemy of possessing only a veneer of common learning picked up at street-corners.

Auditorium, a common term for a school, has been thoroughly examined by B. Tamm,¹ who distinguishes four shades of meaning: room, audience, lecture and a mixture of the foregoing. In the meaning "room" apparently no stereotyped architectural unit is envisaged. An auditorium was simply any room equipped with seating and so made suitable for a lecture (Tamm, pp. 8ff., 12f., 186f.).

The educational arrangements at Autun are often used to assist in forming a picture of those at Bordeaux. The school at Autun was called the Maeniana, a term which surely designates a building with balconies.² Denk (Geschichte, pp. 92ff.) envisages a rather grandiose edifice, multistoried and containing numerous class-rooms. But we should beware of thinking in terms of anything like a college building. Constantius, in a letter quoted by Eumenius (Pan. Lat. 4.14.3) refers to the Maeniana as an auditorium. This need signify only one lecture-room. Eumenius pleads for the restoration of the building (9.1): *ut ingenia quae canendis eorum (i.e. imperatorum) virtutibus excoluntur non intra privatos parietes sed in publica ostentatione et in ipso urbis istius ore vegetentur*. At 20.2 it is stated that the students are taught in illis porticibus. These schools were apparently exposed to public view, like those in the exedrae at Rome or in the porticoes at Pompei.

¹Auditorium and Palatium (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1963), pp. 7-23.

²See Ebert, RE 14, 245-47; Cod. Iust. 8.10.11 uses maeniana of a pillared walk supporting a balcony.

Libanius gained the right to lecture in the βουλευτήριον at Antioch (Or. 1.104; cf. 1.72, 87, 179, 216) having first set himself up on the fringe of the agora (Or. 1.102). Here it is also implied that temples were used for teaching purposes (cf. 1.72; Ep. 88).¹

Similar use may have been made of temples in the West. Suetonius tells us (Gram. 15) that Lenaeus taught in Carinis ad Telluris. Libanius writes of other teachers active in the Μουσείον. There is no evidence for comparable establishments in the West. Clarke (Higher Educ., p. 8) remarks that the Μουσείον was somewhat of an exceptional foundation. At Nicomedia Libanius lectured in the public baths (Or. 1.58) and we find a declaimer in a public bath in Seneca (Controv. 3. Pref. 16) and Eumolpus recites here (Petron. Sat. 91). Teachers at Bordeaux may well have used available tabernae, exhedrae or pergulae, or some public building whose primary role was not the function of a school-house. Possibly wealthier teachers had auditoria in their homes.² With the institution of municipal chairs for teachers in the West one might have expected official buildings for them. Apart from the Athenaeum, evidence for such institutions comes from that untrustworthy source, the Historia Augusta, which tells us of Severus Alexander (18.44.4):

¹Cf. W. D. Gray, "The Role Played by the Classical Temple in Secular Life", CJ 38 (1943/3), 324-6.

²Tamm, Auditorium and Palatium, p. 21, infers from Vitruvius' instructions on the houses of persons of different rank that there were auditoria built into the houses of teachers. Starting out at Antioch Libanius taught a class of fifteen in his home (Or. 1.101) and returned to teaching in his home in old age (Or. 1.281).

auditoria decrevit. If this is true, one would like to know if construction of auditoria was decreed for all towns, how the decree was enforced, how the bill was footed, in a word how many, if any, auditoria were built at imperial or municipal expense. A prosperous city may have built an auditorium for its official teachers. Ausonius' silence about such an edifice at Bordeaux leads me to believe that none
¹
 existed.

The reader of the Professores is left with the impression of a sizeable number of teachers active at Bordeaux in the fourth century, an impression which has served to propagate the idea of a staff and university at Bordeaux. But here too overzealous estimates can give a wrong idea of the teaching arrangements at Bordeaux.

Ausonius commemorates 31 teachers in all (excluding Romulus; see Prof. 8 below). With such a figure in mind, Everat writes: Urbis huius scholae, quarto saeculo, totius Galliae erant illustrissimae. Triginta circiter professores, cum rhetores, tum grammatici, graeco latinove sermone in iis ad honestas artes plurimos adolescentes informabat.² Such reckoning will not do, primarily because Ausonius

¹Argumenta ex silentio are rarely satisfactory. Yet had there been a special school building at Bordeaux, it is difficult to imagine that Ausonius avoided mention of it in the whole of the Professores and in other pieces like Praefatiunculae 1. (See on 14.8 below). Jullian asserts RIE 25 (1883), 29: "L'école de Bordeaux portait le nom d'auditorium". He cites no evidence and I know of none.

²De Ausonii operibus et genere dicendi (Paris: Thorin, 1885), p. 5.

specifically states that certain of the professors did not teach at Bordeaux - Anastasius (10), perhaps Agricinus (14), Arborius (16), Exuperius (17), Marcellus (18), Sedatus (19), Staphylius (20), Dynamius (23). This leaves us with a total of 23 teachers who were active at Bordeaux.

Naturally all these teachers were not active at the same time. Some died and were replaced, some moved from Bordeaux to teach elsewhere, others retired to Bordeaux and taught. Jullian, presumably with such factors in mind (though he does not explain in detail how he arrives at his figures), estimates about ten chairs at the "university", six of grammaticae and four of rhetoric, this being a maximum number which was rarely filled [RIE 25 (1893), 31; Ausone, pp. 66f.]. Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 115) and Bolgar (The Classical Heritage, p. 33), accept this figure. Étienne (Bordeaux Antique, p. 39f.) rejects Jullian's figures and attempts to treat the problem scientifically and in some detail. He divides the period covered by the Professores into two epochs, (1) 314-334 when Ausonius was a student, (2) 337-367 when he was a teacher. This second era he subdivides between Ausonius' activity as a grammaticus, and his period as a rhetor, reckoned as 337-352/3 and 352/3-367. For the first period (314-334) he calculates 5 grammatici Latini and 3 grammatici Graeci, for the second (337-367) 5 grammatici Latini and two grammatici Graeci. He attributes this ~~later~~ figure to a decline in the availability of competent grammatici Graeci. In Ausonius' youth Étienne computes five rhetors active, and in his spell as rhetor, four other rhetors active contemporaneously. Ignoring the reduction he asserts in the number of chairs of grammaticae Graeca, he

concludes that there were, with a degree of permanence which he finds remarkable, five chairs of rhetoric and eight chairs of grammaticae in fourth century Bordeaux.

Assuming the Professores gives a complete account of teachers in fourth century Bordeaux - and it has been shown above that Ausonius attempts to be as complete as his memory will allow him - there are three major flaws in Étienne's calculations. He fails to consider whether all the professors held official chairs as opposed to being private teachers. Since Ausonius deals only with teachers who have died, for Étienne's second period there may well have been other teachers who were active contemporaneously with Ausonius, but who, like him, were still among the living at the time of the composition of the Professores, and whose names are therefore not recorded. And finally there is the question of assistant teachers.

In the ancient world almost anyone could proclaim himself a teacher and open a school. We do read in imperial documents orders to ensure the quality of teachers (Cod. Theod. 13.3.5, with sinister motives, being Julian's decree against Christian teachers; 13.3.6, 7, 11). Such stipulations may refer principally to holders of official chairs, who were apparently selected by the local curia. The institution of municipal chairs in no way abolished private enterprise. Libanius (Or. 1.101f.) held a private school in Antioch before managing to procure a municipal post, as did Augustine at Rome (Conf. 12-13). Again, an imperial directive of 425 referring to Constantinople shows and sanctions the coexistence of private and municipal teachers (Cod. Theod. 14.9.3):

Illos vero, qui intra plurimorum domus eadem exercere privatim studia consuerunt, si ipsis tantummodo discipulis vacare maluerint, quos intra parietes domesticos docent, nulla huiusmodi interminatione prohibemus. Sin autem ex eorum numero fuerint, qui videntur intra Capitolii auditorium constituti, ii omnibus modis privatarum aedium studia sibi interdicta esse cognoscant...¹

Holding a municipal chair was considered above being teacher in a private school. Libanius felt despised and despondent teaching in a private capacity at Antioch, and was evidently not on the same social footing as the official rhetors (Or. 1.101-105).

In examining the Professores we must admit the possibility of certain teachers not holding municipal posts. To decide with certainty who did or who did not is a well-nigh impossible task. We can glean the following pointers. Ausonius was active as an advocate and perhaps as private teacher before gaining an official chair (Praefatiunculae 1.17f.):

nec fora non celebrata mihi, set cura docendi
cultior, et nomen grammatici merui.

"Meriting the title grammaticus" presumably refers to obtaining a municipal chair, a municipalis opera (v. 25) as he describes the position he relinquished to become imperial tutor. Perhaps we can infer from this that when Ausonius describes some-one as "meriting" a chair, this teacher held a municipal chair. Again in Prof. 1 we read of (v.8): Burdigalae cathedra. Tenure of this chair is being compared to the glory of Quintilian, who was the holder of the first official chair of rhetoric at Rome (Suet. Vesp. 18; Jer. Chron. s.a. 88). So mention of holding a cathedra suggests a municipal post. Sidonius (Ep. 4.3.10)

¹Cf. Marrou, p. 440.

writes: *apud municipales et cathedrarios oratores aut forenses rabulas garriamus*. Cathedra could be used of the chair of any teacher, but the juxtaposition of the adjectives municipales et cathedrarios implies that in the later empire cathedra was taking the meaning municipal chair. However, conclusions drawn on the basis of these indications will not be certain, because Ausonius need not keep to a strict scheme of terminology.

In the Professores Ausonius deals only with the deceased, but there will have been teachers of his age and younger at Bordeaux not mentioned in the commemorations because they were still living in the 380 s. In the Epigrams we hear of a grammaticus called Auxilius (6), another by name Philomusus (7), and Eunus (82-87), who, if real, may have taught at Bordeaux.¹ Of Latinus Alcimus Alethius it is recorded (2.25):

*Morum tuorum, decoris et facundiae
formam dedisti filiis.*

They possibly followed in their father's foot-steps as rhetors at Bordeaux. Luciolus' heres obscurus, who was helped by his father's renown (3.7f.), may also have been a teacher at Bordeaux, as probably was the son of Phoebicius (10.29f.) who helped his father get a chair (provided this is not Patera of Prof. 4). Other teachers are recorded to have left children; e.g. Nepotianus (15), Glabrio (24), though there is no indication as to the profession they followed. But Tetradius (Ep. 11), a former pupil of Ausonius who taught at Angoulême (vv. 19ff.),

¹Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 134) and PLRE regard these as actual people; Evelyn White, vol. 2 index, doubts their existence. Many of Ausonius' epigrams are translations of Greek pieces. The Greek models for the Rufus series (Epig. 8-13, 60, 61) are in the Anth. Pal. Ausonius has translated these, but added the name Rufus. Anth. Pal. 11.143 addresses $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$. There is the distinct possibility that Rufus and some or all the other teachers addressed in the epigrams are fictitious. Against this, one can argue that the line (10.2) specifying him as Rufus rhetor Pictavus indicates an actual person.

may have begun his career at Bordeaux. Any count of teachers based on the Professores cannot, then, ignore the unknown number of teachers not mentioned because they were still alive.¹

Prof. 22 is addressed to Victorius subdoctor, an assistant to Ausonius, supported by him and not possessing a municipal title (vv. 17ff.):

exili nostrae fucatus honore cathedrae,
libato tenuis nomine grammatici.

The proscolus was neither rich nor esteemed (August. Sermo 178.7.8 PL 38, 946): Pauperrimus homo, . . . , tam pauper ut proscolus grammatici esset. But on occasion the assistant teacher may have held an official chair and drawn a municipal salary. So although it is clear in the case of Victorius that his appointment was private and Ausonius, not the municipality, his employer, we cannot assume that all teachers mentioned as Ausonius' assistants were private appointees devoid of municipal status. Such considerations cannot be avoided in estimating the number of official posts at Bordeaux as opposed to the number of teachers involved in education at Bordeaux.

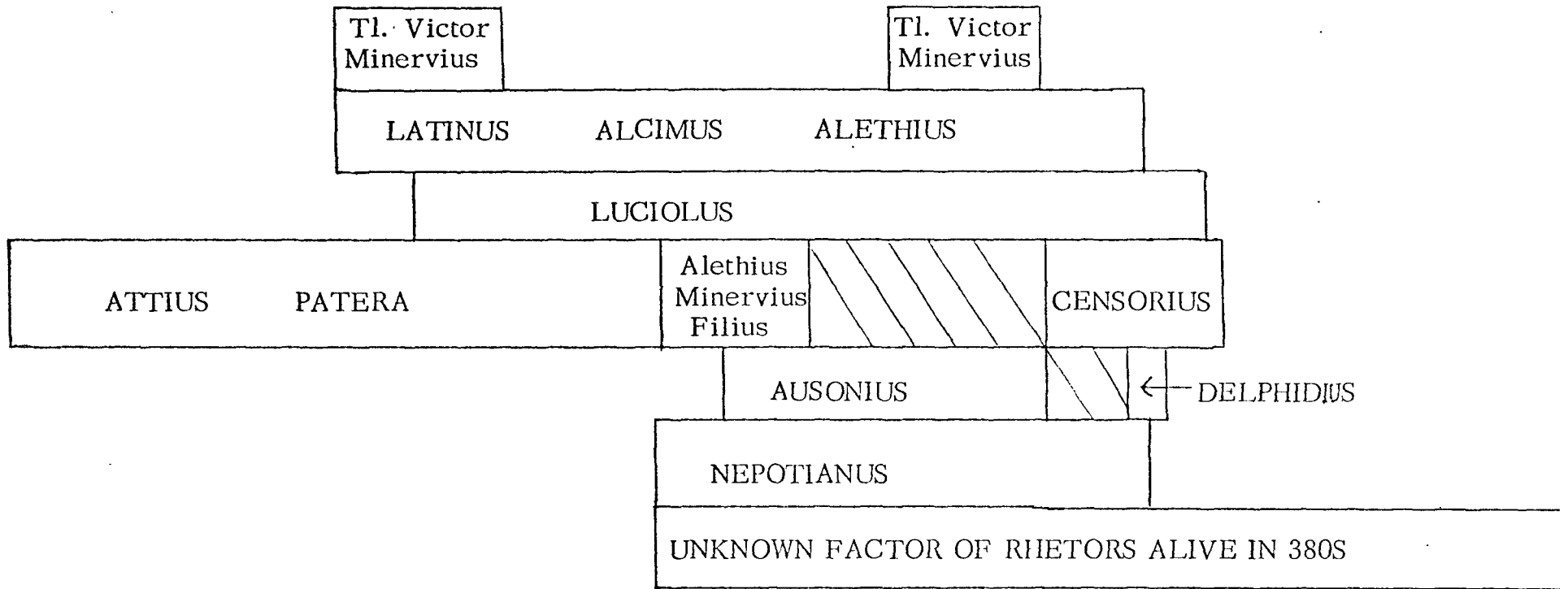
Ausonius does not give us enough information to compute with

¹ Axius Paulus was a rhetor (Ep. 4. title, v. 9f.). He was a native of Bigorre (Ep. 7 ad fin.) and had an estate at Crebennus (Ep. 8.23). PLRE (p. 685) asserts he taught at Bordeaux, but this seems unlikely. It is evidently more convenient for him to meet Ausonius when the latter has left Bordeaux for a villa (Ep. 4,10, 6). This villa was apparently situated near Mediolanum Santonum (see Étienne, Bordeaux antique, p. 360 and map p. 356), and Ausonius' words imply that he was rhetor at Saintes (Ep. 4 1-3; 7 ad fin.; 10. 1-4).

any accuracy the number of official teachers active at a given time in fourth century Bordeaux. In the Commentary an attempt has been made to date the teaching activity and estimate the status of the Bordeaux professors. The results, for what they are worth, are tabulated overleaf. Perhaps no more than half a dozen official posts are indicated, but the following considerations make this figure more likely than the tables based on the Professores.

RHETORS

0 - 300 300 - 310 310 - 320 320 - 330 330 - 340 340 - 350 350 - 360 360 - 370 370 - 380 380 - 390 390 -



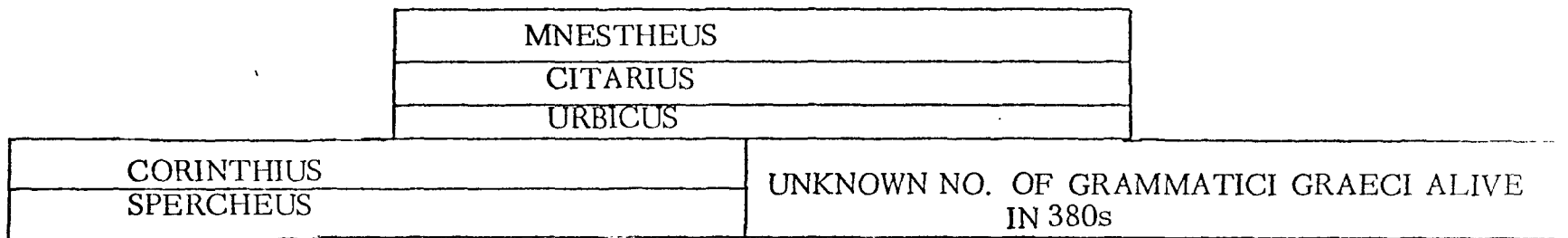
0 - 300 300 - 310 310 - 320 320 - 330 330 - 340 340 - 350 350 - 360 360 - 370 370 - 380 380 - 390 390 - 4

GRAMMATICI

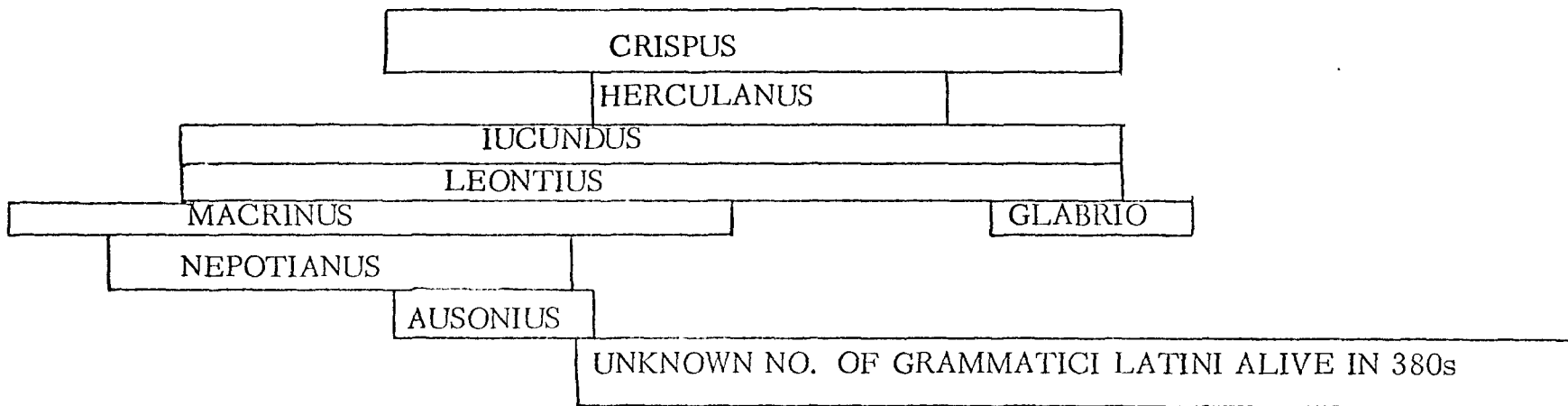
64

0 - 300 300 - 310 310 - 320 320 - 330 330 - 340 340 - 350 350 - 360 360 - 370 370 - 380 380 - 390 390 - 400

GRAECI



LATINI



No indication of dates PHOEBICIUS, AMMONIUS, CONCORDIUS, SUCURO

0 - 300 300 - 310 310 - 320 320 - 330 330 - 340 340 - 350 350 - 360 360 - 370 370 - 380 380 - 390 390 - 400

After his computation of the number of teachers at Bordeaux, Étienne asserts that scholastically it was a demi-Constantinople. From the year 425 there is a rescript prescribing the number of official teachers for the auditorium at Constantinople (Cod. Theod. 14.9.3). There are to be three Latin rhetors, five Greek, and ten grammatici for each language. In addition there are to be two philosophers and one jurist. From this same rescript we know that there were also private teachers active in Constantinople. Ausonius has lumped private and public teachers together in a manner which makes it impossible to separate the two categories. We cannot accurately count the numbers of official chairs, but we should not be misled in our estimation through the large number in fifth-century Constantinople.

At Dig. 27.1.6.2 Modestinus mentions a letter of Antoninus Pius to the commune of Asia, the terms of which, says the jurist, are universal. Small towns are allowed 3 official rhetors and 3 grammatici, larger towns four of each, and the largest towns five of each. Under no circumstances was any city to exceed this last figure. The conditions of the third century A.D., as noted above, probably limited further the number of teachers a municipality could afford to hire. To return to Autun, Eumenius was there to replace one teacher (Pan. Lat. 5.53: *indolem ...interitu summi doctoris orbatam*), and is both a teacher and director (praeceptorem moderatoremque). He summons one additional teacher, Glaucus, to help him (17.5). One might expect a moderator to have the direction of more than a staff of one, and possibly Eumenius and Constantius intended to enlarge the number of chairs at Autun. But at the time of his speech Eumenius is anxious to emphasize that his new

position is not a demotion from his position at the imperial court. Had he been in charge of a large staff, he would certainly have played this up in his harangue.

The number of chairs may have increased in the opening decades of the fourth century. We have four anonymous panegyrics. The attribution of any of these to Eumenius is no longer accepted (see Galletier, Pan. Lat. t.1, xixff.). The author of 5 (297 A.D.) was from Autun and had been a rhetor (1.2). The author of 8 (312 A.D.) likewise from Autun, was, despite the doubts of Klotz (RhM 1911, 528f.), clearly a rhetor (1.2). The author of 7 (310 A.D.) from Autun is also a rhetor (23.3). The author of 9 (313 A.D.), perhaps from Autun, was a one time rhetor (cf. Galletier Pan. Lat. t.2, 105). One might argue for 6 chairs of rhetoric at Autun in the opening decades of the fourth century, but the number is likely to be less than this. We cannot be sure that all these speeches are by different rhetors. Although they came from Autun, all need not have taught there. Some may have succeeded to the chairs of others. We do not know how long Eumenius and Glaucus, the teacher whom he summoned to help him, held their posts.

We have a document of 376 referring to Trier (Cod. Theod. 13.3.11), part of which runs: *Trevirorum vel clarissimae civitati uberius aliquid putavimus deferendum, rhetori ut triginta, item viginti grammatico Latino, Graeco etiam, si qui dignus repperi potuerit, duodecim praebeantur annonae.* Bonner, who has examined this edict in detail, thinks that despite the singulars, it is a matter of more than one teacher in each subject.¹ But it seems clear that there is

¹"The Edict of Gratian on the Remuneration of Teachers"
AJPh 86 (1965), 113-37.

question of only one grammaticus Graecus, with doubts about finding a single suitable candidate. Moreover, when an imperial decree is establishing salaries, one would expect the number of recipients to be specified (cf. Cod. Theod. 14.9.3). So at Trier there were probably only three official teachers. Local conditions will have varied, and Bordeaux had apparently a few more.

In conclusion, the total number of teachers in the Professores gives an exaggerated impression of the municipal provisions for education. From the number recorded it does seem that Ausonius' memory has been very complete, but the concept of a university at Bordeaux is misleading. We must beware of thinking that Ausonius has written a history of "The University of Bordeaux" for the fourth century. There may not have even been a public school building, and there was no more than a handful of municipal chairs. But in the tables above there is an apparent increase in the teaching activity at Bordeaux as the century wears on. We saw, too, reason to believe that education was stimulated by imperial effort at the end of the third century. Provided it is just not a failure of memory on Ausonius' part, the paucity of professors commemorated from the opening decades of the fourth century, may indicate the glimmering start of a renaissance. It is very possible, therefore, that in recalling teachers from his own aevum, Ausonius was conscious of natural limits.

CHAPTER 4

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AT BORDEAUX

Ausonius is not very explicit when it comes to details about the educational system at Bordeaux. This is not to say, however, that his information is useless. Ausonius in fact provides us with information which affects the modern view of the ancient school-system. There are two main areas to examine, namely grades in schooling and the hierarchy of teachers.

(i) Grades in the School System¹

It is generally held that there were three stages in the ancient school-system; rudimentary instruction with the ludi magister, literary education with the grammaticus and oratory with the rhetor. But it has often been pointed out, mainly from the evidence of Ausonius, that certain teachers undertook two or more stages.² This is taken as a departure from the common practice where the child had three different teachers for the three separate stages. There are indeed difficulties in making Ausonius' evidence tally with the three-stage idea, and his evidence, taken with that from other sources,

¹For more extensive treatment of this see Booth, The Stages and Division of Roman Education (Diss. McMaster, 1970).

²See footnote 1 below p. 69.

challenges the validity of the commonly held modern view.

First let us examine stages in education as presented by Ausonius. In the Professores there are epitaphs only for grammatici and rhetors. In the whole of Ausonius' works no mention of a primary teacher, a ludi magister, primus magister or litterator, is to be found. Various scholars have noted that it appears to have been the grammaticus who covered the sphere of elementary instruction, and the evidence for such assertions must now be examined in greater detail.¹

We read of Ammonius (10.36f.):

qui rudibus pueris
prima elementa dabat.

Then there is Crispus (21.4-6):

qui primaevos fandique rudes
elementorum prima docebas
signa novorum.

One would not unnaturally take the teaching of prima elementa to pueri rudes or primaevi to refer to elementary education. Ausonius himself elsewhere uses elementa to mean characters of the alphabet, with the study of which education began (Tech. 13.1; cf. Epit. 32.7f.):

Dux elementorum studiis viget in Latiis A
et suprema notis adscribitur Argolicis Ω.

Outside Ausonius elementa regularly indicate ABC. In the CGL στοιχέιον is frequently glossed by elementum (2,483.15; 3,244.35; 3,277.53;

¹Marrou, p. 597 note 1: "Il y a même parfois confusion entre le métier d'instituteur et celui de grammairien (Prof. 24.4-6). Ausone lui-même nous dit avoir successivement exercé les trois degrés..." Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, p. 103: "For a point which is left vague in one's mind after reading the authorities for Gaul is whether a distinction was made between the elementary school and the more advanced classes of the grammarian". Cf. Bolgar, Classical Heritage, p. 33; Roger, L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin (1905; Hildesheim: Olms, 1968), p. 12.

5,546. 5: *elementa: initia cuiuscumque rei vel littere*). Elementarius was apparently a technical term for a child learning ABC (3,327.9; στοιχειῖς *elementarius*; 2,278.14: *elementarius: qui discit abicitale*) and Seneca, (Ep. 36.4), has a scornful reference to an elementarius senex.¹ The expression prima elementa is used to designate rudimentary learning by other authors. SHA M. Ant. 2.2 marks the primary stage with the words ad prima elementa.² Rufinus (PG 12, 583) writes: *In litterario ludo, ubi pueri prima elementa suscipiunt*. So, on the face of it, one would readily accept that Ausonius envisages grammatici giving instruction, which normally, according to the modern view, ought to have been given by the ludi magister.

It must, however, be admitted that prima elementa can also refer to grammaticae. Quintilian uses prima elementa of elementary instruction (1.1.23f.). But when he comes to discuss more advanced instruction (1.2ff.) he writes, referring apparently to grammaticae (1.2.26): *Vix enim prima elementa ad spem tollere effingendae quam summam putant eloquentiae audebunt*.³ In Tac. Dial. 30.1-2 we read: *Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur*:

¹For other special terms for primary students see Rufinus, Trans. of Origen in Numeros 27.13 (PG 12, 583), where abecedarii, syllabarii, nominarii and calculatores are mentioned.

²See Bower, "Some Technical Terms in Roman Education," Hermes 89 (1961), 469.

³Cf. 1 Pref. 21: *prima apud rhetorem elementa*; 1.4.6: *elementa grammatices*; 2.2.3: *ad suscipiendas elementorum [rhetorices] molestias*.

nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. Sed expetuntur quos rhetores vocant. The prima elementa here refer to literary studies of grammaticae in which a student should have a thorough grounding before progressing to rhetoric.

Nevertheless, what Ausonius writes of Crispus' teaching makes it difficult to think that anything higher than basic ABC is meant. Furthermore, in his address to the grammatici Graeci of Bordeaux, Ausonius says (8.10-13):

ceteri primis docuere in annis
ne forem vocum rudis aut loquendi
sed sine cultu.

Likewise he records that the grammaticus Latinus Macrinus taught him in his first school years (10.11-13):

Sit Macrinus in his:
huic mea principio
credita puerities.

It could scarcely be stated more clearly that Ausonius began his education with grammatici. In an account of his own duties as a teacher (Ep. 22.67ff.), Ausonius claims to have taken infants from their nurses to begin their education, presumably referring to his activities as a grammaticus (see below pp. 74ff.). Again we are forced to the conclusion that grammatici fulfilled the role of the ludi magister at Bordeaux.

The account Paulinus of Pella gives of his education (Euchar. 55ff.) sheds important light on the present problem. He praises the painstaking care of his parents who saw to his moral education: *ipsius alphabeti inter prima elementa*. This stated, he proceeds to describe his training in grammaticae:

Nec sero exacto primi mox tempore lustrī
 dogmata Socratus et bellica plasmata Homeri
 errores legens cognoscere cogor Ulixīs.
 protinus et libros etiam transire Maronis
 vix bene conperto iubeor sermone Latino.

This obviously refers to the instruction of the grammaticus Graecus followed by that of the grammaticus Latinus, as is specifically noted 113ff.:

Sed redeo ad seriem decursaque illius aevi
 tempora, quo studiis intentus litteraturae
 ultro libens aliquem iam me ipse videbar
 votivum impensi operis sentire profectum,¹
 Argolico pariter Latioque instante magistro.

Illness at this stage prevented him progressing to rhetoric, and on medical advice he turned to sport with parental approval (123f.):

quippe quibus potior visa est curatio nostri
 corporis invalidi quam doctae instructio linguae.

Paulinus, then, has given us in chronological sequence his scholastic curriculum vitae, and in his case it seems the elements were taught at home before he began grammaticae proper. We can note here that he claims to have started grammaticae after his first lustrum which is out of line with the modern view that the child spent five years in elementary learning before progressing to grammaticae around twelve years old. Of his rudimentary education Paulinus does say (68ff.):

Quarum iam dudum nullus vigeat licet usus
 disciplinarum, vitiato scilicet aevo,
 me Romana tamen, fateor, servata vetustas
 plus iuvat atque seni propria est acceptior aetas.

¹For litteratura = grammaticae, Bower, "Technical Terms", 474f.

Paulinus is praising his parents for following a time-honoured educational prescription, namely that parents should take a definite personal interest in their children's initial moral and literary instruction. In Tacitus (Dial. 28-29) we find criticism of the practice of handing children over to slave nurses for their upbringing contrary to the practice of the good old days when the mother or some wise old female relative did the work. Pliny likewise writes of the good old days (Ep. 8.14): *suus cuique parens pro magistro, aut, si cui parens non erat, maximus quisque et vetustissimus pro parente.* Plutarch (De pueris educandis 5-7) and Quintilian (1.1.4-11) give advice on nurses, house-slaves, paedagogi, showing, on the one hand, that it was normal for the child to be in the company of such persons rather than its parents, but also recommending that the parents exercise strict care in selecting these people. Juvenal's fourteenth satire deals at length with the lack of upright parental supervision in the child's formative years.

Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, is frequently cited as the paragon of female educative virtue (Tac. Dial. 28.; Cic. Brut. 104; Quint. 1.1.6; Plut. Ti. Gracch. 1), while we may suspect that the prototype of the father/teacher figure was the Elder Cato. In his pose of the staunch old Roman he would not let a qualified Greek slave teach his son, but took the boy's education into his own hands (Plut. Cato Maior 20). Attia, mother of Caesar, Aurelia, mother of Augustus (Dial. 28) and Iulia Procilla, mother of Agricola (Tac. Agr. 4.2) are latter day Cornelias. As followers of the Catonian archetype, Marrou (p. 345) mentions Aemilius Paulus (Plut. Aem. 6), Cicero (Att. 8.4.1), Augustus (Suet. Aug. 64.5), and remarks: "c'est un des traits auxquels

on reconnaît les vieilles familles attachées à la tradition, comme, sous Tibère, celle des Cassii (Tac. Ann. 6.15)". But it was not only the old families which affected this tradition. Horace praises at some length his father's care of his education (Sat. 1.6.72ff.). In the Later Empire we find fathers declaring that they are going back to school with their sons (Symmachus Ep. 4.20; 6.61; Sid. Apoll. Ep. 4.12.21). Ausonius himself proposes to re-read the basic texts with his grandson (Ep. 22.56ff.), while in the Parentalia (5,6,25) he praises the influence of female relatives on his infancy.

It is not my intention to deny that parents and relatives were interested in the upbringing of children or to imply that all references to such interest are literary fictions. But it was a recognized traditional virtue for parents themselves or relatives to look after the upbringing and education of infants. This, then, is the point Paulinus is underlining, namely that his parents brought him up in the good old way much to their credit. So, while it remains a distinct possibility that some school-children at Bordeaux received a smattering of elementary education at home, Ausonius in the Professores probably reflects a more general practice whereby children began from scratch in the school of the grammaticus.

Ausonius gives us the following account of his own duties as a teacher (Ep. 22.67ff.):

...multos lactantibus annis
 ipse alui gremioque fovens et murmura solvens
 eripui tenerum blandis nutricibus aevum.
 mox pueros molli monitu et formidine leni
 pellexi, ut mites peterent per acerba profectus,
 carpturi dulcem fructum radicis amarae.
 idem vesticipes motu iam puberis aevi
 ad mores artesque bonas fandique vigorem
 produxi, quamquam imperium cervice negarent¹
 ferre nec insertis praeberent ora lupatis.

This passage has been taken as evidence for three stages in education, by Marrou (p. 389), who has a note informing us that the distinction between the grades was not always definite, and by Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 104) who says that it "vaguely perhaps" indicates the traditional division between the ludi magister and grammaticus. Aymonier (Ausone, p. 25) writes, presumably on the evidence of this passage: "Durant trente ans, successivement magister, grammairien, rhéteur, c'est-à-dire, à peu près, mutatis mutandis, maître élémentaire, professeur de grammaire et de lettres, déliant la langue des tous-petits qui viennent de quitter le sein et les caresses de leur mère, avant de préparer des orateurs..."

The grammaticus was supposed to lay the foundation for rhetorical instruction. So, grooming boys "destined to pluck fruit from the bitter root" should represent grammatice. Fandique vigorem obviously denotes rhetoric. We can admit that grammatice and rhetoric are indicated, but

¹ Ausonius flatters his uncle Arborius by claiming the latter similarly cared for his education (Parent. 3.7ff.).

are we entitled to detect a distinct primary stage? With the modern view of the three-stage system of ancient education in mind, one might be inclined to equate taking very young children from their nursemaids with the primary stage. But Ausonius began his teaching career as a grammaticus and later became a rhetor. So any elementary instruction implied here will have been given in the school of a grammaticus. Again there are only two grades of teacher indicated and formal instruction began with the grammaticus.

The modern view that a child spent from the ages of seven to eleven or twelve with a primary teacher does not fit at Bordeaux. In previous passages we have seen pupils of the grammaticus described as pueri rudes, primaevi. Here Ausonius claims to have taken infants lactantibus annis. This is doubtless an exaggeration, and such expressions are an extension of the vocabulary of education and the image of the teacher as a father-figure.¹ Ausonius speaks of his paternal rights over his former pupil Paulinus (Ep. 28.6f.):

anne pudet, si quis tibi iure paterno
vivat amicus adhuc, maneasque obnoxius heres.

And Paulinus addresses Ausonius in the following way (31.94-7; cf. 149, 189,275):

tibi disciplinas, dignitatem, litteras,
linguae, togae, famae decus
provectus, altus, institutus debeo,
patrone, praeceptor, pater.

¹P. Schnitter, Die hellenistische Erziehung im Spiegel der ΝΕΑ ΚΑΜΟΙΔΙΑ und der fabula palliata (Diss. Bonn. 1972), treats the educational meaning of alere, educere, educare, τρέφειν, παιδεύειν in comedy. On Libanius' use of τρέφειν and παις and the teacher as a father figure see Petit, Étudiants, pp. 31ff. In general see C. Moussy, Recherches sur τρέφω et les verbes grecs signifiant (nourrir), (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969).

But that children attended the school of the grammaticus at a tender age is shown by Paulinus of Palla (Euchar. 72 quoted above). He claims to have begun his instruction in grammaticae after his first lustrum, which strictly taken, would mean at the age of five. John Chrysostom (3. 109b) says that in Antioch schooling regularly began at five, from which Rauschen infers a replacement of the earlier practice of beginning at seven.¹ But there was doubtless always some variation in the age for starting. Plato (Leg. 1.643bc) set the age at six, Chrysippus allowed three years to the nurse, then wanted literary education to begin (Quint. 1.1.16). Seven is the age favoured by some theorists (Quint. 1.1.15f.), and mentioned by Juvenal (14.10ff.). Aristotle proposes seven (Po1. 8.1336b), but wants the child to observe what goes on in school from 5-7 (ibid. 1386b). In medical theory the age of seven marked a step in maturity with the loss of milk-teeth and the growth of their replacements, a theory of which Ausonius was aware, although we cannot say whether this affected the age at which he accepted pupils (Tech. 6, 1): *Indicat in pueris septennia prima novus dens.*² Medical writers themselves do not strictly insist upon seven. Soranus of Ephesus (Artes Obst. 92), who is followed by Oribasius (Synops. 5.14), Aetius (4.29) and Paul of Aegina (1.15) places the starting age at six or seven.

There appears to have been no innovation in the age children began their schooling in fourth century Bordeaux, but that they began in

¹Das griechische-römische Schulwesen zur Zeit des ausgehenden antiken Heidentums (Bonn, 1900), p. 9.

²Mayor on Juvenal 14.10 gives a host of references from Hippocrates to Jerome.

the school of the grammaticus is at odds with the modern view of the ancient education system. Some attempt must now be made to place the system at Bordeaux in its correct relationship to the educational system at other periods of antiquity.

Soranus of Ephesus tells us that from the time of Alexander the Great grammatice was separated from grammatistike, while the same author tells us that children began with the grammatistes at six or seven, and progressed to the grammaticus at the age of twelve (Artes Obst. 92).¹ Apuleius (Flor. 20) writes of the litterator, the grammaticus and the rhetor in a progressing series of teachers through which one had to go to be educated. The SHA record a similar series of distinct teachers in their accounts of the education of Marcus Aurelius and Severus Alexander (M. Ant. 2.2f.; Alex. Sev. 3.1f.). Augustine mentions the education given by primi magistri as opposed to that of grammatici, and he had experienced both (Conf. 1.13). In the 7th century A.D. Paul of Aegina (1.15) is still repeating the scheme outlined by Soranus.² So

¹Repeated in authors mentioned p. 77.

²I only mention here definite evidence of attendance at three schools or teachers in succession. I omit mere mention of the ludi magister and grammaticus in juxtaposition (e.g. Mart. 7.64.7), or tentative reconstructions of lives (e.g. Marrou, p. 390, uses the life of Persius to deduce his age for progressing from the ludi magister to grammaticus. All that is stated is that Persius came from Volaterrae to Rome to the grammaticus Remmius Palaemon at twelve. There is nothing to say that previously he had spent his time with a ludi magister).

there is fair evidence for believing that the three-stage system envisaged by modern scholars existed throughout the Empire. Does this mean that the system at Bordeaux was unique in that the ludi magister does not appear?

Riché argues for the survival of primary education in the 5th cent. but notes a lack of documentation: "Ainsi, pour savoir ce qu'est devenue l'école élémentaire, nous ne disposons d'aucune source directe. Pas un texte, pas une inscription ne nous mette en présence du maître d'école, le magister ludi, personnage que l'Antiquité a bien connu."¹ Riché is mainly correct about lack of mention of the ludi magister. There is a gloss of Ansileubius (Glossaria Latina 1 MA 176)²: ludi magister:

magister privatus. Procopius (Bell. Pers. 1.24.12) writes:

τούτων ἄτερος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν τῶν ἐλευθερίων ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς [γράψαι].

But the ludi magister from the fifth century is certainly not the ubiquitous figure he was in classical times. In fact he appears to have been on the road to extinction in the fourth century.

In the CGL, which dates apparently from the first decade of the

¹ Education et culture dans l'occident barbare ve-viiiie siècles, (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1962), pp. 59ff.

² Hesychius, glosses γραμματιστής: γραματοδιδάσκαλος; Zonaras; ὁ τὰ πρῶτα διδάσκων γράμματα Suda: ὁ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα διδάσκων. But later glosses need not prove the contemporary existence of γράμματιςται, γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι or ludimagistri.

third century,¹ the ludi magister is frequently mentioned, glossed by γραμματῶνδιδάσκαλος (2,124.49; 2,264.56: 3,327.8) and χαμαιδιδάσκαλος (2,475.16). Ludus litterarius is glossed γραμματοδιδάσκαλος (2,124.50) which should certainly be emended to γραμματῶνδιδασκoleῖον. In the Digest ludi magistri are excluded from the privileges granted to teachers of liberal arts (50.4.11.4; 50.5.2.8; 50.13.1,1,6). The edict on Maximum Prices allots the magister institutor litterarum/ χαμαιδιδάσκαλος 50 denarii per pupil per month.² Maximin ordered γραμματῶνδιδάσκαλοι to teach the Acta Pilati in their schools (Eusebius HE 9,5.1,7.1). For this propaganda move against the Christians to be effective, we must assume that there were still many primary teachers around, in the east at least.

In 362, when Julian, like Maximin was persecuting the Christians through the education system, he forbade them to use pagan literature because they did not believe the mythology and theology there contained. But the teachers in question are specified as γραμματικῶν, ῥητορῶν and σοφιστῶν (Ep. 36.422d). One may argue that the omission of ludi magistri/ γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι is not significant, as elementary teachers were concerned more with the mechanics of the alphabet than literature, and so Julian did not need to

¹CGL 1, 18; Marrou, p. 383 note 20.

²The mention of grammatici and retiores in the same section show the ludi magister is meant by this phrase; see Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971), p. 124.

concern himself about any conflict between their beliefs and their teaching material. Perhaps this is true, but Maximin did think grammatodidaskaleia were useful propaganda media. Could Julian ignore them because there were no longer so many in existence?

In the Codes, in rescripts from the fourth century and later, no longer do the clauses excluding ludi magistris from privileges appear.¹ This could of course mean that things had settled into a harder system, and there was no longer the need to put the ludi magister in his place. But there are reasons for thinking that this silence indicates an eclipse of the ludi magister from the educational system. In the first place any teacher, who possibly could, would style himself grammaticus in the hope of getting the privileges of this grade, and, secondly, the librarius took over the role of the ludi magister.

In the Digest (50.5.2.8) we read: Qui pueros primas litteras docent, immunitatem a civilibus muneribus non habent: sed ne cui eorum id quod supra vires sit indicatur, ad praesidis regionem pertinet, sive in civitatibus sive in vicis primas litteras magistri doceant. One imagines it was no easy task to check on every teacher. There will have been many like Iucundus (Prof. 9) whose title exceeded his capabilities.

¹There are few inscriptions which mention ludi magistris. Dessau 7763 (CE 91) mentions: magister ludi litterari Philocalus; Diehl 717:m^lmagistri ludi litt[erarii]. Diehl 718 and CIL 6,9530 mention ludi magistris. These are all I know of, and none of them has a definite date. Some inscriptions have the simple designation magister (Diehl 721-24; CIL 6, 10012, 10013; 13.1176), but this does not necessarily mean "teacher", and if it does, it may indicate a teacher of any rank (cf. e.g. Dessau 7762: m. liberalium litterarum; 7765: m. artis grammaticae). Marrou (p. 390) takes Gorgonus (Diehl 720) as a ludi magister, because he is called magister primus and Augustine (Conf. 1.13.20) calls elementary teachers primi magistris. The figure in the inscription carries a scroll, but then many sepulcral figures carry rolls and books without being teachers. We read of one Flavius Hariso
(cont'd...

The librarius seems to have encroached upon, or taken over, the field of the ludi magister. In the Edict on Maximum Prices (Lauffer, p. 124) we find a fixed fee per pupil allotted to the librarius:
 librario sive antiquario in singulos discipulos ~~XL~~ L. This is the same fee granted to the ludi magister, and this points to their teaching being on the same level.

Initially the librarius accepted apprentice clerks and scribes. In a section of the Digest (50.6.7) referring to the army we read of: Librarii quoque qui docere possint. These librarii presumably trained other soldiers for clerical duties. We have two epitaphs which refer to librarii doctores (Dessau 7752; CIL 6, 3413) who were evidently copyists who taught. If the librarius on occasion taught ABC, the ludi magister inversely could assume clerical duties, as did Philocalus (Dessau 7763.5ff.):

magister ludi litterari Philocalus
 summaquom castitate in discipulos suos,
 idemque testamenta scripsit cum fide,
 nec quiquam pernegavit, laesit neminem.

But the librarius came to regard himself primarily as a teacher. In the Digest (50.13.1.6) we find librarii along with ludi magistri, teachers of short-hand and teachers of arithmetic encroaching on the rights granted

1 (cont'd from p. 81)

(Diehl 464; Dessau 2801) who was: magister primus de numero Erolorum seniorum. The significance of this rank in the army is not known, but it is worth bearing in mind that Gorgonus may have been a soldier rather than a teacher. For magistri in the army see A. von Domazweski, Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (2 Aufl. durchgesehen von B. Dobson; Köln: Böhlau, 1967), pp. 59ff.

to teachers of liberal studies: *ludi quoque litterarii magistris, licet non sint professores, tamen usurpatum est, ut his quoque ius dicatur: iam et librariis et notariis et calculatoribus sive tabulariis.* This is from Ulpian, and so early third century. Around the same era Porphyrio commenting on a reference in Horace (*Epist.* 2.1.69-71) to his education under Orbilius writes (Holder p. 374): *Ex libris eius saevus, inquit, Orbilius quondam librarius magister mihi dictata praebebat.* Orbilius was rather a grammaticus (Suet. *Gram.* 9), but the mistake in identification is not the point of interest here. That Porphyrio can call Horace's teacher librarius magister supplements our evidence from the *Digest* that the librarius was becoming established in the educational field. Imagining that his works will be used to teach children the elements in outlying districts, Horace writes (*Epist.* 1.20.19): *cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit aures.* Porphyrio comments (Holder, p. 366): *secundum morem librariorum locutus est qui circum quartam vel quintam horam dictata pueris praebere consueverint, quo tempore tractabiliores sunt.*¹ Whether or not his explanation is correct, we see the librarius teaching and furthermore it seems that Porphyrio expected to find a librarius teaching in the ludus litterarius. On Horace's lines (*Sat.* 1.10.74f.) an tu demens vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis, he comments (Holder p. 285): *ludis litterariis dicit, in quibus carmina*

¹Pseudo-Acro (Keller 2,277) comments: *secundum morem librariorum et magistrorum loquitur...*

vulgata pueris adhuc rudibus dictari solent. From the above passage we may infer that the librarius would be giving this dictation in the ludus litterarius, and this is confirmed by Pseudo-Acro's comment (Keller, 2,114): An malis placere pluribus quam melioribus, ut etiam librarii dictent carmina tua.¹

Pseudo-Acro's commentary on Horace has several levels of composition and compilation. The core of the work appears to have been derived from Porphyrio, but some may derive from Acro's original, which Porphyrio draws on himself (Holder, p. 273 on Sat. 1.8.25). So the following passage may originate from the early third cent. (Keller, 2,284): Per transitum carpit Orbilium ludi magistrum. Eleganter autem ostendit vel librario libros necessarios. Here ludi magister and librarius are interchangeable terms.

Quintilian writes (1.1.23): An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima litterarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele, summo eius aetatis philosopho, voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia et a perfectissimo quoque optime tractari et pertinere ad summam credidisset. In the context Quintilian is arguing that attention must be paid to the elements of learning, but he does not name a grade of teacher for the elementary stage (see below

¹On Ep. 1.20.19 Pseudo-Acro's explanation differs from Porphyrio's but it shows dictation as an exercise at the elementary level (Keller 2,276): Tunc autem dictata accipiunt pueri cum beneficio solis cera facilius deletur. Cf. too the comment on dictata (Ep. 1.1.55: 2,211K): Dictata proprie dicuntur quae pueris a librario dictantur. For dictation as school exercise see Cic. QFr 3.1.4; Hor. Epist. 1.18.13f.; CGL 3.225,646.

pp. 88 ff.). In offering advice on the education of a girl Jerome writes (Ep. 107.4): *Magister probae aetatis et vitae atque eruditionis est elegendus, nec, puto, erubescit doctus vir id facere vel in nobili virgine, quod Aristoteles fecit in Philippi filio, ut ipse librariorum vilitate initia ei traderet litterarum.* As we see, Jerome has gone a step further than Quintilian, and given us a name for primary teachers, but he uses librarii not ludi magistri.¹

Libanius does not use the term grammaticus when he is talking of teachers who should be so styled, but uses the non-committal διδάσκαλος or γραμματιστής. Wolf (Schulwesen, pp. 34f.) claims that it was a trait of high rhetorical style to avoid hierarchical vocabulary (γραμματικός does not occur in Aristides or Themistius either). This may be why διδάσκαλος is used, but it is hard to believe that γραμματιστής is used "weil der massgebliche Kreis der klassischen Literatur nur 'Grammatistes' in der Bedeutung 'Lehrer' kennt". In general usage γραμματιστής had a specific connotation, indicating a more lowly teacher than a grammaticus or rhetor. There are some hints that Libanius' γραμματισταί, like Ausonius' grammatici, covered the spheres of both elementary and grammatical learning, and it may be that Libanius has simply chosen to designate them in accordance with their elementary teaching.

¹ Aristotle was summoned to be Alexander's tutor when the latter was twelve or thirteen, but tradition had it that Aristotle taught Alexander from infancy. Gellius (9.3) records a letter sent to Aristotle super Alexandro recens nato: ἤσθε μοι γεγονότα ἕλόν... ἐλπίζω

γάρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ σοῦ τραφέντα καὶ παιδευθέντα
ἄξιον ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων
διδασκαλίας.

Wolf notes that persons who ought to have ranked as grammatici taught very young children who cannot have been past the elementary stage. With Petit (Étudiants, p. 139f.) he remarks that Cimon, the son of Libanius, began his studies at the age of six or seven with Calliopos, a grammatistes in Libanius' staff, and that at this age it must be a question of primary studies rather than advanced grammatices. Petit also points (p. 143) to the possibility that Hyperechios began his studies under Libanius at seven. Citing as parallels the passages from Ausonius treated above Wolf concludes: "Offen bleibt also die Möglichkeit, dass zur Zeit des Libanius wenigstens einzeln Grammatiker auch den Elementarunterricht erteilten oder umgekehrt Elementarlehrer ihre Schuler in der höheren Grammatik unterrichteten." Petit (Étudiants, pp. 85ff.) examines the staff at the school of Libanius: "En fait, nous sommes en présence d'un cycle d'études progressives, et sur le troupeau des disciples règne un état-major de grammatistes et d'assistants-répétiteurs, les hypodidaskaloi, qui préparent les jeunes gens à recevoir l'enseignement du grand patron." He detects three grammatistai in Libanius' school between 355 and 361 while there appear to have been four hypodidaskaloi at one time (Or. 31.8), who were designated rhetoires as opposed to Libanius, the sophist (p. 90). In Libanius' school it is likely that a child could start from scratch and progress through the grades of study. The system at Antioch was similar to that at Bordeaux.

In the CGL we find the following account of the functioning of a school (3,646):

inter haec iussu magistri surgunt pusilli ad subductum et syllabas praebuit eis unus de maioribus, alii ad subdoctorem ordine reddunt, nomina scribunt, uersus scripserunt, et ego in prima classe dictatum excepi. deinde ut sedimus, pertranseo commentaria, linguas, artem. clamatus ad lectionem audio expositiones, sensus, personas interrogatus artificia respondi. Ad quem, dixit. Quae pars orationis? declinaui genera nominum, partiui uersum.

Here we see three classes, one of pusilli taught by an older student, a more advanced class taught by a subdoctor, and the prima classis taught presumably by the magister himself. But how are we to classify this school? A ludus litterarius or a schola grammaticae? Syllables, words and verses were copied at the elementary stage (Quint. 1.1.30, 34,35). Rufinus in his version of Origen's In Numeros (Migne PG 12, 583) writes: In litterario ludo, ubi pueri prima elementa suscipiunt, abecedarii dicuntur quidam, alii syllabarii, alii nominarii, alii iam calculatores. In the prima classis the work indicated is that properly of the grammaticus. For the explanation of the text, obscure words, lectio, grammatical dissection of the verse and scansion as part of the duties of the grammaticus see Quintilian 1.4.17,22; 1.8.13-21, and Priscian 3,459-515K; partially translated Marrou p. 407f. Here we have a conflation of elementary learning and grammatike, and presumably primary instruction at Bordeaux and Antioch was given under similar arrangements.

In the Institutio Oratoria Quintilian proposes to deal with all education from the basic stages, and indeed both apologizes and defends himself for so doing (1. Prol. 4-6, 21; 1.1.21). True to his professions, Quintilian occupies himself with the details of the child's elementary upbringing and education. He offers advice on the choice of a nurse

(1.1.4), makes some stipulations for the desirable standard of education in the parents (1.1.6), expounds views on the child's companions and paedagogus (1.1.8), gives a programme for learning the alphabet and syllabaries (1.1.26), recommends the material the child should copy for writing practice and an exercise to improve pronunciation (1.1.35-37).

The details Quintilian gives are often used as evidence in the reconstruction of Roman primary education. In an imaginative piece of writing, A. Driskill [TAPhA 63 (1932), lxi] pictures Quintilian visiting the school of the primary teacher, where he approves the thoroughness of the instruction, the concrete way of teaching the alphabet, reading and writing and the lack of corporal punishment. Quintilian's evidence is valid for reconstructing how ABC was taught, but it should definitely be noted that Quintilian does not mention a primary teacher in connection with these elementary steps. The only mention of a primary school occurs later when he describes some paltry learning (1.4.27):

litterarii paene ista sunt ludi et trivialis scientiae. It is not explicitly stated from whom the child is to get rudimentary instruction.

The second section of the first book of the Institutio begins: *sed nobis iam paulatim ad crescere puer et exire de gremio et discere serio incipiat.* Here follows a discussion on the respective merits of private and public education, but all this follows the exposition on primary learning. The only teachers mentioned are the grammaticus and the rhetor, and the benefits of their instruction to a class as opposed to a private pupil (1.2.13f.) Section three deals with the ideal teacher/pupil relationship, while section four begins: *primus in eo, qui scribendi legendique adeptus erit facultatem, grammatici est locus.* This

appears to be a formula of transition as Quintilian returns to the more concrete considerations about syllabus after discussion of more general questions in sections two and three. Quintilian's arrangement in these sections, then, is as follows. In the first section the child learns to read and write. This is followed by an evaluation of private and public instruction, and a section on the character and duties of the teacher. Then at the start of the fourth section the teacher immediately in question is named - the grammaticus. It is a full development to find the grammaticus caring for elementary instruction once given as a preliminary (see below pp. 90f).

In Quintilian's system schooling was regarded as beginning with the grammaticus, and this is the implication of Tacitus (Dial. 30). This could also happen at Antioch and the CGI shows how elementary and secondary education were given in the school of a grammaticus. In sixth century Rome the same school begins education. Urging the senate to pay public teachers Cassiodorus writes (Varia 21): *Prima enim grammaticorum schola est fundamentum pulcherrimum litterarum*. It is perfectly understandable and scarcely surprising, therefore, that Augustine says he taught children from their earliest years, and represents other grammatici as so doing. The fact that grammatici could cover the elementary field also explains why accounts of the courses of various persons' education begin with the grammaticus.¹ The modern conception of the children of

¹For accounts of education beginning with grammaticus see SMA Varia 2.5; CGI, 1.6; Plin. lib 27. 2-5 (where the phrase ad primas disciplinas indicates grammatical instruction). On these passages see Bower, "Technical Terms", 41-2. Seneca, advising a father not to have his son educated, tells him to avoid all grammatici and rhetors (5.56).

antiquity invariably devoting five years to an elementary stage of studies is misleading. Tacitus, Quintilian and Ausonius scarcely regard it as a distinct stage. In the CGL elementary and grammatical curricula are combined.

In his Republic Plato is very generous in allotting time to study. Yet he allows only three years for primary studies and a curriculum which paralleled that of the ludus litterarius, comprising the alphabet, syllabaries and simple arithmetic (Resp. 7.3.402ab, 7.522ce, 525a, 536d, 537a; Pol. 227e-278b). Plautus assures us that even a sheep might be expected to learn its ABC within five years (Persa 172f.):
 nam equidem te iam sector quintum hunc annum, quom interea, credo,
 ovi' si in ludum iret, potuisset iam fieri ut probe litteras sciret.
 Tyrannio taught Cicero's ten year old nephew (Qfr. 2.4.2). Quintilian's elder son died about the age of ten, by which time he appears to have been well past elementary learning and already steeped in grammaticae (6 Prol. 10-12). Cimon and possibly Hyperichius began under grammatici in Libanius' school at the age of seven (see above p. 86).
 If Ausonius became Gratian's tutor in the mid-360's his pupil will have been about six. He records that he acted as the boy's grammaticus and rhetor (Praefatiunculae 1.26f.).

Not everyone spent five years between the ages of seven and twelve with the ludi magister. The system described by Ausonius will not have been peculiar to fourth century Bordeaux and in strange contravention of ancient practice. Indeed I wonder just how many upper-class children would have set foot in the ludus litterarius. This school and its teacher were not highly esteemed. It was a vituperative

topos to brand someone a ludi magister. Diogenes Laertius reports this slur cast upon Epicurus (10.2): ὁμηδὲ δ' Ἑρμύππος γραμματοδιδάσκαλον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι. Catullus in mockery calls one Sulla litterator (14.8), and this derogatory term was attached to Valerius Cato (Suet. Gram. 4).¹ Cicero, mocking his adversary's oratory, writes (Div. Caec. 47): si ab isto libro quem tibi magister ludi nescio quis ex alienis orationibus compositum dedit, verbo uno discesseris... Again he slights a philosopher (Nat. D. 1.72): sed cum agellus eum non satis aleret, ut opinor, ludi magister fuit. We have frequent reference to the tyrant Dionysius, whom fortune toppled from the highest position of ruler to the lowly profession of ludi magister (Cic. Fam. 9.18; Tusc. 3.12.27; Just. Epit. 21.5; Lucian Somnium 23; Amm. Marc. 14.11.30). Tacitus describes the humble origins of Otho (Ann. 3.66); Iunio Othoni litterarium ludum exercere vetus ars fuit. SHA similarly disparage the parentage of Bonosus (Bonos. 14): Bonosus domo Hispaniensis fuit, origine Britannicus, Galla tamen matre, ut ipse dicebat rhetoris filius, ut ab aliis comperi paedagogi litterarii.²

¹For litterator = ludi magister see Bower, "Some Technical Terms, 469ff.

²The ultimate model for such abuse may be Demosthenes' on Aeschines' father (De Corona 129;270): οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ κρη περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ. πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θεραεῖω διδάσκοντι γράμματα, κοίνικας παχεῖας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον... χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρώην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν πατέρ' ἐντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον.

Quintilian disparages the standard of some learning thus (1.4.27):
 literarii paene ista sunt ludi et trivialis scientiae.

It is true, however, that ludi magistri were not the sole members of the teaching profession to be despised. Cicero in the Orator (142ff.) discusses why the teaching of law is socially acceptable while the teaching of rhetoric is despised. Juvenal juxtaposed rhetor and consul as the highest and lowest rungs on the social ladder (7.198f.; cf. Pliny Ep. 4.11.1):

si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul,
 si volet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor.

In [Florus]: Vergilius orator an poeta? 3 we likewise read: O rem indignissimam! et quam aequo fers istud animo, sedere in scholis et pueris praecipere? We know that the upper-class children nevertheless attended the schools of grammaticae and rhetoric. But we find that the ludus litterarius was not regarded as covering any of the area of liberal studies.¹ So, in view of the scorn directed at the ludus litterarius and the absence of the ludi magister from the progression of studies outlined by Ausonius and Quintilian we may fairly assume that it was far from the rule that most upper-class children went through three stages of education beginning with the ludi magister. Primus in eo, qui scribendi legendique adeptus erit facultatem, grammatici est locus,

¹See above p. 80; on artes liberales see Gwynn, Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian (1926; repr. Columbia University: Teachers College, Pr., n.d.), pp. 85ff. A. Bernard, La rémunération des professions liberales en droit romain classique (Paris: Montchrestien, 1935); H. Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik (München: Hueber, 1960).

writes Quintilian (1.4.1). He does not specify who is to give this rudimentary instruction, but it is to have been acquired before commencing study under the grammaticus. In Ausonius' system even this rudimentary instruction may have been given by the grammaticus personally, or perhaps rather through assistants as in the functioning of the school in the CGL (see above pp. 86f.).

There was of course no reason that the grammaticus should not look after primary instruction. By definition grammatice covered all aspects of the study of grammata. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, gives details of the more advanced instruction of the grammaticus, but begins his account (Dem. 53):

ταύτην (i.e. γραμματικὴν) γὰρ ὅταν ἐκμάθωμεν, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν στοιχείων τῆς φωνῆς ἀναλαμβάνομεν, αἱ καλεῖται γράμματα. ἔπειτα τύπους τ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα μάθωμεν, τότε τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτας πάθη.

Definitions of grammatice including the elements recur throughout

antiquity (August. De ordine 2.12.35; Diomedes, 7.46.32ff. K; Sextus Emp.

Adv. math. 41; Capella 3.229; Isid. Orig. 1.3.1). It is frequently

mentioned that the elementary stages form the separate section,

grammatistike. But it is understandable that on occasion the grammaticus

might assert his right to the whole field of grammatice including the elements.¹

¹A possibility often admitted; cf. Marrou, p. 243; Ziebarth, Aus dem antiken Schulunterricht, p. 128f; Beudel, Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint (Diss.: Münster, 1911), p. 30; Bowen, History of Western Education, p. 154. See too Clarke, Higher Education, p. 11.

We may conclude, then, that the school system at Bordeaux was not unique. While there is evidence that some children went through a three-stage system of education, there was a tendency to regard the teaching of the grammaticus as the first formal step in education. There were two, not three, recognized stages in education - grammatice and rhetoric. The ludi magister receded, and his duties were taken over by the librarius. The grammaticus asserted his right over the field of elementary instruction, though some basic instruction may have been given at home. Ausonius' Professores reflect the normal division of education. It is the modern theory of three stages in education with five years spent in elementary learning that makes the educational system revealed in the Professores appear exceptional.

(ii) The Magisterial Hierarchy

In the Professores Ausonius names three kinds of teacher, the rhetor, the grammaticus, the proscholus or subdoctor, in descending order of importance, and shows some strict division between the grades, with promotions from one level to another. In his address to Glabrio he writes (24.5): tu quondam puero conpar mihi, discipulus mox, / meque dehinc facto rhetore grammaticus. He implies a similar differentiation of roles in his description of his care of Gratian's education (Praefatiunculae l.26f.): Augustam subolem grammaticus docui / mox etiam rhetor. Jullian [RIE 25 (1893), 36; Ausone, p. 78] emphasizing the sharp division between the grammaticus and the rhetor, asserts that Ausonius was made comes on the day Gratian advanced from the study of grammaticae to rhetoric.¹

¹He apparently infers this from Ausonius' expression (Grat. Act. 2; Ausone, p. 33): tot gradus nomine comitis propter tua incrementa congesti. Here Jullian takes incrementa as progress in learning. Evelyn White translates "in acknowledgement of your upbringing." If this is the meaning, Ausonius may have got the title on Gratian's completion of his rhetorical training or at almost any stage during it. For incrementa of progress in education cf. Sen. Dial. 6.4.2; 12.3.1; Colum. 7.12.12. Fil. in Psal. 9.1; August. Pecc. mer. 1.35.66). But incrementa often refer to rank (cf. TLL col. 1047). Gratian was consul in 366 and made Augustus 367. Byrne (Prolegomena, p. 15) dates the start of Ausonius' political career and the grant of the title comes after the Alamannic campaign, "about 369". Evelyn White gives 370 (Introd., p. x). PLRE (p. 140) links comes and quaestor and gives 375/6, the date of his quaestorship. We do not know when Ausonius became Gratian's tutor, but it was before the Alamannic campaigns of 368/9 on which both Ausonius and Gratian accompanied Valentinian (Grifphus Pref.; Cento Pref.; Bisonla 3; Mosella Pref.; Epig. 27, 31). If Ausonius had come to court in 364 (as Evelyn White suggests Introd. p. x) he may have received an honorary title on the young prince's elevation 367.

Although we cannot maintain Jullian's assertion, we can see a definite division of the sphere of the grammaticus from that of the rhetor.

The grammatici were of lower social standing than rhetors.¹ Glabrio and Nepotianus are exceptional. The grammaticus Glabrio (24) was of noble birth and was active as an advocate. He was presumably on his way to a chair of rhetoric when untimely death overtook him. The standing of Nepotianus was high, but he had advanced from grammaticus to rhetor (15). The remainder are humble figures. Leontius (7) was liked by Ausonius but was the possessor of an exilis cathedra. The Greek grammatici (8), though praised for their teaching, enjoyed only fructus exilis tenuisque sermo. The Latin grammatici (10) were humili/stirpe, loco ac merito. Thalassus (12) was a vague memory. Crispus and Urbicus, though approved by Ausonius, were sons of freedmen (21), as was Sucuro (10.14). We may well ask why Ausonius began with the more lowly profession rather than becoming a rhetor directly.

Ausonius, Nepotianus (15) and perhaps Staphylius (20.7) advanced from being grammatici to being rhetors. Others were evidently rhetors from the outset of their teaching careers, for example Alethius Minervius (Prof. 6.5ff.). Does this mean that Nepotianus, Staphylius and Ausonius were not capable of being rhetors from the start, and had to serve an apprenticeship, as it were, as grammatici?

¹Cf. Étienne, Bordeaux antique, p. 254; Everat, De Ausonii operibus et genere dicendi, pp. 27f.

Ausonius tells us more of his grammatical than of his rhetorical ability (Praefatiunculae 1.15ff.), it is true, and one might infer a limited competence from the verse: *rhetorices etiam, quod satis, attigimus.*¹ Ausonius was, however, good enough to have some forensic appearances in early life (ibid. 17) and to be appointed imperial tutor in later years. His address to Nepotianus and Staphylius imply no academic weaknesses on the part of these teachers. I am inclined to think, therefore, that for these teachers the choice depended rather on the vacancies in municipal chairs at the time they were seeking employment. The municipalities had a limited number of chairs of grammatice and rhetoric, and on occasion one had apparently to wait in line. This seems to have been the case with Ausonius. Glabrio obtained the chair of grammatice vacated on Ausonius' promotion (24.6): *meque dehinc facto rhetore grammaticus*. Herculanus too was apparently in line for one of Ausonius' chairs (11.3): *particeps scholae et cathedrae paene successor meae*. For awaiting the vacation of an official chair, one can compare the embarrassment of Libanius when Zenobius changed his mind and did not vacate his chair after inviting Libanius to succeed him (Or. 1.100ff.).²

¹Kaufmann, Rhetoren-und Klosterschulen, Leipzig, 1869, p. 13, deduces from Praefatiunculae 1.15ff. that Ausonius was not an official teacher until he was made rhetor. But Ausonius speaks of his renown as a grammaticus, and he turned from forensic work to this art. These facts, taken with the expression nomen grammatici merui make it fairly certain that he held a municipal chair of grammatice.

²Aspasius faced criticism for not retiring and giving his chair to a younger man at Rome (Philos. vs 627; p. 310 Loeb). Augustine held a private school in Rome until there was a municipal chair vacant at Milan (Conf. 5.12).

The title of Prof. 22 reads: Victorio subdoctori sive proscholo. Victorius was attached to Ausonius' chair in a position of low esteem (17f.):

exili nostrae fucatus honore cathedrae
libato tenuis nomine grammatici.

Evidently the proscholus or subdoctor aimed at becoming a grammaticus, but his lowly position is underlined for us by Augustine (Sermo 178.7.8; PL 38,914):

Exemplum eximium de restituenda re aliena dicam quod fecerit pauperrimus homo, nobis apud Mediolanum constitutus, tam pauper ut proscholus grammatici esset, sed plane Christianus, quamvis ille esset paganus grammaticus; melior ad velum quam in cathedra.

This position is obviously the humblest recorded in the Professores, and Victorius is to rejoice that he is even mentioned among the noble teachers (21): sed modo nobilium memoratus in agmine gaude. Since Victorius aspired to becoming a grammaticus, we may fairly assume, that he, like the fellow in Augustine, was a proscholus grammatici to Ausonius, before the latter was appointed rhetor.

We have, then, the proscholus or subdoctor, the grammaticus and the rhetor in ascending order of academic and social importance. Before we examine further their interrelationships and respective duties we must look at one more type of teacher - the student/teacher. The CGL shows a schola grammaticae in operation (3,123,646; quoted above p. 87). Pusilli are taught by unus de maioribus, that is, an older student teaching beginners. Petit (Étudiants, pp. 88ff.) sifts out the arrangements in Libanius' school at Antioch. Χορός is the technical term for a body of teachers and students, and Petit traces how

pupils progressed to teachers. Of the four rhetors on Libanius' staff, three were former pupils of his. Herodianus (Petit, p. 88; Wolf Schulwesen, p. 67) was a pupil of Libanius in 355/6 and assistant teacher in 361, in which role he is described as $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\omega\nu\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omega\nu \pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon$. Petit ingeniously suggests that five years may in fact have been the duration of time spent in preparation for the professorship, three years in study, then two as $\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, that is, a senior pupil capable of substituting for the professor. Eusebius (Ep. 886, 887, 884) was a $\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, who filled in for Libanius during illness, and Libanius believed he was destined for a professorship.

Ausonius' address to Luciolus begins (3.1f.):

Rhetora Luciolum, condiscipulum atque magistrum
collegamque dehinc, nenia maesta refer.

Perhaps Luciolus was a senior student who acted as teacher, then was eventually appointed rhetor. Ausonius writes of Glabrio (24.5f):

tu quondam puero compar mihi, discipulus mox
maque dehinc facto rhetore grammaticus.

Glabrio was apparently around the same age as Ausonius and was therefore presumably an advanced student in Ausonius' grammatical school. He was evidently in a position to succeed to Ausonius' chair, and is likely to have been a senior pupil/teacher. We may wonder at such a pupil still under a grammaticus. However, Caecilius Epirota taught only adulescentes (Suet. Gram. 16). As an adulescens Gellius was still with a grammaticus (7.6.12; 20.6.1), as was Strabo (12.3.16) at the age of twenty. Libanius was past fifteen when he turned again to study grammatice (Or. 1.5, 8ff.) and he spent five years in this study. His devotion to learning brought him fame throughout the town

and offers of marriage (ibid. 12). Since fathers were outbidding one another with dowries we may assume that Libanius had the prospect of a successful future at this time, and perhaps the five years Libanius spent under the grammaticus were aimed at eventually procuring his chair.

It has been deduced that Luciolus and Glabrio were at one stage in positions analogous to that of $\chi\rho\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ in Libanius. Ausonius may in fact give a Latin equivalent for the term $\chi\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in the account of the career of Alethius Minervius Filius (6.6ff., 18ff.):

tu primaevus
 doctor in annis:
 ...
 tu Burdigalae
 laetus patriae
 clara cohortis
 vexilla regens.

These lines and the remainder of the poem emphasize that Alethius was a rhetor at an early age, proceeding directly from student's desk to professor's chair. What are we to make of "the standard-bearer of the cohort" metaphor? Jullian [RE 25 (1893), 34] appears to have this passage in mind when he suggests that the students at Bordeaux were organized into colleges with banners, meetings and banquets. Evelyn White (vol. 1, p. 108 fn. 1) writes: "The military terms are metaphorical: cohors (cp. Parent. xiv.2) is the band of youths who were pupils under the leadership of Minervius". Parent. 14.2 reads: Euromi, e iuvenum lecte cohorte gener. Cohors here refers to the body of eligible bachelors, and in fact cohors can be used of almost any collection. Gellius, however, uses cohors of the disciples of philosophical sects (1.9.2; 2.18.1; 13.5.2) and the group of students around a rhetor (9.15.9):

ceteris omnibus ex cohorte eius (i.e. Iuliani rhetoris) qui audire eum soliti erant, clamore magno exultantibus. Gellius of course does not limit his use of cohors to student bodies, but here it means the same as $\chi\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in Libanius. If Ausonius has used cohors in a similar sense, Alethius will have gone from $\chi\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ to rhetor, and this fits well with the account of his youthful success.

In the Empire the passage from the CGL (above p. 87) shows the subdoctor or proscholus established in the schola grammaticae as does that from Augustine (above p. 98 ; cf. the expression subdocere grammatico Conf. 8.6). This latter passage indicates that the position of assistant to grammaticus was evidently very menial. I suspect this was partly due to the fact that in earlier times the assistant to the grammaticus was his slave rather than colleague. One Scribonius Aphrodisius was the servus atque discipulus of Orbilius (Suet. Gram. 19). On his manumission he became a grammaticus but previously may have served in Orbilius' school. In the Later Empire when freemen even employed themselves as paedagogi (Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices awards paedagogi the same wage as elementary teachers) subdoctores and proscholi were probably likewise drawn from the ranks of the freeborn, but the stigma attached to the profession stuck.

Victorius was a subdoctor or proscholus, Glabrio, Luciolus and Alethius Minervius Filius were possibly student/teachers. The difference between a student/teacher and a subdoctor was that between a promising young man at the start of his career and an older teacher who had not yet made the grade. The student/teacher was still learning

as he taught, and these will have been his major duties. The proscholus or subdoctor had additional duties like those of a school prefect (see Clarke, Higher Educ., p. 26f.). The CGL (3,380.66) mentions a proscolium which was evidently an ante-room to the class-room proper, serving as a cloakroom and toilet. The proscholus mentioned by Augustine (above p.98) had his position ad velum, perhaps supervising conduct during entry to and exit from the class-room, and behaviour during teaching.

The subdoctor or proscholus was associated with the grammaticus. The questions of assistants in the rhetor's school is more complex. There could be student teachers, in the positions envisaged for Luciolus and Alethius Minervius above. Advising that orators and historians be read with the rhetor, Quintilian remarks that the Greek rhetoricians have adiutores for this purpose (2.5.3). It seems that Latin rhetoricians of Quintilian's day did not follow this practice, but Quintilian strongly advocates that this practice be henceforth taken up. He suggests choosing one of the pupils to do the reading. Epictetus used assistant teachers to set passages for reading (Epictet. 1.26.13; Clarke, Higher Educ., p. 88). When Origen's school grew too large for him to handle by himself, he selected one of his more advanced students to teach the beginners (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 6.15).

But the rhetor needed more sophisticated help than that of a student/teacher. Cicero shows that assistant-teachers were known in the first century B.C., for claiming to find solace from politics in teaching rhetoric, he offers a friend a chair in his school (Fam. 9.18.4):
 Sella tibi erit in ludo tamquam hypodidascaleo proxima; eam pulvinus sequetur. But for evidence contemporary with Ausonius we can compare

and arrangements at Antioch. Petit has discovered in the chorus of Libanius grammatici, termed γραμματιστῶν, and above these were rhetores, and at the top the sophist, Libanius. This too is the

hierarchy implied by Julian (Ep. 36, 422cd):

πολὺ δὲ πλεον ἑπ' αὐτῶν ὄμιμι ἐσὼν εὐνοῦ τοιοῦτους
 εἶδος ἐπὶ λέγουσι τοῖς νέοις συγγέγονται, τῶν
 παιδαγωγῶν εἰς ἑγγυτάτῃ γενέμενοι συγγραμμάτων, εἴτε
 ῥήτορες εἴτε γραμματικοί, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεον οὐ σοφισταί.
 These ῥήτορες, the assistants of Libanius, were paid by the municipal-

ity, and were of no mean social standing. Although not as elevated as the sophist they were fully-fledged teachers of rhetoric, possessing ἑρῶναι (Petit, Étudiants, p. 90).

The distinction made between σοφιστῆς and ῥήτωρ has helped Petit (Étudiants, p. 90) and Wolf (Schulwesen, p. 24) determine the composition of the Χορός of Libanius. We have no such distinction in terminology which can help us to decide if there was at Bordeaux a sophist/rhetors arrangement like that at Antioch. But one imagines that Eumenius' position at Autun was similar to that of Libanius, and Eumenius' case confirms the existence of hierarchies in the West. Teachers working together were called conductores. Augustine (Conf. 1.9.15) describes the wrath of his teacher: si in aliqua quaestiuncula a conductore suo victus esset. (See too August. contra Iul. 2.3.7; contra Iul. op. imperf. 1.126; Mar. Vict. Adv. Arrium 1.28). Ausonius does not use the term conductor, but the address to Luciolus begins (3.14):

Rhetora Luciolam, condiscipulum atque magistrum
 collegamque dehinc, nenia maesta refer.

It is the force of collegam in which we are interested here. There is

an obvious balance between condiscipulum and collegam. If Ausonius had merely wanted to mark the progression from fellow-student to fellow teacher, why did he include magistrum? If it had the broad sense "fellow teacher" magistrum would be absurdly redundant. I suggested that Luciolus was a senior student and teacher, a μαθητὴς like Eusebius in Libanius' school (above p. 99). This explains magistrum here, for Luciolus will have taught Ausonius. Collega points to a bond, and means that they were co-teachers, conductores in the school. Libanius describes his assistant Herodianus κοδωνοῦ τῶν πόνων (Ep. 307) and Cleobolus as ἑταῖρος (Ep. 69), while Eusebius describes Origen's assistant and former pupil (HE 6.15): κοδωνοῦ... τῆς κατηχῆσεως. Collega here then has a parallel sense. There is no record of Luciolus having been a grammaticus before being a rhetor. If we infer a quick chronological sequence from Ausonius' expression 'atque magistrum / collegamque dehinc, Ausonius began his career as a grammaticus (γραμματιστής in Libanius' terms) in the chorus in which Luciolus was already a rhetor.

The title to Prof. II describes Herculianus as a grammaticus.

Ausonius records:

Herculane, qui, profectus gremio de nostro et schola,
spem magis quam rem fruendam praebuisti avunculo,
particeps scholae et cathedrae paene successor meae.

Herculianus was both a graduate of Ausonius' school and a member of its staff (particeps scholae), and his teaching activity probably fell between 350-60. We do not know at what time Ausonius was promoted from grammaticus to rhetor, but Herculianus was not the subdoctor of a grammaticus or a student teacher. He was a grammaticus. If Ausonius had been still a grammaticus, Herculianus would have been the junior

grammaticus in Ausonius' school, and would almost have succeeded to the senior chair. I know, however, of no evidence for two grammatici sharing the same school. When Herculanius was a grammaticus, Ausonius was then a rhetor. It seems that Herculanius graduated from Ausonius' rhetorical school, and was then accepted as a grammaticus into the chorus to which Ausonius belonged. His position will have been analogous to that of the grammatistai in Libanius' school at Antioch. Had he persevered, he would have succeeded to his uncle's chair, that is, progressed from grammaticus to rhetor, when the latter was appointed imperial tutor.

Rhetors and grammatici had staff at Bordeaux, but was there one rhetor whose position was preeminent over the others? Libanius was the sophist at the head of a chorus of rhetors. These rhetors had municipal chairs and salaries of their own, and their positions were not dependent solely upon Libanius. He inherited his staff from his predecessor (*cit*, Étudiants p. 92). Petit finds it impossible to determine how many ῥητορ were at Antioch, but both he and Wolf (Schulwesen, pp. 47ff.) maintain that Libanius was in a position above that of the other sophists at Antioch. They note that John Chrysostom describes him (ZG 50, 560): ὁ τῆς πόλεως τῆς σοφιστῆς . Libanius himself describes one of his forerunners ὁ τῆς σοφιστῆς (Or. 49.12). "The Sophist of the Town" was apparently a title of particular eminence. Schemmel¹ has noted the title orator/rhetor Urbis Romae and

¹"Das Athenaeum in Rom," PhW 36 (1919), 91-96); PhW (1921), 932-84.

argues that this marks an official rhetor installed in the Athenaeum. In fact he suggests that Ti. Victor Minervius (Prof. 1) was active in the Athenaeum, along with Marius Victorinus (Jerome Chron. s.a. 354; August. Conf. 8.2). Schemmel deduces there were three official orators in the Athenaeum, two Latin and one Greek. But it is not likely, as Schemmel would have it, that more than one person bore the title orator urbis Romae at the same time. Both he and Marrou (p. 611 note 9) point out that Philostratus speaks of only one thronos at Rome (VS 580, 627, 589). Marrou thinks this refers to a chair of Greek rhetoric which had a Latin counterpart, these positions being creations of Vespasian. This is reasonable, but in the Latin West the title of rhetor urbis will doubtless have gone to the possessor of the chair of Latin rhetoric. All the rhetors with this title known to us were Latin rhetoricians.¹ Jerome (Ep. 66.9.2) records hearing a praefectus orator in the Athenaeum. The context does not make the force of praefectus clear, but it may be that he was the rhetor urbis Romae at the head of the chorus in the Athenaeum. At any rate at Rome and Antioch we find "rhetor/sophist of the city" as a title of some status.

¹Flavius Magnus, rhetor urbis aeternae (CIL 6,9858), to whom Jerome addresses his seventieth epistle: Ad Magnum oratorem urbis Romae; Felix rhetor urbis Romae [Schanz RL 2,155; Jhr. Bericht d.s. G.d.W. (1851), 351]; Hierius orator urbis Romae (Schanz, II, 2,757). The latter may be the same Romanae urbis orator mentioned by Augustine (Conf. 4.13.20, 14.21). Aelius Donatus is called orator urbis Romae in the title of his commentary on Terence.

Eumenius' appointment at Autun was extraordinary in that it came from the Caesar Constantius instead of the municipal council. Although his appointment was unusual, there is nothing to say his position was. He was, after all, essentially filling the slot vacated by the death of its previous holder (Pan. Lat. 4.5.3: *interitu summi doctoris*).¹ He styles himself moderator and praeceptor, and he proposes to co-opt one Glaucus to assist him (17.4). Eumenius was evidently head of the chorus at Autun, and it is tempting to equate his position with that of the praefectus orator mentioned by Jerome. He will then have been foremost orator of the town, the rhetor Augustoduni, in a position analogous to that of Libanius at Antioch.

From the titles² of the Professores we can confirm that the title rhetor with a genitive of the town designates the foremost municipal rhetor. The titles often use an adjective to denote origin or place of teaching, for example 13 title: *Citaris Siculo Syracusano grammatico Burdigalensi Graeco*. Only in two instances do we have the genitive of a town: *Aemilius Magnus Arborius rhetor Tolosae* (16); *Exuperius rhetor Tolosae* (17). Had we not reason to believe from elsewhere that such titles have a special significance one might think

¹Boissier (Fin du paganisme, p. 173) takes this as "chief teacher", but it may mean "great teacher" as Jullian interprets [RIE 25 (1893), 24].

²Whether or not by Ausonius they are valid evidence for education. Whoever wrote them was sufficiently acquainted with Bordeaux education to label Victorius subdoctor vel proscholus. If not by Ausonius, they were probably added in an edition of his works which appeared soon after his death (see above pp. 12f. , and note title to Ep. 20).

here we have merely variation of an expression such as Sedatus rhetor Tolosanus (19). Arborius was a rhetor of esteem, and if there was a top chair he held it. Now in the address to him in the Parentalia we are actually told (3.11): te sibi Palladiae antetulit toga docta Tolosae. It seems, therefore, that the title rhetor Tolosae indicates a position analogous to that of Libanius as ὁ τῆς πόλεως σοφιστῆς.

Exuperius is likewise designated rhetor Tolosae. Ausonius asserts he was dismissed from his post (v.8) and shows a certain animosity toward his talent. In view of Ausonius' Gratiarum actio it is perhaps strange that he should criticize the rhetoric of another as being empty bombast. The truth of the matter is that Exuperius had an eminently successful career and Ausonius is more than a little jealous. The reason for Ausonius' lasting spite seems to be that Exuperius succeeded to the chair of Ausonius' uncle Arborius. Ausonius at this time had been studying under his uncle and doubtless had designs on the chair himself. So he sarcastically criticizes the curia's choice (v.7f.): Palladiae primum toga te venerata Tolosae / mox pepulit levitate pari. The council had elected him in a giddy fit, according to Ausonius who failed to obtain this position of eminence.

We can be certain that Bordeaux, like other Gallic towns had a chief rhetor. Ausonius nowhere calls anyone rhetor Burdigalae, giving the rhetoricians of Bordeaux the unqualified epithet of rhetor and once orator (Prof. 1 title). Jullian [RIE 25 (1893), 33], while admitting that there is no concrete evidence, suggests that Nazarius, Paterna and Alethius were moderators in turn at Bordeaux, in positions analogous to that of Eumenius at Autun. This cannot be proven, but a

case can be made for Tiberius Victor Minervius being rhetor at the head of a chorus, like Libanius, the sophist of Antioch.

Ausonius was taught by Minervius before the latter moved from Bordeaux to greater fame (l.9ff.).¹ Having achieved fame in both capitals, the curia of Bordeaux will have made an attractive offer to get him back - the position of chief rhetor?² Ausonius knew this rhetor intimately in later life and he may owe his sudden elevation to Minervius. The close bond between Ausonius and Minervius suggests that Ausonius was a rhetor in the latter's chorus. To find candidates for the position of imperial tutor, one imagines that the chief rhetors in important towns were canvassed. Minervius, known in both capitals, may have recommended Ausonius, bringing him into the limelight after thirty years teaching at Bordeaux.

Minervius may have been the rhetor Burdigalae. Whether any of the other rhetoricians commemorated by Ausonius held this preeminent position, there is no way of telling.

From examination of the Professores we can detect a magisterial hierarchy - a foremost rhetor with a chorus comprising rhetors and grammatici. Grammatici had subdoctores, while both grammatici and rhetors could avail themselves of the assistance of student teachers. It was only rhetors and grammatici, however, who were eligible for municipal chairs. One would like to be able to discover the exact membership of a chorus (we cannot really know if there were in fact

¹See too on his life at Prof. 1. below.

²He alone is called orator (see on Prof. 1, title).

more than one) at Bordeaux, but the information available to us cannot be stretched any further. Inexactitude of dating makes it dangerous to link further together such relationships as we have discovered. For example, Glabrio belonged as grammaticus to the chorus in which Ausonius was a rhetor. Ti. Victor Minervius was apparently the head rhetor in this chorus. But we do not know exactly when Minervius returned to Bordeaux to this position, nor do we know the date of Glabrio's death. So we cannot list these three as contemporary members of the same chorus. Such difficulty would unfortunately be encountered at every turn in an attempt to reconstruct a chorus.

To this examination of the magisterial hierarchy it will be convenient to append here some discussion of the appointment of teachers. Hitherto it has been stated without argument that the local curia was responsible. Although there was imperial interference at times (as in the case of Eumenius) or interference from high officials (e.g. Strategius at Antioch Lib. Or. 1.83), except for Rome and Constantinople¹ the local curia made appointments.

From at least Gordian's time, curiae had supervised the appointment of teachers (Cod. Iust. 10.53.2 quoted below p. 115). In his attempt to prevent Christians from teaching secular literature, Julian placed responsibility on the local curiae to supervise appointment of

¹Here the professors could be chosen directly by the emperor, proconsul or urban prefect; see Norman, Libanius' Autobiography, (Oxford Univ. Pr., 1965), p. 157, note 35; Petit, Etudiants, p. 97; on Rome see below.

teachers (Cod. Theod. 13.3.5):

Sed quia singulis civitatibus adesse ipse non possum, iubeo, quisque docere vult, nec repente nec temere prosiliat ad hoc munus, sed iudicio ordinis probatus decretum curialium mereatur optimorum conspirante consensu.

Julian ordered this decree to be referred to himself, but he was especially interested in excluding Christians, and normally it was doubtless left to the local curia alone. The scholia Vaticana¹ comment at this point:

Doctores quales esse insinuat et non ut statim exeuntes ex auditoriis, nisi Romae a principe probati, per provinciam ab ordine doctissimorum curialium fuerint, sub ac [sic] decreto curialium principi dirigendum, quo possit pro honore civitatis honoribus condonari.

From this it appears that direct imperial approval was needed at Rome, while, in contrast, it was left to the curiae elsewhere. That there was normally no imperial supervision in the curia's choice is made clear by the fact that at Cod. Iust. 10.53.7 Julian's edict is repeated without the clause demanding that the curial decree be referred to the emperor for approval.²

¹These scholia are believed to pre-date the fall of the Western Empire (Cod. Theod. vol. 1 Prolegomena, lii).

²Marrou (p. 442) appears to think that the clause ordering referral of the curial decree to the emperor was in effect until the time of Justinian. But it seems most likely that this clause went out of operation on Julian's death and the annulment of his measure against Christian teachers (Cod. Theod. 13.3.6). Wolf (Schulwesen, p. 42), finding difficulty in deciding whether the local curia or imperial magistrates had more power in the choice of teachers, thinks, on the basis of Libanius Ep. 1366, that the curia's choice had to be ratified by an imperial magistrate. But, as Norman (Libanius' Autobiography, p. 154, note 25) realizes, this letter in fact reveals that the opposite was true. The proconsul could recommend candidates, who might be accepted as a matter of course, but it was a decree of the boule which gave official sanction, and in Ep. 1366, Gerontius, although summoned by the proconsul, would not come to take the chair until his appointment was approved by decree of the boule. Libanius often mentions curial decrees in connection with magisterial appointments (Ep. 907; Or. 1.48; Or. 55.36). On the payment of teachers the state sometimes interfered (Dig. 5.13.1.1; Cod. Theod. 13.3.11; Symm. Ep. 1.79; Cassiodorus

Within the curia pressure groups could form over the choice of teachers. For example, Libanius' uncle, Phasganius, assured the rhetor of a faction of curial support at Antioch.³ As Étienne (Bordeaux antique, p. 242) points out, there were almost bound to be relatives of a candidate for a municipal chair on the curia. Ausonius' father was an honorary member of the curia at Bordeaux (Domest. 4.4f.). We have no direct mention of squabbles in Ausonius, but the opinion that Lucundus (Prof. 9) did not deserve his chair may reflect the sentiment of a faction opposed to his appointment. There are several hints of nepotism at work. Phoebicius obtained his chair nati opera (10.30). Ausonius apparently used his influence, though unsuccessfully, to have his nephew Pomponius Herculanus succeed to his chair (11). The sons of Sedatus followed their father's profession (19.11f.), as did Alethius Minervius Filius (6) and Menestheus (8.2f.). The renown of the father could of course enhance

2 (cont'd) Varia 21.3. On imperial intervention see Marrou, p. 441f.; on appointment by the curia, Walden, Universities, chpt. 8. Augustine (Conf. 5.13) tells us that Milan sent to the urban prefect at Rome asking for a teacher of rhetoric. The request presumably came from the curia.

³ See Petit, Étudiants, p. 97; Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au iv^e siècle (Paris: Bibl. archéol. et hist., 1955), pp. 350ff.; Wolf, Schulwesen, p. 94; Lib. Or. 1.110; Norman, Libanius' Autobiography, pp. 172 on Or. 1.90; 161 on Or. 1.49.

the reputation of the son, and influence the curia's selection.¹ The mediocre heir of Luciolus was aided by his father's reputation (Prof. 3.8).

Rhetors and grammatici obtained and maintained their positions by giving epideictic displays. In Aulus Gellius we read of grammatici giving extemporary discourses to an audience (4.1 to those waiting in Palatine hall to pay salutatio to Caesar; 13.31 at book-store). There are various references to grammatici being badgered with obscure questions (Gell.6.17; Suet. Tib. 70; SHA Hadrian 6.18; Juv. 7.229ff.). At Eleusis the local grammaticus reversed the tables and propagated his reputation by proposing abstruse questions to impress the unlearned (Gell. 8.10). Always liable to extemporary tests, there were apparently also more formal displays of knowledge, such as the grammaticus summoned by Brundisium from Rome had to give (Gell. 16.6): Redeuntes ex Graecia, Brundisium navem advertimus. Ibi quispiam linguae Latinae litterator, Roma a Brundisinis accersitus, experiundum sese vulgo dabat.²

Epideictic displays by rhetors are well attested. Norman (Libanius' Autobiography, p. 35) notes that by Libanius' time declamatory contests with appointments in view had become highly organized. Libanius

¹On prestige of hereditary profession see Norman, Libanius' Autobiography, p. 172; note on 90.

²Litterator here means grammaticus. The latter word is used subsequently by Gellius. See Bower, "Technical Terms", 470f.

writes (Or. 1.35):

ὄρω τινα καηπαδόκην ἤκοντα ἐπὶ θρόνον βασιλέως
πέμποντος, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύχανε ἡ βουλή τὸν ἄνδρα ἠτηκυῖα,
ῥήτορα ἄκρον ἐξ οἰμῶν τινος ἀγῶνος ἑνὸς ἀλτῆσαμένῃ.

Again, looking for an appointment he says (ibid.37): τρεπόμεθα δὲ πρὸς τὰ

ἀγωνίσματα . An epideictic speech at Antioch helped him gain
favour over a Phoenician who had to return to vie in epideixis (Or.
1.87.90). Contests to decide superiority apparently took place during
the summer vacation (Or. 1.110).¹ Rhetorical displays to prove
ability also took place in the west. Augustine had to deliver such a
performance before being approved for Milan (Conf. 5.13), and in later
life laments his pursuit of fame (Conf. 4.1): usque...et contentiosa
carmina et agonem coronarum faeneorum.

Ausonius does not dwell on agonistic wranglings over chairs
of grammaticae and rhetoric at Bordeaux, but we do get hints of their
existence. Of Ti. Victor Minervius we read (1.13-16):

sive panegyricis placeat contendere libris
in Panathenaicis tu numerandus eris;
seu libeat fictas ludorum evolvere lites
ancipitem palmam Quintilianus habet.

Here we can fairly detect reference to epideictic displays and contests
which vouchsafed Minervius' reputation and chair. Of Alcimus Alethius we
read (2.21-24):

et Iulianum tu magis famae dabis
quam sceptrum, quae tenuit brevi.
Sallustio plus conferent libri tui
quam consulatus addit.

The reference here is to panegyrics, which could be published as books

¹On Libanius' epideixis see Petit, Etudiants, pp. 97ff.

(see Commentary ad loc.). Delivery of such panegyrics enhanced the prestige of the rhetor. Libanius' rival tried to undermine his glory by delivering a counter speech (Or. 1.90f.). We cannot of course say that anything like this happened in the case of Alcimus, but we can infer that the methods used to gain popularity were the same at Bordeaux as at Antioch. Attius Tiro Delphidius established his literary reputation at an early age by delivering a poetic panegyric on Jupiter (5.5-8):

tu paene ab ipsis orsus incunabulis
 dei poeta nobilis,
 sertum coronae praeferens Olympiae,
 puer celebrasti Iovem.

Delphidius did not use his acquired renown to pursue a magisterial career, but festivals did provide opportunity for epideixis (see Commentary note ad loc.).

At Bordeaux, then, it was presumably by displays and contests that the curia decided whom to choose for the chairs available. The decision could be reversed if the teacher proved unsatisfactory (Cod. Iust. 10.53.2 from the Emperor Gordian): Grammaticos seu oratores decreto ordinis probatos, si non se utiles studentibus praebeant, denuo ab eodem ordine reprobari posse incognitum non est. This appears to have happened to Exuperius (Prof. 17.7f.). Movement of teachers to and from Bordeaux was doubtless dictated in part by the availability of chairs.¹

¹On movement see Étienne, Bordeaux antique, pp. 251f.; Marrou, p. 608 note 10.

Citarius was summoned from Sicily, while the luck of the draw granted Sedatus his chair at Tolosa (19.3f.): sorte potentis / fati Tolosam nactus es sedem scholae. There was doubtless an amount of in-fighting and rivalry at Bordeaux, but Ausonius only gives us hints of it in the Professores.

CHAPTER 5

AUSONIUS' DEPICTION OF PROFESSORS IN THE PROFESSORES

(i) Modern view of the Professores

To date the Professores have not been thoroughly analyzed. One suspects that scholars have been deterred by the literary quality and content of the work. Ausonius' poetic talent has rarely been given any favourable estimation, and a series of epitaphs is not the most promising material for author's talent or reader's interest.¹ Nevertheless, students of ancient education regularly extract from the Professores evidence for social status and abilities of teachers, largely regardless of the problems of assessing accuracy in epitaphic poetry.

¹In the prose preface to the Parentalia, albeit in a captatio benevolentiae, Ausonius admits that his material is unattractive. The most sympathetic estimates of Ausonius as a poet come from Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire (2nd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1921) and Chadwick, Life and Letters in Early Christian Gaul (London: Bowes, 1955). But note the words of P. S. Wild, "Ausonius: A Fourth Century Poet", CJ 46 (1950-1), 373-82: "To all his fellow teachers and colleagues he has paid his compliments in a collection of divers poems and versicles under the heading Commemoratio Professorum. The quality of this matter does not justify our lingering over it. We must leave it to the classical antiquarian."

Étienne upholds the veracity of Ausonius' representations in the Professores thus (Bordeaux antique, p. 236):

"A-t-il poussé trop loin la piété? Faut-il tenir son témoignage pour suspect? Nous le verrons confirmé par la chronique du saint Jérôme, et nous pouvons nous fier au témoignage vivant, quelquefois caustique, toujours précieux, de celui qui reste le plus illustre de nos collègues."

Jerome vouches for the fame of some of Ausonius' professors, in his

Chronicle:

- s.a. 353: Minervius Burdigalensis rhetor Romae florentissime docet.
s.a. 355: Alcimus et Delfidius rhetores in Aquitanica florentissime docent.
s.a. 336: Pater rhetor Romae gloriosissime docet.

The persons referred to are Ti. Minervius Victor (Prof. 1), Latinus Alcimus Alethius (Prof. 2), Attius Tiro Delphidius (Prof. 5), Attius Patera (Prof. 4). Patera is mentioned along with Delphidius (Ep. 120 Pref.): Maiores tui Patera atque Delphidius, quorum alter antequam ego nascerer, rhetoricam Romae docuit, alter me iam adulescentulo omnes Gallias prosa versuque suo inlustravit ingenio. Delphidius is the unnamed vatis clarus of Pan. Lat. 12.29.2, whom Ammianus calls acerrimum oratorem (18.1.4). Sidonius Apollinaris may mean him when he refers to the abundantia Delphidii (Ep. 5.10.3), and Alcimus Alethius when he mentions the fortitudo Alcimi (ibid.; cf. Ep. 8.11.2).

References outside Ausonius, then, confirm the repute of four of the rhetors commemorated by Ausonius. This does not validate the details of praise or blame awarded them by Ausonius, but it does free Ausonius to some extent from suspicion of patriotically overrating the professors of Bordeaux.

The Professores are not wholly eulogistic. That Ausonius sometimes notes faults not unnaturally has affected critics' opinions

about the validity of his representations. Pichon writes (Les derniers écrivains, p. 169):

"Je n'oserais affirmer qu'il nous dit toujours la vérité, parce qu'il peut lui arriver de ne pas le voir, faute d'avoir les yeux assez pénétrants; mais, quand il la voit, aucun parti pris, aucune arrière pensée ne l'invite à en déformer l'image. Combien de fois, par exemple, dans ses poésies composées pour glorifier ses parents ou ses maîtres, ne laisse-t-il pas entrevoir leurs faiblesses, non par malice, mais parce que la franchise est en lui plus forte que des illusions de l'amitié."

Pichon is followed by Favez who hesitates briefly over the truth of the portraits because of synkrisis of the subjects with people like Quintilian. But, noting that Ausonius shows the failings of his addressees as well as their merits, concludes (p. 224): "je crois pouvoir dire que la Commemoratio nous offre une image généralement fidèle de l'Université de Bordeaux".¹

It is not infrequently noted that Ausonius deals more with social than with pedagogic virtues. For example, Favez writes ("Une école gallo-romaine," p. 225): "Chose curieuse, Ausone ne nous dit presque rien de leurs mérites proprement pédagogiques...ce sont surtout leurs qualités morales et intellectuelles qu'il loue." To some critics this has suggested that Ausonius in his estimations is writing from the standpoint of a man of society, rather than as a professor. Pichon (Les derniers écrivains, p. 178) comments:

De même, quand il (i.e. Ausonius) parle des professeurs de Bordeaux, il a l'air de priser bien moins leur talents et leurs connaissances que leurs qualités d'hommes privés...Ailleurs, c'est Jucundus, un bien médiocre grammairien, mais un si brave homme, simple, honnête,

¹"Une école gallo-romaine au iv^e siècle", Latomus 7 (1948), 223-33.

dévoué, affectueux. Cette dernière formule surtout montre bien que nous le voyons là un homme qui apprécie des amis, non un professeur qui juge ses collègues."

Likewise M. Principato writes "Al professore che giudica i colleghi si è sostituito l'uomo che sa apprezzare ed amare i suoi amici."¹

Such statements, while they assert the sincerity of Ausonius, call into question the worth of the Professores as evidence for ancient education. Other critics have been less kind in their estimations. Dill might find the portraits of the professors (Roman Society, p. 393): "traced with the curious minuteness of wistful affection". The great French scholar Jullian found the figures stereotyped [RIE 25 (1893), 44]: "Les éloges que leur accorde Ausone sont d'une telle banalité que le trait saillant du talent de chacun nous échappe". Wedeck begins optimistically: "The glimpse we get of Horace's old schoolmaster, Orbilius, is rather sketchy. Suetonius, in his De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus writes at much greater length about Greek and Roman teachers, but it is not until we come to the fourth century, to Ausonius of Bordeaux, that we find an intimate and detailed presentation of Roman schoolmasters." His enthusiasm promptly fades. He finds: "The list becomes crowded with mere names", and concludes: "Ausonius shows facile skill in ringing changes on the praise of his subjects...But, after all, many of these pieces would be appropriate for any one of several men."²

¹"Poesia familiare e poesia descrittiva in Ausonio," Aevum 35 (1961), 410.

²"A Gallery of Roman Schoolmasters in Ausonius", CW 27 (1934), 137f.

J. Hatinguais, combining the conclusions on stereotyped representation and predilection with social virtues, produced what is to date, the most probing and damning study of the professorial portraits. In a brief paper¹ she indicates that elsewhere Ausonius shows a recognition and understanding of pedagogic problems. Through his own career the necessary training for high office must also have been known to him. Therefore the Professores could have contained insights into the methods and aims of education. But, she points out, the encomiastic genre of literature had its effect upon the Professores. She proposes therefore to go beyond Pichon and Favez by examining (p.380): "le problème des rapports entre la rhétorique et l'évocation des êtres. Dans quelle mesure (dans ce texte) les éléments de ces personnalités bordelaises se trouvent-ils stylisées en fonction des procédés d'expression quasi stéréotypés, imposés de l'extérieur?"

Hatinguais asserts that Ausonius has no central themes, but just presents a pastiche or lists of virtues which may imitate "le style lapidaire des épitaphes". She notes the lack of qualités pédagogiques except in vague general statements where Ausonius has nothing else to say. The pride of place accorded social aspects leads to the general conclusion that Ausonius did the best he could with dull characters without much regard for veracity or ideals (p. 386): "Mais - et c'est là ce qui nous irrite sans doute - ces portraits ne mettent pas en cause la pensée ou la conviction profondes d'Ausone, mais plutôt

¹"Vertus universitaires selon Ausone", REA 55 (1952), 379-387.

les possibilités d'évocation sur le plan littéraire, dans la limite des exigences métriques, poétiques au sens techniques du mot."

So, the prominence accorded social virtues and the alleged use of the stuff of the rhetorical and literary tradition are used against the validity of the portraits in the Professores. In favour can be cited external confirmation of the repute of some teachers and the fact that faults are recorded along with merits. To properly establish the worth of the Professores we must examine them from several angles: the professions and intent of Ausonius; his methodology in portrait painting; the relation of the Professores to the epitaphic tradition; their relation to rhetoric; Ausonius' portrait of the teacher compared with that offered by other sources.

(ii) Ausonius' professions and intent in the Professores

Hatinguais ("Vertus universitaires", p. 387) asserts that Ausonius would have been embarrassed to use the elevated panegyric tone in praising his colleagues and profession, and that the familiar vocabulary used may have had more significance than is apparent in the jargon of the circle for whom he wrote. If this were so, we could justly analyze the vocabulary of Ausonius for hidden depth of meaning. But we can avoid being led down a blind alley by examining here professions on style and purpose.

In the Coronis we read (vv. 5ff.):

viventum inlecebra est laudatio: nomina tantum
voce ciere suis sufficiet tumulis.
ergo, qui nostrae legis otia tristia chartae,
eloquium ne tu quaere, set officium.

Ausonius is disclaiming intent to provide full-fledged eulogies -

laudationes funebres - here and at Parent. 17.4ff.:

super indole cuius adulti
magnae bona copia laudis.
verum memorare magis quam
functum laudare decebit.

To this add the disclaimer of eloquence (Parent. 16.3ff.):

cuius si probitas, si forma et fama fidesque
morigerae uxoris lanificaeque manus
nunc laudata forent, procul et de manibus imis
accersenda foret vox proavi Eusebii.

Laudare is the common verb used of delivering a funeral eulogy (Cic.

Mur. 36, 75; Leg. 2.62; QFr. 3.8.5; Tac. Ann. 3.5.2; Suet. Aug. 100;

Claud. 1). Here we have the implied antithesis between reporting sine ira et studio and praising with little regard for truth, an antithesis spelt out more clearly in the preface to Domest. 4:

neque vero nunc patrem meum laudo, quod ille non eget et ego functum oblectatione viventum onerare non debeo. neque dico nisi quod agnoscunt qui parti aetatis eius interfuerunt. falsum me autem morte eius obita dicere et verum tacere eiusdem piaculi existimo.¹

Ausonius uses the high-flown rhetoric of laudation in the Gratiarum Actio, where he shows a mastery of the requisite technique. In the Coronis (above) and in the verse preface to the Parentalia he asserts he is using the straightforward, conversational tone of epitaphs (vv. 1ff.):

Nomina carorum iam condita funere iusto,
fleta prius lacrimis, nunc memorabo modis,
nuda, sine ornatu fandique carentia cultu:
sufficiet inferiis exequialis honos.

It was a standard captatio benevolentia to transfer responsibility for deficiency in style to the person who requested the author to write.² There is a certain parallelism between this pose and Ausonius' transfer of the responsibility of his work to officium. But this is not all. Laudationes funebres were traditionally mendacious (Cicero Brut. 61f.; Livy 8.40.8). Eulogistic biographies were contemptuously regarded

¹For sentiment cf. Cic. Leg. 63 where we are told that in days of yore in the eulogy delivered at Athenian funerals it was: mentiri nefas.

²See T. Janson, Latin Prose Prefaces (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964), pp. 119; for prefaces placing content before form, pp. 134ff.

in Tacitus' time (Agr. 1). The SHA, perhaps following the professions of Suetonius in a lost preface to his Caesares or De viris illustribus, oppose eloquence to the simple, truthful style (Vopisc. 2.7): mihi quidem id animi fuit, ut non ...omnes disertissimos imitarer viros in vita principum et temporibus disserendis, sed Marium Maximum, Suetonium Tranquillum...ceterosque, qui haec et talia non tam diserte quam vere memoriae tradiderunt. If we needed proof that listeners were not taken in by the verbose effusions of the panegyricist, that master of hyperbolic praise, Augustine would provide it (Conf. 6.6): cum pararem recitare imperatori laudes, quibus plura mentirer, et mentienti faveretur ab scientibus...We may remember, too, the words of Symmachus in a similar context (Ep. 1.1.6): omnis quippe ostentatio non caret suspicione mendacii, quia quidquid adsumitur, proprium non putatur.

In rejecting the high-style, Ausonius avoids hyperbolic praise and attempts to give a ring of conviction to his words. One might go further and claim a pious truthfulness on Ausonius' part from Ep. 29.48f.:

nec possum reticere, iugum quod libera numquam
fert pietas nec amat blandis postponere verum.

But one is naturally suspicious of captationes benevolentiae of the "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him" type. Symmachus refers to the praise Ausonius has accorded his style (Ep. 1): sermonis mei non tam vera quam blanda oratio. In reply, amid fulsome praise where Symmachus is compared to Aesop, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Virgil, Ausonius adds (Ep. 2): Haec, domine mi fili Symmache, non vereor, ne in te blandius dicta videantur esse quam verius. et expertus es fidem meae mentis atque

dictorum,...in comitatu tibi verus fui, nedum me peregre existimes composita fabulari. The circumstances here are not exactly parallel with those under which the epitaphic poetry was composed, but we see how readily professions about truthfulness could flow from the pen of Ausonius. That he had high regard for Symmachus' style we may readily believe; his eulogy thereof is hardly objective and rational.

Nevertheless, the Professores contain criticism, which is a glaring generic anomaly. Epitaphs are usually totally eulogistic (some exceptions are CE 1106, 1115; Anth. Pal. 7.348). Lattimore writes (p. 299): "Of the biographical aspects of classical epitaphs, it may be said that we have here as thoroughgoing a fulfillment of the principle de mortuis nihil nisi bonum as could be found anywhere".¹ Homer's line (Od. 22.412): οὐχ ὅσιν κταμένοισιν ἄνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι is dutifully remembered by Cicero (Att. 4.7.2) and Pliny (Ep. 9.1.3) in regard to passing adverse judgement on the deceased. Attributed to Chilon, the sage, is the proverbial saying: τὸν τετελευτηκότα μὴ κακολόγεις, ἀλλὰ μακάριζε; οὐ τὸν τεθνηκότα μακάριζε (Corpus Paroem. Graec. 2.776.17), with which we can compare Diogenes Laertius (1.70): τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογείν.

[Plutarch] (Cons. ad. Apoll. 27) quotes Aristotle:
πρὸς τῷ μακαρίους καὶ εὐδαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας νομίζειν καὶ τὸ γεύσασθαι τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ βλασφημεῖν οὐχ ὅσιν ὡς κατὰ βελτιόνων ἢ γούμεθα καὶ κρεττόνων ἤδη γεγονότων.

¹Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Pr., 1962).

²Cf. Kassel, Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur (Zetemeta 18; München: Beck, 1958), p. 91.

Pichon and Favez, who argue for the validity of Ausonius' portraits from the inclusion of criticism, could have solidified the case for the Professores had they realized that the Parentalia are totally eulogistic, while it is only the Professores which contain criticism. Pichon claims that Ausonius berates the eloquence of Paulinus the father (Parent. 23.5f.). The emphasis in these lines, however, is not on blame of the father but on praise of the son: redderet et mores et moribus adderet illud / Paulinus caruit quo pater, eloquium. The son is praised for increasing his inherited virtues, and attention is on this fact rather than on any deficiency on the father's part. The father is subsequently accorded a wholly commendatory epitaph (Parent. 24). Favez finds criticism at Parent. 19.6 and 17.6.¹ The latter reference contains no adverse comment whatsoever. In the former it is a question of one Namia Pudentilla who: rexit opes proprias otia agente viro. Again the emphasis is on praise of Pudentilla for managing her own affairs, not on criticism of her husband's otium. His otiose life is in fact lauded in Parent. 18.

The treatment of Ausonius' nephew, Herculanus, is instructive. He is given a totally eulogistic obituary in the Parentalia (17), but in the Professores (11) we are told he was a disappointment to his uncle through his slipping from the straight and narrow in his youth.

¹"Une famille gallo-romaine au ive siècle", MH 3 (1946), 119: Jusqu'à quel point ces portraits sont-ils fidèles? Il n'est pas impossible qu'Ausone les ait légèrement embellis...Notons cependant que certains d'entre eux reproduisent aussi les imperfections du modèle... Je crois donc, que dans l'ensemble, ces portraits sont vrais, et que, s'ils manquent généralement de valeur poétique, ils nous offre en revanche un très vif intérêt documentaire."

Evidently Ausonius' piety led him to act on the principle de mortuis nil nisi bonum in the case of relatives. However this piety gave way to greater objectivity in the case of professors where the family connection is not to the fore. At 16.2f. Ausonius differentiates between the pietas at work in the Parentalia and patriae relligio operative in the Professores. The latter does not exclude pietas (cf. Praef. 6; 25.9), but pia cura (22.18) has not provoked dutiful praise and is almost an excuse for addressing one of unwholesome repute in 23.16.

We are, then, still faced with a generic anomaly, namely the presence of criticism in epitaphs. It was suggested above that Ausonius regarded Suetonius De grammaticis et rhetoribus and Cicero's Brutus as models for the Professores. These works contain criticism along with eulogy. Ausonius may therefore have felt a traditional licence to criticize in commemorating grammatici and rhetors. Together with the more objective piety and the use of the simple style, this licence could permit Ausonius to give valid representations. But we must see how fair he has been in according praise and blame.

(iii) Ausonius' methods of portrait painting

In some cases Ausonius is clearly guided by genuine feeling. Staphylius (20) has properly no place in the Professores, but affection leads Ausonius to include him and praise his cerebral compass of all knowledge (v.9f.): *quantam / condit sescentis Varro voluminibus*. Ausonius could likewise have lauded the obscure researches of his assistant, Victorius (22), but makes no attempt to conceal his contempt for this lowly teacher. The unelevated grammatici Latini of Prof. 10 and the grammatici Graeci of Prof. 8 are despised, while affection for Crispus and Urbicus (21), produces an appreciative eulogy despite their humble rank. Again one suspects that personal feelings affect the portraits of Delphidius (5) and Exuperius(17). There was apparently some jealousy of the latter on Ausonius' part, probably because he had won the chair at Toulouse vacated by Ausonius' uncle, to which the young Ausonius aspired (see above p.108). Hence criticism of his rhetoric. Delphidius contravened Ausonius' beliefs about ambition and advancement (see below pp.154 ff.). Hence criticism of his teaching.

Friendship, spite and snobbishness are more responsible than detached observation for the praise and blame in the foregoing instances. But at least Ausonius does not invariably list traditional virtues to stereotype his portraits.

Furthermore, in his criticism Ausonius is at pains to show that he is being honest. Leontius had been a close friend of Ausonius (7.13ff.), and the latter is quick to defend him against derogatory connotations in his nick-name Lascivus. Why does Ausonius mention at all Leontius' mediocre literary achievement, and only grudgingly admit him to the Commemoratio (7.9ff.)? In the case of Lucundus, his brother, Ausonius mentions adverse rumours about his right to a chair, but turns criticism of competence to praise of aspiration (Prof. 9). One feels that Ausonius could have easily done something similar for Leontius. I think here the inclusion of criticism betrays a striving for objectivity. Once the fun-loving Leontius Lascivus is acquitted of his cognominal connotations, lest it should be thought that Ausonius was overplaying friendly piety, at once our author inserts a derogatory comment about Leontius' literary ability and professorial repute.

We hear nothing of the social or academic virtues of Dynamius (23). His behaviour had evidently caused quite a scandal at Bordeaux, for it necessitated a change of country and identity. Nevertheless Ausonius did not have to dwell on this. If it had to be mentioned at all, some general reference to bad character might have been sufficient, such as occurs in the case of Marcellus (18.9ff.):

sed numquam iugem cursum fortuna secundat
 praesertim pravi nancta virum ingenii.
 verum oneranda mihi non sunt, memoranda recepti.
 fata; sat est dictum cuncta perisse simul.

Here the impression of objectivity is conveyed by the assertion that duty compels mention, fairness constrains embellishment. The inverse

method is employed in the case of Dynamius. Far from a covert allusion, the notorious affair is retold. It was doubtless common knowledge. Ausonius will not incur the accusation of a cover-up or odium for recalling a social stink. He recounts the affair, then defends himself for mentioning it on the grounds of piety of friendship (23.11f.):

Qualiscumque tuae fuerit fuga famaue vitae,
iungeris antiqua tu mihi amicitia.

As mentioned above, Herculanus, Ausonius' nephew gets a totally eulogistic write-up in the Parentalia, but is criticized for disappointing his uncle and slipping from the straight and narrow in the Professores (11). Piety towards relatives prevented adverse remarks in the Parentalia, while a more effective objectivity could be assumed in the Professores. Ausonius, to be balanced, should have recorded both the good and the bad points about Herculanus. The innate cynicism of mankind makes humanity more prone to believe bad report than good. In his striving for fair detachment in the Professores Ausonius has presented only the black side of Herculanus.

Ausonius, then, makes an effort to draw truthful portraits. He wanted these to appear life-like. In biographical theory Plutarch recognized that a trivial matter like a phrase or jest could better reveal character than illustrious deeds like sieges and battles (Alex. 1.2). Ausonius appears to follow this principle. In Prof. 1 Ti. Victor Minervius' skill is thrice compared to that of Quintilian (vv. 2, 7, 16), his restraint in dining to that of Piso Frugi (v. 34).

The lofty synkriseis occur in elevated eulogy, and Ausonius might be criticized for not adhering to his professions about avoiding the high-style of panegyric. However, when Ausonius comes to praise that all-important rhetorical attribute, the memory, he illustrates Minervius' powers by telling how he had seen the revered rhetor recite the throws and moves made in a board game. One is reminded of the teacher who was accorded the title lusor latrunculorum, "player of draughts" (Dessau 7752). By inserting this detail Ausonius lowers the tone, and prevents the piece from approaching the high-flown style of panegyric. The autoptic report of the board game and this feat of memory humanizes the portrait and this was doubtless Ausonius' reason for including it.¹

Minervius receives the longest address. In shorter pieces there is not room for anecdotes to bring the subject to life. Nevertheless the revelation that Crispus was believed inspired by wine to bring forth poetry evokes a human figure and the reader gets some sort of picture of Exuperius with his worthy bearing and empty eloquence. Victori studioso followed by a list of obscure works provides the image of a book worm, and addition of the detail that Luciolus did not speak sharply to clients or slaves certainly helps one imagine a genteel, placid character.

In the Epicedion on his father Ausonius employs a similar technique. He portrays his father as a paragon of moderation, but avoids rhetorical eulogy. He inserts statements which, though they do

¹Quintilian recounts a similar tale of mnemonic prowess, but Ausonius need not be reproducing a literary fiction; see Commentary ad loc.

not criticize, humanize the portrait. He records that his father was Domest. (9): *sermone inpromptus Latio*, but immediately adds: *verum Attica lingua / suffecit culti vocibus eloquii*. At vv. 35f. we read: *irasci promptus properavi condere motum / atque mihi poenas pro levitate dedi*. These lines are not exactly open criticism. In a favourable picture of himself, Horace writes (Epist. 1.20.25): *irasci celerem, tamen ut placibilis essem*. The virtue of temper control was in fact a philosophical commonplace (cf. Sen. De ira passim). However, this detail adds a human touch to the portrait of the father, and affords verisimilitude to the representation as a whole.

Ausonius does not show a tremendous flair for pen portraits nor has he been totally objective, which would involve superhuman effort. It has not been my intention to criticize him on these points, but to show that he has made an effort to portray real people. To gain any success, Ausonius will have to have avoided the banalities of the rhetorical and epitaphic traditions, and we will see now how far he has achieved this.

(iv) The Epitaphic Tradition

Ausonius has not the space of a Suetonian life or the scope similar to the laudatio Turiae (Dessau 8393) in which to portray his subjects. It is true that Horace paints a lively self-portrait in some half-dozen lines (Epist. 1.20.20ff.). Ausonius is not so neat or evocative. I think what detracts from Ausonius' portraits are lists of adjectives and similarity in praise. Of Luciolus we read (3.9f.):
mitis amice, bonus frater, fidissime coniunx, / nate pius, genitor.
It is a listless list, though our obituary commonplaces about good family men, good husbands/wives are scarcely more lustrous. At 4.17ff. occurs a pile-up which the simile of v. 22 can hardly redeem. The reader becomes quickly immune after reading:

5.1f.: facunde, docte, lingua et ingenio celer, / iocis amoene
9.3: simplex, bone, amice, sodalis
22.1: studiose, memor, celer
24.9: commode, laete, benigne, abstemie
15.9f: probe et pudice, parce, frugi abstemie, / facunde

So much of the Professores appears to be based on lists like the above that the reader readily pictures at work a card-index-type mentality which could rhyme off epithets at will.

However, we should not forget that Ausonius is merely reproducing a trait of epitaphs. Lattimore writes (Themes in Epitaphs, p. 290):

"The most characteristic form of praise, however, is not an account of things done...but an enumeration of virtues. This is merely a variation of the old laudatio; with the attempt to write epitaphs on the part of people of inferior education, there is more a tendency to fall back on bald inventory".

Exigencies of space had a greater effect than lower education, but by Ausonius' time the catalogue was a fixture of epitaphs. In themselves the lists do not prove a lack of sincerity or depth of reflection. Ausonius does not churn them out to fill up gaps in his addresses, as he might have done in Prof. 8 or 12. Lists may not help in evocative portrayal but they do not necessarily impugn the worth of evidence for the standards expected in teachers of his day.

Ausonius uses the common sepulchral vocabulary: acerbus, tristis, flebilis, maestus, pius, posteris, religio, pietas, sepulchrum, manes, cinis, fortuna, fatum, Lachesis, memoria, flos, honos, funus, damnum, defunctus, functus, rapere, ciere, flere, florere, valere. He does use variants for essentially the same idea, commemorare, memorare, commeminisse; carmen, nenia, titulus, threnus, querella, cantus; officium, obsequium, munus. This is partly a search for stylistic variation, partly enforced by the exigencies of metre. Had Ausonius deliberately avoided the stock vocabulary of epitaphs, we should have been inclined to detect some depth of reflection on his part, and allegations of stereotyped poetry would not have been cast so readily. On the other hand, nowadays we too have our funereal vocabulary, as the random reader of tombstones or obituaries can ascertain. Its use in context would be hard to avoid, and so the fact that Ausonius has availed himself of the stock vocabulary of epitaphs in itself throws little light on the veracity of his representations. In fact one can argue that banality of expression shows more genuine outpouring of emotion than does contrived deviation from the norm.

Nevertheless, Ausonius uses the stock vocabulary of epitaphs along with their commonplaces of consolation and well-wishing. Expressions and themes, which recur in the Professores and Parentalia, could be attributed to unreflective repetition. Taken with the fact that these themes and vocabulary are themselves hackneyed before Ausonius avails himself of their use, one might readily assert that support has been found for the charge of mechanical composition. Such reasoning is somewhat unfair. Anyone who reads through a series of obituaries in a newspaper or peruses the tombstones in a graveyard could by analogous argument arrive at the conclusion that modern humanity is totally insincere in its feelings expressed towards the dead. Is everyone who writes "rest in peace" to be called a hypocrite?

In the Commentary the standard *topoi* are noted with parallels from elsewhere in Ausonius and other epitaphic literature. They need not be catalogued here, but note that the s.t.t.l. motif is not overworked occurring once with perhaps some point at 8.17. In the Praefatio (5f.) a *topos* has been neatly adapted to the situation of the Professores. In general the reader is not conscious of endlessly repeated motifs, and there is no reason to doubt that some *topoi* reflect Ausonius' sincere beliefs. For example, Ausonius genuinely felt that it was a blessing for families to die in the natural order. He has his father pray for a timely death (Domest. 4.53ff., below p.245), and himself prays to die before his children (Parent. 9.29f., below *ibid.*). He even has an empty tomb pray that those to be there interred will arrive nascendi lege (Epit. 34.4f.). Again we shall see below that Ausonius had an ideal of peaceful otium in his lifetime (pp.154 ff.), with which the R.I.P. motif

has obvious connections (see below pp. 152f). These instances serve to show that repetition of epitaphic sentiment cannot perfunctorily be labelled mindless regurgitation. We should bear this thought in mind as we turn now to examine the merits and virtues accorded the professors.

(v) The Rhetorical Tradition

If Ausonius churned the Professores out quickly, the value of the work should lie in that it cannot help exposing Ausonius' conception of the professorial ideals of his age. A professor himself, his evidence should be good. If, on the other hand, Ausonius reflected at all on the merits lauded in the Professores, we should likewise have revealed to us the professorial ideals of his age. The difference in these two cases would be in one a conscious, in the other an unconscious revelation. For us the result is the same. But the usefulness of the evidence is affected by Ausonius' use of topoi. If Ausonius has followed strict rules for form and content, the Professores will be an artificial piece of literature, invalid as evidence for ancient education.

The connection between verse epitaphs and the laudatio funebris is readily recognizable.¹ The rules for the laudatio were taught in the rhetorical schools, and Ausonius was well aware of them. These rules are set out in various places.² The instructions of Quintilian are as clear and as accessible as any, and, in view of Ausonius' esteem for him (Prof.

¹See Durry, Éloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine (Paris: Belles lettres, 1950), pp. 30ff.

²Cic. De Or. 45-6; 341-8; Theon Progym. 8; Menander 48 (Spengel); Sext. Emp. Adv. rhet. 2.103; the rules are essentially the same as those for an encomium. Marrou has tabulated the scheme of Theon (p. 298f.), and L. B. Struthers has done the same for Aphthonius in "The Rhetorical Structure of Claudius Claudian", HSPH (1919), 49ff. Aphthonius' scheme is also tabulated by T. C. Burgess, Epideictic Literature (Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1902), p. 120; he compares the various plans and rules, and his is probably still the fullest and most illuminating discussion. The basic work for the laudatio funebris is F. Vollmer, Laudationum Funebrium Romanorum Historia et Reliquiarum Editio, NJbPh Suppl. Band (1892) 445-528. For the scheme at work in biography cf. Nepos Epam. 15.1.3f.

1.2, 7, 16; Mos. 404), I shall briefly outline them here.

Quintilian (3.7.10ff.) divides praise of a man into time before his birth, lifetime and events after death. In the first section comes patria, parentes, genus and omens portending future success. The second section is divided thus: *Ipsius vero laus hominis ex animo et corpore et extra positus peti debet*. Physical assets can be praised along with other external goods such as wealth or rank. The laus animi is the more important section in that it deals with the virtuous use of bodily and external assets. This praise may proceed in two ways, chronologically where indoles in primis annis, then disciplina, next opera are lauded, or by grouping all the biographical material under the headings of specific virtues. The "after-death" section may include posthumous honours, fame, family success and the like.

Some of the Professores fit into the rhetorical scheme of the encomium or laudatio funebris, though all the sections are not normally included. This is not surprising. Ausonius did not have a complete dossier on the lineage and life of all the professors. Some he hardly knew (notably Thalassus Prof. 12). Then, from exigencies of space, he is selective in the features praised. In the address to his uncle Arborius in the Parentalia (4.13f.) we are told of forensic activity in Spain and Novempopulonia. This is omitted in the address to the same man in the Professores (16), but here we are told Arborius was royal tutor at Constantinople, a fact not stated in the Parentalia. The two accounts of his father's life (Domest. 4 and Parent. 1) likewise vary.

In omitting sections, Ausonius in fact follows normal practice. Tolman (A Study of Sepulchral Inscriptions, pp. 12ff.) demonstrates as

a trait of carmina epigraphica a selectivity or abridgement of topics included. He gives examples of carmina containing encomiastic headings, and examines two epitaphs displaying some of these, concluding:

"...there is an apparent similarity in form and treatment which goes far to prove the existence of an encomiastic biographic literature and its influence upon both the poets and the authors of inscriptions. It is also to be noted that the writers did not hold to any hard and fast rules. Very rarely are all the topics given by the rhetoricians to be found in one composition. However, many of them contain two or more topics and resemble personal encomium in a marked similarity of tone".

Burgess (Epidictic Literature, p. 121) notes:

"Almost all writers upon the encomion and other epideictic forms speak directly or indirectly of the great freedom allowed in applying rhetorical precepts. The subject and the circumstances must determine the prominence of the various τόποι. The situation may even demand that some be omitted altogether."

With some reservations on strictness of pattern, we can see that some of the Professores are organized chronologically, some under headings of specific virtues. One clear example of chronological organization is Prof. 16 addressed to his uncle Arborius. We have a prooemium (vv.1-6) establishing the kinship of Arborius and Ausonius. Then comes the genus section (7f.) which identifies the patria and the nobility of both his parents. We are not given an over-full account of his life, but in a few lines we read of an advantageous marriage, a well-established home and school, and connections with the princes at Toulouse. This led to his appointment as imperial tutor at Constantinople, where he died. Here follows an "after-life" section (17-20), recording the return of his body to Bordeaux and the family grief. Others of the Professores which noticeably follow a chronological pattern are the addresses to Delphidius (5) and Glabrio (24). Less markedly in this pattern are Prof. 10.42ff., 11, 13, 18, 19, 23.

Prof. 1 is an example of praise grouped by heading. The first thirty lines deal with scholastic ability, teaching, declamation, memory. The next eight verses deal with social virtues, affability, pleasant conversation, refined table. The piece concludes with a reference to the posthumous fame of the subject. Likewise Prof. 2 is arranged in sections dealing with academic ability (vv. 5-10; 20-24) and social virtues, morality, dignity, charity, politeness, temperance (vv. 11-18). Again the piece concludes with an "after-life" section (vv. 25-32), which remarks on the fame of the subject's children and his own posthumous glory. Prof. 3, 4, 14 may be added to those organized under headings of virtues, although in short pieces such as the Professores the virtue is often merely mentioned and passed over. One does not get the headings and list of examples one would expect in a longer encomium, as for example, in Pan. Lat. 3 where praise is grouped with examples under pietas and felicitas.

It would be wrong to force all the Professores to conform to these two rhetorical schemes outlined above. Some teachers get little more than a mention in passing (e.g. the grammatici Graeci in Prof. 8, and the g.Latini in Prof. 10, except perhaps for Anastasius). Prof. 6 displays features of both arrangements. Prof. 17 begins with praise - and criticism - of Exuperius' rhetoric, continues with a series of events in his life up to his death, then, inverting the normal order, concludes with an indication of patria and lineage. This piece clearly shows the laxity with which Ausonius could regard the rules of rhetoric. Some addresses are not long enough for a display of strict and correct divisiones, and it is in the longer pieces that the rhetorical format is

most closely observed. I doubt that Ausonius deliberately departs from the prescribed format. He uses the patterns where they are convenient, omitting sections as space or knowledge demands. That the rhetorical rules were in the back of his mind, however, is indicated in Prof. 12. Thalassus is only a vague memory, and Ausonius has little to record of him. He has to omit what would be the normal epitaphic stuff (3f.):

qua forma aut merito fueris, qua stirpe parentum,
aetas nil de te posterior celebrat.

Here are mentioned the genus, the laus ex animo and the laus ex corpore sections prescribed by the rhetorical rules for encomium.

In form then Ausonius generally follows the rules for the laudatio funebris or encomium with the laxity typical of shorter verse pieces. But this form is so lax that it will not necessarily have included stock elements. If, however, we found that Ausonius had incorporated common-places of praise and blame in the loose format he uses, we would question the validity of his portraits.

(vi) Praise and Blame

The list of topics for praise in rhetorical theory is all-encompassing. They are catalogued for us by Cicero in the De oratore (45f., 341-8; cf. Quint. 3.7.10ff., who does not give such detail). First come the gifts of nature or fortune: *genus, forma, vires, valetudo, opes, ingenium, ceterae res, quae sunt aut corporis aut extraneae*. Then comes true praise which emphasizes the virtuous use of the above, that is, power without pride, richness without insolence, clementia, iustitia, benignitas, fides, fortitudo, sapientia, magnitudo animi, eloquentia. Praise may also be accorded for forbearance at the loss of external assets, or wise resignation to the lack of these. Deeds are to be praised, brave actions without reward, equanimity in adversity, just, grand, pious, amiable, humane acts, or deeds done for the first time. Comparison with heroes of old or famous men is recommended. It is obvious that little could be said that was not covered by the rhetorical prescription for encomion.

We have seen above charges that Ausonius' commemorations are stereotyped and surprise expressed that they linger on social rather than professorial virtues. Hatinguais concluded that Ausonius was hidebound by the literary and metrical exigencies. Our problem, then, is to decide whether Ausonius reels off lists of stock virtues without

regard for his subjects or their profession. To do this effectively, we must examine the virtues praised in the Professores and see if any are related to ideals culled from elsewhere in his works. Then we must examine the merits and failings of professors disclosed by other sources for comparison with the Professores.

Social virtues rank high and great emphasis is laid upon social niceties. Friendship is frequently mentioned. Citarius (13) addressed as dilecte in the opening line is said to be cherished munere amicitiae in the closing. Mitis amice begins a catalogue of laudatory epithets for Luciolus (Prof. 3.9), and the piece ends: amice vale. No matter what Dynamius' failings, the ties of friendship outbalance them (23.11f.): Qualiscumque tuae fuerit fuga famaue vitae, / iungeris antiqua tu mihi amicitia. Iucundus' repute was not above question, but he was a friend of Ausonius (9.3): amice, sodalis. This friendship excuses everything. His unfair claim to the title of grammaticus makes him: hoc ipso care magis studio. Ammonius was not a personal friend of Ausonius and so is bluntly branded (10.38): doctrina exiguus. The friendship with Luciolus had begun early when he and Ausonius were condiscipuli (3.1). Friendship with Leontius was as lasting (7.13ff.):

Tu meae semper socius iuventae,
pluribus quamvis cumulatus annis,
nunc quoque in nostris recales medullis.

At 15 .4ff. we read:

medella nostri, Nepotiani, pectoris
...
sodalis et convictor, hospes iugiter.

Ausonius excuses his poor verse on Latinus Alcimus Alethius on the ground that affection makes him write (2.28): *amoris hoc crimen tui est.*

There were other of the professors with whom Ausonius was on friendly terms. I have limited myself here to mentions of close friendship and intimacy. From what he says elsewhere in his works, it is clear that Ausonius cherished the bond of friendship. He has placed the following sentiments on friendship in his father's mouth (Domest. 4.22ff.):

*factio me sibi non, non coniuratio iunxit:
sincero colui foedere amicitias.
.....
vitati coetus eiuratique tumultus
et semper fictae principum amicitiae.*

Paulinus, Ausonius' old pupil, writes to him (Ep. 30.42f.):

dulcis amicitia aeterno mihi foedere tecum / et paribus semper redamandi legibus aequat. This was of course what Ausonius wanted to hear, for his correspondence with Paulinus is replete with the claims of old friendship, and he even envisages Paulinus' wife casting up this friendship as a charge against her husband.¹

A good friend should be discreet. Nepotianus is hailed (15.6): *taciturne, Amyclas qui silendo viceris.* And this theme is taken up ibid. 16f.: *consiliis nullus mente tam pura dedit / vel altiore conditu textit data.* Likewise of Glabrio we read (24.9f.):

¹The friendship and breach is treated in most works on Ausonius or Paulinus. The most probing account is that of Fabre, Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne (Paris: de Boccard, 1949), pp. 18ff; especially pp. 156ff. He shows the clash between the secular ideal of the bond of learning and letters and the Christian fear of friendship with one who does not share the belief.

tam bone dandis / semper consiliis, quam taciturne datis. This sort of discretion was doubtless part of the fidelity expected of friends in the ancient world. Seneca (Ben. 21) states that it is convention of society rather than law which forbids the divulgence of amicorum secreta, and that fides, sanctissimum humani pectoris bonum will be unaffected by torture (Ep. 88.29). Pliny mentions a wife (Ep. 1.12.7: omnis secreti capacissima; cf. Ep. 3.1.5; 8.5; 14.6). But such praise does not appear to be commonplace in epitaphs¹ and so there seems no obstacle to believing that Ausonius has recorded a true personality trait which he admired. We may compare the words he puts in his father's mouth (Domest. 425f.): non occursator, non garrulus, obvia cernens, / valvis et velo condita non adii. It is not an exact parallel with the virtue praised in the Professores, but it does show Ausonius' aversion to gossip-mongers.

Lissberger² and Lattimore (Themes in Epitaphs, pp. 222f.) give examples of munus amicitiae motif in epitaphs. Although Ausonius repeats this, there is no reason to believe that it is done in a mechanical, unfeeling way like professions of vague acquaintances and long lost

¹Cf. Hatinguais, "Vertus universitaires", 385. This attribute is present in fides at Parent. 24.15; inter concordem vixisti fidus amicos; 22.5f: verum fidemque/qui coluit; 24.2: quique fidem sancta cum pietate colit; cf. Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8.11.4 of Lampridius, orator of Bordeaux: etsi consilio fragilis, fide firmissimus erat.

²Das Fortleben der römischen Elegiker in den Carmina Epigraphica (Tübingen: Goebel, 1934), p. 77.

relatives at funerals. His praise of discretion itself frees Ausonius from the bonds of the commonplace.

Friends were of course expected to entertain each other, and it is not surprising to find conviviality praised. Nepotianus is called (15.14): *sodalis et convictor, hospes iugiter*. Luciolus is described (3.11): *comis convivis*. Trimalchionic banquets would have been frowned upon, although an occasional splash was permissible (1.33ff.):

*mensa nitens, quam non censoria regula culpet
nec nolit Frugi Piso vocare suam:
nonnumquam pollens natalibus et dape festa,
non tamen angustas ut tenuaret opes.*

In like vein the above Nepotianus is addressed (15.9): *parce, frugi, abstemie*. At 4.20 we read: *vini cibique abstemius*; et 24.9: *abstemie*; at 10.16: *sobrius*.

Accusations of over-indulgence in food and drink are topoi of invective, as temperance is a topos of eulogy.¹ So at Grat. Act. 14 (66P) we find: *in cibus autem cuius sacerdotiis abstinentior caerimonia? In vino cuius senis mensa frugalior?* But Ausonius genuinely admired moderation. He has his father say (Domest. 4.7f.): *non opulens nec egens, parcus sine sordibus egi: / victum, habitum, mores semper eadem*

¹Tolman, Study of Sepulchral Inscriptions, p. 44, lists *sobria* as common in CE; cf. CE 1868.4: *frugi, vigilans, sobrius*. Harrod, Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship (Princeton, 1909) p. 46, finds *frugi* 17 times in CIL 6. Ammianus blasts the gluttony of the Romans (14.6.16; 28.4.13), while Macrobius compares the moderation of his era to Republican decadence (3.13-16). See Nisbet on Cic. Pis., p. 174 and de Decker, Iuvenalis declamans (Gand: Haegen, 1912), p. 33.

habui. At Grat. Act. 8 (238P) to him Ausonius attributes: frugalitatem sine sordibus. Ausonius himself prays (Ephem. 3.66): sim tenui victu atque habitu.

Verbal professions can veil actions (cf. Juv. 4.106). But incidental references in Ausonius show a refined, but moderate taste. An epistle on oysters begins with a defence of his moderation (5. 1f., 11f.):

Ostrea nobilium cenis sumptuque nepotum
cognita...
...
adgrediar; quamvis curam non ista senilem
sollicitent frugique viro dignanda putentur.
nam mihi non saliare epulum, non aura dapalis
qualem Penelopae nebulonum mensa procorum
Alcinoique habuit nitidae cutis uncta iuventus.

But Ausonius is not above accepting a gift of oysters from his friend Theon and playfully complaining that too few were sent (Ep. 15. title, 55f.), though he perhaps defends his taste in vv. 36ff.:

Iunctus limicolis musculus ostreis
primo composuit fercula prandio,
gratus deliciis nobilium cibus
et sumptu modicus pauperibus focus.

Theon sent Ausonius some prize apples (Ep. 17), and Ausonius sent his son delicate game fowl (Ep. 18), but this is not over-luxurious. There is nothing to say that Ausonius had extravagant taste in food, and is attributing to the professors a virtue to which he himself did not adhere.

Bordeaux wines were famous, as Ausonius recognizes (Ep. 5.21): non laudata (i.e. oysters) minus, nostri quam gloria vini. In his address to Bordeaux he writes (Ordo. 20.2): O patria, insignem Baccho. He apparently enjoyed a chat and a glass of wine at the dinner table

(Ep. 5.41ff.):

Haec tibi non vates, non historicus neque toto
orbe vagus conviva loquor, set tradita multis,
ut solitum, quotiens dextrae invitatio mensae
sollicitat lenem comi sermone Lyaeum.¹

He criticizes the absence of his friend Paulus (Ep. 8.23ff.):

καὶ νῦν sepositus μοναχῶ ἐνὶ rure κρεβέννου
ἀσταφύλῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ habet θυμαλγέα λέσχην
οὔτε φίλους ἑτάροισι nec mensae accommodus ulli.

In the prefaces to Bissula and Griphus the reader is asked to fortify himself with wine to increase his appreciation of the work of a poet slightly under the influence (cf. Ep. 8.37ff.). One should be wary of reading any deep significance into such captationes benevolentiae.

The link between wine and poetic composition is an old one (see on 21.7 below), although exhortations to drink before reading do not appear to be too common. Ausonius playfully complains about his sluggard servant, Parmeno, who eats and drinks too much (Ephem. 1.5ff.), but this does not reveal a strong aversion on Ausonius' part to wine. Crispus was evidently a friend of Ausonius whose faults were to be taken lightly, and little is made of the instant Muse he found in the wine jar (21.6ff.): *creditus olim fervere mero / ut Vergilii Flaccique iocis / aemula feres.*

By his own standards and the standards of his age Ausonius was

¹Étienne (Bordeaux antique, p. 224) suggests that the longevity of Ausonius and his father should be attributed to the beneficial effect of good wine.

temperate and could justly offer moderation as a virtue. Frugality, abstemiousness and thrift specifically applied to food and wine occur in the Professores and the Epicedion to his father. These are not special virtues in the Parentalia, though frugi occurs in a list of epithets Parent. 19.3, and there is a synkrisis with Calpurnius Piso in Parent. 22. But there is point in applying them to teachers (see below pp.189ff.).

A cheerful disposition is a part of conviviality and this receives prominent attention in the Professores. In connection with his hospitality Minervius is described (1.31f.): *nulla felle tibi mens livida, tum sale multo/lingua dicax blandis et sine lite iocis.* Likewise we read 419: *salibus modestus felle nullo perlitis*; at 15.2.5:

*cui felle nullo, melle multo mens madens
aevum per omne nil amarum miscuit
...
tam seriorum quam iocorum particeps.*

Delphidius is addressed (5.2): *iocis amoenus*; while of Staphylius it is said (20.13): *procul ira dolorque*. Gentility is further commended 3.11f.: *comis convivis, numquam inclamare clientes, / ad famulos numquam tristia verba loqui*. And of Alcimus Alethius we are told (2.15): *te nemo gravior vel fuit comis magis*. Comis is also an adjective applied to the affable Nepotianus (15.1). Leontius is addressed as blande (7.16; cf. *blandis ...iocis* 1.32), and Glabrio as benigne (24.9). Laetus occurs at 4.21, 6.19 and 24.9, while an invitation to mourn Leontius goes to (7.1): *qui colis laetos hilarosque mores / qui dies festos, ioca, vota ludum*.

The concept of a jovial, convivial, genteel nature is prominent elsewhere in the works of Ausonius. In Ep. 7 in mock depreciation of his own ability, Ausonius writes: in cavillando nec natura venustum nec arte conditum, diluti salis, fellis ignavi. In the opening lines of Ep. 11 we read the following description of Tetradius:

O qui vetustos uberi facundia
 sales opimas, Tetradi,
 cavesque, ne sit tristis et dulci carens
 amara concinnatio;
 qui felle carmen atque melle temperans
 ...

In praise of his father he writes (Domest. 4.29, 35):

ira procul...
 ...
 irasci promptus properavi condere motum.

Ausonius addresses Paulinus on the yoke of friendship (Ep. 27.6):

[iugum] nulla querella loco pepulit, non ira nec error. Paulinus replies reminding Ausonius to maintain his affable ideals (Ep. 30.6f. cf. Ep. 31.9f.): parce, precor, lacerare tuum, nec amara paternis / admiscere velis, ceu melle absinthia, verbis. The spoudaiogeloion motif recurs at Parent. 7.11: ioca seria mixta. Parent. 18 begins in a way very similar to Prof. 7: qui ioca laetitiam colis, qui tristia damnas. Ausonius in fact claims happiness as a character trait of the people of Aquitaine (Mos. 442): temperat ingenuos qua laeta Aquitanica mores. We can compare ibid. 384f. of the people who dwell around the Moselle: quin etiam mores et laetum fronte serena / ingenium natura tuis concessit alumnis.

The adjective laetus is emphatically recurrent in the Mosella (vv. 73, 163, 172, 233, 416, 476) and it is a favourite in epitaphs (apart from the Professores, Parent. 6.4; 7.5; 9.23; 13.5; 19.3, 9; 23.7).

Ludus and iocus are favourite terms of Ausonius for his literary dabblings. In the preface to the Griphus, iocum et ludum meum is contrasted with diligentiam et calumniam of a critic. In the preface to Ep. 15 he describes his activity: ioculariter luseram. In an introduction to his epigrams we read (Epig. 25.8): plaudat permissis sobria musa iocis. He reports his wife's attitude to his amatory verse (Epig. 39.3): ludere me dixit falsoque in amore iocari. Paulus is addressed (Ep. 5.10): adsuefacte meis ioculari carmine nugis; and of him again we read Ep. 8.21f.:

ΚΕΨΟΣ ἔμοῦ πάντων μέτοχος , qui seria nostra, / qui ioca
novit tractare παλαίστρῃ.

Like laetus, blandus and comis are favourite adjectives of Ausonius. At Parent. 7.9 comis blandusque is found and comis occurs ibid. 2.6; 6.4; 8.5; 22.7. Blandus recurs Parent. 5.10; Ep. 22.22; Ep. 1 Pref.; Ep. 4.1; Ep. 2 Pref.; Ep. 29.2, 49, 65; Grat. Act. 10, 11. Paulinus calls Ausonius blandum parentem (Ep. 31.275).

Throughout his works we can see that Ausonius has as an ideal a calm, genial, happy nature. He regarded this as a national heritage and it was something which he genuinely prized. But there is special reason to emphasize this in professors (see below pp. 180ff) along with a placid nature and a peaceful life.

We have reference to placidus mores at 3.13 and 17.4, while Ammonius is criticized for being (10.39): implacidis moribus. Elsewhere placidus is a favourite adjective in Ausonius. At Parent. 1.3 we meet:

placidae...honore senectae; at Epit. 34.5f.: placidumque per aevum/
 condatur. Ausonius appeals to nightmares (Ephem. 8.38): me sinite
 ignavas placidum traducere noctes. He addresses the royal family
 (Domest. 2.30): rectores terrae placidos caelique ministros. We see
 Ausonius' preference for the placidae disciplinae and placidum certamen
 of the schools over lites (Ecl. 4.15f.; cf. Ep. 4.12; Prof. 1.15):
 hinc etiam placidis schola consona disciplinis / dogmaticas agitat
 placido certamine lites. Likewise, he turns his back on the bustle of
 town life (Ep. 6.29f.): haec et quae possunt placidos offendere mores /
 cogunt relinquere moenia. Ausonius advises his grandson to face the dreaded
 school-master with his face composed placida suetudine (Ep. 22.16). Of
 his grandson's parents Ausonius writes (ibid. 34): securam placido mihi
 permulsero senectam. Placidus recurs in the Mosella (vv. 33, 58, 73,
 472), and Ausonius refers to the bond of friendship between himself and
 Paulinus as placidum...iugum (Ep. 27.9). Paulinus in turn refers to
 Ausonius as placidum...parentem (Ep. 30.24).

Ausonius combines the R.I.P. motif with praise of the placid
 life at Prof. 3.13: ut placidos mores, tranquillos sic cole manes. At
Prof. 17.14f. we read: decedens placidos mores tranquillaque vitae /
 tempora...finisti; at 20.14: et placidae vitae congrua meta fuit. His father
 says (Domest. 4.57f.): spem, vota, timorem / sopitus placido fine
 relinquo aliis. And at Parent. 18.11f. we find: ergo precare favens,
 ut qualia tempora vitae / talia et ad manes otia sanctus agat.

Life goes better without the intrusion of envy (6.28) or family
 discord (6.37). Lites were to be avoided (5.21: cf. 1.32): sine lite
 iocis. Ausonius has his father say (Domest. 4.17): litibus abstinui.

In a nightmare Ausonius envisions (Ephem. 8.4): nunc fora, nunc lites. At Parent. 18.3 we read: qui nullum insidiis captas nec lite lacessis; and at Tech. 7.4: vexat amicitias et foedera dissociat lis. We can compare Parent. 24.15: inter concordēs vixisti fidus amicos.

It seems, then, that Ausonius truly felt it was desirable to lead a placida vita sine lite within the schoolroom. This is somewhat strange, since a favourite method of advancement for teachers was through the bar. Ausonius tells us that in the Professores he has commemorated those famed through the courts (Poeta 3f.): historia si quos vel poeticus stilus / forumve fecit nobiles. His uncle Arborius gained part of his fame by forensic practice (Parent. 313ff.). Alcimus Alethius, palmae forensis et camenarum decus, was ready to help his clients in court (2.17), as was Glabrio (26.7). Ti. Victor Minervius is praised (1.9): mille foro dedit hic iuvenes. But, despite the laudation of Alcimus Alethius' forensic ability, Ausonius praises (2.14): omnem refugisti ambitum. Delphidius is directly criticized for his ambitious forcefulness in the courts (5.13ff.). Ausonius turned his back on forensic practice (Praefatiunculae 1.17f.) and perhaps there is some significance in the fact that he includes reference to his idealized uncle's forensic capabilities in the Parentalia, but omits mention of this from the Professores.

To understand this seeming contradiction in Ausonius' outlook, we must look at his own career. After some thirty years teaching at Bordeaux, Ausonius was made tutor of Gratian by Valentinian. Honoured with the titles comes and quaestor sacri palatii, he was made praetorian prefect, then consul. This marked the acme and end of his official

career, for after Gratian's assassination he retired to Bordeaux. These facts are clear, but his ambitions have not been so clearly assessed.

Firstly, we have the cynical view. Ausonius' uncle, Aemilius Magnus Arborius, under whom he studied in his youth, was an eminent teacher and advocate, who had been appointed imperial tutor by Constantine. He had apparently predicted a bright future for Ausonius (Parent. 3.21f.). It is suggested, then, that from an early age, Ausonius' sights were set on the imperial court. When this ambition was not realized, he remained, so it is held, a disappointed teacher at Bordeaux for some thirty years.¹ Furthermore, it is evident that during his period at court Ausonius used his influence to procure powerful posts for various members of his family. Alföldi asserts (Conflict, pp. 18f.): "Ausonius...snatched the reins of government in the west...And Ausonius is not in the least ashamed of his horrible greediness, but boasts of it to the world in his poems." Alföldi does detect the hand of Ausonius at work in humanitarian measures, but adds (p. 88) "Behind the fine-sounding phrases gross selfishness lay concealed." On the one hand, then, we have the picture of a sixty year-old school-master with jaundiced ambitions who used his belated elevation to satisfy latent megalomania.

Other critics have been more kind. Aymonier (Ausone et ses amis, pp. 24ff.) envisages a rather devoted teacher, who was looking forward to a retirement of lettered ease, when the imperial summons arrived. He

¹Jullian, Ausone, p. 24f.

wonders whether Ausonius' ambition may then for the first time have been stirred. Dill (Roman Society, p. 173) writes of his years as a teacher: "Yet it may be doubted whether he regarded the long interval as a period of monotonous toil". The grounds for Dill's belief are a love and esteem for teachers and their profession which he detects in Ausonius. Pichon (Les derniers écrivains, p. 187) concludes that his moderation will have made him happy to accept honours when offered, but he will not have been bitter about lack of them. Chadwick (Life and Letters, p. 59) asserts: "Ausonius viewed political success and wealth in their true proportions and perspective."

Unfortunately we do not have statements from Ausonius about his ambitions from throughout his life. The epitaph on Delphidius, (Prof. 5), where this rhetor is criticized for his ambitious rise, was written after the usurpation of Maximus, and may be tinged with fears and reflections emanating from Ausonius' recent political experiences. The Epicedion on his father, which surely reveals Ausonius' own ideals of moderation in ambition and high politics, was written when Ausonius was about seventy.¹ Ausonius would not be the first political figure to disclaim ambition when the possibility of future advancement had been removed and claim to turn wholeheartedly to literary otium (Mos. 392ff.).

¹He has his father say that he avoided (Domest. 4.32): *semper fictae principum amicitiae*. Aus. fared well out of his friendship with Gratian, but perhaps here we have a covert reference to the usurpation of his position by Ambrose.

We noted above that Ausonius seems to have shown jealousy towards Exuperius who succeeded to his uncle's chair at Toulouse. This and the vague prophecy that he was to do well in the world are the only indications we have that Ausonius had burning ambitions as a young man. That he was disappointed about not succeeding to his uncle's chair at Toulouse does not mean that the young Ausonius forever after burned with political ambitions to follow the path of his uncle to the imperial court, nor does his uncle's prophecy point to anything more than a hope that a nephew will do well (Parent. 3.21f.). There are two facts, on the other hand, which point to Ausonius' contentment as a schoolteacher. Firstly, he tells us that he left forensic practice because he felt more attracted to teaching (Praefatiunculae 1.15ff.). Had he wanted to advance politically, he would assuredly have stayed in forensic practice, for this was one favourite avenue of rhetors to imperial service. Secondly, he spent thirty years as a teacher. We have no record that he attempted to advance. He was good enough to be chosen eventually as imperial tutor. This would seem to indicate that his capabilities were such that he could have found in thirty years some path to political advancement if he had had an ardent desire for this. When we consider in addition his love of the placid life, his aversion to lites, his predilection for the school-room atmosphere pointed out above, we can agree with Pichon and others that Ausonius was actually content with his lot as school-teacher.

Ausonius did not, however, refuse political advancement when the

opportunity presented itself.¹ He has his father say (Domest. 4.51): *nec adfectans nec detractor honorum*. This appears to have been his own attitude. He took his opportunity for advancement when it could be accepted with safety. At the first sign of danger, that is on Maximus' usurpation, he retired completely from the political scene. It is possible that he feared heads would roll on Maximus' accession. He records the proscription of the property of his relatives (Parent. 4.7ff.) and perhaps he felt that something similar might befall himself. But this need not mean that his ideal of a placid life stems from this era. His career suggests that it was with him all his life.

The later Roman Empire saw the advancement of many schoolmen. But Ausonius did not approve of aggressive drive which involved risks. Thus Delphidius is criticized for risking his neck for advancement in tempora tyrannica (5.23f.). Ausonius' ideal tenure of office is reflected by his praise of Flavius Sanctus (Parent. 18.7ff.):

*militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit,
 . praeside laetatus quo Rutupinus ager,
 octoginta annos cuius tranquilla senectus
 nullo mutavit deteriore die.*

If someone got office without trouble, this is duly recorded as a merit. Thus of Nepotianus we read (15.18): *honore gesti praesidatus inclitus*. A peaceful way of gaining office was to become imperial tutor, then

¹Cf. Fabre, St. Paulin de Nole, p. 19: "Il [i.e. Ausone] ne semble pas avoir recherché les honneurs officiels, puisqu'il s'est contenté pendant trente ans de sa chaire de professeur, mais il les accepta volontiers lorsqu'ils vinrent à lui."

accept a reward from the pupil turned emperor. This is what Ausonius did. Exuperius did likewise (17.12f.): *Caesareum qui mox indepti nomen honorem / praesidis Hispanumque tibi tribuere tribunal.*

Ausonius' uncle Arborius might have followed a similar path, had not his death precluded further advancement (16.15f.). Ausonius was evidently no Catiline who wanted the consulship at any cost. His views on ambition and advancement are not a rationalization to provide an apologia pro vita sua but rather the man's true feelings. So, when we find in the Professores praise of tranquility, of affability, of avoidance of lites, we see reflected the true ideals of Ausonius, who lauds in others the virtues and benefits to which he himself aspired. Below (pp. 194ff) we shall see that his attitude was typical of his times.

For Ausonius there were more acceptable means of acquiring wealth and social status. Especially relevant for the Professores is the underlying assumption of Ausonius that academic achievement brought nobility. The title of grammaticus is called (9.3): *nomen tam nobile.* Attius Patera was doubly noble, for in addition to the record of his birth, it is mentioned that he was (4.2): *fandi nobilis.* Attius Tiro Delphidius is called (5.6): *dei poeta nobilis.* The maligned Victorius, granted a place among the professors, is bidden (22.21): *sed modo nobilium memoratus in agmine, gaude.* Crispus and Urbicus were so talented as to deserve elevation (21.27f.): *liberti ambo genus, sed quos meruisse deceret / nancisci, ut cluerent patribus ingenuis.*

The nobility of status conferred by the profession of grammaticus or rhetor could be enhanced by a rich and noble marriage.

At his death Alethius Minervius left (6.36ff.):

et conubium
nobile soceris
sine pace patris
et divitias
utriusque domus
sine herede tuo.

Citarius was fortunate in marriage but ill-favoured in reproduction (13.9f.): coniugium nactus cito nobilis et locupletis, / invidia fati non genitor moreris. Among Arborius' achievements is listed (16.9): nobilis et dotata uxor; and marriage into a noble and wealthy family boosted the fortunes of Marcellus (18.5f.): nobilis hic hospes Clarentius indole motus / egregia natam coniugio adtribuit.

Ausonius himself was of obscure paternal lineage,¹ and by marriage consolidated his social position. He lauds the lineage of his father-in-law Attusius Lucanus Talisius (Parent. 8). Of his wife he writes (Parent. 9.5; cf. ibid. 23: genus inclita): nobilis a proavis et origine clara senatus. To have a rich and noble wife was not an aspiration confined to teachers, but it was a suitable avenue for social advancement for a man distinguished in letters but unknown by birth. It is not surprising, then, that Ausonius lays some stress on a rich and noble marriage, accounting this as a virtue leading to success. We shall see below (pp. 196f.) that Ausonius' attitude was one typical of professors of his era.

¹Cf. M. K. Hopkins, "Social Mobility in the Later Roman Empire: The Evidence of Ausonius", CQ 11 (1961), 239ff.

In the Gratiarum Actio 4-8 we have a lengthy denunciation of the ancestral privileges of the nobility and an assertion of the rights of an ignoble but honest man. The passage contains statements such as: dantur enim multa nominibus et est fama pro merito; and the words of Sallust's Marius: Non possum fidei causa ostendere imagines maiorum meorum. The "merit over birth" discourse is not lacking in rhetorical embellishment or striking in its originality. Auct. ad Her. (3.13) tells: si humili genere, ipsum in suis, non in maiorum virtutibus habuisse praesidium. Juvenal's eighth satire is a declamation on the theme of virtue over lineage, a theme which recurs in Pliny's panegyric (70). In Ausonius Epig. 45 we have a vitriolic denunciation: in degenerem divitem moecho genitum. Noteworthy are the lines:

spernit vigentis clara saeculi nomina,
antiqua captans stemmata,
Martem Remumque et conditorem Romulum
privos parentes nuncupans.

Extravagant claims were made and were the object of ridicule (cf. Amm. Marc. 28.4.6f.)¹, but that Ausonius objects to the man's scorn for names recently made famous betrays perhaps a genuine desire for acceptance and recognition among the nobility. There is probably, then, genuine sentiment behind the "merit over birth" excursus in the Gratiarum Actio, where he announces: nec deductum ab heroibus genus vel deorum stemma.

¹For descent from Agamemnon, Scipio, the Gracchi and Aeneas see Jerome Ep. 108.3f.; see too Stroheker, Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien (Tübingen: Alma mater Verl., 1948), pp. 10ff.

Ausonius does, however, praise noble birth where suitable.

Record of hereditary nobility or achievement of nobility is a common theme in ancient epitaphs, panegyrics, laudationes and biography (cf. Gell. 1.13.10; Pliny HN 7.140). Auct. ad.Her. instructs (3.13):
genus - in laude...si bono genere, parem aut excelsiorem fuisse. One of the earliest Latin epitaphs, that of Scipio Hispanus, reads (CE 958):
virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi,.../stirpem nobilitavit honor.
Record of noble birth occurs at Parent. 4.4; 9.5; 14.6f.; 19.3; 30.1.
Noteworthy is Parent. 8.1ff.:

Qui proceres veteremque volet celebrare senatum
claraque ab exortu stemmata Burdigalae
teque tuumque genus memoret, Lucane Talisi,
moribus ornasti qui veteres proavos.

In the Professores noble lineage is likewise noted. Of Arborius we read (16.7f.):

Stemma tibi patris Haeduici, Tarbellica Maurae
matris origo fuit: ambo genus procerum.

Glabrio's pedigree runs (24.3f.):

stemma nobilem deductum nomen avorum,
Glabrio Acilini, Dardana progenies.

Nevertheless Ausonius' preoccupation with social climbing is very evident in the Professores. While he retains an admiration for lineage and desire for ennoblement, he can mock false genealogies and assert the rights of the novus homo. This is interesting in view of two genealogies he gives us. Of Attius Patera we read (4.7ff.):

tu Baiocassi stirpe Druidarum satus
si fama non fallit fidem
Beleni sacratum ducis e templo genus,
et inde vobis nomina.

Phoebicius is described (10.27f.): *stirpe satus Druidum / gentis Aremoricae*. This is not exactly a record of noble birth in the Roman sense. There is reason to believe that the Romans suppressed Druidism in their attempt to romanize the Gauls, and from the silence of our sources one may well wonder how renowned or remembered were the Druids in the fourth century (see Commentary on 4.7). Still Ausonius, a nominal Christian writing in Christian Bordeaux, recalls pagan ancestry, and Gallic rather than Gallo-roman nobility. He may have been the more ready to assert the Gallic heritage because of his own lack of (Roman) nobility, and one may detect perhaps the defiance of the novus homo in these records of Druid ancestry. And we see (pp. 197ff) that professors in the ancient world suffered from an inferiority complex about their social and financial status.

Rich marriage has been mentioned above, and Ausonius shows concern about financial comfort. An opulens senectus is attributed to Sedatus (19.5). His epitaph on his esteemed uncle Arborius concludes (16.15f.):

*illic dives opum doctoque ibi Caesare honorus
occumbis patribus, Magne, superstitibus.*

Likewise Exuperius brought his life to a comfortable close (17.14f.):

*decedens placidos mores tranquillaque vitae
tempora praedives finisti sede Cadurca.*

A school brought Marcellus divitiae (18.17f.), while Alethius Minervius gained his divitias through marriage (6.35ff.). Rich marriage similarly enriched Citarius (13.9) and Dynamius (23.5): *quem locupletavit coniunx*. Pauper is a term of regret, if not of reproach (10.49), and the sterilis cathedra of Concordius is noted (10.20f.) along with Phoebicius'

failure to make teaching remunerative for himself (ibid. 25). For all their devotion, the grammatici Graeci attained only fructus exilis (8.6).

Ausonius has his father say (Domest. 4.17): non auxi, non minui rem. One might detect a certain contradiction with the ideals expressed in the Professores where the attainment of wealth is recorded as a virtue. But Ausonius' ideal appears to have been comfortable means. This is in keeping with his praise of parsimony and frugality. He did not believe that immense wealth should be accumulated through teaching, but that a moderate amount was indicative of social and academic success. In the Grat. Act. 8 (237P) he describes his own position: angustas opes, verumtamen libris et litteris dilatatas. His father was comfortably off, and managed to maintain his affairs. Likewise Namia Pudentilla is praised for her frugality and her management of the estate (Parent. 10). His uncle Clemens Contemptus is not accorded special praise for accumulating a large fortune in face of various risks (Parent. 7). Ausonius was aware of the dangers involved in being very rich (Parent. 4.7ff.):

invida set nimium generique opibusque superbis
aerumna incubuit; namque avus et genitor
proscripti...

But this does not mean that wealth is to be totally avoided. In the same address to the proscribed grandfather he adds (13ff.):

grassantis dudum fortunae tela paventem
pauperis Aemiliae condicio implicuit.
mox tenuis multo quaesita pecunia nisu
solamen fesso, non et opes tribuit.

Ausonius evidently did not approve of marriage with a pauper and impoverished old-age.

Ausonius' own means have been variously assessed.¹ He did not consider himself too wealthy. In Domest. 1 he speaks in belittling terms about his inherited estate which was more than 700 iugera. The piece contains philosophizing on wealth (9ff.):

parvum herediolum, fateor, set nulla fuit res
parva umquam aequanimis, adde etiam unanims.
ex animo rem stare aequum puto, non animum ex re.

...

cui nullus finis cupiendi, est nullus habendi:
ille opibus modus est, quem statuas animo.

He prays to God (Ephem. 3.58ff.):

Da, pater, haec nostro fieri rata vota precatu.
nihil metuum cupiamque nihil: satis hoc rear esse,
quod satis est.

Ausonius appears to have been genuinely worried about future supplies, for he kept two years supply of food in storage (Domest. 1.27f.).

Praise of increase in family fortune was a topos of laudationes funebres. In the list of decem maximas res optimasque praised by Q. Metellus in his father, Pliny records (HN 7.140): pecuniam magnam bono modo invenire. In Gellius (1.13.10) we read: Is Crassus a Sempronio Asellione et plerisque aliis historiae Romanae scriptoribus traditur habuisse quinque rerum bonarum maxima et praecipua: quod esset

¹Étienne (Bordeaux antique, pp. 351ff.) is most liberal in awarding Ausonius villas and domains, eight in all, based mainly on a section from one of Paulinus' letters (31.239ff.). P., answering Ausonius' remarks on the barbarous locales of Spain, lists places where Aus. might be in Aquitania which he paints as equally obnoxious. I do not think this necessarily means that Ausonius had dwellings or property in all the places mentioned.

ditissimus...¹ In the Pro Rabirio (38) we find Cicero likewise writing: Qui vero duo lauta et copiosa accepisset remque praeterea bonis et honestis rationibus auxisset. "By good means" in Roman terms usually means by agriculture, without demeaning enterprises such as trade and usury.² But Ausonius is not merely following the epitaphic tradition. He has no romantic vision of the scholar starving in a garret. It is true that he praises frugality and moderation, as we have seen above, but poverty is not commendable.

Praise of poverty is sometimes found in epitaphs. From Rome (29 A.D.) we have the following epitaph (CE 991; repeated almost verbatim CE 992): Vixi quod volui semper bene pauper honeste, / fraudavi nullum, quod iuvat ossa mea. Charity and worldly poverty are naturally praised in Christian epitaphs, for example, CE 778.5: pauperibus donavit opes mortalia linquens; Diehl 1195.10: pauperibus dives, sed sibi pauper erat.; CE 688.6f. sprevit opes, dum quaerit opes, mortalia multans / perpetuis, caelum donis terrestribus emit.

There is nothing of the sort in Ausonius, except perhaps that Latinus Alcimus Alethius is praised (Prof. 2.14): liberalis indigis (but he was certainly not poor because of his generosity). Ausonius

¹Cf. Nepos Alcibiades 7.1.2-4 where in a list comprising many of the big five or ten virtues we read dives.

²Cf. W. S. Davis, The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome (New York: Macmillan, 1910), pp. 56ff.

might have praised poverty, but in the Professores he invariably records it as a rebuke. And elsewhere he betrays that an impoverished old age is to be expected from teaching (Ep. 8.27ff.):

Iam satis, ο φίλε Παῦλε, πόνου ἀπεπειρήθημεν
 ἔν τε forw causais τε καὶ ingrataισι καθέδραις
 ῥητορικοῖς λουβαῖσι, καὶ ἔπλετο οὐδέν ὄνειρα·
 ἀλλὰ ἤδη κείνος μὲν ἅπασ iuvenalios ἰδρῶς
 ἐκκέχυται μελέων, τρομερῇ δὲ πάρεστι senectus
 καὶ minus in sumptum δαπάνας levis arca ministrat.

Typically he adds the advice that equanimity will overcome poverty and toil, but it is clear that financial comfort is of special relevance to teachers. Ausonius did not want an impoverished retirement like Orbilius (Suet. Gram. 9).

When the friendly, peaceful existence was prolonged to a ripe **old age** the fact is duly noted. Longevity was a kind of virtue, especially if the mental faculties were retained. Thus the aged Paterna is described (4.21f.): in senio quoque/aquilae ut senectus aut equi; and Nepotianus (15.1): animo iuvenali senex. Staphylius enjoyed a pulchra senecta (20.13). Ti. Victor Minervius, successful in other respects, had not the fortune of a lengthy old age (1.38): fletus es a nobis ut pater et iuvenis.

The blessing of a long life is of course connected with the epitaphic topos of timely/untimely death. In the Parentalia we read (7.7): Iulius in longam produxit fata senectam; and at Ep. 24.7, favourably comparing Paulinus' poetic ability with his own, Ausonius writes: longaevae tantum superamus honore senectae. Ausonius was composing the Professores in his seventies. His father had reached the age of 88 or 90 (Domest. 4.61; Parent. 1.4). Ausonius has him conclude his epitaph (Domest. 4.61ff.):

nonaginta annos baculo sine, corpore toto
 exegi, cunctis integer officiis.
 haec quicumque leges, non aspernabere fari:
 talis vita tibi, qualia vita mihi.

If we had any doubts that this was the desire of Ausonius himself, we should be convinced when we read his prayer (Ephem. 3.65ff.). Perhaps he believed 96 to be the natural human life-span as in Ecl. 5. A prolonged existence is a natural human desire, but one which had special point in academic circles (see below pp. 200f.).

We turn now from social to academic and literary virtues.

Eloquence and literary ability are highly praised in the Professores, while Ausonius has less to say about teaching ability proper. Quintilian had theories on pedagogy, but when Ausonius makes a synkrisis between this great educator and Ti. Victor Minervius (1.2.7, 16) the emphasis is on rank and personal rhetorical ability, not on quality of education and teaching methods. Cleanthes as head of the Stoic school presumably had some claim to pedagogic ability, but when Ausonius compares Nepotianus with him (15.11), again it is his powers of disputation as a scholar among scholars which are prized rather than his acumen in guiding school-room debates. In the Praefatio Ausonius records as bonds between himself and the deceased sedula cura docendi and studium in libris. We saw above (pp. 17 ff.) how little attention these themes get in the Professores.

Ausonius was aware of the theoretical father-image of the professor and other ideals of educational theory, notably moulding by mildness (below p.182). There is scarcely a hint of this in the Professores. The nearest we come to the father-image of the teacher is

at 11.1: profectus de nostro gremio et schola. In the Parentalia (3.7ff.) Arborius' parental care of Ausonius' education is explicitly mentioned, but this pedagogic attribute is ignored in Prof. 16. At 17.10f. we have the expression pueros...formare which in itself might imply some degree of psychological character moulding, but in that context emphasis is on reward: *grandi mercede docendi*. Ausonius had a learning problem with the Greek language (8.13ff.). One would think here was an ideal opportunity for Ausonius to comment on teaching ability. He does in fact use a phrase reminiscent of that we have seen in the preface. But the lack of renown and reward gained by these teachers classes them as failures in Ausonius' eyes, and he only admits them grudgingly to the Professores (vv. 5ff.):

sedulum cunctis studium docendi,
fructus exilis tenuisque sermo:
set, quia nostro docuere in aevo,
commemorandi.

Likewise, the grammatici Latini of Prof. 10 acquired neither nobility nor riches. Among these failures is Macrinus, the one-time teacher of Ausonius. Nothing is said of his pedagogic skills.

If not devotion and teaching ability, what then made a good teacher? Ausonius gives us the formula, or part of it at 18.5:

nobilis hic hospes Clarentius indole motus
egregia natam coniugio adtribuit.
mox schola et auditor multus praetextaque pubes
grammatici nomen divitiasque dedit.

One's ability should be recognized, and rewarded by nobility, wealth, size of school, class of clientele, success of students. What was missing from Marcellus' lot was the placid life and the continuity of these benefits (18.9f.). Thus we read of the number and rank of the

pupils in Ti. Victor Minervius' teaching practice (1.9ff.):

mille foro dedit hic iuvenes, bis mille senatus
 adiecit numero purpureisque togis;
 me quoque: set quoniam multa est praetexta, silebo
 teque canam de te, non ab honore meo.

Similarly we read of Censorius Atticus Agricius (14.10): egregie multos excoluit iuvenes. In this context, egregie refers not to the quality of education imparted by Censorius, but to the honour the large school brought him. The fees from a large class helped supplement the dowry of a rich marriage, and we have already noted the emphasis Ausonius lays on material comfort (above pp.163ff.). Attius Patera is hailed (4.6): doctor potentum rhetorum. Again we have the success of pupils reflecting upon the teacher.

Since Ausonius has little to say about the transmission of this knowledge from teacher to pupil, and it seems that the acquisition of learning (see above pp.17f.) was more a personal than a professorial attribute. It affected more the image of "the scholar and gentleman"¹ than the activity of a grammaticus and rhetor as teacher. Thus Ammonius, who was teaching at an elementary level (10.36f.: qui rudibus pueris/ prima elementa dabat) and did not need an excessive store of doctrina, is criticized for being doctrina exiguus because he did not gain

¹cf. Epig. 7 De Philomuso grammatico who had a library full of unopened books, for which Ausonius jibes: doctum et grammaticum te, Philomuse, putas. I would not deny that the man's knowledge as a teacher is being criticized, but this jibe is very similar to that of Amm. Marc. against so-called men of letters who read trash and let their libraries collect dust (28.14.4).

ennoblement through eloquence or literary ability as did Marcellus (18.5), rather than because his knowledge was inadequate for a teacher of his level. Likewise the titulus gained by Leontius (7.9ff.) is as much a reflection of his worth as a literary figure in a social context as his academic qualification to possess a cathedra. Ausonius is not so much saying that Leontius acquired adequate competence in literature to qualify him for an exilis cathedra, as criticizing the fact that his cathedra was exilis because his renown in literary matters did not bring social and academic elevation.

We read of Citarius (13.7f.): *urbe satus Sicula nostram peregrinus adisti / excultam studiis quam propere edideras.* This statement follows commendation of the man's literary ability. It seems therefore that studia refer not primarily to his school-room activity, but to the enhancement of the cultural level of Bordeaux by the presence of a literary figure. It is this aspect of studia which overshadows Citarius the teacher, the instiller of studia in school. The same is true of the case of the children of the famous rhetor, Staphylius (20.11f.): *et tua nunc suboles morem sectata parentis / Narbonem ac Romam nobilitat studiis.* These literary figures were enhancing the cultural level of their adoptive cities, and it is their personal command of knowledge, not their transmission of it in teaching which is being praised. There is a difference between this cultural ennoblement, and the more pedestrian teaching ability of the Latin and Greek grammatici mentioned above (Prof. 8.10).

Today a scholar would perhaps be commended for his research into and elucidation of obscure topics. Victorius (Prof. 22) had neglected the

classic authors, Virgil, Cicero and the Roman historians, to delve into obscurities of Greek and Roman early history. His antiquarian zeal does not impress Ausonius, who regrets the lack of more cultured learning. Had he been a successful poet himself Ausonius would have had more respect for him. The fama which linked Ausonius and the professors (Praef. 2), we found a more important merit than sedula cura docendi and studium in libris. The latter two are valuable only for the acquisition of the first, and Ausonius has little time for devotion to teaching and the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. A teacher in Ausonius' opinion could only be regarded as a success if he used his knowledge and acquired powers to gain esteem for his intellect, then wealth and social advancement. To gain esteem for one's intellect, it was not enough to be a devoted researcher or teacher. One had to show one's ability more directly to the public at large.

We have treated above the question of epideictic displays in the selection of teachers, and the delivery of a panegyric or other speech was an accepted way of increasing one's fame. A city festival, a declamation open to the public, open days at schools all provided opportunities for epideictic displays. Minervius is praised for his skill at panegyrics and controversiae (1.13f.), while Latinus Alcimus Alethius had had the distinction of delivering a panegyric on the Emperor Julian and Sallustius the Prefect of Gaul during their joint consulships (2.21ff.). Attius Tiro Delphidius had gained fame in his youth for a verse panegyric delivered at an Olympia (5.5ff.). Rhetors could also show their oratorical prowess by forensic appearances (2.15ff.; 5.13f.; 24.7.; cf. Praefatiunculae 1.17).

Both grammatici and rhetors could gain renown by their literary productions, though I am guilty here of making a division invalid for antiquity between literature and rhetoric. It would involve an inordinate amount of space to treat here this relationship, a source of argument among modern scholars. We can be thankful that Ausonius makes it clear that facundia encompassed oratory, prose and versè. See how he describes Luciolus (3.2f.): *facundum doctumque virum, seu lege metrorum / condita seu prosis solveret orsa modis.* In Ep. 23, on receiving a versification of Suetonius from Pontius Paulinus, Ausonius writes: *iamquid de eloquentia dicam? liquido adiurare possum nullum tibi ad poeticam facundiam Romanae iuventutis aequari.* At Ep. 11.1 we find uber facundia applied to poetical ability, and at Ep. 14.10 we find poetry emanating facundo de pectore. In the verse preface to the Parentalia it is stated that the ensuing verse epitaphs are: *sine ornatu fandique carentia cultu.*

Attius Tiro Delphidius, as has been mentioned, helped himself towards becoming a rhetorical celebrity by his verse compositions (5.5ff.). We are not given specifics about Latinus Alcimus Alethius' productions, but of him we read (2.7ff.):

*palmae forensis et camenarum decus,
exemplar unum in litteris,
quas aut Athenis docta coluit Graecia,
aut Roma per Latium colit.*

Note here the conflation of varied literary achievement with forensic oratory.

Grammatici too had to gain fame for their talent. We are not told how Marcellus impressed his host with his indoles (18.5), but

Citarius made a name for himself by his poetic productions (13.5f.):
 carminibus, quae prima tuis sunt condita in annis, / concedit Cei musa
 Simonidei. Through his renown he acquired a noble, wealthy bride. Ausonius'
 friend, Urbicus, was not so skilled on the Latin side, but was renowned
 for his Greek undertakings (21. 12ff.):

nam tu Crispo coniuncte tuo
 prosa solebas et versa loqui
 impete eodem.

Here follows a synkrisis of his ability, with that of Menelaus, Ulysses
 and Nestor.

The Poeta, then, fittingly concludes the Professores:

Valete, manes inclitorum rhetorum:
 valete, doctores probi,
 historia si quos vel poeticus stilus
 forumve fecit nobiles
 medicae vel artis dogma vel Platonicum
 dedit perenni gloriae.

I do not intend to review here the more specific attributes of
 the professors which are treated in the Commentary. Certain of them
 which relate to the teachers as public, literary figures are treated
 pp. 203ff. below. To have rhetorical and literary ability was a
 social grace expected among the upper-classes in the ancient world.
 Record of literary achievement and eloquence frequently occurs in
 encomium and epitaph. As one of the quinque rerum bonarum maxima et
praecipua attributed to Crassus, Gellius cites (1.13.10): quod esset
 eloquentissimus. To be the optimus orator is one of the decem maxumas res
optumasque listed by Q. Metellus in the laudatio funebris of his father
 (Pliny HN 7.140). Cicero says eloquentia is to be praised under the
laus animi section of encomion. Suetonius usually has a section dealing

with the literary achievements of the emperors (Iul. 55f.; Aug. 84ff.; Tib. 70f.; Gaius 53; Claud. 41ff; Nero 52; Galba 5; Vesp. 18; Titus 4; Dom. 2, 4). It became a topos of praise and vituperation to praise or impugn an emperor's literacy and care for learning (Alföldi, Conflict, pp. 112ff.).

Praise for literacy and learning was of course not solely reserved for emperors, and the above examples aim only at showing this was a topos of biography and eulogy. In epitaphs praise of scholastic ability and literary achievement regularly occurs (e.g. Dessau 2929, 2934, 2937, 2940, 2946, 2947, 2950). Orator disertissimus provides the climax to the cursus honorum of Symmachus (Dessau 2946).

Ausonius will have been well aware of this sort of praise as part of the eulogistic and epitaphic tradition. In the Parentalia not surprisingly we find praise of the eloquence of Herculanus (17.12ff.; cf. Prof. 13) and Arborius (3.17ff.; cf. Prof. 16). But this occurs in laudation of persons outside the teaching profession:

Parent. 1.12: quamquam et facundo non rudis ingenio
ibid. 8.5f.: pulcher honore oris... / facundo quamvis maior ab ingenio
ibid. 14.7: ore decens, bonus ingenio, facundus
ibid. 23.5f.: redderet et mores et moribus adderet illud, / Paulinus caruit quo pater, eloquium.

Outside of epitaphs, praise of eloquence pervades Ausonius' works

(Mos. 383ff.; Ordo 7.2f., 15.4; Ep. 7; 11.1f.; 14.10; 22.41; 23; 12.10ff; Epig. 1.9f.). On refinement of speech in a cultured gentleman we can compare Epig. 5: in hominem vocis absonae; Ausonius has his father apologize (Domest. 4.9f.): sermone inpromptus Latio, verum Attica lingua / suffecit culti vocibus eloquii.

That eloquence and literary ability were required virtues in a gentleman and praise thereof was a topos of epitaphic poetry may have some bearing on why literary and rhetorical ability overshadows teaching aptitude in the Professores. This is not to say, however, that Ausonius has followed the stream of laudation to the neglect of praise relevant to teachers, for we shall now see that the ancients generally disregarded teaching ability.

(vii) The Figure of the Teacher in the Ancient World

We must beware of projecting current educational preoccupations into the ancient world. At present educational psychology is greatly in vogue. In assessing teachers we naturally assess their ability to teach. Therefore we are inclined to expect reference to pedagogic ability in addresses to teachers. Ausonius has some reference to this as we have seen, but not enough, it would appear, for modern taste. But by ancient standards Ausonius provided what was expected.

Quintilian, it is true, lays down guide lines for educational psychology along with general qualities desirable in teachers. There are various references to the high standard of morality expected of a teacher (1.2.5; 2.2.2; 2.2.1; 3, 5, 15). Along with this should go sufficient competence in the subject to be taught (2.3.12; cf. 1.2.9ff.; 2.11.1ff.); *Sit ergo tam eloquentia quam moribus praestantissimus, qui ad Phoenicis Homerici exemplum dicere ac facere doceat*. The teacher is to assume a parental attitude (2.2.5), and the younger pupil is said to learn: *ad gremium praeceptoris* (2.4.15; cf. 2.5.5.). This attitude is to create an atmosphere where the pupil will gladly learn (2.9.1). The authority of the father figure is to stem from respect rather than severity (2.2.5f.). Corporal punishment is not approved (1.3.14ff.), and youthful exuberance is to be remoulded into productive channels, rather than bludgeoned into oblivion (2.4.5f.). With younger children play-methods are to be employed (1.1.20), and the aridus magister, devoid of

all imagination, is to be avoided, as is the teacher who suffers from: *inscientia tradendi vel negligentia* (12.11.14). The teacher should be thorough, but this thoroughness should not be carried to the extremes of pedantry and inept triviality (1.8.18-21). He is not to be superficial (1.9.6; 2.1.1-6; 2.2.5), but straightforward (2.2.5) and lucid (1.4.5). He must have some psychological insight into the differing abilities of his pupils (1.3.1) and should be able to assess and treat them (1.3.6f.; 2.8.1ff.).

Quintilian finds it incumbent upon the scope of his work to deal with educational theory. But although Quintilian shows himself modern in his advice and impresses us thereby, we must not over-estimate the attention the ancients paid to such matters. The methods of appointing teachers show that personal performance ranked above teaching skill. In epitaphs relating to schoolteachers I can find no praise of pedagogic merits. It is rather the learning and literary abilities which take pride of place (e.g. Dessau 7770, 7772). This of course could be attributed to the force of epitaphic tradition. In Suetonius De grammaticis et rhetoribus, however, there is little mention of pedagogic ability. We are told that M. Verrius Flaccus had a famous method of teaching in that he offered a book prize for composition (Gram. 17). Of another grammaticus it is noted (ibid. 8): *studio Epicureae sectae desidiosior in professione grammatica habebatur minusque idoneus ad tuendam scholam*. Orbilius' harshness is mentioned (ibid. 9) though no adverse comment is made thereon from the point of view of educational theory. We are told that M. Valerius Probus held discussions in an informal way rather than classes, but again this is not mentioned to

demonstrate pedagogic methods specifically (ibid. 24). Towards the beginning of the De rhetoribus we read of methods of rhetorical instruction, but this is to provide a history of exercises used. It is not a question of teaching methods and pedagogic psychology. On the other hand we read a lot about the social status of the teachers, their wealth or poverty, their literary productions and their clientele.

In his introduction to Philostratus' Vitae Sophistarum (Loeb, 1922) W. C. Wright remarks: "He had collected a mass of information as to the personal appearance, manners and dress, temperament and fortune of the more successful sophists...He has no pity for failures...But to those who attained a ripe old age and made great fortunes Philostratus applies every possible superlative". Like Ausonius in the Professores, Philostratus does not dwell on pedagogic qualities, but on the social and literary achievements of his subjects. The same is true of Eunapius in his Vitae Sophistarum. Wolf (Schulwesen, pp. 28-31) has examined the question of capability of the sophist in the rhetorical and pedagogic sphere. He finds in Libanius' works few references to teaching ability as opposed to competence in rhetoric, and concludes that the rhetorical ability of the sophist was a more important factor than his skill in teaching.

We shall see below that Libanius, like Ausonius, was aware of the pedagogic theories such as those put forward by Quintilian. But it is evident that the ancients did not lay the modern stress on educational psychology. For their teaching services at Constantinople, professors in

later times were honoured with the comitiva primi ordinis (Cod. Theod. 6.21.1) if, among other things, they have shown peritiam docendi. But mention of this is rare. Walden (Universities, p. 206) feels refreshed amid the general disregard to find Theon (Progym. 2, p. 72 Spengel) advising teachers not to dishearten children by pointing out all faults immediately. In any case, there is not the improper balance of social over pedagogic virtues which critics have detected in the Professores. The traits noted by Ausonius are apposite in addresses to professors in the ancient context, and a more detailed comparison of Ausonius' professional ideals with the figure of the teacher depicted in other sources will convince us of this.

Hatinguais ("Vertus universitaires", p. 385) noted that Ausonius' portraits contrast with the Orbilius-image of the professor of antiquity. This is true. Ausonius leaves us with the impression that teachers are mild-tempered, kind-natured gentlemen whose tongues lack the biting venom of criticism, and whose charming lives are led in the seclusion of refined culture.

The figure of the ancient professor generally appears to have been otherwise. This is partly due to the stage-image of the professor, but this image appears to have been a reflection of reality. Herodas' third mime and Plautus Bacchides (422ff.) show the harsh educator as a stage figure. Navarre (Dar.-Sag. 4, 273 s.v. paedagogus) and Schluppe (RE 18.1a, 2739f. s.v. paidagogos) point to artistic representations of stern paedagogi with bald heads, protruding beards and other accoutrements, probably deriving from the stage. There was a proverb (Menander Sent.

573 Jaekel): ὁ μὴ δαπέϊς ἀνθρώπου οὐ παιδεύεται.

We have Horace's plagosus Orbilius (Epist. 2.1.69ff.; Suet. Gram. 9) and Martial's bellicose, clamorous tyrants (5.84; 9.68; 12.57). Ovid writes (Am. 1.13.17f.): Tu pueros somno fraudas tradisque magistris, / ut subeant tenerae verbera saeva manus. Suetonius (Nero 37) asserts that Thrasea Paetus was fired for looking like a stern schoolmaster. It was left to Juvenal to formulate education with the phrase (1.15): manum ferulae subducere. (He also refers to the bearded, stern preceptor 14.12f.). Juvenal's descriptive phrase for education was often repeated (Jerome Ep. 57.12.10; in Ruf. 1.17; Macrob. 3.10.2; Sid. Apoll. 2.10). The raging teacher recurs in Luxorius' eighth epigram, and Claudian readily applies the epithet iratus to a grammarian (Carm. Min. 23.6). In the Chriae attributed to Libanius (8, 84ff.) we meet the scowling master confronting the trembling pupil, while Jerome reincarnates Orbilius (In Ruf. PL 23.441): memini me puerum...ad Orbilium saevientem de aviae sinu tractum esse captivum.

In this tradition Ausonius represents the tyrant teacher to his grandson (Ep. 22). In the opening lines we meet acerbi/...vox imperiosa magistri, and from v. 12 follow some thirty lines on the tetrix praeceptor, with his horrida forma, truculenta ora, multum verber, plagae, ferulae, multa supellex virgea, scutica. Ausonius advises his grandson to staunchly endure the school-room terror, as consolation adding (34f.): haec olim genitorque tuus genitrixque secuti / securam placido mihi permulsere senectam. But it is in a quite different way

that Ausonius describes his own teaching activity (ibid. 66ff.). He claims to have soothed infant pupils in his bosom, then to have guided them through boyhood molli monitu et formidine leni, and to have controlled boisterous youth with mitis censura. With this we can compare what Ausonius says about the permulcens cura magistri at the beginning of Ep. 21.

One might argue that Ausonius uses the literary figure of the teacher, but reveals that by his day educational psychology had imparted a degree of mildness to education, reflected in his own teaching.¹ One could readily imagine the genteel preceptors from the Professores acting in the schoolroom as Ausonius claims to have done. But a closer examination of the situation will give us reason to detect a breakdown between theory and practice.²

Complaints about brutality are pronounced in the first century A.D. by the writers who deal with educational theory and aims. Plutarch is aware of the detrimental effect of brutality and suggests that encouragement and verbal reproofs may obtain better results (de lib. educ. 12). Blows are fit only for slaves. He does in fact later add that to control impetuous youth the two basic constraints are (ibid. 16): ἑλπίς τε τιμῆς καὶ φόβος τιμωρίας . But he repeats

¹Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 96) feels that Ausonius' description of his own teaching methods is aimed at criticizing current methods. But Ep. 21 shows the general picture of a mild teacher. He does mention the hard job of the teacher (Ep. 22.77f.): ardua temperies, dura experientia, rarus / eventus, longo rerum spectatus ab usu.

²See Booth, "Punishment, Discipline and Riot in the Schools of Antiquity", CN&V17 (1973), 107-114.

recommendation of mildness (Quomodo adul. ab amico internosc. 36):

οὕτω καὶ φίλος ἐπλεικῆς καὶ πατὴρ χρηστὸς καὶ
διδάσκαλος ἐπαίνω μᾶλλον ἢ ψόγῳ χαίρει
πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἠθῶν χρώμενος.

In a similar vein, Seneca writes (De Clem. 1.16.3): Uter autem praecep-

tor liberalibus studiis dignior, qui excarnificabit discipulos, si

memoria illis non constiterit aut si parum agilis in legendo oculus

haeserit, an qui monitionibus et verecundia emendare ac docere malit?

He does advocate a modicum of punishment, providing there is nihil

servile involved (De Ira 2.21.4). Quintilian disapproves of flogging

(1.3.13-18): quia deforme atque servile est. The repugnance to

the servile element inherent in corporal punishment in all three

passages would seem to indicate a concerted school of educational

thought, which largely rejected physical coercion. Quintilian mentions

his views contradict those of Chrysippus (1.3.14). The latter presum-

ably followed the doctrine of Plato (Leg. 7.808e), who states that the

child must be treated ὡς ἐλεύθερον, but punished ὡς δοῦλον.

The ancients were not totally devoid of a more humane educational

psychology. Plato mentions a play-method in use for teaching arithmetic

(Leg. 7.819b) but he appears to be recommending the introduction of an

Egyptian approach to Athens. Horace mentions teachers distributing

crustula to children to provide incentive to study. Jerome says a

promise of cake, candy, flowers or a doll fosters enthusiasm (Ep. 128.1).

Quintilian (1.1.20) advocates awarding praemia and approves play-method

teaching (cf. 1.1.26; 1.3.11). Suetonius (Gram. 17) records that

Verrius Flaccus used to award a book as a prize for declamation.

But although in educational theory of the first century a doctrine of mildness was established, obviously the rod and strap were not banished for we find many references to corporal punishment in later antiquity.¹ To get some idea of how this theory affected practice, we can examine the attitudes and practice of Libanius, the contemporary of Ausonius.

In his oration against those who called him βαρύς Libanius writes (Or. 2.20; 1, 245):

ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΠΕΧΩ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΤΙΑΣ, ΩΣΤ' ΟΥΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΦΟΙΤΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΑΛΟΥΤΟΣ ΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΑΙ, ΑΛΛ' ΗΔΟΝΗΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΜΙΓΝΥΣΩ ΤΩ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙ ΔΙ' ΕΙΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΔΕΟΜΑΙ ΠΛΗΓΩΝ ΕΚΟΝΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΟΛΟΥΝΤΩΝ, ΕΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΊΣΜΕΝ ΜΥΡΙΑΣ ΡΑΒΔΟΥΣ ΑΝΗΛΩΚΟΤΑΣ, ΟΙ ΟΥΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΔΥΝΗΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΥΤ' ΕΚΛΗΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΝΥΝ ΕΓΩ.

We should hesitate to take this statement of ideal practice at face

value. Libanius elsewhere states that there has been a decline in corporal punishment, but in such a way as to lament rather than praise the development. At Antioch there was trouble with students deserting one teacher and going to another. Libanius made a speech inveighing against this practice and suggesting a remedy. He mentions that under present circumstances teachers are loathe to employ corporal punishment, because they know it will cause students to up and leave. This seems a

¹E. g. August. De civ. D. 21.14; 9.22.22; Conf. 1.9.144; Gregory of Nyssa, Migne PG. 46, 312; Benedict. Reg. 45.

tragedy to Libanius and he wants physical chastisement restored (Or.

33.9; 3, 343):

ἔσονται δὲ ἐνεργῶν μὲν ἑμάντες,
ἐνεργῶν δὲ ῥάβδου.

Again lamenting the decline in discipline, Libanius approves the system of his boyhood when schoolboys at study were supervised by paedagogi, who displayed the rod and swished the strap to encourage them (Or.

68.9; 4, 186).

Of course, the "decline in discipline" motif is an old one,¹

but the above passages, written in the 380 s clearly show that there was no idealistic rejection of physical chastisement by Libanius in his mellow old-age.² In a speech after 387 Libanius casually reveals that corporal punishment was still the accepted norm in schools. Describing how the citizens of Edessa vented their wrath upon a statue, he writes (Or. 19.48; 2, 407):

χαλκῆν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, εἶτα ἄραντες πρηγῆ
κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις νόμον
ἔτυπτον ἑμάντι τὰ τε νῶτα καὶ τὰ μετὰ τοῦτο κάτω.

We have a letter from the year 365 to a father explaining about the

¹Cf. speech of Δίκαιος Λόγος in Aristophanes Clouds; Plaut. Bacch. 422ff. Petron. Sat. 4; Tac. Dial. 28; Epictet. 3.19.5.

²Walden, Universities, p. 324 is naive in his acceptance of Libanius' claim to have dispensed with corporal punishment. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, p. 95f., referring to the anti-punishment passage, wisely adds to his statement that finer spirits existed the qualification "in theory at any rate".

flogging of hisson. Referring to his general practice, Libanius claims to punish serious faults with expulsion, minor flaws with beating (Ep. 1330; 11, 386).

Libanius, then, has a concept of the ideal teacher who does not resort to blows, but makes it clear that physical punishment was still very much in vogue in practice. The fact that Libanius feels compelled to write a defence against those who called him βαρύς is in itself revealing. It shows austerity was a derogatory trait attributed to teachers, connected with severity of discipline in the schools. Ausonius has removed this aspect in his portraits, but there is no reason to believe that he or his colleagues were more moved by theories advocating mildness than Libanius.

Augustine, emphasizing the need for patience and forbearance in a teacher, confirms that the raging teacher was still a common figure (Sermo 47.9):

Sunt multi qui tranquille discunt, perturbate docent: et cum habeant doctorem patientem, saeviunt in discentem...indignatur, perturbatur, tarditatem aliquando serius intellegentis accusando, turbatum facit minus intellegere quod poterat audire tranquillus.

Besides being austere, the professor of antiquity was often neurotic. Clarke [Rhetoric at Rome, 1953; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), pp. 88ff.] comments on the unreal atmosphere of the declamatory schools producing unbalance and suicide among professors mentioned by the Elder Seneca. Anth. Pal. 11.321, 322, 347 mock the pedantic obscurities of learning, but professors were persecuted with

trifling questions (Suet. Tib. 70; Juv. 7.237f.; Sext. Emp. Adv. gram. 1.255; August. De ord. 2.12.37; Lib. Or. 1.87). In the pages of Gellius we see this preoccupation with minutiae turning the academic mind (4.1; 6.17; 14.5; 18.4; 20.1). Augustine (Conf. 1.9.15) tells of the emotional state his teacher got into if defeated on any point by his fellow-teacher.

Temper accompanied discussion. Philostratus tells us that the sophist Antiochus had such a vicious temper that he feared to appear in public (VS 568; p. 186 Loeb). Aristides (VS 582; p. 214 Loeb) could not control his anger against those who did not applaud him sufficiently. Timocrates was so irascible that when he argued his hair stood on end like a lion's mane (VS 536; p. 116 Loeb), but to Philagrius of Cilicia went the distinction of being the most excitable and hot-tempered of the sophists (VS 578; p. 206 Loeb). Discussing the recently deceased Lampridius, a rhetor of Bordeaux, Sid. Apoll. writes Ep. 8.11.4: *namque crebro levibus ex causis, sed leviter, excitabatur, quod nilominus ego studebam sententiae ceterorum naturam potius persuadere quam vitium.*

The bitter critic is embodied in Asinius Pollio, the conceited in Remmius Palaemon (Suet. Gram. 23). Any reader of Libanius' autobiography will be aware of the continued intrigues and jealousy between professors. Only two rival sophists turned out to welcome the 79 year old Libanius back to class after an illness, and he says they were probably punished by the other sophists for this (Ep. 1075).¹

¹On jealousy see Wolf, Schulwesen, pp. 47ff.; Petit, Étudiants, pp. 95ff.; Bowersock, Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire (Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1969), pp. 89ff.

It is evident that the professor of antiquity cut a figure in society somewhat different from that presented us by Ausonius. There are of course various ways of viewing any matter. Timon of Phlius (Athenaeus 1.22d.) could regard the scholars of the Museum as "bookish pedants incessantly quarrelling in the Muses' bird cage". While Anth. Pal. 11.10 would banish pedantic discussion from symposia, Macrobius and his friends in the Saturnalia would never have regarded their sympotic discussions as cantankerous and undesirable. Augustine (Conf. 4.8) describes an ideally genial society such as Ausonius approves. But Ausonius shows an awareness of the stage/literary image of the harsh professor, which evidently had a sound basis in reality. The emphasis on jovial conviviality, lack of spite, and the placid nature does have special relevance as applied to teachers. Scopelian (Philostr. VS 519; p. 82 Loeb) consciously tried to alter the image of the sophist by appearing with a calm, cheerful expression, restraining any display of temper, ridiculing abusive speech, and acting affably rather than conceitedly. Ausonius likewise deliberately attempts to alter the professorial image.¹ It would be unjustifiably cynical to say that Ausonius has distorted all the professorial portraits. Some of the professors had doubtless likeable natures. But we cannot but

¹Note, however, the pedantic contempt for muria Ep. 25 and Grammaticomatrix (Tech. 14), which begins: Et logodaedalia? stride modo, qui nimium trux/frivola condemnas. There follows a list of trick questions for grammatici.

suspect that Ausonius has consciously emphasized affability in the portraits he gives us.

"Stuffed birds in the cage of the Muses" wrote Timon. To some professions the accusation of over-indulgence in food and drink becomes a permanent stigma. Think of the mediaeval friar. Admittedly this was a stock theme of vituperation, but it is striking how often it was levelled at professors. Quintilian (1.5.14) uses ille pexus pinguisque rhetor as a typifying description. Libanius opposes the pleasures of eating and drinking to rhetorical success (Or. 1.53):

ἔποיעν δὲ μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν,
τὸ δὲ τὰ τῶν λόγων εὖ καὶ καλῶς χαρῆν . . .

Polemo was called ασυτευτὸν ῥήτορα by his detractors (Philostr. VS 565; p. 178 Loeb). Hermocrates squandered his fortune on drink (ibid. 610; p. 274 Loeb). It was said of Heracleides that he was a glutton who gorged himself endlessly on rich food (ibid. 615; p. 284 Loeb). Isaeus devoted the early part of his life to eating, drinking and merrymaking, but then reformed to become a successful teacher (ibid. 513; p. 66f. Loeb). Giving advice on a girl's education, Jerome writes (Ep. 128.47): sit ei magistra comes paedagoga custos non multo vino dedita. Some teachers could get away with their drinking - Ausonius excuses Crispus, and Philostratus tells us that Chrestus had a weakness for wine, but could control his drunkenness though he imbibed through the night (VS 591; p. 236 Loeb).

Ausonius' emphasis on moderation in food and drink in professors is not without point. Temperance is also connected with the high standards of morality demanded of ancient teachers. We have seen that

this ranked high in Quintilian. Plutarch too has a lengthy discourse on the moral excellence necessary in a teacher (De lib. educ. 7). Pliny writes (Ep. 3.3.3):

iam circumspectendus rhetor latinus...non praeceptor modo sed custos etiam rhetorque quaerendus est...proinde faventibus dis trade eum praeceptor, a quo mores primum, mox eloquentiam discat.

We find a similar conjunction of academic and moral instruction in [Florus] Vergilius orator an poeta? (ed. Roszbach, Teubner, p. 186), Salvian (DGD 7.68), and Eumenius (Pan. Lat. 4.8, 14). It is of course linked to the ideal of the orator as: *vir bonus dicendi peritus*.¹ Two inscriptions pointedly link the profession of teacher and moral supervisor:

CIL 6.9449: Pudens M. Lepidi l., grammaticus. Procurator eram Lepidae moresque regebam.

Dessau: 7745: artis grammatices doctorum morumque.

In the Codes we have exhortations for moral excellence in teachers:

Cod. Theod. 13.3.5; cf. Cod. Just. 10.53, 7: Magistros studiorum doctoresque excellere oportet moribus primum, deinde facundia. ibid. 6: si qui erudiendis adolescentibus vita pariter et facundia idoneus erit. ibid. 6.21.1 (of grant of prima comitiva to teachers of 20 years service): si laudabilem in se probis moribus vit[am] esse monstraverint, dignitatibus perfruantur.

¹Quint. (2.20.8): at, si virtus non est, ne perfecta quidem esse posset oratio; Gell. 13.5.11: suavitate homo insigni linguae pariter atque vitae; Sen. Ep. 114.1: talis hominibus fuit oratio, qualis vita. Cf. Norman, Libanius' Autobiography, p. xxi; Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Pr., 1951), p. 53.

Augustine adapts the vir bonus d.p. concept to Christian morality (De doct. Christ. 4.59-61). Noteworthy is his syllogism (De libero arbitrio 3.1): Quapropter desine velle nescioquem malum doctorem. Si enim malus est, doctor non est, si doctor est, malus non est.¹

The son of Proclus dissipated his fortune on cocks, dogs, horses and like pursuits with his father's indulgence and accompaniment. For such misguidance the educator was duly criticized (Philostr. VS 603f.; p. 260 Loeb). At Rhet. didask. 23 Lucian satirically advises the rhetor in search of success to gamble, drink, womanize and be effeminate. Note the latter references to sexual misbehaviour. This was a prime factor in the reputation of teachers - freedom from guilt or suspicion of sexual misbehaviour towards their students. Quintilian was well aware of the dangers (1.2.8; 1.3.17). Suetonius tells us that Quintus Caecilius Epirota was dismissed for alleged misconduct while educating the wife of M. Agrippa (Gram. 16), and of Remmius Palaemon he writes (ibid. 23):

...principem locum inter grammaticos tenuit, quamquam infamis omnibus vitiis, palamque et Tiberio et mox Claudio praedicantibus, nemini minus institutionem puerorum vel iuvenum committendam. Suetonius concludes his account with reference to his practices with women and his pupils. The figure of the lecherous teacher entered literature. The story in

¹See further G. Howie, Educational Theory and Practice in St. Augustine (Columbia Univ.: Teachers College Pr., 1969), pp. 260f., 316f.

the Satyricon (85ff.) of how Eumolpus corrupted his ward is well-known, as is Juvenal's Hamillus (10.224). In Lucian's Eunuchus, a satire on a contest for a chair of philosophy, an argument advanced for the eunuch is that he would be free from charges of immorality. Anth. Pal. 11.139; 12.22, 187, 219 deal with sexual misdemeanours of teachers. Accusations of pederasty became a topos of vituperation between sophists,¹ and even Libanius did not escape the accusation (Eunap. VS 495; p. 520 Loeb, quoted below). One teacher kept his reputation pure for posterity by having his epitaph declare (Dessau 7763.6): *summa quom castitate in discipulos suos.*

Ausonius is well aware of the link between academic and moral education. He writes to his grandson (Ep. 21.9f.): *et ipse / admonitor morum tibi fandique videri.* Again as professor he claims to have led youth (Ep. 22.74): *ad mores, artesque bonas fandique vigorem.* His eighty-seventh epigram on the other hand shows an awareness of the smutty sexual image of the teaching profession. In the Professores Ausonius often refers to the high morality of his addressees, the probi doctores (Poeta 2). He does include adverse material (cf. above pp. 126ff). In the case of moral failings one suspects that Ausonius

¹ On this kind of charge see Norman, Libanius' Autobiography, p. xxiii and p. 160 note to 44.

is bowing to the persistence of rumour, but protecting the name of teachers as a whole by mitigated and vague references. When the teaching profession is not in question, it is permissible to totally eulogize Herculanius in the Parentalia, but when reference is made to his professorial adequacy, it must be admitted that he "slipped from the straight and narrow" (Prof. 11.5, cf. p. 127 above). But, apart from Marcellus' adultery, which it seems Ausonius could not avoid mentioning, no specific details are given about moral failings. Ausonius has been even more delicate than Eunapius who mentions Libanius' alleged flaw thus:

διαβολῆς δὲ τινος αὐτῷ γενομένης περὶ τὰ κειράκια, ἣν θεμιτὸν οὐκ ἦν ἐμοὶ γράφειν, ἐς μνήμην ἀξιολόγων ἀνέντε τὴν γραφὴν.
 As with the image of the jovial, genteel teacher, so with the

general picture of high-moral excellence Ausonius is consciously redeeming the professors from the failings generally associated with their profession. Again I do not mean to say that Ausonius is liberally distributing halos to the professors who were all rogues and lechers. But the aspects lauded aim to improve the image of the teaching profession.

In the ideal of a placid life remote from the turmoil of lites and politics we find a shift in emphasis of the role of the orator. In Cicero's day the orator perfectus was primarily a statesman and advocate, but with the growth of imperial power this role was cramped, and the statesman/orator was on his way to the orator/artist by the first cent. A.D. The detachment of declamation from forensic and political life was

noted¹. We find Pliny drawing a contrast between the homme d'affaires and the schoolman, exculpating the modus vivendi of the latter

(Ep. 2.3.4-6):

Annus sexagensimum excessit et adhuc scholasticus tantum est: quo genere hominum nihil aut sincerius aut simplicius aut melius. Nos enim, qui in foro verisque litibus terimur, multum malitiae quamvis nolimus addiscimus; schola et auditorium et ficta causa res inermis innoxia est, nec minus felix, senibus praesertim.

This is a notable parallel to the thought of Ausonius (pp. 152ff. above).

As time progressed the rhetor or sophist became more of a literary artist. It is true that grammaticae and rhetoric were still regarded as the basic requirements for holding office (cf. Cod. Theod. 14.1.1; 14.9.1.20), and the promotion of schoolmen in the Later Empire is well attested.² Symmachus writes (Ep. 1.20): iter ad capessendos magistratus saepe litteris promovetur. An anonymous rhetor says (Pan. Lat. 7.23.2): illos quasi meos numero quos provexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. Multi quippe ex me rivi non ignobiles fluunt, multi sectatores mei etiam provincias tuas administrant. Imperial favour was shown to the schools of Autun, claims Eumenius (Pan. Lat. 4.5.4): ne hi quos ad spem omnium tribunalium aut interdum

¹Cf. Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome, pp. 97ff., 104ff.; Kennedy, The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1972).

²Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome, p. 143; Marrou, pp. 446ff.; Wolf, Schulwesen, pp. 75ff.; Petit, Etudiants, pp. 154ff. Not everyone is as enraptured as Étienne (Bordeaux Antique p. 256): "Heureux iv^e siècle, qui réalisait presque le voeu de Platon, où les rhéteurs devenaient rois, ou les empereurs se mettaient à l'école des rhéteurs."

ad stipendia cognitionum sacrarum aut fortasse ad ipsa palatii magisteria provehi oporteret, veluti repentino nubilo in mediis adolescentiae fluctibus deprehensi, incerta dicendi signa sequerentur. Libanius defines the ideals of the curial class (Or. 1.182):

ἄνδρες οἰκῶν τῶν πρῶτων, λαμπροὶ μὲν ἐν διδασκαλείοις, λαμπροὶ δὲ ἐν ἀρχαῖς.

Likewise in Ep. 245.8 we read: καὶ σύ τοι τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἔχεις ἀπὸ τοῦ συνάθαι λέγειν.

We find Ausonius praising Ti. Victor Minervius (Prof. 1.9f.):

mille foro dedit hic iuvenes, bis mille senatus / adiecit numero

purpureisque togis. But we also saw that Ausonius had an aversion to aggressive ambition (pp. 154ff above). He reflects the ideals of a new age. No longer did the Roman noble aspire to powerful statesmanship. He merely wanted to hold the dignity of office, then retire to literary otium.¹ It was not only senators who had this ideal. Augustine, son of a decurion, hoped for advancement through rhetoric, but did not aspire to prolonged political power. He wanted a rich marriage, tenure of office, then otium (cf. Brown, Augustine, p. 101 n. 2).

Ausonius' attitude to the power-hungry Delphidius (Prof. 5) will

¹See Jones, Later Roman Empire 2, 557ff.; P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo (London: Faber, 1967), pp. 115f. Such ideals had been formulated by Martial (10.47) who like Ausonius prays (2.90): sit nox cum somno; sit sine lite dies. But such ideals were canonized in the later empire. In the 5th cent. noteworthy is Petronius' realization on his elevation to Augustus (Sid. Apoll. Ep. 2.13.4): cumque mole curarum pristinae quietis tenere dimensum prohiberetur, veteris actutum regulae legibus renuntiavit atque perspexit pariter ire non posse negotium principis et otium senatoris. Emperors recognized this leisure, for in Theod. Nov. 15 to the senate of Constantinople we read: nam etsi otio frui vos quodam tempore patiamur, ne labore videamur fatigari continuo, non tam ideo cura vos deserit optime regendae rei publicae.

have been like that of Chrestos (Philostr. VS 592; p. 236 Loeb) who deflated a pupil of his who was always dreaming of satrapies and being at the right hand of emperors. Office brought ennoblement. It was good to have it. But high powered political or forensic struggles were an impediment to the cult of otium which pervaded fourth century society.

The words of Mamertinus might be those of Ausonius (Pan. Lat. 11.17.1):

cum administratum vocarer, propter opinionem desidiaē non refugi.
Negotium publicum neque ambitō appetiī neque per timiditatem aut
ignaviām recusavi, sed a teneris ammis, ab aetate puerili ad hanc
usque canitiem consulatus amore flagravi.

In fact Ausonius' whole outlook on material and honorific advancement finds striking parallels in the autobiographic epigrams of his contemporary,

Naucellius:¹

nulla potestatum scabies, non ulla securum
dira fames, auri nulla sacri rabies;
et tamen excelsis procerum sociatus ut esset,
doctorum et largis fidus in obsequiis.

parcus amator opum, blandorum victor honorum,
hic studia et Musis otia amica colo

.....

Vivere sic placidamque iuvat proferre senectam,
docta revolventem scripta virum veterum.

The achievement of nobility and status through wealth and marriage was more to Ausonius' liking. The desire for a wealthy and

¹See Speyer, Naucellius und sein Kreis (Zetemata 21; München: Beck, 1959), pp. 43ff. who prints the full texts of these poems, collecting parallels from Ausonius and other authors.

noble wife was of course not limited to teachers. Paulinus of Pella, for example, was unhappy because the estate of his noble wife was not in good shape (Euchar. 180ff.). But for a professor seeking status a noble and rich match was extremely convenient, as we have just seen in the aspirations of Augustine. A professor with immunities was perhaps regarded as a safe repository for the family fortune. At any rate, as a budding young rhetor, Libanius was offered rich marriages (Or. 1.12), and again amid sophistic success (ibid. 54). It appears to have been expected that a successful rhetor would make a worthy match. Hermocrates (Philostr. VS 606) caused a stir by refusing to marry the daughter of the prosperous Antipater, who was ab epistulis. He eventually gave way at the emperor's insistence, though he soon divorced his ugly bride.

The teaching profession suffered a social and financial stigma, and money was important for the status it brought. Cicero remarked the paradox that the mastery of rhetoric was prized, the master despised (Orat. 142-5): *Cur igitur ius civile docere semper pulchrum fuit ...ad dicendum si quis acuât aut adiuvet in eo iuventutem, vituperetur?..."At dignitatem docere non habet."* certe, si quasi in ludo...num igitur...est periculum ne quis putet in magna arte et gloriosa turpe esse docere alios id quod ipsi fuerit honestissimum discere. He himself proposed to become a sophistic instructor (Div. 2.2.5; cf. ibid. 2.1.1): *quod enim munus rei p. adferre maius meliusve possumus quam si docemus et erudimus iuventutem.* Cicero, however, was evidently thinking of educating in a tirocinium fori-type relationship. In a famous passage where he draws the line between

servile and liberal professions he writes (Off. 1.151): Quibus autem artibus prudentia maior inest aut non mediocris utilitas quaeritur, ut medicina, ut architectura, ut doctrina rerum honestarum, eae sunt iis, quorum ordini conveniunt, honestae.¹ What ordo is to teach is not exactly specified, but from the wording it was clearly not the ordo to which Cicero belonged. He could teach as a senior statesman young men attached to him, but he, or a member of his class, would not hold a school for payment. [Florus] Vergilius orator an poeta? staunchly defends the teaching profession to an acquaintance who describes it: (Rossbach, p. 186): o rem indignissimam. The profession is denigrated because of its payment among other things.²

Suetonius De grammaticis et rhetoribus shows the standing of professors was not high. Most of the grammatici were freedmen (one was an ex-boxer, 22), and one of the rhetors is said to have been a chained slave (3). Two equites did devote themselves to the study of grammaticae in its early stages at Rome, but they appear to have been scholars rather than teachers (Gram. 3). Teaching could be a remunerative business. M. Verrius Flaccus was wealthy, but he had been chosen as imperial tutor by Augustus (Gram. 17). Remmius Palaemon appears exceptional in acquisition of wealth (Gram. 23). Otherwise we hear of the poverty of teachers (Gram. 8, 9, 11, 20). Juvenal points to the wealth of Quintilian,

¹ Doctrina rerum honestarum means grammaticae and rhetoric. Cf. Dig. 50.13.1.1; Clarke, Higher Educ., p. 109; A. Bernard, La rémunération des professions libérales en droit romain classique.

² See Dahlman, "Florus Preis der «professio litterarum»," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 2 (1965), 9-21; repr. Rhetorika, Olms Studien 2 (1968), pp. 473ff.

who acquired consular ornaments, as the exception (7.186ff, 4. ibid. 215ff.), and proceeds to oppose the rhetor and consul as the lowest and highest rungs on the social ladder (ibid. 197f.; cf. Pliny Ep. 4.11.1).

Attempts were made to elevate the station of the professor.

M. Antonius Gniphos (Suet. Gram. 7) did not make stipulations about payment, but relied on the generosity of parents. He seems to have followed the practice of advocates. The pose of liberal aloofness was doubtless intended to enhance the teacher's position. Staberius Eros showed his disinterest in money by teaching the sons of Sulla's proscribed free of charge (Suet. Gram. 13). Scopelian (Philostr. VS 519; p. 82 Loeb; cf. ibid. 606; p. 266) would not take fees from the needy for legal aid, and charged students in accordance with their means. One is reminded of Ausonius' Lat. Alcimus Alethius who was liberal to the needy in school and forum (Prof. 2.15). Not all professors presented the image of liberality, however. Philo (Progymn. 127) reprimands successful teachers for demanding high fees and refusing to teach paupers.

From the second century sophists were often respected figures from noble families (cf. Bowersock, Greek Sophists, chpt. 2-3). But not all teachers had hereditary riches. The institution of state chairs provided for a few teachers an esteemed position, while the award of privileges may have improved the financial lot of teachers somewhat. But the repetition of grants and immunities leads one to believe that they were generally disregarded (cf. Marrou, pp. 434ff.). Philostratos reveals an admiration for wealth and standing in sophists (cf. Wright's remarks above p.179). In the case of Rufus of Perinthus (VS 597; p. 248 Loeb) he has to make the point that it is for eloquence not for nobility

and riches that this sophist deserves to be recalled.

The hand of Ausonius has justly been detected behind the measure enforcing the payment of teachers by municipalities (Cod. Theod. 13.3.11), and we find him ensuring that a grammaticus of Trier got his New Year's handout. Furthermore, we see that Ausonius follows the tradition of Martial and Juvenal in branding a chair sterilis (Prof. 10.20), and exilis (ibid. 7.10). He applies this latter epithet to his own chair (ibid. 22.17), and he writes to Paulus of the lack of reward from ingratorum καθεδραϊς (Ep. 8.28). He evidently felt the lowly status and the financial stigma traditionally attached to the teaching profession. This is presumably the reason that he and Philostratos admire as success the acquisition of wealth and nobility, and neither have time for failures in this regard. Again Ausonius in his epitaphs has emphasized a theme of special relevance to teachers.¹

We saw that Philostratos regarded longevity as an attribute in sophists (cf. VS. 494, 506, 590, 602, 604, 615).² Living to a ripe old age was not an attribute reserved for record in teachers,³ but it is not without special reference when mentioned in this connection. About

¹The traditional poverty of literary figures has had its effect on the image of teachers, but to judge by the repeated references to the poverty of teachers, it is clear that generally they did view themselves as receiving an unjust monetary reward.

²Other references to aged teachers are CE 1962; Anth. Pal. 10.97; Eunap. VP 485, 505. .

³Cf. Peek, Griechische Grabgedichte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960), p. 370.

Polemo Philostratus writes (VS 543; p. 134 Loeb):

Ἐτελεύτα μὲν περὶ τὰ ἑξὶ καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτη, τὸ δὲ μέτρον
τῆς ἡλικίας τουτο ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμας γήρως
ἀρχή, σοφιστῆ δὲ νεότης ἔτι γηράσκουσα γὰρ ἡδε
ἢ ἐπιστήμη σοφίαν ἀρτύνει.

He likewise tells us that the rhetoric of Chrestus would have improved had he not been cut short at the age of fifty (VS 592; p. 236 Loeb), and that Hermocrates' speeches were so good that one would have expected them from hoary old age rather than from youth (VS 612., p. 278 Loeb).¹

We saw Ausonius praising the retention of mental faculties. This was of course very important for a scholar, and a point to be noted. Eunapius tells us that the aged Chrysanthius has the mind of a youth (VS 502; p. 550 Loeb), and that Prohaeresius was old in body but young in soul (VS. 485; p. 476 Loeb). Orbilius was not so fortunate, for, though he lived to the age of 100, he lost his memory (Suet. Gram. 9). Both in praise of longevity and retention of mental faculties, then, Ausonius has again recorded attributes especially suitable for professors.

It has been noted that teaching merits are rarely mentioned by those who commemorate professors. Literary productions certainly are. Suetonius mentions the literary and technical works of the professors he records.² One especially significant account is the career of L. Crassicius

¹These latter two passages are quoted on Prof. 6.33.

²Gram. 1, 5-12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24; Rhet. 3; cf. too p. 86ff. above.

(Gram. 18). He was teaching in the mediocrity of a pergula until he published a commentary on the Zmyrna. Then in his school he had: *multos ac nobiles, in iis Iullum Antonium, triumviri filium*. As in the Professores, publication brought him fame, and size of class and standing of clientele are marks of the successful teacher. Suetonius elsewhere records distinguished pupils (Gram. 7, 10, 11, 13; Rhet. 3). Libanius was criticized for the lack of eminence of his students (see Wolf, Schulwesen, p. 29). As for numbers of students, the kidnapping activities at Athens were notorious. Gangs would wait at the harbour to abduct from docking ships prospective students whom they would force to enrol in their school (Lib. Or. 1.16, 19; Eunap. VS 485; p. 478 Loeb). We will remember Libanius' efforts to build the numbers of his school (Or. 101ff.).¹ At one stage in his career he was promised forty students from foremost families if he would set up teaching practice in Constantinople (Or. 1.33). Libanius alleges that one sophist adopted the expedient of purchasing pupils (Or. 1.65), and Themistius was also accused of this (Or. 23.290c). Paedagogi at Antioch could be bribed to send their wards to a certain teacher (Lib. Ep. 408.8).

So, when Ausonius sees as the measure of a successful teacher a fame through publication and a large class of upper-class students he reflects the general scholastic ideals of antiquity. This is one more

¹On the numbers in his school, Petit, Étudiants, pp. 21, 48ff., 84.

piece of evidence that the Professores are a valid representation of the professorial ideals of antiquity.

As for the more professional attributes of grammatici and rhetors, I do not think we could deduce any formalized rhetorical or grammatical system from Ausonius.¹ Ausonius praises certain basic attributes of professors which are traditional, but some of which may be shown to be especially relevant to the eloquence of his time.

The orator as a literary figure is what Ausonius emphasizes, and his praise concentrates on aspects of public performance. A lucid flood of words is commended (Prof. 1.17f.), while empty bombast is criticized (17.6ff.).

Copia verborum is an attribute often admired (Cic. Brut. 325; De or. 3.122, 125, 141). Quint. says of Cicero (10.1.109): *immortalis ingenii beatissima ubertas*. Seneca writes (Controv. 2. pr. 3): *Numquam inopia substitit, sed velocissimo ac facillimo cursu omnes res beata circumfluebat oratio*. But Jerome has an interesting letter which points to an Asianic redundancy in Gallic oratory (Ep. 95), referring as it does to a student who was sent to Rome to have his ubertatem Gallici nitoremque sermonis pruned and seasoned. One readily thinks of the copious effusions of the Panegyrici Latini who were mainly Gauls.

¹On the aspects praised by Ausonius cf. A. D. Leeman, Orationis ratio (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963) whose comprehensive index will provide a multitude of parallels. On the lack of significant development in rhetorical theory in the Later Roman Empire, Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome, ch. 13.

Ausonius commends clarity. The stream should not be muddy.

Seneca writes (Controv. 4. pref. 11): multa erant quae reprehenderes, multa quae suspiceres, cum torrentis modo, magnus quidem, sed turbidus flueret. We can compare the words of Quintilian (2.38): Quid si plerumque accidit ut faciliora sint ad intellegendum et lucidiora multo quae a doctissimo quoque dicuntur? Nam et prima est eloquentiae virtus perspicuitas. Of partitio the same author says (4.5.1ff.): ea [i.e. partitione] fiat causa lucidior...Alioqui quae tam manifesta et lucida est ratio quam rectae partitionis. This is traditional criticism, but again when one considers the Panegyrici Latini with their cult of divisiones, one suspects that correct partition was a large part of the lucidity praised by Ausonius.¹

Copiousness was not to become redundant², as Quintilian puts it (10.1.8): Nobis autem copia cum iudicio paranda est, vim orandi, non circulatoriam volubilitatem spectantibus. One could search long for a more fitting description of the Panegyrici Latini than circulatoria volubilitas. Ausonius scarcely escapes this in his Gratiarum Actio, but I presume it is part of the criticism of Exuperius. In condemning emptiness of speech while admitting the charm Ausonius hits upon a trait of later imperial rhetoric and rhetorical appreciation. Augustine went to

¹On divisiones in the Pan. Lat., Galletier, introd.

²Cf. G. M. A. Grube, The Greek and Roman Critics (London: Methuen, 1965), p. 343; J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism (New York: Russell, 1962), pp. 211ff.

hear Ambrose, not for the message of his sermon, but for the verbal flourish (Conf. 5.2.3f.). Greek sophists are said to have charmed Roman ears which did not understand their language (Philostr. VS 488, 491, 492). Philostratus recounts an incident which well shows an audience more interested in words than meaning. The sophist Alexander charmed a crowd after it had once heard his speech by repeating the same sentiments in different guise. The similarity was scarcely noticed (VS 572; p. 194f.).

Actio formed an important part of rhetorical theory and was divided between voice and gesture and appearance (Cic. Brut. 141; De Or. 56ff.; Auct. ad Her. 3.19; Quint. 3.11.1). Voice is often praised and is of course connected with copia verborum with which we have dealt above (see too in 20.16 and 21.18). But Ausonius refers not infrequently to gesture and appearance.

In this respect as in others Ti. Victor Minervius was perfect (1.19f.): et Demosthenicum, quod ter primum ille vocavit,/in te sic viguit, cedat ut ipse tibi.

Of Exuperius we read (17.2f.): incessu gravis et verbis ingentibus, ore / pulcher et ad summam motu habituque venusto.

At 20.12 we meet: nitens habitus; at 4.21: pulcher. In the case of Thalassus, that shadowy memory, Ausonius asks (12.3): qua forma...fueris.

Beside the facundum ingenium of an addressee in the Parentalia (8.4)

we read: pulcher honore oris. Ibid. 17.14 we get the following additional information about Herculanus of Prof. 13: volucer pede, corpore pulcher / lingua catus, ore canorus.

Outside Ausonius we have various references to the importance of physical appearance. We read (Sen. Controv. pref. 2): ipse vultus habitusque corporis mire ad auctoritatem oratoriam aptatus. Appearance was indeed an asset to the impression a speaker made (Philostr. VS 570, 612; Eunap. VS 487), but the physical side of actio could be overdone (Cic. Brut. 305; Gellius 1.5.2-3). Philiscus gave offence to Caracalla for excessive refinement of gait, voice, hairstyle and attire (Philostr. VS 623f.; p. 300 Loeb ; cf. the imperial retort to Alexander ibid. 571; p. 192 L). Marcus of Byzantium (Philostr. VS 529; 104 Loeb) had such untidy hair and beard that he looked uneducated. But as beauty of voice could seduce an audience, so could delivery. Libanius tells us that the audience at Constantinople, unable to understand the flights of his rhetoric, came only to watch his gestures (Or. 1.76).¹

If in his praise of more technical attributes Ausonius is true to the traditions of rhetorical theory, we see that he does emphasize, nevertheless, important traits of later imperial rhetoric. Again, although he uses what could be termed stock praise, there is no just reason to suspect that this does not reflect contemporary ideals. As elsewhere in the Professores, he has used praise apposite to professors of his age.

¹On delivery see further Walden, Universities, pp. 230ff.

In his evocation of professors, therefore, Ausonius has not been unbalanced by ancient standards in giving predominance to social over academic virtues. Some of his emphases are very understandable considering the general image of the professor in ancient society. In a rather negative way, his emphases are revealing for professorial ideals. When we understand why Ausonius has emphasized what he has, we should beware of using his evidence at face value to deduce the nature of teachers and educational psychology in fourth century Gaul. This is not to say that Ausonius' portraits are totally idealistic and remote from reality. The preoccupations and ambitions of the fourth century educator are clearly revealed by his work, and can be confirmed from external sources. But writing from within the teaching profession, Ausonius has projected the best possible image of the teachers. It is to be taken with a pinch of salt, but the ideals emphasized are a valuable evidence for the historian of education, if properly assessed.

COMMENTARY

Preface

In the following commentary I have used the Loeb edition of Ausonius which normally follows the Teubner. The most modern and best edition of Ausonius is that of Pastorino, but the Loeb is still the edition most accessible to English readers. I have, however, followed Pastorino's text of Prof. 6, and have supplied a copy of this. Where the Loeb numeration is inexact I have added a Teubner number. Thus references appear e.g. Grat. Act. 11 (345P). Abbreviations follow the scheme of the foregoing pages. The following is a list of those confined to the commentary:

Manuscript

- V Leidensis Vossianus Latinus III. See above pp. 14f.
- Lugd Folio 12 of V, containing Prof. 15.21 to 22.22 is lost, but the missing text is supplied from Charpin's edition; Lyons, 1558.

Editions and Commentaries

- Corp E. F. Corpet, Oeuvres complètes d'Ausone (Paris; Panckouche, 1887). Brief notes to the Professores are to be found t.5, 313-323.
- Delph D. Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis opera omnia ex editione bipontina cum notis et interpretatione in usum Delphini (London: Valpy, 1823). Vol. 3 has a collection of comments of various older editors. (pp. 961-995).
- EW H. G. Evelyn White, Ausonius with an English Translation (Loeb; 2 vols. London: Heinemann; Harvard Univ. Pr., 1919; 3rd repr. 1968).
- Gr Th. J. Gradilone, The Text of the Parentalia and the Professores of Ausonius (Diss. Fordham Univ., 1962)
- P R. Peiper, Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886). In addition to the apparatus criticus, Peiper provides a list of parallel passages from elsewhere in Ausonius and from other authors pp. 445-448.
- M H. De la Ville de Mirmont, Le manuscrit de l'Ile Barbe (Codex Leidensis Vossianus Latinus III) et les travaux de la critique sur le texte d'Ausone. L'oeuvre de Vinet et l'oeuvre de Scaliger.

- M (cont'd) (3 vols. Bordeaux-Paris, 1917-19). References are given to the page numbers of vol. 2 which deals with the Professores.
- Pa A. Pastorino, Opere di Decimo Magno Ausonio (Torino: Tipografia Torinese, 1971). With an Italian translation. Critical notes to the Professores are to be found pp. 189-196.
- S C. Schenkl, D. Magni Ausonii Opuscula (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883; repr. 1961. MGHAA 5, pars 2). In addition to the apparatus criticus, Schenkl provides a useful Index Grammaticae, Elocutionis, Rei Metricae, pp. 286-302.

To indicate a consensus of P, S, Gr, EW, Pa, "editors" is used.

Reference Works

- Blaisé A. Blaisé, Manuel du latin chrétien (Strasbourg: le latin chrétien, 1955).
- Crisi V. Crisi, De re metrica et prosodiaca D. Magni Ausoni (Utini: I.D.E.A., 1938). This is the first part of a proposed work which was to treat all Ausonius' verse. It deals with hexameters and pentameters.
- Delachaux A. Delachaux, La latinité d'Ausone (Thèse Lausanne; Neuchâtel, 1909).

- Harrod S. G. Harrod, Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship (Princeton; Falcon Pr., 1909).
- Kassel R.-Kassel, Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur (München: Beck, 1958). About half of this work is devoted to an examination of [Plutarch] Consolatio ad Apollonium and is extremely valuable for its collection of parallels.
- Lattimore R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Pr., 1962; repr. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 28, nos. 1-2).
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- Peek W. Peek, Griechische Grabgedichte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960).
- Purdie A. B. Purdie, Some Observations on Latin Verse Inscriptions (London: Christophers, 1935).
- Smith P. L. Smith, Ausonius' Verse Techniques (Diss. Yale, 1968)
- Tolman A. J. Tolman, A Study of Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina Epigraphica Latina (Diss. Chicago, 1910; Chicago Univ. Pr., 1910).

Woodcock E. C. Woodcock, A New Latin Syntax (1959; repr. London:
Methuen, 1968)

Praefatio

1. etiam: i.e. in addition to his relatives commemorated in the Parentalia. This shows that the Parentalia and the Professores were juxtaposed in a collective arrangement of his works by Ausonius himself; see above pp. 7ff.

cognatiō: cf. Praefatiunculae 1.9: cognatiō; v. 4 below: commemorabō. Aus. frequently uses this licence (see S, p. 294f.), which was fairly common since the Augustan poets; cf. e.g. Postgate, Prosodia Latina, pp. 42ff.

2ff. For the reasons for composing the Professores given here see above pp. 16ff.

2. fama: see on 3.8 below.

carae relligio patriae: cf. 16.4 (cf. v. 20): pro patriae relligione; 1.4: potior nomine, quod patria. On his loyalty to Rome and feeling for Bordeaux, Ordo 20.36ff. See too Stroheker, Der senatorische Adel, p. 22; Pichon, Les derniers écrivains, p. 198f.; Étienne, Bordeaux Antique, pp. 217f. For similar attitude on part of Libanius, Liebeschuetz, Antioch (Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1972), pp. 10 ff. V reads religio, but metre demands the double consonant to lengthen the initial syllable. Religiosus is likewise altered at 10.3, 32. The ms has the poetic spelling 16.4, 20; 19.1. In the prose

preface to the Parentalia we find religionem, in the prose preface to Domest. 4: religiosus.

3. studium in libris: cf. Cic. Fin. 1.1.1: tantum studium...in aliqua re ponere; Fam. 5.8.4: studium in omni genere officii. Aus. elsewhere follows studium with a genitive (2.18; 8.5; 10.10; 25.3), but note 22.4: cura...in studiis.

sedula cura docendi: cf. 8.5: sedulum...studium docendi; Praefatiunculae 1.17: cura docendi; Cod. Theod. 6.21.1.13: sedulo docendi labore; see above pp. 18ff.; 177ff. Note too Prof. 2.30: iniuriose sedulus; Parent. 3.22: (matris) sedula cura; 18.7: militiam sedulus egit.

4. commemorabō: see on v. 1 above.

morte obita: cf. 19.8; 23.14.

5. fors erit, ut: cf. Ep. 12 Pref.: fors fuat, ut (P, Gr).

adserat: EW correctly translates: "make my shade his theme;" cf. Pliny Ep. 2.10.4: habes ante oculos mortalitatem, a qua adserere te hoc uno monumento potes; Ep. 3.5.3: orabat...ut se ab iniuria oblivionis adsereret. Adserere in relation to death appears to have meant something like "redeem from oblivion with due record".

Pa. translates: "ricorderà con lode." For this sense he offers as parallels Martial 10.35.5: non haec Colchidos adserit furorem; and Prof. 1.7: adserat usque licet Fabium Calagurris alumnus. At Prof. 1.7 the meaning is not that Calagurris should highly praise (make extensive claims for the worth of) Quintilian. He was universally famous. It is

as EW translates: "Let Calagurris make every claim to Quintilian as her son". It is true that his glory will reflect on the town, but the Latin refers to strength of claim for ownership, not assertion of renown. As regards the Martial passage, Medea is not a felicitous choice of heroine to record with praise, and it is difficult to infer the idea of praise from that context in Martial. Adserere there means no more than "take as a theme" which is close to the sense in the present passage of the Professores. Moreover, Ausonius asserts that he does not intend to praise the dead, but simply commemorate them (see above pp. 123ff.).

5f. It is a commonplace in epitaphs to wish the reader well in return for respect and reverence (see Lattimore, pp. 236ff.), but Ausonius has neatly adapted this sentiment to the circumstances of the Professores (see above pp. 136f.).

6. pius: cf. pia cura, Prof. 22.22; 23.16; 25.9; Parent. 5.1; 19.3; pium munus, Parent. 1.4; plur. 8.17; ore pio, Parent. 18.6; 25.4; sub honore pio, Parent. 28.6; pia verba, 5.12; adfectu pio, 6.2; piis...modis, 9.2.

Professores 1

Tiberius Victor Minervius: This eminent rhetor ended his career at Bordeaux (vv. 3-4). His renown and the expression Burdigalae cathedra (v. 8) make it reasonably certain that he held a municipal chair, perhaps offered by the Bordeaux council to attract him from Rome. For example, Milan sent to Rome to the Urban Prefect, Symmachus, for a municipal rhetor, a post which Augustine won (Conf. 5.13), while Rome summoned philosophi from Athens to official positions (Symm. Ep. 10.5; Eunap. VS 2.493). Jerome (Chron. s.a. 353) records: Minervius Burdigalensis Romae florentissime docet. His teaching at Bordeaux should then be dated from the late 350s. He had taught Ausonius (v. 11). This presumably took place in the 320s before Minervius had moved to greater fame in the capitals. But since Ausonius can report on a game of the "snakes-and-ladders" type and his conversation and hospitality, he was apparently an intimate of Ausonius while the latter was teaching at Bordeaux, that is, before his summons to court in the mid '60s. Minervius died at the age of about 60 (v. 37): bis sex quinquennia functus. If we may assume that he was a young rhetor beginning his career at Bordeaux when Ausonius studied under him, about age 25 in 330, he will have died in the mid 360s.

Title. Orator: sole occurrence of this designation in a title, to which Wedeck [CW 27 (1934), 137] attaches some elevated but unspecified importance. Pliny ranks the orator above the rhetor, as the practitioner above the teacher (Ep.4.11.2; cf. SHA Hadrian 16.8): nunc eo decidit ut exsul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret. In the Greek terminology of Ausonius' day, the head of a chorus of rhetoricians was properly designated $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$, the assistants $\rho\eta\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ (see above p. 103). It seems probable that Ti. Victor Minervius was chief rhetor at Bordeaux (above pp. 108f.), and it is tempting to take orator here as a designation of this status. However, Cod. Theod. 13.3.11 uses rhetor and orator as synonyms, and, in the 4th cent., the title of the official rhetor at Rome varies between rhetor/orator Urbis; see Schemmel, PhW 43 (1923), 236-40. SHA Comm. 1.6 uses orator for rhetor as does Sid. Apoll. Ep. 5.5.2. We cannot, then read too much into orator here.

1. columen: cf. Ep. 12.23: c. curulis Romulae. For "pillar of learning" cf. Val. Max. 6.4: Graecae doctrinae clarissimum c.; Gell. 19.4.1: ...doctrinarum...multiformium variarumque artium...c-a habuit; Jer. Ep. 57.12: o c. litterarum et nostrorum temporum Aristarche.

2. alter...togae: cf. Martial 2.90: Quintiliane, vagae moderator summe iuventae,/gloria Romanae, Quintiliane, togae. (S, P, Gr, Pa).

Quintiliane: cf. vv. 7, 16; Mos. 404; for synkriseis see Prof.

13. 3ff.; 21.7, 19ff.; 15.7, 10ff.; 20.7. Later Latin is replete

with such hyperbolic laudation. It was little more than a convention of politeness in an age preoccupied with grandiose titles. Men of letters taxed their ingenuity and rhetoric to outdo inflated praise. Remark how Ausonius trips over himself to better Symmachus in a duel of laudation (Ep. 1 and 2). It became fashionable to give actual names of eminent figures of myth or history rather than to make a mere comparison (see e.g. Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8.11.3). On the development of synkrisis in panegyric see Maguiness, Ha 47 (1932), 46ff. For "out-doing" see Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (1948; trans. Trask, New York: Harper, 1963), pp. 162ff.

6. patria: see on Praef. 2 above. For omission of est cf. v. 17 and see S, p. 302.

7. adserat: see on Praef. 5 above.

Calagurris: Jer. Chron. s.a. 88: Quintilianus ex Hispania Calagurritanus.

8. cathedra: the normal term for a professorial chair; cf. 7.10; 9.1; 10.21, 29, 52; 11.3; 22.17; Ep. 8.28; Ep. 13.2.

9. mille...bis mille: cf. Lucr. 4.408: bis mille sagittae; Aus. Ep. 16.11: milia bis nongenta; Prof. 1.37: bis sex quinquennia. Jullian [RIE 25 (1893), 34] cheerfully doubles the number here given to obtain the total number of students taught by this rhetor during his career. Then estimating his career at thirty years he divides to

get a yearly average of 200 pupils. Étienne (Bordeaux antique, pp. 244ff.) follows this calculation. Haarhoff (Schools of Gaul, p. 105) wisely remarks: "Ausonius' style and character hardly admit of such mathematical speculation." If more than common-sense were needed to invalidate computations such as Jullian's, one might quote three instances where Ausonius uses mille to signify a large but indefinite number: Parent. 13.15: per mille modos, per mille oracula fandi; Ep. 22.66f.: set mille docendo / ingenia expertus; Ludus 182: per mille possem currere exempla. Would anyone reckon 2000 teachers per student on the basis of Juv. 14.12f.: barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros / hinc totidem?

For further exx. of mille indicating a large, undetermined number, TLL s.v. col. 908.

On the size of classes in antiquity we are not well-informed, and as today there was doubtless variation according to the grade of instruction. Clarke (Higher Educ., p. 158 note 111) considers 200 a possible number on the basis of Seneca Controv. 1 pref. 2. Seneca claims his powers of memory enabled him to recite back 200 lines of poetry which had been quoted singly by fellow pupils. But there is nothing in the context which says 200 students recited one line each, rather than that, for example, 40 students recited 5 unrelated lines round the class in some sequence. Plutarch (Vita Isoc.; Mor. 837c) says that Isocrates had 100 pupils. Johnson, [AJP 78 (1957), 297ff.]

and Marrou (pp. 140, 533 note 11) argue that 100 was Isocrates' lifetime total of students. But, as Clarke (Higher Educ., p. 159 note 128) indicates, whatever the truth of Plutarch's statement, he clearly meant that Isocrates had 100 at a time. For Plutarch then 100 was a large number, as it was for Philostratus (VS 594; p. 234 Loeb), who reports that Chrestus had 100 pupils at a time. And with Chrestus we approach Ausonius' era. Libanius shows that a class of 40 was a respectable number at Constantinople (Or. 1.31), and 30-50 was acceptable at Antioch (Or. 1.102; Ep. 405). Petit (Étudiants, p. 84) reckons that Libanius had 35-50 pupils a year, and at Bordeaux the classes of the grammaticus and rhetor were probably about this size. To have a large class was a mark of success (cf. 14.10), and the success of a teacher's pupils reflected upon him; cf. vv. 11f.; 18.7f.; above pp. 169f.

11. me...silebo: cf. Stat. Theb. 7.210: te quoque: sed quoniam vetus excidit ira silebo (S, P, G, Pa).

quoniam multa est praetexta: "since many magistrates have come from your school." The sense of vv. 9-14 then runs: "You have had many successful pupils. I was among them. But since I was only one of many, I will not dwell on myself, and I will praise the personal merits which made you so successful." The translations of EW ("since my consulship is so great a theme" and Pa ("poiché ho esercitato molte magistrature") imply a tone of condescension on the part of Ausonius quite out of keeping with the respectful eulogy throughout the rest of the poem. Ausonius would claim that his fame overshadows his revered

teacher's career, and that he must dutifully stay in the background that his master may enjoy the limelight. M writes (p. 131):

"A la vérité, multa praetexta désigne mal les nombreux honneurs qui ont illustré la robe prétexte du magistrat Ausone. Mais, si au v. 7 de la pièce sur Marcellus, Marcelli filius, praetexta pubes signifie la jeunesse des écoles, on ne peut pas entendre par multa praetexta une nombreuse praetexta pubes."

Prof. 18.7 reads: auditor multus praetextaque pubes. I can see no reason not to regard multa praetexta as an abbreviation of the above phrase, with the meaning I have given it.

12. de te, non ab honore meo: Delachaux (p. 104) compares Caes.

B. Gall. 7.10.1: ne ab re frumentaria...laboraret; Cic. Brut. 161: nisi qui a philosophia, a iure civili, ab historia fuisset instructor.

For the variation de he compares Aus. Epit. 15.2: de patre timendus;

Ep. 19.38: deque nepote suo fiat avus proavus. We may also compare

Prof. 17.17: Burdigalae ut rursum nomen de rhetore reddas. Here the expression nomen de rhetore is not merely a periphrasis for nomen rhetoris, but means something like "renown originating from your activity as rhetor", and so is an ablative of origin governed by de. See too on 11.1 below.

13. panegyricis...libris: so S, P, Gr after Tollius who compared Stat.

Silvae 1.3.101: seu tibi Pindaricis animus contendere plectris. At

Grat. Act. 7 (33P) we read: non ego me contendere Frontoni, but contendo is not infrequently followed by the accusative alone. (Cic.

Inv. 2.145; Cat. 2.25; Tac. Ann. 12.1; Gell. 2.23.22; Apul. Apol. 86).

V's reading panegiricos...libros is correctly retained in Pa's

panegyricos...1. His interpretation follows M (p. 131): "Mais panegyricos contendere libros se comprend fort bien: Veut on mettre aux prises les panégyriques, instituer une lutte entre les panégyriques?
...

libros: We are inclined to think of panegyrics as oral presentations, and may therefore find the use of liber surprising here in that it reveals the concept of a published work. Libanius (Or. 1.113) tells us of ten copyists being set to work on a panegyric for distribution; cf. Petit, Historia 5 (1956), 485ff.; Norman JHS 80 (1960), 122ff. Pliny's panegyric, the verse panegyric of Messalla and the collection of the Panegyrici Latini show that the speeches were circulated in book or pamphlet form, and Mamertinus may refer to panegyrics as monumenta (Pan. Lat. 11.30.1; 32). See below on 2.23.

14. in Panathenaicis: sc. perhaps oratoribus, rhetoribus; cf. Cic. Brut. 166: in mediocribus oratoribus numeratus est. But it is, I think, preferable to supply libris from the previous verse, and translate: "Your works will be reckoned with those of authors like Isocrates." Cf. Cic. Orat. 38: in Panathenaico autem Isocrates.

eris: on sequence placeat...eris cf. Ecl. 7.13f.; 8.15f.; Ep. 23.48; Epig. 3.5; 95.5f.; Delachaux, p. 110f.

15. fictas ludorum...lites: cf. Ep. 4.12: falsas lites, quas schola vestra serit (S, P, Gr); presumably controversiae, the fictive law suits, forming along with suasoriae the basic exercises of the rhetorical schools; see e.g. Marrou, p. 415f.; Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome, pp. 89ff.

et passim; S. F. Bonner, Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire (Liverpool Univ. Pr., 1949) deals with the connection between controversiae and the Roman law, but overemphasizes the relationship. See too E. P. Parks, The Roman Rhetorical Schools as a Preparation for the Courts of the Early Empire (Baltimore: Hopkins Pr., 1945). Ausonius uses dogmaticas...lites of philosophic debate Ecl. 4.16. For Aus.' attitude to real lites, see above pp. 153ff.

16. Quintilianus: This third synkrisis with Q. (cf. vv. 2, 7) was no doubt prompted by the Declamationes Pseudo-Quintilianae (XIX Maiores ed. Lehnert, Leipzig, 1905; Minores CLXV ed. Ritter, Leipzig, 1884). The Maiores contain advice on controversiae. The Declamationes were circulating in the fourth cent. under Quintilian's name; cf. Jerome In Esaiam 8 Pref.; Servius on Aen. 3.661.

17. dicendi torrens...copia: on copia verborum see above pp. 203ff; cf. Prof. 5.9: more torrentis freti; 21.20 torrentis ceu Dulichii; Ephem. 7.8: torrente lingua perstrepo; Juv. 10.9: torrens dicendi copia. For this type of expression, see L. Van Hook, The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism (Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1905), p. 12.

quae...aurum: for omission of est cf. v. 6 above.

aurum: cf. 20.11: aurea mens; Philostr. VS 564; p. 178 Loeb: καὶ ἡ ἐπίπλαν ἰβέα τοῦ λόγου χρυσοῦ ψῆγμα ποταμῶ ἀγυροδύνη ὑπαύγαξον.

18. luteam...inluviem; cf. Hor. Sat. 1.4.11: (Lucilius) cum flueret lutulentus (S, P, Gr, Pa); ibid. 1.10.50: cum dixi fluere hunc lutulentum; Callim. Ap. 108ff.; on such expressions, rhetorical and poetical, see F. Wehrli, Theoria et Humanitas (Zürich, München: Artemis Verlag, 1972), pp. 116ff.

luteam: Aus. is fond of adjectives terminating in -eus. Delachaux p. 39f. finds some 100 examples.

19. Demosthenicum: along with -eus, -icus is the most richly represented adjective termination in Ausonius; see Delachaux, p. 38. D. is a rare word, as are Haeduicus (Prof. 16.7), Pictavicus (Epig. 10.2), Pictonicus (Epit. 5.36; Prof. 10.48), tectonicus (Mos. 229). Cf. Priscian (2,88 Keil): Demosthenes Demosthenice dixit, Tullius Tulliane, Sallustius Sallustiane.

quod...vocavit: as editors indicate the reference is to actio; Cic. Brut. 142 (cf. Orat. 50; De Or. 3.213; Quint. 11.3.6): Demosthenem ferunt ei, 'qui quaesivisset, quid primum esset in dicendo, actionem, quid secundum, idem, et idem tertium respondisse. On actio see above pp. 205f.

20. On synkrisis see on v. 2 above.

ut: for postponed ut cf. vv. 24, 36; 7.11; 17.17; S, p. 302.

21. bona naturalia: the plural covers the account of memory, disposition, and habits which follows. On whether memory is natural or artificial see Auct. ad Her. 3.28.

divini...doni: cf. Quint. 11.2.7: quanta vis esset (memoriae),
quanta divinitas (P, Gr).

22. memori...animo: cf. Praefatiunculae 1.4: memori me coleres animo:
Prof. 15.13: et Epirote Cineas memor magis; memor occurs at Prof. 4.17;
Parent. 3.18; Ep. 10.18; for praise of memory cf. Philostr. VS 604, 628;
Eunap. VS 488; August. Conf. 10. 8-19; and Dessau 7755. Memory was one
of the five essentials for the orator; cf. Auct. ad Her. 1.3 (cf. 3.28),
the oldest system of mnemonics extant; Cic. De Or. 2.350-60. The twin
bases for Quintilian's educational system are imitation and memory,
and he provides us with a history of memoria (11.2.1-51). Plutarch also
recommends that pupils' memories be sharpened (De lib. educ. 13).
Libanius (Or. 1.8) studied under an ἀνὴρ μνημονικώτατος, and
claims to have committed to memory everything worthy of learning
(ibid. 11). Dionysius of Halicarnassus was even accused of training his
pupils' memories by magic (Philostr. VS 523)! Aus. shows memory as an
asset in learning at Ep. 22.4f.: et satis est puero memori legisse
libenter.

24. ut: see on v. 20 above.

25. tabulae: tabula is used of a playing board ([Ovid] Nux 77; Sen.
Tranq. 14.7; Juv. 1:90), or of the game itself [Austin, G&R 4 (1934/5),
77ff.1. On ancient board games see Lamer, RE 13, 2, 1900ff. s.v.
lusoria tabula; Austin, ibid. 24ff.

26. te numerasse: te enumerasse S; enumerasse V, Pa, who, following M, (p. 132), remarks that te does not appear indispensable. I cannot see the point of Gr's emendation: te et numerasse. Te could have been deprived of its "t" in the sequence fuertant te numerasse, but it is an irresoluble case of haplography versus difficilior lectio probabilior. Numerare and enumerare can both bear the meaning "make an account" required here.

EW and Pa translate as though the infinitive were present and in the same temporal sequence as narrantem (v. 38). Poets sometimes use the perfect infinitive instead of the present metri gratia (e.g. Tib. 1.1.29f., 73f.). But Aus. might as easily have written (e)numerare here, and he was perfectly aware of the force of the perfect (cf. Ephem. 8.23; Grat. Act. 7; Mos. 150f., 347). So it is preferable to translate vv. 25-30: "We saw...as you narrated...that you had kept an account of all the throws."

--asse: Aus. usually contracts; cf. 9.1; 25.4; Delachaux, p. 94.

bolos: CGL 4, 212.33 (cf. 4, 593.40; 5, 272.9): bolus iactus; cf. too Plaut. Rud. 360; Curc. 611.

Quintilian (11.2.38) recounts a similar tale about the memory of Scaevola. Mnemonic feats are often recorded; cf. Pliny HN. 7.88ff.; Sen. Controv. 1.2; Philostr. VS 495; August. De anima 4.9. Vinet (Delph, p. 293) suggests that the story here is a fabrication after that model. But board-games were popular (see Balsdon, Life and Leisure, pp. 154ff.), and Ti. Victor Minervius may have consciously emulated Scaevola.

27. quot: quo V; quos S; quot P, EW, Gr, Pa. It is just possible to retain the ms reading if rotatu (see below) is taken as "sequence". One may translate: "that you had kept a record of all the throws cast in the headlong sequence in which they tumble^(d) from the steps carved through the hollow boxwood dice-tower, as the play alternated (alternates). The translations of EW and Pa attribute past force to fundunt, making the clause in which this occurs refer specifically to the game in question. The position of the quos...fundunt clause would lead one to take it thus despite the grammatical difficulties. The indicative is retained in fuerant of v. 26, and fundunt may be a historic present. It is just possible, however, that fundunt should retain its present force, and the clause is a generalizing statement about the swift order with which the throwing of dice regularly proceeds.

praecipitante rotatu: cf. Mos. 362: praecipiti torquens cerealis saxa rotatu. Here rotatus means "revolution", and this is its regular meaning in Latin (Stat. Achill. 2.416; Claudian Cons. Mall. 77). But it is a small transition to the sense "sequence"; cf. Ad uxorem 5f.: celeri vides rotatu/rapidos dies meare.

Delachaux (p. 25) remarks that --atus and --tio formations are Aus.' favourite way of expressing abstractions. Other --atus formations common to Aus. and Statius are precatus (Ephem. 3.58; 4.3; Ep. 29.114); natatus (Mos. 77, 90, 93, 275, 344); relatus (Ephem. 8.33). See also on Prof. 6.51.

28. excisi...gradus: the reference is not to the fritillus, the casting cup, but to the pyrgus. A pictorial representation of the latter from a fourth century calendar is to be found in Stern,

Le Calendrier de 354 (Paris: Geuthner, 1953), planche 13, and we have literary descriptions, Sid. Apoll. Ep. 5.17; 8.12.5; Anth. Pal. 9.482.23; Anth. Lat. 3.77: in parte alveoli pyrgus velut urna residet qui vomit internis tesserulas gradibus. The pyrgus was a small tower containing steps, open at the top with a lateral opening at the base. The dice would tumble through this on to the board. See Mau, RE 7.1.108 s.v. fritillus.

buxa: Sid. Apoll. (Ep. 8.12.5) mentions the use of ebony for deluxe models.

29. puncta: cf. Suet. Nero 30: Quadringenis in punctum sestertiis aleam lusit.

30. data...revocata: sc. puncta and trans, "lost...reclaimed". EW "which pieces had been lost, which won back" is misleading. Pa is exact: "ciascuno dei punti che erano stati giocati o che erano rapparsi".

On omission of sint see above vv. 6, 17.

31. nullo felle...sale multo: on social virtues of charm, affability see above pp. 150ff.; 180ff. Cf. Prof. 15.2: cui felle nullo...mens; 4.19: salibus...felle nullo perlitis; Tech. 14.4: Livida mens hominum concretum felle coquat pus. Ep. 7 (29P): diluti salis, fellis ignavi; Hor. Sat. 1.10.3: sale multo (P, S, Gr); Ovid Tristia 2.565 (P, Gr): salibus suffusis melle; Mart. 10.48.21: accedunt sine felle ioci (Gr); for conjunction of sal and fel, Pliny Ep. 3.21.1: qui plurimum in scribendo et salis haberet et fellis nec candoris minus. Contrast

Ep. 31. 260ff. where Paulinus chides Aus. for mingling bitterness with joviality.

32. lingua dicax: cf. 5.1: lingua...celer; Parent. 17.15: lingua catus; Ep. 12.10: lingua potens. Dicax usually connotes witty sarcasm which would be out of place here (see TLL s.v.; Cic. Orat. 87: sales quorum duo genera sunt, unum facetiarum, alterum dicacitatis).

blandis: a favourite adjective of Aus.; see above p. 152.

sine lite: cf. Parent. 18.3: qui nullum...nec lite lacessis.

On lis see above pp. 153ff.

iocis: cf. 5.2: iocis amoene; 7.2: ioca [colis]; see further pp. 150ff. above and on 15.5.

33. mensa nitens: cf. 20.13: nitens habitus; Parent. 8.7: victusque nitore; Hor. Sat. 2.2.4: mensasque nitentis; Apul. Met. 2.9: mensae citro ebore nitentes.

ensoria regula: cf. 2.11: tenorem regulæ; Ep. 12.46: morum regula; Epig. 25.7: regula morum; Mart. 11.2.3: regula morum. Censoria looks forward to the synkrisis with Piso Frugi.

34. Frugi Piso: cf. Parent. 22.1f.: Desinite, o veteres, Calpurnia nomina, Frugi/ut proprium hoc vestrae gentis habere decus; Pliny Pan. 88.6: ut olim frugalitate Pisones...monstrabantur. Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Censorius (cos. 133 B.C.; censor 122 B.C.; RE 96) was famed for his Annales in which he upheld ancient virtues against contemporary

vices.

35. pollens: elsewhere applied to people; cf. Parent. 30.3: ingenitis pollens virtutibus; Epit. 2.5: aeterno pollens aevo.

36. On Aus.' attitude to parsimony and temperance see above pp. 147ff., 189f.

ut: see on v. 20 above.

37. quamquam: all editors; tamquam V. The ms reading, which was accepted until Toll proposed quamquam (M, p. 133), makes sense and should be retained. Aus. grieved so deeply that one would have taken his piety as filial and thought that there was no son to act in this way; cf. 15.21 below.

bis...functus: cf. Parent. 24.16: duodeviginti functus Olympiadas; 15.19: decies novenas functus annorum vices; Epig. 77.3: fata novissima functus; with abl. Parent. 1.3f.: placidae functus quod honore senectae undecies binas vixit Olympiadas; cf. Prof. 14.3.

38. ut pater et iuvenis: on topos of untimely death see below on 3.5. On old age for others being maturity for professors, see on 6.33ff.

39. post fata extrema: cf. Parent. 19.10: fata suprema obiit. Gr quotes Virgil Aen. 9.204: fata suprema secutus; cf. too Lucan 8.652: te fata extrema petente. For post fata "after death", TLL, s.v. fatum, col. 360.

superfit: cf. Epig. 15.1f.: superfit/dimidium. A very rare verb say L&S; found Plautus Stich. 592; Trin. 510; Columella RR 12.1.5; and Prudent. contra Symm. 2.983. Here it provides a variant for superest v. 41.

39ff. With the "if aught remains after death" clause we can compare 22.21f.: sed modo nobilium memoratus in agmine gaude/pervenit ad manes si pia cura tuos; 23.13f.: officiumque meum, sensus si manibus ullus/ accipe iam verus morte obita, Dynami. Note also 26.7f; Parent. 15.11f.; 22.15; 21.8. The sentiment is quite common in epitaphic poetry as a few examples will demonstrate:

CE 1323: Si modo sunt manes, sentiant.
CE 428.14: si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes.
CE 1328.3: Si sunt manes, sit tibi terra levis.

Ovid Pont. 1.2.113: si superest aliquis post funera sensus. On the topos see further Lattimore, pp. 59ff.; Purdie, pp. 32ff.; Tolman, pp. 111, 115f.; Lissberger, pp. 59ff.; Peek 311.6; 453.

Lattimore points to its persistence in Christian epitaphs, giving as examples CE 1797, 8; 1339. 7f. Ausonius was nominally a Christian, and it is interesting that he too retains the pagan topoi, though, as Pichon warns (Les derniers écrivains, p. 207f.), it would be dangerous to infer anything about Ausonius' beliefs from the repetition of such topoi. Also Tolman (pp. 117f) comments on inconsistency in epitaphs formed from topoi of death and after-life, pointing to Christian inscriptions CE 734, 737 where the subjects are in heaven, but are bid farewell as though there were no future existence. Some parallel can

perhaps be drawn between the sixth century poet Agathias and Ausonius; cf. P. Waltz, "L'inspiration paienne et le sentiment chrétien dans les epigrammes funéraires du vie siècle", Acropole 6 (1931), 3-21. See too on v. 42 below. For Christian sentiment regarding after-life in Ausonius see 26.12f.; Domest. 2.10f.: tu (i.e. the Christian God) brevis hunc aevi cursum celeremque caducae/finem animae donas aeternae munere vitae; and the prayer to the Christian God for immortality, Ephem. 3.21ff., 36ff. Such sentiment is perhaps present at Parent. 4.29ff.: et modo conciliis animarum mixte priorum/fata tui certe nota nepotis habes.

40. meminens: Vinet (Delph, p. 964) correctly observed that it was unnecessary to emend to memorans, referring the reader to Sergius, Priscian and Sidonius. P refers us to Sidonius and Gr cites Ep. 2.10.5; 4.3.10; 4.12.1; 6.3.1; 7.6.3. The ancient grammatici do not allow this participle (e.g. Charisius 1, 257f. K; Diomedes ibid. 358; Cledonius 5.71.27: ut ab eo quod est memini nullum participium invenitur: memini meminens meminitus non facit). Priscian is the exception, quoting a line from Laevius (2.560.22).

41. otia: cf. Parent. 18.12: talia et ad manes otia Sanctus agat. P and Gr quote Virg. Ecl. 5.61: amat bonus otia Daphnis. This is not a parallel for otia as "tempora mortis tranquilla". Aus.' use of otium here is connected with the "sleep of death" motif (see Kassel, pp. 76ff.; Lattimore, pp. 164f.) and the concept of death as a relief from life (Lattimore, pp. 205ff.; cf. below on 5.35f.). I can find no other example

of otium used of the peace of death, although this usage is scarcely surprising in view of the extended use of nox (e.g. Catull. 5.6), somnus (Horace Carm. 3.38, qualified like otia here by longus), and quies (e.g. Prop. 2.28.25).

42. tu tibi vixisti: Hatinguais [REA 55 (1952), 386] tentatively suggests that this may imply a philosophical concept of αὐτάρκεια (cf. Sen. Ep. 1.1.9), but warns against reading too much into the rhetorical antitheses of vv. 39ff.: sive...sive, tu...tua forma. I doubt if there is any deep philosophy in the words, which simply mean "you enjoyed life to your own satisfaction"; cf. Cic. Marcell. 25: te satis tibi vixisse.

42. nos tua fama iuvat: for expression cf. 3.8; for posthumous fame bringing relief cf. CE 618:

Qui dolet interitum, mentem soletur amore.
tollere mors vitam potuit, post fata superstes
fama viget. periit corpus, sed nomen in ore est.

Inversely the deceased may be asked to console his/her loss by posthumous fame. At Prof. 2.32f. we read: quiesce placidus et caduci corporis/
damnum repende gloria; cf. 26.11f.: sedem sepulcri servet immotus
cinis, / memoria vivat nominum; Parent. 1.15: inde et perfunctae manet
haec reverentia vitae; CE 1251.3f.: Manibus infernis si vita est gloria
vitae, / vivit et hic nobis ut Cato vel Cicero; CE 1604: haec sunt enim/
mortis solacia, ubi continetur nom[in]is vel generis/aeterna memoria. On
perpetual fame as consolation, Kassel, p. 89f.; Lattimore, pp. 257ff. On
fame surviving, Tolman, pp. 114f.; Lissberger, pp. 55ff.; Peek, 105;
164; 184; 199; 213; 222.

p. 373 s.v. Ruhm. With regard to Ausonius' Christianity and pagan topoi, cf. Lattimore p. 329: "The idea of eternal fame appears more often than might be expected (in Christian epitaphs); and it is significant that its expression is frequently unaccompanied by any evidence of belief in immortality."

Professores 2

Latinus Alcimus Alethius: A rhetor of repute who was selected to deliver a panegyric on the consulships of Julian and Sallustius 363 (vv. 21ff.). Jerome (Chron. s.a. 355) records: Alcimus et Delphidius rhetores in Aquitanica florentissime docent. Rhetors matured late in life (see on 6.33ff. below), so Alcimus may have been in his fifties in the 350s and perhaps died approaching his 80s in the 370s. He will then have been born ca. 300 and his teaching activity will have extended from the 320s to ca. 370.

He was the author of published panegyrics (v. 23). Étienne (Bordeaux antique, pp. 257ff.) following Courcelle [REL 38 (1960), 413f.] rightly rejects the suggestion of the Budé editor of Sallustius, Rochefort, that this rhetor had translated περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου into Latin. The libri Alcimi mentioned in a 9th cent. library catalogue (Schanz-Hosius, 1.4.46f.), not extant, but evidently declamations, and Anth. Lat. 1.2. 713-15, 740 are by an Alcimus who may be Ausonius' addressee. Sidonius Apollinaris may refer twice to this rhetor, indicating his posthumous fame; Ep. 8.11.2: si a te instructio rhetorica poscatur, hi Paulinum, illi Alcimum non requirunt; Ep. 5.10.3: fortitudo Alcimi (though Anderson, Loeb, p. 205, says this Alcimus is otherwise unknown). PLRE (p. 39) is wrong in seeing a reference to him at Ep. 2.7.2, for that Alethius is still alive.

1. imp̄ii: see above on Praef. 6.

1f. Cf. 18.1: nec te...silebo; 19.1.

3. minusque dignum: to be taken with ferent. The sense is that as a commemorative poet Aus.' skill is deficient, but he is still mindful of his duty. This idea is repeated at vv. 27f.

5f. A more modest synkrisis than the "outdoing" type, about which see above on 1.2. For the sentiment cf. Ep. 11.10: aevo cedis, non stilo; Dessau 2951 (CIL 6, 9858): rhetor...ut tantum veteribus possit aequari; Symm. Ep. 1.3.2: unus heres veterum litterarum.

unum: emphatically repeated v. 8.

6. cf. 14.3: aevo...recenti.

7. camenarum decus: cf. 5.20: opus camenarum colens. Decus is a favourite word of Aus.; cf. v. 25; 24.11: decus omne tuis; 25.10: decora egregiae...patriae; Parent. 3.21: me tibi, me patribus clarum decus esse professus; 9.24: decus coniugis Ausonii; 13.9: quanta vitae decora; 14.1: o generis clari decus; 17.18: decus hoc matrisque meumque; 22.2: proprium...gentis...decus.

8. exemplar unum: the usual expression is e. unicum; cf. Apul. Met. 10.5: femina...malitiae novercalis exemplar unicum; Lactant. Opif. 20.5: Marcus Tullius eloquentiae ipsius unicum exemplar; Jerome In Dan. Prol. 33: Marcella unicum Romae sanctitatis exemplar; Cassian. Instit. Pref. 7:

papa, unicum religionis et humilitatis exemplar.

9. Athenis docta...Graecia: for docta Graecia cf. Jerome Ep. 58.8
ad fin.; Avienus Arat. 1653; doctae Athenae cf. Prop. 1.6.13; 3.21.1;
 Ovid Her. 2.83.

9f. coluit...colit: Aus. regards Greek literature as dead, but
 Roman literature as still living and developing. The Atticist movement
 in the Later Empire presumably made it easy to regard Classical Greek
 literature as a fixed, canonized corpus which was not continued or
 developed. The school curriculum doubtless had its effect, since the
 Greek authors studied in the western schools were confined to Menander
 and earlier writers (Marrou, p. 404; Aus. Ep. 22.45-48).

11. moresne labor: for boni mores cf. Parent. 9.6; 12.6; Domest.
 4.34; for mores alone of good character, Parent. 1.10; 8.4; 22.5;
Domest. 4.8; for mores and teaching, Ep. 21.9; 22.74; 31.148 (Paulinus);
 for juxtaposition of learning and mores, Parent. 1.10; 23.5f.; Ordo 7.2;
Mos. 381ff. Note too Parent. 24.1: mores...aequos; 30.1; Epig. 25.7f.:
veterum morum. On morality of teachers see above pp. 189ff.

tenorem regulae: see above on 1.33; cf. Parent. 5.8: ad perpendiculum
se suosque habuit; Sen. Ep. 1.23: ex placido vitae et continuo tenore
morum; for tenor vitae cf. Pliny Pan. 84; 91; Ovid Her. 17.16; Livy
 40.12.7.

13. laude clarus: cf. 25.9: claris doctisque viris; 5.4: laudi ut subibas aemulus.

operatus: P, EW; paratus V, S, Gr, Pa. There is no reason to reject the ms reading (though peritus provides a ready emendation; cf. the mss variation between paratissimus and peritissimus at Cic. Leg. 2.66).

M (p. 134) explains "...préparé par sa culture littéraire (paratus litteris) aux plus hautes fonctions de l'état,...Alcimus a cependant refusé de briguer aucune charge. Peiper admet dans sa texte... operatus, qui fait un véritable contre-sens."

14. On avoidance of public life see above pp. 193ff.; on Aus.' attitude to ambition, pp. 154ff.

15. comis magis: comior at Cic. Mur. 66 and Itin. Alex. 53; cf. Prof. 9.4: care magis; 15.13: memor magis; Ecl. 1.8: magis benignum; Ep. 27.44: magis felicia; Epig. 16.2: grata magis; cf. Delachaux, p. 88; Blaisé, p. 98. Comis occurs Prof. 3.11; 15.1; Parent. 2.6; 6.4; 7.9; 8.5; note the combination gravis et comis Parent. 22.7, and SHA Hadrian 14.11: idem severus laetus, comis gravis...tenax liberalis; simulator simplex, saevus clemens, et semper in omnibus varius.

17. si...posceret: at this era the subjunctive expressing the idea of repetition after si ("whenever") is common; cf. Woodcock, p. 152f.

forum: cf. 5.17f.: tuendis additus clientibus/ famae et salutis sauciis; 24.4: inque foro tutela. At Antioch Libanius busily devoted

himself to teaching and forensic practice (Or. 1.107f.). On rhetors and forensic activity see above p. 154.

18. studio docendi: cf. Praef. 3: *sedula cura docendi*; 8.5: *sedulum cunctis studium docendi*; on devotion to teaching see above pp. 18ff., 168ff. On teaching needy students free or at a reduced rate, see above p. 199; on the glory of students reflecting on their teacher see above on 1.9f.

20. sacrae famaē dabas: sacratae famaē das V: The emendation accepted by P, EW, Gr, Pa goes back to Goropius. Graevius proposed: *quos tu sacros famaē dabas*; S: *quos tu sacraēti...*, in his apparatus suggesting the addition of litteris, and speculating that the corruption arose through the scribe's eye jumping to the next line (famaē dabis). If, as seems likely, the text has been corrupted in this way, it is impossible to guarantee the accuracy of any emendation.

22. brevi: Julian the Apostate was proclaimed Augustus by his troops in Gaul, February 360. He was mortally wounded fighting against the Persians, June 363.

23. Sallustio: cos. with Julian 363, at which time he was also praetorian prefect of the Gauls. Alcimus Alethius presumably availed himself of this occasion to deliver a panegyric on both the emperor and Sallustius.

libri: Scaliger suggested that a history is meant (Delph, p. 965). EW suggests either history or panegyric. PLRE says panegyric, as does Étienne (Bordeaux antique, pp. 257ff.) Libri are mentioned here in close connection with a consulship, and libri can be used of panegyrics (see above on 1.13). There can be little doubt that we have reference to panegyric(s) delivered on the joint consulship of Julian and Sallustius 363.

25. morum tuorum: takes up moresne labor v. 11.

decoris: see on v. 7 above.

morum tuorum...et facundiae: for conjunction of mores and facundia cf. Ordo 7.2f.: facunda virorum/ingenia et mores laeti; Parent. 25.3f.: redderet et mores et moribus adderet illud, / Paulinus caruit quo pater, eloquium. This is linked to the vir bonus dicendi peritus concept and the high degree of morality required of teachers; see above pp. 189ff.; and on 18.10 below.

26. filiis: we know one Alethius (PLRE 1, p. 39), a quaestor against whom Claudian inveighed (Carm. 24), who may be a son of the rhetor, but there is no proof.

27.-29.: These lines take up minusque dignum v.3. On obsequium and officium as reasons for writing see above pp. 18ff. For the apology for style cf. 25.8ff.; Parent. Verse Pref. 1ff.; Tac. Agr. 3.3: non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce etc.; CE 191.3f.: incomptlos elegos veniam peto ne verlearis/perlegere, et dicas carmen habere fidem;

Pan. Lat. 9.3.1: ut...veniam magis possim sperare quam gloriam. See above pp. 123ff. for Aus.' professions about style.

29. nequiens: cf. Sallust Hist. Frag. (Maurenbecher) 3.98c. 20; Apul. Met. 8.10; Amm. Marc. 15.10.10; nequeuntes, Sallust, ibid. 3.40; Arnobius 1.13; 7.239. Note also meminens, Prof. 1.40.

officium: cf. 10.2: flebilis officii; 12.1; 23.13; 25.8; Parent. 25.12.

31f. quiesce placidus: cf. 11.6: placidus esto; Parent. 2.7: placidos manes amplexa: 19.13: manes placidos; 27.3: cinis ut placidulus ab opere vigeat; 5.11f.: tranquillos aviae cineres praestate, quieti/aeternum manes; Prof. 26.11: sedem sepulcri servet immotus cinis; see too on Prof. 3.13 below. This R.I.P. motif is common in epitaphic poetry; cf. CE 1223. 13: sed poltius optes mihi quetos optoma Man[es]; CE 467.8: et Manes placida tibi nocte quiescant; Verg. Ecl. 10.33: O mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant: Aen. 6.328: quam sedibus ossa quierunt; Tac. Agr. 46.1: placide quiescas. See further Lissberger, pp. 75f., 137; Tolman, pp. 20ff.

Professores 3

Luciolus: This rhetor was a contemporary of Ausonius (vv. 1f.):

Rhetora Luciolum, condiscipulum atque magistrum
collegamque dehinc, nenia maesta refer.

For an attempted reconstruction of his career based on these lines see above pp. 99, 103f. As he was a slightly older contemporary of Aus. (above p. 104), we can place the date of his birth ca. 305. We have no specific evidence which allows us to date his death but he evidently was not long deceased when Ausonius was writing. V. 7 suggests that memory of him was still strong in the 380s although the account does not betray a very famous figure, whose posthumous fame would glow for a long time. Moreover, vv. 7f. suggest that his heir is still trying to find his feet after the loss of Luciolus. We can place his death, therefore, in the 370s. Since this makes him past sixty when he died, v. 5 refers more to the reversal of the natural order than to the young age of Luciolus.

1. Rhetora: for the Greek accusative cf. Mart, 2.64.1; Fronto Ep. 3 de eloquentia ad fin.; rhetoras, Mart. 5.56.3; Tac. Dial. 30. Aus. frequently uses this form with proper names (Prof. 21.24 : Nestora; cf. Epit. 25.2; 11.1; Delachaux, p. 83; S, p. 286). Note delphina at Mos.

137.

2. collegamque: probably co-teacher in the same school; see above pp. 103f.

nenia maesta: cf. 4.5: honore maestae...neniae; 10.45; Parent. Verse Pref. 5; 9.2; 15.2; 17.2; 28.7. As synonyms Aus. uses cantus (Prof. 7.17), carmen (Prof. 7.20; 21.11; 26.9; Parent. 16.2; 21.6; 7.1), elegi, elegeon, elegæa, (Prof. 23.16; 24.2; Parent. 7.1; 29.2), melum (Prof. 10.43), querella (Prof. 23.1; Parent. 13.2; 17.17), questus (Parent. 29.1), threnus (Prof. 14.5; 5.3; 21.3; 7.4), titulus (Parent. 1.16; Prof. 8.19).

3. facundum doctumque virum: cf. 5.1: facunde, docte; Parent. 3.18: doctus, facundus. Cicero's concept of the doctus orator (De Or. 3.143) is well-known, and learning was to supply a facility of speech; cf. Tac. Dial. 30.5: Ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia.

3-4. seu...modis: Stat. Sily. 1.4.28f.: seu plana solutis cum struis orsa modis (F, S, Gr, Pa). For praise of fluency in both prose and verse, cf. Prof. 5. 5ff.; 21.14; Lib. Ep. 1313; SHA Gallienus 2.11; Numerian 11.2; Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8.11.5.

4. condita: cf. 13.5: carminibus, quae prima tuis sunt condita in annis.

prosis: cf. 21.14: prosa solebas et versa loqui.

orsa: cf. 21.10f.: et tibi Latiis posthabite orsis,/Urbice, Grais
 celebris; Parent. 17.17: lacrimabilis orsa querellae: Ep. 22.46:
 orsa Menandri; orsa "spoken words" Epig. 43.6; fausta orsa (Ep. 29.4
 signify the beginning of a letter; cf. Ep. 32.18 (Paulinus). Orsa
 properly signifies "beginnings", but can be extended to mean "undertak-
 ings"; cf. Prudent. Cathem. 4.96: vatis pia praecinentis orsa; Stat.
Silv. 2.1.113: orsa Menandri; Orsa makes perfect sense here, and Gr's
acta is needless, as is the ora of Scaliger and Graevius (M, p. 136;
 Delph, p. 966).

seu...solveret: cf. 5.15ff. and on 2.17 above. In his apparatus
 S suggests volveret. V reads solveredorsa, so solveret should stand; cf.
 Stat. Silv. 3.1: vocem solvere; Theb. 11.604: suspiria solvit; Sen.
Oedip. responsa solve; Med. 124: solvat turba iocos.

5. eripuit...Lachesis: rapio and compounds are commonly used in
 epitaphs to describe the actions of fate and death; cf. Parent. 20.3;
 23.7; 7.5; 9.22; 14.3; 25.6; Lissberger, p. 41. For Lachesis cf. Prof.
 22.16; Parent. 31.5. On "snatched by cruel death" motif cf. Prof.
 22.16: supremum Lachesis ni celerasset iter; Parent. 29.5: invida set
 nimium Lachesis properata peregit; and Parent. 20.5: festinasse putes
 fatum. At Prof. 13.10 we read: invidia fati; Parent. 17.10: vis...
 invida fati; 11.11f.: manus illa cruenti...fati; 13.6: infesta
 Atropos; 26.5: invida mors; note CE 547.4: cum iam Plarcarum nota
 sustuli[t]invida Diti; and CE 1222.5: i[n]vidi[n]a nascenti Lacesis fuit,

invida Cloto. Ausonius blames fortuna instead of fate at Prof.

6.30ff. For more on envious fate, Fates and fortune, see Lissberger, pp. 19ff.; Lattimore pp. 152ff.; Tolman, pp. 32ff., 68ff.; in Christian thought, Lattimore, pp. 316f.; Waltz, Acropole (1932), 35; Peek, p. 373 s.v. *Moirai*(i). Cf. on 6.29, 29ff. below.

patri: the natural order has been reversed; cf. 16.16; 24.13f. In an epitaph to his wife Ausonius prays to die before their children (Parent. 9.29f.): *et precor, ut vigeant tandemque superstite utroque / nuntiet hoc cineri nostra favilla tuo*. In like vein we find (Parent. 11.15f.): *dignior o, nostrae gemeres qui fata senectae / et quererere meas maestus ad exequias*. The rule is laid down Domest. 1.5: *iusta quidem series patri succedere*; and Epit. 34.4ff. to an empty tomb:

... ..veniat ordine quisque suo
nascendi qui lege datus, placidumque per aevum
condatur, natu qui prior, ille prior.

Laments on the disruption of the natural order are very frequent. Notable are the abbreviations CIL. 6, 27866: *t m d f n ego tibi* = *tu mihi debueras facere, non ego tibi*; and CIL. 9, 4255: *ind fac mat fil m f* = *indignum facinus! mater filiae monumentum fecit*. Quintilian pathetically shows the necessity to mourn such a happening (6 Pref. 4): *quis mihi bonus parens ignoscat...ac non oderit animi mei firmitatem, si quis in me alius usus vocis, quam ut incusem deos superstes omnium meorum, nullam in terris despiciere providentiam tester?* Suetonius can attribute the inverse of this sentiment to Tiberius to show his perversity (Tib. 62): *felicem Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum exstitisset*. For

further examples of this motif which occurs in both pagan and Christian epitaphs, Kassel, p. 96; Lattimore, pp. 179ff. 322f.; Tolman, pp. 30f.; Lier, "Topica Carminum Sepulcralium Latinorum", Philologus 62 (1903), 456-60. On Di Invidi in general see Norden on Aen. 6.868ff. See too on 6.46ff.

funere acerbo: a common collocation; cf. 24.11; Parent. 14.1, 12; 20.5; 29.6. Acerbus is also applied to vale (Prof. 24.15), luctus (Parent. 11.2), casus (Parent. 15.5).

6. linquentem: cf. 15.7f. linqueret...liquit; S, p. 302, verba simplicia.

sexu in utroque: Corp, P; sexui utroque V, S, Pa. Delph (p. 966) would take sexui as an ablative, but if correct, it is more likely that utroque is a dative analogous in formation with neutro in Epig. 102.4. We find solae for solius (Cento Pref. 5). [Sergius] (4.547.7K) notes the form utrae in the dative, and utroque, dative, is found at Apul. De dog. Plat. 2.13.238 and Tert. De anim. 4. Aus. uses utrique elsewhere (Epig. 58.2) and has sexu...utroque (Epig. 102.4). But the latter is followed by neutro, dative. The ms reading should therefore be kept. Pa and EW take the number of children as two, one boy and one girl. But two boys and two girls may be meant (Delph, p. 466) and are probably if the ms reading obsucuros in v. 8 is correct.

7. meritis: cf. 6.18: meritis[inclitus]; 10.6: humili merito; 12.3: qua forma aut merito fueris; 14.1: eloquii merito; 18.14: grammaticos

praetenuis meriti.

8. obscurus: P; obsucros V, S, Gr, Pa. M (p. 139) objects: "he rejet heres obscurus est bien lourd". And it is not difficult to retain the ms reading which Pa translates: "Ai tuoi meriti non fan riscontro quelli di tuo figlio, benché oggi la tua reputazione sia di giovamento all' oscurità dei tui eredi". With this meaning, obsucros, referring to Luciolus' children in general, is likely to include two boys, for a girl would not normally aspire to the success of a rhetor (see on v. 6). Professorial glory was recognized as a heritage (2.25f.; 19.11f.). Aus. could praise heirs for outdoing their hereditary talents (6.10ff.), but he would also criticize where expectations were not met (Prof. 11); cf. Lib. Or. 1.90.

fama: for praise of fame cf. 6.18; 16.14; 19.6; 23.11; Parent. 16.3: si forma et fama et fides [laudanda forent]. See too 8.6 and pp. 19ff., 172ff., 201ff.

9-10: amice, bonus...fidissime...nate: Aus. often mixes vocatives and nominatives, cf. Parent. 13.11f.; 12.12f.; Ordo 20.30ff.; Tech. 14.21; Domest. 5 refrain; S, p. 302; Köppel, Grammatisches aus Ausonius (Aschaffenburg, 1879), pp. 12-15. He is not the only author to do this (e.g. Suet. Iul. 78), nor is he strictly agrammatical; see Fink, "Person in Nouns: Is the Vocative a Case?", AJPh 93 (1973), 61-68.

amice: cf. below v. 14: amice; 9.3; on friendship see above pp. 144ff.

fidissime coniunx: Lattimore p. 277: "Records of devotion between husband and wife are enormously frequent in Latin inscriptions both prose and verse." Aus. is blunt enough to refer to the adultery of Dynamius (23.3), however. On upright morality as a professorial virtue see above pp. 189ff.

10. genitor: note the progression from amicus through blood relationships to this unqualified appellation. On fatherhood as a sepulchral laudatory topos cf. 13.10: *invidia fati non genitor moreris*.

Alethius Minervius dying young left two houses sine herede (6.41).

Simple reproduction is already a virtue in one of the earliest Latin epitaphs, that of Scipio Hispanus, CE. 958.2: *progeniem genui*. In the list of the decem maximas res optumasque in Pliny (NH. 7.143) we find: *multos liberos relinquere*.

paenitet, ut: the normal classical construction is accusative and infinitive, although we find quod clauses in Cicero (Att. 11.3.2) and Caesar (B. Gall. 2.32.12). But Aus. is merely following a trend of later Latin syntax; cf. Jerome Ep. 106.1: *credere ut*; Cypr. Sent. 74: *censere ut*; Cass. Varia 2.9: *asserere ut*. Aus. has discere ut Parent. 25.9f. For impersonal constructions cf. August. De civ. D 21.9: *facilius est ut*; Cass. Varia 1.31: *tantum est ut*. See further, Blaisé, pp. 144ff.

11. comis: see above on 2.15 for adj., on 1.31 for affability as a virtue; cf. CE 773.4: *dum vixi, hilaris, iucundus amicis*.

11-12: inclamare...loqui: S (p. 294) and Delachaux (p. 93) take these

as historic infinitives. Apart from being the only historic infinitives, as such they are unique in applying to the 2nd person; see Kühner-Stegman, Ausführliche Grammatik, 2.1.135. It is possible, therefore, that the infinitives depend on comis; cf. Stat. Silvae 2.1.168.

clientes: for consideration shown to cf. 2.16f.

12. famulos: on kindness to servants see Lattimore, pp. 280ff., 338. Since the master was usually responsible for the erection of monuments, epitaphs usually laud his treatment of slaves. Aus. in two epigrams (36, 37) perfunctorily speaks of the branding of a runaway slave. These may recall a fictive event, but the idea evidently did not seem abnormal to him.

13. placidos mores: cf. 17.14: placidos mores. Placidus is a favourite word of Aus., on which see pp. 152f. above; see too on 2.31.

tranquillos...manes: cf. Parent. 18.5: tranquillos manes; Parent. 5.11: tranquillos...cineres. For the R.I.P. motif see on 2.31f. Like placidus, tranquillus is a key word in Aus. For the unison of a placid life/nature and the R.I.P. motif cf. 17.14; 20.14; and p. 53 above.

14. munus: cf. 7.19: munus ingratum tibi debitumque; 12.8: nostrum munus habeto; 21.3: munere threni; Parent. 4.1: pium...munus; 4.32: honorifico munere commemoro; 7.14: commune hoc vobis munus habeto; 17.16: cape munera tristia.

Professores 4

Attius Patera: A rhetor of high repute who surely held a municipal chair. Ausonius' expression, quod aevo floruisti proximo / iuvenisque te vidi senem, implies that Patera retired soon after Ausonius began his teaching career at Bordeaux in the 330s. Patera will then have retired ca. 340, about the age of 60 to qualify as a senex. Rhetors attained their floruit late in life (see on 6.33ff.) and this relatively early retirement was to make way for his prodigious grandson (6.20). He was alive after 366 to help his son Delphidius against prosecution (5.32). Ausonius makes special mention of his sturdy old age (v. 19f.). So perhaps he died ca. 370 about the age of 90.

Title: Attius Patera Pater Rhetor is the title given by V. Corp, P, Pa and Gr bracket pater, S retains the full title. And pater may not come from a gloss or scribal variant (Delph, p. 966; M, p. 137f). Aus. has filius in the titles of Prof. 6, 11, 18. Perhaps he wrote pater here instead of entitling Prof. 5: Attius Tiro Delphidius filius rhetor.

In any case, Patera must stand. Bachelier [Ogam, 12 (1960), 96] thinks patera comes from the name of a plate used in worship, quoting Tech. 12.5: turibula et paterae, quae tertia vasa deorum? lanx. This name almost certainly comes from Patara, the town in Asia Minor associated with Apollo (cf. Strabo 14.666; Ovid Met. 1.516; Servius on

Aen. 4.143). As his son took his name de Delphis (v. 14), his brother and father theirs a Phoebo (v. 13), so Attius has taken his from this town. It is possible that we should read Patara instead of Patera here, but either way the name is unique. One might have expected his name to be Patareus, for this is an epithet of Apollo (cf. Hor. Carm. 3. 4.64, and Servius loc. cit.).

This unusual name has caused trouble elsewhere. In Jerome's Chronicle one Pater is mentioned under 336. This should probably be emended to Patara. In Jerome Ep. 120 Pref. this rhetor is again mentioned in conjunction with Delphidius. The ms readings are Paterius, Pater and Pathero, the latter presumably being closest to the original reading. It would appear that scribes confronted with Patera altered it to more familiar words.

1. quamquam viceris: for q. and subj. cf. Cup. Cruc. 47ff.; Mos. 352f.; Ep. 22.75f.; Grat. Act. 13.62 (P): quamquam ... dixerim. This construction is rare in classical, but common in later Latin (see Blaisé, p. 165).

2. fandi: cf. v. 16; 14.7: gloria fandi; 17.14: copia cui fandi longe pulcherrima; 21.4: fandique rudes; Parent. Verse Pref. 3: fandique... cultu; 3.17: per mille oracula fandi; Mos. 400: fandi potentes; Ep. 12.81: fandi...artifex; 22.74: fandi vigorem; Epig. 26.5: fandique potens.

Fari is most frequently employed in Latin to denote the basic act of speaking, (cf. Prof. 21.4) while for cultivated eloquence dicere is normally employed (as at Prof. 1.17; Parent. 1.11). But Aus. shows a preference for fari in this latter sense, though he is by no means the

only author who uses fari in this way; cf. e.g. Apul. Apol. 95: omnes fandi virtutes; Prudent. contra Symm. 2.762f.: (vox rhetoris) qui... fandi viribus audet...

f. nobilis: Aus. is fond of adjectives with the genitive; cf. Mos. 400: legumque catus; Prof. 5.18: famae et salutis sauciis; Delachaux, pp. 89ff. Though later Latin shows some strange innovations, I can, however, find no parallel for nobilis with the genitive, and Augustine deliberately avoids this construction Conf. 4.5: medicinae artis peritissimus et in ea nobilissimus. But Aus.' construction is similar to clarus artiseius at Pliny HN 37.8 or notus pudicitiae at Prop. 1.16.2.

nobilis: cf. 5.5: dei poeta nobilis; 6.35; 9.5; 13.9; 16.9; 18.5; 22.21; 24.3; Parent. 9.5; 19.3. On ennoblement through rhetoric see above pp. 159, 195ff.

5. honore: see on 8.20 below.

neniae: see above on 3.2 above.

6. potentum rhetorum: cf. Mos. 400: fandi potentes; Epig. 26.5: fandique potens; Ep. 12.2: linguaque potens. It seems likely, however, that here we have reference to position as well as rhetorical ability. Patera's pupils have gained distinction in office, and this glory reflects upon their teacher; cf. above on 1.9ff.

potentum: cf. viventum, Prof. 25.5; 26.7. Aus. varies between um and ium termination, using the latter regularly in prose (e.g. viventium, Domest. 4 Pref.; contendentium, Ep. 7 Pref.; gaudentium, salutantium, praesentium, Grat. Act. 1 (28P) 3 (84P); 13 (394P) and um in verse (Ecl. 5.2, 9; Domest. 3.5, 34; Cup. Cruc. 75; Mos. 96, 107, 141, 250, 292; Ep. 5.17; 27.113). But in verse we find ium (Ludus 48), and in prose um (ibid. title; cf. ium Ecl. 5 title). See further S, p. 292; Delachaux, pp. 87f.

7. Baiocassi: editors; Bagocassi V. The town is Baiocas (Bayeux), and the inhabitants the Baiocasses (Not. Dig. ed. Seeck, Frankfurt: Minerva, 1962, pp. 217, 263). The adjective Baiocassinus occurs at Sid. Apoll. Ep. 4.18. 2 and Greg. Tur. Franc. 9.13.

Druidarum: cf. 10.7: Druidum. Druides and Druidae were both in common use. Patera was reputed to have Druid ancestry (v.8): *si fama non fallit fidem*. Likewise, the statement about the Druid ancestry of his father is qualified (10.26): *ut placitum*. These are the last references to the Druids in Greco-Roman literature, but they scarcely show the continued existence of the Druids in the fourth century. That the family was connected with a temple of Belenus does not prove that they were active Druids. Aus. regards Druidism as a thing of the past, and politely doubts the claimed lineage. In the SHA women called Druids appear as fortune-tellers (Alex. Sev. 60.6; Aurel. 44.4f.; Num. 14.2f) and these are perhaps the debased vestiges of Druidism (See Appendix A; Kendrick, The Druids, p. 97; Chadwick, The Druids, chapt. 5; Piggot, The Druids, p. 127). For Aus.' alleged Druidic connections, see on

v. 14 below.

stirpe ...satus: cf. 10.27: stirpe satus; Parent. 14.5: procerum de stirpe satus; Biss. 3.1: stirpe et lare prosata; Praefatiunculae 1.2, 8; Prof. 10.6; 12.3; 20.4.

8. For alliteration cf. 5.35; 14.12; 15.2, 9; 17.13; 23.11; 26.11ff. Smith, pp. 18ff. provides a useful analysis of this device in Aus. See too S, p. 295. In a highly rhetorical poet it is difficult to decide what is an epideictic verbal play, and what is a poetic device employed for effect. Here the alliteration may emphasize the poet's skepticism about the claimed descent. How does one assess Griphus 49: tergenus omnigenum, genitor, genetrix, generatum? Or Ep. 12.36: valere, valere si voles me, iam veni?

9. Beleni...genus: cf. 10.23ff.: Phoebicum, / qu. Beleni aedituus/ nil opis inde tulit. This Phoebicius is the father of Patera mentioned v.13: patrique nomen a Phoebō datum.

Beleni: god identified with Apollo as is clear from the context here. Cf. Herodian 8.3.8: βέλεν δὲ καλοῦσι τοῦτον
 ... Ἀπόλλωνα εἶναι θέλοντες ; SHA Maximini Duo
 22.1: ...dicens deum Belenum per haruspices respondisse Maximinum esse vicendum. unde et iam postea Maximiani milites iactasse dicuntur Apollinem contra se pugnasse debere. According to Tertullian (Apol. 24; Ad nat. 2.8), B. was the particular deity of Noricum, but he is most frequently referred to in inscriptions from Aquileia, and is found

elsewhere in Gaul and Italy. Bel is said to signify brightness, but his connection with Apollo appears to be through healing (two inscriptions from Aquileia are linked to springs) and prophecy (SHA Max. Duo 22.1), rather than through identification with the solar Apollo; cf. Toutain, Les cultes paiens, t. 3 p. 201 (1917/18; repr. Rome: Bretschneider, 1967); Ihm RE 3, 199-201; Gourvest, Ogam 6 (1954), 257ff.; E. Thévenot, Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule (Paris: Fayard, 1968), pp. 100ff.; C. B. Pascal, Cults of Cisalpine Gaul (Coll. Latomus 75, 1964), pp. 123ff. (Pascal wrongly states that Aus. twice refers to a temple of Belenus at Bordeaux).

11. Paterae: see above on title.

ministros: assistants to the priest. Patera's father was not a priest, but an aedituus, a "temple-keeper". There is nothing to say that the family were members of a priestly caste or descendants of a priest. Aus. knew this and expresses reservations about their claimed lineage, which he evidently viewed as an attempt to ennoble an otherwise humble background. See on v. 7 above, on 10.24 below and pp. 362f. above.

12. Apollinares mystici: Corp, P, S, Gr . V reads Apollinaris mystici, which Graevius would retain, taking A. as an archaic nominative plural (Delph, p. 966, M, p. 138f). As Pa points out, it would be the sole one in Aus. He accepts the emendation of Canal (ed. Venice, 1853), Apollinares mystice, comparing Solinus 32: Delubra mystice thalamos nominant. Aus. uses mysticus as an adjective at Griph. 1: mystica lex;

Servius, however, uses m. as a noun (Georg. 3.391): cuius rei mystici volunt quandam secretam esse rationem. Here mystici seems to refer to interpreters of literature, but in Aus. I am tempted to retain the ms reading and translate: "Thus they name servants of the priest of Apollo: or, preferably, taking mystici = mystae (Domest. 2.2): "thus initiates (devotees) name the servants of Apollo". (Note acc. plurals in similis Ep. 27.8, and facilis, difficilis Ecl. 4.7).

13. fratri patrique nomen a Phoebio datum: Phoebicius (10.23) is the father. He obtained his chair nati opera (10.30), i.e. either by the help of Patera, or the brother Phoebicius mentioned here, about whom nothing further is known.

14. natoque de Delphis: i.e. Delphidius of the following poem. On theophoric names cf. Étienne, Bordeaux antique, p. 176, who cites Apollonius, Diophantus, Eros, Hermeros, Veneria (CIL 13. 815, 620, 647, 738, 875). Bachelier [Ogam 12 (1960), 96ff.] makes a lot out of the nomenclature in Aus., taking this along with medical and astrological interests to suggest that Aus.' family and others with theophoric names were secretly Druids. But such names in themselves prove nothing. Throughout the Empire there was a strong interest in astrology which legislation could not eliminate [cf. Cod. Just. 9.18.2, 5, 7, 8; Cod. Theod. 9.16.4, 6, 8, 12; Cramer, CM 12 (1950), 9-50; id. Astrology in Roman Law and Politics (American Phil. Soc. Mem. 37, 1954)]. H. de la Ville de Mirmont [REA 5 (1903), 255-75] notes that in his official writings Aus. does not mention astrology, but betrays a good knowledge in his

private writings. But this should not lead one to conjure up a romantic image of a secret Druid, for very many people were interested in astrology without having anything to do with Druids. Nor does the fact that Aus.' father was a doctor in any way prove that the family had Druid connections. He may have been a Greek physician like Alexander who lost his life in the Lugdunum persecution (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 5.1.10, 49), or a iatrosophist (see on 26.5). Names in Aus.' family circle such as Herculanus, Hesperius, Veneria, Idalia have nothing peculiarly Druidic about them. Dryadia may provide cause for hesitation, for it may be connected with dryas, "Druid". It is much more likely, however, that it is the feminine of Arborius, coined from dryas, dryadis "wood-nymph". (Note Hesperius as a learned variant for Ausonius).

15. doctrina nulli tanta: cf. 20.9; 24.1 contrast 10.38: doctrina exiguus; see too above pp. 17f, and on 3.3.

nulli: for the common poetic use of nullus for nemo cf. 5.11; 15.16; Parent. 1.17; 18.3; Caes. Tetr. 48; Epig. 47.1.

16. cursus tot fandi et rotae: editors follow Scaliger's emendation of V's cursus rotandi et rota. Cursus is regularly used of a flow of discourse. For rotae cf. Sid. Apoll. Ep. 9.15.49: rotas Maronis. It is probable that Aus. wrote cursus rotundi (Vinet; M, p. 139); cf. Gell. 11.13.4: cultus...et sonus rotundae et volubilis sententiae; Cic. Orat. 13.40: Thucydides perfractior nec satis, ut ita dicam, rotundus; Sid. Apoll. Ep. 1.1: Symmachi rotunditatem. The word-play rotundi...rota is in keeping with Aus.' style; cf. S, p. 295: lusus in verbis.

17. memor: cf. 15.13: Epirote Cinea memor magis; 21.1; Parent. 3.18; Ep. 22.5; and on 1.22 above.

lucida facundia: for clarity see on 1.18 above.

18. canore, cultu praeditus: editors after Scaliger; carere cultu
 V. If accepted canore could be from canor, but more likely the vocative of canorus; cf. Parent. 17.15: ore canorus. Delph (p. 969) holds that the ms reading can be defended, comparing Parent. 1.13f.: praeditus et vitas hominum ratione medendi / porrigere et fatis amplificare moras, and quoting August. Conf. 4.3(5): Erant enim eius sermones sine verborum cultu, vivacitate sententiarum iocundi et graves. Lack of cultus could be a fault (cf. Quint. 10.2.27), but note Seneca Controv. 2 Pref. 1: cultus nimis acquisitus.; Suas. 2.23: nimius cultus et fracta compositio poterit vos offendere. See further Leeman, Orationis ratio, pp. 287ff. Aus. may indicate that cultus is not to be sought; cf. Seneca Controv. 2. Pref. 2: splendor vero velut voluntarius non elaboratae orationis aderat. In a different context Aus. almost boasts the lack of it; Parent. Verse Pref. 3. One might read carere cultu praeditus and translate: "gifted in your lack of affectation"; or retain cultum and emend carere (e.g. to parere). I would keep the ms reading carere cultum praeditus since in early and late Latin carere can be followed by the accusative.

19. salibus...nullo felle perlitis: see above on 1.31.

20. vini cibique abstemius: cf. Pliny HN 22.115: *mulieribus vini abstemiis*; CGL 5.161.20: *abstemios cibi*; see too on v. 2 above. For the virtue of abstinence, 15.9; 24.9; 10.16; contrast 21.7: *creditus olim fervere mero*. On overindulgence in food and drink see above pp. 147ff., 189.

21. laetus: a favourite of Aus.; see above pp. 150f.

pudicus: cf. 15.8: *probe et pudice*; pudica Parent. 9.23; 19.3; Prof. 7.6: *probitas vitae*; 26.2: *probi doctores*. See above on 2.11.

pulcher: cf. 17.2f.: *ore/pulcher*; Parent. 8.5: *pulcher honore oris*; 17.14: *corpore pulcher*; Epig. 10: *ore pulchro*. On appearance of rhetor see above pp. 205f.

senio: Aus. uses senium (Prof. 10.53; Parent. 9.9; Epit. 2.6; Ep. 19.19), senecta (Prof. 23.13; Parent. 1.3; 7.7; 11.15; Mos. 449; Ep. 24.7), and senectus (Prof. 19.5; Parent. 18.11) as metre demands. Cf. on 7.13 for his use of iuventa and variants.

21-22. quoque/aquilae ut: so P, Pa, Gr; quoque ut/aquilae S. V reads: *quoque ut* (added by a second hand)/***aquilae*. S is closest to the ms, but causes an elision in the last unit. Frequently Aus. elides est in this position (see Crisi, p. lxxiii) and is not averse to elision in the final foot of hexameters (e.g. sine arte Prof. 17.1; Crisi, p. lxx cites eleven examples). The ms reading is uncertain and Aus. has oddities in his metre. But whatever reading is accepted, the sense is certain. For the comparison see Otto, Sprichwörter, pp. 32, 125. For the retention of faculties in old-age see above pp. 167f., 179, 200f.

Professores 5

Attius Tiro Delphidius: When we dealt with this rhetor in connection with the Priscillianist affair (above pp. 3f.) we found that he died before ca. 380. We must now date events outlined in Ausonius' address to him, which follows the chronological format prescribed for sepulchral laudations (see above pp. 139f.)

We are told of Delphidius' boyhood attainments vv. 5-8, covering the indoles in primis annis section. Mox inde at the start of v. 9 points to chronological progression, and we read of more mature success in letters vv. 9-12, corresponding to the requisite disciplinae section. In vv. 13-18 we turn in general terms to his activity in personal and public affairs. The opera section continues with an account of his political rise and fall. The chronological pointer unde in v. 31 is closely followed by another, mox inde rhetor, in v. 33. Mention of his death and the subsequent fate of his family concludes the chronological sequence of the poem.

It is the information about Delphidius' political activities which is crucial in establishing the chronology of his life. There are three matters involved, a court case in which he was prosecutor, his rise in tempus tyrannicum, a court case in which he was the defendant. From vv. 21f. it appears that Delphidius, motivated by revenge (ultor impetus), had prosecuted someone, and thereby sharpened daggers against himself.

The case was evidently an important one (magnis...litibus), and, considering the chronological order of the poem, it occurred before his political elevation. Now Ammianus, lauding the judicial uprightness of Julian, relates the following incident which took place in 358 (18.1.4):

Numerium Narbonensis paulo ante rectorem, accusatum ut furem, inusitato censorio vigore, pro tribunali palam admissis volentibus audiebat, qui cum infitiatione defenderet obiecta, nec posset in quoquam confutari, Delphidius orator acerrimus, vehementer eum impugnans, documentorum inopia percitus, exclamavit: "Ecquis, florentissime Caesar, nocens esse poterit usquam, si negare sufficiet?" Contra quem Iulianus prudenter motus ex tempore, "Ecquis", ait "innocens esse poterit, si accusasse sufficiet?"

It seems that Delphidius was using Julian's repression of corruption in Gaul as an opportunity to impeach Numerius. The fact that he had no concrete evidence suggests an effort to settle an old score, an ultor impetus. This trial was an important one and it cannot have helped Delphidius' popularity (cf. odia magna concitata litibus). It seems very likely, therefore, that vv. 21f. refer to this incident. The tempus tyrannicum should then come after 358.

Seeck (RE 4, col. 2403, Delphidius), Étienne (Bordeaux antique, p. 217) and PLRE (p. 246) think the tempus is the usurpation of Magnentius (350-353). But we have just seen that Delphidius was apparently very much in the thick of things in 358, even if the ultor impetus is wrongly identified with the incident in Ammianus. Jerome's Chronicle places his floruit in 355. So his downfall and retirement cannot immediately follow Magnentius' death. EW and Corp (p. 315) suggest the revolt in question is that of Procopius. Delphidius will have been elevated like the two Gauls described by Ammianus (26.7.4): *et iubetur civitatem curare solita potestate Phronimius, esseque magister officiorum Euphrasius, ambo*

Galli institutis bonarum artium spectatissimi. Delphidius' offices were evidently not as high as these (v. 30: *meritusque plura quam gerens*), though Ausonius' words imply that his career lasted some time (v. 29: *vagus per omnes dignitatum formulas*). But Procopius did not last long. Elevated on September 28th, 365, he was executed on May 27th, 366. Delphidius may have survived the purge on Procopius' fall (Amm. Marc. 26.10.6-14). Ausonius implies that the case against him was the result of the odia magnis concitata litibus v. 20. The subsequent fate of the Numerius, governor of Narbonensis, whom Delphidius had unsuccessfully prosecuted, is unfortunately not known, but it is tempting to think the prosecution originated from him or someone close to him.

Delphidius was the father of Alethius Minervius of Prof. 6. The latter succeeded to the chair of his grandfather (Patera of Prof. 4) at the age of 16 or 17 in the 340s. Alethius was therefore born ca. 325. If Delphidius was married at the age of 20, he will have been born ca. 305. Ausonius tells us he died in middle age (v. 36). If he died ca. 370 he will have been about 65. We might not class this as middle age, but rhetors matured late (see on 6.33ff.), and Ausonius, writing as he was approaching 80, can refer to a 60 year old as a iuuenis (1.38)!

Ausonius does not make it clear whether Delphidius was a teacher in the earlier part of his life, but v. 14 shows that he was active as an advocate in Bordeaux and elsewhere. Sidonius mentions the abundantia Delphidii (Ep. 5.10,3) which may attest the posthumous fame of our rhetor.

Title. Attius is the generally accepted emendation of Vinet (Delph, p. 969) for V's Atticus. If Attius is correct in the title of

Prof. 4 the change is doubtless justified. It would be equally logical, however, to alter Attius in Prof. 4 to Atticus (cf. Pa, p. 190).

1. facunde, docte: see on 3.3. above.

lingua...celer: for a ready flow of eloquence cf. 20.7: promptissime rhetor; Ep. 10.17: meditatio prompta; contrast Epig. 8-13 on Rufus the rhetor and Domest. 4.9: sermone inpromptus Latio.

ingenio celer: cf. celer at 22.21 and Parent. 3.18. On celerity of wit as a necessity for the rhetor cf. Cic. Orat. 200; Tusc. 4.13.31; De Or. 2.230; 3.68; Brut. 53; August. De civ. D. 7 Pref.: ingenia celeriora. On praise of ingenium cf. Parent. 13.3: ingenio prior; 14.7: bonus ingenio; 17.13: ingenio ingens. Ingenium is connected directly with eloquence in the expressions: facundo non rudis ingenio (Parent. 1.12); facundo maior ab ingenio (ibid. 8.5). See too on 18.10 below.

2. iocis amoene: Tolman (p. 44) lists amoenus as a common epithet in CE. For ioca see on 1.32 above.

3. subtextus: cf. Epit. Prose Pref.: subnecterem.

flebili: cf. 7.18: flebilem cantum; 10.2: flebilis officii; 10.43: flebile (melum); 26.10: querella flebili; 16.19: flebile munus; Parent. 25.2: flebilibus modulis.

threno: cf. 7.4; 14.5; 21.3; Isid. Orig. 3.16.3. Aus. is the first known Latin writer to use this word. Other Greek imports appearing

only in Aus. are: Ep. 12. 60: cora; Epig. 46.1: cynice; Epig. 23.1: dyseros; Ep. 26.28: emporus; Epig. 96.2; Parent. 29.2: elegeon; Griph. Pref. ad fin.: epyllium; Tech. 14.1: logodaedalia; Caes. Mon. 1.3 (and elsewhere): momostichum; Ep. 17.7: metoche; Ep. 13.19: telius; Epit. 29.1: tribon. It is of course possible that Aus. wrote some of these words in Greek characters, but he does show a liking for Grecisms. Note Ep. 8-10, and the following usages, which are not exclusive to Aus.:

Epit. 26.31: acatus; Ordo 19.21: cataplus; Tech. 8.12: leuconotos; Mos. 391: nete; Ep. 2.40; cf. Ep. 22 title, Pref. 2: protrepticus; Ecl. 7.21: tetragonus; Tech. 10.13: glos; Ludus 13: obelus. For synonyms of threnus see on 3.2 above.

patris: i.e. Attius Pater; cf. 4 title; 14.4. For son rivalling father's glory cf. 6.12ff.; for son falling short of parental fame, cf. 3.7f.

5f. Delphidius was evidently something of a child prodigy, like Alethius Minervius, Ovid (Trist. 4.10.9ff.), Statius' father (Silvae 5.3.133ff.), and Numerian (SHA 11.2). It is common to find premature scholastic ability claimed in epitaphs. The most apposite example for comparison here is that of Sulpicius Maximus who recited extemporized verses on Jupiter at the age of eleven (CIL 6, 33967; Dessau 5177; cf. RE Sulpicius 79). Note the following:

CE 465a (CIL 12, 533): ultra annos sapiens
CE 422 (CIL 6, 7578) of seven year-old: Musae mihi dederant puero
 facundus ut essem.
CE 434 of boy aged eleven:

dogmata Pythagorea sensi studiumque soforum
 et libros legi, legi pia carmina Homeri
 sive quod Euclides abaco praescripta tulisset

CIL 6, 18086: hic tamen vixit quasi qui vixit sedecim annis; talis enim
 sensus erat illi... (Cf. Adeodatus, August. Conf. 9.14: annorum erat
 ferme quindecim et ingenio praeveniebat multos graves et doctos vires).

CIL 6, 24520: mente senes, aevo sed periere brevi.

CIL 6, 25928 of eight year-old boy: cuius annos ingenium excedebat.

Girls were liable to similar praise, a fact which is of importance to the
 question of the education of females in antiquity:

CIL 6, 7898: of ten year-old: excedens cunctas ingenio aequales.

CIL 6, 10096: of fourteen year-old: docta, erodita paene Musarum manu.

CIL 6, 20674: doctrina super legitimam sexus sui aetatem praestantissimae.

CIL 6, 21846 of eleven year old: super annos docta.

CIL 6, 25808 of fifteen year old: eruditae omnibus artibus. See too on

Prof. 6.6ff. below. If healthy cynicism does not discourage belief in
 such claims, Eunapius, describing his relatives' behaviour during an
 illness of his, has kindly provided a warning gloss on praise of

precocious intellects (VS 486; p. 480 Loeb):

καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπλοῦσιν
 ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἅπαντες εἰώθασιν χαρίζεσθαι, πολλὰ
 τινὰ καὶ μεγάλα περὶ αὐτοῦ καταψευσάμενοι καὶ
 συμφορῆσαντες ἑτεροτεύσαντο...

6. dei: Jupiter (see v. 8), not Belenus as Pithoeus thought (Delph,
 p. 969).

nobilis: see above on 4.2.

7. sertum coronae...Olympiae: Scaliger refers us to Juv. 6.387ff.:
 an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum / sperare; and Martial 4.54: o
 cui Tarpeias licuit contingere quercus. The singular sertum is rare
 but cf. Cup. Cruc. 88: roseo Venus aurea serto; and Mart. Cap. 1.79.
celebrasti: Aus. usually contracts; cf. v.28; 9.5; 10.20; 17.11;
 see too on 1.26 above.

8. Iovem: There was an agon Capitolinus instituted by Domitian, part
 of which was a prose and verse panegyric of Jupiter (Suet. Dom. 4,
 13; Quint. 3.7.4; Dessau 5177; 5178; Martial 4.54; 9.35.10; 9.40; 11.9).
 This agon met with some unpopularity (see Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep.
 4.22; Carcopino, Daily Life, p. 245), and some parts of it were defunct
 by the time Suetonius was writing (Dom. 4; see too Friedländer, Sittenges-
 chichte, Abhang 19; Bardon, Les empereurs et les lettres latines,
 pp. 287f., 361, 425). Some sections of the agon were
 continued (Herodian 8.8.3; Censorinus 18.4; Cod. Iust. 10.54). There
 is some reason, therefore, to follow scholars such as Scaliger (Delph,
 p. 969f.), Denk (Schulwesen, pp. 67, 98) and Wissowa (Sittengeschichte,
 4, 280) in the belief that Delphidius achieved success in the survival
 of Domitian's agon at Rome. Games in honour of Capitoline Jupiter were
 held elsewhere (Sittengeschichte, p. 280). From Libanius Or. 1.222 it is
 evident that panegyric of Zeus was standard at the Olympia in Antioch. It
 is not impossible therefore that a festival at Bordeaux is meant here. But
CGL 3,656.6 has a bilingual conversation about writing and reciting for a
 prize a laus Iovis Capitolini. Evidently the Olympia at Rome is meant.
 Likewise we can be fairly certain that Aus. indicates the contest at Rome
 here, and this reference to success at Rome is picked up at Prof. 6.14ff.

(see below on life of Alethius Minervius). The Olympia at Rome was a standard podium for juvenile epideixis; cf. the instances of Sulpicius Maximus (above on v. 5), Statius' father (Silvae 5.3.146ff.), and [Florus] Verg. rhet. an poeta? ad init, who all achieved success at a youthful age at the Roman agon. (Lafaye, De poetarum et oratorum certaminibus apud veteres, p. 72f. suggests that there was a special section for the young, but there is no evidence for this).

9. mox inde: cf. v. 32 below. Mox begins verses at 17.8; 18.7; 23.10; Parent. 4.15.

cursim: cf. Ep. 7.22; 25.44. An adverb formation to which Aus. was not averse; cf. exquisitim Ep. 25.23; fartim Mos. 86.113; iunctim Cento 35; viritim Mos. 394; see further Delachaux, p. 51.

more torrentis freti: see on 1.17 above. S, P, Gr cf. Vergil Aen. 10.603f.: torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri/more furons.

10. epos: cf. Horace Sat. 1.10.43; Ovid Rem. 396; Martial 12.94.1; Sid. Apoll. Ep. 8.11.3, 26: 19.15.1; Carm. 23.450.

ligasti: legasti v. I can find no parallel use of this verb for composition, except perhaps Quint. 5.14.32: Quae apprensa (i.e. rhetorical developments)...in catenas ligant et inexplicabili serie connectunt. The use of ligare here is not, however, surprising, for synonymous verbs are used to describe composition, as are colligare and illigare. Here ligare provides variatio with texeret in v. 12, if the reading is correct.

11. nullus: see on 3.15 above.

aequa l.1.c: P, Gr, Pa. Aeque l.1.c S. The reading of V is not clear. With aequa lege one could translate "free from the balanced law of verse (EW "free from the handicap of prosody"; Pa "libero da regole prosodiche"). But the sense of "equally" is needed to complete the ut clause. The reading aeque provides this and the caesura falling after aeque neatly divides the adverb from the alliterative lege liber. Therefore, with S, I prefer to read aeque here. (Delph, p. 971, takes aequa lege to mean eodem metri genere. The point, however, is clearly that Delphidius can compose verse more rapidly and better than another could churn out prose). For his ability in prose and verse cf. Jerome Ep. 120 Pref. (quoted above p. 5) and cf. on 3. 3-4 above.

12. orationem texeret: editors. Oratione exeret V. Scaliger and Vinet proposed the rare nexeret (Delph, p. 971). Prof. 26.9f. may support texeret here.

13. eloquentia: for Delphidius' powers see on career above.

14. domi forisque: "at home and abroad"; cf. 20.2: sive domi seu docuere foris.

15. cohortis praesulem praetoriae: not an official formula, but it indicates the praefectus praetorii officii. Aus. refers to Probus, PPO, as praetorio maximus (Ep. 12.18), and in the next verse calls him

senati praesul. Praesul is again used in a semi-official sense

Ep. 15.79: praesul creatus litteris. Delphidius was aiming at the kind of elevation Ambrose achieved (Paulin. V. Amb. 2.5):

sed postquam edoctus liberalibus disciplinis ex urbe egressus est professusque in auditorio praefecturae praetorii, ita splendide causas perorabat ut eligeretur a viro illustri Probo, tunc praefecto praetorii, ad consilium tribuendum. post quod consularitatis suscepit insignia ut regeret Liguriam Aemiliamque provincias.

15f. seu / aut: cf. Epit. 31.5: seu...anne; Parent. 18.1: sive...

vel; but seu / seu at Prof. 3.4f. Seu with vel, aut, an, ne is found in post Augustan prose and poetry; cf. L & S s.v. sive.

17. coleres...clientibus: editors; coleris...cluentis V. Vinet

(Delph, 971; M, p. 141f.) suggested clientiis on the basis of a disputed reading in Sid. Apoll. Ep. 2.2.10: clientularum/clientiarum... loquacissimus chorus. CGL 5, 277.29 lists clientius. If one insisted on adhering to the ms reading, one might defend cluentiis (cluens being an alternative spelling for cliens).

18. famae...sauciis: see on 4.2 above and cf. docendi pertinax and fastidiosus obviae vv. 26,33.

19f. On Ausonius' attitude to ambition see above pp. 154ff.

quietis: contrasted with inquietos v. 23. On literary otium see above pp. 154ff.

maneres: cf. armaret, adtolleret in following verses. One might have expected the pluperfect subj., but the imperfect is acceptable even in classical usage. See Woodcock, p. 200f., and cf. Verg. Aen. 8.643: at tu dictis, Albane, maneres.

21. litibus: on lites see above pp. 153f.

23. temporis tyrannici: cf. Ep. 20 title. This is evidently not from Aus.' hand, but may be a rephrasing of his original title.

25. For sentiment P, Gr compare Lucr . 3.1080f.; Horace Sat. 1.2.105ff.; Ovid Amores 2.9.9f.; Manil. 4.7.

26. fastidiosus obviae: sc. spei. For f. with gen. cf. Hor. Carm. 3.1.37; Cic. Brut. 247; Fronto Ep. 3 Ad Verum (Hout, p. 113, 18); Mart. Cap. 9.921.

29. vagus: with formulas the idea of a futile romp is conveyed.

omnes dignitatum formulas: cf. Cass. Varia Pref. 14: cunctarum itaque dignitatum sexto et septimo libris formulas comprehendit; see too the titles to these books.

formulas: on emptiness of titles cf. Pan. Lat. 11.2.1ff.: in consulatu honos sine labore suscipitur.

30. meritusque plura quam gerens: cf. Sall. Iug. 63.4: semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore quam gerebat dignus haberetur; Amm. Marc. 29.1.8: semper officio loquoque, quem retinebat, superior videbatur. See too on 10.40 below.

33. mox inde: see on v. 9 above.

docendi pertinax: cf. Apuleius Apol. 102.15: iustitiae p.;

Val. Max. 6.33: irae p. Tenax is frequent with the genitive. See also on 4.2 above. On devotion to teaching see on Praef. 1.3.

35f. Ausonius elaborates this theme in his Epicedion to his father (Domest. 4.53ff):

haec me fortunae larga indulgentia suasit
 numine adorato vitae obitum petere,
 ne fortunatae spatium inviolabile vitae
 fatali morsu stringeret ulla dies.
 optinui auditaque preces: spem, vota, timorem
 sopitus placido fine relinquo aliis.

Death is often viewed as a relief (e.g., CE 436.1; 214.4; 507) but more appositely we can compare here CE 1148.9: o genitor felix, qui nec tua funera vidit. Juvenal (10.187ff.) discourses at length on the woes of longevity, and with his reflections on Pompey we can compare Cicero Tusc. 1.86. The latter (Brutus 4) writes: illius vero mortis opportunitatem benevolentia potius quam misericordia prosequamur. But it is Tacitus who has immortalized the sentiment (Agr. 45.3): Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis; cf. Hdt. 1.30; Cic. De Or. 3.2.8; Cic. Ep. 4.55; Seneca Suas. 6.6; Lattimore, pp. 205ff.; Lissberger, p. 38; Tolman, pp. 87ff.; Peek, p.

374 s.v. Tod; Kassel, pp. 75, 82f.

37. filiae: filii V. But the emendation is certain for the reference is to the involvement of his wife Euchrotia and daughter Procula in the Priscillianist affair (on which see above pp. 2ff.).

Professores 6

Alethius Minervius Filius: The father of this rhetor has been variously identified as Ti. Victor Minervius (Prof. 1), Alcimus Alethius (Prof. 2) and Attius Tiro Delphidius (Prof. 5) (see e.g. Roger, L'en - seignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin, p. 5; PLRE, p. 246). The fame of his father had graced Rome (vv. 24ff.). Ti. Victor Minervius had flourished at Rome (1.4) and he and the supposed son share the name Minervius. But the retention of the ms reading at 1.37 deprives Ti. Minervius Victor of the lack of an heir and this will not fit with 6.40ff.

Latinus Alcimus Alethius shares a name with Alethius Minervius. But there is no mention of the former ever having gained fame at Rome. It is unlikely that Ausonius would have omitted to mention the acquisition of fame in the capital (cf. 1.4; 16.14ff.).

Delphidius made his mark at the Olympia at Rome (see on 5.7f.), and vv. 16ff. can readily refer to this victory. In this piece Alethius is then compared to his father Delphidius (v.12) and his grandfather Patera (v. 20). The titles to the addresses are elsewhere precise about relationships (cf. Prof. 9, 11, 18), and the unqualified filius in the title here most naturally means "son of the foregoing". Pater in the title of Prof. 4 and 4.14 clarify the relationship between Delphidius and Patera. Filius in the title of Prof. 6 continues the family sequence. Remote from connection with the temple of Belenus

(4.9f.) Alethius Minervius was not given a name with Apolline connotations.

Alethius Minervius will have succeeded to his grandfather's chair in the 340s (see on the career of Patera above) about the age of 16 or 17 (see on vv. 6ff.) and he died without a family pubere in aevo (vv. 24, 41). The emphasis laid on meteoric career and early death places the date of this death in the 340s before the age of 20.

The verse order of this poem has been jumbled in the ms tradition, and has been variously arranged by editors. (For reproductions of the text of V and attempts to provide a logical sequence see P, pp. 54ff; S, p. 60; Gr, pp. 252-4). Pa, following M (p. 152), prints the most acceptable order, and my commentary follows this text.

ALETHIO MINERVIO FILIO RHETORI

O flos iuvenum,
spes laeta patris,
nec certa tuae
data res patriae,

rhetor Alethi.
Tu primaevus
doctor in annis
tempore, quo te
discere adultum

non turpe foret,
praetextate
iam genitori
conlatus eras.
Ille superbae

moenia Romae
fama et meritis
inclitus auxit:
tu Burdigalae
laetus patriae

postque Pateram
clara cohortis
vexilla regens
et praeceptor
pubere in aevo

maior utroque,
 non sine morsu
 gravis invidiae
 cuncta habuisti
 commoda fati.

Omnia praecox
 fortuna tibi
 dedit et rapuit.
 Et rhetoricam
 floris adulti

fruge carentem
 et conubium
 nobile soceris
 sine pace patris
 et divitias

utriusque domus
 sine herede tuo.
 Deseruisti
 vota tuorum
 non mansuris

ornate bonis.
 Solstitialis
 velut herba solet,
 ostentatus
 raptusque simul.

Quam fatiloquo
 dicte profatu
 versus Horati:
 "nihil est ab omni
 parte beatum."

1. flos iuvenum: cf. vv. 33f.; Ep. 12.89: flos flosculorum; Epit.
 15.1: flos Asiae; Catull. 100.2; Livy 7.7.5; 8.8.6; Val. Max. 9.6.2;
 Cic. Phil. 2.37. See below on vv. 20f. for possible connections with
iuventus organization.

2. spes laeta patris: cf. Parent. 20.1: matris spes unica; CE 1170:

fortuna invisata est, spes et frustrata parentes; for thought here and in the piece as a whole cf. CE 1403.11ff.:

o dolor, humanis frustra spes addita rebus.
frustra doctrinae vincitur arte genus.
quid te grammaticae iuvit tolerasse labores,
consona rhetoricae verba legisse tubae,
si mors dura ruens pueriles occubat annos,
et nutrita diu spes mihi visa perit?

laeta: cf. laetus v. 19, and see on 4.21 above.

patris: i.e. Attius Tiro Delphidius.

3f. nec certa...res: contrasts with spes v.2; cf. 11.2: spem magis quam rem...praebuisti avunculo; Ep. 22.37: vel re vel spe mihi porge fruendum; Parent. 11.3: spes cuius certa fuit res; Domest. 4.46: spes (i.e. Ausonius) mihi certa fuit; CE 422.8: spes mihi quam magna fuerat, si me mea fata tulissent; CE 1170 quoted on v. 2 above.

6. primaevus: cf. 12.1: primaeva Thalasse; 20.4: primaevos; Ep. 19.31: primaevo genitus genitore; Statius Silvae 5.3.136: stupuit primaeva ad carmina plebes. On compound adjectives in Aus., see Delachaux, pp. 46ff. and on v. 50 below.

7. doctor: on youthful teachers, cf. Origen who was a teacher at seventeen (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 6.3.3), and Augustine at nineteen (Conf. 4.2). Hermogenes was so famous as a sophist at the age of fifteen that the emperor came to hear him (Philostr. VS 577; p. 204 Loeb). For child prodigies see above on 5.5f. and note CE 116.9f.: puer ingenio validus, pubes pudicus, iuvenis orator fuit, / et publicas aures togatus

studiis delectavit suis. But many will have completed their rhetorical training by eighteen (Pliny Ep. 5.8.8; Petit, Étudiants, pp. 63ff., 138ff. Cod. Theod. 14.9.1, 370 A.D., makes twenty the age limit for the study of rhetoric). There was nothing to prevent such persons teaching, and established teachers presumably recruited their staff from brilliant graduates (see pp. 99f. above).

11. praetextate: strictly this should indicate someone under the age of seventeen (Gell. 1.23.18; Livy 22.57.9). This along with prymaevis ...in annis above and pubere in aevo (v. 25) do emphasize the youth of the rhetor, but Etienne's interpretation (Bordeaux antique, p. 241) that Alethius was a rhetor at 12/3, dying 15/6 is surely too literal.

12f. On equalling paternal achievement see on 3.6f. above.

16. meritis: see on 3.7 above.

17. inclitus: cf. 15.17; 26.1: manes inclitorum rhetorum; Parent. 9.23; Epit. 17.1; Mos. 11.

auxit: Rome regarded herself as the stronghold of Latin letters, but Gallic rhetoric was appreciated there; cf. Symm. Ep. 88: Fatendum est, amice, Galliconae facundiae haustus requiro: non quod his septem montibus eloquentia excessit, sed quia praecepta rhetoricae pectori meo senex olim Garumnae alumnus immulsit.

19. (Burdigalae) laetus patriae: cf. Mos. 163: *laeta operum plebes*; Verg. Aen. 11.73; Sil. Ital. 17.308; TLL s.v. laetus, col. 886 for further examples; see too on 4.2 above.

20. postque Pateram: postque patera, V; S and Gr in a verse-order close to that of Pa print: *postque Paterae*. The emendations give similar sense, but Pateram, textually easier, for a stroke above the "a" could slip from the text before a letter, avoids a pile-up of genitives. It is the reading preferred by M (p. 152) who gives a summary of the variation in readings before the editions of P and S.

20ff. Pa and EW remark the military metaphors and say cohors refers to a group of youths under the leadership of Alethius. Cohors may be a latin equivalent for $\chi\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, and Alethius may have been a $\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ then rhetor (see pp. 98ff. above). It might be possible too to see a reference to a iuventus organization of the kind which spread throughout the Empire from the Augustan institution [see Mohler, TAPhA 68 (1937), 442ff.]. Such organizations could indulge in military-style parades, and have a hierarchy of officers.

23. et praeceptor: Gr's es praeceptor is unnecessary.

23f. These lines verbally vary but really repeat vv. 6f.

24. pubere in aevo: cf. Parent. 17.9: *in tempore puberis aevo*.

26f. Jealousy and rivalry were common among teachers but Aus.

deliberately avoids mention of this (see above pp. 186ff.). The mention of the workings of fatum and fortuna have led the poet to write these lines. See following note.

29. commoda fati: cf. 5.27: fati bonum. Fate occurs in epitaphs more usually in the role of praecox fortuna of the ensuing verses; cf. on 3.5 above. Note also Ep. 22. 35-40; Lissberger, pp. 19ff.

30ff. omnia praecox/fortuna tibi/dedit et rapuit: cf. 18.3, 9: sed fortuna potens cito reddidit omnia et auxit: / sed numquam iugem cursum fortuna secundat; Parent. 22.13f.: aut iam fortunae sic se vertigo rotabat, / ut pondus fatis tam bona vota darent; Parent. 29.5: invida set nimium Lachesis; Mos. 411ff. Fatum and fortuna are of course linked in ancient thought, and feature prominently in epitaphs; cf. CE 1170 quoted on v. 2 above; CE 442.3: o fortuna, fidem quam mutasti maligne; Tolman, p. 74: "The goddess Fortuna is either regarded as similar to Fate in directing the affairs of life and determining the time of death, or she is regarded as the power which shapes the life of man and sends prosperity." Fortuna here is the same as τύχη; cf. Peek, p. 367 s.v.; Kassel, pp. 62ff., 94f.; note [Plut.] Cons. ad Apoll. 6: τοῖς μεγάλους εὐτυχήμασι φθονεῖν πέφυκεν ἡ τύχη.

33. rhetoricam: Praefatiunculae 1.16: rhetorices; ibid. 15: grammaticen.

33ff.: see on 10.10 below. Philostratus asserts that the rhetoric of Chrestus would have improved, had not his life been cut short at fifty (VS 592; p. 236 Loeb), and expresses a conviction that rhetoric

only achieves perfection with advanced years (VS 543; p. 134 Loeb;

quoted above p. 201). For the sentiment of Aus.' lines we can compare

ibid. 595; p. 242 Loeb: ἔμβριθῆς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἦθος γενόμενος
ἔτελεύτα ἠβῶν ἔτι ἀφαιρεθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ
καὶ πρόσω ἐλάσασθαι δόξης;

ibid. 612; p. 278 Loeb: (of Hermocrates who died aged 28): ἐμοὶ δὲ
ἀποπεφάνθω μὴ ἂν τινα ὑπερφωνῆσαι τὴν μετράκτου
τούτου γλῶτταν, εἰ μὴ ἀφηρέθη τὸ παρελθεῖν ἐς
ἀνδρας φθονῶ αἰλοῦς

floris: recalls v. 1 and foreshadows the "cut short in the flower
of youth" topos of vv. 46ff.

35. fruge: cf. Parent. 15.4: aevi fruge tui destituis viduam.

36f. conubium nobile: accepted emendation of V's et conubio nobilis
oceris. Cf. 13.9: conubium nobilis et locupletis; 16.9: nobilis et
dotata uxor; 18.5f.: nobilis hic hospes Clarentius indole motus/egregia
natam coniugio adtribuit; 19.5f.: illic coniugium natiq̄ue opulensque
senectus/et fama; on marriage as means of advancement see pp. 160f.,
196f. above. For nobile see on 4.2 above.

37. soceris: possibly dative (cf. Livy 2.5.9: arcendis sceleribus
nobile exemplum), but is better taken as ablative (so Pa, EW; cf. Ovid
Met. 6.416: nobilis aere Corinthus; Vell. Pat. 2.25.4: aquas
salubritate et medendis corporibus nobiles), since it is normally the
rhetor who advances through marriage (see previous note).

39. divitias: cf. 13.9; 16.9, 15; 17.10, 15; 18.7; 19.5; 23.5:

quem locupletavit coniunx Hispana; contrast 10.49f.: pauper ibi et tenuem/victum habitumque colens. On traditional poverty of teachers and Aus.' attitude to wealth see pp. 163ff., 197ff. above.

41. sine herede tuo: cf. 13.10: invidia fati non genitor moreris; see on 3.10 above. herēde: elsewhere heres; cf. Leucate Cup. Cruc. 24; see too S, p. 295.

42ff. Lawler on the young prodigy of CIL 9.5102 remarks [CJ (1934), 18]: "Reading between the carefully chiselled lines, may we not perhaps see young Simplicius as a docile young prodigy pushed beyond his strength by a too adoring parent?" We certainly do have quite a number of children prematurely dead, whose merits are acclaimed by their parents (see on 4.5f. above). The Romans had turned their backs on physical education, and this combined with misguided parental pressure may have contributed to the mortality rate among infant geniuses. Paulinus of Pella (Euchar. 123ff.) grew sickly in devotion to learning and had to turn to sports for therapy. V. 38 (sine pace patris) may indicate a pushy parent.

41f. The sentiment of these lines contains an element of reproach (note deseruisti) which approaches the thought of Diehl 4192/4192b, where a deceased child is labelled crudelis. The vota usually lamented as unfulfilled in circumstances such as these are listed [Plut.] Cons. ad Apoll. 23: marriage, education, manhood, citizenship, office.

46ff. The mors immatura motif appears to have been a favourite of

Ausonius, for we find it recurring in the Parentalia:

7.5: raptus enim laetis et adhuc florentibus annis

13.5ff.: verum iuventae flore laeto perfrui

aevique supra puberis

exire metas vetuit infesta Atropos

14.3: occidis in primae raptus mihi flore iuventae

20.3: ereptus primis aevi florentibus in annis

23.15: quam tener et primo nove flos decerperis aevo

With this we can compare CE 488.4: hic in flore cubat; or again

CE 565.3: flos aetatis hic iacet intus condita saxo.; CE 216.6:

rosa simul floriuit et statim periit. The sentiment is as old as

ancient literature; cf. Homer Iliad 6.146-9. S, P, Gr, Pa compare

Plautus Pseud. 38f.: quasi solstitialis herba paulisper fui: / repente

exortus sum, repentino occidi; along with EW they also cite Verg. Aen.

6.896: ostendent terris hunc tantum fatis. P, Pa, Gr cite Statius

Silvae 2.1.106-8; P, Gr ibid. 3.3.128-30. Barthius (Delph, p. 974)

quotes Venant. Fort. Carm. 4.26.1f.: omne bonum velox fugitivaque

gaudia mundi: / monstrantur terris et cito lapso ruunt. Further on

this motif, which also occurs in Christian epitaphs, cf. Lattimore,

pp. 195ff., 325; Tolman, pp. 32ff.; Lissberger, p. 35; Peek, p. 372 s.v.

Jugend, Tod in der; Kassel, pp. 81ff.; note P. Boyancé, "Funus acerbum"

REA 54 (1952), 275-89, on special rites for ἀνωρεῖ; see too on 3.5. above.

There were consolatory topoi for untimely death; cf. Kassel, pp. 85ff.

49. raptus: cf. on 3.5 above.

50. fatiloquo: cf. fatidicus Griphus 85; vaniloquus Epig. 42.4; 80 title.

See on v. 6 above.

51. profatu: this type of noun is favoured by Aus. See on rotatus 1.27, and note 15.17, 18: conditus, praesidatus; 17.5: auditus; 21.23: fatus.

52. Horati: cf. Leonti 7.3: Byzanti 16.13: see further S. p. 292.

53f. Aus. quotes Horace Carm. 2.16.27f. Prof. 8.1 quotes Carm. 1.12.53. Ep. 22.56 shows that the modulata poemata Flacci were a fixture on the school curriculum (cf. Marrou, p. 405; Quint. 1.8.6). Note Prof. 21.8f.: ut Vergilii Flaccique iocis/aemula ferres; Biss. Pref.: quamvis enim te non eius vulgi existimem, quod Horatius arcet ingressu; Griphus Pref.: de Flacci ecloga, in qua propter mediam noctem et novam lunam et Murenæ auguratum ternos ter cyathos attonitus petit vates.

Gonçalves [Euphrosyne 3 (1961), 241-4] objects to the quantity inflicted upon omni in this quotation, and argues that a phrase such as haec Flacci vox instead of versus Horati in v. 52 would eliminate the necessity of direct quotation from Horace. Then Aus. could have omitted ab from v. 53. Vinet (Delph, p. 975) noted omnis at Terence Andria 391 and Hecyra 867 (he wrongly cites Eunuchus 310 and Lucr. 1.119; 3.439 where the correct readings are hominum and hominis, not omnium and omnibus as he read). Terence was fixed on the school curriculum (cf. Ep. 22.58; Marrou, pp. 369, 406). Aus. readily quotes from Terence [Ep. 22. Pref.; Ludus 206ff. (Andria 758); Ludus 154f. (Andria 61); cf. Ludus 220; Ep. 13.15f.; 24.10; S, p. 268, for lengthy list of borrowings]. As a grammaticus Aus. had doubtless been through the text of Terence repeatedly with a fine comb, and what could provide more pedantic glee than to inflict a Terentian licence on a Horatian line?

(For the various emendations of the Horatian lines see M, p. 146f.

V reads: versus orati / nil est aboni / parte beatu. Since the change to nihil does not affect the scansion, it should be admitted. P, EW retain nil. S, Gr, Pa print Horace's line intact).

For the sentiment of the Horace quote in relation to epitaph see Kassel, pp. 54f. on [Plut.] Cons. ad Apoll. 4 who quotes the line of

Euripides: οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαμονεῖ.

Professores 7

Leontius Lascivus: This older contemporary of Ausonius (vv. 13f.) was presumably a grammaticus Latinus. He is perhaps mentioned in the heavily restored CIL 13.911. His mediocre talent suggests he functioned in a private capacity. On the tone of Ausonius' address to him see above p. 130.

Title: V has Leontius grammaticus cognomento Beatus. It is clear from vv. 5f. that Lascivus was Leontius' nick-name, and editors concur in altering Beatus. One may assume that Beatus has intruded from the last verse of the preceding poem. For the expression compare Grat. Act. 8 (247P): Metellus cognomento Pius; (Ecl. 11.5: cognomenta dierum). It is just possible, however, that cognomento beatus should be taken as "happy with his nick-name"; cf. v. 5.

1f. Cf. Parent. 18.1: Qui ioca laetitiamque colis; Dessau 7756:

hoc hoc sepulcrum respice, / qui carmen et Musas amas.

laetos...mores: Ordo 7.2: mores laeti; Mos. 442: temperat ingenuos qua laeta Aquitanica mores; see too on 4.21.

hilarosque mores: cf. Parent. 12.11: produxitque hilarem...vitam; Parent. 6.3: Hilari cognomen.

2. The festive mood here evoked is far from the sombre duty mentioned in the prefaces to the Parentalia. But this of course was not the only

feast in honour of the deceased. The Rosalia was a merrier occasion, and family celebrations might take place on the birthday of the deceased or on the anniversary of his death. Tertullian (De anim. 4.4) and Augustine (De mor. eccles. 1.34, 75) deprecate drunkenness at commemorative feasts held at the tombs. Epitaphs frequently invite passers-by to a merry party; e.g. Dessau 8090; 8139; 8379. See F. Cumont After-life in Roman Paganism (Yale Univ. Pr., 1922), pp. 53ff.; J. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), pp. 61-64.

3. annuum... (threnum): cf. 16.20: annuus ingrata religione dies; Parent. Verse Pref. 6: annua ne munera praetereas; 24.4: annua liba; 30.11: annua...iusta; Domest. 2.5: annua cura. Mention of yearly rites and renewal of grief is frequent in epitaphs as one would expect in view of the annual festivals in honour of the dead prescribed by Roman religion; cf. CE 1981.4.f.: accipe, kara mihi coniunx, pia munera mortis: / annua vota, diem, sollemnes ordine pompas; for further examples see Lattimore, pp. 133ff.; Purdie, p. 50.

functi: cf. 26.7: si qua functis cura viventum; Parent. 2.8: viva... functa; Cup. Cruc. 36: vivi functique mariti. See too on 1.37 above.

Leonti: see on 6.52 above.

4. nomine: Cf. 25.5f.: nomina / voce ciere; Parent. Verse Pref. 10ff.; Verg. Aen. 3.68; 6.506, where the custom of calling on the dead by name at funerals is mentioned. Ovid (Fasti 2.542) refers to prayers accompanying annual offerings at the Parentalia. At yearly funeral feasts the family will have mentioned the deceased by name, and anyone inclined to merriment is invited to become one of the family of Leontius

and address him by name. See too on 8.19, 19f. below.

threnum: see above on 5.3.

5. iste lascivus patiens vocari: editors cite Seneca Phaedrus 277: iste lascivus puer et renidens; Horace Carm. 1.2.43: patiens vocari Caesaris ultor. Pichon (Les derniers écrivains, p. 155 note 1) views this line as a conflation of the two passages, citing many other examples of such practice. I am willing to believe that Aus. could have manufactured the phrase iste lascivus independently of Seneca.

6. probitate vitae: cf. 15.9: probe: 26.2: doctores probi; Parent. 16.3; 19.2; see too on 2.11 above.

7f. quia...esset: Delachaux (p. 107) justifies the subj. on the grounds that direct speech is implied, but later Latin is not so particular about the niceties of Classical usage (see Blaisé, pp. 157ff.).

8. (aures) amicas: cf. Parent. 24.3: amicis (lacrimis).

9. titulum: Aus. elsewhere uses titulus to designate an epitaph (Prof. 8.19; Parent. 1.16; Epit. 10.1; 20.3; Domest. 4. Pref.), though it is not rare in the sense of renown (see L&Ss.v.).

10. exili...cathedrae: cf. 22.17: exili nostrae fucatus honore cathedrae; 8.6: fructus exilis; see too on 6.39 and 10.20f. For cathedra see on 1.8 above.

11. ut: for postponed ut see on 1.20 above.

11f. For sentiment cf. Prof. 9; 10.5f., 22f.; 12.7f.; 18.13f.; 22.21.

13. socius: on school friendships, Walden, Universities, p. 329f.

iuventa: cf. 11.4; Parent. 8.11; 13.5; 14.3; Caes. Tetr. 13; Ep. 19.19; Epit. 2.5. A metrically convenient variant for iuventus; see E. Heck, "Iuventa, Iuventus, Iuventas in der römischen Dichtung", Festschrift für E. Zinn, hrsg. M. von Albrecht u. E. Heck (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1970), pp. 65-74. See too on senium/senectus, 4.21f.

14. pluribus...cumulatus annis: cf. Fasti 4.5: lustrum cum se cumulaverit istis (annis); (note Ep. 25 Pref. cumulatus); August. De Civ. D. 2.23: dignitate longaeuitate cumulare; Paulin. Nola Carm. 33.117: nam tua (aetas) viginti lustro cumulaverat annos.

15. in nostris recales medullis: cf. Ep. 16.21: implicitum quam te nostris interne medullis.

medullis: commonly used in reference to deep-felt emotion; cf.

Catull. 64.19.6; Cic. Phil. 1.36; Statius Silvae 2.7.127.

recales: medulla is often used in conjunction with a "hotter" verb in expressions of love; cf. TLL s.v. col. 601; Amm. Marc. 28.1.7: recalebant in auribus eius parentis effata.

16. blande: see on 1.32 above.

17. tristi...cura: pia cura is the more usual expression; cf. 22.22; 23.16; 25.9; Parent. 5.1; 19.13; Lissberger, p. 75. Note Prof. 14.5: tristi...threno; 25.7: ot̄ tristia chartae; Parent. Prose Pref. tristi adfectione; 17.2: nenia tristi; 17.6: munera tristia.

18. flebilem cantum: see on 5.3 above.

memoris querellae: cf. Parent. 10.1: memori querella; Prof. 23.1: maestā querella; 26.10: querella flebili; Parent. Verse Pref. 5: funereis querellis; 13.2: querella funebri; 16.9: funereas... querellas; 17.17: lacrimabilis orsa querellae; 26.1: funereis querellis; 30.11: maestis...querellis; editors quote Horace Carm. 3.11.51: memorem ...querellam.

19. munus: see on 3.14 above.

ingratum tibi debitumque: Pa, EW (cf. Delph, 976; M, p. 154; Pa, p. 192) in their translations take tibi with debitum, since the munus is

ingratum rather to Aus. For postponed -que cf. Ordo 145: per mediumque
urbis; Cup. Cruc. 6: inter harundineasque; Fasti 2.2: undecies unumque.

20. carmine nostro: cf. Parent. 21.6: maesti carminis obsequio; 28.7:
carmine funereo. For synonyms of carmen see above on 3.2.

Professores 8

Corinthius, Spercheus, Menestheus: Of these Greek grammatici, the first two taught Ausonius, the third, the son of Spercheus, was presumably a contemporary of Ausonius. They were devoted teachers but there is no indication as to their status.

Scholars frequently take Romulus as an actual person (e.g. P, p. 536; S, p. 283; EW, p. ix; Marx RE 2 col. 2563; PLRE, p. 771; Pa, p. 906). A century ago Corpet had wisely rejected such an interpretation (p. 316): "Je crois que ce mot signifie ici un Romain. Ausone, s'amusant à parodier un vers d'Horace, se demande s'il doit chanter un grammairien latin avant les Grecs dont les noms suivent." This is perfectly correct. Ausonius is pretending to debate whether to place Prof. 10 before Prof. 8. Roger (L'enseignement, p. 6 n.2) gives a similar warning, but wrongly states that vv. 9-10 prevent interpreting Romulus as a real person. Ausonius uses Romulus = "Roman" or "Latin" (Tech. 13.6; 14.4: Romula vox; Ludus 22: togate Romule; Ep. 12.24; Ep. 11.14; cf. P, p. 536; S, p. 283 s.v. Romuleus, Romulus, Romulidae; cf. also Mart. Cap. 3.229: Γραμματικῆν dicor in Graecia...hincque mihi Romulus litteraturae nomen ascripsit).

1. Romulum: on the questionable existence of a teacher of this name see above.

Romulum...an: verbatim from Horace Carm. 1.12.33; see above on 6.53f.

3. Atticas musas: Aus. regularly mentions literary achievements (see above pp. 170ff.), but nothing specific is noted in this poem. The high-flown Atticas...musas...grammaticorum is simply circumlocution for the more mundane grammaticos Graecos (cf. title). For Atticus as a synonym for Graecus cf. Ordo 15.4: Attica facundae cuius mera gloria linguae; Ep. 20.12: Attica...docti...cura Metonis; Domest. 4.9: sermone...Latio, verum Attica lingua. Note vv. 14f. below: disciplinis ...Graecis.

5. sedulum...studium docendi: cf. 2.18: studio docendi; see too on Praef. 3 above.

6. fructus exilis: see on 7.10: exili cathedra; see too notes to 6.37, 39.

tenuisque sermo: cf. 10.41 (cf. 12.6): famam...tenuem; ibid. 44f. (cf.22.18): tenuem...grammaticum; ibid. 49f.: tenuem/victum habitumque colens; 18.14: praetenuis meriti. See too on 3.8 above.

7. On Aus' criteria for inclusion see above pp. 30ff.

quiā: for possible parallels see S, p. 288. Note Ausonius 20.6.

8. commemorandi: see on Praef. 4. Sunt may be supplied (cf. 1.6, 17), or commemorandi may be taken as a vocative (cf. 9.6 below). For variation between the second and third person cf. 1.1-14.

9. tertius: i.e. Menestheus (see above on Romulus).

11. vocum: "words"; cf. Domest. 4.9f.: Attica lingua suffecit culti vocibus eloqui;; Tech. 13.6; 14.14.

rudis: cf. 10.8: (ingeniis) rudibus; 10.37: rudibus pueris; Parent. 1.12: facundo non rudis ingenio; Domest. 4.40: pubertate rudi non rudis interiit. Rudis with the genitive is common at all periods; cf. 21.4: fandique rudes; for adjectives with gen. in Aus. see on 4.2 above. Rudis is regularly used to denote an uneducated person or child (cf. Augustine's De catechizandis rudibus; Quint. 1.1.28; 1.2.27; 2.2.33.6.83 et saepe). Quintilian defines the duties of a grammaticus (1.4.2): recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem. The former, covered by rudis aut loquendi here, dealt with the intricacies of diction (etymology, barbarism, orthography, etc.). Quint. begins his sections on these aspects mentioning voces as a technical term (1.5.3.).

rudis aut loquendi: cf. Tac. Ann. 1.3: rudis docendi. Instruction was to make Aus. unlike the adolescens studiis rudis, sermone barbarus in Vell. Pat. 2.73.1, but like the grammatici of Prof. 22.25: ambo loqui faciles. Quint. mentions emendata lectio as a duty of the grammaticus and this aimed at proper pronunciation; Ep. 21.4f. (cf. Epig. 6): ut respondendas docili quoque murmure voces/emendata rudi perferret lingua palato.

12. sic: P's emendation for V's set gives attractive sense. Aus. would be disparaging his own ability (as at 2.2, 29f. above). Vv. 13ff. on his aversion to Greek would then explain why he should be sic sine cultu. Nevertheless, V's set gives perfect sense and should not be altered. M (p. 155) explains: "cet enseignement elementaire resta sans culture, sans développement." The quia clause (vv. 13ff.) explains this lack of cultus.

13ff. Quintilian advocated beginning schooling with grammaticae Graecae (1.4.1), and this was still the practice in Aus.' time (cf. Ep. 22.44f.; Paulin. Euchar. 72ff.). Augustine reflects a hatred of Greek in his primary years similar to that of Aus. (Conf. 1.12-13). Not exposed to Greek in his infant years through the medium of household slaves he had no natural facility in the language. With Paulinus of Pella the problem was reversed (Euchar. 75ff.; Quint. 1.1.12-14 warns against this danger). Aus.' father was Greek-speaking, and Aus. must have had some exposure to the language before embarking on a course of studies under the grammaticus Graecus. Aus.' macaronic verse and translations from Greek show that he recovered from his slow start. For similar puerile aversion to study cf. Libanius Or. 1.4.

16f.: puerilis aevi/noxius error: cf. Ep. 22.10f.: studium puerile fatescit / laeta nisi austeris varientur. Aus. may have been bored by barren instructional techniques but he chooses to blame himself, either out of deference to the deceased, or, more likely, from the disregard for educational psychology typical of antiquity (see above

pp. 177ff.).

17f. For the s.t.t.l. motif and its variations see Lissberger, pp. 165-8; Lattimore, pp. 68ff.; Peek, p. 371 s.v. Erde. This commonplace is otherwise avoided by Aus., who not unfittingly gives a hackneyed line to lifeless grammatici.

19. vocis: cf. 9.3; 25.5; Parent. Verse Pref. 10; see too on 7.4 above.

titulus: see on 7.9.

19f. supremum...honorem: cf. Parent. 16.2: supremi carmen honoris; Parent. Verse Pref. 4; 21.8; 25.7: exsequialis honor; cf. too Prof. 4.5; 10.3; 55; 13.11; 16.5; 26.8; Parent. 17.3; 19.14; 28.6; and on Prof. 14.6 below. Note Verg. Aen. 3.68: magna supremum voce ciemus; ibid. 6.506f.

Professores 9

Iucundus: Apparently a grammaticus Latinus, this brother of Leontius is called amicus and sodalis of Ausonius. He was therefore a contemporary of Ausonius. The poet has little to say about him, except to excuse him mildly from criticism (v. 1f.):

Et, te, quem cathedram temere usurpasse locuntur
nomen grammatici nec meruisse putant.

We may infer from this that he has taken a public chair (see above pp. 59f.).

1. cathedram: see on 1.8 above.

1f. On lack of academic distinction see above pp. 169ff.

2. nomen grammatici...meruisse: cf. Praefatiunculae 1.18: nomen grammatici merui. See too on 10.40 below.

3. voce ciebo: cf. 25.6: voce ciere; see too on 8.19f. above.

simplex: Tolman (p. 44) lists this as common in CE. Note the collocation with bonus CE 487.4f.

bone: elsewhere Aus. does not let this jejune adj. stand alone; cf. 3.9; 13.2; 24.9; Parent. 14.17; 17.3.

amice: see on 3.9 above.

sodalis: cf. 15.14: sodalis et convictor.

For the conglomeration of epithets see pp. 134f. above.

4. care magis: cf. Lucr. 1.730; Val. Flacc. 7.336f.; Verg. Aen.

5.725: care magis. See also on 2.15 above, and note Grat. Act. 27.

(538P): carior; Parent. 12.7: carius. Carus is a common adjective in epitaphs especially in the superlative. (Harrod, p. 1, finds carissimus to be the second most frequent adj. in CIL 6, where he finds carus 51 times). In Aus. cf. Parent. Prose Pref. 9.1; 11.3; Epit. 7.2.

5. nomen tam nobile: see on 4.2 above. The expression is strange in that Aus. does not normally accord mere grammatici high esteem; see pp. 96f.; 169f. above.

amasti: Aus. always syncopates the second person perfect active; cf. 10.20; Delachaux, p. 94; see on 1.20 above.

6. es meritos: Of the emendations offered for V's emeritos, P, Gr choose es meritos, S et meritos. Pa correctly retains the ms reading, following M, p. 156, who translates: "O toi qui dois être rappelé parmi les professeurs qui ont fourni leur carrière (emeritos)". Cf. 17.1: memorande; Mos. 131: flumineas inter memorande cohortes. For postponed inter see on 11.7 below.

Professores 10

Macrinus: Apart from the fact that he taught Ausonius we know nothing about him. His floruit can be placed in the first half of the fourth century.

Sucuro: In default of evidence to the contrary we may assume that Sucuro taught at Bordeaux. We have no indications of his dates or status, but he did not acquire renown to erase his lowly birth, like Crispus and Urbicus (21.27).

Concordius: PLRE (p. 219) says it is not clear whether he moved to or from Bordeaux. But Ausonius would scarcely have referred to Bordeaux as urbe alia (v. 21), and patria (v. 19) certainly refers to Bordeaux (cf. vv. 34, 52; 1.4; 16.4, 17; 17.16; 19.8; 23.9; 25.10). Whether his unremunerative chair at Bordeaux (a description not lacking elements of tradition; see below on vv. 20f.) was private or municipal, it is likely that the urbs alia offered him an official post to attract him (see above on career of Ti. Victor Minervius, Prof. 1). Profugus patria need not suggest that he had to leave under a shadow like Dynamius (Prof. 23), but rather reflects Ausonius' disapproval of one who deserted the cause of letters at Bordeaux (cf. 17.16f.; 19.11ff.).

Phoebicius: His name derives from Phoebus, epithet of Apollo; cf. 4.13: *fratri patrique nomen a Phoebos datum*. We are told too of Attius Patera (4.9): *Beleni sacratum ducis e templo genus*. Taken with 10.24: *Beleni aedituus*, the alleged Druid ancestry (vv. 26f.), the facts that Baiocas (4.7) was in *Aremorica* (10.28) and that Phoebicius was an old man (*senem* v. 22), it is reasonable to identify him as the father of Attius Patera, as is generally done. The *natus* (10.30) will then be Attius Patera or his brother Phoebicius (4.13). *Permaneat series* (v. 31) is a wish for the continued existence of the family, and, following closely the mention of the *natus* (v. 30), may possibly be a wish for a prolonged life for this *natus*. If this is so, the *natus* must be the younger Phoebicius. The *Burdigalae cathedra* was presumably a municipal chair.

Ammonius: The restoration of this name may not be correct (see below on title). The ensuing lines do, however, refer to a teacher other than those whose names are certain in this piece, and the expression *grammaticum patriae* may point to a municipal teacher. We have no indication as to his dates and can only say that he died before the 380s.

Anastasius: Perhaps his full name is Ammonius Anastasius (see below on title). The poor assessment he gets from Ausonius may be due in part to the fact that he left Ausonius' beloved Bordeaux (see above on Concordius). Moreover, Anastasius went to Poitiers, and Aus. directs epigrams against Rufus, a dumb rhetor of Poitiers (*Epig.* 8-12). Haarhoff

(Schools, p. 50) quotes Jerome (Migne PL 36.355): cum et Hilarius Latinae eloquentiae Rhodanus, Gallus ipse et Pictavis genitus, in Hymnorum carmine Gallos indociles vocet. He argues that et points to a tradition of stupidity among the Gauls (on which see above pp. 38f.), and we may add that Poitiers is apparently singled out as a centre of dullness. It is possible that to the Gauls themselves, Poitiers was what Bordeaux was to Martial (crassa). Hence there might be added reason for Aus.' contempt for Anastasius' migration. Anastasius was presumably drawn by the offer of a municipal chair at Poitiers, but we have no way to date his life and can only say that he died before the 380s.

In the ms the lines of this poem are jumbled, but P, S, Gr and Pa present the same order. EW inserts the semi-restored line 35 between vv. 31 and 32. Whether Ammonius is the name to be restored is doubtful (see below on title), but the sense of the accepted reorganization of the verses is poor without EW's alteration (see further on v. 31).

Title: Macrino...Phoebicio, extracted from the body of the poem have been added to the title by editors. The title is confused in V (see reproduction P, p. 58). There is a general heading: Grammaticis Latinis Burdigalensibus Philologis. Ammonio Anastasio grammatico Pictaviorum has been forced into two verses at the start of one of the two columns in which the poem is written. Older editors used to extract a separate address to Ammonius Anastasius (see M, p. 156ff.), but it is now accepted that there is just one piece. The simplest restoration of the title is: Grammaticis Latinis Burdigalensibus Philologis Ammonio Anastasio grammatico Pictaviorum. The problem is then one of punctuation. If a comma is placed after Ammonio, one is bound to feel that other names have dropped

out. So S, EW, Pa restore the four names Macrino, Sucuroni, Concordio, Phoebicio in brackets. P, followed by Gr, apparently believes that Ammonio has intruded into the title from the text of the poem, and accordingly prints: G.L.B.P. Anastasio G.P. Taking the simplest restoration of the title given above, it is possible to place a comma after philologis. This part of the title will be similar to that of Prof. 8, where all the grammatici evidently taught at Bordeaux. But in Prof. 10 Aus. has included one who taught at Poitiers. Hence the specific addition to the general title: Ammonio Anastasio g.P. If this is correct, Ammonium, the generally accepted restoration in v. 35, is mistaken in more than the quantity of the o, though some name has evidently dropped out here; cf. et Anastasio v. 42.

Philologis: cf. Epit. Pref.: aput philologum quendam; Ep. 7.20: tollenonem a philologis appellatum. As in these two phrases, philologus regularly indicates a scholar more elevated than a grammaticus (cf. Suet. Gram. 104.; Seneca Ep. 108.30), one who is a more aloof specialist in a subject dealt with at a more pedestrian level by the grammaticus. Criticus is similarly used (Horace Epist. 2.1.51; Mart. Cap. 3.230; Jerome Ep. 125.18). Circumlocutions picking on a specialty of a grammaticus are not unknown (cf. Gell. 18.5.6: magistrum praelectoremque; 18.9.9: doctores quoque et interpretes vocum Graecarum). It can scarcely be maintained that any of the addressees in Prof. 10 have outstanding features. If Aus. wrote the title, he was scarcely being sarcastic. Perhaps the title philologi was intended to off-set the rather unfavourable press these teachers receive.

2. flebilis: see above on 5.3.

officium: see above on 2.29.

3. relligiosus: cf. v. 32, and see above on Praef. 2.

honor: see on 8.20 above.

6. (humili) stirpe: contrast Parent. 14.5: procerum de stirpe satus; on Aus.' attitude to nobility of birth see above pp. 159ff. For stirpe see on 4.7 above.

merito: see above on 3.7. Note how merit and nobility go closely together in Aus.' eyes, and on acquisition of nobility by merit see above p. 160.

8. rudibus: see on 8.11 above.

10. grammatices: for -es genitive cf. rhetorices Praefatiunculae 1.16 and the proper names cited by Delachaux, p. 81; cf. S, p. 292.

Note Praefatiunculae 1.15: grammaticen; Epig. 61.3: grammaticae...artis.

12. huic: Gr's emendation cui is unnecessary.

principio: used loosely. We are told that grammatici Graeci were his teachers primis...in annis, and, as it was normal to begin with Greek, we may assume that Aus. attended these first (see above on 8.9.13).

13. puerities: Delachaux appears to be correct in listing this as a word created and employed by Aus. alone (p. 75).

14f. libertina...progenie: cf. vv. 5f.: humili stirpe, loco;

21.27: liberti ambo genus.

16. sobrius: see on 4.20 above.

17. (puerorum) utilis ingeniis: cf. Cod. Iust. 10.53.6.2 (on the ability of professors): si non se utiles studentibus praebeant.

19. profugus: cf. 23.8: profugum; Livy 34.602: Hannibal patria profugus.

20. mutasti: see on 9.5 above.

20f. sterilem...cathedram: cf. 7.10; 22.17: exili...cathedrae;

10.51f.: gloriolam exilem/et patriae et cathedrae; Ep. 8.28:

ingrata ἄσπετος καθέδρα; Martial 1.76.23f.: at circum pulpita nostra/et

steriles cathedras basia sola crepunt; Juvenal 7.203: paenituit multos

vanae sterilisque cathedrae. Note fructus exilis (Prof. 8.6) and pauper

(Prof. 10.49), and see on 6.38 and above pp. 197ff.

cathedram: see on 1.8 above.

22. reticebo: found with nihil, ea, multa etc. and dolores (Prop. 1.10.3) as objects, but I can find no parallel for reticere with a person as object - "to pass over in silence"; cf. 18.1.

24. Beleni: see above on 4.9.

aedituus: see above on 4.11; for a temple-keeper who was likewise involved in education, Dessau 4999: diis propitis/Claudia Ti. f.

Quinta /C. Iulio Hymetto aedituo/Dianae Plancianae, /paedagogo suo καὶ/καθηγητῆ
item/tutori a pupillatu.

27. ut placitum: see above on 4.8 for Aus.' reservations about the alleged lineage.

28. stirpe satus: see on 4.7 above.

Druidum: see on Druidarum 4.7 above.

29. Burdigalae cathedram: cf. 1.8: Burdigalae dum cathedra.

30. nati: see on career above.

31. permaneat series: M (p. 166) translates: "Que la succession (de ces maîtres) soit observée jusqu'à la fin". Likewise Pa places a period after v. 30 and translates: "Continuiamo l'enumerazione". Without EW's transposition of v. 35, this strange sense must be wrung from permaneat

to get round the awkward etenim v. 32. EW's translation: "long may his line endure!" is certainly correct. Aus. uses series of lineage at Ordo 4, 5. 12f.; per omnem/nam subolis seriem; Praefatiunculae 1.13 (where EW mistranslates): set redeo ad seriem. genitor... This sense of series is not uncommon in other authors (e.g. Verg. Aen. 3.98; Prop. 4.11.69; Sil. Ital. 1.88; Val. Max. 2.7.5; Claudian In Eutrop. 1.457; Cons. Hon. 4.21). Therefore, with the verse arrangement accepted by the editors, EW's transposition is necessary.

35. Ammonium (et recinam): Though there is doubt about Ammonium (see above on title), EW's restoration provides the sense needed. Some name has dropped out; cf. v. 42: et Anastasio. Gr, keeping to the traditional order, places a comma after patriae and suggests Ammonium cupio for v. 35, which gives poor sense if any.

32. relligiosum: cf. on v. 3 above.

33. meae: omitted in V, but a plausible restoration.

36. rudibus: see above on 8.9.

37. prima elementa: on meaning see above pp. 69ff.

38. doctrina exiguus: see on 4.15 above.

39. moribus implacidis: contrast 3.13; 17.14: placidos mores; on the irate schoolmaster see on 2.11 and pp. 180ff. above.

40. prōinde: cf. Ludus 132: quōad; Ep. 19.22: utrāque; for further examples of lengthening, S, p. 288.

meritum: on deserving fame or position cf. 5.30; 9.2; 21.27;

Parent. 24.9; 28.3; Praefatiunculae 1.18.

41. famam tenuem: see on Praef. 2 and 8.6 above. In this piece tenuis becomes a stock epithet, recurring at vv. 44, 49.

42. His full name may be Ammonius Anastasius; see above on title.

43. flebile: see above on 5.3.

melum: see above on 5.2: nenia; cf. Parent. 11.6: pastorale melos; 27.2: brevia melea modifica.

44. tenuem: see on v. 41.

45. nenia: see on 5.2 above.

47. ambitio: Aus. did not approve of forceful drive (cf. on 5.19f.) and is quick to follow this word with mention of Anastasius' obscurity.

6. Burdigalae hunc genitum: cf. Praefatiunculae 1.7: Burdigalae genitus; Prof. 17.9: Dalmatio genitus; with abl. of person Prof. 18.1; Epit. 16.1; with stirpe, Prof. 19.4.

8. Pictonicaeque: Scaliger (Delph., p. 178), followed by M (p. 164), understands urbi; cf. Ep. 5.36: Pictonici...litoris; note Epig. 10.2: hetoris Pictavici. Pictavus is the regular form (cf. title; Amm. Marc. 5.11.13; Sulp. Sev. Vita M.; Jerome quoted on v. 47), and Delachaux (p. 38) seems correct in listing this as a word used by Aus. alone. See too on 1.19 below.

9. pauper...tenuem: see on vv. 20, 44 above.

9f. tenuem/victum habitumque colens: despite the contempt of Aus. for professors without riches, he can pray, adapting his muse to the moment phem. 3.66: sim tenui victu atque habitu.

1. gloriam: cf. Grat. Act. 16.74(P): substantiolae: Domest. 1 title, 9: herediolum. For a list of diminutives in Aus. see Delachaux pp. 30f. exilem: see on 7.10 and 8.6 above.

2. cathedrae: see on 1.8 above.

3. senio: see on 4.21 above.

4f. noster/honos: i.e. the last rite given by Aus. with his poem; see on 1.20 above.

6f. The sentiment expressed here refers to Aus.' self-imposed duty to recall the teachers of Bordeaux (see above pp. 18f.) which is linked with the rite of calling upon the dead by name (see on 7.4 above). On lack of a monument cf. Epit. 32; Lissberger, pp. 66ff.

Professores 11

arcularius: From particeps scholae (v. 3) and grammaticus in the title we can assume that he was employed in the chorus in which Ausonius served as a rhetor (see above pp. 104f.), and that he was paene successor to the latter's chair of rhetoric. He was the son of Ausonius' sister, Julia Dryadia (Parent. 2). She lived to the age of 60. Since the Parentalia were composed around 300, the latest date for her birth should be ca. 320. Ausonius' father was married ca. 308, and his marriage lasted 45 years (Domest. 4. 37f.). From the description of his family (ibid. 38ff.; Parent. 29) and the estimated date of Ausonius' birth in 310, it seems clear that Julia was a younger sister. Julia, born between 310 and 320 she may have married 325-35. She had three children before losing her husband. We do not know the sequence of these births, but, since Ausonius says she was young when she lost her husband, we may assume that the family was produced early in the marriage, 330-340. If arcularius was about 20 when teaching for Ausonius, this activity as a grammaticus Latinus will have fallen in the 350s or early 360s, before Ausonius went to court, but cannot have lasted for long, since he went astray in his youth (v. 4).

Title. cf. Parent. 17: Pomponius Maximus sororis filius. The sister is Julia (Parent. 12).

. profectus de: cf. Ephem. 3.82: ex vero verus, de lumine lumen; Prof.

2.20: de Siculo litore transieras; Ludus 73; Grat. Act. 7 (34P): de more; see too on 1.12 above; Delachaux, p. 104f.; S, p. 290.

. spem magis quam rem fruendam: rem, missing from V, provides the lacking syllable and is a certain addition; cf. Parent. 11.3: spes cuius certa fuit res; Ep. 22.37: [senium] vel re vel spe mihi porge fruentum; Gr, Delph cf. Cic. Verr. 3.48 August. Conf. 10.20; De Civ. D. 4.24; add Cic. Rosc. Am. 110; am. 12.25.2; Att. 3.22.4; Orat. 107: non tam re et maturitate quam spe et expectatione.

gremio: cf. Ep. 22.67f.: multos lactantibus annis/ipse alui gremioque fovens... For the father image of the teacher and this kind of vocabulary applied to education see above pp. 161f., 181ff.

. particeps scholae: for meaning see above on career.

cathedrae: cf. on 1.8.

sucessor: P, S, Gr, Pa more correctly: successor.

. lubricae...daret: cf. Cic. Cael. 41: multas vias adulescentiae lubricas ostendit [natura] quibus illa insistere aut ingredi sine casu aliquo ac prolapsione vix posset; Austin ad. loc. cites useful parallels to which add Cic. Verr. 5.137; Claud. Carm. 22(39). 6: me lubrica duxerit aetas; Paulin. Epichar. 107: vagus per lubrica tempora vitae. For teachers as moral guardians see above pp. 189ff., and note Aus.' "bridle" metaphors Ep. 22.70ff.

iuventae: see on 7.13 above.

praecipitem...daret: for expression cf. Terence Adelphi 319; Phormio 27; Sallust Iug. 63.6; Livy 31.37.9. Note in praeceps dare Livy 27.27.11 and the adverbial praeceps Tac. Ann. 6.17.

. Pythagorei...viam: cf. Tech. 13.9: Pythagorae bivium ramis pateo ambiguis Y; Ecl. 2: Ex Graeco Pythagoricum de ambiguitate eligendae vitae; note too Ecl. 4; Epig. 77; Parent. 30.5; Ep. 14.70; Griphus Pref. (50P); cl. 2.32,62. On Pythagoras' letter cf. Persius 3.56 (cf. 5.34) with Jahn's note. The name of the addressee has reminded Aus. of Prodicus' well-known myth of Herakles at the crossroad; cf. Xen. Mem. 2.1.21ff. On the mention of faults here omitted at Parent. 17 see above pp. 127f., 131.

. estō: cf. Ecl. 2.42: estō; Prof. 12.8: habetō; 25.2: scitō; contrast 2.3: estō; see too on Praef. 1 above.

placidus: see on 2.31 and 3.13 above.

quietis manibus: cf. Parent. 5.11f.: quieti/aeternum manes; Epit. 21.3: cineres...quietos; CE 197.2: vel assint quieti cineribus Manes tuis. The formula d.m. et quieti aeternae was very popular in Germany and Gaul (Lattimore, p. 82f.). Cf. too on 3.13 above,

sedem: cf. 26.11: sedem sepulcri servet immotus cinis; Parent. 3.23: Ilysiam...sedem; Verg. Aen. 6.371: sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam; vid Met. 10.33: serius aut citius sedem properamus ad unam; Tac. Ann. 1.8: sede destinata; Lissberger, pp. 63ff.

fove: He had died young (Parent. 17.9) as had Aus.'s mother, Parent. 2.8: uncta fove tumulum. The ancients felt uncomfortable in face of untimely death lest the shade should be maleficent towards the living and disrupt the

dead; cf. 14.12: maiorum manes et monumenta foves; CIL 11, 6078:
nonleba (m) esse acerbis [sic] at inferos, quae at superos dulcis fui;
see too on 3.5 and 6.41f. above.

7. cognata...nomina: i.e. at Parent. 17.

inter: for postposition cf. 13.2; Epit. 11.2; Ordo 1.1, and on 9.6
above.

nomina: cf. Parent. Verse Pref. 1f.: nomina carorum...memorabo.

Professores 12

Thalassus: Ausonius knows nothing about this grammaticus, who is a vague memory from the poet's early years. The title tells us that his subject was Latin literature, and Ausonius had once heard it rumoured that he had taken up his profession as a young man. He is commemorated (12.7f.): *nostro quia doctor in aevo/vixisti*, but he was presumably ending or had ended his career in Ausonius' youth before ca. 330. His lack of renown may imply that he was not the holder of a municipal chair.

Title. Thalasso: Toll (Delph, p. 987) suggests Thalassio and Thalassi in v. 1 for V's thalassae. He compares the name of Aus' son-in-law Ep. 2, and S accepts his proposal. M (pp. 168f.) prefers Thalassus because it is the ms reading, and he compares Alciphron 1.7:

Θαλασσοϋ; and Martial 12.42.4: Talasse.

1. officium: that of a grammaticus Latinus as shown by the title.
primaeve: cf. v. 5: *grammaticum iuvenem*; for young teachers see on 6.7 above.
2. parvulus: cf. 23.4: *parvula...Hilerda*; Epit. 15.2: *parvulus*; Delachaux p. 13 notes about a dozen diminutive adj. formations; see too on 10.51 above.

3. See above pp. 138ff. for the biographic sections mentioned here.

forma: cf. on 4.20 above.

merito: see above on 3.7.

qua stirpe: cf. Praefatiunculae 1.2: qua...stirpe; Verg. Aen.

3.94: stirpe parentum (S, P, Gr); see too on 4.7 above.

5. tantum te fama ferebat: for alliteration cf. on 4.8 above.

7. quicumque: supply eras (on the omission of esse above on 1.6) or vixisti from v. 8.

nostro...aevo: on this as grounds for inclusion see above pp. 30ff.

8. munus: see on 3.14.

habetō: see on 11.6 above.

Professores 13

Citarius: This grammaticus was a friend of Ausonius (v. 12) who presumably taught contemporaneously with him. That he came from Sicily implies that he was offered a municipal chair. There is nothing to prove that he is the same as the Citherius rhetor, author of Anth. Lat. 1.2.484b, and one might expect our Citarius to have written in Greek.

Title. Siculo Syracusano seems redundant, and was perhaps inserted to make the balance C.S.S. G.B.G. The expression may however mean that the professor's full name was Citarius Siculus.

1. memorabere: cf. v. 2: celebrere; 24.8: fruerere; this form is preferred by Aus. (Delachaux, p. 94).

1f. dignus...qui celebrere: cf. 24.8: digne...qui fruerere.

2. inter: see on 11.7 above.

3. Aristarchi...gloria Zenodotique: cf. Ludus 12: censor Aristarchus normaue Zenodoti; Ep. 13.29f.: quique sacri lacerum collegit corpus Homeri / quique notas spuriiis versibus adposuit. For Aristarchus used

proverbially of any critic cf. Cic. Att. 1.14.3; In Pis. 73; Hor.

Ars P. 450; Jerome Ep. 57.12 quoted at 1.7. On the work of A, first head of the Alexandrian library, and Z, the sixth head, see Reynolds and Wilson, Scribes and Scholars (Oxford Univ. Pr., 1968); R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship (Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1968), pp. 105ff., 210ff. For synkrisis see on 1.2 above and note especially Ep. 13.26ff.

4. Graiorum: P, Gr, Pa. Graios S; V's graviōr will not scan. Pa (p. 192) approves Graevius' clarior, referring back to gloria. One would then expect ablatives instead of the genitives Aristarchi and Zenodoti. The implication of the verse is clear, namely that Greek studies are less esteemed. This has been taken as evidence for the decline of Greek in fourth century Bordeaux (see e.g. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, p. 222). An imperial edict of 376 sets payment for a grammaticus Graecus at Trier (Cod. Theod. 13.3.11): si qui dignus repperiri potuerit. But conditions will have varied from town to town. Ausonius records 5 grammatici Graeci who taught at Bordeaux and 11 grammatici Latini. This indicates that Greek studies were anything but dead at Bordeaux. Scholars are wary of believing that figures such as Augustine and Jerome had studied in the original all the Greek authors they mention, and one might justly be cautious of according Maria a wide knowledge of Greek on the basis of Claudian Epithal. 229ff. But I find no reason to doubt that Ausonius' Liber protrepticus (Ep. 22.44ff.) reflects, with its Greek content, the normal school curriculum (on Aus.' Greek see on 8.13ff.). Paulinus

(Euchar. 72ff.) shows that Greek was still being learned at Bordeaux in the late fourth century after Ausonius had retired from teaching. But study of Greek was confined to a course with a grammaticus.

Eumenius' grandfather came from Athens to Rome, then taught at Autun (Pan. Lat. 5.17.3-4). He may have been one in a series of Greek sophists who continued to come to official positions at Rome in the fourth century. We know of Eudemius (PLRE 2, p. 290), Eusebius (PLRE 20, p. 304), and Eustathius (PLRE 5, p. 310). Symmachus reports (Ep. 10.10.5): *inter praecipua negotiorum saepe curatum est ut erudiendis nobilibus praeceptores ex Attica poscerentur*. These teachers would learn Latin (cf. Macrob. 1.15.13-16), but their instruction will have been given in Greek. Augustine notes the surprise stirred by Hierius, orator urbis Romae (Conf. 4.14; see above pp.106): *placebat aliis et eum efferebant laudibus stupentes, quod ex homine Syro, docto prius graecae facundiae, post in latina etiam dictor mirabilis extitisset*. Throughout antiquity there was a snob value attached to Greek (e.g. Sallust Iug. 95.3; Pliny Ep. 7.25; Juv. 6.187f.; Gellius 17.5; 19.9), and recognizing this as a richer language, the educated would exercise their intellects by translating (Cic. De Or. 1.155; Quint. 10.5.2; Apul. Apol. 4; Pliny Ep. 7.9. Gell. 2.26; 12.1; 17.20). Ausonius himself translated various pieces from Greek and bilingualism remained a point of merit in the Western provinces (CE 1880; Dessau 7742a; CIL 6,1179; Postianus 2, PLRE, p. 718; Iulianus 15, p. 472; Amm. Marc. 15.13.1f.: *facundia sermonis utriusque clarus*; Avianus Fab. Pref.: *cum in utroque litterarum genere et Atticos Graeca eruditione superes*). But outside of Rome higher education was not given in Greek (cf. Clarke,

Higher Educ., pp. 32f.).

We should not understand Ausonius' statement here as an indication of a decline in the learning of Greek or in respect for the Greek language. Grammatici are not highly esteemed in Ausonius (see above pp. 96f.), but those who advanced to retiores are better regarded. This channel of promotion was not open to grammatici Graeci any longer. So their glory was limited and they could not attain the lofty positions of an Aristarchus or Zenodotus. But the standard of Greek at Bordeaux will have been reasonably high, and there was not yet the recourse to glossaries reported by Augustine (PL 42, 1035): *sicut solent qui Graece nesciunt, Graeca verba tenere memoriter.*

On Greek in the West in general see P. P. Courcelle, Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore (Paris; de Boccard, 1946).

5. prima tuis...in annis: i.e. primis in annis; for claims of youthful success see on 5.5f., 6.6f. above.

condita: cf. 3.4: *condita...orsa.*

6. Cei: certain emendation for V's ceu which will not scan; cf. Horace Carm. 2.1.38: *Ceae munera neniae*; 4.9.8: *Ceae camenae.*

Simonidei: for form cf. Ep. 12.13; 27.107: *Ulixei*; Periochae (P, p. 378) 1.3: *Achillei*. For *synkrisis* see on 1.2.

7. urbe satus: cf. on 4.7: *stirpe...satus.*

peregrinus: cf. Epit. Pref. *commemorationem...eorum, qui vel*

peregrini [Burdigalae vel] Burdigalenses peregre docuerunt.

8. excultam studiis: he had more culture than the grammatici Latini (10.7ff.) and the g. Graeci (Prof. 8). On the meaning of this line see above p. 171.

excultam: cf. 14.10: excoluit iuvenes; Parent. 1.10: doctrinam moribus excoluit.

propere edideras: P; V, S, M (p. 169), Gr, Pa: prope reddideras. Pa (p. 192) objects to the emendation because of the exaggeration, agreeing with M. (p. 170): "Il est peu vraisemblable que Citarius ait fait si vite une ville d'hellénistes". On the contrary, prope makes the expression suspect through lack of hyperbole, the mark of a synkrisis (cf. on 1.2 and v. 6 above). Ausonius is unlikely to have belittled his patria (see on Praef. 2 above) by writing prope, and Greek studies were strong at Bordeaux (see on v. 4). Moreover, propere neatly varies cito v. 9 to provide desirable emphasis on the speed of Citarius' rise. The text can easily have been corrupted by haplography, wrong division, then a minor orthographic "correction".

9. He is the only grammaticus to have achieved these marks of success on which see above pp. 159ff.

10. invidia fati: see on 3.5 above. (For reasons best known to himself Gr proposes invidia at).

non genitor: see on 3.10 above.

11. at: V: ad; Gr (inexplicably): et.

defunctum: cf. 22.19; 23.15; Parent. 15.2: defunctum nenia nostra
canet.

memori...honore: cf. on 1.22.

12. munere: see on 3.14 above.

m. amicitiae: for Aus.' duty as a friend to commemorate cf. Praef.
5f., 2.29; 23.12; p. 21, 146f. above; see too on 3.9 and Lissberger,
p. 77.

Professores 14

Censorius Atticus Agricius: From vv. 3f. Censorius was active as a teacher at the same time as Ausonius, and he presumably died in the 370s. Where he taught is not so simple to decide, because of a problem of interpretation at vv. 7ff.:

...gloria fandi
gloria Athenaei cognita sede loci
Nazario et claro quondam delata Paterae.

EW translates v.8: "renown no stranger to your chair here in this second Athens", Pa "Questa gloria non estranea alla tua cathedra, qui, in questa seconda Athene..." To take sedes as the equivalent of cathedra is acceptable (cf. Sid. Apoll. Ep. 2.2.2), but to extract "this second Athens" from Athenaei...loci is stretching the Latin too far. PLRE (p. 30) deduces that his rhetor actually taught in Athens. But the gloria Athenaei...loci should have something to do with Nazarius and Patera. We have no record of either of these gaining fame at Athens. Sidonius Apollinaris in the expression Athenaei consors (Ep. 9.9.13) uses Athenaeum as the equivalent of "school". It is just possible that Athenaei...loci refers then to the school at Bordeaux. This would necessitate Nazarius having taught at Bordeaux. Although this is frequently asserted on the basis of this line of Ausonius (PLRE, p. 618f.; Étienne, Bordeaux antique, p. 240; Galletier, Pan. Lat. t.2, 147), it is

not a certain inference. Jerome (Chron. s.a. 336) tells us that Patera taught at Rome. He also mentions the fame of Nazarius (Chron. s.a. 324), dating but not placing his activity. If he were middle aged at this time he ought to have made the deadline for Aus.' Professores. In any case we do know that he delivered a panegyric at Rome (Pan. Lat. 10.38.6), and we can justly assume that he taught there. The Athenaeum (see above p. 52) was an official lecture hall at Rome, and we can identify Ausonius' Athenaei...loci with this. Cognitus often means "recognized with approval" (cf. August. De Civ. D.: probatus et cognitus; Amm. Marc. 27.8.3: Theodosius, officiis Martis felicissime cognitus). The lines in question can therefore be translated "glory of speech acknowledged by (or well-known from) a chair in the Athenaeum, glory once conferred upon Nazarius and Patera".

Censorius evidently taught at Rome. From Ausonius' information it is impossible to know whether he taught at any time at Bordeaux. It may be that like Tiberius Victor Minervius he left the capital and returned to teach in his native city. He was obviously a teacher of note, and if he returned he probably took a municipal chair.

Dating his activity as a teacher is a simpler task. Ausonius writes (vv. 3f.):

aevo qui quoniam genitus functusque recenti
dilatatus nobis, non et omissus eras.

We have seen above the expression aetas recentis temporis mentioned in conjunction with Latinus Alcimus Alethius (2.6). He was flourishing in the 350s and 60s. Censorius was therefore active in this era, and his teaching activity was contemporaneous with that of Ausonius.

1. merito: see on 3.7 above.
primis: taken up by the synkrisis with Nazarius and Patera v. 8;
cf. 15.10.

3. aevo...recenti: cf. 2.6: aetas recentis temporis.
functus: see on 7.3.

4. For the organization of the Professores betrayed by this and the
previous lines see pp. 30ff. above.

5. tristi...threno: see on 7.17 above.
threno: see on 5.3 above.
memorabere: for form on 13.1 above.

6. unus honos: see on 8.19f. above and Lissberger, p. 59.
honos tumuli: cf. Parent. 8.15: sub honore sepulcri; Ovid
Fasti 2.533: est honor et tumulis animas placare paternas.

7. generis: on Aus.' attitude to noble birth see above pp. 160ff.
celsus apex: cf. Mos. 154: sublimis apex.
gloria fandi: see on 4.2 above.

- 8f. For discussion of these lines see on career above. S believes that
a couplet has dropped out between v. 8 and v. 9. But M (p. 172) and Pa
(p. 193) correctly maintain that the ms gives adequate sense with the
minor change of egregiae to egregie, v. 10.

10. egregie: referring more to the glory this rhetor drew from his large school than to the quality of his teaching; see above pp. 169f.

multos iuvenes: cf. 18.7: multus auditor; see too on 1.9 above.

11. On death out of the natural order see above on 3.5 and 6.46ff. above.

12. maiorum manes...foves: on fear of untimely dead being malevolent spirits see 11.6 above. The idea of meeting after death appears to be present here; cf. Parent. 2.7: aeternum placidos mares complexa mariti; Parent. 9.29f; 29.7f.; Lattimore, pp. 62f., 330f.; note the simple expression CIL 12, 5193: virum expecto meum.

Professores 15

Nepotianus: This close friend of Ausonius (vv. 4f., 14f.) was praeses of an unspecified province. There is a lengthy inscription honouring one Flavius Nepotianus comes et praeses provinciae Tripolitanae [AE (1952), 73]. Caputo [REA 53 (1951), 234ff.] identifies him with Ausonius' friend and suggests that Ausonius used his influence at court to obtain this post for him. This places tenure of the office between 375 when Aus.' power over Gratian rose after the death of Valentinian and before 378 when Flavius Vivius Benedictus was praeses of this province (PLRE 4, p. 161). Nepotianus died at ninety (v. 19) before ca. 386 when the Professores were composed. If the above identification is correct he will have held office in his eighties like Aus.' father (PLRE 5, p. 139).

The address (and the above identification if correct) indicates that Nepotianus was an older contemporary of Aus. His teaching activity will then have extended from ca. 315 to the 370s, and, though not stated, took place at Bordeaux. The title describes him as grammaticus and rhetor. Marrou (p. 597, note 1) believes that Nepotianus fulfilled these functions concurrently. But this is a rarity (Clarke, Higher Educ., pp. 11f.). Suetonius (Gram. 4) tells us that in a previous age grammatici also taught rhetoric, but he makes it clear that by his day there was a separation of the professions. The only other example I

know is Aristodemus of Nysa who taught grammaticae in the morning and rhetoric in the afternoon (Strabo 14.1.48). Riché (Education et culture dans l'occident barbare, p. 63) mentions one Deuterius who appears in the pages of Ennodius. He appears to have been a grammaticus and a rhetor, but nowhere is it stated that he filled both roles simultaneously. Riché would need more support than he offers for his theory that a shortage of teachers in the sixth century necessitated a duplication of functions (p. 88).

When persons are complimented on their knowledge of grammaticae and rhetoric it does not mean that they were teachers of both subjects. It is praise of knowledge, nothing more, when we read of Ateius Philologus (Suet. Gram. 10): inter grammaticos rhetorem, inter rhetores grammaticum fuisse. The same is true in the case of Manippus of the third century (PLRE, p. 541): grammaticae artis et disciplinae rhetoricae peritissimus. Likewise in the 6th century we read of one Pomerius (Vita Caesarii 1.9; ed. Morin): scientia rhetor...quem singularem et clarum grammaticae artis doctrina reddebat. Ausonius in similar vein praises Staphylius the rhetor (20.7): grammaticae ad Scaurum atque Probum, promptissime rhetor. It might even be inferred from Praefatiunculae 1.15f. that Ausonius was a grammaticus and a rhetor at the same time. But here Ausonius merely states modestly that his education was complete in the two fields of grammaticae and rhetoric, just as Venantius Fortunatus does (Vita M. 1 29f.): parvula grammaticae lambens reflumina guttae, / rhetorici exiguum praelibans gurgitis haustum. That there was a distinction between the professions is made

very clear in the address to Glabrio (Prof. 24.5f.). I take it, then, that Nepotianus was first a grammaticus and later promoted to rhetor. Eminent in both subjects, we can assume that he held a municipal chair in each.

1. facete: equivalent of dicax 1.32.

comis: see on 2.15 above.

animo iuvenali senex: cf. Ep. 19.19f.: pulchra iuventa tibi senium sic iungit, ut aevum / quod prius est maneat, quod modo ut incipiat; for puella / anus cf. Epit. 35; note Pan. Lat. 6. 13-14 and Val. Max. 8.7.1: Cato, sextum et octogesimum annum agens, dum in re publica tuenda iuvenali animo perstat; further on the motif see Curtius, European Literature, pp. 99ff.

2. felle...melle: cf. Ep. 11.5: felle carmen et melle temperans; Apul. Flor. 18.11: coniugatione quadam mellis et fellis (P, Gr); Plautus Cist. 69; Casina 223; see too on 1.31 above; for paranomasia cf. 20.12; Domest. 1.20, 30; Cup. Cruc. 2; Smith, pp. 22ff.; S, p. 295.

melle...madens: for alliteration see on 4.8 above.

melle: cf. Ep. 25 Pref. (15P): o melle dulcior.

2f. melle...amarum: cf. Ep. 30.6f. (Paulinus): nec amara paternis / admiscere velis, ceu melle absinthia, verbis.

4. medella: cf. Apul. Met. 10.3; Paul. Nola Carm. 18.257; Ven. Fort. Carm. 3.6.16.

Nepōtiane: see S, p. 295.

5. Cf. Parent. 7.11: ioca seria mixti; Ep. 8.24f.: qui seria nostra, / qui ioca παντοδαπῆ novit tractare παλαίστρῃ ; cf. Epig. 25.8 and note Pan. Lat. 3.12.3: ioca seriaque communicata (showing rapport of the Augusti); Claudian's praise of Stilicho (2.165): seria quisque iocis nulla formidine miscet; Livy 1.4.9. See too on 1.31 above.

6. taciturne: cf. vv. 16f.; 24.10; above pp. 145f.

Amyclas: cf. Ep. 29, 26: tu velut Oebaliis habites Amyclis; in this town it was forbidden to announce the approach of an enemy and it became proverbial for silence; see Otto, Sprichwörter, p. 24. On this and the following synkriseis see on 1.3? above.

7. Ulixes: for his rhetorical powers cf. 21.14; Ep. 12.13; Grat. Act. 4 (19P).

7f. linqueret, / liquit: see on 3.6 above.

canentes...virgines: cf. Griphus 20: Siredones.

melodas: cf. Prudent. Cathem. 9.2; Sid. Apoll. Ep. 9.15.45;

Delachaux places this in a long list of words whose usage dates from Aus.' era.

9. For pile-up of epithets see pp. 134f. above.

probe: cf. 20.2: doctores probi; see too on 7.6 above.

probe...frugi: cf. Parent. 26.4; Domest. 4.7; see too above p. 164.

abstemie: see on 4.20 above.

10. facunde: see on 3.3.above.

nulli rhetorum cedens stilo: cf. 20.7.

11. disputator: taken with v. 7 cf. Cass. Varia 2.3: vehemens disputator in libris, amoenus declamator in fabulis. Disputator is the Latin translation of the Greek διαλεκτικός (cf. August. contra Cresc. 1.14.47; CGL 4, 438.4), and this may have prompted the comparison with Cleanthes on which see above p. 168.

ad Cleanthen: cf. 20.7: grammaticae ad Scaurum atque Probum;

Ep. 26.23: mutator ad Graecam fidem; Delachaux, pp. 102f.; L&S ad Λ , 4.

Cleanthen: cf. 21.19: Plistheniden; S, p. 286.

Scaurum Probumque: cf. 20.7 quoted above; Praefatiunculae 1.20;

Ep. 13.27. On Marcus Valerius Probus see Suet. Gram. 24. Jerome (Chron. s.a. 56) calls him eruditissimus grammaticorum (cf. Gellius 4.7.1;

9.9.12), but the standard of some of his work was not high (see Reynolds and Wilson, Scribes and Scholars, p. 25f.). The De orthographia (Keil 7) attributed to Quintus Terentius Scaurus who flourished in the early second century A.D. is probably genuine and all that remains of his work.

callens: cf. 20.8; 21.26; Parent. 4.17. On learning as a merit see above pp. 170ff.

13. Epirote Cineas: cf. Pliny HN 7.88: nomina reddidit...Cineas Pyrrhi

regis legatus senatui et equestri ordini Romae postero die quam advenerat.

memor: see on 1.22 above.

14. sodalis: cf. 9.3.

iugiter: cf. Parent. 19.4; Ep. 23.10; for -iter adverbs in Aus. see Delachaux pp. 50ff.

15. mentis agitator meae: cf. "bridle" metaphors Ep. 22.75f.; Ambrose De Isaac et anima 8.65: et intelligis illam animam esse pacificam, cui Pater Deus praesul sit, Christus agitator. Contrast Anth. Pal. 11.10, 140 on the need to banish learned discussion from the symposium.

16f. See on 15.6

nullus: see on 3.15 above.

mente tam pura: cf. Pan. Lat. 11.32.3.

18. For office see on career above.

inclitus: see on 6.17 above.

19. For expression cf. on 1.37 above.

20. morte oppetis:. V, P, Gr; mortem oppetis S, Pa. Prudent. Perist.

10.65 supports the ms reading: quo gloriosa morte fortes oppetant. This is the last verse on folium 11 of V and from Prof. 16 to the end of Prof. 22 we depend on the Lyons edition of 1558 (see above pp. 14f.).

Professores 16

Aemilius Magnus Arborius: This uncle, who greatly influenced the young Ausonius (Parent. 3.1-10, 21f.), was apparently chief rhetor at Toulouse (see above pp. 107f.). He was elevated to the position of imperial tutor (vv. 10ff.). The problems are to date this appointment, which involves identifying his pupil, and then to estimate the dates of Arborius' life.

Vv. 10f. show that Arborius' way to court was paved by friendship with the fratres Constantini, the half-brothers, Julius Constantius (PLRE 7, p. 226) and Flavius Dalmatius (PLRE 6, pp. 240ff.). Ausonius is the only source for their being at Toulouse exilii specie. Constantius was in Etruria in 325 (Amm. Marc. 14.11.27) and was later summoned from Corinth to Constantinople (Lib. Or. 14.30; Julian Ep. 20 Bid. Cum.). In an unknown capacity Dalmatius received Cod. Theod. 12.17.1 (Cod. Iust. 10.52.6) which is dated to 321 (324 ms). The exilium at Toulouse evidently fell between 321 and 325. The Empress Helena had no love for the half-brothers of her son Constantine, and they were not restored to favour at court until after her death ca. 330 (cf. Piganiol, L'empereur Constantin; pp. 172f.; MacMullen, Constantine, p. 218f.; Lib. Or. 14. 29-31). A more immediate reason for supervision of possible claimants to the purple at Toulouse was probably the struggle with Licinius. By 320 war was imminent and hostilities ended with the defeat of Licinius in 324 and his execution in 325. Étienne's assertion (Bordeaux antique, pp. 339f.)

that principum (v. 10) must mean "leading citizens" not "princes" since an ambitious young rhetor would have avoided the hatred of Helena, is wrong. In the context principum can mean nothing but "princes", and it was this friendship, cultivated by the ambitious Arborius, which paid off later when Dalmatius and Constantius were reinstated at court after ca. 330.

We must now identify the Caesar of v. 15. The candidates are Crispus (PLRE 4, p. 233), Constantius (PLRE 8, p. 226), Constantinus II (PLRE 3, p. 223), and Constans II (PLRE 3, p. 220). We can discount Crispus who was educated by Lactantius (Jerome De vir. illust. 80) and executed 326. Moreover, the pietas of an Augustus repatriated the remains of Arborius (v. 18). One might readily think Constantine is meant (EW, PLRE, p. 99), but there is balance between docto Caesare v. 15 and pietas Augusti v. 18. The boy Arborius taught as a Caesar, as an Augustus piously repaid his teacher by sending his remains home. This further disqualifies Crispus, and leaves the choice between Constantius, Constantinus and Constans, Caesars who became Augusti in 337. The first two, born in 317, would be completing their education in the early 330s. But perhaps Constans is the most likely choice for Arborius' pupil. Born in 320 or 323, he was made Caesar in 333, the year of Dalmatius' consulship, and in the 330s was young enough for Arborius to direct all or a large portion of his education.

The manuscript reading at Parent. 4.25 is: post trina decennia. It gives perfect sense and S, Pa and Étienne (Bordeaux antique, p. 339)

are correct to retain it. This means that Arborius died at the age of thirty ca.337. He was born therefore ca.307. Like Alethius of Prof. 6, he achieved youthful success, obtaining his chair of rhetoric at 17 or 18 in 324-5, when he befriended the principes as a iuuenis (v. 10). Slightly older and with more experience, he will have been promoted to chief rhetor at Toulouse, if my interpretation of rhetor Tolosae in the title is correct (see above pp. 107f.). Ausonius, slightly younger, was under his care at Toulouse, as can be inferred from the hyperbolic claims of Parent. 3.9f. (see above p. 75), and was disappointed not to succeed to his uncle's position when the latter left for Constantinople (see above pp. 108, 154ff.).

Title: rhetor Tolosae: for the significance of this see above pp. 107ff.

1. inter cognatos...manes: i.e. at Parent. 3; cf. Prof. 11.7: cognata... 'inter...nomina.
2. rhetoricos [manes]: cf. 26.1: manes...rhetorum.
3. pietas: cf. Parent. 3.1: culta mihi est pietas patre primum et matre vocatis; Parent. 24.2; see too on Praef. 5 above.
4. pro patriae religione: see on Praef. 2 above; on this and the foregoing verse see pp. 18ff. above.

5. honore: see on 8.19f. above.

parentem: cf. Parent. 318ff.: et mihi qui fueris, quod pater et genetrix etc.; on the father-figure of the teacher see pp. 71ff. above.

6. Arborio patre: see Parent. 4.

avo Agricio: see Parent. 4. 8-11.

7. Haeduici: cf. Parent. 2.2; 4.3; like Pictonicus (cf. 10.48)

Haeducus is found only in Aus.; note Praefatiunculae 1.5: gens

Haedua; Parent. 4.6: Haedues. See too on 1.19 above.

Maurae: see Parent. 5.

8. origo: cf. 17.15 and see on Praef. 2 above.

genus procerum: for Aus.' attitude to nobility of birth see above pp. 159ff.

9. On these marks of success see on 6.36ff. and p. 163 above.

10ff. For these lines see on career above.

principum amicitiae: P, Gr cf. Horace Carm. 2.14; note Domest.

4.32: semper fictae principum amicitiae [vitatae]; see above p. 156 note 1.

contigerunt: cf. Ordo 8.14: conruerunt; S, p. 295.

11. opulenta Tolosa: cf. Ordo 10.3: opulenta Vienna colonis;
perhaps flourishing population is referred to here; cf. Ordo 18; Ep.
27.83: quinqueplicem Tolosam.

15. dives opum: P, S, Gr cf. Verg. Aen. 1.14; 2.22: dives opum;
cf. Prof. 17.15: praedives; on wealth see above pp. 163ff., 197ff.
and on 6.39.

Caesare: for identification with Constans see on career above;
cf. Grat. Act. 7 (31P): nolo Constantini temporum taxare collegas;
Caesares docebantur.

16. For death out of the natural order see on 3.5 above.

17f. Cf. 17.16f.; 19.7ff.; contrast Val. Max. 5.3.2: ingrata patria.
ne ossa quidem mea habes.

Augusti: probably Constans; see above on career.

19. flebile: see on 5.3 above.

munus: see on 3.14 above.

20. annuus...dies: see on 7.3 above.

ingrata relligione: cf. Parent. Prose Pref.: hoc opusculum...
habet maestam religionem; see on v. 4 above.

Professores 17

Exuperius: Succeeded to the position of chief rhetor at Toulouse after Aemilius Magnus Arborius had gone to Constantinople (after 330; see Prof. 16). Ausonius had been with his uncle at Toulouse and was disappointed not to emulate his uncle's youthful success by getting the chair he had vacated. This caused jealousy of Exuperius and accounts for the criticism directed against this rhetor (see above pp. 108f.). The children of Dalmatius whom he educated (v. 9) were Dalmatius (PLRE 7, p. 241) and Hannibalianus (PLRE 2, p. 40&). Dalmatius, the father, was consul in 333. The son was proclaimed Caesar 18th Sept., 335, in which year his brother married Constantine's daughter, was made nobilissimus (Zos. 2.39.2) and received the grandiose title: rex regum et Ponticarum gentium (Anon. Val. 6.35). The sons, then, probably left Narbonne for Constantinople ca. 333. V. 8 shows that Exuperius did not hold his chair at Toulouse for long, but what Ausonius' biased account conceals is that he progressed from here to tutor of members of the imperial family. Ausonius had meanwhile returned to Bordeaux to teach as a grammaticus. Exuperius will have taught these boys at Narbonne ca. 331-333, and they were approaching the age when their schooling would be complete (v. 11). Vv. 12f show that he became praeses of one of the six Spanish provinces in 335. Neither Ausonius nor any other source records his subsequent activities. Unless due to

the compression of the vitae in the Professores, Ausonius' account implies that he went into comfortable retirement after being praeses. If this is so, he may have been in his sixties when he held this post. This would place his birth ca. 270 and his teaching activity would extend from 290s-335. Born at Bordeaux, there is no way to tell where he was educated or whether he always taught at Toulouse.

1. sine arte: cf. Ven. Fort. Vita M. 1.28: arte carens; see above pp. 204f. and on v. 6 below.

2f. On appearance and delivery see above pp. 205f.

incessu gravis: note early epitaph of Claudia Dessau 8304 (= CE 52): incessu commodo; Sallust Cat. 16.5, where gait is an indication of temperament.

ore/pulcher: see on 4.21 above.

3. habitu venusto: cf. 20.13: nitens habitus.

4-6. On the attraction of verbiage alone see above pp. 204f. Empty words impeded instruction, although this consideration is not to the fore here; cf. Gellius 11.13; August. Conf. 5.7: non erat de talibus, quales multos passus eram, conantes ea me docere et dicentes nihil; De doct. Christ. 4.61: In ipso sermone malit rebus placere quam verbis; nec aestimet dici melius, nisi quod dicitur verius: nec doctor verbis serviat, sed verba doctori.

5. deflata: a strange usage paralleled by Ambrose Ep. 47.2 who uses deflare of a surge of words.

7. Palladiae...toga...Tolosae: cf. Parent. 3.11: Palladiae...toga...Tolosae; Ecl. 2.34: Palladiis...Athenis; Martial 9.99.3: Palladiae...Tolosae.

8. This line betrays Aus.' spite against Toulouse for not giving him the post left vacant by his uncle Arborius; see above p. 108.

9f. Dalmatio genitos: see on career above.

fatalia...nomina: both were killed in a mutiny which followed the death of Constantine.

regum: Hannibalianus got the title of rex (Anon. Val. 6.35, quoted on career; Amm. Marc. 14.1.2), but Dalmatius was Caesar. Ausonius similarly writes as if both were Caesars v. 12.

10. grandi mercede docendi: cf. praedives v. 15; see on 6.39 and above pp. 163ff., 197ff.

11. Cf. Ep. 22.72ff.; see above pp. 75f., 168f.

puberis aevi: cf. 6.24; Ep. 21.8; 22.73.

12. Caesareum...nomen: Dalmatius was made Caesar in 335; see on vv. 9f. above.

14f. placidus mores tranquilla...tempora: see on 3.13 above.

15. praedives: see Delachaux, p. 47 for a list of prae - adjectives in Aus. See on v. 10 above.

16f. Cf. 15.17f.

origō: cf. 16.8 above.

17. nomen de rhetore: see on 1.12 above. For native town enjoying renown cf. epicedion on rhetor of Smyrna who taught at Beirut and died at Constantinople where he was accepting a post, Select Papyri ed. Page (Loeb), vol. 3, 138, 36ff.:

ἐκ τοῦ Θε]σπέσιον κλέος ἄραο, τῶι ἐπὶ μούν[ω /
 πρόσ]θε μέγα φρονέεσκες ἐν Ἀντολίῃ περ'
 εἶοντι / ἄλλοδάπην ἀνὰ γα[ρ]αν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ
 ἔκητι / εἰσέτ' ἀροτοτοκόν σε βροτῶν καλέεσκον
 πάντες:

Professores 18

Marcellus: Our scant information about him is drawn from Ausonius alone. We cannot identify the father, but the title implies that the family was prominent at Bordeaux. There is a Marcellus (PLRE 7, pp. 551f.), author of a De medicamentis, whose preface names Ausonius among cives et maiores nostri. Perhaps he was related to the Marcellus mentioned here, and Ausonius' friendship with Theodosius (see above pp. 10f.) may even have assisted in his being appointed magister officiorum in 394/5. The Marcellus of this poem apparently did not teach at Bordeaux, but became a teacher at Narbonne to support himself after alienation from his family (cf. 23.2). Primum (v. 4) and mox (v. 7) point to such a sequence of events. He perhaps gained an official chair (see below on v. 8). The cycle of fortune in this poem is similar to that of Prof. 6 - success, family trouble, future promise lost.

1. nec te...silebo: cf. 2.1; 10.22; 19.1; Mos. 115: nec te...perca silebo; P, Gr compare Horace Carm. 1.12.21.

Marcello: otherwise unknown.

3. fortuna potens: cf. v. 9; 19.3f.: sorte potentis/fati; see on 6.30ff. above.

Narbo^o: see on Praef. 1 above.

5f. nobilis hospes...natam coniugio adtribuit: cf. on 6.36f. above.

Clarentius: otherwise unknown.

indole...egregia: S, P, Gr; egregiam Lugd, Pa. Egregia emphasizes that the outstanding intellect promised a successful husband for the daughter. Since fathers sought to marry their daughters to up and coming teachers (see above p. 197), egregia is the preferable reading here.

7. For these marks of success see on 1.9 above.

8. grammatici...nomen dedit: like the expression g. n. merere (see on career of Iucundus Prof. 9), this suggests an official post.

divitiasque: see on 6.39 above.

9. fortuna: see on v. 3 above.

10. pravi...ingenii: for the conjunction of ingenium and morality cf. Parent. 14.7: bonus ingenio; Ordo 20.2f.: insignem...moribus ingeniis hominum. See too on 2.25 and 5.1 above.

11f. On these professions see above pp. 123ff.

12. nomen: i.e. nomen grammatici in v. 8.

fraudo: see on Praef. 1 above.

13f. For sentiment see on 7.11f.

praetenuis: see on 8.6 and 17.15 above.

meriti: see on 3.7 above.

Professores 19

Sedatus: We know nothing more about Sedatus than Ausonius tells us. There is nothing to connect him with the statue of a bearded figure carrying a book found at Bordeaux, CIL 13.846: D M Sedatus.

1. relligio: see on Praef. 2 above.

tacitum si te...relinquam: cf. 2.1; 10.22; 18.1; S, P, Gr compare Verg. Aen. 6. 841: quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te Cosse, relinquat.

2. indepte es: <es> S, Pa. This addition is to make the verse scan as an iambic trimeter. Aus. often mixes vocatives and nominatives (see on 3.9-10 above), but, unless the unnecessary es is adopted at 9.6, there is no other example of a finite verb with a participle in the vocative. Vinet (Delph, p. 989) proposed indeptus. But we find an iambic trimeter ending similarly Ludus 105: accepit/ego. Grammatically quamvis with a participle is acceptable (cf. Parent 21.7; Blaisé, p. 167; Woodcock, p. 205). I would therefore retain Lugd's reading.

3f. potentis/fati: cf. on 18.3 above: potens fortuna.

5. coniugium natique: see on 3.10 above.

opulensque senectus: cf. 16.15f.; above p. 167.

6. fama: see on 3.8 above.

7f. Cf. 16.17f.; 17.6f.; vv. 13f. below.

8. morte obita: cf. on Praef. 4 above.

9. divisae: not "distant" (EW). Pa rightly sees a reference to the four suburbs attached to Toulouse (Ordo 18.7ff.), which is called quinquplicem in Ep. 27.83.

11. suboles: otherwise unknown. For sons approaching father's fame see on 6.12f. above.

12. nobilitata studiis: see above p. 171.

14. Pride in his patria (see on Praef. 2 above) makes Ausonius desire the return of ennobling intellects (cf. v. 12; career of Concordius Prof. 10).

Professores 20

Staphylius: Ausonius is our sole source of information on this rhetor. He appears to have been an older contemporary of Ausonius (vv. 4f.), though the gap in age may not have been great. Arborius, Ausonius' senior by only a few years, is described in similar terms (Parent. 3.8ff.; for life see Prof. 16). Staphylius was a close friend of Ausonius and died an old man (vv. 13f) perhaps in the 370s. PLRE (p. 852) asserts that he taught at Bordeaux. This is not likely. Vv. 1-4 claim that Ausonius is departing from his rule about commemorating cives (cf. 25.2; Epit. Pref.). Citarius (13), Phoebicius (10) and Delphidius migrated to Bordeaux to teach. Their residence must class them as cives. The externus/cives antithesis of the opening lines here must mean that Staphylius neither lived nor taught at Bordeaux.

1. On omission of est cf. on 1.6 above and v. 3 below.

1-2. lex commemorandi/cives: cf. Parent. 2.5: natos cura regendi.

For the lex see on career above.

domi...foris: cf. 5.14 above.

4. genitum stirpe Novem populis: the sense is clear, but one would expect Novem populorum (cf. 5.7; 10.27), or the omission of stirpe (cf.

Praefatiunculae 1.7).

5. Cf. Parent. 3.8: mihi qui fueris, quod pater et genetrix.

genitor: i.e. Julius Ausonius of v. 6 on whom see Parent. 1 and Domest. 4.

avunculus: i.e. Aemilius Magnus Arborius of v. 6 on whom see Prof. 16 and Parent. 3.

6. alter ut Ausonius: cf. 1.2: alter...Quintiliane.

Ausonius: see S, p. 288.

7. ad: see on 15.11 above.

Scaurum atque Probum: see on 15.12 above; for synkrisis see on 1.2 above.

promptissime: cf. on 5. 1 above; note Tac. Ann. 13.13: prompta ac profluens eloquentia; Sall. Iug. 44.1: lingua quam manu promptior.

8. historiam...Livii et Herodoti: history as we know it was not taught in ancient schools (cf. Clarke, Higher Educ., pp. 21f, 42; Marrou, pp. 404ff.; Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, pp. 209ff.). Theorists complained about lack of historical knowledge (Sen. Suas 6.16; Tac. Dial. 30.1).

Gellius learned facts from a potted history so that he would not blunder in speeches (17.21). Ausonius' Fasti are dedicated to his son (Fasti 1): ignota ne sint tibi tempora Romae. But generally history was studied from a literary point of view. Sallust was read with the grammaticus (Aus. Ep. 22.61ff.; Gell. 18.4), and here the student also

acquired a knowledge of historiae which dealt rather with mythology than history (cf. Sen. Ep. 88.3; Vitruvius De Arch. 1.1.5; August De Ordine 2.37). Ausonius' De Historiis (Tech. 10) deals with Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Adonis and the like. At Prof. 21.26 grammatici are described: *callentes mython plasmata et historiam*. Here one is forced to recall Quintilian's comment (10.1.31): *Historia est proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum*. The grammaticus could expound historiae from historical writing but not history as we know it.

Quintilian criticizes Latin rhetors for not studying history, but it is to be studied from a stylistic viewpoint (2.5.3; 10.1.31). For this reason Livy is preferred to Sallust (2.5.18). Et hic (i.e. Livius) historiae maior est auctor is added as an after-thought.

Style not treason was the reason for Mectius Pompusianus having a collection of speeches from Livy, which aroused Domitian's suspicion (Suet. Dom. 10). At the school of the rhetor there was an exercise in which one argued for or against the truth of some happening in mythohistory. ἀνδοκευή / κατασκευή ; Quint. 2.4.18). Again this was to develop powers of rhetorical argument rather than to sharpen historical judgement.

Ausonius does not display a great historical talent in his Caesares, where in typical ancient fashion history merely provides material for a literary production. When history entered historiae the emphasis was on thaumata. Ausonius approves the Chronica of Nepos, which he has had copied for a child's textbook, because they read like fables (Ep. 12 Pref.)! But a gentleman should, like Gellius, have a correct grasp of history. Thus Claudian has Honorius urge his son to study history (Hon. iv cons. 396ff.), and he praises Stilicho for his

knowledge (Stil. 2.168f.). To show his culture, Ausonius had (or claims to have had) Thucydides and Herodotus in his library (Ep. 10.22). In the present context, Aus. then praises Staphylius for the cultured aura of a scholar and a gentleman rather than for knowledge and study expected from a teacher.

10. sescentis Varro voluminibus: sescentis is used here to denote a large, inexact number like mille at 1.9; cf. L&S s.v. Varro, labelled πολυγραφώτατος by Cicero (Att. 13.18), is said by Gellius (3.10.17) to have edited 490 books by the age of 78; cf. August. De Civ. D. 6.2 (which contains many testimonia to Varro's learning): qui...tam multa scripsit quam multa vix quemquam legere potuisse credamus. On praise of learning see above pp. 170ff.

Varrō: see on Praef. 1 above.

11. vox suada: cf. Ep. 2 ad init.: quam suada facundia.

12. cunctator...properator: P, Gr, Pa; properante sono Lugd, S.

Accursius in his Diatribae (see above p. 14) has a cento on the life of Ausonius, which contains vv. 7-14 of this address and reads properator. Properator is a $\alpha\pi\alpha\epsilon$ but Aus. is fond of -ator formations (cf. Delachaux, pp. 19f.), and in him alone are found anticipator (Ephem. 3.9), constrator (Tech. 8.12) and occursator (Domest. 4.25). Properante sono is probably a gloss on properator which has entered the text to rob us of a jangle worthy of Ausonius (cf. 18.11: memoranda...onoranda; Grat. Act. 10

(305P): consiliatorem...proditorem; S, p. 295 lusus in verbis).

Measured speed of speech was desirable (Sen. Ep. 40.12): disputabat expedite magis quam concite, ut posses dicere facilitatem esse illam non celeritatem. This is opposed to the practice of Serapion: solet magno cursu verba convellere, quae non effundit una, sed premit et urget. Plura enim veniunt quam quibus una vox sufficiet.

13. pulchra senecta: cf. 4.22; 19.5; above pp. 167f., 200f.

nitens habitus: cf. 17.3: motu habituque venusto; see above pp. 205f.

dolorque: P, Gr; dolusque Lugd, S, Pa. The latter should be retained; cf. CIL 13.905 (Bordeaux): apud quem nullus fuit dolus malus / qui fuit sene ira, iocundus hoc est.

procul ira: cf. Domest. 4.29: ira procul; Prof. 3.10f.; 7.1f.; above pp. 180ff.

14. Cf. Ovid Amores 2.10.38: conveniens vitae mors fuit ista tuae; Martial 10.50.8 (S, P, Gr); Val. Max. 7.1.1: hunc vitae actum eius consentaneus finis excepit (Graevius).

placidae vitae: see on 3.13 above.

Professores 21

Crispus and Urbicus: The title calls them grammatici Latini et Graeci, but it is clear that Crispus' interest was Latin, Urbicus' Greek.

Ausonius' appreciative description implies that they were known to him personally, and their teaching activity was presumably contemporaneous with his own. Their repute may indicate that they held municipal chairs.

They are, like Sucuro (10.14f.), sons of freedmen. Ausonius generally does not rate grammatici highly, because of their low social status (see above p. 96). But he has a preoccupation with social climbing. The sons of freedmen are therefore congratulated for gaining what is for them a nomen tam nobile (9.5). There had been a time when teachers were usually freedmen, and this had attached a stigma to the profession (see above p. 198). Seneca writes (Controv. 2 Pref. 5; cf. Cic. Orat. 143-45): *habuit et Blandum rhetorem praeceptorem, qui primus eques Romanus docuit: ante illum intra libertinorum praeceptores pulcherrimae disciplinae continebantur, et minime probabili more turpe erat docere quod honestum erat discere.* But in Ausonius' day even the lowliest teaching positions were undertaken by the free-born (see above pp. 197ff.). Hence the admiration for these grammatici.

In the Priscillianist affair (see above pp. 2ff.) one Urbica was stoned to death at Bordeaux. If she were the daughter of Urbicus, as Étienne (Bordeaux antique, p. 269) and Chadwick (Life and Letters, p. 45) would have it, it is surprising that Ausonius does not mention

this affair in view of 5.37f. But Urbica is not a unique name (cf. e.g. Parent. 30), and this identification is uncertain.

1f. On the "sadly remembered forever" theme see Lattimore, pp. 248ff.

3. munere: see on 3.14 above.

threni: see on 5.3 above.

4. fandique: see on 4.2 above.

rudes: see on 8.11 above.

5f. elementorum prima...signa novorum: P, Gr compare Horace Epist.

1.20.10: pueros elementa docentem; on the grade of schooling indicated here see above pp. 69ff.

7. Contrast 4.20; 15.9; 24.9 and see above pp. 147ff., 189. Wine was long recognized as a source of inspiration (cf. Archilochus fr. 77;

Anth. Pal. 13.29; Athenaeus 14. 628b; CAF 1, 471 Cratinus fr. 99;

Horace Epist. 1.19.1; 1.5.19; Prop. 4.6.85f.; Tib. 3.4.43ff.;

Seneca Tranq. 17.8ff.). Total abstinence could breed melancholy.

Philostratos (VS 507; p. 56 Loeb) says that Aeschines and Demosthenes quarrelled because the former was an affable wine-bibber, the latter an austere water-drinker. Gellius (15.2) follows Plato in approving wine as a stimulant, but disapproves of a person unlike Crispus here: nihil homo et nugator...et praeterea vini libidine adusque ludibrium ebriosus.

8. locis: this reading of Lugd has been well altered by other editors to iocis, first proposed by Heinsius (M, p. 181). Pa (p. 193) follows the latter's explanation that the ioca refer to Silenus (Verg. Ecl. 6.14ff.) and Fufius (Horace Sat. 2.3.60ff.). But ioca are playful poetry in general; see above p. 152.

For synkrisis see on 1.2 above.

10. orsis: see on 3.4 above.

11. celebris: masc.; cf. L&S s.v. ad init.

carmen: for Lugd's camenis; see on 3.2 above: nenia.

12. $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$: the generally accepted emendation (except for S) of Lugd's $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$. But $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\omega$ is not a common verb and the future is not found elsewhere (one would expect an ω future in Attic Greek). I suggest that Ausonius has cleverly coined a Greek verb "to write elegy", and that Lugd's $\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ should be retained.

14. prosa...versa: editors for Lugd's prosa...versu except Pa who prints prorsa...vorsa, comparing Apul. Flor. 18.38: ac iam prorsa et vorsa facundia veneratus sum. Prosis is the reading of V at 3.5 and Pa's change is arbitrary. Prosa...versu loqui is acceptable Latin, but will not fit the scansion for the second verses of this piece: $\underline{v\upsilon} \quad \underline{v\upsilon} \quad \underline{v\upsilon} \quad \text{---} \parallel \text{---} \quad \underline{v\upsilon} \quad \underline{v\upsilon} \quad \text{---} \quad \text{---}$
 For praise of fluency in prose and verse see on 3.4 above.

16. priscos...heroas: cf. Ep. 19.38: priscis heroibus.

heroas: for form cf. S, p. 286; note Nestora v. 24 and cf. on

3.1 above.

mox: P; <tris> S, Pa; <tres> Gr.

18. fandō^v: see on Praef. 1 above.

19ff. On the synkriseis see on 1.2. Cf. Laus Pisonis 57ff.:

nam tu, sive libet pariter cum grandine nimbos
 densaque vibrata iaculari fulmina lingua,
 seu iuvat adstrictas in nodum cogere voces
 et dare subtili vivacia verba catena
 vim Laertiadae, brevitatem vincis Atridae;
 dulcia seu mavis liquidoque fluentia cursu
 verba nec incluso sed aperto pingere flore
 inclita Nestorei cedit tibi gratia mellis.

Quintilian says (10.1.68): [Homerus] omnibus eloquentiae partibus
 exemplum et ortum dedit... Idem laetus ac pressus, iucundus ac gravis,
 tum copia tum brevitatem mirabilis, nec poetica modo sed oratoria virtute
 eminentissimus. Pliny (Ep. 1.20) readily turns to the Homeric orators
 as archetypes. Aus. accords these grammatici the elaborate compliment
 of praise fitted to rhetors; cf. his praise of Gratian's words (Grat.
Act. 4; 19P):

certent huic sententiae veteres illi et Homerici oratores,
 subtilis deducta oratione Menelaus et instar profundae grandinis ductor
 Ithacensius et melleo delibutus eloquio iam tertiae Nestor aetatis.

Note also his praise of Probus' rhetoric (Ep. 12.10ff.):

hunc dico, qui lingua potens
 minorem Atridam praeterit
 orando pauca et musica;
 qui grandinis Ulixei
 et mel fluentem Nestora
 concinnat ore Tulli.

19. dulcem in paucis: cf. Homer Iliad 3.213f.: ἦτολ μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην
ἀγόμενε, / παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λυγέως;
Pliny Ep. 1.10: sermo...dulcis in primis.

Plistheniden: cf. 15.11: Cleanthen; S, p. 286.

20. torrentis...Dulichii: cf. Homer Iliad 3.21ff.: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὅππα
τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἶη / καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν
ἔοικότα χειμερίησιν, / οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆι γ'
ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος;
see too on 1.17 above.

22ff. Cf. Homer Iliad 1.247ff.: τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ / ἠδυσέπης
ἀνόρουσε, λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητῆς / τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης
μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥεῖν αὖδῆ;
cf. Ep. 2: quam mellea res sit oratio; Ep. 12.57: melleae vocis

modis; Ep. 23 (40P): mellea adulatio; Ep. 10.18: et liquidi mel

fluat oratio. Philostratos (VS 522; p. 90 Loeb), calling Dionysos of

Miletus μελιχρότατος, has him quote the proverb (cf. Lucian Hist.

conscr. 4): ὅτι χρῆ τοῦ μέλιτος ἄκρω δακτύλῳ,

ἀλλὰ μὴ κόιλῃ χειρὶ γεύεσθαι;

note the Athenian slight on Herodes' eloquence (VS 561; p. 192 L): ὡ πικροῦ μέλιτος

Pollux (VS 593; p. 240 L) had ἀμελιχρά φώνη; note Libanius Or. 1.30:

γέροντα γλώττης ἠδονῆ τῷ Νέστορι παρισούμενον

καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦτο καλούμενον μάλλον.

25. ambo loqui faciles: cf. CE 1307.3: nec sine laetitia sermo, faceta

loqui; Suet. Tib. 71.1: sermone Graeco quamquam alioqui promptus et

facilis. Quintilian points to facilitas as a necessary rhetorical

attribute (10.1.1).

omnia carmina docti: cf. on 4.15 above; poetry was the main concern of the grammaticus; cf. Quint. 1.4.1; 2.5.1; Cic. Div. 1.116.

callentes: see on 15.12 above.

mython plasmata: Scaliger's accepted emendation of Lugd's mythoplasmata. M (p. 105) would prefer μύθων πλάσματα. The -on genitive is rare in Latin, but note epodon Ep. 4.11 and cf. Catull 66.48; Sallust. Iug. 19.

26. plasmata: cf. Ep. 6.1f: si qua fides falsis umquam est adhibenda poetis / nec plasma semper adlinunt; Epig. 76.1f.: nova res at vix credenda poetis, / sed quae de vera promitur historia; Paulin. Euchar. 73: bellica plasmata Homeri; Prosper Tiro Epig. 100.3; Mart. Cap. 9, 913, 997: note Ep. 31.38 (Paulinus): figmenta vatium.

27f. Lugd reads: liberi et ambo genus, sed quos meruisse doceret / nasci ut cluerent paribus ingenuis. Paribus is a simple scribal error for patribus, doceret for deceret. Nasci is altered to nancisci for sense and metre. S retains liberi et. Scaliger (Delph, p. 992) explained that they had been free-born but exposed, then raised in servitude. He compares the case of Melissus (Suet. Gram. 21), and says that Ausonius means that they were unable to prove their free-born status. We can dispense with the fairy-story by the simple change of liberi et to liberti (proposed by S in his apparatus), which greatly improves and clarifies the sense.

genus: cf. Parent. 7.11: genus inclita; further examples TLL
s.v. 1888. 50-60; for Greek accusatives in Aus. see Delachaux p. 85;
S, p. 286.

meruisse: on earning rank cf. 5.30; 9.2; Parent. 24.9;

Praefatiunculae 1.8.

Professores 22

Victorius: He was an assistant teacher to Ausonius when the latter was a grammaticus (vv. 17f.). We do not know when Ausonius advanced from grammaticus to rhetor, but it was before his summons to court in the 360s. Vv. 15f. indicate that Victorius died young, in the 350s or earlier. Ausonius describes his speciality as Greek and Roman antiquities, but as Ausonius' assistant he presumably taught Latin. That he was supported by Ausonius directly (v. 17) suggests he was employed in a private rather than a municipal capacity. It would be superfluous to add that he taught at Bordeaux if PLRE (p. 961) did not question this.

Title: subdoctori: the Latin for ὑποδιδάσκαλος or ὑποδιδάκτῆς ; cf. CGL 3, 198.22; 122.9; 226.8; note subdocere grammatico August. Conf. 8.6.

1. studiose: cf. CIL 6, 25987; semper studiosus fui; 6, 12013: studia amavi; contrast the grammaticus of Epig. 7 who bought books to leave them unopened.

memor: cf. 4.17 and see on 1.22 above.

memor, celer: cf. Parent. 3.18: celer atque memor.

celer: "quick-witted"; cf. 5.1: lingua et ingenio celer; Horace Sat. 2.3. 147; Livy 45.23.15; Gellius 14.2.18.

lff. ignoratis/adsidue in libris etc.: see above pp. 171f.; cf. Quint. 8.2.12: At obscuritas fit verbis iam ab usu remotis, ut si commentarios quis pontificum et vetustissima foedera et exoletos scrutatus auctores ad ipsum petat ex iis, quae inde contraxerit, quod non intelleguntur. Hinc enim aliqui famam eruditionis adfectant, ut quaedam soli scire videantur; Horace Epist. 2.1.23ff. Quint. does recommend the erudition involved in tracing etymologies (1.6.31): sive ex Graecis orta tractemus...sive ex historiarum veterum notitia nomina hominum locorum gentium urbium requiramus. Gellius defends his penchant for the obscure (Pref. 13): Quod erunt...item paucula remotiora super augurio iure et pontifici, non oportet ea defugere quasi aut cognitu non utilia aut perceptu difficilia. For Gellius' antiquarian interest at work cf. 1.12; 3.5. He has a noteworthy description of a man similar to Victorius at 7.5 and at 2.21.6 mentions scholars: qui se ad litteras memoriaeque veteres dederant. M. Valerius Probus (see on 15.12 above) studied ancient authors and gained fame and respect from Ausonius. So obscure knowledge could in fact be lauded (as at Prof. 20.10 or Anth. Pal. 17,594), or ridiculed as here and at Anth. Pal. 11, 321, 347. The neglect of prompta studia (v. 4) causes Ausonius' disrespect.

4. promptis...in studiis: one's studies had to appeal to the public so that fame and material advantage would ensue; see above pp. 113ff., 171f.

5. quod ius pontificum: P's quodvis, to avoid the repetition in v. 9, is poor. Vv. 5-8 and 9-12 are similar in beginning and content. Scholars have speculated that one set was written in the margin as a variant, then incorporated into the text by a posthumous editor (cf. Prete, Problems, pp. 205ff.; Pa, p. 195). It is as likely that a scribe has repeated a verse beginning. Because of the similarity with Quint. 8.2.12 (commentarios...pontificum et vetustissima foedera) v. 5 may be in its original form. The point of keeping vv. 5-12 as the intended form, is explained by Smith, p. 21: "The pedantic antiquarian Victorius is gently satirized by a monotonous series of relatives...summing up the enormity of his obscure knowledge". M suggests (p. 187): "Il se peut qu'Ausone ait voulu railler le fatras des connaissances de Victorius en les énumérant d'une manière confuse et désordonnée". Perhaps Victorius' favourite question began quod ius pontificum, a sign that he was set to hold forth on obscure antiquities, and the repetition is Ausonius' intention not a scribal lapse.

6. Numam...Curibus: Numa was born at Cures; Aus. mentions his institutions and calendar in Parent. Prefaces and Ecl. 10-17 passim.

sacrifici: editors after Vinet for Lugd's sacrificii. M (p. 186) translates: "quelle est l'antique origine du sacrifice à Cures". Pa follows this interpretation. But stemma is usually applied to persons (24.3; Parent. 4.3; 8.2; Praefatiunculae 1.11), and it is preferable to follow EW in taking sacrificus as the equivalent of sacrificulus: "what the pedigree of the sacrificial priest at Cures long before Numa's days". However Scaliger's sacrificis (Delph, p. 993) removes the need to

make sacrificus a noun (Aus. uses 9 other -ficus adjectives; Delachaux, p. 44). Numa was famed for his religious institutions (see Ogilvie, Commentary on Livy 1-5, pp. 88ff.), and an epithet suiting him can easily be transferred to the people he came from.

7. Castor: EW's note, repeated by Pa, wrongly states that this Castor died before 150 B.C. There is a garbled entry in the Suda on Castor of Rhodes who was a rhetor and chronographer active in the first half of the first century B.C. (see RE 10, 2347ff., Kastor 8). His Χρονικὸν covered oriental, Greek and Roman history down to 60/1 B.C. (FGrH 250). He is used by later writers, but is probably known to Ausonius through Varro (cf. 20.10). He added mythical Greek kings to the tables of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, hence the point of regibus ambiguis.

8. Rhodope: otherwise unknown.

10f. Draco...Solon...Zaleucus: often mentioned together in lists of lawgivers; cf. Cic. De Or. 1.197; Gellius 11.18.1-5; Seneca Ep. 90.6.

12. Minos: cf. Gellius 15.21: praestantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus Iovis filios poetae appellaverunt, ut Aeacum, et Minoa, et Sarpedona; Ovid Amores 3.10.41: legifer...Minos. On his death he became a judge in the Underworld.

Themis: cf. Tech. 7.1f: prima deum fas, / quae Themis est Grais; Servius on Aen. 2.246 calls her antiquissima dearum and tells us that it was she who warned Saturn that he would be deposed by his future son

Jupiter. In Hesiod's Theogony she is the second wife of Zeus and among others bears Eunomia and Dike. She was generally regarded as a goddess of justice.

14. Latia...historia: cf. Fasti 4: Latiam historiam. On study of history see on 20.8 above. Ausonius has prompti auctores like Sallust (Ep. 22.61ff.) and Livy (20.8) in mind here, for they can be studied as literature, not for antiquarian footnotes, and are relevant to the material the grammaticus usually taught.

16. Lachesis: see on 3.5 above.

celerasset: see on 1.26 and 5.8 above.

17. exili...honore cathedrae: see on 7.10 and 10.20f. above.

18. tenuis: S, P, Gr adopt the emendation of Vinet and Scaliger for Lugd's tenuiter. Vinet also suggested tenui, which is approved by M (p. 186) and adopted by Pa. Tenuis is preferable. Victorius was hoping for advancement from subdoctor to grammaticus. His field of study did not promise success, and so as subdoctor he had a foretaste of being a tenuis grammaticus like Anastasius (10.44ff.).

19. Cumae: unnecessary alteration of Lugd's Romae.

defunctus: see on 13.11 above.

20. de: used often by Aus. for ex or ab; see S, p. 290; Delachaux, p. 104. See too on 1.12 and 11.1 above.

21. For sentiment see on 7.11 above.

nobilium: see on 4.2 above.

22. See on 1.39ff. above; cf. CE 1200.5f.: quos si qua ad manes poterit descendere fama / magnus honos campis te manet Elysis.

pia cura: see on Praef. 6 above.

Professores 23

Dynamius: Known only from Ausonius who was a close friend of his while he was at Bordeaux. For Ausonius' motives in raking up scandal about this contemporary of his see above pp. 130f.

1. maesta...querella: cf. Parent. 30.11: maestis...querellis; see too on 7.18 above.

fraudabo: cf. 18.13. Aus. will dutifully commemorate Dynamius despite his shady repute (vv. 11ff.).

fraudabō: see on Praef. 1.

2. municipem patriae: the immediate reason why Dynamius is not to be defrauded of an epitaph; see on 20.1-2.

causidicum: on the courts as an avenue for advancement see above p. 154. Like Marcellus (18), Dynamius took to teaching to support himself in exile. The classic case of this is Valerius Licinianus; Juv. 7.197f.; Pliny Ep. 4.11.

4. parvula: see on 12.2 and 10.51 above.

5. On rich marriage see on 6.36f.

8. profugum: cf. 10.19.

9. quamvis: with the indicative here and at Parent. 29.4, with the subjunctive in v. 15 and at 3.8.

voluntas: unnecessary alteration of V's voluptas retained by Pa. M (p. 188) compares Verg. Aen. 8.581: *mea sera et sola voluptas.*

12. amicitia: see above pp. 143f. and on 13.12.

13. officium: see on 2.29 above.

sensus si manibus ullus: see on 1.39ff. above.

14. serum: P, Gr; verum S; V's verus is correctly retained by Pa and explained by M, p. 189: "Dynamius, pendant toute sa vie, avait conservé le faux nom de Dynamius; après sa mort Ausone peut le pleurer sous son vrai nom de Dynamius". For nominatives and vocatives mixed in Aus. see on 3.9 above.

morte obita: see on Praef. 4 above.

15. defunctus: see on 13.11 above.

maestis...elegis: cf. 24.2; Parent. Prose Pref.; Parent. 29.2: *maesta elegea*; see too on 3.2 above.

pia cura: see on Praef. 6 above.

Professores 24

Acilius Glabrio: The reference to Trojan ancestry (v. 4) makes it fairly certain that this professor belonged to the same family as the Acilius Glabrio who refused the throne on Commodus' assassination and of whom Herodian reports (2.3.4): ἀνέφερε γοῶν ἐς Αἰνεῖαν τὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀγκίτου τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχὴν.
The closest relative of note to our Glabrio is his namesake, the senator who contributed 400,000 sesterces to some project; CIL 6, 37118; PLRE, p. 396.

Glabrio became a grammaticus Latinus, taking the chair vacated by Ausonius (v. 6), and may have been a student/teacher in Ausonius' school prior to this (see above p. 99). From v. 5 it appears that Glabrio was a younger contemporary of Ausonius, and he did not reach old age (vv. 1.11f.). Ausonius was promoted to rhetor by the 350s and so as approximate dates for Glabrio's life we can offer 315-355.

1. doctrinae: see on 4.15 above.
2. maestis...elegis: see on 23.16.
commemorabō: see on Praef. 1 above.
3. nobilium...avorum: on Ausonius' attitude to nobility see pp. 159ff. and on 4.2 above.

4. Acilini: P, Gr, Pa for V's Aquilini, which S obelizes. M (p. 190), followed by Pa, suggests that Acilinus is the eponymous Trojan hero of the gens Acilia, although no such hero is known.

5. Pa, after M (p. 191), correctly omits the comma after mihi.

5f. For the educational arrangements shown in these lines see above pp. 95ff.

7. inque foro tutela reis: see on 2.17 above.

et cultor in agris: Theon is twitted for cultivating the earth rather than his muse (Ep. 14), and this piece of praise is in strange conjunction with inque foro tutela. But cf. Symm. Ep. 1.2.7.4ff.:

an magis eloquium morum vitaeque leporem,
et - nisi in officiis, quotiens tibi publica curae -
quod vitam innocuis tenuisti laetus in agris.

8. digne...qui fruerere: see on 13.1, 1f. above.

9. commode: cf. Parent. 7.9: comis blandusque et mensa commodus uncta.

laete: see on 4.21 above.

benigne: cf. Ecl. 1.8.

abstemie: see on 4.20 above.

9f. tam bone ... datis: cf. 15.16f.: consilia nullus mente tam pura dedit / vel altiore conditu texit data; see too on 15.6.

11. decus omne tuis: P, Gr, S cf. Verg. Aen. 5.34: tu decus omne tuis
decus: see on 2.7 above.
decus...dolor: P, Gr cf. Verg. Aen. 10.507: o dolor atque decus.
- 11f. omnia...destituis: cf. 6.27ff.
funere/acerbo praereptus: see on 3.5 above.
- 13f. For upset of the natural order see on 3.5 above.
- 15f. acerbum...vale: M (p. 191) compares Ovid Met. 10.62: supremumque
vale acciperet; Her. 13.14: vix illud potui dicere triste vale.
16. in aeternum commemorate: d.m. et aeternae memoriae was a common
formula in Gaul and Germany (Lattimore, pp. 82f.).

Professores 25

Title: Coronis: Κορωνίς was the flourish made to mark the end of a work; cf. Isid. Orig. 1.21.16; Mart. 10.1.1: si nimius videor seraque coronide longus. Coronis then is an apt title for the conclusion. The Poeta which follows should be a seal, but it is notably devoid of autobiographic detail (contrast Prop. 1.22). In fact the Poeta is a second conclusion.

The reader of Ausonius is used to multiple prefaces (see Praefatiunculae, Technopaegnon, Fasti, Epigrams 1, 25) but only the Fasti has a double seal. The first is a general ending identifying the author, which can be dated to 382. The second is a special seal, addressed to Proculus, for whom a consulship in 384 is anticipated. This piece was evidently composed a year after the first, and the collocation of these seals is understandable. It is not so easy to grasp why Ausonius, who himself arranged the Parentalia, Professores and Epitaphia in their present sequence, gave two conclusions to the Professores.

While the Poeta is suitable only for a conclusion the Coronis might well serve as a preface. It has similarities with the verse preface to the Parentalia as the following table shows:

Parentalia Preface

vv. 9f.: hoc satis est tumulis,
satis est telluris egenis: /
voce ciere animas funeris instar
habet.

vv. 1-4: nomina... / nunc
commemorabo modis, / nuda, sine
ornatu fandique carentia cultu: /
sufficiet inferiis exequialis
honos

Coronis

vv. 5f.: ... nomina tantum / voce
ciere suis sufficiet tumulis.

7ff.: ergo, qui nostrae legis
otia tristia chartae, / eloquium
ne tu quaere, set officium / quo
claris doctisque viris pia cura
parentat.

v. 4: quos memorasse mihi morte
obita satis est.

Moreover, the present preface to the Professores is not so explicit
about the scope of the work to come as vv. 1-4 of the Coronis.

The Professores, then, is the sole work of Ausonius to have a double conclusion. In substance the Coronis is similar to the verse preface to the Parentalia, and contains a clear indication of the contents of the Professores. It seems possible that the Coronis was originally the preface, and that Ausonius, on joining the Professores to the other works, transferred this to the position of a conclusion, at the same time substituting a briefer introduction to provide a link with the Parentalia. The Poeta will then have been the original conclusion.

1. menide: Delachaux takes this as a diminutive of $\mu\eta\acute{\nu}\eta$ = lunula, following the inference of Turnebus that the ancients marked the start of a work with a crescent (cf. Delph, p. 994; Pa, p. 475). But as EW and others realize, here we have the first word of the Iliad. Homer was a basic text in education (cf. Ep. 22.46; Paulin. Euchar. 72ff.), and was regarded as the start of learning (Pliny Ep. 2.14.2). The Iliad was the beginners' book (cf. Hor. Epist. 2.2.41f.; Marrou, pp. 246f.; Clarke, Higher Educ., p. 18; Müller, Die paedagogik Plutarchs, p. 61).

Note Anth. Pal. 9.173; 11.279: [ὄλβιος] οὐδεὶς γραμματικῶν δύναται ποτε εἶναι, ὀργήν καὶ μῆνιν καὶ χόλον εὐθὺς ἔχων.

The alogias menias of Petron Sat. 58, which have puzzled scholars, represent the beginnings of an upper-class education, the study of literature starting with the Iliad.

2. doctores patriae: the professors could have come to Bordeaux or gone abroad to teach; see on career of Staphylius (20).

scitō: see on Praef. 1 above.

3. in utroque: like Nepotianus (15) and Staphylius (20.7).

4ff. For sentiment cf. above table and pp. 123ff.

4. memorasse: see on 1.26 above.

morte obita: see on Praef. 4 above.

5. Cf. above table.

viventum: for form see on 4.6 above.

6. voce ciere: see on 7.4 and 8.19, 19f. above.

7f. For these verses cf. above table and pp. 12.3ff.

9. claris doctisque viris: see on 2.13 and 3.3 above. This description suits the subjects of 1-6, 13-16, 19, 20, 24, but cannot apply to the addressees of 7, 8, 10-12, 17, 18, 22, 23.

pia cura: see on Praef. 6 above.

10. decora: see on 2.7 above. For sentiment of this verse cf.

Praef. 2, 4 and above pp. 18ff.

Professores 26

Title: Poeta: see on Coronis for existence of two conclusions to the Professores.

1. inclitorum: cf. on 6.17 above.
2. doctores probi: see on 7.6 above.
3. historia: cf. 20.8; 21.26.
poeticus stilus: see pp. 169ff., 201f. above for fame brought by verse publications.
4. forumve: see on 2.17 above.
nobiles: see on 4.2 above.
5. medicae vel artis dogma: we are not told that any of the doctors were medics turned teacher or that any were iatrosophists, like those whom Eunapius appends to his Vitae sophistarum. Ausonius follows the tradition of invective against doctors in Epig. 3, 80, 81, but he admired his brother (Parent. 13), his aunt (ibid. 6) and his father (Parent. 1) who devoted themselves to medicine. His father was fluent in Greek (Domest. 4.9f.), a requisite of a successful doctor (cf. Amm. Marc. 22.16.18),

and perhaps was an iatrosophist. From fourth cent. Bordeaux we have the medical writers Suburius (PLRE 1, p. 839) and Marcellus (PLRE 7, p. 551), while their fellow citizen Eutropius was a man of letters interested in this subject (PLRE, 2, p. 317). A smattering of medicine was respectable knowledge for the litterati of Bordeaux as it was for Gellius (18.10). In the preface to the Griphus (48P) librosque medicinae are mentioned alongside totam grammaticam et musicam. In his Disciplinarum libri Varro treated medicine as a liberal art. In view of the esteem accorded Varro (see on 20.10), it is probable that Ausonius included this branch of learning to emphasize the culture of his addressees.

dogma vel Platonicum: cf. Caes. Tetr. 69: scita Platonis. Philosophy, which had a stigma in the first century (Suet. Nero 52; Tac. Agr. 4) declined in the later empire (Clarke, Higher Educ., pp. 88ff., 127; Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, pp. 79ff.). Julian the Apostate's attempt to revive the study of philosophy, was abortive, but banal commonplaces remained a part of rhetoric. In their verbal effusions the Panegyrici Latini bandy about mundane pieces of philosophy; cf. Maguiness, Ha 47 (1932), 61. Ausonius shows a grasp of similar material (e.g. in the Eclogues and Ludus) and gives a facundum ingenium a command of philosophy at Parent. 1.9-12. Augustine informs us that it is pointless to read Stoic and Epicurean works with the rhetor (Ep. 118.21), since these sects were extinct, but shows (Conf. 3.4; cf. De vita beata 4) that treatises such as Cicero's Hortensius were normally read with the rhetor for style not for content.

At a lower level in education philosophic proverbs were learned. The dogmata Socratus which Paulinus studied at a tender age (Euchar. 73) will have been like Cato's distichs (cf. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul,

p. 203). Such too will have been the stuff learned by the eleven year-old of CE 434: dogmata Pythagorea sensi studiumque soforum et libros legi, legi pia carmina Homeri.

Despite the realities of the situation, praise of philosophic learning remained a topos of eulogy; cf. Claudian Cons. Man. 64ff.; CE 111 = CIL 6, 1779.

6. perenni gloriae: for fame living on see on 1.42 above; cf. CE 992.2: fama perennis erit.

functis: see on 7.3 above.

7. For sentiment cf. CE 467.8: quidquid id est, gratum manibus officium.

cura: see on Praef. 6 for occurrences of pia cura.

viventum: cf. on 25.5.

10. querella flebili: see on 7.18 and 5.3 above.

11. For sentiment see on 11.6 above.

11ff. P, Gr cf. Prudent. Perist. 11.137: servat ad aeterni spem vindicis ossa sepulchro.

13f. See above on 1.39ff. for Christian sentiment regarding after-life in Ausonius. Smith (p. 20) feels the alliteration reflects religious intensity.

14. cunctis: P, Gr; S, Pa cum dis from V's cudis. EW and Pa think the reference is to the return of the Saturnia regna of Verg. Ecl. 4.6. But no hope of resurrection is inherent in the return of the Golden Age. Iudex deus must surely refer to the Last Judgement. Cunctis, as palaeographically plausible as cum dis, should be kept.

APPENDIX A: THE DRUIDS

Druidic education and strength of the Druids under Roman rule have been variously assessed. Here it will be argued that the Druids reflowered in the first century A.D. in an attempt to stem the process of Romanization, but disappeared from the second century on¹.

In 21 A. D. Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir, Gauls who had been given Roman citizenship, led a revolt against Rome. The sources (Tac. Ann. 3. 40ff. and Vell. Pat. 2.129.3) make no mention of Druids. But Pliny (HN 30.13) mentions a decree of Tiberius against Druidism. At this time the Druids were presumably an active force in the cause of Gallic nationalism². Claudius took strong measures against the Druids (Suet. Claud. 25) and his invasion of Britain may have aimed at destroying a Druid refuge (Caes. B. Gall. Pliny HN 30.13; Tac. Ann. 14.30). But the Druids were still there in 61 A.D. to confront Suetonius Paulinus at Mona (Tac. Ann. 14.30). Trouble was stirred among the Aedui in 68 A.D. by a prophet who was followed by a fanatica

¹The literary sources for the history of the Druids are collected by T. M. Kendrick, The Druids (2nd ed. 1928; repr. London: Cass, 1966), chpt. 3.

²Cf. Scullard, Gracchi to Nero, pp. 289, 311; Syme, Tacitus, p. 458 n. 4: "Tiberius' measure might in fact have been provoked by the Gallic insurrection of 21."

multitudo (Tac. Hist. 2.61). Fanaticus is an adjective employed by Tacitus only of the Druids in Britain (Ann. 14.30.2; Syme, Tacitus, p. 458). Suspicions that this prophet had Druidic connections are confirmed somewhat by the explicit mention of Druid prophecy in support of Civilis in the following year (Tac. Hist. 4.54):

Nam Civilis, omissa dissimulatione, in populum Romanum ruere...Galli sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercituum nostrorum fortunam rati: volgato rumore, a Samartis Dacisque Moesica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsideri. Paria de Britannia fingebantur. Sed nihil aequae, quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, impulerat. Captam olim a Gallis urbem: sed, integra Iovis sede, mansisse imperium. Fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi, superstitione vana Druidae canebant.

Knowing that the Druids were a force active against Romanization in the first century A. D. we must now turn to the thorny problem of their place during Rome's first major commitment in Gaul, Caesar's Gallic wars. DeWitt thinks that the Druids were an obsolete power in the first century B. C.¹ His major argument is that they are absent from Caesar's narrative, although in an ekphrasis he represents them as a pan-Gallic force (B. Gall. 6.13-19). Indeed it is strange that Caesar does not mention that Divitiacus regem...totius Galliae potentissimum (B. Gall. 2.4) was a Druid (Cic. Div. 1.90). At the start of B. Gall. 7 a conspiracy of Gallic chiefs meets in finibus Carnutum. This had been a Druid meeting-place (B. Gall. 6.13), but notably absent is any mention of Druids.

Scholars have offered alternative explanations for this silence

¹"The Druids and Romanization", TAPhA 69 (1938), 319-32.

about the Druids. J. de Vries holds that the later references, especially the omen of the burning of the Capitolium, to the Druids prove that they must still have been a force to be reckoned with in Caesar's time.¹ He suggests that Caesar avoids mentioning them (p. 68): "weil ein Widerstand von Priestern einen ungunstigen Eindruck in Rom gemacht haben könnte". Although Divitiacus supported Caesar de Vries argues that there is no need to believe that all Druids supported Caesar. Divitiacus may have been a Quisling from the point of view of the others. Caesar remarks (B. Gall. 6.13.11-12): *Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa profiscuntur.* Renewing the view shared by Mommsen, Bury and others, de Vries concludes that Caesar invaded Britain to exterminate the source of Druidism.

Rambaud² notes that Cicero justifies Caesar's campaigns by pointing to the savagery of the Druids (Prov. Cons. 29, 32f.). But, Rambaud argues, as Caesar's campaign progressed, he enlisted Druid aid such as Divitiacus. He avoids mention of this in his Commentaries to avoid adverse publicity at Rome and the digression on the Druids' aims at mitigating their image at Rome. Conversely, Piggot believes

¹"Die Druiden", Kairos 11 (1959), 67-82.

²L'art de la déformation historique dans les commentaires de César (2e éd.; Paris, Belles Lettres, 1966), pp. 327ff.

that Caesar's description is to denigrate the Druids and to justify his campaign.¹

The presence of Druids in the first century A.D. and that Divitiacus was a Druid show that the Druids existed at the time of Caesar's campaign. What cannot be proven is that the Druids presented a concerted opposition.² Caesar could have drawn first-hand knowledge about the Druids from Divitiacus or some other contemporary in Gaul. His silence makes difficult any estimation of their resistance to him. He may not have recognized or expected opposition from them (B. Gall. 6.14.1): *Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem.* Probably it was not until Romanization was in progress that the Druids emerged as a central force to protect and maintain Gallic traditions.

Many ancient sources point to the Druids as teachers in terms such as those used by Pomponius Mela (3.2): *Habent (i.e. the Gauls) tamen et facundiam suam magistrosque sapientiae Druidas.* The application of such literary and philosophical terminology to their teaching could give us an exaggerated view of its sophistication.³ The Irish

¹The Druids (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), p. 111.

²Cf. Rice Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul (2nd ed.; Oxford Univ. Pr., 1937), pp. 523-29.

³See Piggot, pp. 115ff. The details of this education have been variously assessed; cf. Denk, Geschichte, chpt. 1; de Vries, "Die Druiden"; Chadwick, The Druids, pp. viii, 2, 46, emphasizes that the Druids were philosophers and educators rather than priests.

vernacular texts give rather the impression of an itinerant, inter-tribal class of wise men. Nevertheless, Caesar asserts that nonnulli spent 20 years in learning, while he speaks of the iuventus in general being taught by the Druids (B. Gall. 6.14.1, 6). But in the Romanization process (see above pp. 36ff.), Greco-Roman education encroached upon the Druids' sphere of influence. By the first century A.D. the Druids had evidently rallied to protect the ancestral tradition and were powerful enough to cause concern. Last maintains that the Roman opposition to the Druids was cultural rather than political, and that the Romans were more concerned with abolishing inhuman rites than eliminating political resistance.¹ But in this case culture and politics are inseparable. Piggot (pp. 127ff.) compares the Roman attitude to the Druids to that of the Elizabethan English to the Irish of the 16th century, where the itinerant carriers of traditional culture were eradicated as a threat to the sedentary agriculturalists. Roman repression of the Druids proved more successful than English attempts to subjugate the Irish. By the second century A.D. the Druid renaissance was fading and, in the third and fourth centuries, remnants of Druid culture appear in the debased form of fortune-tellers. Ausonius (see on Prof. 4.7f.) shows the Druid heritage as a part of the hazy past.

¹"Rome and the Druids: A Note", JRS 39 (1949), 1-5.

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