

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN
ROMAN NORTH AFRICA

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Despite the flourishing conditions of urban life and the spread of municipal settlements throughout Roman North Africa, there is very little, in reality, written on the attitude of the inhabitants of the Roman province of North Africa to education and learning. It is possible to extract much interesting and varied information from the literary and epigraphical sources. The aim of this paper is to present the information available on the attitude of North African society to education particularly oratorical skills and achievements. The sources for the study are literary and epigraphical. In the inscriptions, statues and dedications of monuments the provincial society has depicted itself as it wished to be seen during the first five centuries of the christian era. By reading the inscriptions it is possible to learn what their loftiest ambitions were and in what honours they took the greatest pride. The literary sources are Apuleius, Minucius Felix and St. Augustine.¹

Apuleius tells us that lack of learning was a matter for reproach and disdain. He sneers at Tannonius Pudens for being homo vere non disertissimus² (a man who was not eloquent). Apuleius also says that Sicinius Aemilianus as a public speaker compares badly even with a rudis et indoctus rusticus et barbarus senex.³ Knowledge of Punic was not a mark of the educated elite and people who spoke Punic were mocked. Apuleius seems to have shared the scorn that was felt for them. He thought that a man of good society should not speak

Punic and he made every effort to keep out any trace of it in his Latin. He writes of Fudens:

"he never speaks any language save Punic and though he may occasionally use a Greek word picked up from his mother he neither will nor can speak Latin. You heard, Maximus, a little while ago, You heard my stepson - Oh! the shame of it! - the brother of that young eloquent fellow, Pontianus, hardly able to stammer out single syllables."⁴

This highly rhetorical statement points to the value society attached to learning and eloquence in Latin and Greek. Apuleius informs us that eloquence and wisdom of the philosopher awakens awe in them that hear. Latin and Greek learning and eloquence represented a great social asset and lack of it diminished a person's existimatio and prestige.⁵ Apuleius uses terms like agrestis, incultus and rusticanus to describe his Oean opponents.⁶ He says in his Apologia to Aemilianus,

"If you had only read this book, Aemilianus, and instead of devoting yourself to the study of your fields and their dull clods, had studied the mathematician's slate and blackboard, believe me, although your face is hideous enough for a tragic mask of Thyestes, you would assuredly, in your

desire for the acquisition of knowledge, look into the glass and sometimes leave your plough to marvel at the numberless furrows with which wrinkles have scored your face.

Even now my knowledge of you is inadequate. The reason for this is that your rustic~~s~~ occupations have kept you in obscurity, while I have been occupied by my studies, and so the shadow cast about you by your insignificance, has shielded your character from scrutiny."⁷

Apuleius is here reiterating the fact that an uneducated person was of little significance to the society. He, Apuleius, is popular because of his education. All through the Apologia and Florida, he points to his literary skills and education.⁸ He informs us that the theatre in Carthage was filled to capacity when he gave a lecture there and he does not fail to tell us that no philosopher before him had drawn such a crowd.⁹ His words, like that of the proconsul, are taken down and treasured. He proceeded to defend his African birth with a philosophical appeal to the worth of a man's soul over that of his birth-place¹⁰ and argued that though he himself held no major municipal office he was not a degenerate successor to his father who held every municipal office. He pointed out that the esteem and honour he had gained as a result of his eloquence far outweigh any that he would have gained by being a decurion

or duumvir.¹¹ He was acclaimed by a huge crowd, statues erected in his honour and he was given an honorary citizenship of Cea, all because of his erudition and learning.¹²

Despite the great honour and praise accorded him, Apuleius thinks the surer and greater claim to praise was to glorify Carthage, the centre of learning.

Everyone of you throughout the city is most educated; you possess every form of knowledge, which small children learn, young men display, and old men teach. Carthage ancient teacher of our province. Carthage, heavenly Muse of Africa, Carthage is the fount whence all the Roman world draws draughts of inspiration.¹³

Apuleius also informs us that he had acquired glory by speaking from prepared material and feared that he might lose that honour if he spoke extempore for how 'many listeners could forgive him a single solecism or a single false syllable,' and in the story of the fox and the crow, which he narrates later, he sought to point out the importance society attached to learning and eloquence.¹⁴

Educated and eloquent men in the society are also highly respected by even high ranking political persons though the educated person may be of inferior social standing. Apuleius who was only a decurion was highly regarded and respected by Pontianus who was splendidissimus and it was Apuleius who

introduced Pontianus to the nobility in Carthage.¹⁵ Apuleius points out that such was the value society attached to education and learning that he had no regrets spending his entire fortune on it.¹⁶ He also answers the charge of being a master of eloquence and a philosopher with a quotation from Homer. Eloquence and learning are the most glorious gifts of the gods and many would wish to possess them but they are reserved for the few.

The most glorious gift of the gods
are in no wise to be despised; but the
things which they won't to give are
withheld from many that gladly would
possess them.¹⁷

The value society attached to education can be further illustrated from the Metamorphoses of Apuleius. Lucius when he was retransformed into human form was short of money, (admondum pauper), but he has the important consolation that he was destined for gloria studiorum.¹⁸ A farmer in the Metamorphoses has three grown up children who are all doctrina instructi and this entitles him to live gloriosus.¹⁹ Similarly, a decurion had a son who was probe litteratus (good in liberal education) and of whom consequently any man would be proud.²⁰ There is no doubt that a man distinguished by doctrina (learning) and facundia (eloquence) brought honour to his family, his community and these attributes contributed towards his prestige and status in society. The slave girl, Potis, trusts Lucius largely because of his doctrina and facundia.²¹ Apuleius also demonstrates the importance to

society of the knowledge of Latin and Greek, the two languages of culture, by speaking in both languages and at various times pointing to his knowledge of the two languages.²²

I have known for a long time what it is your demonstrations demand: namely, that I should deal with the rest of my material in Latin. For I remember that from the very beginning, when you were divided in opinion, I promised that neither party among you, neither those who insisted on Latin, should go away without hearing the language he desired.²³

He proceeded to enunciate for the benefit of his audience the precept that the glory of pure eloquence must sometimes be moderated to suit their taste and that the greatest virtue and the one most difficult to maintain was to please the audience without sacrificing eloquence and to adorn the subject without sacrificing its dignity.

The next important work for the study is the Octavius of Minucius Felix. The central difficulty in using the Octavius as representative of the intellectual milieu of North Africa has been the question of its place of writing. G.W. Clarke calls the Octavius a document of Severan Rome.²⁴ I do not intend to discuss the place of composition of the document. The more important question, for the purpose of this paper, is to try and determine for what audience and for what purpose the document was written.

It seems to me that the document was written for an African audience. The participants of the document appear to be of African origin and the document shows great interest in Africa. Some incidents which are presented would also only make sense in a North African milieu. The deification of Juba of Mauretania by a vote of his people suggest an African interest²⁵ and the evocation of the dead Octavius would make more sense to an African audience.²⁶ African interest is also discernible in the picture of child sacrifice and references to Saturn.²⁷ The references to Juno as Poena would also make more sense to an African audience.²⁸

The majority of inscriptional evidence bearing the name Octavius Januaris comes from Africa and suggests an African origin for the name.²⁹ Minucius Felix was also an African.³⁰ One of the characters in the dialogue is Caecilius Natalis appears in an inscription from the Cirtan region dating to the reign of Caracalla.³¹ Though this one appearance of the name would not allow us to infer that the Caecilius of the inscription should be identified with the Caecilius in the Octavius, other bits of information from the book help us to arrive at this identification. The Caecilius of the dialogue refers to Fronto as Cirtensis noster (Our Cirtan Fronto) and tuus Fronto.³² Secondly, the name Caecilius^{NATALIS} appears to be confined to Africa.³³

In view of the African interest in the dialogue and the use of Octavius and Caecilius of Africa as characters in the dialogue, an African audience is more plausible. The Octavius is set in Rome and Africa but addresses itself to an African

audience and can therefore be used as evidence for the attitude of the people to education. To the educated provincial all roads led to Rome. Minucius Felix therefore set part of the action in Rome because he sought to take advantage of this attraction to Rome and to convince the Africans that the routes of success were still open to them even if they became Christians.

In the Octavius of Minucius Felix we see that the lack of learning is mocked. Caecilius representing the educated elite describes the Christians as strangers to study, outcast from learning, ignorant of even the meaner arts.

"et hoc studiorum rudes, litterarum
profanos expertes artium etiam sordidarum."³⁴

They are ignorant and uncultured, rude and boorish even unable to understand things human.

indoctis, inpolitibus, rudibus, agrestibus,
quibus non est datum intellegere civilia.³⁵

Minucius Felix passes over these accusations with a philosophical saying that as long as the Christians can sustain discourse and not colour it by the pomp of eloquence and as long as the truth is sought after by them no one need complain of unlearned Christians.

For it is not the authority of the
disputant, but the truth of the disputation
that is in request.

Indeed, the more unskilled the utterance
the clearer is the reasoning, for it
relies not on tricks of eloquence or graces
of style but is sustained on its own

merits by the rule of right.³⁶

Minucius Felix refuses to be influenced by the eloquential tumore and attacks the rhetoricians for ^{the} pompous style of their eloquence.

that in careful weighing of the scales our judgement might turn not upon frothy eloquence, but upon solid facts.³⁷

After Caecilius had finished with his attack on the Christians, Octavius is said to have made the following remarks:

Greatly as your speech has delighted me in matter as well as manner, I am still more deeply impressed - not so much with reference to the present pleadings, as to discussion in general - by the way in which as a rule truth of the clearest kind is affected by the talents of the disputants and the power of eloquence.

An audience as everyone knows, is so easily swayed.³⁸

The Octavius approaches the doctrine of God from familiar Romanized forms and attempts to appeal to the rhetorically minded society by quoting exhaustively from the classical authors: Apuleius, Cicero, Ovid, Livy, Virgil and Pliny the Elder, to mention a few. It argues that the philosophers, poets and sophists have imitated what they found in the prophets but for the most part it sees the philosophers and poets as corrupters of the truth.

such are the fables and errors we learn at our parents' knee, and, what is more serious still we improve upon them in our studies and training, especially in the work of poets who as much as possible have prejudiced the truth by their influence ... such stories are but precedents and sanctions for men's vices.³⁹

The Octavius may be described as a sorry apology for Christianity but it is important for reconstructing the intellectual, literary and social life of the society. It helps ~~also~~^{us} to see the society's attitude towards learning and eloquence.

From various statements in the works of St. Augustine, too, we can get a picture of the society's attitude towards learning and eloquence. Perhaps nothing portrays better the attitude of society to eloquence and learning in the writings of Augustine than an incident which occurred when Augustine was nineteen years old. The young Augustine had read Cicero's Hortensius and had become interested in philosophy. He decided to look into the Holy Scriptures and was shocked by their implicity. He also found them unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of Cicero. He turned away from the scriptures and did not return to them for some twelve years.⁴⁰

Augustine was a product of the rhetorical schools and his action is a clear example of the attitude of the educated to works that are not rhetorically adorned. Augustine also advises that Catechumens who came from the rhetorical schools

had to be taught how to read the Bible without being offended by its solidum eloquium.⁴¹ He also details in the Confessions the miseries and mockeries he experienced when he was sent to school to learn to become a rhetorician. He informs us that he underwent these miseries because schooling assured him of honours and riches.

O God, my God, what miseries and mockeries I now experienced! For it was suggested to me that the right and proper conduct for a boy was to obey my teachers so that I might do well in the world and excel in the science of speech which was only for arriving at honour among men and deceitful riches.

He points out that men cared more to observe the rules of grammar than the laws of God.

Behold, O Lord God behold and patiently behold, as you still do, how diligently the sons of men observe the rules of letters and syllables received from former speakers, and yet neglect the eternal covenants of everlasting salvation received from you. Insomuch, that he who practices or teaches the rules of pronunciation, if contrary to the laws of grammar we shall pronounce ominem without aspirating the first letter; he shall displease men more than if against your

rules he a human being should hate another human being.⁴³

Augustine's interests at school were directed towards the law courts and according to him this was considered honourable "Those of my interests which were regarded as reputable were directed towards the law courts in which I would gain a reputation for excellence in proportion to practice deception on others. So great is the blindness of men that they glory even in their blindness."⁴⁴

It also angered Augustine to find that men were pursuing studies in the liberal arts merely because of the prestige and honour attached to these studies and he attacks those who forced him to learn.

Those who forced me to learn did not do well, for they considered not in what way I should employ what they forced me learn, unless to satisfy the inordinate desire of a rich beggary and a shameful glory.⁴⁵

He also criticized the established custom which supported the teaching and learning of Homeric tales in the schools. In the following statement he seems to be attacking the society's attitude to education which allows what he termed the lascivious tales to be read and taught in schools while people seem not to care about the Sacred Scriptures.

And yet, O thou torrent of hell, the sons of men are cast into these with rewards for learning these fables and a great solemnity is made of it, when this is going on in the assemblies and in the sight of the laws which allow salaries to the teachers over and above the payments of the scholars: Yet O torrent, you beat against the rocks, roaring out, and saying: here fine words are to be learnt; here eloquence is to be attained so necessary to persuade people to business and with advantage to express your opinions.⁴⁶

He points out that education was so important to the society and the educated person was so adored that students were prepared to endure all the beatings and deprivations in order to complete their programs.

To how many tortures and blows are not boys of a tender age subjected almost daily? By means of how many annoyances, watches and privations are they trained in schools, not for the sake of learning wisdom, but for wealth and vain honours, in order that they may learn numbers, letters and how to speak polished falsehoods.⁴⁷

He says that these schoolboys were praised even more than God

Praises are proposed to boys in school

Such things which God has wrought are

48
proposed for their praise.

Augustine advises Christian teachers to beware of converts from the rhetorical schools. These look down upon the Sacred Scriptures and so when they accept to become Christians they should be taught not to look mean on the Scriptures.

When therefore, those men, who seem to surpass all other men in the art of speaking, come to be made Christians, we ought to convey to them more fully than to the illiterate an earnest warning to clothe themselves in Christian humility, and learn not to despise those whom they know as shunning more carefully faults of character than faults of diction and also that they should not even presume to compare with a pure heart the trained tongue which they had been won't even to prefer. But, most of all, they should be taught to listen to the Sacred Scriptures, so that solid diction may not seem mean to them merely because it is not pretentious.^{49.}

Finally, the attempts made by Augustine and other Christian writers to couch their teachings in forms accepted by literary tradition and favoured by the rhetorically minded society of

the time points to the importance of the classical education to the society. Christian apologists go to extraordinary lengths to establish the existence of their literature and learning prior to the introduction of classical education to satisfy the needs of the rhetorically minded society. Augustine, for example, says that there is an eloquence in the Sacred Scriptures founded upon that of the secular schools but superior to it and examines passages from the prophet Amos and the Apostle Paul to prove the oratorical excellence, as well as the spiritual excellence of the Scriptures.

Wherefore let us claim that our canonical writers and doctors possessed eloquence too as well as wisdom - eloquence of such a kind as fitting to men of their age.⁵⁰

Epigraphy collaborates the evidence provided by the literary sources. Numerous inscriptions in North Africa attest to the high esteem in which education, particularly rhetoric, was held. Mommsen had said that Africa did not produce any great poets.⁵¹ The corpus of inscriptions from North Africa, however, records over three hundred metrical efforts.⁵² In this attempt at poetry there can be seen a desire on the part of the people to appear as an educated man of high cultural attainment. Not only persons of high social class but also many insignificant ones indulged in the luxury of metrical epitaphs. There is the official messenger who informs us he wrote some verses on a tomb he had built for himself while alive and he used to read the verses as he passed by. He advises those still living to do the same.

Dum sum vitalis et vivo, ego feci sepulchrum,
Adque meos versus dum trans(s)eo, perlego
et ipse Dip(l)oma Circavi totam regionem
pedestram. Et canibus prendi lepores et
denique. Vulpes postea potiones calicis
perduxi libentur. Multa iuventutis feci,
quid sum moriturus. Quisque sapis iuvenis
vivo tibi pone sepulchrum.

(C.I.L. 8 1027)

The epitaph of Fraecilius, the silversmith of Cirta is a well known example of this versifying tendency. Fraecilius tells us he was writing verse, he gave his name and occupation and proceeded to describe his extraordinary virtues of honesty and high moral standard.⁵³ A priest of Cillium a remote town in Cirtan territory erected a massive tomb in honour of his parents and other members of his family and caused to be inscribed on it some ninety hexameters followed by some distichs.⁵⁴

The Latin on most of these inscriptions was bad. Apparently unaware of their faulty prosody, the Africans were proud of it and invited the traveller to read it

Valeas, Viator, lector mei carminis

C.I.L. 8 5370.

St. Augustine informs us that the Africans were ignorant of quantity and did not distinguish long from short syllables.⁵⁵ They were, therefore, satisfied if the line which resembled a verse ended in the approximation of a dactyl. Some of the bad prosody, however, may be explained by the attempt on the

part of the dedicators to find words that would adequately express their feelings about an issue and at the same time conform to the traditionally accepted epithets. Thus we may find phrases such as ut narcissa ut rosa or ut dulcis flos used to describe a young girl. A man mourning the death of his wife could also write et linguat dulces natos et conjugem dignu. Conjugem dignu. Conjugem dignu in this case cannot end the hexameter but the man intends to be seen as an educated fellow who could write verse hence conjugem dignu.

When people died young the inscriptions do point out either that they were students or refer to their educational abilities or they were described as rarissimus or diligentissimus

Memorial Julio Numeriano

dec(urioni) al(ae) fratri rarissimo

homini innocentissimo qui v(ixit) a(nnis) .

xlii d(iebus) viii et Omidiae Etricate

matri dulcissimae, et Caelis Honoratae

Matronae eiusden fratris

(id est uxoribus duabus Numeriani)

et Casto cognato eius adulescenti scolastico

Iulius Rusticus b(ene)f (iciarius) parentibus

dignissimis suis s(upra) s(criptis) f(ecit)

d(e)d(icavit) q(ue) B(onis) b(ene) et

malis b(ene)

C.I.L. 8, 9182.

An inscription from Thibilis also tells of an amiable student, a relative of senators, he was noted for his eloquence as well as his application to many branches of study. He was

outstanding for his industry and style, a sober declaimer an easy speaker extempore. His family also wants posterity to know that he could compose dialogues, idylls and epistles and was skilled in fashioning eclogues.

Fuit suorum amator et patriae
lasit neminem; clarissimum virorum
et equitum Romanorum propinquus;
adfuit eloquentia et industria in agendo
ornatus multis; dictamine facilis extemporali
Volumina dialogorum et epistolarum et
edyliorum conscripsit.

C.I.L.8. 5530, cf 18864.

Education was expensive yet many parents were eager to bear that cost for an educated person was sure of constant employment and also brought honour to himself and his family. A certain Seiius Fundanus tells us that he went to great expense^{ye} he had very little return because the sons died young.

Seiius Fundanus nutritivos natos duo
in prima aetate ex germana coniuga,
instudissq(ue) misit et honores tribuit
Post tantos sumptus non fruitus nomine
funeravit natos et hanc coepit opera(m)
senex laborans haec perf(cit) omnia, vixit
a(nnos) Germana coniunx v(ixit) a(nnos) lxxx
Sorori coniugis ornavit memoria(m) qual
Vales, viator, lector mei carminis.

C.I.L. 3 5370

The North African society valued education so much so that they did not regard as bad manners for a man to use self-laudatory expressions with regard to his own merits of accomplishment in education. Caledius Rufus informs us in his own epitaph that he was held in high esteem by his teachers and that he had devoted himself to study from childhood. At the age of fourteen he could read stenographic characters in Greek. He knew how to speak and write well.

P. Caledius Rufus
parcae quos tribuerent
ter quinos bis singulas peregi annos
Ingenio non humuli quo gratis
apud magistros fui
qui dixi scripsi pinosi bene
puer doctrinae aequae dedidi
mentem, nam bis septenos
cum agerem annos, notas
Graecas quis in commatibus m...
Graeco ... fices

C.I.L. 8.724.

Latin and Greek learning and eloquence in the two languages of culture represented a great asset and the Africans were apt to parade claims to erudition in the two languages as a mark of distinction. A youth of Sitifis who died at the age of twenty-two years was a student of the liberal arts, a master of Greek and Latin and a renowned orator.

D.M.S.

M. Damatius Urbanus

summarum artium liberalium

litterarum studiis utrisque lingual

perfecte eruditus

Optima Facundia Praeditus V.A. xxii

D VII H.S.E. VIII K. OCTOBR

A.P. CLXXXX.

M. Damat Felix Pater Pius Fecit

C.I.L.8, 8500.

The frequency of the phrase Utraque lingua eruditus in African epigraphy is a reflection of the recognition society accorded to Greek and Latin learning.⁵⁶

To the North African society, learning and eloquence were inseparable. This explains why many inscriptions describing students use the following phrases amator studiorum, doctissimus et facundissimus.⁵⁷ A student of Thabadeus, a remote town in Numidia could also claim he was the Cicero of his town because of his learning and eloquence.⁵⁸

Education to the North African was not only a matter of academic training; it was also a matter of living a good moral life. The Africans attached great importance to uprightness of character in addition to educational excellence and these two qualities were flamboyantly displayed on inscriptions.⁵⁹ It is not uncommon to see carefully chosen expressions like, illis moribus tantae eloquentia - optimum et facundissimus et morum et eloquentiae, used in describing candidates for office.⁶⁰

The multitude of laudatory inscriptions and the literary evidence permit us to get a picture of a society which valued education and Roman culture. The society worshipped education and was proud to display it. The concern for things Latin at the expense of things African was a mark of the educated classes and indicative of its Romanization.

NOTES

1. Roman North Africa for the purpose of this paper does not include Egypt. The study is also limited to an examination of the works of Apuleius, Minucius Felix and Augustine and selected inscriptions because of the desire to keep within the required limit.
2. Apuleius, Apologia 4; Tannonius Pudens is also said to be ignorant of literature and even popular tales.
3. Ibid 66. He was uncultivated, boorish, old and unlearned.
4. Ibid 98
5. Apologia 4, Florida, 16, 26
6. Apologia 16,23, 79
7. Ibid 16
8. Florida 20, 4
9. Apologia 73
10. Ibid, 24
11. Ibid
12. Ibid, 73
13. Ibid
14. Florida, 25
15. Apologia, 72, 76, 87, 94
16. Ibid, 23
17. Ibid, 4
18. Apuleius, Metamorphoses 11, 27-28.
19. Ibid, 9, 35
20. Ibid, 10, 1
21. Ibid, 3, 15
22. Florida, 16, 26
23. Ibid, 26
24. G.W. Clarke, 'The Literary Setting of the Octavius of Minucius Felix' JRH 3 (1964/5) pp.195-211.
H. Dessau, 'Minucius Felix and Caecilius Natalis' Hermes 40(1905) pp.373-86, first to argue African origin of the document
25. Octavius 21, 9 see also 26,4 C.I.L.8 20627 for other evidence of African interest in the Octavius.
26. Octavius 24, 1

27. Ibid, 22, 4; 23, 9-11; 27, 6; 30, 3-4.
28. Ibid, 25, 9
29. C.1.L. 8, 12393, 15320, 14428.
30. C.1.L.8, 9208, 12449, 19600, 22547, 25584.
31. C.1.L.8. 7094-8, 6996.
32. Octavius 9,6 see also J.H. Van Haeringen, "Cirtensis Noster"
Minem, 3, 1935 pp 29ff
33. H. Dessau, "Minucius Felix and Caecilius Natalis", Hermes
40 (1905) pp.373-86.
34. Octavius 5, 4
35. Ibid 12, 7
36. Ibid, 16, 6
37. Ibid, 15, 2
38. Ibid, 14, 3
39. Ibid, 24 1-2; 7-8.
40. Augustine, Confessions, 3, 4
41. Augustine, De Cath, 9, 13
42. Augustine, Conf. 3, 3-6
43. Augustine, De Doctr Clar. 1, 18, 29
44. Agustine, Conf, 3, 3-6
45. Ibid, 1, 12
46. Ibid, 1, 16
47. Ibid, 1, 9
48. De Doctr Chr. 2, 39, 58-59.
49. De Cath, 9, 13
50. De Doctr Chr, 4, 6, 9
51. T. Mommsen, The Provinces, 2, 343, G. Bossier, L'Afrique Romaine p.300.
52. C.1.L.8, 152, 11824, 4635, 1LA1g 2195, 2209, 2221, 2246, 2763-77.
53. C.1.L.8, 7156
54. C.1.L.8, 211/212
55. De Doctr Chr. 4, 24 Sermon 240,5

56. T. Kotula 'Utraque lingua eruditi : une page relative a l'histoire de l'education dan l'Afrique Romaine Hommage à Marcel Renard Collection Latomus 101-103, Brussels, 1969 2, 386f.
57. C.I.L.8 1540 cf 26671, 1LA1g 1362, 1363, 1364, 20274.
58. AE 1957, 185.
59. C.I.L.8. 7139, 5373, 2470.
60. Fronto, Ad Amicos, 2,11