

# NOTES ON AUSONIUS' *PROFESSORES*

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To all his fellow teachers and colleagues he [Ausonius] has paid his compliments in a collection of divers poems and versicles grouped 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.<sup>1</sup>

TO DATE Ausonius' *Professores* has not been subjected to thorough study.<sup>2</sup> One suspects that scholars have been deterred by the literary quality and by the content of the work. Ausonius' poetry has rarely been estimated favourably,<sup>3</sup> and a series of epitaphs to the deceased professors of fourth-century Bordeaux is not the most promising material for author's talent or reader's interest. Dill might find their portraits "traced with the curious minuteness of wistful affection,"<sup>4</sup> but the judgement of Jullian is more typical: "Les éloges que leur accorde Ausone sont d'une telle banalité que le trait saillant du talent de chacun nous échappe."<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, students of ancient education regularly gather evidence from Ausonius. The following notes, mainly prosopographical, originate from a study, in progress, of the school system in fourth-century Bordeaux.

<sup>1</sup>P. S. Wild, "Ausonius: A Fourth Century Poet," *CJ* 46 (1951) 380.

<sup>2</sup>Modern editions and works on the text of Ausonius, referred to by the author's name alone, are: E. F. Corpet, *Oeuvres complètes d'Ausone* (Paris 1842-1843); Th. J. Gradihone, *The Text of the Parentalia and Professores of Ausonius* (Diss. Fordham Univ. [New York] 1962); H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Le manuscrit de l'Île Barbe* (3 vols. Bordeaux-Paris 1917-1919); A. Pastorino, *Opere di Decimo Magno Ausonio* (Turin 1971); R. Peiper, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula* (Leipzig 1886 [Bibliotheca Teubneriana]); C. Schenkl, *D. Magni Ausonii Opuscula* (Berlin 1883 [MGH.AA 5.2]); H. G. Evelyn White, *Ausonius* (2 vols. London 1919-1921 [Loeb Classical Library]). Evelyn White follows mainly Peiper's text. All references are to his edition which contains letters of Paulinus of Nola referred to in this article.

<sup>3</sup>The *Mosella* is given some recognition. Otherwise most estimates agree with Gibbon's famous sentiment (*Decline and Fall*, ed. J. B. Bury [London 1901] 3.134 n.): "The poetical fame of Ausonius condemns the taste of his age."

<sup>4</sup>S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*<sup>2</sup> (London 1899) 394. Dill and N. K. Chadwick, *Life and Letters in early Christian Gaul* (London 1955), provide the most favourable modern estimates of Ausonius. The *Professores* are regarded quite warmly by Ch. Favez, "Une école gallo-romaine au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Latomus* 7 (1948) 223-233 and by M. Principato, "Poesia familiare e poesia descrittiva in Ausonio," *Aevum* 35 (1961) 410; cf. most recently H. Isbell in J. W. Binns (ed.), *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century* (London 1974) 35-41; H. Szelest, *Eos* 63 (1975) 75-87.

<sup>5</sup>*Revue internationale de l'enseignement* 25 (1893) 44; cf. H. E. Wedeck, "A Gallery of Roman Schoolmasters in Ausonius," *CW* 27 (1934) 137 f.; J. Hatinguais, "Vertus universitaires selon Ausone," *REA* 55 (1952) 379-387.

ATTIUS TIRO DELPHIDIUS (*Prof.* 5)

One forceful figure who does stand out among the *Professores* is Attius<sup>6</sup> Tiro Delphidius. The activities of this rhetor attracted the attention of Ammianus and Jerome, as well as Ausonius. When Sidonius recalls the *abundantia Delphidii* (*Epist.* 5.10.3) he may attest his posthumous fame.

Delphidius' grandfather, Phoebicius I (*Prof.* 10.23 ff.; 4.7 ff.) had been an attendant at the temple of Belenus (Apollo) at Bayeux.<sup>7</sup> Phoebicius, who later became a *grammaticus*, evidently had an interest in letters, and perhaps inspired his son Attius Patera (*Prof.* 4) to embark upon a scholastic career. The latter taught at Rome (Jerome *Epist.* 120 *praef.*, cited below) and at Bordeaux, where he (or his brother, Phoebicius 2; *Prof.* 4.13) managed to obtain a chair of *grammaticae* for his father (*Prof.* 10.30). Patera's renown enhanced the prestige of a family which covered its humble origins by claiming Druidic descent,<sup>8</sup> and Patera saw his son, Delphidius (*Prof.* 4.14; 5), carry the family fortunes to their acme and eclipse.

Ausonius' account of the dynamic career of Attius Tiro Delphidius follows the chronological progression prescribed by the rules of rhetoric for *laus et vituperatio hominum* (e.g., Quint. 3.7.10 ff.). The account of Delphidius' boyhood attainments (5–8) covers the *indoles in primis annis* section. *Mox inde* (9) heralds an account of more mature literary achievements, which corresponds to the *disciplina* section. Lines 13–18 commence the *opera* section with an account of his activities in private and public affairs. Lines 19–32 pursue his *opera*, listing forensic actions, his rise *tempore tyrannico*, his fall as a result of a prosecution, and his subsequent retirement to teaching at Bordeaux. The pointers *unde* (31) and *mox inde* (33) underline the chronological sequence, which is concluded by reference to Delphidius' death and the subsequent fate of his family.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Attius* is the generally accepted emendation of Vinet for ms *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* of *Prof.* 4 to *Atticus*; cf. Pastorino 190.

<sup>7</sup> C. B. Pascal, *Cults of Cisalpine Gaul* (Brussels 1964) 124, states that Ausonius twice refers to a temple of Belenus at Bordeaux. The way in which Phoebicius' descent from the Druids of Armorica is juxtaposed to his tenure of a chair at Bordeaux (*Prof.* 10.26 ff.) suggests that he migrated to Bordeaux. *Prof.* 4.7 identifies Phoebicius' native town as Bayeux and the temple of Belenus was there.

<sup>8</sup> Some debased vestiges of Druidism are visible in the *Historia Augusta*, where women called Druids appear as fortune-tellers: *Alex. Sev.* 60.6; *Aurel.* 44.4; *Num.* 14.2. It is fond fiction on the part of E. Bachelier, "Le druidisme au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Ogam* 12 (1960) 91–100, to suggest, on the basis of theophoric names and interests in medicine and religion, that Ausonius and his connexions were secret Druids. Ausonius gives the last references to Druidism in Greco-Roman literature, and clearly regards it as a thing of the past; cf. Pastorino 12.

<sup>9</sup> Some chronological pattern is visible in *Prof.* 10.42 ff., 11, 13, 18, 19, 24. *Prof.* 1, 2, and, less markedly, 3, 4, 14 use the alternative arrangement of grouping praise by head-

Crucial for the dating of the events in Delphidius' career is the identification of the *tempus tyrannicum* (23). Scholars have proposed the usurpation of Magnentius (350–353), the usurpation of Procopius (September 365–May 366) and the usurpation of Maximus (383–388).<sup>10</sup>

Jerome's *Chronicle* places Delphidius' *floruit* in 355: *Alcimus et Delfidius rhetores in Aquitanica florentissime docent*. Since Ausonius places Delphidius' retirement to teaching after his fall, one might be inclined to look for a *tyrannus* before 355, and favour Magnentius. However, Ausonius scarcely describes Delphidius as teaching *florentissime* at this time (33 f.): *mox inde rhetor, nec docendi peritax, / curam fefellisti patrum*. Again, Ammianus (18.1.4) describes Delphidius in action as an *acerrimum oratorem* in 358, while one would infer from Ausonius' words that his retirement was complete.

Jerome writes (*Epist.* 120 *praef.*): *Maiores tui Patera atque Delphidius, quorum alter antequam ego nascerer rhetoricam Romae docuit, alter me iam adulescentulo omnes Gallias prosa versuque suo inlustravit ingenio*. Since Jerome was born in the later 340s, *me adulescentulo* should indicate the early 360s.<sup>11</sup> Jerome evidently refers here to the acme of Delphidius' literary achievements, noted in lines 13 f. of Ausonius' address. Ausonius does not mention teaching activities at this stage, nor does Jerome in the present passage. In the compressed *Chronicle*, Jerome may have used *docent* carelessly, Alcimus (*Prof.* 2) being a rhetor, Delphidius a man of letters. More probably, he simply emphasizes here the sphere of greatest repute. Through exigencies of space, Ausonius similarly passes over this

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ing. These short addresses cannot show the rhetorical patterns as clearly as, for example, the *Latin Panegyrics*. Sometimes no pattern is detectable; e.g., *Prof.* 8; 10 (except 42 ff.). But that Ausonius had the rhetorical prescription in mind is indicated by his address to Thalassus, who is such a vague memory that normal material of eulogy is lacking (*Prof.* 12.3 f.): *qua forma aut merito fueris, qua stirpe parentum, / aetas nil de te posterior celebrat*.

<sup>10</sup>(a) Magnentius: Seeck, "Delphidius," *RE* 4 2 (1901) 2503; *PLRE*, "Delphidius," 1.246; R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (Bordeaux 1962) 217; (b) Procopius: Corpet 1.315; Evelyn White 1.107 n. 2; (c) Maximus: M. J. Byrne, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Works of Decimus Magnus Ausonius* (New York 1916) 69; Marx, "Ausonius 3," *RE* 2 2 (1896) 2573; (d) Pastorino adopts all three options. He takes *Prof.* 5.23 to refer to Maximus (82), but asserts (86) that Delphidius rose under Magnentius. On page 447 note 3 he chooses the revolt of Procopius.

<sup>11</sup>The dating of Jerome's birth to the later 340s rests mainly on his own statement that he was a boy in school when the death of Julian the Apostate was announced (*In Abacuc* 2, 3.14). Prosper Tiro's *Chronicle*, however, would place his birthdate in 330 or 331. This date has recently been upheld by J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London 1975) 337–339 and P. Hamblenne, "La longévit  de J r me: Prosper avait-il raison?," *Latomus* 28 (1969) 1081–1119; but P. Jay, "Sur la date de naissance de saint J r me," *REL* 51 (1973) 263–280, has shown that Prosper's date is wrong, and places Jerome's birth 345–347.

early period of teaching.<sup>12</sup> In any case, Delphidius' elevation *tempore tyrannico* should not be placed in the early 350s.

In connexion with this period of literary effulgence, Ausonius (13 ff.) mentions important forensic activities of which he disapproves (19 ff.):

*felix, quietis si maneres litteris  
opus Camenarum colens  
nec odia magnis concitata litibus  
armaret ultor impetus.*

Ammianus (18.1.4) describes Delphidius' prosecution of Numerius, the governor of Narbonnensis *inuitato censorio vigore*, but with no foundation. Perhaps Ausonius (21 f. above) refers to this notorious action. *Ultor impetus* would indicate that Delphidius used Julian's repression of corruption in Gaul as an opportunity to settle an old score. *Odia magnis concitata litibus* well describes the resentment which Delphidius' action will have stirred. It is tempting to think that Delphidius' eventual downfall was caused by a counter-attack, originating from the *odia* of Numerius. In any case, if lines 21 f. refer to the Numerius affair, Delphidius' elevation *inquietae temporis tyrannici/palatii* (23 f.) cannot have been under Magnentius, but must have come after 358.

*Tempus tyrannicum* cannot refer to Maximus' usurpation, since Delphidius did not live to see this *tyrannus*. At Bordeaux Delphidius became a rhetor, returning perhaps to his early profession. He did not retire happily and his heart was not in his work (33 f., cited above). Death spared him the further misery of seeing his wife Euchrotia and daughter Procula involved in the Priscillianist Affair (cf. Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.48, 51; Prosper Tiro *Chron.* s.a. 385; Jerome *De vir. illust.* 122; Ausonius 35 ff.):

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

The *poena* refers to the execution of Euchrotia 385/386. We have thus a *terminus ante quem* for the death of Delphidius. Had he risen after Maximus' usurpation, held office, faced a prosecution and retired to teaching in the space this *terminus* allows, he would have been an incredibly busy man. Moreover, identification of the *error* of Procula provides an earlier *terminus ante quem* which removes Delphidius from any association with Maximus.

In his panegyric to Theodosius, Pacatus casts up against Maximus the execution of Euchrotia (*Pan. Lat.* 12.29.2): *ut unco ad poenam clari vatis matrona raperetur*. This is the *poena* referred to by Ausonius. Procula was

<sup>12</sup>Ausonius omits to mention in *Prof.* 4 that Patera taught at Rome; see below, 244. His addresses to Arbo rius (*Parent.* 3; *Prof.* 16) contain complementary information.

not executed, for the panegyrist would not have failed to dwell on the horror of the tyrannical obliteration of both mother and daughter. In fact, we have no record of any harm coming to Procula. The *error* apparently refers to her (alleged) pregnancy by Priscillian and subsequent abortion (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2. 48). This rumour sprang from Priscillian's sojourn with Euchrotia on his journey to Rome (381).<sup>13</sup> Delphidius was unaware of this *error*, and also, it seems, of any involvement of his family with Priscillian. Indeed, at the time of Priscillian's visit, Sulpicius speaks of Euchrotia as mistress of property, which suggests that she was already a widow. Pacatus, too, implies that Priscillian involved Euchrotia as a gullible widow (*Pan. Lat.* 12.29.2): *obiciebatur enim atque etiam exprobrabatur mulieri viduae nimia religio et diligentius culta divinitas*. Thus it seems clear that Delphidius died before 381, perhaps in the final years of the 370s, since Ausonius congratulates him on his *opportune* avoidance of the scandal.<sup>14</sup>

Delphidius' rise to court followed his dynamic forensic activity. The *tempus tyrannicum* which facilitated this rise was, then, the usurpation of Procopius. Delphidius will have been elevated, although not so highly, as the two Gauls described by Ammianus (26.7.4): *instituitis bonarum artium spectatissimi*.<sup>15</sup> He will have fallen in the widespread purge which followed the elimination of Procopius (Amm. Marc. 26.10.6–14), and returned to Bordeaux in the late 360s.

#### ALETHIUS MINERVIUS (*Prof.* 6)

Some scholars add further tragedy to the life of Delphidius by making him the father of Alethius Minervius (*Prof.* 6), a youthful rhetor who died prematurely.<sup>16</sup> The verse order of *Prof.* 6 is jumbled in the ms tradi-

<sup>13</sup>The chronology of events leading to Priscillian's execution cannot be ascertained exactly, but it is likely that he arrived at Bordeaux in summer 381 and arrived at Rome before the end of this year; cf. E. Ch. Babut, *Priscillien et le priscillianisme* (Paris 1909) 50. On the date of Priscillian's trial see H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford 1976) 132–138.

<sup>14</sup>One might argue that this rumour was born at the time of Priscillian's trial before Evodius (385/386), who convicted the defendant on charges of obscenity (Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 2.50). At this time mob violence erupted at Bordeaux, and Urbica was stoned to death (Prosper Tiro *Chron.* s.a. 385). However, Sulpicius' detailed account explicitly refers to the rumour to Priscillian's stay with Euchrotia on his way to Rome in 381.

<sup>15</sup>Presumably Delphidius held office at Constantinople. Ausonius does not mention a journey east, but his brief addresses are not all-inclusive biographies. Important information is sometimes omitted (above, n. 12). Thus Ausonius' silence in no way argues against such a journey, which is quite in keeping with the mobility elsewhere displayed by the professors of Bordeaux.

<sup>16</sup>Evelyn White (1.109) and *PLRE* ("Minervius 3," 1.603) take Delphidius to be the father. Ensslin, "Minervius 4," *RE* 15 2 (1932) 1808; elects Latinus Alcimus Alethius

tion, and has been variously arranged by scholars. Pastorino, following De la Ville de Mirmont (2.152), prints the most acceptable text, which is faithful to the ms in the section of immediate concern here (6–17):<sup>17</sup>

*Tu primaevus  
doctor in annis  
tempore, quo te  
discere adultum*

10 *non turpe foret,  
praetextate  
iam genitori  
conlatus eras.  
Ille superbae*

20 *postque Pateram  
clara cohortis  
vexilla regens  
et praeceptor  
pubere in aevo*

15 *moenia Romae  
fama et meritis  
inclitus auxit:  
tu Burdigalae  
laetus patriae*

25 *maior utroque,  
non sine morsu  
gravis invidiae  
cuncta habuisti  
commoda fati.*

Patera taught at Rome before the birth of Jerome, dated at the latest to ca 348 (*Epist.* 120 *praef.*, cited above). Like Tiberius Victor Minervius (*Prof.* 1.3 f.), Patera concluded his teaching career at Bordeaux, where Ausonius (b. ca 310) places him among a past generation of rhetors (*Prof.* 4.3 f.): *quod aevo floruisti proximo/iuvenisque te vidi senem*.<sup>18</sup> Since Minervius Alethius succeeded Patera (*postque Pateram*), he was a youth by ca 340. As we have seen, Delphidius probably died in the late 370s, at which time Ausonius describes him as *medio aevi* (*Prof.* 5.36). Professors matured late,<sup>19</sup> so we may allow that Delphidius died at the age of sixty. Thus he will have been born between 315 and 320. He will not have married before ca 335. Alethius Minervius was a child prodigy, but, if he were Delphidius' son, he could not have assumed his chair of rhetoric

(*Prof.* 2), whom Jülicher, "Alcimus 19," *RE* 1 2 (1894) 1544, wrongly makes the teacher of Julian. M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris 1905) 5 and Pastorino (447 n. 1) view Tib. Minervius Victor as a candidate for paternity.

<sup>17</sup>Reproductions of the ms are given by Peiper and Schenkl *ad loc.* and by Pastorino 191. In the section under consideration Schenkl prints, with minor variations, the same text as Pastorino (20 *Paterae* for *Pateram*; 24 postponed).

<sup>18</sup>Patera lived to an advanced age, for he was still alive in the 360s, when he stirred pity to achieve the acquittal of Delphidius (*Prof.* 5.32). If he retired at the age of seventy, he will have been almost a centenarian at the time of this trial. Little wonder that Ausonius compliments his sturdy longevity (*Prof.* 4.21 f.).

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Philostratus *VS* 543 (p. 134 Loeb), where fifty-six is described as middle age for other professions but youth for a rhetor. The same author asserts that the rhetoric of Chrestus would have improved, had he not been cut short at the age of fifty (*VS* 592; p. 236 Loeb). In like vein, Ausonius laments the death of the sixty-year-old Tib. Victor Minervius *ut pater et iuvenis* (*Prof.* 1.38).

before the early 350s. Since he held this chair ca 340, as demonstrated above, it is difficult to see how he can have been the child of Delphidius.

Ausonius laments that Alethius Minervius left both his wife's house and his own heirless (*Prof.* 6.40 ff.). It seems that the tragedy of his premature death was amplified by the fact that his line died with him. Ausonius' address to Delphidius' grandfather Phoebicius (*Prof.* 10.31) shows that this family line survived its misfortunes.<sup>20</sup> Again it is difficult to attach Alethius Minervius to the family of Delphidius.

The title to *Prof.* 6 reads: *Alethio Minervio Filio Rhetori*. It has been shown that he was not the son of the foregoing addressee, Delphidius (*Prof.* 5). The other candidates for his father are Tiberius Victor Minervius (*Prof.* 1) and Latinus Alcimus Alethius (*Prof.* 2). The former was famed at Rome (*Prof.* 1.4) and died heirless (37 f.).<sup>21</sup> Latinus Alcimus

<sup>20</sup>The verse-order of *Prof.* 10 is jumbled in the ms, but Pastorino, Peiper, and Schenkl print the same sequence. Line 31 reads: *permaneat series*. De la Ville de Mirmont translates: "Que la succession (de ces maîtres) soit observée jusqu'à la fin" (2.166). Pastorino places a period after 30 and translates: "Continuiamo l'enumerazione." Without Evelyn White's transposition of 35, this strange sense must be wrung from *permaneat* to accommodate *etenim* 32. Evelyn White correctly translates: "long may his line endure." Ausonius uses *series* of lineage elsewhere (*Ordo* 4, 5.13; *Praef.* 1.13, where Evelyn White mistranslates). Therefore, with the verse arrangement accepted by the editors, Evelyn White's transposition is necessary. On the restoration of 35 see below, 243.

*Permaneat series* shows that the family of Phoebicius 1 had potential continuance, unlike that of Alethius Minervius (*Prof.* 6). The hope may rest on Phoebicius 2, the brother of Patera (*Prof.* 4.13), who is perhaps the *natus* of the previous verse. He may have been alive when Ausonius was writing the *Professores*, and, in the family tradition, may have been a teacher.

Phoebicius 2 deserves an entry in *PLRE*. *PLRE* accords rather shoddy treatment to teachers in Ausonius (whose *praenomen*, incidentally, appears as Decimius). To the points corrected elsewhere in this article add the following: (a) The fathers of Marcellus and Clarentius (*Prof.* 18) are not granted entries. The latter omission has been noted by B. Baldwin, "Some Addenda to the Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire," *Historia* 25 (1976) 119. (b) *Prof.* 17.8 ff. clearly state that Exuperius taught Dalmatius 7 (*PLRE* 1.241) at Narbonne, not Toulouse. (c) Alcimus (*Prof.* 2; *PLRE*, "Alethius 2," 1.39) cannot be identical with the Alethius of Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 2.7.2, who was alive when Sidonius wrote. (d) *PLRE* (1.685) states that Axius Paulus 9 taught at Bordeaux. This is unlikely. It is evidently more convenient for him to meet Ausonius when the latter has left Bordeaux for his villa near Saintes (*Epist.* 4.1–3; 7 *ad fin.*; Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* [above, n. 10] 356, 360). Axius Paulus was a native of Bigorre, and he possessed an estate at Crebennus. *Epist.* 10.1–4 indicate that he taught at Saintes, as a rhetor (*Epist.* 4 title, 9 f.). (e) Menestheus, formerly mentioned only under Spherceus, is now given a separate entry by J. R. Martindale, "Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume I," *Historia* 23 (1974) 249.

<sup>21</sup>At *Prof.* 1.37 the ms reads *tamquam* which editors alter to *quamquam*. If *quamquam* is accepted, Tib. Victor Minervius certainly had no heir. I prefer to retain *tamquam*. With this 37 f. could be translated: "as if you lacked an heir, you were lamented by me." Ausonius would then be apologizing for his intrusive assumption of filial piety. But he expresses no such scruple in similar situations elsewhere (e.g., *Prof.* 2, 3). If *tamquam* is to be retained, it must be given its common sense "on the ground that."

Alethius on the other hand, had descendants (*Prof.* 2.1, 26) and there is no mention of his teaching at Rome. Tib. Victor Minervius was, therefore, the father of Alethius Minervius.

Jerome (*Chron.* s.a. 353) records: *Minervius Burdigalensis rhetor Romae florentissime docet*. He returned to teach at Bordeaux after this date (*Prof.* 1.4). Ausonius was on intimate terms with him at this stage, that is, between 353 and ca 365, when Ausonius left Bordeaux to tutor Gratian. Minervius died about the age of sixty (*Prof.* 1.37), and we should place his death ca 360. Thus he will have been born ca 300, married ca 320, and produced a child prodigy who took Paterna's chair by ca 340.<sup>22</sup>

#### ROMULUS (*Prof.* 8)

A surprising number of scholars treat Romulus as a real person.<sup>23</sup> Over a century ago Corpet wisely rejected this interpretation: "Je crois que ce mot signifie ici *un Romain*. Ausone, s'amusant à parodier un vers de d'Horace . . . , se demande s'il doit chanter un grammairien latin avant les

<sup>22</sup>Alethius Minervius was a rhetor *primaevus in annis / pubere in aeo* (*Prof.* 6.6 f., 24). Origen was a teacher at seventeen (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.3.3) and Augustine at nineteen (*Conf.* 4.2). Hermogenes was such a famous sophist at the age of fifteen that the Emperor came to hear him (Philostr. *VS* 577; p. 204 Loeb); cf. *Carm. Epigr.* 116. 9 f.: *puer ingenio validus, pubes pudicus, iuvenis orator fuit, / et publicas aures togatus studiis delectavit suis*. *CTH* 14.9.1 (A.D. 370) makes twenty the upper age-limit for the study of rhetoric at Rome. Many (like Pliny; *Epist.* 5.8.8) will have completed their rhetorical training by the age of eighteen; cf. L. Petit, *Les étudiants de Libanius* (Paris n.d.) 63 ff., 138 ff.; M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971) 6, 33 f.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Peiper 536; Schenkl 283; Evelyn White 1.ix; Marx, "Ausonius 3," *RE* 2 2 (1896) 2563; Pastorino 16; L. A. A. Jouai, *De magistrat Ausonius* (Nijmegen 1938) 23; *PLRE*, "Romulus 1," 1.771. *PLRE* also accepts as real the teachers in Ausonius' epigrams. Eunus (*Epig.* 82–87) appears in pieces with Greek inspiration, like so many of the epigrams; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 11.221, 222; 12.187. His existence may be doubted. With *Epig.* 8–13, 61 on Rufus the rhetor cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9.489; 11.145, 149, 151; 16.317, 318. *Anth. Pal.* 11.143 addresses 'Ρούφος ὁ γραμματικός. Aus. *Epig.* 10.2 specifies Rufus as *rhetor Pictavicus*. This might seem to vouch for his existence but it is possible that Poitiers was spitefully regarded as a centre of stupidity; cf. Jerome *Comm. in Epist. ad Galat.* (Migne *PL* 26.380): *cum et Hilarius, Latinae eloquentiae Rhodanus, Gallus ipse et Pictavis genitus, in Hymnorum carmine Gallos indociles vocet*. Ausonius is particularly harsh on Anastasius (*Prof.* 10.42 ff.), who migrated to Poitiers. The title of *Prof.* 10 unjustly flatters the Bordeaux *grammatici* with the title *philologi*, opposing them to the (mere) *grammaticus* Anastasius. Thus to the Gauls Poitiers was possibly what Bordeaux was to Martial, *crassa* (*Epig.* 9.32.6). Ausonius may then use *Pictavicus* as a term of abuse, cf. *Britannus*, *Epig.* 107–112. We may justly doubt the existence of Rufus. One suspects that Auxilius (*Epig.* 6) was invented for the sake of a word-play, and that Philomusus (*Epig.* 7) is a name adapted to a common theme; cf. Horace *Sat.* 2.3.104 ff.; Seneca *Tranq.* 9.4 f.; Lucian *Adv. indoctum*; Amm. Marc. 28.4.14. T. J. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul* (Oxford 1920) 134, accepts the above characters as real. Evelyn White (vol. 2 *index* s.vv.) is correctly skeptical; cf. now H. Szelest, *Eos* 64 (1976) 35.

Grecs dont les noms suivent'' (1.316).<sup>24</sup> This is perfectly correct. Pretending to debate whether to place *Prof.* 10 before *Prof.* 8, Ausonius adapts Horace *Carm.* 1.12 to his pedantic purpose. Ausonius elsewhere uses *Romulus* = "Roman" or "Latin" (*Tech.* 13.6; 14.14; *Ludus* 22; *Epist.* 11.14; 12.23). As Horace offers other Roman kings and statesmen as alternatives to Romulus, so Ausonius offers a list of Greek *grammatici*, aptly beginning with Corinthius. The adaptation is the more fitting since Horace was a basic text in *grammatica Latina* (cf. Aus. *Epist.* 22.56).

#### AMMONIUS (*Prof.* 10)

The title of this address is confused in the ms. 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.<sup>25</sup> Older editors would extract a separate address to Ammonius Anastasius,<sup>26</sup> 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 then is one of punctuation. If a comma is placed after *Ammonio*, one must feel that other names have dropped out. So Schenkl, Evelyn White, and Pastorino restore the four names *Macrino, Sucuroni, Concordio, Phoebicio* in brackets. Peiper apparently believed that *Ammonio* has intruded into the title from the text of the poem, and accordingly printed: *G.L.B.P. Anastasio G.P.* This removes the necessity of adding further names. In the simplest restoration of the title given above, it is, however, possible to place a comma after *Philologis*. The first part of the title is similar to the title of *Prof.* 8, where all the *grammatici* taught at Bordeaux. But in *Prof.* 10 Ausonius has included one who taught abroad. Hence the specific addition to the general title: *Ammonio Anastasio G.P.* If this is correct, *Ammonium*, the generally accepted restoration in 35, is mistaken in more than the quantity of the *o*. *Et Anastasio* (42) shows, however, that some name has dropped out.

#### CENSORIUS ATTICUS AGRICIUS (*Prof.* 14)

Lines 7 ff. run:

*tam generis tibi celsus apex, quam gloria fandi,  
gloria Athenaei cognita sede loci:  
Nazario et claro quondam delata Paterae  
egregie multos excoluit iuvenes.*

<sup>24</sup>Roger, (above, n. 16) 6 n. 2, rightly warns against taking Romulus as a person but wrongly states that 9 f. prevent such folly.

<sup>25</sup>For a photograph of the ms see Pastorino (opposite page 432); for a transcription, cf. Peiper 58.

<sup>26</sup>See De la Ville de Mirmont 2.156 ff.

*PLRE* (1.30) deduces from these lines that Censorius taught at Athens. But the *gloria Athenaei loci* should have something to do with Nazarius and Patera. We have no record of either of them teaching at Athens (cf. *Prof.* 4; Jerome *Chron.* s.a. 324). Evelyn White translates the line in question "renown no stranger to your chair here in this second Athens." Pastorino likewise translates: "questa gloria non estranea alla tua cattedra, qui, in questa seconda Atene . . ." To take *sedes* as the equivalent of *cathedra* is acceptable (cf. Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 2.2.2), but to extract "this second Athens" from *Athenaei . . . loci* is stretching the Latin too far. In the expression *Athenaei consors* (*Epist.* 9.9.13) Sidonius uses *Athenaeum* as the equivalent of "school." It is just possible that *Athenaei . . . loci* refers then to the school at Bordeaux. But this would necessitate Nazarius' having taught at Bordeaux. This is sometimes asserted on the basis of this line in Ausonius,<sup>27</sup> but is an uncertain inference. Jerome's *Chronicle* mentions the fame of Nazarius under 324, dating but not placing his activity. If this marks his *floruit* he should have made the deadline for Ausonius' *Professores*, composed in the 380s, had he taught at Bordeaux. We know that Nazarius delivered a panegyric at Rome (*Pan. Lat.* 10.38.6). Jerome (*Epist.* 120 *praeef.*) tells us that Patera taught at Rome. We should therefore take *Athenaei . . . loci* to refer to the Athenaeum built by Hadrian to serve as a lecture hall at Rome.<sup>28</sup> The above verses should then be translated: "glory of speech acknowledged by a chair in the Athenaeum, glory once conferred upon Nazarius and Patera." Thus Nazarius should be removed from the professorial ranks of Bordeaux and, with Censorius, should be placed at Rome. Seck ("Agroecius 1" *RE* 1 1 [1893] 902) places Censorius at Bordeaux. Sidonius may mention him among other rhetors from Bordeaux (*Epist.* 5.10.3), and it is possible that he began or ended his career there, although Ausonius does not state this.

AEMILIUS MAGNUS ARBORIUS (*Prof.* 16; *Parent.* 3)

This uncle of Ausonius had an eminently successful career which culminated in his elevation to imperial tutor (*Prof.* 16.10 ff.). His way to

<sup>27</sup>Cf. *PLRE* 1.618 f.; Etienne (above, n. 10) 240; Galletier, *Pan. Lat.* (Paris 1949–1955) 2.147. Galletier (148) mentions the possibility of Nazarius' having moved from Bordeaux to teach at Rome. But from his panegyric one would assume that Rome was Nazarius' *patria*. Note that he does not apologize for his Gallic eloquence as does the anonymous rhetor of *Pan. Lat.* 9 and the famed Pacatus of *Pan. Lat.* 12.

<sup>28</sup>For other literary references see H. Braunert, "Das Athenaeum zu Rom bei den *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," in *Historia Augusta Colloquium Bonn 1963* (Bonn 1964) 9–41. Braunert, however, omits the reference in Ausonius from his *testimonia* (10–12). Placing Patera in the Athenaeum confirms his identification with the Pater of Jerome's *Chronicle* (s.a. 336): *Pater rhetor Romae gloriosissime docet*.

court was paved by his friendship with the *fratres Constantini*, the half-brothers Julius Constantius (*PLRE* 7, 1.226) and Flavius Dalmatius (*PLRE* 6, 1.240 ff.), whom he had befriended at Toulouse.<sup>29</sup> The *fratres* were returned in favour to court after the death of the Empress Helena ca 330, and it was then that their friendship rewarded Arborius (*Prof.* 16.15 ff.):

*illic dives opum doctoque ibi Caesare honorus  
occumbis patribus, Magne, superstitionibus.  
in patriam sed te sedem ac monumenta tuorum  
principis Augusti restituit pietas.*

There is an obvious balance between *docto Caesare* and *pietas Augusti*. The boy Arborius taught as a Caesar piously repaid his teacher by repatriating his remains.<sup>30</sup> The candidates for Arborius' pupil are Constantius, Constantinus II, and Constans II. Constantinus, born in 316,<sup>31</sup> and Constantius, 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.<sup>32</sup> Constans (with Constantius and Constantinus) became Augustus in September 337. We now have a *terminus post quem* for Arborius' death. Ausonius records neither a prolonged life (cf. *Prof.* 4.21 f., 15.1; 20.13; *Parent.* 7.7; *Domest.* 4.61 ff.; *Ephem.* 3.75 ff.) nor further achievements after teaching a Caesar. We may assume, then, that Arborius died soon after the established *terminus*.

Caecilius Argicius Arborius (*Parent.* 4) was the father of Arborius and grandfather of Ausonius. Ausonius records his grief at the death of a *natus*, who is certainly Arborius<sup>33</sup> (23 ff.):

*tu novies denos vitam cum duxeris annos  
expertus Fortis tela cavenda deae,  
amissum flesti per trina decennia natum  
saucius: hoc leto lumine cassus eras.*

<sup>29</sup>Etienne, (above, n. 10) 339 f., asserts that *principum* (10) must mean "leading citizens" not "princes," since an ambitious rhetor would have avoided the hatred of Helena. But in the context *principum* can mean nothing but "princes."

<sup>30</sup>The Augustus in question cannot have been Constantine I, as *PLRE* (1.99), Seeck (*RE* 2 1 [1895] 420) and, seemingly, Pastorino (17 f.) suggest.

<sup>31</sup>See T. D. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," *JRS* 63 (1973) 38.

<sup>32</sup>Evelyn White (1.123 n. 4) suggests Constantine II. *PLRE*, 1.220, elects Constans, but suggests Constantius as an alternative, 1.98.

<sup>33</sup>Arborius' career foreshadowed Ausonius' own. Ausonius has his uncle prophesy his bright future (*Parent.* 3.21 f.). Caecilius makes similar pronouncements (*Parent.* 4.17 ff.) where the loss of the *natus* is mitigated by the future of the *nepos* = Ausonius. The implied comparison confirms that the *natus* is Arborius.

The ms reading in 25 is *post trina decennia*. If retained,<sup>34</sup> it would mean that Arborius died at the age of thirty or soon after. He was older than Ausonius, and, since his death occurred after September 337, he would have been born 308/309. He gained a principal chair of rhetoric at Toulouse (*Parent*. 3.11) where he befriended the *fratres Constantini*. Ausonius refers to Arborius as a *iuvēnis* at this stage, but does not dilate on meteoric success in youth (cf. *Prof.* 5, 6). This is rather strange if these events belong to the 320s.<sup>35</sup> Again, had premature death at the age of thirty curtailed Arborius' career, one misses the *mors immatura* lament so favoured by Ausonius (cf. *Prof.* 3.5; 6.41 ff.; 22.15 f.; *Parent*. 7.5; 13.5 ff.; 14.3; 20.3; 23.15).

It is, moreover, difficult to reconcile the youthful limits of the chronology in question with Ausonius' description of his relationship with Arborius (*Parent*. 3.7 ff.; 19 f.):

*tu frater genetricis et unanimis genitori,  
et mihi qui fueris, quod pater et genetrix,  
qui me lactantem, puerum iuvenemque virumque  
artibus ornasti, quas didicisse iuvat. . .*

*tu, postquam primis placui tibi traditus annis,  
dixisti nato me satis esse tibi.*

<sup>34</sup>Schenkl, Pastorino, and Etienne ([above, n. 10] 339) maintain the ms reading. Schenkl takes *post* as an adverb, which De la Ville de Mirmont (2.93) explains: "Toi qui avais été éprouvé par la fortune, tu as eu ensuite [*post*] à pleurer le fils que tu perdais à sa trentième année." Pastorino gives an alternative translation, favoured by De la Ville de Mirmont: "Dopo aver vissuto novant'anni, dopo aver sperimentato i temibili strali della dea Fortuna, hai pianto, col cuore spezzato, la perdita di un figlio che aveva più di trent'anni." Chronological considerations preclude such an interpretation. Moreover, although editors would have *Parent*. 4.24 refer to the death of the son, this verse more naturally signals the death of Caecilius; *Fors Dea* = Fortune/Fate; cf. *Prof.* 6.30 ff.; R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1942 [*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 28]) 154 ff. If *post* were retained, one might place a period after *deae*, and translate: "Thirty years later you cried . . .," i.e., at the time of his death, Arborius lamented (if the corrupt *fletu* is correctly emended to *flesti*) that he was leaving no son, but consoled himself in the knowledge that his *nepos* would succeed, carrying on where Arborius left off. The sense is forced, and I prefer the emendation of *post* to *per* (Peiper; cf. *Praef.* 1.23: *per trina decennia*). This emendation is less drastic than the proposed alterations of *decennia* to *vicennia* (Seeck) or of *trina* to *quina* (Brandes); cf. Pastorino 17.

<sup>35</sup>Constantius was perhaps in Italy in 325 (Amm. Marc. 14.11.27) and was later summoned from Corinth to Constantinople (Lib. Or. 14.30). In an unknown capacity Dalmatius received *CTh.* 12.17.1 (*Cod. Iust.* 10.52.6), dated to 321 (324 ms). The stay at Toulouse may have fallen in the early 320s. Perhaps the struggle with Licinius occasioned the supervision of possible claimants to the purple. With the chronology under consideration, Arborius would have been about sixteen at this time and could hardly be described as a *iuvēnis* with a school and noble, dowried wife (*Prof.* 16.9 ff.).

The diction employs typical educational imagery,<sup>36</sup> but rather startling hyperbole, if Arborius were only a year or two older than Ausonius. Ausonius acquired his education in *grammaticae* at Bordeaux (*Prof.* 8.9 ff.; 10.11 ff.). He commenced his study of rhetoric here (*Prof.* 3.1),<sup>37</sup> but completed this at Toulouse (cf. *Ordo* 18.1). Arborius, then, was not Ausonius' formal teacher at every stage, but an older mentor who exercised some general supervision (cf. Aus. *Epist.* 22; Symmachus *Epist.* 4.20; 6.61; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 4.12.1 f.). Paulinus of Nola describes his relationship to Ausonius in terms similar to those used by Ausonius above (*Epist.* 31.94 ff., 149, 189, 275; cf. *Epist.* 28.6 f.). We may be sure, then, that in the 320s when Ausonius was studying *grammaticae* and rhetoric, Arborius was his elder by more than one or two years.

The ms reading *post* cannot stand. With the emendation *per*, Evelyn White translates: "a son lost in his thirtieth year." If *per* is accepted this cannot be the sense. A period must be placed after *deae* (24), and *es* supplied.<sup>38</sup> Lines 17 ff. refer to Caecilius' predictions of Ausonius' successes; 23 f. record his death which precluded his seeing their fulfilment; 25 f. note Caecilius' prolonged grief at the death of Arborius: "Through three decades you wept the loss of your son." This distress was offset by his expectations of Ausonius' renown (27 f.). Consolation was postponed in Caecilius' lifetime (*solacia longa* 27), but Caecilius' shade has the satisfaction of seeing his prophecies fulfilled (31 f.): *sentis, quod quaestor, quod te praefectus et idem / consul honorifico munere commemoro*.

When Caecilius died at the age of ninety he had survived Arborius by thirty years. His death must be dated, then, after September 367. He did not see Ausonius as *quaestor sacri palatii*, a rank acquired between 370 and 375, possibly in 374.<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere Ausonius records his *comitatus* among his honours (*Praef.* 1.35; *Grat. Act.* 2).<sup>40</sup> Its omission in the above lines

<sup>36</sup>Cf. the description of the Paulinus/Ausonius relationship, and see Petit (above, n. 22) 31 ff.

<sup>37</sup>Ausonius began rhetoric under Luciolus (*Prof.* 3.1 f.). Some scholars place this instruction after Ausonius' return to Bordeaux. But Ausonius was into his twenties when Arborius was called to court, and was looking for a teaching position, not further instruction (cf. *Praef.* 1.17 f.). From *Prof.* 1.11 it is sometimes inferred that Tib. Victor Minervius taught Ausonius (e.g., Schenkl viii; Jouai [above, n. 23] 27; *PLRE*, "Minervius 4," 1.604; Pastorino 18). This verse indicates rather that this rhetor, known in both capitals, helped in getting Ausonius to court. He had returned to teach at Bordeaux after 353 (*Prof.* 1.6; Jerome *Chron.* s.a. 353). Other claimed teachers, such as Nepotianus and Staphylius, were friends rather than professors of Ausonius.

<sup>38</sup>Ausonius regularly omits parts of *esse*; cf. Schenkl 302. De la Ville De Mirmont (2.93) correctly interprets the force of *per*.

<sup>39</sup>See Jouai (above, n. 23) 146 ff.; *PLRE*, "Eupraxius," 1.299.

<sup>40</sup>At *Epist.* 22.82 ff. Ausonius does not name this honour, but refers to it in the phrase *vario auctus honore*; cf. *Grat. Act.* 2 *prope finem*, quoted below, 248.

presumably indicates that Caecilius lived to see it. *Grat. Act. 2 prope finem* reads: *tot gradus nomine comitis propter tua incrementa congesti*. Scholars take *incrementa* to refer to progress in learning, a possible meaning. But *incrementa* often refer to rank.<sup>41</sup> Gratian was consul in 366 and made Augustus in 367. Ausonius may then have been made *comes* on the young prince's elevation in 367. So we have some confirmation that Caecilius lived at least to 367, and that the sense extracted above from *Parent. 4.23 ff.* is correct.

It was suggested above that Arborius did not live long past September 337. If we place Caecilius' death in 368, he will have been born in 278. For Arborius to be mature in the 320s, he must have been born from a young marriage ca 298. Thus he will have been about nineteen when Ausonius began his education at the age of seven.<sup>42</sup> Since he supervised Ausonius' early learning, he cannot have attained his chair at Toulouse immediately on graduating from a school of rhetoric. He presumably spent some years in Bordeaux (ca 317–322), possibly as an advocate, a profession in which he flourished (*Parent. 3.12 ff.*), and one to which Ausonius turned when awaiting a teaching post (*Praef. 1.17 f.*) In his compressed address, Ausonius begins with Arborius' first major success, a chair of rhetoric at Toulouse. He may have held this in the early 320s, if this is when the confinement of the *fratres Constantini* occurred.<sup>43</sup> He will have been about twenty-four at this stage and will have died aged about forty.

#### STAPHYLIVS (*Prof. 20*)

*PLRE* (1.852) asserts that Staphylius taught at Bordeaux. This is unlikely. Lines 1–4 state that Ausonius is departing from his rule about commemorating *cives*, whether they taught at home or abroad (cf. *Prof. 25.2 f*; *Epitaphia Praef.*). Anastasius (*Prof. 10*), Arborius (*Prof. 16*), Exuperius (*Prof. 17*), Marcellus (*Prof. 18*), Sedatus (*Prof. 19*) and Dynamius (*Prof. 23*) were *cives* who taught abroad. Phoebicius and Patera

<sup>41</sup>Evelyn White translates: "in acknowledgement of your upbringing." Peiper (lxxxviii) and Jouai ([above, n. 23] 75) interpret in the same way. For *incrementa* referring to rank cf. *ThLL* vii.1.1047.39 ff. Gratian was consul in 366 and Augustus in 367. Byrne (above, n. 10) 15 dates the start of Ausonius' political career and the grant of the title *comes* after the Alamannic campaign, "about 369." Evelyn White (x) gives 370. *PLRE*, "Ausonius 7" (1.140) links *comes* and *quaestor* and gives 375/376, the date of his quaestorship. We do not know when Ausonius became Gratian's tutor, but it was before the Alamannic campaigns of 368/369 on which both Ausonius and Gratian accompanied Valentinian (*Griphus Praef.*; *Cento Praef.*; *Bissula 3*; *Mosella Praef.*; *Epig. 28, 31*). Ausonius had come to court ca 365 and he may have received an honorary title on the young prince's elevation in 367.

<sup>42</sup>The normal age for starting school; Quint. 1.1.15; Juvenal 14.10 ff. with Mayor's note.

<sup>43</sup>See above, n. 30.

(*Prof.* 4, 10; above, 236) came from Bayeux, and Citarius (*Prof.* 13) from Syracuse, but their residence as teachers at Bordeaux classes them as *cives*. The *externus/cives* antithesis at the start of the address to Staphylius indicates that he had neither lived nor taught at Bordeaux. Close affection (5 f.) was the only ground for his inclusion.

#### VICTORIUS (*Prof.* 22)

*PLRE* (1.965) wrongly questions whether Victorius taught at Bordeaux. The title ranks Victorius as a *subdoctor* or *proscholus*<sup>44</sup>. Such assistants were attached to *grammatici* (note *subdocere grammatico*, Aug. *Conf.* 8.6) and were of low esteem (Aug. *Sermo* 178.7, 8 [= *PL* 38.914]).<sup>45</sup> Victorius had evidently been a *subdoctor* to Ausonius, when the latter was *grammaticus* (*Prof.* 22.17 f.): *exili nostrae fucatus honore cathedrae, / libato tenuis*<sup>46</sup> *nomine grammatici*. *Nostrae cathedrae* refers to Ausonius' chair of *grammaticae*, not a chair of Victorius at Bordeaux, as Evelyn White takes it. Victorius had not progressed beyond the position of *subdoctor*, and had died abroad (19 f.). But one-time affinity leads Ausonius to include him among the *grammatici* and rhetors of the *Professores* (21): *sed modo nobilium memoratus in agmine gaude*.<sup>47</sup>

#### BROCK UNIVERSITY

<sup>44</sup>Ausonius' works were edited and published shortly after his death; cf. superscription to *Domest.* 1; *Epist.* 20 title; F. G. Sirna, "Ausonio Paulino e il problema del testo ausoniano," *Aevum* 37 (1963) 125–134; A. Pastorino, "A proposito della tradizione del testo di Ausonio," *Maia* 14 (1962) 212–243; F. Della Corte, "L'ordinamento degli Opuscula di Ausonio," *RCCM* 2 (1960) 21–29. If Ausonius did not himself write this title, it was added by someone sufficiently acquainted with Bordeaux to be precise about Victorius' rank. On the duties of the *subdoctor* see Clarke (above, n. 22) 27.

<sup>45</sup>*PLRE* tentatively identifies the *proscholus* mentioned by Augustine with Nebridius 4 (1.620), the assistant of Verecundus 2 (1.950).

<sup>46</sup>*Tenuis*: Schenkl and Peiper adopt the emendation of Vinet and Scaliger for the *ms tenuiter*. Vinet also suggested *tenui*, which is approved by De la Ville de Mirmont (2.186) and printed by Pastorino. *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 (*Prof.* 10.44).

<sup>47</sup>For *nobilium agmen* cf. *Prof.* 4.2; 5.6; 6.36 f.; 9.5; 13.9; 18.5 f.