

PANEGYRICI LATINI, VI and VII:

TRANSLATED WITH INTRODUCTIONS

AND COMMENTARY

J.C. SANG

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ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this thesis is to make available in English for the first time a translation of, and full commentary on, the panegyrics in question.

A general introduction contains sections on the collection of panegyrics known as the XII Panegyrici Latini, the term *panegyricus*, the uses to which panegyrics might be put, and the scope of the present study.

Attention is then turned to the two panegyrics themselves and, in each case, an introduction, dealing with the occasion and the date, the question of authorship, and the place of delivery, is followed by a translation and commentary, which concentrates on historical problems.

In the introduction to Pan. VII, proposed delivery dates of 31 March 307 (Seston et al.) and 25 December 307 (Lafaurie and Bruun) are discussed and rejected, along with the proposal of a third *dies natalis* for Constantine; Sutherland's date of late April is upheld, but it is emphasized (*pace* Sutherland) that the speech jointly celebrates Constantine's marriage to Fausta and his promotion as Augustus.

In the introduction to Pan. VI, a precise date of delivery of August 310 is suggested, and it is considered unlikely that the orator was a jurist or had held a full-time post in the imperial administration; the evidence of the speech itself indicates that he combined occasional employment by the palace as orator, with a career as master of rhetoric.

An appendix contains an index of the imperial virtues and attributes found in Pans. VI and VII.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION (1)

A. The XII Panegyrici Latini

The objects of research in this thesis are two speeches in the collection of twelve discovered and copied by Giovanni Aurispa in Mainz in the fifteenth century (2). Of the speeches one each is addressed to Trajan, Constantius (Chlorus), Julian, Theodosius and the *praeses* of Lugdunensis Prima, two to Maximian, one to Maximian and Constantine, and four to Constantine alone. Collectively they are commonly referred to as the XII Panegyrici Latini (3).

The orations in question, VI and VII, according to the non-chronological numbering of the MSS., which is used throughout this study, are included in the second part of the collection, which bears the heading, *incipiunt panegyrici diversorum septem* (4). The four preceding speeches, with the exception of the third, which is called *gratiarum actio Mamertini de consulatu suo Iuliano Imperatori*, all bear the title *Panegyricus* in the MSS (5). The last speech in the collection was probably added later than the others (6). This is suggested by the fact that it has a different heading from the other panegyrics in the second part of the collection (7).

B. The term *panegyricus*

The Latin word *panegyricus* was borrowed into the language from Greek.

Cicero in the Orator (37), when discussing different kinds of speeches, describes the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates as a *suasio*, and *suasiones* along with several other types, including *laudationes*, he classifies as epideitic, i.e. demonstrative, oratory. Cicero was clearly thinking of the word *panegyricus* much in its original Greek sense, where the πανηγυρικός λόγος was one composed for recitation at a πανήγυρις, a general gathering or festival, such as Isocrates' Panegyric, his exhortation to the Greeks to unite against Persia (8).

In the Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian the word is partly understood in this original sense, for he speaks of panegyrics and all other speeches of the *demonstrativum genus* as fashioned *ad popularem...delectationem* (9), but elsewhere it is apparent that panegyrics can have an especial connection with praise: *cum etiam in panegyricis petatur audientium favor, ubi emolumentum non in utilitate aliqua, sed in sola laude consistit* (10).

In the late Empire this aspect came to the fore, so that "the word *panegyricus* to describe a *laudatio* of an individual had become the accepted term in Latin by the fourth century" (11), and Ziegler has plausibly suggested that this was due to the fact that

"mehr und mehr das Lob des Herrschers das alleinige und obligatorische Thema jeglicher öffentlichen Festrede geworden war"⁽¹²⁾.

On the Greek side a similar development in the meaning of the word took place, but πανηγυρίσειν never became completely synonymous with ἐγκωμιάσειν, and Ziegler has pointed to the influence of the panegyric of Isocrates "der mit seinem andersartigen Charakter einer solchen Festlegung der Bedeutung im Wege stand"⁽¹³⁾.

C. The use of panegyrics

There can be little doubt that the chief aim of the panegyric, whether in prose or verse, was to eulogize ⁽¹⁴⁾, and accordingly we find extolled in the XII Panegyrici Latini, a large number of imperial virtues and attributes, including those that had become especially associated with the person of the emperor: *virtus, clementia, iustitia, pietas, providentia* ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Several scholars have suggested that the panegyrists could, and did, use their speeches to express their hopes, and those of their fellows, that the emperors would act in the ideal way they were depicted ⁽¹⁶⁾.

This seems undeniable and in fact Pliny is quite explicit about it when discussing his Panegyric of Trajan in one of his letters ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Such a view of the panegyrics should not, however, be taken to extremes, and MacCormack has warned against expecting "to extract from them singly or collectively an amalgam of qualities attributable to the late antique 'ideal emperor'". She points out quite correctly that in the speech of 310 Constantine is presented as "the merciless conqueror of barbarians", while in the orations of 313 and 321 "his generosity towards the enemy was emphasized" (18).

This suggests that in respect of the overall tone and message of a panegyric, if the circumstances required it, the orators took their cue from the emperors, and indeed in Pan. VI, one of the speeches studied, the speaker in dealing with the sensitive subject of Maximian's death acknowledges that he has refrained from pronouncing on the matter until receiving Constantine's *consilium* (14,1).

This in fact draws attention to a very important aspect of late Roman panegyrics: their use as instruments of imperial propaganda (19).

Such a use can be clearly illustrated in the case of Pans. VI and VII.

Pan. VII, delivered in 307 on the occasion of the marriage of Constantine to Fausta, daughter of Maximian (20), contains criticism of, and envisages the collapse of the tetrarchy, and, it is also argued, indicates Maximian's hostility to his son Maxentius, against whom he was soon to attempt a usurpation of power (21).

In Pan. VI, delivered in 310 on the anniversary of the city of Trier ⁽²²⁾, Constantine's descent from Claudius Gothicus is proclaimed, with the implication that he is the sole legitimate emperor, and the official version of Maximian's death - suicide - is made known ⁽²³⁾.

D. The scope of the present study

The student of history wishing to make use of the XII Panegyrici Latini as source material must, given their nature as panegyrics, read them "with more than one grain of salt"⁽²⁴⁾.

Nevertheless their value for the historian is considerable, as has long been recognized ⁽²⁵⁾, not least because of what they tell us about imperial policy and propaganda, as indicated above.

This thesis, part of an on-going study of a larger group of panegyrics, has a two-fold aim: firstly to provide an English translation of the panegyrics in question, something which to the best of my knowledge is nowhere freely accessible, and secondly to provide, along with introductions on date, place of delivery, and authorship, a commentary which concentrates mainly on historical questions ⁽²⁶⁾.

The Oxford text of R.A.B. Mynors has been followed except in a few places, which have been indicated in the translations ⁽²⁷⁾.

INTRODUCTION TO PANEGRIC VII

A. The occasion and the date

The seventh panegyric celebrates the marriage of Constantine to Fausta, daughter of Maximian, together with a promotion by Maximian of Constantine in imperial power (1,1).

While it had before been observed that this was a promotion to the rank of Augustus ⁽¹⁾, it has been recently argued by Sutherland on numismatic grounds, that the marriage preceded the proclamation, and he adds that the panegyric "never speaks of him (sc. Constantine) as Augustus" ⁽²⁾.

Sutherland himself admits that the evidence is inconclusive, as had Kent earlier ⁽³⁾, but it appears to me that the panegyric itself contains irrefutable proof of the simultaneity of the marriage and the elevation as Augustus, since in 8,1 Constantine is unequivocally addressed *Constantine Auguste* ⁽⁴⁾.

It is thus apparent that the problem of dating the oration is inseparable from that of dating Constantine's promotion as Augustus.

That the year was 307 is beyond serious doubt. We know that Severus died in Italy in 307 ⁽⁵⁾, and Lactantius (D.M.P. XXVII) links Maximian's journey to Gaul to give Fausta in marriage to Constantine with the earlier defeat of Severus and Galerius'

invasion of Italy ⁽⁶⁾.

What is not certain is the day in 307.

Most scholars have accepted the date 31 March, while more recently a date of 25 December has won support ⁽⁷⁾.

It is proposed to deal initially with 31 March, and then 25 December.

In the fifth-century calendar of Polemius Silvius ⁽⁸⁾ the date 31 March is given as a *natalis Constantini*, whose true birthday was 27 February ⁽⁹⁾.

The issue is confused, however, by the evidence of the fourth-century calendar of Philocalus ⁽¹⁰⁾.

For 31 March Mommsen gives the reading of the only extant ms., V, namely *Constantini*, but emends this to *Constant(i)* ⁽¹¹⁾.

He makes his emendation in the light of the evidence of the *natales Caesarum* ⁽¹²⁾, an index of *veri natales* affixed to the *fasti* of Philocalus. Here with no textual variants 31 March is given as the *natalis Divi Constanti*.

Mommsen's argument for accepting this seems sound ⁽¹³⁾.

Seston's argument, on the other hand, for rejecting the 31 March of the *natales Caesarum* as applying to *Constantius*, does not stand up to scrutiny ⁽¹⁴⁾.

He points out that the November accession to power of

Constantius II is missing from the calendar of Polemius Silvius, the object of a *rasura* as he puts it (Mommsen's apparatus indicates no such thing - it simply is not there), and then remarks that the date is also missing from the *natales Caesarum*. Therefore, the latter is untrustworthy as made up after the end of the fourth century and witness to a tradition well subsequent to the *fasti*.

But the point is that the date of Constantius II's accession would not be in the *natales Caesarum* anyway, since this list is concerned with *veri natales* and not *dies imperii*.

I would suggest that the evidence of the *natales Caesarum* in respect of Constantius I is correct and that 31 March was his true birthday, that Mommsen's emendation *Constant(i)* in the *Fasti Philocali* for 31 March is justified (this also refers to his *verus natalis*), and that the *Constantini* of the Vienna ms. and the *Fasti Polemi Silvi* are scribal errors of the easiest sort to make.

There are, however, additional reasons for rejecting 31 March as a *dies natalis* of Constantine.

If Silvius is correct then one has to allow three *natales* for Constantine: one celebrating his true birthday (27 February); one celebrating his elevation as Augustus (31 March); and one celebrating his original accession to power (25 July).

This is in fact what Seston proposes: that for the first years of his reign Constantine's *dies imperii* was 31 March ⁽¹⁵⁾, and that it was subsequently changed to 25 July ⁽¹⁶⁾, on which date in 306 according to the *Consularia Constantino-*

politana, levatus est Constantinus (17).

Against this hypothesis Kent (18) and Stern (19) have observed that an anniversary celebrating a proclamation as Augustus is unprecedented.

Moreover there is the question of inscriptional information.

Seston's thinking on the matter of Constantine's *dies imperii* was influenced by two inscriptions found in Africa which he pointed out both register *trib. pot. VIII cos. III, imp. VII* (20).

On the one found at Annona (C.I.L. VIII, 18905) it should be noted that the editors' comments indicate uncertainty in the transmission of this inscription and their *apparatus criticus* gives an alternative reading of *imp. V*, by Poulle who apparently saw the inscription since Poulle's location *in pila arcus orientalis (sc. aedificii Byzantii)* is given. The other was found at Thabborā: C.I.L. VIII, 23897 (Dessau I.L.S. 8941).

According to Seston the difference between the tribunician powers and the imperial salutations meant that Constantine's imperial acclamations must have commenced after 10 December 306 when Constantine would have become *trib. pot. II* (21). Regarding the tribunician power this seems correct and Bruun has observed that a ruler received the tribunician power on the day of his acclamation and subsequently renewed it every 10 December (22).

The most likely date for the commencement of the imperial salutations Seston argued was 31 March 307, when according to him

Constantine became Augustus ⁽²³⁾, and the inscriptions cited by him could then be dated exactly to between 10 December 313 and 31 March 314 ⁽²⁴⁾.

However, Lafaurie ⁽²⁵⁾, followed by Bruun ⁽²⁶⁾, has pointed out that while C.I.L. VIII, 18905 and 23897 show *trib.pot.* VI III, *cos.* III, *imp.* VII, a number of inscriptions, e.g. C.I.L. IX, 6038 (cf. Dessau I.L.S. 693) show *cos.* III, *imp.* VI III. It is argued by them that with regard to C.I.L. VIII, 18905 and 23897 the tribunician power (VI III) means these must be dated 10 December 313, or later, while the consular reference (III) must place them before 1 January 315 (when Constantine became *cos.* IV). The inscriptions showing *cos.* III, *imp.* VI III must also on account of *cos.* III have a *terminus ante* of 1 January 315.

Therefore after 10 December 313 and before 1 January 315 Constantine received two imperial acclamations and this is only possible if one allows a *dies imperii* that falls between 10 December and 31 December. Lafaurie singles out 25 December as the most likely day, since this was the *Dies Solis* and he sees internal evidence in the seventh panegyric, where Constantine is referred to as *oriens imperator* (VII, 1) ⁽²⁷⁾.

Lafaurie's argumentation clearly renders Seston's proposed date of 31 March invalid, and while a *dies imperii* of 25 December is not impossible it certainly alters the traditional picture of unfolding events ⁽²⁸⁾.

There are, however, a number of points against it.

If we accept 25 December, then it follows that Galerius' invasion of Italy came late in 307 ⁽²⁹⁾, for Lactantius links Maximian's return to Italy (after the marriage plus promotion) with Galerius' flight and one does not get the impression from Lactantius' account that it had been a very long campaign ⁽³⁰⁾.

On the other hand, we know that Galerius was not recognized as consul by Maxentius after 1 April 307 ⁽³¹⁾ and this would seem to suggest that his invasion took place in, or was at least imminent in April ⁽³²⁾.

If this was in fact the case, it means that Maximian was in Gaul for the marriage earlier in the year as generally envisaged.

Furthermore, it seems likely that from 1 April 307 Maximian and Constantine were joint consuls ⁽³³⁾ which means that Maximian's rapprochement with Constantine via the marriage took place early in the year and not late as Bruun and Lafaurie would have it ⁽³⁴⁾.

Another criticism is that it again asks one to accept a third *dies natalis* for Constantine and indeed *oriens* may indicate nothing more than the fact that by 307 Constantine was interested in, and publicizing his interest in, the cult of Sol Invictus ⁽³⁵⁾, not necessarily that he was proclaimed Augustus on that day.

Moreover, the numismatic evidence is not, as Bruun maintains, against an earlier elevation of Constantine to the rank of Augustus ⁽³⁶⁾.

Yet we are still left with the inscriptions brought forward and discussed by Seston, Lauffaurie and Bruun.

First of all it seems that only one inscription C.I.L. VIII, 23897, can confidently be taken to show *trib. pot.* VIII, *cos.* III, *imp.* VII, since there is clearly doubt about the correct reading of C.I.L. VIII, 18905 ⁽³⁷⁾. If in the case of C.I.L. VIII, 23897 we allow *imp.* VII to be a mistake for *imp.* VIII, a mistake easily made, and one that occurred to Dessau ⁽³⁸⁾, then only one imperial acclamation is required between 10 December 313 and 31 December 314 and this could then occur on any day of 314 before 10 December. No matter what day one chooses the following perfectly regular picture of the imperial salutations (and tribunician powers) emerges ⁽³⁹⁾.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imp.</u>		<u>Trib.pot.</u>
314	IX	10 December	X
313	VIII	"	IX
312	VII	"	VIII
311	VI	"	VII
310	V	"	VI
309	IV	"	V
308	III	"	IV
307	II	"	III
		"	II
306 }	I		I

It remains to establish the day on which these salutations occurred.

As mentioned earlier, according to the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, on 25 July 306, *levatus est Constantinus*. This is confirmed by the calendars of Philocalus and Polemius Silvius which both give 25 July as a *natalis Constantini*.

We also know from the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* that Constantine celebrated his *tricennalia* on 25 July 335 ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

The simplest explanation and the one that does not require us to embrace anything foreign to our knowledge of imperial anniversary celebration at the time, is that 25 July was from the beginning to the end of his reign, Constantine's *dies imperii* ⁽⁴¹⁾.

But if Constantine was not proclaimed Augustus on 31 March or 25 December 307 when according to these arguments the panegyric would have been delivered, what was the date of his elevation ?

Sutherland ⁽⁴²⁾ has observed that for reasons of climate Severus can hardly have invaded Italy before March, and that if Maximian was subsequently involved in defensive operations in anticipation of Galerius' invasion ⁽⁴³⁾, his departure for Gaul and his marriage of Fausta to Constantine can hardly have taken place before the end of April. Sutherland accordingly suggests a date in late April for the wedding and the delivery of the speech, and we would add, Constantine's elevation as Augustus as shown by the strong internal evidence of the panegyric seen above.

That it was not before the end of April makes good sense. If, after the wedding, Maximian did not then return to Rome until the autumn of 307 ⁽⁴⁴⁾, then strictly speaking the marriage plus promotion could have taken place any time between, say, late April and September 307.

But since the marriage was a political one, designed to win over Constantine to Maximian's cause ⁽⁴⁵⁾, I would suggest that it occurred as soon as possible after Maximian's arrival in Gaul, i.e. late April or early May ⁽⁴⁶⁾.

It is my submission, then, that the seventh panegyric jointly celebrating Constantine's marriage to Fausta and his promotion by Maximian as Augustus, was delivered on a day in late April or early May, 307.

B. The author

The author of this panegyric is entirely unforthcoming about himself ⁽¹⁾ and this absence of biographical detail makes impossible an attempt to identify him with any of the other authors ⁽²⁾.

Galletier has suggested that he might have been an orator of Trier and even a pupil of Mamertinus ⁽³⁾.

Certainly there are echoes of the earlier speeches in the seventh panegyric ⁽⁴⁾, and it appears almost certain that the author of VII was acquainted with these panegyrics; whether he was a pupil of their author can remain conjecture only.

C. The place of delivery

There is no internal evidence in the panegyric which points to the setting of the speech (1).

The city most frequently suggested is Trier (2), but Arles has also been proposed, the marriage signifying the start of that city's later importance (3).

The case for Trier seems easier to accept and the points Galletier makes in its favour strong: "C'était en effet la ville qui, depuis les débuts du règne de Maximien, faisait figure de cité impériale; elle était en outre la plus proche des lignes du Rhin où Constantin avait été dès l'abord occupé. Après les importantes opérations de 306, il est douteux qu'il eût quitté Trèves" (4).

Such a conclusion is supported by the orator's words in the fifth panegyric of 311 A.D., where Trier is described as a city, *quae adhuc assiduitate praesentiae tuae prae ceteris fruitur* (5).

It would thus seem that in all probability the seventh panegyric was delivered in Trier, which Diocletian had made the capital of Belgica Prima, and of the northern Gaulish Diocese (6).

TRANSLATION OF PANEGYRIC VII

< Panegyric of an unknown orator spoken in honour of Maximian and Constantine >

1. Although very many men have mentioned and many are going to mention those things for which all your exploits and the merits of your exalted virtues are praised, Most Worshipful rulers, Maximian, ever Augustus, whether you like it or not, and Constantine, an emperor ascendant, I am nevertheless resolved that those things in particular should be incorporated in this speech which belong to the joy with which are solemnized your promotion, Caesar, in imperial power, and the celebration of these divine nuptials.

(2) Certainly your other favours towards the state can be proclaimed on the many occasions offered at different times: now a speech is required appropriate to this marriage, which once concluded will last forever. (3) Indeed I know that the affection of rejoicing admirers now blossoms so much through the entire world, wherever the good news has spread, obtaining a swiftness beyond the natural qualities with which it is endowed and echoing with more than a thousand voices, that this marriage is dedicated with the thanksgiving of all peoples. (4) What could have befallen humanity more nobly to obtain its glory or more surely to obtain its salvation, than the fact that this pledge has also been added to your former concord and eternal devotion, a pledge made venerable by the most intimate union of the most illustrious names, for an emperor has given his daughter in marriage to an emperor? (5) But nevertheless we ought to surpass all others in joy, who here present behold such a great blessing for the state, and merely by looking at your

faces we are aware that you are in such agreement, and that you have so joined not only your hands but even your thoughts and minds, that were it possible you would wish to pass into each other's hearts.

2. Indeed what more valued gift could you have bestowed or could you have received, since by this alliance of yours, on the one hand you, Maximian, through your son-in-law have regained your youth and on the other you, Constantine, through your father-in-law have gained the title of emperor ? (2) And so eternal rulers, on behalf of your subjects, I express our very great thanks, for the fact that by raising children and by desiring descendants you are providing for all future generations by continuing the line of your family, so that the Roman state formerly buffeted by the disparate temperaments of its rulers and by the vicissitudes of their affairs may at last grow strong through the everlasting roots of your house, and so that its authority may be as immortal as the line of its emperors will be eternal. (3) This is real piety, this real pleasure in preserving mankind, to give an example to people to make them seek out marriage more eagerly and bring up children, so that by successors being provided for every person, the fact that each one is mortal may present no obstacle, since the immortality of the state lies in the succeeding generations of all its citizens. (4) And so if those laws which have imposed a fine on the unmarried and which have honoured parents with rewards, are correctly said to be the foundations of the state, since they have always supplied the Roman armies with a source of young men and as it were a spring of human strength, what worthy word can we assign to this service of

yours to the state. (5) You perpetuate the state with no common lineage but with imperial stock so that that might last forever, a continuous line of Herculian emperors, and we gave thanks that this had at last happened, a thousand years after the founding of Rome, so that the guidance of the common safety might not be handed like a commodity from one new family to another.

3. And so what order should I adopt in praising and honouring each of you? For so far I have spoken without distinguishing of the wishes of both of you that meet in this union. (2) Indeed I feel that you take precedence in rank, elder Augustus, and that you follow, younger Emperor. But truly, Constantine, as your father-in-law acquired a divine name for himself before you sought from him his most dear daughter, so now also in this speech of congratulation, I must first mention those qualities which that great creator both of your father's and your own power saw in you and was therefore pleased with your request. (3) Oh your divine judgement, Maximian, who wanted this man, already your grandson by the right of adoption, your son in the imperial hierarchy, also to be your son-in-law, the son, I say, of the divine Constantius, on to whom the best of his (sc. Constantius') youthful qualities have been transferred. Nature has printed his divine features on the face of this man, who does duty for two, for us still mourning the sight of him who has been taken into the councils of the gods! (4) For not only do you have your father's appearance, Constantine, but what is more you reveal his self-control, valour, sense of justice and wisdom in reply to the prayers of the nations.

4. In what way could you have matched the self-control of your father more closely than by surrendering yourself from the precise moment your boyhood ended to the laws of marriage, so that at the very beginning of manhood you might mould your temperament for marriage and not admit into your sacred heart any capricious passions nor any of the pleasures allowed to this time of life, even at that time an unheard-of wonder, a young man fond of his wife. But in fact with a mind that could foresee, you, who would subsequently take so fine a woman as this for your wife, were steeping yourself in every rule of modesty, (2) and yet you followed even then at the beginning of your career the bravery of your father. He killed, drove away, captured and led off many thousands of Franks, who had attacked Batavia and other territories on this side of the Rhine; you inaugurated your reign with those very kings of theirs and you at the same time both punished their previous misdeeds and secured the uncertain loyalty of the whole nation through fear. (3) He freed Britain from servitude; you also ennobled it for that place saw the dawn of your career. (4) He subdued numerous barbarian peoples by conquest and appeased them with mercy; but with all your enemies held in check by the fear of your alertness, you do not have for the time being the opportunity of conquering.

5. You indeed copy and follow the fairness and dutifulness of your father in such a way that, to all those who flee to you and request aid of various kinds, either against injuries received from others or simply for their own advantage, you seem, as it were to

discharge the mandate of your father, and also that you rejoice at hearing it openly proclaimed, that in whatever just and gracious deeds you have performed, a son of Constantius has undeniably distinguished himself. (2) For what am I to say about your sagacity, through which we well-nigh believe that you will be greater than your father himself? You assumed power so early in life and surpass those leaders of the Roman republic of olden days, the elder Africanus and Pompey the Great whose strength of character surpassed their age, and you bear the burden of such great affairs, when your strength of character is only beginning. (3) For although you performed many brave and wise deeds, when you were performing your first military duty during your very great tribunates, it is necessary, young emperor, that you recognise the intimations of this great destiny of yours. But why, as far as you are concerned, do I talk of your age rather than your level-headedness? Your maturity is so considerable that although your father had bequeathed to you his dominion, content nevertheless with the title of Caesar, you preferred to wait for the same man to declare you Augustus, who had so declared your father. For indeed you judged that the empire itself would be a fairer prize if you had not been advanced in respect of it, as an inheritance by right of succession, but had earned it from the supreme emperor as something owed to your virtues.

6. There is no doubt that early on he was arranging the sacred pinnacle of divine power for you, he who had a long time before of his own accord chosen you as a son-in-law for himself, even before you were able to seek a match. (2) For this, I am told, is what

that picture in the palace of Aquileia declares, placed in full view of the guests, where a young girl already worthy of respect through her divine grace, but still unequal to her burden, holds up and offers to you, Constantine, then only a boy, a helmet sparkling with gold and jewels and decked with the feathers of a beautiful bird, so that this betrothal gift might enhance your beauty, because practically all other finery falls short. (3) Blessed painter he, whoever he was, although his art might have surpassed that of Apelles and Parrhasius themselves, the subject matter of his painting nevertheless created much more than his skill. (4) For although painters might say that the copying of any model that is out of the ordinary is exceptionally difficult, because ugliness with its well-known marks is soon portrayed, the representation of beauty, however, is as difficult as beauty is rare. (5) That painter's toil, however, in representing the divine features of your face was outweighed by the pleasure he derived from looking at you close at hand, from observing you carefully, from attentively pondering the unruffled and earnest features derived from the freshness of your age, and finally from expressing the unspoken signs of your love, so that one clearly discerns in this picture what the modesty in both of you was denying.

7. But assuredly, Maximian, even then, you had anticipated this match with your divine mentality; you had wished this marriage to be sought of you when she was of age when in that most agreeable abode of yours you were predicting to yourself* the delight of this

* I suggest reading here instead of *praestinabas*, the *praedestinabas* of Puteolanus' edition, cited by Mynors *ad loc.*

wedding, so that in watching this little girl and this young man growing up you might enjoy for a long time the expectation of the marriage which you have realised by this union. (2) For what could you have done that would be more appropriate, what that would be more worthy of your foresight than that you should hand over now, from motives of deepest affection, the token of supreme power, to the son of that man whom you had formerly joined to yourself by marriage alliance and made your partner in your greatness ?

(3) Among all emperors, Maximian, this is your special brand of generosity. (4) Others have bestowed riches or honours or even imperial power, but only these; you with a heart that is greater than the rest grant at the same time both what your affection holds most precious and your fortune most outstanding. (5) But that magnanimity of yours is not to be wondered at, Maximian, on whom the immortal gods have heaped not only such natural talents but also such gifts of fortune that, although you bestow the greatest gifts, all things remain in your power as if you alone possess them.

(6) For just as he who supplies the sky and lands with water, Oceanus nevertheless always remains the same in all his movements, so you, Maximian, are able to bestow empire but you are not able to relinquish it. (7) Concerning this, when I come to that point, I shall speak in a manner that may seem rather bold to certain people perhaps, but nevertheless may the sincerity of my devotion to you be apparent.

8. It now follows that, just as I have proclaimed your virtues, Constantine Augustus, to your father-in-law, you also should

hear (although you know it very well) how much the alliance with the emperor honours you. (2) It is he who has given you the name which he received from the god who was the founder of his line, and he proved that he was a descendant of Hercules not by virtue of tales of flattery but by matching his manly qualities. (3) It is he who at the very beginning of his divine sway restored the territories of Gaul, which had been driven to wild acts by the injuries received in days gone by, to allegiance to the Roman state, and brought them to themselves, for their own good. (4) It is he who first attacked with Roman troops, barbarian peoples across the Rhine, something that by a false tradition was imputed to former emperors. (5) Subdued by the repeated expeditions of this man and his brother, Germany either considers it a good policy to remain calm, or exhibits joy at being a friend of Rome, if she is obedient. (6) You stormed, captured and resettled those most war-like peoples of Mauretania, who put their faith in inaccessible mountain ranges and in natural fortifications. (7) At your first visit the Roman people received you with such joy and such an assembly, that although their eyes were blazing with desire to carry you right into the temple of Jupiter Capitoline, by their thronging they scarcely let you approach the gates of the city. (8) Again when you were in your twentieth year as emperor and eighth as consul, Rome so wanted to keep you in her embrace, so to speak, that she seemed even then to foresee and fear what did happen. (9) For it happened that on this one occasion, eternal Emperor, you almost deserved the complaints of the nation.

9. Hear the free expression of our grief, since even the gods themselves pardon our complaining that they generally neglect human affairs, and that while they are perhaps thinking of something else, hailstorms swoop down upon us, earthquakes yawn, and cities are sucked into them. These things do not appear to come about by the wishes of the gods, but either because they are looking the other way or because we are overwhelmed by the fatal course of things.

(2) Such a deed is that, Emperor, which you wished to do for all of us, who grieve over it with a suppressed groan, and you were induced not by neglect of the state, or avoidance of toil, or love of ease, but, as is really the case, through adherence to the plan formerly determined between you and through fraternal observance, so that you should not abandon in a position of joint responsibility him (sc. Diocletian) whom you have always taken as your life-long ally in matters of highest policy, nor fail to match the praise he might find, whatever it be, but new in any case.

(3) Truly you each had a very different reason for withdrawing from or continuing the task; and yet even if you were able to excuse yourself completely on the grounds of your age, even then you should not have given up state cares.

(4) Or if the eldest helmsman is the surest for the safety of the passengers, is not the best emperor he who has a great deal of practical experience? But as for you, Constantine, will our children and our grandchildren ever allow you, even when you are very old, to furl the sails of the ship of state which you have filled even as a young man with such favourable winds?

(5) Nevertheless although it might have been right for that ruler to sound the retreat, when age was pressing, or his health was failing him,

we are amazed, however, that you (sc. Maximian), in whom there is still such real, unimpaired strength and who have this vigour in your whole body, this imperious fire in your eyes, that you hoped for an early retirement. (6) For what else could excuse rest on the part of him who shared your sway with you than that you should succeed to the empire for two ?

10. But indeed the very change and nature of fortune, which had been permitted to change nothing as long as you held the empire together, made this demand, that the uninterrupted happiness of those twenty years might be distinguished by some interval; or even the immortal gods might have wanted to prove that the state had stood fast by leaning on you, since it could not stand without you.

(2) Although indeed in those parts where you were it did not lack its former strength, it did however almost completely collapse in the area which you, Maximian, had left. So to a great extent the state had the most stability there where it was protected by you, and where it had been deserted by you it tottered the most. (3) Just as the earth penetrated deeply by winds and waters, and with its very foundations torn out, shakes, so the whole of Italy and Rome herself, trembled and almost sank away, when your hand, by which she had been supported, was suddenly withdrawn. (4) I pass over this quickly, for in fact why should I recall these misfortunes at all, since we see that everything has been restored by your return ? (5) For the grandeur of her own name Rome acted so that she would show that she could command even emperors. She took away her armies and she restored them to you, and when to calm people's

feelings you returned with the authority of a ruler, but one not engaged in public life, Rome holding out suppliant hands, or rather, full of grievances, cried out to you:

11. "How long shall I allow this, Maximian, that I am in a state of turmoil while you are resting; that my liberty is taken away from me, while you enjoy an improper retirement? (2) Or have you been permitted so soon what was not permitted to the divine Augustus after seventy years of life and fifty years as emperor? (3) Was it for this that Hercules, whom I worship with so many altars, so many temples, so many names gave you to me, so that you, yielding to leisure in your country-villa, should forget how to use the bravery dedicated to me? (4) Restore yourself to my helm and since you have hastened to enter port on a calm sea, traverse the waves, anxious in your love for me, but untroubled through your greatness. Nevertheless it will be to your account if you allow me to suffer harm, while I am being restored. You took up imperial power before, when you were asked by your brother, take it up again, this time ordered by your mother." (5) O your divine piety, eternal Emperor, which alone has conquered your ever invincible soul! (6) You were not able to resist the command of that holy parent and, albeit unwillingly, you obeyed and gave yourself again to those vigils and anxieties of which you had had experience for twenty years. (7) With what favours mistress of nations can you pay back this compliance of your emperor? He who knew by very great experience how much toil is involved in governing, forgoes for your sake that pleasure which he had tasted, and takes up the very great burden of

government after a period of retirement. (8) It would have been easier to have ruled uninterruptedly, for habit does not feel a burden however great it may be, but whatever has been broken off requires fresh strength.

12. What forethought you must have needed, eternal Emperor, what authority to raise up the supports of the state when they were lying on the ground, to restore them, deprived of life, and to put together what had disintegrated? (2) We were amazed that you became a private citizen after wielding absolute power; it is much more amazing that you take up power again after retiring. (3) Only that god, as the story goes, whose gifts are life and sight was able to do this: to take up the reins entrusted foolishly to another and direct again the chariot which had been thrown into a spin with an erring driver. You did something similar, Emperor, and in addition you did it with ease. (4) Nor is that to be marvelled at: for imperial authority did not leave you, and although you wished to be called a private citizen, your inborn majesty clung to you. (5) All your armies and all the provinces somehow bore your wish to rest after such great works with equanimity, for they at no stage believed that you had ceased to rule. (6) For how do you suppose, Maximian, that Jupiter himself answered when you with noble heart said: "Take back, Jupiter, what you have bestowed on me"? Without doubt he answered: "I did not give you this as a loan, but forever; I am not taking it back, but am preserving it for you". (7) And so the moment that you restrained the state as it was falling and took over the ship of state as it was drifting, the hope

of safety blazed for everyone. (8) The winds sank, the clouds scattered, the waves subsided, and if in some place in rather remote regions, some darkness is still to be seen or some remaining breaking of waves murmurs, it is nevertheless certain that at your command, the darkness would light up and the waves fall silent.

13. Most Worshipful Emperors, I have spoken as befitted the occasion, of those qualities that you ought to admire and love in one another, as you do. It remains that in ending this speech, as befits this marriage, I should combine what I have said separately about your virtues. (2) Immortal gods! What great things have you restored to the Roman state, which, in actual fact, had already yielded to old age! (3) Constantine, the new emperor, has begun to be more than a son to Maximian, the eternal emperor. That emperor (sc. Maximian) is well disposed to Constantine who is on the ascendant, and he in turn gives his assistance to his senior; may your alliance surely thrive through the everlasting roots of your affection, for such alliances have always united the greatest men in the state in harmony. (4) If, indeed, the marriage of Gracchus and Cornelia restored their families to friendship, however much they were at variance, if Agrippa who was all but his son-in-law achieved victory at Actium for the divine Augustus, then what can we hope for when a marriage contract has made even closer the eternal affection of a father and son. (5) But if P. Scipio undertook the Carthaginian war as a young man, destined later on to overcome Hannibal himself, if Marius as an old man recovered Rome from the Sullan faction, and if it is worth remembering that that happened

after a great interval of time, how easily now can the Roman state lay aside all fear, since it is protected by the conjoint rule of two men of different age, and makes equal use of the bravery of the young ruler and the maturity of the elder!

14. As for you, Father, it is fitting that from the very pinnacle of power you survey the world at large and by your divine command decree the destiny of mankind, take the auspices for waging wars, impose the terms for making peace; as for you, young Emperor, it is fitting that you go tirelessly along the frontiers where the Roman empire besets barbarian peoples, that you send to your father-in-law plenty of victory-despatches adorned with laurel, that you ask for instructions and report the results. (2) Thus will it turn out that not only do you both share the purpose of a single spirit but also that you each have the strength of two. (3) Oh, you were successful while ruling, and are even more successful after ruling! For no doubt you hear and see these things, divine Constantius, for Sol himself, when he wanted to take you up to heaven, caught you up in his almost visible chariot, while at his setting he was revisiting the neighbouring East. (4) What great joy will you now have at your disposal, what pleasure will you enjoy, when he who is at the same time a father, a father-in-law, and an emperor has admitted into the possession of your empire, such a man as this your son, who first made you a father! (5) This is your own special kind of immortality, which we see, superior to that of all the gods: a son like you in appearance, like you in mind, and equal to you in his imperial power. (6) Although the Fates have envied us, they have been able

to take away nothing from your house: Maximian does not lack a son such as you were, nor does Constantine lack a father. (7) But indeed in order that your relationship may be renewed in every way, again this man is a father-in-law, again this man a son-in-law, so that our supremely happy emperor may be endowed with descendants from your line.

COMMENTARY ON PANEGYRIC VII

1 and 2 : Exordium

1,1 (i) *sacratissimi principes*

The epithet *sacratissimus* was used frequently by the panegyrists in addressing the emperor, particularly in the form *sacratissime imperator*. For examples see Storch, art.cit. p.73. He observes that this mode of address emphasized "the divine nature of the prince".

Forcellini (Lexicon, s.v. *sacrat* (2)) notes:

sacratissimus titulus est, quo saepissime imperatores cohonestati sunt. One of his references is to the Digest 38, 17,9; there we find the form *sacratissimi principis nostri* and this fragment supposedly from a *liber singularis ad senatus consultum Orphitianum* by Gaius may mean that the formula was in use in the second century A.D. It has, however, been conjectured that Gaius might be a mistake for Paulus in which case it will have been in use by the first half of the third century (for a discussion see R.E. VII, col. 492 ff).

(ii) *Maximiane velis nolis semper Auguste*

Maximian became Caesar first, at Diocletian's bidding, probably in 285 (infra, ad 8,8,(i)), and Augustus on 1 March 286 (see P.L.R.E., s.v. *Maximianus* (8) for references).

He abdicated, along with Diocletian, on 1 May 305 (for

the day see Barnes, J.R.S. 63, 1973, p.33, n.35) but became an active Augustus again following his son Maxentius' coup in Rome in late 306 (see Parker, H.R.W. p.241 ff; also below ad 10,5, and Pan. VI, ad 3,1).

The formulation, *semper Auguste*, appears to enter imperial inscriptions from the time of Diocletian (see Dessau, I.L.S. 631; 5826), and to have been used quite frequently thereafter (see Dessau, op.cit., Vol. III, I, Index of *Imperatores et domus eorum*, p.257 ff; cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ii, s.v. *Augustus*, col. 1388, l.45 ff).

It suits the panegyrist to employ this particular appellation, as he will develop the idea that Maximian could not separate himself from imperial authority, even if he wanted to (see 7,6 and 12,4).

(iii) *Constantine oriens imperator*

Constantine had been proclaimed emperor by his late father's troops in York, on 25 July 306 (Anon.Val. 2,4; Victor Caes. 40,2/4; Zosimus 2,9; Cons.Const., ad 306, Chron.Min. p.231).

The panegyrist appears to exploit the ambiguity of *oriens*.

On the one hand it suggests that Constantine's power was on the increase (cf. Plutarch, Pompey XIV, 3, where Pompey, for Sulla's benefit, compares himself with τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα

and Tiberius Julius Alexander's τοῦ ἐπιλάμβαντος, said of Galba, soon after his accession (Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, ed. Dittenberger, 669).

On the other hand, with its secondary meaning "the rising sun" (see O.L.D. s.v. *oriens*²), it may well indicate that very early in his reign, Constantine wished to publicize his association with the cult of Sol Invictus, to which he committed himself more in 310 (vid. inf. ad Pan. VI, 21,4-5). Sol is mentioned explicitly in 14,3, as the god who transported Constantius to heaven, and is referred to by *ille deus* of 12,3 (cf. also 4,3 *oriundo* and 8,3 *ortu*).

If this interpretation is correct, it enables us to date as early as 307, Constantine's publication of his interest in Sol; the earliest numismatic evidence cannot be dated more exactly than c. autumn 307 - early 310 (see Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.131 ff).

(iv) *tibi Caesari additum nomen imperii*

Cf. 2,1: *cum....tibi, Constantine....nomen imperatoris accreverit ?*

For a full discussion of the nature of Constantine's promotion in imperial authority, see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A; the evidence of the panegyric itself suggests very strongly that on the occasion of its delivery Constantine was promoted as Augustus (see esp. 8,1 and 5,3).

(v) *istarum caelestium nuptiarum festa*

i.e. the marriage between Constantine and Fausta (see Lactantius, D.M.P. XXVII; Zosimus 2,10; Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A).

1,4 *pristinæ vestrae concordiae perpetuaeque pietati hoc quoque pignus accessit*

Constantine may have spent part of his youth at Maximian's court in Aquileia (infra, ad 7,1,(ii); for the palace 6,1-2, *Aquileiensi palatio*), but in any case, as Galletier has pointed out, relations between Maximian and Constantius were certainly cordial (P.L. II, p.6). Accordingly there is no reason to doubt that Maximian was well disposed to Constantius' son. (See also below, ad 3,3,(i)).

2,1 *Quid enim....accreverit ?*

Despite the differences the passage is reminiscent of Pliny, Pan. 6,4. MacCormack's remark (op.cit. p.151) is worth noting: "Cicero and Pliny were extensively quoted (sc. by the late third-century panegyrists, but she is clearly thinking of those of the early fourth century too), though not mentioned by name". Cf. also her observation (op.cit. p.154): "the fourth-century panegyrists used the expressions made available to them by the authors of the past, especially Cicero".

2,2 *ut....convalescat*

It is the Herculian house that is referred to (infra, ad 2,5).

Romana res olim diversis regentium moribus fatisque iactata seems difficult to take otherwise than as a criticism of the tetrarchic system (cf. MacCormack, op.cit. p.164: "the panegyric of 307 praised what amounted to the collapse of the Tetrarchy"). If it is a reference to Severus' reign (cf. Galletier P.L. II, p.5) then it is odd that the orator uses the plural.

With *ut....perpetuis domus vestrae radicibus convalescat* may be compared 2,5: *ne mutatoria per novas familias communis salutis gubernacula traderentur* and *ut....id ex omnibus duret aetatibus, imperatores semper Herculii.*

In view of the fact that Maxentius had seized power in Rome and Maximian had reassumed the purple (see also infra, ad 10,5, and Pan. VI, ad 3,1), while Constantine himself had been proclaimed by the army, not appointed, emperor (supra, ad 1,1,(iii)), clear evidence that the tetrarchy was not functioning, it would be surprising if Maximian and Constantine had not considered a fresh dispensation of empire, and it appears that they envisaged power being limited to members of their dynasty. Warmington's assertion that in this panegyric "the hereditary theme is muted" (Transactions of the American Philological Association, 104, 1974, p.373) in view of its explicit and eloquent treatment in this paragraph seems unwarranted

(see also below, ad 12,6).

perpetuis domus vestrae radicibus

Cf. Curtius Rufus: *eiusdem domus utinam perpetua* (X, 9,6).

The context is Curtius' laudatory digression on Rome's new emperor (Claudius, according to Atkinson, A commentary on Bk.3 of Q. Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni, Ph.D thesis, Cape Town, 1971, p. xxiv ff, esp. p.xxxvi), and the orator may have echoed this long-standing precedent (cf. supra, ad 2,1).

2,3 *conservandi generis humani*

Cf. Pliny; Pan. 6,1, *parens generis humani*, said of Nerva.

The word *conservandi* in its application here recalls the old propagandic formula *OB CIVIS SERVATOS* vel sim. used by Augustus and subsequent emperors on coins (see Grant, Roman Imperial Money, p.25). A study of the indexes of legends in R.I.C. I-VII indicates that it fell into desuetude after the reign of Vespasian, while Gallienus used (with some scarcity it appears) a legend *OB CONSERVAT SALUT* (see R.I.C. V, pt.1, p.135). It would seem, nevertheless, that the portrayal of the emperor as the preserver of mankind remained a part of imperial propaganda.

2,4 *leges eae quae multa caelibes notaverunt, parentes praemiis honorarunt*

The reference must be to Augustus' laws on marriage: the

lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus (18 B.C.) and the *lex Papia Poppaea* (A.D. 9) which, by penalizing celibates (in the sphere of inheritance) and offering relief through marriage and the birth of children, aimed at stimulating the birth-rate of the true Italian stock.

These laws, elaborated by successive emperors, were clearly still in effect at the time the panegyrist was speaking.

It was, ironically, Constantine himself, who, under the influence of Christianity (which regarded celibacy as a virtue), began the process of undoing the provisions of the law (see Cod.Theod. VIII, 16,1, of Constantine, and Cod.Theod. VIII, 17, 2, 3, of Honorius and Theodosius; for discussions see Last, C.A.H. X, cap. XIV, and R.E., Supplement VI, col.227 ff).

2,5 *imperatores semper Herculii*

Cf. 8,2 *hic est qui nomen acceptum a deo principe generis sui dedit vobis, qui se progeniem esse Herculis....comprobavit.*

The Herculian house had been founded by Diocletian (*a deo principe*), who bestowed on his new colleague in empire, Maximian, the title *Herculius*, while he himself took that of *Jovius* (see Parker, H.R.W. p.225: he dates the dynasties to the time of Maximian's promotion; also infra, ad 8,8,(i)). Constantius received the title when he became Maximian's Caesar in 293 (op.cit., p.229).

According to 8,2 above, it is Maximian who has given

Constantine his connection with the Herculan house, and Jones (L.R.E. p.78/9) remarks that, by the marriage with Fausta, Constantine was "thus affiliated to the Herculan house".

Yet Constantine as Constantius' son surely already had an automatic and natural claim to membership of this dynasty.

The panegyrist by depicting Maximian as responsible for Constantine becoming *Herculius* seems to foreshadow the idealised and unrealised picture presented in 14,1 (see comment (ii) ad loc.), where Constantine takes his orders from Maximian. Moreover the orator thus continues the idea of "giving" and "receiving" employed earlier in 2,1.

Certainly Constantine's advertisement of himself as an *imperator Herculius* strengthened his claim to his father's share of empire, but it would seem that the real prize gained by the marriage was recognition as Augustus (see Jones, Constantine and the Conversion of Europe, p.69).

Conversely Maximian and Maxentius gained an ally against Galerius (see Parker, H.R.W., p.243; cf. Jones, L.R.E., p.78).

3-7 : Praise of Constantine

3,2 *tuo....divinitas*

For Maximian's acquisition of the title *Herculius*, see above ad 2,5.

3,3 *hunc tibi iure adoptionis nepotem, maiestatis ordine
filium*

(i) For the panegyrist to describe Constantine as Maximian's grandson by right of adoption implies that Maximian adopted Constantius (and presumably Diocletian, Galerius) at the time they were made Caesars. While other sources mention the marriages Constantius and Galerius were forced to contract to strengthen the tie to one of *adfinitas* (*infra*, ad 7,2), this panegyric stands alone in mentioning a formal *adoptio* (see Victor, *Caes.* 39,24 ff; Eutropius IX, 22; Orosius VII, 25,5; Zonaras XII, 31). There seems no good reason for rejecting the evidence of the speech: the panegyrist had direct access to Maximian, one of the parties involved, and there would have been every reason at the time, to make the relationships as strong as possible. (Seeck regards Constantius as adopted by Maximian in *R.E.* IV, col.1041.)

(ii) Constantine, having now taken Constantius' place, stood to Maximian as Constantius once had, as a junior to a senior emperor, as a son to a father.

3,4 *neque....<re>praesentant*

(i) *forma....in te patris*

Cf. 3,3 *in cuius ore caelestes illius vultus Natura signavit*, and 14,5 *filius similis adpectu*

(ii) *continentia, fortitudo, iustitia, prudentia (sc. patris)*

For the imperial virtues and attributes see General Introduction, Section C, and Appendix.

4,1 (i) *continentiam patris*

From the context it is clear that the orator is using the word in the sense of sexual restraint, and this is how it seems Pliny used the word in his Panegyric of Trajan (3,4), for the opposition *clementia/crudelitatem* (ibid.) makes it unlikely that *continentia* there means restraint or moderation towards enemies. (It is in the latter sense, however, that Cicero used the word in his praise of Pompey in pro Lege Manilia, 41.)

As the orator seems to single out Constantius' *continentia* it is worth considering why.

If Helena, Constantine's mother whom Constantius put aside to marry Theodora (infra, ad 7,2) was in fact his mistress (see Zosimus 2,8; Eutropius X, 2), then the panegyrist may have been attempting to lay rumours of impropriety on the part of Constantius, surrounding his relationship with Helena.

(ii) *te ab ipso fine pueritiae ilico matrimonii legibus tradidisti*

The reference is to Constantine's association with Minervina who is referred to either as *concupina* or *πᾶλλακὴ* by Victor (Epit. 41,4), Zosimus (2,20), and Zonaras (XIII, 2). The panegyrist speaks of the relationship as a marriage.

It could be argued that the orator here presents the relationship in the best possible light, and yet in order to avoid an untruth, he could have ignored the subject altogether.

There seems no good reason to reject the panegyrist's evidence (cf. P.L.R.E. s.v. *Minervina*: "probably the first wife of Constantine I"). The tradition that Minervina was a concubine may, as Palanque (R.E.A., 1938, p.247 ff) has convincingly argued, have originated from Fausta's retrospective jealousy and her wish to see her sons by Constantine favoured over Crispus.

Minervina must have been dead or divorced by the time of Constantine's marriage to Fausta, although the panegyrist's praise of Constantine as a *iuvenis uxorius* (4,1) would be rather incongruous if he had put Minervina aside for political reasons (see Galletier, P.L. II, p.5).

The date of the marriage would depend on Constantine's date of birth. If he was born in 272 and was married *ab ipso fine pueritiae* and *primo ingressu adolescentiae* (4,1) it would have been in 288 (see P.L.R.E. s.v. *Fl. Val. Constantinus* (4) for the date of birth; for a later date c. 282 see Palanque, art.cit. p.241 ff; also infra, ad 5,2,(iii)).

4,2 (i) *multa ille Francorum milia, qui Bataviam aliasque cis Rhenum terras invaserant, interfecit depulit cepit abduxit*

This was part of Constantius' operations (293-296) to recover Britain from the pretender Carausius. Before attacking Britain Constantius dealt with Carausius' allies among the Franks (see Parker, H.R.W. p.231, and infra, ad Pan. VI, 5,2 ff; for the dates of Constantius' campaign see Barnes, Phoenix, 30, 1976, p.179).

(ii) *tu....vinoxisti*

At the very beginning of his reign Constantine had to put down an uprising of Franks (see Pan. VI, ad 10,1/2). Their kings were Ascaricus and Merogaisus (see on Pan. VI, 11,5,(iii)).

4,3 (i) *liberavit ille Britannias servitute*

The successful conclusion of the war against Carausius is referred to, for which vid.inf. ad Pan. VI, 5,2 ff and supra, ad 4,2,(i).

(ii) *tu etiam nobiles illic oriundo fecisti*

oriundo: cf. 1,1 *oriens imperator*, and comment (iii) ad loc.

For Constantine's proclamation as emperor in Britain, vid. supra, ibid. It was at York, according to the Anonymus Valesianus (2,4).

4,4 (i) *plurimas ille barbaras nationes victoria domuit*

For Constantius' campaigns see Pan. VI, ad 6,2 ff.

(ii) *tibi cunctis hostibus alacritatis tuae terrore compressis interim deest materia vincendi*

i.e. with the suppression of the Frankish revolt, supra, ad 4,2,(ii).

5,1 *iustitiam vero patris atque pietatem sic imitaris et sequeris, ut....quasi legata patris videaris exsolvere*

For Constantius' character and popularity among the Gauls see Eutropius X, 1. The panegyrist presents a somewhat different picture of Constantine to that of the speaker of 310 (see Pan. VI, 10 ff; cf. General Introduction, Section C, for differences in the representation of the emperor).

5,2 *veteres....imperio*

Maguiness has observed: "Of all the methods used by the Panegyrists to set off the virtues of their patrons the commonest is that of comparison. There are, broadly speaking, two classes of comparison - either the person praised is contrasted with vicious predecessors, or he is declared equal or superior to the good" (Hermathena 47, 1932, p.45). These comparisons obviously fall into the latter category.

(i) *superiorem Africanum*, i.e. Scipio Africanus Maior: he was invested with proconsular *imperium* in 210 B.C., as a *privatus*, at the age of 26.

(ii) Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus received a senatorial grant of propraetorian *imperium* for Sicily and Africa at the age of 24, also as a *privatus*, (proconsular *imperium*, for Spain, at 29).

Scipio and Pompey were both far ahead of the regulations of the *Lex Villia Annalis* of 180 B.C., as they are understood, either for 180 B.C., or in Cicero's time, after modification (see Frank,

C.A.H. VIII, p.367 with note). Scipio ante-dates 180 B.C. but the law was a formulation of traditional constitutional practice (op.cit. p.111).

(iii) *tam mature sumpto vincis imperio*

In this comparison of Constantine with Pompey and Scipio the panegyrist clearly exploits the ambiguity of the word *imperium*: with Pompey and Scipio it is used in the Republican sense of the word, while in the case of Constantine it will refer to his assumption of the office and authority of emperor.

If we allow Constantine a birth date of 272 (see above, ad 4,1,(ii)) he would have been 34 in 306, when his father died and he took over his *imperium*, in which case the panegyrist is exaggerating for Constantine's benefit: Scipio and Pompey held *imperium* before Constantine. But if Palanque's later date c.282 is taken, (art. cit.) then we ought, perhaps, to accept the panegyrist's word.

(This could be regarded as supportive evidence for a later birth-date for Constantine, but as there is the danger of panegyric exaggeration too much weight should not be attached to this passage.)

5,3 (i) *cum per maximos tribunatus stipendia prima conficeres*

Lactantius says that Constantine was appointed *tribunus ordinis primi* by Diocletian (D.M.P. XVIII). This must have been in the *comitatus* of Diocletian, one of the mobile field armies established by Diocletian for himself and his colleagues (see Jones, L.R.E. p.608 and p.640).

Lactantius mentions this in connection with the appointment of new Caesars necessitated by the impending resignation of Diocletian and Maximian, which took place on 1 May, 305 (supra, ad 1,1,(ii)), and as it is expressed *erat tunc praesens iam pridem a Diocletiano factus tribunus ordinis primi*, it would appear that at that time, i.e. at the end of 304, or early 305 (and for some time before then) Constantine was *tribunus ordinis primi*.

It was probably in this capacity that Eusebius saw Constantine accompanying Diocletian in Palestine (Vita Constantini 1,19). This is often assumed by scholars to have taken place during Diocletian's march to Egypt to fight Achilleus, whose revolt began according to Barnes, (art.cit. p.181) in 297 (see e.g. Dörries, Constantine the Great, tr. R. Bainton, p.16; Richardson, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol.I, p.487, n.2, ad cap. 19), but it could also have taken place in 301/2 since Diocletian visited Egypt again then (see Barnes, ibid.).

It may also be in this capacity that Constantine fought under Diocletian and Galerius in Asia as reported by the Anonymus Valesianus, 2,2, who means probably the Persian war of 296 - late 298 or early 299 (see Barnes, art.cit. p.182 ff).

If this is the case then it makes it more likely that Constantine was in fact seen by Eusebius on Diocletian's later visit to Egypt, since Barnes suggests that Constantine accompanied Galerius on his march to Ctesiphon, which seems to have been still in progress in summer or autumn 298 (art.cit. p.184/5), whereas Diocletian was in Egypt until at least September 298 (art.cit. p.185).

(ii) *cum tibi....Augustum*

cum tibi....reliquisset

Cf. Lactantius D.M.P. XXIV: *imperium....tradidit*

The Anonymus Valesianus relates how Constantius asked Galerius to have Constantine returned to him (2,3; cf. Lactantius, ibid. *miserat litteras, ut filium suum Constantinum remitteret sibi videndum et quidem iam dudum*) and there can have been no doubt in the troops' minds who Constantius' chosen successor was.

Caesaris....Augustum

Constantine did not immediately assume the title Augustus (cf. Anon.Val. 2,4: *Caesar creatus*) but the orator underplays his ambition; we know from Lactantius (D.M.P. XXV) that he tried to get recognition from Galerius and it is clear that it was recognition as Augustus that he sought:

ut eum de secundo loco rejiceret in quartum (sc. Galerius).

Second place in the tetrarchy belonged to an Augustus, and it is also evident that at this stage Galerius only recognized Constantine as Caesar (for his later recognition of Constantine as Augustus - in 310 - see Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.32).

The orator says that Constantine chose to wait for Maximian to declare him Augustus. This surely provides further evidence that on the occasion of the delivery of this speech Constantine received the title from Maximian (see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A).

There would be little point in the speaker mentioning the rank Augustus, if Constantine were not being advanced in respect of it.

6,1-2 *Neque enim dubium....faciat pulchriorem*

An earlier betrothal between Constantine and Fausta has been accepted by a number of scholars (e.g. Mattingly, C.A.H. XII, p.346; MacMullen, Constantine p.32; Parker, H.R.W. p.238), but was this in fact the case ?

If *sponsale munus* (6,2) is to be taken literally, then why did Constantine marry (and it is this panegyrist who says he did (4,1)) Minervina ?

7,1 is relevant: *ut rogareris optaveras*; this would have been unnecessary if a formal betrothal had taken place. Galletier's suggestion (P.L. II, p.7) seems good: the orator interprets a painting, of which he has heard, in the light of the present events.

Even if Maximian anticipated that Constantine would one day be Augustus, there is no way it could have been known during Constantine's and Fausta's childhood, that Fausta would be the means by which he attained the highest rank, which is what the orator would have us believe, since that is what the painting is made to symbolize.

ut audio

The presence of this formula may lend support to the above interpretation. In Pan. XII, 19, 1, it is used when describing a palpable untruth:

*tecta ipsa, ut audio, commoveri et altitudo culminum
videbatur attolli*

Other instances seem to indicate at least that the orator cannot himself vouch for what he is saying, that he is simply reporting hearsay (see Pan. VI, 19,1; XII, 5,4; 9,1); it is perhaps worth noting that in the case of Pan. VI, 19,1, the orator does in fact make a mistake (see comment (iv), ad loc.).

Aquileiensi palatio

Bertacchi in P.E.C.S. s.v. *Aquileia* observes: "Even the imperial palace, which certainly existed given the frequent visits of emperors to Aquileia is no more than a subject of conjecture".

The panegyrist's explicit mention of the palace is not without value as it appears to be the only literary reference to it (see R.E. II, col.320).

6,3 *Apellen ipsum <ipsumque> Parrhasium*

For these renowned Ionian artists see O.C.D. s.v. *Apelles* and *Parrhasius*. The former was of the fourth-century B.C., while the latter seems to have lived during the fifth-century B.C.

7,1 (i) *cum ferret aetas*

This must mean when Fausta was of the minimum legal age for marriage (see O.L.D. s.v. *fero* (21): "admit of, allow, permit"), i.e. twelve years (see Crook, Law and Life of Rome, p.100). This

would give her a birth date of c.295 which is plausible since Maximian had been in Italy by then (see R.E. VI, 2085; cf. Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.21).

(ii) *simul illam parvulam et hunc intuendo crescentem*

Evidence, as Galletier has observed, that Constantine spent at least part of his youth with Maximian (P.L. II, p.7). Our other sources do not make this impossible, but only mention his being held (to keep Constantius loyal) by Diocletian and Galerius (see Anon.Val. 2,2; it is implicit in Zosimus, 2,8, Lactantius D.M.P. XXIV, Victor, Caes. 40,2). Perhaps as he became older and more politically significant, his movements were circumscribed.

7,2 *quem tibi pridem et adfinitate adsciveras et maiestate sociaveras*

When Constantius became Maximian's Caesar in 293, he was made to put aside Helena and marry Maximian's step-daughter, Theodora; for the sources, see above ad 3,3,(i).

7,6 *non potes non habere*

Supra, ad 1,1,(ii).

8-12 : Praise of Maximian

8,1 *Constantine Auguste*

The appellation, missed by Sutherland (R.I.C. VI, p.13)

provides near certain proof that the panegyric celebrates Constantine's elevation as Augustus; see also above ad 1,1,(iv); 5,3,(ii) and Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A.

8,2

Supra, ad 2,5.

8,3 *hic....reddidit*

(i) *ortu*

Vid.sup. ad 1,1,(iii).

(ii) *Gallias....reddidit*

One of the earliest Bacaudic revolts, which affected N.Spain and Gaul in the late Empire, is referred to. They were insurrections of peasants mainly. This one was suppressed by Maximian in 285 or 286 (see O.C.D. s.v. *Bacaudae*; Parker, H.R.W., p.226; Pan. X, 4,3).

priorum temporum iniuriis efferatas recalls Pan. XI, 5,3:
non dico....provincias.

Together they are relevant to the causes of the Bacaudic revolts; cf. O.C.D. ibid: "the revolts were perhaps connected with attempts to tie the peasants to the land, thus increasing their subjection to the landlords".

8,4 *hic....intulit*

Cf. Pan. X, 7,2 .

The panegyrist is incorrect here: Julius Caesar took armies across the Rhine twice (see La Baume, The Romans on the Rhine, p.9), while under Augustus, his stepsons, Nero Claudius Drusus, and Tiberius, led Roman troops across, as did Drusus' son Germanicus (op.cit. p.10 ff; Scullard, From the Gracchi to Nero, p.265 ff; see also Wells, The German Policy of Augustus).

8,5 *huius cum fratre rursus ac saepius expeditionibus
domita Germania*

Maximian defeated the Chaibones and Eruli in 286 (for the date Barnes, art.cit. p.178; see also Pan. X, 5,1; XI, 7,2) and headed a trans-Rhine expedition in 287 (for the date Barnes, ibid; see also Pan. X, 7,2; XI, 5,3; 7,2).

Diocletian crossed the Rhine into Rhaetia according to Barnes, (ibid.), probably in 288 (see also Pan. X, 9,1; XI, 5,4; 7,1).

8,6 *tu ferocissimos Mauritaniae populos....expugnasti
recepisti transtulisti*

Maximian crossed to Africa to campaign against the Quinquegentiani, a confederacy of Moorish tribes, early in 297 (for the date Barnes, art.cit. p.179 ff; see also Parker, H.R.W. p.232; C.A.H. XII, p.333 ff; Pan. VIII, 5,2; Victor, Caes. 39,22; Eutropius IX, 23; Orosius, VII, 25,8; Dessau, I.L.S., 645).

8,7 *te....admitteret*

The description here and the reference to the temple of Jupiter Capitoline suggests that Maximian celebrated a triumph on the occasion of his first visit (*primo ingressu tuo*) to Rome (for the triumph see on Pan. VI, 10,5-6 and 7). Since it follows immediately the mention of the defeat of the Moorish peoples, Barnes' view that this triumph celebrated that victory seems correct; the date will have been late 298 or in 299 (ibid.).

It must have been on this occasion that Maximian undertook the building of the baths of Diocletian for on an inscription we read of:

*thermas felices [Dio]cletianas, quas [M]aximianus Aug.
re[dien]s ex Africa sub [pr]aesentia maie[statis] disposuit
ac [f]ieri iussit*

(Dessau, I.L.S. 646, cited in R.E. XIV, col.2506).

8,8 Maximian will have been in Rome following Diocletian's *vicennalia* of November 303 (infra, ad 9,2,(ii)).

(i) *te....vicesimo anno imperatorem, octavo consulem*

The year was 304, when Maximian held his eighth consulship (see *Cons.Const.* in Chron.Min. p.231, ad loc.; P.L.R.E., *Fasti Consulares*, ad loc.); in 304 Maximian would also have enjoyed his twentieth acclamation as *Imperator*, following an appointment as Caesar, probably in 285 (the date of Maximian's appointment as Caesar has been disputed: see R.E. XIV, col.2489 ff; cf. P.L.R.E.'s "285/6", s.v. *Maximianus* 8; Jones believes it was spring 285 (L.R.E. p.38; cf. Seeck, Geschichte 1, p.25, 21 ff)); the evidence of the panegyric appears to confirm a date of 285.

(ii) *ita ipsa....quod factum est*

The panegyrist would have us believe that the Romans suspecting the abdication (*quod factum est*) of 305, tried to restrain Maximian from leaving (see also above ad 1,1,(ii)). As Galletier has observed, the panegyrist may have interpreted the past in the light of what followed, particularly as he is very well disposed to Maximian (P.L. II, p.8), but as an agreement appears to have been concluded between Diocletian and Maximian in 303 (infra, ad 9,2,(ii)), rumours at least of the impending abdications may have been rife.

9,2 (i) *tale est....voluisti*

i.e. the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305 (see above, ad 1,1,(ii)).

(ii) *sed consilii....pietate fraterna (sc. ductus)*

Cf. Pan. VI, 15,6 where there is reference to an arrangement in Rome between Maximian and Diocletian, prior to the actual abdication. This must have been in 303 (in November according to Lactantius, D.M.P. XVII; for the emendation required to the day see Parker, H.R.W., p.354, n.43; cf. R.E. VII A, col.2487), when Diocletian celebrated, and Maximian attended, his *vicennalia* in Rome.

It appears from Pan. VI that an oath was sworn in the temple of Jupiter Capitoline.

9,3 *verum....laboris*

In view of the panegyrist's assertion in 9,2 that Maximian did not retire *rei publicae negligentia aut laboris fuga aut desidiae cupiditate* but because of the agreement between him and Diocletian (loc.cit.) it would seem correct to assign *causa declinandi* (*sc. laboris*) to Diocletian and (*sc. causa*) *sustinendi laboris* to Maximian. The orator thus acknowledges that Maximian did not wish to abdicate, which is amply attested by our other sources (see Eutropius IX, 27; Victor, Caes. 39,48; Orosius VII, 25,14).

9,4 *non is est optimus qui usu peritissimus imperator ?*

The panegyrist is not suggesting that Maximian was emperor longer than Diocletian since he indicates in 11,4, *rogatus a fratre*, his awareness that Diocletian made Maximian his co-ruler. See translation, ad loc.

9,5 (i) *eum principem* i.e. Diocletian.

(ii) *quem anni cogere*

The precise date of Diocletian's death is uncertain but the results of recent research suggest 3 December, 311 (see Barnes, J.R.S., 63, 1973, p.32 ff). Victor (Epit. 39,7) says he lived sixty-eight years, which would give a birth date of 243. It has been suggested that the Epitomator may have "confused his age on abdicating with his age at death" (P.L.R.E. s.v. *Diocletianus* (2)). This would give a birth date of 237 and would mean that he was nearly

seventy at the time of the agreement to abdicate, and abdication which followed; this would accord better with the panegyrist's words above.

For another view, that Diocletian was born even earlier, see Seeck, Geschichte 1, 436 ff; but also R.E. VII A, col.2421: "eine wirkliche Sicherheit ist mit unseren Quellen nicht zu gewinnen".

(iii) *aut valitudo deficeret*

The speaker appears to advance poor health as a reason or partial reason for Diocletian's retirement which should then be assigned to a time prior to the abdication agreement which presumably it occasioned. Lactantius (D.M.P. XVII) mentions that Diocletian was seriously ill but this was in 304 - after his *vicennalia*. Perhaps the panegyrist again interprets an earlier event in the light of what followed it (see also Warmington's note in Parker, H.R.W. p.397 ff).

10,1 *viginti annorum*

If Maximian became Caesar in spring 285 (supra, ad 8,8,(i)) at the time of the abdication on 1 May 305 there would have been twenty completed years of joint rule by Maximian and Diocletian.

10,2 *quamquam....vacillavit*

Cf. also 10,3 *ita cuncta Italia....consedit*

(i) The panegyrist's obsequiousness prevents him from suggesting

without qualification that all Italy *contremuit ac paene consedit* (10,3): where Maximian actually was - *in istis...partibus; illic* - it was secure.

Maximian retired to Lucania and there is no indication that he left Italy between his abdication and the trip to Gaul which occasioned the panegyric (Lactantius, D.M.P. XXVI; Eutropius IX, 27; X, 2; Zosimus, 2,10; Orosius VII, 28,5; see also below, ad 11,1-4,(iv)); *unde...discesseras* must refer simply to his departure into retirement at Lucania.

(ii) What were the troubles referred to ?

An obvious answer is those arising from Severus' invasion of Italy in 307 (see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A), and such is the opinion of Galletier (P.L. II, p.8). This is perfectly unexceptionable and, so it seems, correct, as far as it goes. One notices, however, that the panegyrist is unspecific throughout and never mentions names. There is, in fact, nothing in 10,2/3 that cannot equally be said to apply to the usurpation of Maxentius, who, as Sutherland has observed, is nowhere mentioned in the speech (R.I.C. VI, p.29 ; see also supra, ad 1,1,(ii) and infra, ad Pan.VI, 3,1).

Galletier has argued that the troubles cannot be those provoked by Maxentius because the orator would not have mentioned them in front of his father "demeuré encore en bons termes avec son fils" (loc.cit.). But was he ? It was early in the following year (308) that Maximian tried to depose Maxentius in Rome

(Lactantius D.M.P. XXVIII; Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.30), and furthermore, although Zosimus in his account (2,10) has muddled the order of events at this time (see Paschoud, op.cit. p.83, n.18), he does place Maximian's hostility to Maxentius before Maximian's departure from Gaul after the marriage. Thus Parker's observation (H.R.W. p.244) made on the strength of Zosimus that "Maximian at the court of Constantine was becoming estranged from his son and was laying his plans for his overthrow" may well be supported by the panegyric.

11,1-4 can also be construed as subtle propaganda against Maxentius: *quousque hoc....iussus a matre.* Rome is made to say to Maximian on his return from retirement that her liberty is being taken away from her.

One can argue that this refers to the threat of Severus and Galerius, or the fact that Severus was then the nominal ruler of Italy (and Africa and Pannonia), while alternatively one could say that it applies to Maxentius' rule and administration of Italy.

What is undeniable is that it is uncomplimentary to Maxentius, since it indicates no confidence in him to govern Italy capably (cf. 12,3, again unspecific and ambiguous, but *devio rectore* may well refer to Maxentius, who *de facto* held the reins of government in Italy).

10,4 *omnia....restituta*

The expression recalls the use of forms of the verb *restituo*.

as imperial propaganda on coins. This has a long history: a coin of Tiberius has the legend *CIVITATIBUS ASIAE RESTITUTIS* (see Grant, Roman History from Coins, p.51/2) and Galba and Vitellius used the legend *LIBERTAS RESTITUTA* during the civil war of 68-69 (see R.I.C. I, pp.210; 215; 225; 229; 230), while Vespasian did so thereafter (R.I.C. II, pp.49; 68). For the use of forms of *restituo* in the early fourth century, see Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.140 (Constantine); p.388 (Constantine); p.409 (Maximin). See also on Pan. VI, 8,6, (iii) for the relationship between the propaganda of coins and the panegyrics.

The orator may be saying that Maximian's return from retirement (see next note) constituted a restoration of everything that Maxentius' rule negated (supra, ad 10,2,(ii)); but taken in a literal sense it was incorrect: Severus had, it is true, been defeated and the desertion of his troops may have stemmed to some extent from their former service with Maximian (see Lactantius, D.M.P. XXVI) against whose son they were asked to march, but Galerius' invasion was looming (see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A).

10,5 *cum ad sedandos animos auctoritatem privati principis attulisses*

From Lactantius (D.M.P. XXVI) it would appear that Maximian was already Augustus when he returned to Rome after Maxentius' coup late in 306 (supra, ad 1,1,(ii); infra, ad Pan. VI, 3,1) because he says Maxentius sent his father the purple, saluted him *bis Augustum* and Maximian willingly acquiesced.

Our other sources do not help on the question of Maximian's status (in fact as Sutherland notes, R.I.C. VI, p.28, n.3, the sources are confused on the question of Maximian's return), but the orator's apparent indication of a delay between Maximian's return to Rome and his becoming an active Augustus again may be due to his wish to show one of the men he is praising as having acted with all propriety, and it may be linked with his statement in 11,6 that Maximian was reluctant to re-assume as emperor - the commonplace of reluctance to take up office (see comment (i) ad loc.).

There seems, moreover, to be good reason for accepting Lactantius' testimony: Maxentius needed Maximian's support and recognition (see Parker, H.R.W., p.242).

(For the numismatic evidence showing Maxentius striking coins for Maximian as Senior Augustus soon after the coup, see Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.338 ff.)

11,1-4 *quousque hoc....iussus a matre*

(i) For Rome's speech as propaganda, supra, ad 10,2,(ii).

(ii) 11,2 *quod divo Augusto post septuaginta aetatis, quinquaginta imperii annos non licuit*

The speaker is clearly thinking approximately, and in round numbers.

Suetonius says that Augustus died 35 days short of his 76th birthday (Div.Aug. 100).

With *quinquaginta* the orator appears to have in mind Augustus' receipt of *imperium* on 1 January, 43 B.C. (see Brunt and Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, p.38, ad 1,2), rather than his victory over Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.: the latter date only gives forty-three completed years of rule.

(iii) 11,3 *ille....Hercules*

See above ad 2,5.

(iv) 11,3 *tu in suburbano otis cedens*

Lactantius stands alone in saying that Maximian retired to Campania (D.M.P. XXVI): our other sources mention Lucania (supra, ad 10,2,(i) for refs.). The eighteenth-century commentary of Le Brun and Dufresnoy (Opera Omnia, Paris, 1748), suggests he may have had homes in both places.

(v) 11,4 *imperasti pridem rogatus a fratre*

For Maximian's elevation by Diocletian, supra, ad 1,1,(ii); 8,8,(i).

a fratre

Cf. 8,5; 9,2; Pan. VI, 15,6: *qui ab eo fuerat frater adscitus*; Lactantius D.M.P. VIII: *frater eius*; Dessau I.L.S. 646: *Diocletiani Aug. fratris sui nomini consecravit (sc. Maximianus)*.

This surely only indicates that Diocletian received Maximian as a "brother in empire" (cf. R.E. XIV: "von einer Adoption

ist jedoch nirgends die Rede", col.2494). *Adscitus* does not necessarily imply *adoptio* (see O.L.D., s.v. *ascisco*).

11,5 *tuum....invictum*

"*Invictus* makes its first appearance as an imperial epithet under Commodus" (Arnheim, The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire, p.27), and a glance at Index III of Dessau, I.L.S. III, I, shows that it was frequently used thereafter; the panegyrist who praised Constantius in 297/8 made frequent use of it (see Pan. VIII, 1,1 et passim) and cf. Pan. VI, 8,4.

This passage is interesting inasmuch as the orator appears to turn a cliché round to give it a eulogistic sense. A common theme of moralists and rhetoricians was the suggestion that moral vulnerability accompanied military invincibility. Such it was argued was the case with Alexander (see Seneca (Maiores), Suasoriae, 1,9; Livy IX, 18; Curtius Rufus III, 12,18 ff) and Sallust made the same point of great nations (Bell.Iug. 42 ff.), where it is interesting to note that when he comes to praise Metellus as one magistrate who was not flawed by avarice, the words he uses are: *advorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat*, Bell.Iug. 43 (cf. above, ad 2,1).

Here the orator varies the usual form of the cliché to eulogise the emperor: Maximian could not be overcome by arrogance, riches, passion vel sim., but only by his *pietas*.

11,6 (i) *invitus....te illis vigiliis illisque curis....reddidisti*

Lactantius (D.M.P. XXVI), Eutropius (X, 2), Orosius (VII, 28,6) all mention Maximian's eagerness, on the contrary, to re-assume imperial power, and there is no doubt that this was so.

For the common-place of disinclination to take up the burden of office infra, ad Pan. VI, 8,4.

(ii) *viginti annis*

Supra, ad 10,1.

11,7 *tantumque rei publicae onus suscipit*

Supra, ad 10,5.

12,3 *solus hoc....dirigeret*

deus ille: Helios, the Sun-god, the attempt of whose son Phaethon at directing the solar chariot was so unsuccessful that Zeus had to kill him with a thunderbolt (see O.C.D. s.v. *Phaethon*).

For the significance of this symbolism see above, ad 1,1,
(iii). For *deus rectore*, above ad 10,2,(ii).

12,4 *non enim a te recessit imperium....inhaesit tibi ingenita maiestas*

See above ad 1,1,(ii).

12,6 *quid....servo*

Maximian is pictured as having asked Jupiter to take back his power and Jupiter tells him he had entrusted him with eternal authority. Although Diocletian was *Jovius* (see above ad 2,5) it is unlikely that this is a reference to him since the orator has already indicated that Diocletian approved of the joint abdication (see 9,2 and comment (ii), ad loc.). So, if Jupiter, the head of the Roman pantheon, had given Maximian eternal rule, this suggests strongly that Maximian and Constantine were indeed championing a claim to empire superior to that of anybody else (cf. above, ad 2,2). Vogt, it seems with justification, uses this passage to support the view that the panegyrist's task was "die der tetrarchischen Ordnung widerstreitende Herrschaft der Augusti Maximian und Constantin zu rechtfertigen und die Dynastie der Herculier des Westens von den Joviern des Ostens unabhängig zu machen" (Die constantinische Frage, in Konstantin der Grosse, hrsg. Kraft, p.348).

12,8 *et sicubi....immurmurat*

Following Maxentius' revolt in Rome, of October 306, he did not gain immediate control of all Italy. Initially Severus seems to have been living at Milan for it is from there that he started his campaign against Maxentius (Zosimus 2,10), and Galerius' invasion of Italy, which occurred at approximately the time of the panegyric (for Maximian returned to Italy following the wedding, after Galerius had been defeated - see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A)

was apparently unopposed (see Zosimus, *ibid.* μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς γενομένης; also Parker, *H.R.W.* p.244).

13 and 14 : Conclusion

13,4 *etenim...adstrinxerit*

familias Gracchi et Corneliae

The Gracchus concerned must be Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177 and 163 B.C.), the father of the reforming Gracchi. He married Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus, between 183 and 180 B.C., according to Earl, (Tiberius Gracchus : A Study in Politics p.58).

Gracchus had in fact begun his political career under the wing of the Scipiones (he served on the staff of L. Cornelius Scipio in Asia in 190 B.C.), but subsequently turned on them "when their influence seemed to be waning" (Earl, loc.cit.). The marriage clearly renewed the alliance between the two families.

si pro divo Augusto....confecit

The orator is correct to refer to Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa as "all but" (*tantummodo*) Augustus' son-in-law at the time of the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., where Agrippa's command of the fleet of Augustus (still Octavian then), secured the defeat of Antony's fleet. Agrippa's marriage to Julia, daughter of Augustus and Scribonia took place in 21 B.C. after the battle.

patris ac filii

Supra, ad 3,3,(ii).

Through the examples of important political marriage alliances chosen for comparison the orator is able to progress from the Republic to the Principate and finally to the present set of circumstances. (For comparisons in the panegyrics, above, ad 5,2).

13,5 *quod si....maturitate senioris!*

(i) The orator is saying that P. Scipio, as a young man, and Marius, as an old man, both served the state, but in different eras; now Rome is fortunate enough to be served by a young emperor Constantine, and an old one, Maximian, at the same time: *coniuncti imperii duabus aetatibus*.

For the young (at 26 years of age) proconsular *imperium* of Scipio Africanus in the Hannibalic war, see above, ad 5,2,(i). The first mention of Scipio in the Punic war is in connection with the saving of his father's life at the battle of Ticinus in 218 B.C., when he would have been even younger (see Polyb. X, 3; Livy XXI, 46; Scullard, Scipio Africanus : Soldier and Politician, p.29).

(ii) Rome was captured by Marius and Cinna in 87 B.C., soon after Sulla had taken up his eastern command against Mithridates, and looting and massacres followed (see Scullard, From the Gracchi to Nero, p.73).

The orator's wish to use Marius as an *exemplum* because of his age, meant making him appear in the right; thus Rome is pictured as recovered by Marius *a factione Sullana*.

14,1 (i) *componendis pacibus leges imponere*

The phrase is reminiscent of, but different in meaning from Vergil's *pacique imponere morem* (Aen. VI, l.852).

(ii) *te (sc. decet), iuvenis....rescribere*

For Constantine's activities on the Rhine see above, ad 4,2,(ii) and Pan. VI, 10,1/2.

The panegyrist envisages a system whereby Constantine will take his instructions from Maximian, whose task it will in fact be *rebus humanis fata decernere* (14,1).

Clearly this is simply the kind of idealized portrayal that was appropriate to the occasion. By virtue of the obviously higher status of Maximian, Constantine was prepared to show deference to the senior Augustus (see Warmington, art.cit. p.374). In reality, however, Constantine did nothing to help the actualization of this picture (Warmington, ibid.).

14,3 *O felix....felicior*

i.e. Constantius.

dive Constanti....exceptit

(i) *dum vicinos ortus repetit occasu*

Apparently a geographical (and temporal) reference to Constantius' death in Britain in July 306 (supra, ad 1,1,(iii)). Seen from Britain in winter, the sun describes quite a small arc, and there is a relatively short distance between the points of sunrise and sunset.

Thus the panegyrist seems to be saying that the sun on setting (*occasu*) made for its rising point not far (*vicinos ortus*) from where it had set.

(ii) For the significance of Sol, as the god who took Constantius up to heaven, see above, ad 1,1,(iii).

14,4 *quanto....induxerit!*

(i) *hunc filium tuum, qui te primus patrem fecit*

Constantine was the only child borne by his mother Helena to Constantius (see P.L.R.E., s.v. *Helena* (3)). For Constantius' divorce of Helena, supra, ad 7,2.

(ii) *idem pater, idem socer, idem imperator*

Maximian was Constantine's *pater* in the imperial hierarchy (supra, ad 3,3,(ii)), his *socer* by virtue of the marriage, and *imperator* since he had re-assumed imperial power shortly before the speech (supra, ad 10,5).

14,6 *nec Maximiano filius qualis tu eras....deest*

For Constantius' possible *adoptio* by Maximian, supra, ad 3,3,(i); at any rate Constantius had been his son in imperial rank.

14,7 *Quin....augeatur*

The interpretation of this difficult concluding remark is based on that suggested by Galletier (P.L. II, p.11). *Tua necessitudo* refers to the relationship between Constantius and Maximian, and Maximian (to whom the first *hic* refers) is again a father-in-law because Constantine is the image of his first son-in-law Constantius (*similis adspectu, similis animo, par imperii potestate*, 14,5); conversely Constantine (the second *hic*) is again a son-in-law because Constantius had already been so, and Constantine is his replica.

beatissimus imperator

i.e. Maximian (so Galletier, P.L. II, p.28, n.3).

PANEGYRIC - VI

INTRODUCTION TO PANEGYRIC VI

A. The occasion and the date

The occasion of the speech was the anniversary of Trier ⁽¹⁾, the date of which is unfortunately unknown ⁽²⁾.

The panegyric was, however, definitely delivered after the death of Maximian as there is reference to this in the speech itself ⁽³⁾.

But when did Maximian die ?

Most scholars have accepted a date of early 310 and Sydenham in his investigation of the last years of Maximian's life, has suggested more precisely January 310 ⁽⁴⁾.

As to a *terminus ante* we know that the speech was delivered before Constantine's visit to Autun and the delivery of the fifth panegyric, which is a *gratiarum actio* for Constantine for the favours bestowed when he visited that city, since it is in the sixth panegyric that the invitation is extended ⁽⁵⁾.

Two questions arise: when did Constantine visit Autun and when was the speech of thanks delivered ?

Pan. V, 13,1-2 sheds light on the date of the speech.

13 *Quinque annorum nobis reliqua remisisti!*
O lustrum omnibus lustris felicius! O lustrum

*quod merito hanc imperii tui aequavit aetatem!
 Nobis ergo praecipue te principem di immortales
 creaverunt, quibus singulis haec est nata felicitas,
 ex quo tu imperare coepisti. (2) Quinquennalia tua
 nobis, sed iam perfecta, celebranda sunt. Illa enim
 quinto incipiente suscepta omnibus populis iure
 communia, nobis haec propria quae plena sunt.*

It seems clear from 13,1 that five full years have elapsed from the time Constantine first possessed *imperium*, i.e. 25 July 306 (6). Therefore the speech was delivered after 25 July 311 (and before 25 July 312 (7)).

13,2 confirms this interpretation. There are references to two quinquennial celebrations, one already completed, at the beginning of the fifth year (*quinto incipiente*) and one still to be celebrated, after the full five years (*quae plena sunt*) (8).

The first quinquennial celebrations would have taken place on or around 25 July 310 and the second are still to be celebrated, around (and probably a little after) 25 July 311.

The fifth panegyric, then, referring as it does to these coming celebrations was probably delivered soon after 25 July 311 (9).

Still to be considered is the time of Constantine's visit to Autun.

Galletier has made the important observation (10), that there must have been some lapse of time (he suggests at least a year) between Constantine's visit to Autun and the delivery of the

speech, since the results of Constantine's generosity are shown already in effect.

If the fifth panegyric was delivered, as suggested, soon after 25 July 311, then Constantine's visit would have been roughly a year earlier, i.e. August/September 310.

The time of delivery of the sixth panegyric can now be narrowed down.

Our *terminus post*, as we have seen, is Maximian's death, probably in early 310, and our *terminus ante* now appears more precisely to be August/September 310, when Constantine visited Autun.

We know, moreover, that Constantine's own *dies imperii* had very recently been celebrated ⁽¹¹⁾. If, as has been argued, this was 25 July ⁽¹²⁾, then all the evidence fits into place: the sixth panegyric was delivered in August 310, shortly after Constantine's *dies imperii* and, very soon after the invitation to Autun was extended by the orator, Constantine acted upon the invitation and visited Autun, probably in late August or September of that year.

B. The author of the sixth panegyric

The orator appears to have been a man of Autun, for he speaks of his birth place in terms which Eumenius applies to that city ⁽¹⁾.

Further evidence arises from the orator's invitation to the emperor to visit his mother-city. He applies the following description to the temple of Apollo of his home-town:

*Apollo noster, cuius ferventibus aquis periuria
puniuntur (VI, 21,7).*

Two nineteenth-century studies on Autun refer to brooks on the outskirts of the town which can be linked with the waters referred to in the panegyric ⁽²⁾, and it is thus very likely that Constantine was being invited to that city.

Finally there is probably a connection between *dabis et
illic munera, constitues privilegia (VI, 22,3);
ut illic quoque loca publica et templa pulcherrima tua
liberalitate reparentur (VI, 22,4);
quia statim erit restituta (sc. patria mea) si videris
(VI, 22,7)*

and *civitatem istam....gravissima clade percussam (IX, 4,1).*

Autun was besieged and taken in 270 by soldiers of the Gallo-Roman Empire, for its loyalty to the central government under Claudius II ⁽³⁾.

It suffered heavily (cf. *perculsam*, IX, 4,1) and it seems likely that the reparations desired by the speaker of the sixth panegyric for his home-town are those for which the emperor is thanked in the fifth panegyric, where there is no doubt that the orator speaks on behalf of Autun.

The panegyrist, a father of five children (23,2) speaks of himself as middle-aged, *mediae aetatis* (1,1), and if we allow this to refer to an age between forty and fifty years, he would have been born sometime between 260 and 270.

Regarding the speaker's work it is clear from his own words that he is an orator in two different contexts, for he speaks of his voice (*vocem*) as *diversis otii et palatii officiis exercitam* (23,1).

The significance of *otii* will be considered first (4).

It has been suggested that it refers to his activity not connected with the imperial palace (5). His work for the palace is clearly indicated by *palatii officiis*.

This work outside the palace, involving as we have seen oratory, is clearly connected with teaching:

etiam illos quasi meos numero quos proveri ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. multi quippe ex me rivi non ignobiles fluunt, multi sectatores mei etiam provincias tuas administrant (23,2).

A possible interpretation is that the orator was a teacher of rhetoric ⁽⁶⁾, presumably at Autun's famous Maeniana the restoration of which Eumenius pleads for in the ninth panegyric, and thus the *rivi* and *sectatores* referred to, would be ex-pupils, whom he has directed towards careers at the bar, or in the civil service.

On the other hand it could be that the orator was a jurist ⁽⁷⁾, one of the "class of legal experts (*iurisprudentes*), who might be consulted on points of law by advocates and others, and who accepted pupils" ⁽⁸⁾.

It should, however, be borne in mind that by this time the line of jurists had broken off and legal science was not to be revived until the fifth century ⁽⁹⁾. This then makes the second interpretation less likely and furthermore, the very number of the speaker's protégés (*multi...rivi, multi sectatores, 23,2*) seems to suggest that a very large part of his time was spent in teaching, which would point to a career as a teacher of rhetoric, in the Maeniana ⁽¹⁰⁾.

The question of his *palatii officia* remains.

It does not seem necessary to posit anything other than occasional employment by the palace.

We see from 23,1 that it is his voice (*vocem*) that is employed in duties of the palace and a plausible explanation could be that, as a prominent master of rhetoric at the Maeniana, he had been asked by the palace to deliver speeches on important occasions, which he had done, and that now he had received the very great honour

of being asked to deliver a panegyric before the emperor himself (*ad summam votorum meorum...perveni* 23,1). The case of Nazarius, the famous rhetorician of Bordeaux, may support this hypothesis: he delivered the fourth panegyric in honour of Constantine in 321, but he does not appear to have held any full-time post in the imperial bureaucracy (11).

Galletier⁽¹²⁾, suggests that prior to the time of delivery of the panegyric the speaker was employed in the civil service, possibly in the post of a *libellis*, but that this has been terminated: "Rien ne nous permet de déterminer pendant combien de temps il remplit cette charge".

But if this employment is now over, still uninvestigated by Galletier is the nature of his current connection with the palace, and this as I have suggested may well be (and have been), no more than occasional employment.

In any case, moreover, there is nothing in the text which warrants the positing of a distinct and earlier period of employment in the civil service. The natural interpretation of *voce[m] diversis....officiis exercitam* (23,1) is surely that his voice is at the time of speaking, employed in different tasks.

Also to be considered here is the orator's concluding remark that he would be prepared to give up the cares *privatorum studiorum* (23,3) and make the emperor the eternal subject of his speeches.

This statement, intended clearly as a final piece of flattery, should not be taken too seriously, but the gist of it appears to be that, if the emperor so wishes, the speaker will give up his activity outside the palace (i.e. as a teacher of rhetoric) and become a full-time writer of panegyrics in honour of his master, Constantine (13).

It does not seem that a strong case can be made for identifying the author of Pan. VI with Eumenius, or the author of any of the other panegyrics (14).

This panegyrist does indeed use similar phraseology to Eumenius in describing Autun (15), but Eumenius was reluctant to speak in public (16), whereas this orator was obviously experienced at it (17). It would be a desperate counter to argue that Eumenius' character changed between 297/8 (the date of Pan. IX) and 310 (the date of Pan. VI).

C. The place of delivery of the sixth panegyric

Relevant to this question is the following:

*ubi iam plurimos hausit amnes quos hic noster ingens
fluvius et barbarus Nicer et Moenus invexit* (13,2).

It comes from a passage where the orator is describing the Rhine at Cologne, the site of the *pons Agrippinensis* referred to in 13,1, and the identity of *hic noster ingens fluvius* is not difficult to ascertain: the Moselle a substantial river, like the Neckar and the Main, is upstream of Cologne, and the contrast between *noster* and *barbarus* (the Moselle was in Roman territory on the opposite side of the Rhine to the Neckar and Main which fell beyond the frontier of the empire) confirms this hypothesis ⁽¹⁾.

If it is the Moselle that is referred to, then the precise place of delivery must surely be Trier, which is situated on the Moselle.

Supportive evidence for Trier may be seen in 22,5, where the buildings described appear to fit that city ⁽²⁾.

TRANSLATION OF PANEGYRIC VI

< Panegyric of an unknown orator spoken in honour of Constantine Augustus >

1. I would do, Most Worshipful Emperor, what a short while ago very many people urged me, namely that, since your majesty has entrusted the celebration of such a wonderful day in this city to one as insignificant as me, I should take from the occasion itself the exordium of this speech. However, a two-fold reason holds me back when I consider that a man of middle age ought not to show off an ability at impromptu speaking, and that nothing should be brought to the hearing of so great a divinity unless it has been written over a long period and often rehearsed. (2) For he who extemporizes in the presence of the emperor of the Roman people, does not appreciate how great the empire is. (3) In addition there is quite a large number of people who think that my speech will be too long, and they assess this likelihood, I believe, not by my talent, which is moderate, but by the abundance of your praises. Albeit against my wishes I shall disappoint their expectation by the brevity of my speech. I had in fact thought out more to say but I would rather my speech were short than rejected. (4) And so first of all I shall be brief, in that although I look up to all of you, most invincible Emperors, with the respect due to you, whose majesty is harmoniously shared, nevertheless I shall dedicate this speech, however insignificant, to your divinity only, Constantine. (5) For just as with regard to the immortal gods themselves, although we worship them all together in our souls, we nevertheless honour each one at times in his own temple and sanctuary, so I consider that it is right for me to

remember with dutiful affection all the emperors, but to celebrate with praise the one who is here among us.

2. Therefore to begin with I shall treat of the divinity from whom you descend, because most people up till now perhaps do not know of this, but those who love you know very well. (2) You have flowing in your veins the blood of your ancestor, the divine Claudius, who first re-established the discipline of the Roman empire when it had been weakened and ruined, and he destroyed by land and sea the savage hordes of Goths who had burst forth from the channel of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube. Would that he had been the restorer of mankind for longer, and had not become the companion of the gods so soon. (3) And so although that most happy day celebrated recently with devotion is considered the anniversary of your accession to power, since it was that day that first adorned you with the habit you are wearing, nevertheless your imperial destiny descended from the founder of your race. (4) Indeed that ancient privilege of the imperial house advanced your father himself, so that you might take up your position of supreme rank, presiding over human destiny, a third emperor after your family had produced two rulers. (5) Amongst all those, I say, who share in your greatness, you alone, Constantine, have this particular excellence, that you were born an emperor, and so great is the nobility of your origins that imperial power has added nothing to your dignity and Fortune is not able to hold against your divinity that which you possess already, without bribery and suffrage.

3. No chance agreement of men, no sudden outburst of popular feeling made you emperor : you deserved imperial power by your birth. (2) Indeed this seems to me the first and greatest gift of the immortal gods, to be born fortunate and to take possession of, as one's patrimony, those things which others barely obtain in a life-time of labours. (3) However great and admirable a piece of fortune it is to ascend to the pinnacle of greatness after performing one's military service in the ordinary way and passing through the various stages of a military career, and to grow strong by relying only on one's resources of virtue to obtain such sure power - which course indeed you also pursued, as far as your age permitted, and although Fortune had placed you beyond all the delays found in the acquisition of glory, you wanted to become great by serving in the army and by facing the risks of war and, by joining battle with the enemy even in an unusual engagement, you made yourself better known among the nations, though you could not attain greater nobility; - it is also great, I say, that having set out by oneself, one should reach great honours; (4) it is, however, altogether different to climb over steep ground and reach the mountain tops from the plain, and still different to possess the highest fortune supported by the very sublimity of one's birth, and not to hope for supremacy, but to have it.

4. You did not enter this sacred palace as a candidate for empire but as an emperor designate, and the household gods of your father immediately regarded you as the legitimate successor.

(2) Nor was there any doubt that the heirship would fall to him

whom the fates had bestowed as the first son of the emperor. For it was you whom that great man, both an emperor on earth and a god in heaven, begat in the prime of life, when his strength was still flourishing in his entire body, and he was endowed with that liveliness and valour which very many wars saw, particularly that on the plains of Vindonissa. (3) Then there is the fact that such a great likeness of appearance has passed from him to you, that it seems to have been imprinted on your features by Nature with a stamp. (4) For it is the same look which we revere again in you, the same solemnity of the forehead, the same calmness in the gaze and in the voice. So with you, the blushing discloses modesty, the words attest justice. (5) Hear, Emperor, this double confession of our feelings : we grieve because Constantius has left us, but, when we look at you, we do not believe that he has left us. (6) Yet why do I say that he has left us, for his immortal deeds live on, and are upon the lips and within the sight of everyone.

5. For who, I say, does not remember, but on the contrary, who does not still see in some way how greatly he has increased and distinguished the state ? (2) When he was admitted to power, immediately after his investiture, he shut out the Ocean which was seething with the enemy's innumerable fleet, and hemmed in both by land and sea that army, which had taken up a stand on the Boulogne shore, when he had halted the ebb and flow of the waters by building dikes in the midst of the waves, with the result that the people of Boulogne, whose city-gates had been lapped by the

waters, lost their hitherto immediate access to the sea. (3) When this same army had been captured by his courage and spared by his mercy, while the recovery of Britain was being planned and fleets were being built, he cleared of every enemy the land of Batavia which had formerly been occupied by various Frankish tribes under the leadership of a son of the place and not content only to have conquered, he settled those very peoples among Roman nations, to compel them not only to abandon warfare but also their savage ways.

(4) Yet what shall I say about the recapture of Britain? He sailed to this island on such a calm sea that the Ocean stupefied before such a great passenger seemed to lack movement of its own, and his crossing was such that victory did not seem to have accompanied him, but to have been waiting for him on arrival.

6. What shall I say about the mercy with which he spared the vanquished? What about the justice with which he restored what had been lost to those who had been despoiled? What about the wisdom which he showed as a judge to the people who had held alliances with him of such a kind that the recovery of freedom delighted those who had endured servitude, and that pardon brought to contrition those who were conscious of their crimes? (2) What shall I say again about the peoples living in the innermost regions of Francia who had not been torn away from the area which the Romans had formerly invaded, but from the places that were from the beginnings their very own, and from the furthest stretches of the barbarous world, so that settled in the deserted regions of Gaul they might contribute to the peace of the Roman empire by

dwelling there, and to its defence by recruitments ? Why should I recall the victory over the Lingones renowned also because of the injury of the emperor himself ? (3) Why the plains of Vindonissa strewn with the carnage of the enemy and still covered with their bones ? (4) Why the immense multitude of different German tribes, whom the Rhine, frozen with ice had drawn on, with the result that having dared to cross over on foot to the island which is surrounded by two branches of the same stream, they were cut off by the sudden thawing of the river, and besieged by ships that were despatched immediately, they were compelled to surrender, so that they chose from among themselves by a lot that applied to all, something that is rather difficult, whom they should hand over to captivity, whilst they were to take back with the survivors, the shameful news of their betrayal of their fellows.

7. The day would finish before my speech, if I were to run over even with the same brevity all your father's deeds. And besides, his last expedition did not aim only at victories in Britain, as is popularly believed, but as the gods called him he was approaching the innermost threshold of the earth. (2) For this man after achieving so many and such great achievements disdained to conquer, I do not say, the forests and swamps of the Caledonians and of the other Picts, but Ireland which is hard by, and Thyle which is very remote, and the Islands of the Blessed, if they exist, yet though he did not wish to mention it to anyone, at the point of going to the gods he beheld that father of the gods, Oceanus, who restores heaven's brilliant stars, so that soon to enjoy thereafter ever-

lasting light, he might see already there the daylight which almost never ends. (3) In truth the heavenly abodes opened to him, and he was welcomed in the divine assembly with Jupiter himself extending his hand. Indeed when asked immediately his wishes as to whom he would assign the empire, he answered as befitted Constantius Pius : yes, clearly you were chosen by the will of your father, Emperor.

(4) Indeed that which truth orders me to speak, is also most acceptable, so it seems, to your filial devotion. But why flatter only your personal affections, when that was the opinion of all the gods, and had indeed been acknowledged for a long time by a verdict, although only then was it confirmed by a plenary assembly ? (5) Even at this time, you were being summoned to save the state by the approval of the gods when, at the exact moment your father was embarking for Britain, your sudden arrival illuminated the fleet, which was already setting sail, so that you did not seem to have travelled by the state posting-system, but to have flown on some divine chariot.

8. No arrows of the Persians and Cydonians have pierced their targets with such sure impact as you came, a timely companion, to your father when he was about to leave the earth, and you relieved by your comforting presence all the worries which he was turning over in his prophetic and silent mind. (2) Blessed gods, what great good fortune you bestowed on Constantius Pius, even at his death ! The emperor on the point of passing over to heaven saw the man whom he was leaving as an heir. For as soon as he had been taken away from the earth, the whole army gave you its approval, the minds and eyes of all designated you, and although you had referred

to the senior emperors as to their wishes in this matter of the utmost public importance, everyone anticipated with their enthusiasm, what they soon approved by their decision. (3) When you presented yourself at your first outing, the soldiers looking more to the public good than your own feelings immediately threw the purple on you, who were in tears; and it was no longer right that an emperor who had become a god should be wept for. (4) You are even said, unconquerable Emperor, in trying to escape the enthusiasm of the army as it called out for you, to have urged on your horse with your spurs. Indeed, to tell the truth, your doing that was an error of youth. (5) What Cyllarus or Arion could snatch you away, whom the whole empire was pursuing : for, I say, that majesty which was bestowed on you by order of Jupiter, and had not been entrusted to Iris the messenger of the gods but to the wings of Victory, rested upon you as easily as the divine commands are fast in reaching earth from heaven? (6) So, the attempt to postpone the assumption of power showed your modesty and filial affection and yet the good fortune of the state prevailed.

9. O Britain how lucky you were and how much more blessed now than all the lands, who first saw Constantine as Caesar ! (2) Nature has deservedly endowed you with all the blessings of climate and soil, where there is neither excessive winter cold, nor intense summer heat, where the soil is so fertile that you are furnished with the gifts of both gods, Ceres and Liber where the groves are devoid of monstrous beasts, the ground of dangerous snakes, and instead there is an innumerable multitude of peaceful herds, their

udders swollen with milk, and flocks thick with wool; (3) to be sure, on account of this the life is loved, the days are very long and the nights are never without some light, since that most distant plain of your shores does not produce shadows and the sight of heaven and the stars goes beyond the limit of the night, so that the sun itself which seems to us to be sinking there appears to pass across the sky. (4) Blessed gods, why is it that from some remote part of the universe new gods always come down to be worshipped by the whole world? Thus Mercury, who came from the Nile, a river whose source is not known, thus Liber who came from the Indians, almost among those who are privy to the rising of the sun, offered themselves as gods to the nations. (5) Regions close to heaven are assuredly more blessed than those that are surrounded by land, and an emperor is sent more easily by the gods, there where the land ends.

10. And so you, son of an emperor and of such a great emperor, having obtained empire so successfully, in what way did you begin to defend the state? I do believe that you punished for their temerity a despicable band of barbarians, which had apparently tested the start of your dawning career with a sudden attack and unexpected robbery.* (2) You did not hesitate to punish with the worst kinds of torture the kings of Francia themselves, who because of your father's absence had violated the peace, and you had no fear at all

* The question mark of Mynors' text must surely be a printer's error.

for the eternal hatred and implacable anger of that people. (3) But why should an emperor worry about any offence taken to a reasonable severity, who is able to uphold what he did? (4) That mercy is safe which spares enemies, and does not so much pardon them as consider its own advantage; as for you, Constantine, let your enemies hate you as much as they please, provided that they tremble. For this is true might, that they do not like one and yet remain subdued. Although he may be more cautious who by a favour keeps his enemies in chains, he is nevertheless braver who tramples on them when they are enraged. (5) You have rekindled, Emperor, that ancient confidence of the Roman empire, which used to inflict the penalty of death on the captured leaders of the enemy. (6) Then when the captive kings had embellished the chariots of the triumphing soldiers from the city-gates up to the forum, as soon as the general had begun to turn his chariot onto the Capitol, they were carried off to prison, and killed. (7) Only Perses at the entreaty of Paulus, who had received him when he surrendered himself, escaped a law of such severity; all the others deprived of light in prison set an example to the other kings that they should prefer to cultivate the friendship of the Romans than to exasperate their sense of justice. So the punishment imposed on the enemy brings this good, that not only do enemies not dare to be hostile, but also friends respect more easily.

11. That is how you have given us, Emperor, the peace that we enjoy. For we are not now defended by the raging currents of the Rhine, but by the terror your name inspires. However much the Rhine

dries up from intense heat, or stills its waters through the cold, neither way will the enemy dare to use it for a crossing. (2) Nature fortifies no place with such an insuperable obstacle that boldness may not penetrate it, provided some hope remains in the attempt; that bulwark is impregnable, which a reputation for braveness has constructed. (3) The Franks know that they can cross the Rhine, for you would willingly allow them in, to meet their own destruction, but they are unable to hope for either victory or mercy. They judge what awaits them from the tortures suffered by their own kings, and it is for that reason that far from organizing a crossing of that river rather they are despairing at the bridge which has been begun. (4) Where is your ferocity now? Where your never-ending fickleness that is so treacherous? Now you do not even dare to live near the Rhine, and you hardly drink the waters of your inland rivers free from fear. (5) And by contrast the forts stationed at intervals more adorn our border than act as protections. The unarmed farmer ploughs that bank that used to be so fearsome, and our herds bathe along the entirety of the two-branched river. This is your daily and eternal victory, Constantine, deriving from the punishment of Ascaricus and Merogaisus, and which you ought to place ahead of all your former favourable battles: on the battlefield there is one victory, but by its lesson it is never forgotten. (6) The masses are ignorant of their own defeat, however many may perish; the quick way of disposing of one's enemies is the prior removal of their leaders.

12. Furthermore, unconquerable Emperor, by visiting destruction

on the Bructeri, you have brought it about that the savagery of the barbarians be broken in all ways, and that the enemy do not regret only the torments of their kings. (2) In this regard the first tactic of your plan was to attack the enemy when they were unsuspecting by sending your army across the river suddenly, not to say that you despaired of an open battle, being one who had preferred to join battle in the open; but so that that people accustomed to avoid war by taking refuge in forests and swamps would not have any time to run away. (3) Countless people were killed, numerous prisoners taken; any cattle were seized or slaughtered; all the villages were razed; the adults who came into your hands, whose treachery disqualified them from military service or fierceness from servitude, were sentenced to be used at a public show and exhausted the raging beasts by their number. (4) This, Emperor, is to have confidence in one's might and fortune, this is not to buy peace with mercy, but to obtain victory with a challenge.

13. Over and above that by building a bridge at Cologne you insult the remnants of the shattered nation, so that it may never lay aside its fear, but should always be fearful, always holding out beseeching hands, although you nevertheless do this more for the glorification of your empire and the adornment of the border, than for ease in crossing into enemy territory as often as you wish, since in fact the entire Rhine has deployed along it armed vessels, and your soldiers, stationed along all its banks right up to the Ocean are menacingly poised. (2) But it seems brilliant to you (and indeed it is very brilliant) that the Rhine should not only be tamed

in its higher places, where by its breadth it has many fords, or is small because it is near its source, but also there where it is mighty, by a new bridge, where it has already taken in very many tributaries which our own great river has brought, together with the barbarous Necker and the Main, where already fierce on account of its savage current and impatient at having one bed, it is eager to separate into its two branches. (3) Even nature herself, Constantine, is obedient to your divinity, since in that depth of swirling currents foundations of very great strength are being cast, that will have sure and enduring stability. (4) Although the almighty king of the Persians once joined the straits of the Hellespont by linking ships together, that crossing was only temporary. By putting ships together in a like way the second Caesar after Augustus covered the gulf of Baiae, and it was a pleasant ride for that idle ruler. But this work is not only difficult to execute, but will also have lasting use. (5) Certainly from the outset the bridge brought about the obedience of your enemies, who sought peace as suppliants, and offered hostages of great nobility. As a result of this no-one doubts what they will do when the bridge is completed, as they already obey you at its beginning.

14. When you were intent on such matters for the use and prestige of the state, the fresh agitation of that man, who ought to have supported your successes above all, drew your attention to himself. Regarding him, until now it has not been clear to me how I should speak and I have been awaiting advice by a sign from your divinity. (2) Although deservedly he is censured by the complaints

of your filial affection, individuals should nevertheless check their words, especially when consideration for you compels them however angry they may be to respect him who, after receiving such great benefits from you and great favour from your family, still remained ungrateful. (3) What should I do therefore to touch such deep wounds with a gentle hand? I shall employ no doubt that widespread defence of all crimes, which is generally adopted even by philosophers, that no man sins unless through fate and that the very misdeeds of mortals are acts of fortune, and that the virtues on the other hand are the gifts of the gods. (4) Give thanks, Constantine, for your nature and your character, because Constantius Pius begat you such as you are, and the decrees of the stars moulded you such that you are not able to be cruel. (5) But as for that man (sc. Maximian) when about to be born, he was being given a choice of the kind of life he would lead, I do not believe that a fate was bestowed which could be avoided, which would bring wrongful death to many men, and finally voluntary death to himself. (6) To let pass the rest, surely the inevitability of fate brought about this very thing, that he should repay your affection in this way, whom, expelled from Rome, driven from Italy, dismissed from Illyricum you welcomed in your provinces in the midst of your troops and in your palace.

15. What I ask did he want for himself? What did he desire? How might he wish to procure anything in excess of those things which he had already acquired from you? You had given him the very greatest and most varied gifts, the leisure of a private citizen and the wealth of a king, and when he was departing mules and carriages

of the court^{*}; you had ordered our services to be bestowed even more keenly on him than on you, and you had decided to be so obedient to all his commands that the trappings of imperial office were in your hands, the power in his. (2) What let us not say, great desire for power was this - for what could he not do while you were reigning - but error of judgement of an age when already the mind is becoming feeble, that a man so advanced in years should take upon himself overwhelming worries and a civil war? (3) There is no doubt that those people are not satisfied by any gifts of fortune whose desires cannot be limited by reason, and happiness, unappreciated, passes them by, so that always full of hopes, and deprived of blessings, they lack today's wealth, while looking only to that of the future. (4) But that divine man who was the first to give a share of the empire, and divested himself of it, regrets neither his plan nor deed, and he does not think that he has lost what he voluntarily gave up; and he is happy and truly blessed whom such great emperors as yourselves honour as a private citizen with your respects. (5) Not only is he supported by the empire with its different leaders, but he is also pleased to be protected by the shelter which you provide, and he knows that you have sprung from his foundation, and he justly claims your glories for himself. (6) And so that man (sc. Maximian), who had been taken by him (sc. Diocletian) as a brother, was ashamed to imitate him, and regretted having sworn to him in the temple of Jupiter Capitoline. I do not wonder that he also forswore his

* For *ad anulos sederas* I suggest reading Baehrens' conjecture *aulicos mulos et raedas* (see Teubner text *ad loc.*).

son-in-law.

16. This is the word, this the faith plighted in the innermost parts of the Palatine sanctuary, so that, acting slowly and without haste, already no doubt full of plans of war, when his journey was completed and the supplies of the various stages had been done away with to prevent any army following, he unexpectedly installed himself behind battlements clad in purple and took up for a third time the power he had twice laid aside; so that he sent off letters to try to get the support of the armies, tried to shake the soldiers' loyalties by proffering rewards, thinking no doubt that he could have confident use of an army which he had taught to sell itself. (2) Indeed by the error of judgement of this man it was made manifest what great love embraced you on the part of your soldiers, who preferred you to all the gifts which he had promised, to all the offerings of honours. (3) That rare virtue of restraint barely preserved by a few teachers of wisdom, nevertheless at times preserved, has become on account of you, Constantine, common to all men and through consideration of you not only has profit been spurned by those whom sense, scholarship and a peaceful life have softened, but also by the ardour of the soldierly spirit. (4) Other armies may have been like yours in liveliness and strength: it was your lot alone to have a wise army. (5) Perhaps in days gone by many corrupt leaders, weaker in troops, competed by means of bribery, but their popularity was brief and frail and whoever imitated them easily prevailed. (6) But he is the firm, the eternal guardian of the state whom the soldiers love

for himself and who is not treated to adulation that is sought or bought, but to simple and sincere devotion. (7) Your gifts, Constantine, are clearly pleasing to your soldiers, but they are even more pleasing because they are yours. (8) Whatever you proffer becomes more acceptable because it is from your hand. To be sure no-one can compete with you in this striving for favour. The type of munificence that cannot be surpassed, is when the general himself is the soldier's reward. (9) And so indeed you bestow on your armies even more than they desire, but even more so you are commended by your name, your authority, which derives from the memory of your father, the appeal of your age, and finally that physique of yours which is worthy of respect.

17. Immortal gods what a brilliant and heavenly wonder, a young emperor in whom that bravery which is already at its highest is nevertheless increasing, in whom this brightness of the eyes, this majesty which is both respectable and pleasing, dims the eyes, and at the same time attracts attention. (2) Like this I imagine was that great king (sc. Alexander), like this the Thessalian (sc. Achilles), whose great courage is praised together with their beauty. (3) Not in vain do very learned men say that Nature herself decides on the dwelling-places worthy of great souls and that from the face of a person and the comeliness of his body it can be understood how great a heavenly spirit has entered it as occupant. (4) And so the soldiers upon commencement of your reign, see you, admire and love you, follow you with their eyes, envisage you in their minds, think that they are obeying a god, whose appearance is as beautiful as his divinity is sure.

18. Immediately, therefore, that they had heard of that heinous offence, of their own accord they sought from you the signal for setting out; as you were furnishing them with provisions for the march, they said that that very thing was delaying them and that they already had more than sufficient through your generosity. (2) Then, after taking up their arms they made for the gates, and completed a journey of as many days as that from the Rhine to the Sâone without any respite, with indefatigable bodies, their spirits ablaze, their eagerness for revenge growing by the day, the nearer they reached their goal. (3) Then, indeed, Emperor, your care, with which you had provided boats from the port of Chalons to revive their strength, almost did not please them in their haste. That lazy and sluggish river never seemed to have been tardier; as the boats drifted silently on and the banks slowly receded, they were shouting that they were stationary and not moving. (4) Then indeed, wishing to emulate manually what they had achieved on foot they bent themselves to rowing and by plying hard surmounted the nature of the river, and at last having overcome the delays of the Sâone, they were scarcely content with the Rhone itself; it seemed to them to run on with insufficient speed, and to hurry to Arles with less than usual haste. (5) What else is there to say? You must admit, Emperor, that with all your bodily strength and zealous spirit, you struggled at times to follow the army which you were leading. (6) All these men were motivated by such ardour that, when they had discovered that he had abandoned Arles and made off for Marseille, they immediately rushed out of the ships and in their headlong course they surpassed not only the current of the Rhone but in a certain

degree the blowing of the winds. (7) Such great love of your divinity had fired them that, although they knew that a very well fortified city would have to be attacked, they felt that it would meet their needs merely to reach their destination.

19. Marseille, according to what I have heard, juts out into very deep water and is furnished with a very well protected harbour, into which the waters of the bay flow on the south side by a narrow entrance, and the city is joined to the mainland by a neck of only fifteen hundred paces, and here a very strong wall punctuated with numerous towers lies opposite. (2) To be sure even though they were capable in techniques and intelligence, the place itself once taught Greek and Italian settlers there to concentrate everything which could be of use in war especially in that part which could be approached, since Nature in all the other parts had dispensed with the expense of defensive work. (3) A long siege with difficulty opened up this town when to its grave misfortune it shut its gates to Caesar in favour of an aged leader, and machines were brought up by land and sea, mounds constructed, and it was attacked in naval engagements more often than intimidated, since nevertheless paltry Greek magistrates had repelled not only Caesar himself but after him his leaders and forces, not so much with their strength as their fortifications. (4) But this time, Emperor, from the moment of your arrival, and from the moment of the first attack of your army, the height of the walls of that same Marseille, its very numerous towers, the nature of the place, in no way obstructed you from taking, not only the harbour, but the city, too, forthwith, if you

so wished. (5) Indeed the soldiers had attacked the whole wall with such confidence, that they would without doubt have climbed it immediately, if in getting ready the ladders which they had moved up, the height had not deceived the estimation of their eyes.

(6) Even so, many, frustrated by the shortness of the ladders, tried to get over the remainder of the climb by stretching their bodies, and raised on the shoulders of those who were following they had already, by means of hooks attached to their hands, fallen upon the spaces between the pinnacles. So little fear of danger did they have in the execution of revenge, that they did not feel that they were climbing a wall, but fighting on level ground.

20. But what singular sense of duty is yours, Constantine, that looks always to its obligations, even in the midst of warfare! You gave the signal for retreat and postponed the victory, so that you could pardon everybody, and in case any fierce soldier might do anything more savage than the nature of your mercy allowed. (2) In this regard although, through the concern of an excellent emperor such as yourself, you took care that the soldiers who had been led into wrong should be given the opportunity of repenting and that they might beg for pardon of their own accord, we however, who observe your very kindly feelings (for nothing is as evident as the goodness in your heart), understand that you spared him, whom, if the first incursion had managed to reach, no-one would have been able to keep away from the sword. (3) And so, and this pertains to your filial affection, Emperor, you preserved both him and all those whom he had taken to his side. Let him blame himself whoever

did not wish to take advantage of your kindness and did not judge that he was worthy of life, when you were allowing him to live; you, and this satisfied your conscience, spared even those who did not deserve it. (4) But (pardon the remark) you are not almighty: the gods avenge you, even against your will.

21. What we must always pray for is that you succeed even beyond your own wishes; for we place all our hope in the lap of your majesty, and we wish to have your presence everywhere, as if this were possible. (2) For consider this: when you had absented yourself for a short time from the frontier, what terrifying deeds did the treachery of the barbarians boast, when to be sure they were pondering questions such as these: when will he arrive? when will he conquer? when will he bring back his exhausted army? But they suddenly collapsed as if stupefied when they heard of your return, so that anxiety would not have disturbed your devotion to the state more than one night. (3) On the day following that when, with that message received, you had doubled your marching speed, you learnt that the whole commotion had subsided and that the complete calmness that you had left had returned, and Fortune herself arranged this in such a way that the successful outcome of your affairs there urged you to offer to the immortal gods what you had promised, when you had turned off to the most beautiful temple in the whole world, and indeed to the god who was actually present there, as you saw. (4) For you saw, I believe, Constantine, your own Apollo with Victory accompanying him, offering you crowns of laurel, each one of which brings you an omen of thirty years. This is the number of human

generations which are owed to you in any case, beyond even the life-span of Nestor. (5) But why do I say "I believe" ? You saw him and recognized yourself in the appearance of that god, to whom poets' divine songs prophesied that sovereignty over the entire earth was due. (6) I think that this has now at last come to pass, since you are, just like him, young, full of joy, helpful, and very handsome, Emperor. (7) Deservedly therefore did you honour those majestic temples with such great offerings that now they do not need the old, now all the temples seem to call you to themselves especially that of our own Apollo, by whose steaming waters perjuries are punished,* which you above all must hate.

22. Immortal gods, when will you grant the day on which this most powerful god, having established complete peace, may also visit those sacred groves of Apollo and his holy temples and the steaming mouths of his fountains? Their bubbling waters smoky with a gentle warmth would seem to smile at your eyes, Constantine, and to want to plant themselves on your lips. (2) You will undoubtedly also marvel at the seat of your own divinity and the waters that are warm without any sign of the earth being on fire. There is nothing bitter in their taste or vapour, but their purity of taste and scent is like that of cold springs. (3) You will make offerings there also, and establish privileges, and finally you will restore my mother-city itself by the devotion that place will then inspire. (4) The ancient

* It seems preferable to read instead of *puniantur*, *puniuntur* as have Galletier and Baehrens in the Budé and Teubner texts respectively.

nobility of this city that once boasted the friendship of the Roman people is waiting for the help of your majesty, so that there also the public places and most splendid temples may be restored by your generosity, in the way that here I see this most blessed city whose anniversary your devotion celebrates, rising up so much within all its walls that in a certain sense it rejoices that it was once ruined, made even greater now by your kindnesses. (5) I see a very great circus that vies, I believe, with that at Rome; I see basilicas and a forum, kingly works, and a law-court, rising to such a height that they reach out to the stars, neighbours to, and worthy of, heaven. And there is no doubt that all these buildings arise from your presence. (6) Indeed, as for those regions which your divinity glorifies most frequently, in these everything is increased - population, cities, favours; nor, when Jupiter and Juno recline, has the earth sent forth as many new flowers, as cities and temples rise up, Constantine, wherever you have passed. (7) It is for this reason that it satisfies my wishes that you should see my mother-city under the guidance of your affection, because she will be restored immediately if you come. But that good fortune will have seen whether it is still due to grace me in my life-time.

23. Meanwhile since, through your esteem, I have reached the summit of my wishes, that I should devote to your ears this voice of mine, for what it is worth, employed as it is in different duties of private life and the palace, I give the greatest thanks to your divinity, and finally I recommend to you my children and especially him who is conducting cases of the utmost importance for the treasury, in

whose career, because of my affection, I am totally involved, and whose service, given so successfully, will fit in eminently with the requirements of your age, if ever you have looked upon him. (2) Moreover, what I have said about all my children, Emperor, is very ambitious; for besides those five sons whom I have fathered, I also number as my own those whom I have brought to positions of prominence in the forum, or the duties of the palace. To be sure, many not inconsiderable streams flow from me, many of my protégés even govern your provinces. I rejoice in their successes and regard the honour of all of them as due to me, and if by chance today I shall have spoken beneath what was expected of me, I trust that the part I play in their activities has been pleasing. (3) If, however, your divinity will have allowed this too, that I derive from this speech evidence, not of eloquence, which would be too much, but of some little competence, and a mind devoted to yourself, let worthless cares about personal concerns vanish; the eternal theme of my speeches will be the one who has given me his approval, the Emperor.

COMMENTARY ON PANEGYRIC VI1 : Exordium

1,1 (i) *sacratissime imperator*

See above ad Pan. VII, 1,1, (i).

(ii) *diem in ista civitate celeberrimum*

Cf. 22,4 *cuius natalis dies tua pietate celebratur*

The occasion of the delivery of the panegyric was the anniversary celebration of Trier, the date of which we do not independently know but, if the speech was delivered in August 310, Trier's anniversary will have been in that month (see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section A).

(iii) *mediae aetatis hominem*

For the author see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section B.

1,4 *cum omnes....suspiciam*

A rhetorical profession of loyalty to the tetrarchy this is both undermined by what follows (infra, ad 2,(i), and 15,5,(ii)). and inaccurate in its portrayal of harmony amongst the tetrarchs.

At the time concerned the official tetrarchs, according to the agreement of the conference held at Carnuntum in 308 (for the date Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.14), were in the East, Galerius and Maximin Daia, in the West, Licinius and Constantine (see e.g. Jones, L.R.E. p.79), but there was certainly not concord amongst them all.

Maximin had been incensed by the promotion of Licinius to the rank of Augustus ahead of him and, after rejecting his uncle Galerius' compromise title of *filius Augustorum*, wrung full recognition as Augustus from a reluctant Galerius in 310, the year of this panegyric. (See Lactantius D.M.P. XXXII; for the year and day, possibly 1 May, see Sutherland, op.cit.p.15 ff; even if Galerius had recognized Maximin Daia as Augustus before the time of this speech as Sutherland's date indicates, ill-feeling over what Sutherland calls a "deeply felt dispute over status and titulature" can hardly have disappeared overnight.)

Moreover, there must have been considerable suspicion on the part of Galerius and his nominee Licinius towards Constantine. Constantine it is true seems now to declare more openly his hostility for Maxentius (see below ad 3,1) which could be construed as a move on his part to comply with the wishes of the tetrarchs, since no place had been found for Maxentius at Carnuntum, and the areas he controlled were assigned to Licinius (see Parker, H.R.W. p.246), but the numismatic evidence shows that Constantine did not accept the inferior position of Caesar assigned him at Carnuntum, nor the title *filius Augustorum* also offered him by Galerius (Sutherland, op.cit. p.159; also Lactantius (ibid.), Dessau, I.L.S. 683). Similarly his only recently terminated relationship with Maximian (below, ad 20), who was also a loser at Carnuntum (below, ad 14,6, (ii)), must have raised doubts as to his good faith.

Note too the artificiality of the tetrarchy: Maxentius

was *de facto* ruler of Italy and Spain, while Africa was in the throes of a revolt against Maxentius, headed by L. Domitius Alexander, who had himself assumed imperial authority (Zosimus 2,12; Victor, Caes. 40,17, Epitome 40,2; Polemius Silvius in Chron.Min. p.522, ad 62).

2-9: Constantine's claim to Empire

2

(i) In this important paragraph the claim is put forward that Constantine was descended from Claudius Gothicus (for his dates, infra, ad note (iii)):

2,2 *ab illo enim divo Claudio manat in te avita cognatio*

It is also claimed (2,4) that Constantius was descended from Claudius:

quin immo....tertius imperator

The phrase *avita cognatio* (2,2) appears to reflect the official version of the genealogy: Constantine was Claudius' grandson, and Constantius was his son, for on inscriptions set up by public officials this is how the relationship is seen (see e.g. Dessau, I.L.S. 699; 702).

The panegyrist claims that this is the first occasion of the advertisement of this connection, for this is the clear indication of *quod plerique adhuc fortasse nesciunt*, 2,1 (cf. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta, p.116; Historia Augusta, p.60 ff).

This seems true, for it is not undermined by the attribution of the same ancestry to Constantius in the Historia Augusta, Claudius 13,1 ff, which life was ostensibly written to honour Constantius Caesar, i.e. with a *terminus ante* of 305 when Constantius became Augustus: it is very possible that the Historia Augusta, shrouded as it is with doubts over its real character and date of composition, was written by a dissembling hand after 394 (see Syme, opp.cit. p.72 ff and 76 ff respectively).

It seems likely that the genealogy advanced for Constantine was false, for this is what is suggested by the differences in detail as between the sources: in contrast to the official version mentioned above, Eutropius (IX, 22) and Zonaras (XII, 26) describe Constantius as the grandson of Claudius through his daughter, while yet another version is that of the Historia Augusta, Claudius, ibid., namely that Constantius was the grand-nephew of Claudius through the latter's niece Claudia. Thus Magie's conclusion is convincing that the "divergence leads inevitably to the suspicion that the relationship was wholly a fabrication" (Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Loeb Classical Library, vol. III, p.178/9).

More important, however, is the question of motivation behind the promotion of this ancestry.

In claiming descent from an illustrious ancestor Constantine was following in the footsteps of e.g. Otho, who claimed to be descended from the princes of Etruria (Suetonius, Otho, 1,1), or

Septimius Severus, who after associating himself with Pertinax favoured a link with the Antonines (see H.A. Sept.Sev. 7,8-9 and 10,3-6) and it has commonly been observed (e.g. Syme, Historia Augusta, p.60; Parker, H.R.W. p.247; C.A.H. XII, p.349) that this lineage was promoted to make good the gap in Constantine's title to empire caused by what appears to have been, despite the official "suicide" version, Maximian's execution (infra. ad 20).

But as Jones has pointed out (Constantine and the Conversion of Europe, p.73) there was no real need for this, as Galerius had recognized him and Constantius had been his father.

This points to a deeper reason: that Constantine was claiming to be the "sole legitimate emperor since his hereditary claims went back beyond the upstart Diocletian and all his creations" (op.cit. p.74; cf. Parker, ibid; C.A.H. XII, p.680) and this is in fact the clear meaning of 2,5: *inter omnes, inquam, participes maiestatis tuae hoc habes, Constantine, praecipuum, quod imperator es < natus >* (cf. 3,1 *imperium nascendo meruisti*).

Warmington (art.cit. p.375) has called into question the importance of this hereditary claim since (a) Maxentius and Maximin Daia were also making hereditary claims at the same time as Constantine, and (b) since the Claudius Gothicus motif does not appear on coins till 317.

With regard to his first objection, what surely counts is that Constantine alone invoked a founder of his house, who had never

had any connection with the tetrarchy (see Jones' comment above), while with regard to the second what is surely significant is that Constantine saw fit to promote the Claudian lineage again, after, as Warmington plausibly suggests, finding it of limited appeal in Gaul (art.cit. p.375 ff). This indicates that it was important for Constantine, who, as we have seen, as early as 307 may have contemplated along with Maximian, rule of the entire Roman world (supra, ad Pan. VII, 2,2).

(ii) 2,2 *qui....delevit*

Claudius II (Gothicus) was one of the soldier emperors of Illyricum who brought peace and unity back to the empire after the period of anarchy that followed the end of the Severan dynasty (see C.A.H. XII, p.231; Parker, H.R.W. p.185; in general Brauer, Age of the Soldier emperors). His principal accomplishment was "the decisive defeat of the Goths, who even after Gallienus' successes, were plundering the Balkans" (Mattingly, O.C.D., s.v. *Claudius* (2)).

For their passage along the Black Sea, the Propontis and through the Hellespont, see Parker, op.cit. p.189; our other sources (which are highly confused for the Gothic invasions of 260-270 - see C.A.H., XII, p.721 ff) do not mention the Danube, but Zosimus (1,42) says they gathered around the river Tyras, which is north of the mouth of the Danube.

(iii) 2,2 *utinam diuturnior recreator hominum quam maturior
deorum comes*

Claudius reigned for less than two years, summer 268 - early 270, or March 268 - Sept. 269; see P.L.R.E., s.v. *Claudius* (11).

recreator

The word was used of God by St. Augustine (Enarrationes in Psalmos 66,2); that it had no specifically Christian connotations is suggested not only by another Christian writer's use of it to describe sleep (*somnus r. corporum*, Tertullian, de Anima 43), but by its use here and in an inscription (Dessau I.L.S. 6349) of possibly the fourth century, for Pollius Iulius Clementianus, *vir perfectissimus* and patron of Nola (see also P.L.R.E. s.v. *Pollius Iulius Clementianus*).

(iv) 2,3 *quamvis....ornavit*

Almost certainly Constantine was proclaimed emperor by his father's troops on 25 July 306, and it is suggested that he always kept the date 25 July as his *dies imperii* (Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A).

(v) 2,5 *omisso ambitu et suffragatione*

The orator was perhaps thinking of the Republic and early Empire.

ambitu

Election of curule magistrates in Republican times was so often influenced by bribery that a whole series of laws had to be passed against it (see O.C.D. s.v. *ambitus*).

suffragatione

i.e. electoral support.

For the Republic, see Cicero, Pro Murena, 38, *suffragatio militaris*.

For the early Empire see *lex de Imperio Vespasiani* (in McCrum and Woodhead, Documents of the Flavian Emperors, p.1):
quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit.

Election of consuls and the accompanying bribery were remembered by Mamertinus in his panegyric of Julian delivered in 362 (see Pan. III, 19,1; cf. Pan. II, 3,6).

3,1 *non....fecit*

Jones has remarked of this passage that "the reference to Maxentius is obvious" (L.R.E. p.79). This seems very probable: Maxentius was brought to power in Rome in 306 on a wave of popular resentment towards Galerius' tax policy, and praetorian ill-feeling on the part of these soldiers at his reduction of the guard (Lactantius, D.M.P. XXVI; Victor, Caes. 39,47).

It would seem then that Constantine now begins to declare his hostility for Maxentius which culminated in his invasion of Italy in 312, which is related in Pan. XII of 313.

imperium nascendo meruisti

supra, ad 2,(i).

3,3 (i) *quamvis enim...reddidisti*

The panegyrist alludes to Constantine's military service before he became emperor.

The Anonymus Valesianus' words on the subject are relevant:

2,2 *obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium, sub eisdem fortiter in Asia militavit; quem post depositum imperium Diocletiani et Herculi, Constantius a Galerio repetit; sed hunc Galerius obiecit ante pluribus periculis. 2,3 nam et in Sarmatas iuvenis equestris militans ferocem barbarum, capillis tentis raptum, ante pedes Galerii imperatoris adduxerat. deinde...viam ceteris fecit ad Sarmatas, ex quibus plurimis stratis Galerio victoriam reportavit.*

Stein believes that it was in a campaign of 305 against the Sarmatians that Constantine distinguished himself (R.E. IIA, col.20; Barnes, Phoenix, 30, 1976, p.191, is less optimistic about the possibilities of precise dating of campaigns between 302 and 305). Whatever the date it is not unlikely that this orator with *manu...reddidisti* (3,3) is referring to the same exploits (the text of the panegyric is so taken in R.E. IV, col.1014).

In view of the Anonymus Valesianus' *iuvenis equestris militans*, Constantine may have been serving in a cavalry vexillation in this campaign. Hoffmann (Das Spätromische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum, I, p.3) notes: "Der Begriff *vexillatio*, der in der mittleren Kaiserzeit für jedes beliebige Teildetachment

einer grösseren Einheit, namentlich von Legionen, üblich war, hatte anscheinend mit der Kavalleriereform des Gallienus die besondere Bedeutung von 'Reiterschwadron' bekommen...." Under Constantine vexillations of cavalry were an important part of the emperor's field army, the *comitatenses* (see Jones, L.R.E., p.608), but it appears from inscriptional evidence that already in the Diocletianic army, cavalry vexillations could be part of the *comitatenses*, for we hear of a *praepositus equitibus Dalmatis Aquesianis comitatensibus* on an inscription of Noricum (I.L.S., 664, of 311-312 according to Dessau). What is important is that this inscription dates from a time before Constantine was in control there. (See C.A.H., XII, p.398; and Parker, H.R.W. p.272 who also cites a papyrus Pap.Ox., 1,43, col.II, 24-8, and col.I, 15, which shows the title *comites* applied to cavalry of Diocletian's army in Egypt; also Hoffmann, op.cit. p.258 who provides the rider that they might not yet have been a regular part of the forces.) So Constantine, if he was in the cavalry, as the Anonymus Valesianus indicates, may have served and distinguished himself in a vexillation.

The interpretation of *quod quidem...voluisti* seems to be that Constantine followed the steps of the military hierarchy (that is what *quod* refers to), but that the intervention of *Fortuna* (no doubt referring to his accession to his father's position) prevented the full realisation of this. However, until *Fortuna* placed him above the steps of the military hierarchy, he accomplished what was normal and possible, given his age (*quantum per aetatem licuit*).

By *crescere militando voluisti*, the orator indicates that the career Constantine had followed was in accordance with his wishes.

From the Anonymus Valesianus it is clear that Constantine's service against the Sarmatians followed the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian.

Prior to this we know he had been *tribunus ordinis primi* (see Pan. VII, ad 5,3,(i)). The words *ordinis primi* assume grading of tribunes (it is the last reference according to Jones, although there would still have been considerable differences in prestige, L.R.E. p.640 ff), but there is unfortunately no way of knowing whether Constantine's service against the Sarmatians represented a promotion or not.

(ii) *magnum....pervenire*

This may be an oblique reference to Constantine's flight from Galerius to the ailing Constantius (Anon. Val. 2,4; Zosimus, 2,8; Victor, Caes. 40,2; infra, ad 7,5).

3,4 *longe....habere*

The orator repeats the two ideas of 3,3, that Constantine on the one hand followed the normal steps in the army (*longe....plano*), but also obtained supreme power by virtue of who he was (*aliud ipsa....habere*).

4,1 *sacrum....legitimum*

(i) *sacrum istud palatium....intrasti*

Constantine caught up with Constantius at Boulogne (Anon. Val. 2,4).

Pietri in P.É.C.S. records no findings of an imperial palace there, but it should be noted "systematic excavation is recent" (s.v. *Gesoriacum Bononia*).

As the emperors Tiberius and Caligula are known to have visited it, and as from the first-century A.D. it was the home of the *Classis Britannica* (Pietri, loc.cit.), one would expect an imperial residence to have been there, and perhaps it is this to which the orator refers. (For the importance of the route on which ancient Boulogne lay see Heurgon, R.E.A., 50, 1948, p.101; "la grande rocade unissant la Bretagne à la Germanie, incessamment parcourue par les empereurs...")

(ii) *confestimque te....legitimum*

Again the hereditary claim to empire is brought in, and the mention of Constantius' household gods (*paterni lares*) in no way contradicts the claim to be descended from Claudius Gothicus, since it has already been stated that Constantine was descended from Claudius through his father (supra, ad 2,(i)).

4,2 *primum imperatori filium*

See supra, ad Pan. VII, 14,4; the panegyrist may well be

introducing a concept of primogeniture, to forestall any claims by Constantine's brothers to empire, for whom see P.L.R.E., s.v. *Constantius* (12); this would then link with the emphasis placed on Constantine's title to empire.

te....in primo aetatis suae flore generavit

As Constantius' year of birth is unknown (see P.L.R.E., s.v. *Constantius* (12)), we cannot say exactly how old he was when Constantine was born. The words *in primo aetatis suae flore* seem to indicate that he cannot have been much over twenty, giving an approximate birth-date for Constantius of 250 (cf. O.C.D. s.v. *Constantius* (1)), if Constantine was born c. 272, or of 260, if Constantine was born c. 282 (supra, ad Pan. VII, 4,1,(ii)).

campi....Vindonii

Infra, ad 6,3.

4,3 *inde....videatur*

Cf. Pan. VII, 14,5.

4,4 *idem....iustitiae*

For the imperial attributes and virtues see General Introduction, Section C, and Appendix.

For Constantine's *modestia*, cf. Pan. VII, 6,5: *vobis verecundia* (of Constantine and Fausta).

4,5 *quod Constantius excessit a nobis*

For Constantius' death in July 306, supra, ad Pan. VII, 1,1,(iii) and 14,3, *dive Constanti....exceptit*.

5,2 *qui....perdidissent*

See also supra , ad Pan. VII, 4,2,(i) and 4,3,(i).

Constantius' first task upon his appointment as Caesar in 293 (supra, ad Pan. VII, 2,5) was the subjugation of the pretender Carausius, for whose usurpation of imperial power in Britain see Victor, Caes. 39,20 ff; Eutropius IX, 21; Dessau, I.L.S., 8928.

As a first step he clearly decided to destroy Carausius' power in Gaul and Germany (infra , ad 5,3,(ii)). He began by blockading, both by land and sea (*terra pariter ac mari*) Gesoriacum where Carausius had troops (*exercitum illum*) and ships, for otherwise a sea blockade would have been superfluous (cf. Pan. VIII, 6,1: *manum piraticae factionis*).

It seems clear from the eighth panegyric, (*Gesorigiacensibus muris* 6,1) that it was the *portus vetus Gesoriacensis* only that was blockaded (see plan below, bottom right) and not the *portus novus Bononiensis*, despite the orator's reference to *Bononiensis oppidilitus*, for it has been observed that after Carausius' defeat by Constantius "wurden beide Stadteile unter dem Namen *Bononia* zusammengefasst" (Le Glay, Der Kleine Pauly, s.v. *Gesoriacum*).

This replacement of the name Gesoriacum by Bononia at the end of the

third century was most probably due to the increased importance of the upper site from this time after the city withdrew there following the disasters of the third century (see Pietri, P.E.C.S. s.v. *Gesoriacum Bononia*; but also C.I.L. XIII, 1,2, p.561 where it is suggested that Constantius' blockade, having rendered the old port unusable, may have precipitated the building of a new one, for which the panegyrist's reference here could be evidence; however, given Pietri's arguments the blockade seems more likely to have been a contributory factor, than a full cause in itself).

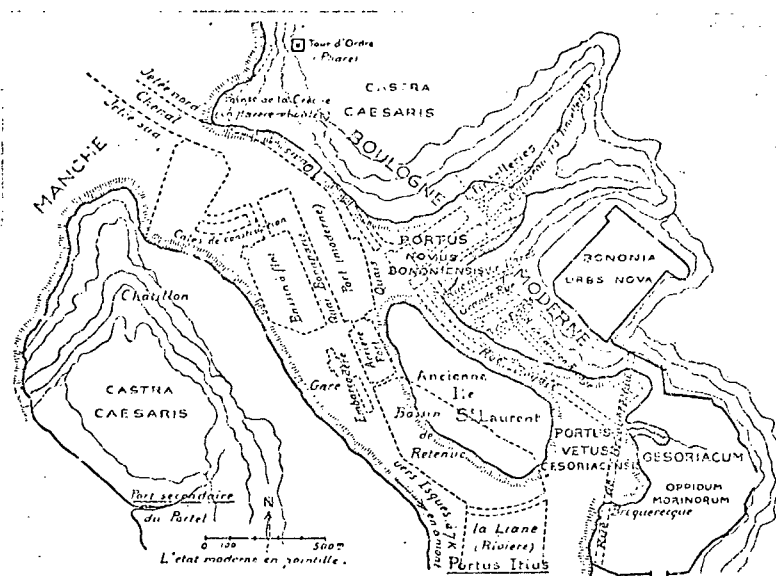


FIG. 169. — Les ports antiques de Boulogne. (D'après Desjardins, *Géog. Gaule*, I, pl. XVII.)

Ancient Boulogne from Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie Gallo-Romaine part II, p.528.

5,3 *qui ... nationes*

(i) Regarding Constantius' *clementia*, cf. Pan. VII, 4,4: *venia mitigavit.*

(ii) *dum...purgavit*

supra, ad Pan. VII, 4,2,(i).

Constantius, while making his preparations for the recovery of Britain, cleared the Island of the Batavians of Carausius' Frankish allies, who had occupied it. In the seventh panegyric (ibid.) we are told that the Franks had occupied other territories on the hither side of the Rhine also (*aliasque cis Rhenum terras*).

(iii) *ipsas in Romanas transtulit nationes*

Cf. Pan. VII, 4,2: *interfecit depulit cepit abduxit*.

It is apparent that Constantius carried out a wide-scale resettlement of the Franks he had conquered, and the eighth panegyric, which celebrates Constantius' victorious operation against Carausius, gives us some idea of where he settled these peoples.

There the panegyrist relates:

*quidquid infrequens Ambiano et Bellovaco et Tricassino
solo Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit (21,1)*

The territory of the Ambiani and Bellovaci was in Belgica II while that of the Tricasses and Lingones was in Gallia Lugdunensis, IV and I, respectively. The panegyrist goes on to say that, through the British victory, Autun received a substantial number of craftsmen (21,2), and it seems very likely that it was in the territory of the Aedui, that the Chamavi and Frisii mentioned in Pan. VIII, 9,3, were resettled (see Galletier, P.L. I, p.89, n.2).

5,4 *ita quieto mari navigavit*

The author of the eighth panegyric mentions stormy weather for the embarkation (14,4). It seems that we should accept his word since he was "tout près des faits et s'adresse à des gens qui ont fait la traversée" (Galletier P.L. II, p.58, n.2).

6,1 *quid de misericordia....impunitas*

For the virtues see, General Introduction, Section C and Appendix.

It would appear that Constantius' allies (*sociis sibi iunctis*) had either been subjugated by the Carausian side (*servitutem passos*) or had gone over willingly (*culpae conscios*).

6,2

(i) *quid....conlocatae*

It has been suggested that this refers to the settlement of the Salian Franks on the island of the Batavians (see Parker, H.R.W., p.231; Jullian, Histoire, VII, p.85 ff). Parker and Jullian both cite this text to support their arguments, yet nowhere are the Salii and the *Insula Batavorum* mentioned. Zosimus (3,6) refers to a Salian occupation of the island but he does not say that the Salii were settled there by Constantius: they were expelled from their own land by the Saxons.

Barnes by relating Constantius' victory titles to the evidence of Panegyric VIII of 297 and this one is able to demonstrate

that this victory over *intimas Franciae nationes* occurred between 297 and 301 (art.cit. p.179).

There is no way of knowing for sure where these Franks were settled; the description *in desertis Galliae regionibus* tallies with the description in Pan. VIII, 21,1 of the land of the Ambiani, Bellovaci, Tricasses and Lingones where barbarians were settled after Constantius' British campaign (see above, ad 5,3,(iii)), for this land was *infrequens*, so it is a possibility that further settlement took place in those areas.

ab his locis quae olim Romani invaserant

According to Wells there must have been numerous marching camps in Franconia during the reign of Augustus (The German Policy of Augustus, p.157).

(ii) *ut....pacem Romani imperii cultu iuvarent*

The orator seems to be suggesting that the new settlers enhanced the existing benefits of the *pax Romana* by virtue of dwelling there (see translation, ad loc. and O.L.D. s.v. *cultus*²(1)). Perhaps he also had in mind the very closely related meaning of *cultus*: "tilling of the ground" vel sim. (see O.L.D. s.v. *cultus*² (2)).

(Compare *cultus* in Pan. VIII, 9,1, *cultor barbarus* (VIII, 9,3) and *barbaro cultore* (VIII, 21,1), where, with *revirescit*, the benefits accruing from the new settlers are again seen.)

He praises the policy of resettlement of Franks in Gaul,

yet it is worth noting that only a short while before, during the reign of Probus (276-282), some Franks who had been resettled in the Empire, wrought havoc in Greece, Sicily and Africa (see Zosimus 1,71).

It is possible that the inhabitants of Gaul did not take kindly to this policy, so the panegyrist's praise of it may be an attempt to make it more palatable.

(iii) *ut....Romani imperii....arma dilectu (sc. iuvarent)*

Compare Pan. VIII, 9,4. The enrolment of barbarian units into the Roman army had long been practised by the Roman government (see e.g. Jones, L.R.E. p.610/11).

For Frankish soldiers particularly one might consider Dessau, I.L.S. 2814, found in Pannonia Inferior

*Francus ego cives, Romanus miles in armis egregia virtute
tuli bello mea dextera sem[p]er,*

while according to Jones (L.R.E. p.620), among the settlements of *laeti*, barbarians resettled in the Roman Empire with the condition that a quota of youths would be provided for enrolment in the army, there was (in Gaul) one of Franks (see also Pan. VIII, 21,1).

Jones also observes that "by Ammianus' time the bulk of the officers and men in all regiments (sc. of *scholae*) were, to judge by the individuals whom he mentions, Germans, mainly Franks and Alamans" (op.cit. p.613/4).

(iv) *quid commemorem Lingonicam victoriam etiam imperatoris ipsius vulnere gloriosam ?*

This *Lingonica victoria*, the action at Vindonissa, and the trapping of the Germanic force on an island of the Rhine (see following notes) according to the cogent arguments advanced by Barnes (*ibid.*) will have occurred, successively, between late 301 and late 305.

Eutropius (IX, 23) gives more information on this battle in the territory of the Lingones. It was fought against the Alamanni who had clearly penetrated quite deeply into Roman provincial territory from their homeland in the old *agri decumates* (see O.C.D. s.v. *Alamanni*).

Eutropius does not mention Constantius' injury, but considering the nature of the battle as related by Eutropius (Constantius had to be hoisted into the city of the Lingones by ropes at one stage), this may well be the truth and not panegyric embellishment.

6,3 *Vindonissae campos*

Cf. 4,2 *campi....Vindonii*

Our other sources do not mention a battle at Vindonissa (mod. Windisch), but it lay adjacent to the territory of the Alamanni. It has been suggested that this battle was fought as Constantius pursued the Alamanni back to the Rhine from the territory of the Lingones, see above (Parker, *H.R.W.* p.232; Galletier, *P.L.* II, p.58).

However, as this engagement appears to have resulted in a further victory title for Constantius, it would seem that it belonged to the repulse of a separate and subsequent invasion of Germanic peoples into Roman territory (see Barnes, loc.cit.; for the date supra, ad 6,2,(iv)).

6,4 *quid....clauderetur*

This is the only mention we have of this incident (for the date, supra, ad 6,2,(iv)). There is no need to doubt a story which is by no means impossible: the Rhine has many islands (see e.g. Paterson's Guide to the Rhine, Index, s.v. Islands) and does freeze over in exceptional winters (see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968, vol.19, s.v. Rhine).

7,1 *suprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropaea....expetivit*

Infra, ad 7,2 *neque....adquirere*

ad intimum terrarum limen accessit

A reference to Constantius' advance into the north of Britain (infra, ad 7,2: *ut....continuum*)

7,2 *neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis non dico Calidonum aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes (sc. dignabatur adquirere)*

The object of Constantius' final expedition was (despite the speaker's counter-claim in 7,1, made obviously for purposes of

flattery) to deal with what were probably incursions of Caledonian tribes in Roman provincial territory (see Anon.Val. *post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est*, 2,4; also Parker, H.R.W. p.240 ff).

nec Hiberniam....adquirere

We are told the places Constantius did not deign to conquer.

Thylen: the name Thyle (or Thule) seems to have meant different lands to different people: Iceland, Norway, Scandinavia, Shetland. What is certain is that it was a northern land. (See O.C.D. s.v. *Thule*).

Fortunatorum insulas: these islands, originally the mythical home of the happy dead, came later to be identified with Madeira or more commonly with the Canaries (see O.C.D. s.v. *Fortunatae Insulae*).

iturus....continuum

As Galletier has observed, we are given very much a "conception idéalisée" of Constantius' final campaign (P.L. II, p.59, n.2).

The panegyrist clearly exploits the personal and elemental aspects of Oceanus (see O.C.D. s.v. *Oceanus* (mythological)).

In Homer Oceanus is seen as the source of the gods and all things (Iliad, 14, θεῶν γένεσις (l.201); γένεσις πάντεσσι (l.246)).

The view of Oceanus as the restorer of the stars may also be seen in Homer, where the stars bathe in the Ocean (Iliad, 18, ℓ.489).

The idea of Constantius, the conqueror, travelling as far as Oceanus recalls Alexander's quest for Oceanus (see Diodorus Siculus XVII, 89,5; Green, Alexander of Macedon, p.403 ff). In Seneca (Maior) Suasoriae, 1,1 this quest is linked with Alexander's alleged rivalry of Hercules (for the rivalry see Lucian, Dialogues of the Dead, 14,6; Seneca, de Beneficiis, 1,13, 2ff; Strabo 3,5,5 ad fin.) which deity he often honoured (see e.g. Arrian, Anab.Alex. I, 4,5; VI, 3,2) and from whom "as an Argead, Alexander was reputed a descendant in the male line" (Brunt, App. IV, 1, Arrian, Anab.Alex. Vol. I, Loeb Classical Library). If the orator had Alexander in mind (and he seems almost certainly to refer to him in 17,2 (see comment (i), ad loc.) it might be wondered why he did not mention the fact that Constantius was Herculus (above, ad Pan. VII, 2,5). It would not, however, have been appropriate for such an allusion, since it is in this panegyric that Constantine's reverence for Apollo is emphasized (infra, ad 21,4-5), and in any case the title Herculus was conspicuously associated with Maximian who had just attempted a coup against Constantine, for which it seems he paid with his life (infra, ad 20).

ut....videret illic diem paene continuum

Cf. supra, ad Pan. VII, 14,3 *dive Constanti....exceptit*

Such a statement would indicate that Constantius, as part

of his operations against the Picts, ranged far into Northern Britain (cf. Frere, Britannia, p.386 "the far north of Scotland").

Calidonium aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes suggests that he penetrated; and pursued the Caledonian tribes into Caledonia, i.e. beyond the Forth-Clyde isthmus. Possible archeological traces of the expedition have been found at Cramond and Carpow (see Frere, ibid.). Carpow is on the Tay, north of the Firth of Forth, Cramond south of it.

For the short nights and long days of Northern Britain cf. Tacitus, Agricola, 12: *nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem....adfirmant;* Juvenal, Sat.II, l.161: *minima contentos nocte Britannos.* (Cf. Galletier, ibid. and see below ad 9,3 and 5.)

7,3 *Iove ipso dexteram porrigente*
Infra, ad 8,5,(iii).

Constantium Pium

The panegyrist applies the honorific cognomen *Pius* to Constantius again in 8,2 and 14,4; he is referred to thus again in Pan. XII, 4,3; the cognomen, after its notable use by Antoninus in the second century, was "assumed as a matter of course by Commodus and later emperors" (O.L.D. s.v. *pius* (4)).

7,4/5 *cum omnium deorum...vocabaris*

Cf. 9,5 where again the gods are shown as participating in the succession.

7,5 *ad tempus ipsum...transfretabat*

Supra, ad 4,1,(i).

ut...videreris

Beneath the rhetoric lies the historical information that Constantine made use of the *cursus publicus*, the state post, during his flight from Galerius, by whom he had been held hostage (supra, ad Pan. VII, 7,1,(ii)). This is corroborated in the accounts of Aurelius Victor (Caes. 40,2; cf. Epit. 41,2), the Anonymus Valesianus (2,4), Zosimus (2,8) and Lactantius (XXIV), whose accounts differ only in matters of detail. It appears that Constantine, having received Galerius' authorization (*dedit illi sigillum*, Lactantius, ibid.), duly departed, but fearing a change of heart on Galerius' part, killed (or rendered ineffectual) the horses left behind at the various *mansiones* along the route.

8,1 *Persarum Cydonumve tela*

"In classical times the Persians were dreaded for their attacks with arrows" (O.C.D. s.v. Archers). The Cydones (of Crete) also appear to have had this reputation: see Vergil (Aen. 12, l.856 ff): *sagitta...quam...Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit.*

tempestivus patri tuo....comes adfuisti

Supra, ad 4,1,(i).

curas....laxasti

Cf. Pliny, Pan. 6,5: *ille (sc. Nerva) securior factus est.*

8,2(i) *universus....signarunt*

Cf. 8,3 *purpuram....tibi....milites....iniecere*

The Anonymus Valesianus (2,4) and Zosimus (2,9) also mention the role of the army in Constantine's accession to his father's position, and Zosimus indicates that largesses were promised (ibid.). Lactantius simply remarks that Constantius recommended his son to the troops (D.M.P. XXIV), while the author of Pan. VII says he left the imperial power to him (5,3). There is no conflict here: it would have been clear that Constantine was his father's chosen successor, and the δωρεαί of Zosimus would have been designed to win over any waverers among the troops who hesitated from taking the election of an emperor into their own hands, and may well be identifiable with the donatives one would expect at the accession of a new emperor. (For the donative, see below, ad 16,2).

Regarding the popular support enjoyed by the emperors as portrayed in the panegyrics Burdeau notes, citing this text:

"Être porté au Pouvoir par la volonté non seulement d' une majorité, mais de tous, telle est la condition première de

la légitimité impériale "(L' Empereur d' apres les Panégyriques Latins, p.35).

(ii) *quamquam....probaverunt*

As the panegyrist puts it, Constantine had consulted the *seniores principes* before Constantius' death, and his elevation as emperor.

By *seniores principes* the panegyrist must be referring to Diocletian and Maximian; he would hardly have consulted Galerius from whom he had done his utmost to escape (supra, ad 7,5), while Constantius' approval was guaranteed. It is, of course, not impossible that Constantine, while still with Galerius, after hearing of his father's illness, referred the question of succession to Diocletian and Maximian, but the panegyrist's subsequent remark that they soon approved makes the preceding one suspect: Maximian probably did not recognise Constantine as Augustus until c. May 307, nine or ten months later (see Intro. to Pan. VII , Section A), and the sources nowhere mention any response on the part of Diocletian who appears to have remained inactive until the conference of Carnuntum in 308 (supra, ad 1,4), where, in any case, Constantine was only recognised as Caesar, (see Parker, H.R.W.p.246; C.A.H. XII, p.347; supra, ibid.).

8,4 *diceris....incitasse*

Warmington has commented that we have here "the notorious commonplace of reluctance to take up the burden of empire" (art.cit.

p.375), and Béranger (Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du Principat, p.139 ff) cites thirty names for which such reluctance is attested. There can be little doubt that Constantine very much wanted to be with the ailing Constantius at the time of his death: there would be a good chance of his being acclaimed by the troops as his successor (see Jones, L.R.E. p.78); and this is precisely what happened.

8,5,(i) *Cyllarus aut Arion*

These were both horses from mythology; Cyllarus belonged to Pollux (see e.g. Vergil, Georgics, III, l.89/90) while Arion was the amazing horse of Adrastus (see O.C.D. s.v. *Arion*).

(ii) *quem sequebatur imperium*

Constantine was pursued because it was so desired that he be emperor.

(iii) *illa maiestas....Iovis sublata nutu*

In 7,3/4 the panegyrist had said that Constantius after being welcomed in heaven by Jupiter, indicated his choice of Constantine as his successor, which choice was confirmed by the gods. Here more explicitly, Constantine's power is seen as deriving from Jupiter and his claim to empire is thus strengthened even more (see also above, ad Pan. VII, 12,6).

pinnis....Victoriae

Infra, ad 21,4-5 ad fin.

8,6 *sic....vicit*

(i) For the imperial virtues see General Introduction, Section C, and Appendix.

(ii) *differendi imperii conatus*

i.e. when, according to the orator, he tried to escape from the enthusiasm of the army (8,4).

(iii) *rei publicae felicitas*

This legend according to Sutherland appears on Constantine's *solidi* possibly between 310 and 313 (R.I.C. VI, p.221); Sutherland suggests that these coins, along with others, may celebrate "the mopping-up operations early in 310 against the Frankish and German peoples" (op.cit. p.160). For these troubles on the border see below, ad 16,1,(iv) and 21,2,(i)ff. Thus it is likely that the orator reflects trends in the coinage, and this has important implications for the interpretation of Constantine's vision of Apollo (see below, ad 21,4-5). For the inter-relationship between the propaganda of coinage and panegyric, see MacCormack (op.cit. p.178/9). She observes that "in the earlier fourth century, coinage and panegyric represented a uniform and coherent imperial programme".

9,1 *Britannia, quae Constantinum Caesarem prima vidisti*

For Constantine's proclamation as emperor in York, supra, ad Pan. VII, 1,1,(iii).

The Anonymus Valesianus (2,4) and Zosimus (2,9) mention Constantine's first rank of Caesar. (For his immediate attempts to be recognized as Augustus, supra, ad Pan. VII, 5,3,(ii))

9,2 *merito....velleribus*

Cf. Pan. VIII, 11,1.

The orator's praise of Britain is reminiscent of Vergil's praise of Italy, Georgics II, l.136 ff. (See Galletier, P.L. II, p.61, n.1).

The eulogy was clearly appropriate in that Constantine had become emperor in Britain, but it is also interesting to note that it was written by a Gallic orator at a time when for some years (from c. 260) Gallic landlords appear to have been moving to Britain and contributing to the economic revival that occurred there then (see Branigan, The Roman Villa in South-west England, p.47 ff).

9,3 *certe....praeterire*

See above, ad 7,2, *ut....continuum*, with citation of Tacitus, who was also struck by the length of the days in summer and the presence of light at night in Britain.

The panegyrist may have been acquainted with the Agricola, since the explanation of the phenomenon is the same:

cf:

Panegyrist: *extrema planities non attollit umbras*

with Tacitus : *extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra
non erigunt tenebras (Agricola, 12);*

Panegyrist: *ut sol....ibi appareat praeterire*

with Tacitus : *transire (sc. solem) affirmant (loc.cit.),*

and there are in addition to those displayed above, other verbal similarities:

cf.

Panegyrist: *caeli et siderum*

with Tacitus : *caelum et sidera (loc.cit.).*

(See also Pan. VII, ad 14,3 *dive Constanti....exceptit.*)

9,4 *Mercurius a Nilo*

Mercury was the Roman equivalent of the Greek god, Hermes, who was identified with the Egyptian Thoth: Hermes Trismegistus is, in fact, an attempt to translate Egyptian "Thoth the very great" (see Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, ed. Smith, Vol. II, s.v. Hermes and Hermes Trismegistus; O.C.D. s.v. *Hermes* (1); *Hermes* (2) *Trismegistus*).

Perhaps it is for this reason that the panegyrist attributes an Egyptian origin to Mercury.

Liber ab Indis:

There were many stories as to the origins of *Liber/Dionysus* (see Smith op.cit. s.v. *Dionysus*) and Diodorus relates one

according to which he was Indian (Diodorus Siculus, 3,63,3; for the common tradition of his Theban origin see also e.g. Diodorus, 3,64,3).

9,5 *Sacratoria....finitur*

In 7,2 the panegyrist introduced the idea of Britain's proximity to heaven; that idea is expressed more explicitly here.

For the hand of the gods in Constantine's succession, see 7,4 and 5; also above, ad 8,5,(iii).

For Britain, seen as the place where land ends, cf. Tacitus (loc.cit.): *extrema....terrarum*

10-13 : Constantine's Military Activities since his Accession

10,1 *republicam vindicare*

In the political vocabulary of the late Republic, the terms *vindicatio*, *vindicare*, *vindex*, etc., were very frequently used along with some form of the term *libertas*.

For examples, see Wirszubski, Libertas as a political idea at Rome during the late Republic and early Principate, p.103.

His examples all refer to internal political freedom as e.g. Cicero, Brutus, 212:

ex dominatu Ti. Gracchi....in libertatem rem publicam vindicavit (sc. Scipio Nasica),

but the expression could also be applied to the victims of Roman imperialism, as e.g. Caesar, de Bello Gallico 7,1:

deposeunt (sc. principes Galliae) qui....Galliam in libertatem vindicent.

Wirszübski has argued that even by the time of Augustus the phrase had become vague and he translates Augustus' well known *rem publicam....in libertatem vindicavi* (Res Gestae 1,1) as simply "I worked for the public good" (op.cit. p.104).

It appears that over two centuries later the term had become even more conventional and the absence of the word *libertas* indicates that the original positive idea of putting someone or something into a condition of freedom had been lost completely; Constantine "worked for the public good" by suppressing a Frankish invasion (see below).

10,1/2 *ignobilem....cruciatibus*

Constantine's first task as emperor was to put down an uprising of Franks who, taking advantage of Constantius' absence in Britain (*per absentiam patris tui* (10,2)), must have crossed the Rhine (cf. 11,3: *sciunt posse Franci transire Rhenum*).

Nazarius and the author of Pan. VII also mention that this was at the beginning of Constantine's career as emperor (see Pan. IV, 16,5 and 6 *auspicatus es; in ipsis imperii tui cunabulis*, and Pan. VII, 4,2 *auspicatus es*); the fact that the author of Pan. VII mentions this victory gives us a *terminus ante* of c. May 307 (see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A, ad fin.).

For the kings, Ascaricus and Merogaisus, see Pan. IV
(ibid.) and Pan. VI, 11,5.

ultimis....cruciatibus

With regard to this and the allusions to Constantine's
severitas that follow see General Introduction, Section C.

10,5-6 *fiduciam....necabantur*

It is clear from 10,7 that the panegyrist is thinking in
terms of the Republic.

The panegyrist's information is corroborated by Cicero
(Verr. V, 30,77):

*tamen cum de foro in Capitolium currus flectere incipiunt
illos duci in carcerem iubent (sc. qui triumphant) idemque
dies et victoribus imperii et victis vitae finem facit.*

Livy also confirms that the captured leaders were normally killed
(XXVI, 13,15):

*neque vinctus per urbem Romanam triumphi spectaculum
trahar, ut deinde in carcerem conditus exspirem aut ad
palum deligatus....cervicem securi Romanae subiciam.*

10,7 *unus Perses ipso Paulo....deprecante legem illius
severitatis evasit*

Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus (*cos.* I, 182 B.C.; *cos.* II,
168 B.C.) defeated Perses of Macedon at Pydna in 168 B.C. and
triumphed over him the following year (see Broughton, Magistrates

of the Roman Republic, I, p.433). Diodorus Siculus (XXXI, 9) says that Marcus Aemilius (*princeps senatus* from 179 B.C.) was responsible for an improvement in Perses' conditions of imprisonment, while Plutarch (Aemilius XXXVII), ascribes this to Aemilius Paulus. It will be noted that in neither case, contrary to the panegyrist's words, is the intercession against the death-penalty, only for better conditions.

Diodorus (ibid.) says that Perses was imprisoned pending a decision of the senate as to his fate, and it thus seems feasible that Perses was spared by a *senatus consultum* (cf. Livy, 45, 43,9 where after a triumph, Gentius of Illyria was sent into custody *ex senatus consulto*), and then, either Marcus Aemilius or Aemilius Paulus secured better living conditions for him.

As the account appears to have become somewhat garbled, the panegyrist's error is not difficult to understand.

The panegyrist indicates that Perses alone escaped the death-penalty; while the sparing of captured leaders was exceptionally rare, other instances are known, e.g. Pompey's sparing of captured kings when he triumphed in 61 B.C. (see Appian, Mithridatica 117) and the sparing of Gentius, mentioned above; for the triumph in general see Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, ed. Smith, s.v. *Triumphus*; Payne, The Roman Triumph; Versnel, Triumphus.

11,1 *nominis tui terrore munimur*

For the force of an emperor's name, cf. Justin, 42,5, ad fin., of Augustus.

arescat aestu

Cf. Pan. X, 7,7.

resistat gelu

Supra, ad 6,4.

11,3 (i) *regum suorum*

Infra, ad 11,5,(iii).

(ii) *coepto ponte*

Cf. 13,1 *Agrippinensi ponte faciundo*; 13,2 *novo ponte*.

La Baume (The Romans on the Rhine, p.36) says that Constantine was responsible for the building of the solid bridge across the Rhine at Cologne (*Colonia Agrippinensis*). On the opposite side of the river was the fortress, Divitia (mod. Deutz) which La Baume (ibid.) believes Constantine to have established. However Domaszewski in C.I.L. XIII, pt.2, fasc.2, p.587, citing inscriptions comments *sed iam secundo tertioque saeculo milites ibi in statione fuisse probatur* (cf. Hübner cited in R.E. V, col.1238 ff, who also thinks a bridgehead existed before the time of Constantine, and von Petrikovits, J.R.S. 61, 1971, p.182 who refers to "an earlier fort"). Clearly Constantine greatly expanded and fortified the bridgehead at Divitia (for a reconstruction see La Baume, op.cit. plate opp. p.28; cf. von Petrikovits, art.cit. fig.17), and Wightman (Roman Trier and the Treveri, p.103) believes that an

inscription dates the building operations to 310, the year of the panegyric, while according to von Petrikovits (art.cit. p.182) inscriptional evidence dates the reconstruction to 312-315 (unfortunately neither writer gives references).

As there appears to have been a bridgehead at Divitia before Constantine's accession it is possible that the bridge referred to here was not the first across the Rhine at this point, and *novo ponte* (13,2) may indeed imply that it was a replacement. It may nevertheless have been the first permanent one.

11,5 (i) *contra hinc per intervalla disposita magis ornant limitem castella quam protegunt*

The Rhine was the Roman frontier (*limes*) in Lower Germany (*Germania Inferior*) from the end of Augustus' reign until final collapse at the end of the fourth century (see Wilkes, The Roman Rhine-Danube Frontier, in Atlas of Classical Archaeology, ed. Finley, p.42).

In Upper Germany (*Germania Superior*), the river ceased to be the *limes* under the Flavians, who pushed the frontier forward to form a line cutting off the Rhine-Danube corner (see La Baume, op.cit. p.12) and this position obtained until the *limes* was retracted to the Rhine following the large scale invasions of the mid-third century (see Wilkes, ibid.)

Von Petrikovits (ibid.) notes that Constantine after his

succession "secured the Rhine frontier by new fortifications as well as by military action".

While there is little doubt that Divitia was strengthened under Constantine (see note above) von Petrikovits also believes it probable that frontier-forts at Haus Burgel in Germania II, Saletio-Seltz in Germania I, and Tenedo-Zurzach (Kirchlibuck) in Maxima Sequanorum were built in his reign (art.cit. p.184). (Von Petrikovits' list of fortifications, based on more recent excavations, supercedes that of La Baume (op.cit. p.18) and some of the fortifications regarded by La Baume as Constantinian appear to have in fact been built before his reign (e.g. Quadriburgium-Qualburg, see von Petrikovits, art.cit. p.181) or after it (e.g. Boudobriga-Boppard, see von Petrikovits, art.cit. p.183/4).)

(ii) *toto....bicornis*

Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, VIII, l.727: *Rhenusque bicornis*

(iii) *de Ascarici Merogaisique supplicio*

The panegyrist of 307 (Pan. VII, 4,2) had not named the Frankish kings, Ascaricus and Merogaisus, whom Constantine defeated at the beginning of his career, and Nazarius in his panegyric of 321, names only the former (Pan. IV, 16,5). It seems clear from this panegyric, 11,6, *duces sustulisse* that they were killed (cf. Pan. IV, 16,6: *quasi geminos dracones necares*), and they may well be the kings Eutropius mentions (X,3), who were put to death at games held by Constantine (see also below, ad 12,3).

12,1 *immissa Bructeris vastatione*

The orator mentions Constantine's second German victory, occurring according to Barnes before 11 November 308 (art.cit. p.192). For the first see above ad 10,1/2.

The Bructeri were part of the coalition of German people who leagued themselves together along the middle and lower Rhine in the third century and assumed the name Franci : "freemen" (see C.A.H. XII, p.157; O.C.D. s.v. Franks).

imperator invicte

Cf. supra, ad Pan. VII, 11,5.

12,3 *quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiae*

Supra, ad 6,2,(iii).

puberes....ad poenas spectaculo dati

Eutropius mentions a *magnificum spectaculum muneris* at which captive kings were thrown to wild beasts (X, 3). Nazarius' description of the death of Ascaricus and Merogaisus: *per saevissimorum regum famosa supplicia ludebas* (Pan. IV, 16,6) suggests that they may well have been killed at a public show and thus this orator and Eutropius may be referring to the same spectacle, at which *puberes* of the Bructeri, and Ascaricus and Merogaisus, were killed.

13,1 (i) *Agrippinensi ponte faciundo*

Supra, ad 11,3,(ii).

(ii) *quippe....immineat*

For a like picture cf. Pan. XII, 2,6: *Rhenum....toto limite dispositis exercitibus tutum reliqueras*; for Constantine's strengthening of the Rhine frontier, supra, ad 11,5,(i).

13,2 *ut....excedere*

(i) *ut....calcetur*

La Baume (op.cit. p.34) refers to "numerous bridges" across the Rhine in Roman times, and Brogan and Salway (O.C.D., s.v. *Rhenus*) mention, apart from the one at Cologne, Roman bridges above Basle, at Mainz and Koblenz, and at Andernach, the site of Julius Caesar's bridges.

Bridges, perhaps wooden, may well have been built where the Rhine was shallow and narrow; before the *Agri Decumates* were lost and the frontier withdrawn to the Rhine (and Danube) there must have been considerable need for crossings between Germania Superior and this area. (For a description of a wooden bridge across the Rhine, see Caesar, de Bello Gallico, IV, 17.)

(ii) *ubi iam plurimos....invenit*

i.e. at Cologne, the site of Constantine's new bridge, which is downstream of the points of junction of the Moselle (*noster ingens fluvius*), and the Necker and the Main (see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section C).

(iii) *ubi iam immani....excedere*

Cf. 11,5: *toto....bicornes*; the *cornua* are formed by the Rhine branching into the Waal (Lat. *Vahalis*).

13,3 *tantarum molium fundamenta*

Constantine's bridge at Cologne (supra, ad 11,3,(ii)) consisted of a wooden superstructure that rested on stone foundations (see La Baume, op.cit. p.34).

13,4 *iunxerit....potentissimus*

For Xerxes' bridge across the Hellespont, see Herodotus, VII, 36.

simili....otiosi

The emperor was Gaius Caligula (d.41) who according to Suetonius (Cal. XIX) and Dio Cassius (59,17), bridged the gulf of Baiae with ships.

In the former account he rode back and forth for two days, the first day on horse-back, the second in a chariot, whereas in the latter, wearing Alexander the Great's breastplate, he charged across to Puteoli on the first day, with a large company of cavalry and infantry, and on the second returned in a chariot.

The orator may have had Alexander in mind when mentioning Gaius Caligula here. Cf. above ad 7,2 *iturus....continuum* and below ad 17,2,(i).

14-20 : Maximian's revolt against Constantine14,1 *novi motus eius hominis*

The panegyrist introduces the topic that will occupy him until the end of para.20: the abortive coup of Maximian (*eius hominis*) against Constantine (see esp. infra, ad 16,1,(ii)ff).

de quo....consilium

The sentence makes best sense if *adhuc* is taken to mean "up to the present time" (O.L.D. s.v. *adhuc*, 1), not "still" (op.cit. s.v. *adhuc*, 3).

For its use in sense 1, with the present tense, see examples cited, ad loc., and Pan. V, 2,1: *quae adhuc....fruitur*.

The whole question of Maximian's death was a sensitive one (see next note and below ad 20), and the orator had not previously dared pronounce on the matter; having obtained Constantine's consent, he was able to (cf. Warmington, art.cit. p.376).

14,2 *quamlibet....revereantur*

For Maximian's death, infra, ad 20.

The careful construction of *quamlibet....revereantur* no doubt reflects the difficulty of dealing with such a sensitive subject as Maximian's death. Warmington (ibid.) has observed with justification that the death of Maximian, a Senior Augustus, must

have come as a shock and that Maximian's record in Gaul was good.

Accordingly the orator qualifies (*quamlibet*) his assertion that Constantine's criticism of Maximian was justified (*merito.... arguatur*), and *cum....revereantur* is particularly skilful since the embedding of *qui....exstiterit* in the *cum*-clause allows the necessity for respect of Maximian (*contemplatio....revereantur*) to be in final position and thus emphasized, while Constantine's point of view is nevertheless expressed too: *qui....adhuc*.

14,3 *quid....tractem ?*

Constantine did not wish to appear as Maximian's murderer. The panegyrist presents a picture of him deeply hurt by Maximian's tragic death. A murderer would never have felt this way. Thus this is part of the cover-up of Maximian's execution (infra, ad 20).

usurpabo....virtutes

The doctrine is that of the Early Stoa; see Aulus Gellius, Attic Nights, VII, 1-2, where Chrysippus' *Περὶ Προνόιας* is cited.

14,4 *siderum decreta*

For sidereal fatalism see Cumont, Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain, p.165 ff. He notes that: "Le Principe capital qu' elle imposa (sc. l'astrologie) fut celui du fatalisme".

Such a principle arose from the observation of the regular movement of the heavenly bodies. The immutable law governing these

was then felt to be operative in human life.

Originating in Babylonia, this form of fatalism was obviously popular in the late Empire: the panegyrist clearly recognized it and expected his audience to, and several Christian writers of the fourth century attacked astrology (see Cumont, op.cit. p.289, n.61).

ut crudelis esse non possis

The orator seemingly wished to contrast Constantine's behaviour with that of Maximian, who had acted cruelly towards Constantine by attempting a coup against him (infra, ad 16,1,(ii) ff), but the contrast is drawn at the expense of consistency: cf. 10,2 ff and 12.

14,5 *multis hominibus iniustum....exitium*

The reference must be to the deaths that would have inevitably occurred during the civil war sparked off by Maximian's actions.

ipsi voluntarium....exitium

For Maximian's death infra, ad 20.

14,6 (i) *fati necessitas*

Supra, ad 14,3, *usurpabo....virtutes.*

(ii) *quem tu ab Urbe pulsum, ab Italia fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum tuis provinciis....recepisti*

Maximian had attempted to usurp power from Maxentius in Rome in 308 (supra, ad Pan. VII, 10,2,(ii)). When this failed he fled from Italy to take asylum with his son-in-law Constantine in Gaul; cf. Eutropius: *inde ad Gallias profectus est....ut Constantino genero iungeretur* (X, 3) and Lactantius: *ab urbe Roma....exactus est* (D.M.P. XXVIII); *rediens rursus in Gallias* (D.M.P. XXIX). This would explain *ab Urbe pulsum, ab Italia fugatum*.

The phrase *ab Illyrico repudiatum* probably refers to Maximian's repudiation at the conference of Carnuntum in November 308 (for the date see Sutherland, op.cit. p.14). Carnuntum was situated in Pannonia, which was part of the *portorium Illyricum* and originally known as *Illyricum inferius*. With Diocletian's re-organization of the empire *Illyricum occidentale* constituted the *diocesis Pannoniarum* (see O.C.D. s.v. *Illyricum*). Furthermore the Anonymus Valesianus uses a similar mode of expression (*in Illyrico*) when clearly referring to the conference (3,8). Maximian was accorded no place in the tetrarchy that emerged from Carnuntum (Sutherland, ibid.; Parker, H.R.W. p.245 - "a crushing defeat to Maximian's ambitions").

The panegyrist places Maximian's reception in Gaul after his repudiation in Illyricum.

It is in fact clear from Lactantius' account (D.M.P. XXIX)

that Maximian entered Gaul twice in 308; the first time was immediately after the abortive coup (*rediens rursus in Gallias*, see also above), and he stayed there only temporarily (*ubi aliquantum moratus est*); he then went to the conference (*profectus ad hostem filii sui Maximianum*, understand *Galerium Maximianum*), and after the conference returned once more to Gaul (*redit in Galliam*).

The panegyrist appears thus to be referring to Maximian's second entry into Gaul, late in 308, following the November conference at Carnuntum.

(iii) *tuis copiis*

The panegyrist perhaps mentions the army to underscore Maximian's later abuse of his position with the army (see below, ad 16,1,(vi) and (vii)).

(iv) *tuo palatio*

It seems most likely that this refers to the imperial residence at Trier (cf. Galletier, P.L. II, p.66, n.2); it was described in 311, after the delivery of this panegyric, as a city which had, up till then, been enjoying Constantine's continual presence (Pan. V, 2,1; for the date of Pan. V, see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section A; for Trier as Constantine's abode, Intro. to Pan. VII, Section C). For the architecture of Trier in general and of the imperial palace quarter in particular, see Wightman, op.cit., especially p.98 ff, and Reusch, s.v. *Augusta Treverorum*, in P.E.C.S.

15,1 *cui tu....imperii*

The favours the panegyrist refers to would clearly be those accorded Maximian by Constantine after the marriage between Constantine and Fausta (see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A).

For a similar idealized picture of joint-rule, see Pan. VII, 14,1, with comment (ii). Baehrens' conjecture of *aulicos mulos et raedas* (XII Panegyrici Latini, Teubner, p.171) for the unintelligible *ad anullos sederas* read by Mynors (op.cit. p.197) makes good sense: Constantine would have provided Maximian with transportation when he left Gaul (*digredienti*) either to return to Italy after the wedding in 307 (Lactantius D.M.P. XXVIII), or to go to Carnuntum in 308 (supra, ad 14,6(ii)), but as we are dealing with a conjecture, there is no proof that this in fact happened.

regias opes

Cf. 22,5 *opera regia*.

For the adjective *regius* see Forcellini, Lexicon s.v. *regius*.

It does not appear to have necessarily had pejorative connotations at this time. Certainly in Pliny's Panegyric for Trajan it was used *in malam partem*: *superbum istud et regium, nisi adoptes eum quem constet imperatumum fuisse, etiamsi non adoptasses* (7,6), but in Pacatus' Panegyric for Theodosius it means quite neutrally "imperial": *alios ad finitas regia imposuere rei publicae* (Pan. II, 12,1).

It seems in fact that as early as Ovid the word could be used in a complimentary sense: *regia....res est succurrere lapsis* (Epistulae ex Ponto, 2, 9,11).

15,4 *divinum illum virum qui primus imperium et participavit et posuit consilii et facti sui non paenitet*

For the bestowal by Diocletian (*divinum illum virum*) on Maximian of a share of the imperial power, supra, ad Pan. VII 1,1,(ii); Diocletian (and Maximian along with him) abdicated on 1 May, 305 (supra, ibid.). Since the time of his retirement, Diocletian had been living as a *privatus* at Salona in Dalmatia (Eutropius IX, 27; Victor, Epitome 39,6); for his death, supra, ad Pan. VII, 9,5,(ii).

quem....obsequia

The orator addresses the tetrarchs (see also next note) and pictures them as loyal to Diocletian; he thus paves the way for the ostensible loyalty shown the tetrachy that is to come (infra, ad 15,5,(ii)).

15,5 (i) *sed....umbraculo*

The orator refers to the tetrarchs - after Carnuntum, Galerius, Maximin, Licinius and Constantine (supra, ad 1,4).

(ii) *quos scit ex sua stirpe crevisse*

The tetrarchs were not literally Diocletian's descendants and only Galerius was related to Diocletian and this by adoption (supra, ad Pan. VII, 3,3,(i)).

However they could be regarded as his "sons in empire", in the same way that Maximian could be regarded as Diocletian's "brother in empire" (above, ad Pan. VII, 11,1-4,(v)). It was in this sense that Constantine and Maximian were *fili Augustorum* (see Lactantius, D.M.P. XXXII; Dessau I.L.S. 683; supra, ad 1,4).

Perhaps the orator exploits the ambiguity of *cresco* and *stirps*. In addition to meaning "arise" etc. and "stock, lineage" etc. respectively, they could mean "advance in wealth, power" etc. (see O.L.D. s.v. *cresco* (7)) and "origin, foundation" etc. (see Lewis and Short, s.v. *stirps* II) respectively. So on another level he could be saying that the tetrarchs owed their positions of prominence to the system that was Diocletian's foundation.

The orator pays lip-service to the tetrarchy and Diocletian, who in 15,4 was described as *divinum illum virum*; cf. also 1,4: *quorum concursus est et societas maiestas*.

Warmington (art.cit. p.375) believes that the orator "accepts the idea of a college of rulers", but an alternate interpretation is that he does not wish to advance too blatantly and alarmingly Constantine's claim to be the only legitimate ruler (supra, ad 2,(i)). (For other views that this panegyric does not support tetrarchy, see Dörries, Constantine the Great, tr. R. Bainton, p.24: "thus the principle of the tetrarchy is here set aside in favour of the hereditary claim"; Vogt, op.cit. p.348: "eine Distanzierung von der Tetrarchie"; Vogt acknowledges the recognition accorded Diocletian

in the panegyric but clearly does not view this as negating the hereditary claim of Constantine.)

15,6 *hunc, eo, huic, :* Diocletian

illum : Maximian

genero : Constantine the son-in-law of Maximian the subject of *peieravit*.

frater adscitus: supra, ad Pan. VII, 11,1-4,(v).

huic....paenituit

For this agreement, above, ad Pan. VII, 9,2,(ii).

16,1 (i) *haec religio Palatini sacrarii devota penetralibus*

It seems improbable that this refers to a second and separate pledge given by Maximian to Diocletian in Rome, that he would lay down his power, since the orator appears at the end of para.15 to have passed from Diocletian to Constantine, and in any case what reason can there have been for two agreements in Rome between Maximian and Diocletian? If *Palatini* is allowed the well attested meaning "of" or "belonging to the imperial palace" vel.sim. (see Lewis and Short, *Palatium* II, B) then this agreement need not have occurred at Rome on the Palatine, but simply in a *sacrarium* attached to the imperial residence. It then becomes possible that the orator is referring to an agreement between Constantine and Maximian, reached after Maximian fled from Maxentius after his abortive coup (supra, ad Pan. VII, 10,2,(ii)), and after his failure at Carnuntum (supra, ad 14,6,(ii)); the obvious place for this to

have taken place is Trier (supra, ad 14,6,(iv)); Galletier (R.E.A. 52, 1950, p.290) envisages such a ceremony at Trier, but he provides no argumentation as to the interpretation of *Palatini*.

(ii) *ut lente et cunctanter....*

The actual account of Maximian's revolt begins.

(iii) *iam scilicet cum illis belli consiliis*

The panegyrist suggests that Maximian did not merely make his plans as the situation developed; he had been laying his plans and strategy already previously; cf. Eutropius X, 3, Orosius VII, 28, 9, Lactantius, D.M.P. XXIX, where the plan to usurp power from Constantine is also seen as long-standing.

(iv) (*sc.ut*) *itinere confecto....purpuratus*

We know from 18,6 that Maximian went to Massilia to make his last stand, after abandoning Arles (see also 18,4 where Arles is the pursuing troops' destination), and it seems thus likely that Arles is the place referred to here, where he reassumed the purple (cf. Galletier, P.L. II, p.67, n.2).

As it is expressed by the orator, Maximian took up his position *intra parietes* only after a previous journey (*itinere confecto*), when the supplies of the various *mansiones* were destroyed.

There can be little doubt that Trier must have been his original point of departure.

Lactantius (D.M.P. XXIX) says that Maximian's opportunity came when Constantine had to proceed to the frontier against the Franks; Maximian advised Constantine that a few soldiers would suffice for their suppression; it was his intention to win over the balance in Constantine's absence; Constantine followed his advice.

At this time Constantine (and therefore Maximian) would almost certainly have been at Trier (supra, ad 14,6,(iv) and Intro. to Pan. VII, Section C).

(v) (*sc.ut*) *bis depositum tertio usurparet imperium*
bis depositum...imperium

The orator must be referring to Maximian's abdication in 305 (supra, ad Pan. VII, 1,1,(ii)) and his disappointment at Carnuntum (supra, ad 14,6,(ii)) after which it would appear he swore to Constantine not to exercise imperial authority (supra, ad note (i)).

With regard to (*sc.ut*) *tertio usurparet*, the orator is correct, and appears to exploit the ambiguity of *usurpo*, which can mean quite neutrally "to enjoy, exercise" etc, or in juridical language "to get possession of" (a thing), but pejoratively bears the meaning "to assume unlawfully, usurp" etc, (see Lewis and Short, s.v. *usurpo*).

Maximian first "exercised" imperial power when he was taken by Diocletian as co-ruler, probably in 285 (supra, ad Pan. VII, 8,8,(i); he "exercised" it again, when Maxentius recognized him as Augustus after his coup in Rome in late 306 (supra, ad Pan. VII, 10,5), and he "usurped" it from Constantine on the occasion referred to here, i.e. *tertio*.

(vi) (sc.ut) *litteras....mitteret*

Presumably Maximian would have sent letters announcing his coup, and asking for loyalty, to all troop commanders in Constantine's provinces; the transference of their allegiance would have been essential to a successful usurpation of power from Constantine.

(vii) (sc.ut) *fidem militum praemiorum ostentatione turbare temptaret*

In Lactantius' account bounties actually changed hands: *donat, ut solet, large* (D.M.P. XXIX), whereas here only hope of them is held out (cf. 16,2 *qui te....praetulerunt*). The discrepancy may be due to Lactantius' hostility towards Maximian, for which see especially D.M.P. VIII and XXX. For the troops' response, see next note.

16,2 *quo....praetulerunt*

Since it is an accession we are dealing with (and for Maximian this is what effectively it was) *donis* presumably refers to the donatives troops regularly expected on occasions such as accessions, consulships and *dies natales*, and which in the late Empire constituted a regular supplement of the soldiers pay (see Jones, L.R.E. p.623; O.C.D. s.v. *donativum*; for *donum* as a synonym of *donativum*, with late Empire examples cited, see Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, s.v. *donum*, I, B,2, ad fin.). The panegyrist says that the soldiers did not respond to Maximian's

promises of gifts because of their love for Constantine. It should, however, be noted that some troops must have declared for Maximian, presumably among those Constantine left behind (supra, ad 16,1,(iv)), or else his revolt would not have got off the ground, which it clearly did.

Perhaps those who did go over, were influenced by Maximian's story (mentioned by Lactantius, D.M.P. XXIX) that Constantine had met with reverses on the frontier; the majority, however, must have suspected the tales of a man whose attempted coup against his own son, and rejection at Carnuntum, cannot have been forgotten.

16,7 *dona tua* .

Since Constantine's accession there would have been several such occasions as cited above for donatives to the troops; (for the equation *donum* = *donativum*, see above, as also for the *donativum*; for what was possibly his accession donative vid.sup. ad 8,2,(i)).

17

The orator digresses momentarily from the coup and thus breaks the narrative.

17,2 *talem....celebratur*

(i) *Magnum illum regem*

i.e. Alexander; *Magnus* was used absolutely of Pompey the Great (see O.L.D. s.v. *magnus* (7), but the inclusion of *regem* clearly

indicates that whoever was meant was sufficiently well known for the personal name to be superfluous. Livinėjus, cited by Galletier, P.L. II, p.68, thought it referred to Agamemnon, but Alexander seems more likely, as the epithet *Magnus* was frequently applied to him in Latin literature from an early stage (see e.g. Plautus, Mostellaria, l. 775; Livy, 45, 7,3; Horace, Epistles II, I, l.232 (where *regi* is also added).

For praise of Alexander's physical appearance and courage see Arrian, Anab.Alex. VII, 28: τό τε ἰσχυρὸς καὶ κάλλιστος.... καὶ ἀνδρείοτατος.... καὶ φιλοκινδυνότατος, and Plutarch, Alex. IV and LXIII.

For Alexander see also above ad 7,2 *iturus....continuum* and 13,4.

(ii) *Thessalum virum*

i.e. Achilles, whose father Peleus was a king of Thessaly; for another use of the epithet in Latin literature with reference to Achilles, cf. Propertius, 2, 22, l.30: *Thessala tela*.

As Galletier points out (*ibid.*) the mention of Achilles strengthens the view that it is Alexander who is meant by *Magnum illum regem*, since "on sait qu' il se modelait sur Achille".

Homer in the Iliad frequently praises Achilles' physical magnificence (*θεοείκελος* is one of the epithets most often applied to him) and his courage.

For comparisons as a *topos* of panegyric, see above ad Pan. VII, 5,2.

17,3 *non....habitor*

The learned men alluded to are the *physiognomonici*, for whom and whose ideas see O.C.D. s.v. *Physiognomonici*; Edelstein, ibid., remarks that physiognomy, which was "based on the theory of the interdependence of body and soul" had a wide influence on "painters, writers, orators and actors".

18,2 *a Rheno usque ad Ararim*

As Galletier remarks Constantine and his army in their pursuit of Maximian clearly followed the great military road, which ran from the Rhine to Lugdunum, following the Moselle and Arar (mod. Saône), and then proceeded along the course of the Rhone (P.L. II, p.69, n.1).

It is apparent from 18,3 that the army transferred to ships at Cabillonum on the Arar.

18,3 *tum....clamabant*

Galletier has suggested that the troops may have in fact not wanted to row (loc.cit. n.2). Their displeasure may indeed have been directed not so much at the tardiness of the Rhone, but at having to row to compensate for it, and the story of the troops' eagerness may be an attempt to down-play what really happened, which *cura....non placuit* in fact discloses.

18,4 *eluctati Araris moras vix ipso Rhodano fuere contenti*

There was no resumption of marching at this stage; the Arar (Saône) is a tributary (the chief one) of the Rhone.

Arelate

Supra, ad 16,1,(iv).

18,6 *tanto....praeverterent*

When the rhetoric has been shorn away, it appears that Constantine, before he reached Arles, heard that it had been abandoned by Maximian, who had fled to Massilia. He disembarked the army without delay and took a more direct land-route to that city.

19,1 *Massilia....opponitur*

(i) *ut audio*

Supra, ad Pan. VII, 6,1-2.

(ii) For a plan of ancient Marseille see reproduction below, taken from Grenier, op.cit., p.479.

munitissimo....portu

i.e., the old harbour - "vieux port" on map below; with *munitissimo*, the panegyrist is presumably referring to the natural protection enjoyed by the harbour, through the geography of the place.

(iii) *in quem....sinus*

By *angusto aditu*, the panegyrist must mean "Le Goulet" (see plan), the narrow outlet to the high sea.

meridianus....sinus

Sinus must refer to the harbour, since it can only be its waters that flowed out to sea through the *angustus aditus*. It is described correctly as *meridianus*, since the harbour did indeed lie to the south of the city (see map, and cf. Strabo 4, 1,4: ὑποπέπτωκε δ' αὐτῆς ὁ λιμὴν θεατροειδεῖ πέτραι, βλεπούσης πρὸς νότον).

(iv) *Massilia....solis mille quingentis passibus terrae cohaeret*

The panegyrist refers to the isthmus of the spur of land that jutted out into the sea; Galletier observes (P.L. II, p.70, n.1) that the orator's measurement is too long for the isthmus, and remarks that such a length would be more appropriate to the total length of the circumference of the city; his suggestion that *mille* might be removed from the text is not supported by the manuscripts which all show it, so it may be that the speaker simply made a mistake; he is after all describing it *ut audit*.

(v) *qua....opponitur*

A fortified rampart extended across the isthmus; it was the wall here that was the object of Julius Caesar's great siege during the civil war with Pompey (vid.inf., ad 19,3); Salviat in

P.E.C.S. notes that excavations near the Bourse have confirmed the line of this fortification from the third century B.C. onwards (op. cit. s.v. Massalia).

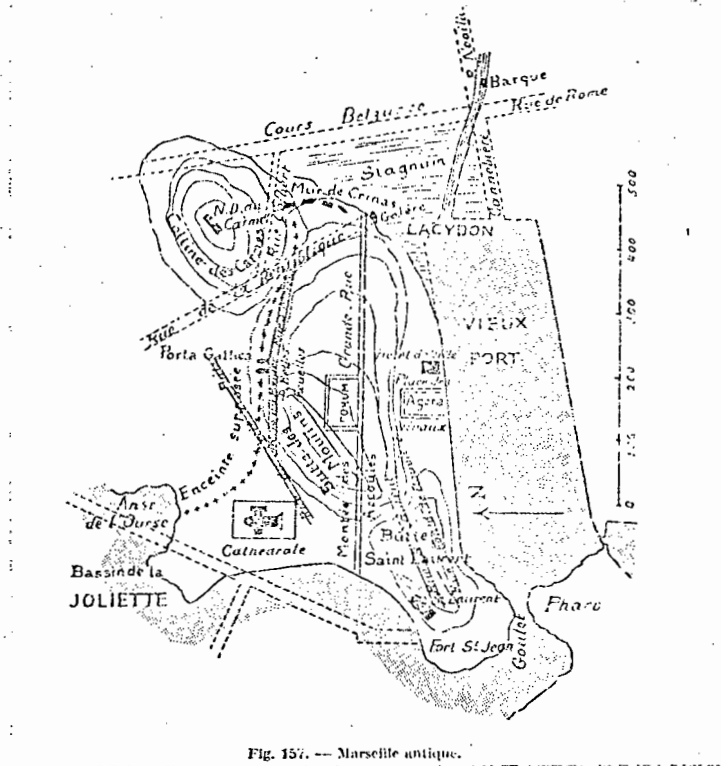


Fig. 157. -- Marseille antique.

19,2 *Graecos Italosque illuc convenas*

Massilia was founded c. 600 B.C. by Ionian Greeks from Phocaea in Asia Minor (see Boardman, The Greeks Overseas, p.210). She enjoyed Rome's *amicitia* from an early stage and later entered into formal alliance with her (see Badian, Foreign Clientelae, p.47 ff).

In view of the close ties with Rome, many people from Italy must have settled there and Strabo (4, 1,5) mentions that in his day many Romans chose to study there instead of at Athens.

in eam partem quae adiri posset

i.e. the isthmus (see (iv) above).

cum Natura in ceteris sumptum operis remisisset

With *ceteris*, *sc. partibus*; i.e. the sides of the peninsula which were naturally protected by the water that surrounded them.

19,3 *itaque....reppulissent*

Julius Caesar's operations (or the operations of his men) against Massilia, are described in the first and second books of the de Bello Civili (for exact references relevant here, see on).

(i) *illam (sc. urbem)....Caesari portas pro duce seniore claudentem*

Massilia opposed Caesar in the civil war, by admitting Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, a partisan of Pompey (see Caesar, B.C. I, 36), who, as being older than Caesar, is referred to as the *dux senior* of the war.

(ii) *admotis machinis, aggeribus exstructis*

For the machinery and methods of Gaius Trebonius in the siege, see Caesar, B.C. II, 1,2 and 8 ff .

(iii) *navalibus....patefecit*

navalibus proeliis saepius oppugnatam quam territam

Two naval engagements were fought between the Massiliotes and the Caesarian forces (see Caesar, B.C. I, 56 ff and II, 3 ff),

both resulting in defeat for the Massiliotes but not effecting the immediate capitulation of the city.

obsessio diuturna

The siege in fact lasted about six months; Caesar left Rome at the beginning of April 49 B.C. (see Warde Fowler, Julius Caesar, p.269; he also cites Cicero, ad Atticum, X, 8(b), from Caesar, dated XV *Kal. Maias, ex itinere*), and it appears from Cicero's correspondence that the siege was underway in early May (see ad Atticum, X, 10 and X, 14); Caesar then returned there from Spain around the end of September to receive the final submission of the city (Warde Fowler, op.cit. p.278).

(iv) *cum tamen....reppulissent*

Graeculi magistratus

That Massilia retained its Greek character long after its foundation by Greek colonists (above, ad 19,2) is attested by Strabo's story that the Massilians turned the barbarian Galatae into $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\gamma\nu\alpha\varsigma$ able to use the Greek alphabet (loc.cit.), and Cicero's ranking of Massilia among the "good" Greek cities, in his defence of Flaccus, which he opposed to the untrustworthy Asiatic Greeks (Pro Flacco, XXVI, 62 ff).

ipsum Caesarem et mox duces eius et copias

The panegyrist is correct in the sense that Caesar left the conduct of the siege to Trebonius, no doubt realising that it would be a lengthy affair, and proceeded to Spain (Caesar, B.C. I,

36 ff), but it is clear that there was no initial assault and repulsion.

The town then successfully resisted the efforts of the Caesarian commanders Trebonius and Decimus Brutus (who commanded the fleet) until the Romans managed to breach the wall and the inhabitants surrendered (see (iii), above).

19,4 (i) *altitudo murorum....creberrimae turres*

One would expect the wall to have undergone alteration over a period of some three hundred and fifty years but Caesar's comment is worth comparing:

altitudo muri atque turrium....omnem administrationem tardebat (B.C. II, 2).

(ii) *nihil loci....si velles*

It appears that Constantine was immediately able to capture the harbour (see Galletier, art.cit., p.290); for the town vid.inf. ad 20.

19,5 and 6

See below, ad 20.

20

This important paragraph raises the question of what exactly occurred at Massilia, both with regard to the surrender of that town

and the death of Maximian in 310 (see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section A).

The surrender of Marseille

Constantine, according to the orator, made an assault on the wall, which was hampered by the shortness of the ladders (19,5). There is no need to question this, but when the speaker says that, after some soldiers had managed to scramble up the battlements with hooks (19,6), Constantine sounded the retreat and postponed victory (20,1), we are not so convinced, and Galletier's observation (art. cit. p.291) seems the right one: "le siège de la ville a été manifestement un échec".

In another respect the panegyrist disappoints our expectations: there are no details of how Massilia eventually came into Constantine's hands.

Galletier (ibid.) believes that we must turn to Lactantius for the answer. There (D.M.P. XXIX) we are told that while Constantine was engaged in a conversation with Maximian who was on the battlements, the gates on the other side of the town were suddenly opened. Galletier attributes this to a scheme of Constantine's, put into operation at the time he was conducting negotiations. The truth may indeed lie along these lines; certainly the details of Lactantius' story (e.g. of Constantine catching sight of Maximian on the battlements and starting to speak to him) seem far-fetched, but negotiations are likely; from 20,2 *licet....precarentur* it seems that an amnesty was offered, and it is not improbable that at the time of these

negotiations Constantine managed to secure co-operation from within the town.

The death of Maximian

The crucial points of the panegyrist's account are *illite intellegimus pepercisse* (20,2) and *sibi....viveret* (20,3). Apart from the panegyrist and Lactantius (see on) the significant primary sources are the following:

Victor, Epitome 40,5

Maximianus Herculus a Constantino apud Massiliam obsessus, deinde captus, poenas dedit mortis genere postremo, fractis laqueo cervicibus

Eutropius X,3

inde ad Gallias profectus est dolo composito, tanquam a filio esset expulsus, ut Constantino genero iungeretur, molens tamen Constantinum reperta occasione interficere....detectis igitur insidiis per Faustam filiam, quae dolum viro nuntiaverat, profugit Herculus, Massiliaeque oppressus (ex ea etenim navigare ad filium praeparabat) poenas dedit iustissimo exitu*

* some MSS. read *enim* but the meaning is unaltered.

Orosius, VII, 28,9-10.

Herculus Maximianus....in Galliam profectus est, ut Constantino genero aequo dolis iunctus auferret imperium. sed per filiam deprehensus et proditus, deinde in fugam versus Massiliae oppressus et interfectus est

Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, VIII, 13,15

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ μηχανῶν θανάτου
 βυρράπτων ἄλους ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν
 ἐπικνησθεὶς δεδηλωμένος ἀίχρίστῳ κατατρέφει
 θανάτῳ

and Appendix to Book VIII

ἀρχόνῃ τὴν Ἰωὴν ἀπορεγγεῖς.

In Lactantius' account (D.M.P. XXIX and XXX) Maximian seized power while Constantine was absent on the frontier (supra, ad 16,1,(iv)), was besieged at Massilia, pardoned, and then connived with Fausta to murder Constantine in his bed; Fausta informed Constantine, who substituted a eunuch for himself; Maximian killed the eunuch and, caught red-handed, was allowed to choose his way of death - hanging.

Lactantius stands alone in relating a second plot, which is evidence in itself against him, but Moreau, in * Lactance, De la Mort des persécuteurs (cited by Huss, Latomus, 37, 1978, p.723) has discovered a likely model for Lactantius' wildly improbable story in the tale related in 3 Maccabees 1,2 ff, where Ptolemy IV escaped death at the hands of Theodotus. Barnes suggests that the story of the double plot may stem from Constantinian propaganda circulated

* it is much regretted that I have been unable to obtain in South Africa a copy of Moreau's edition of D.M.P.

during Constantine's war with Maxentius (J.R.S., 63, 1973, p.41 ff); this is quite plausible, but given Lactantius' probable model (and there can be little doubt that he would have been familiar with the Apocrypha), the form given the second plot surely belongs to him. At any rate, it seems unlikely that there was a second plot, as related by Lactantius.

In the stories of Eutropius and Orosius the presence of Fausta can be attributed to the same propaganda tradition that misled Lactantius, and the fact that they place her betrayal of Maximian before the siege of Massilia is clear evidence that different versions were going around of the old man's death.

Nevertheless along with Aurelius Victor they form a solid bloc of evidence that, after Maximian's capture at Marseille, he was executed. (He may of course have been given a (*liberum*) *mortis arbitrium* - see e.g. Suetonius, Domitian 8,4; Tacitus, Annals XV, 60, as Lactantius would have it: *datur ei potestas liberae mortis* - but effectively this was execution.) They stand in contrast to the panegyrist who quite clearly says that Maximian committed suicide:

*illum autem non credo....sortem incurrisse fugiendam,
quae....postremo ipsi voluntarium ferret exitium* (14,5)

*sibi imputet quisquis uti noluit beneficio tuo nec se
dignum vita iudicavit, cum per te liceret ut viveret* (20,3)

(Huss, art.cit. p.720, has suggested that the evidence of Eusebius supports this, but this is not so: ἀλοὺς θανάτῳ , he rightly notes is "unklar" but so is ἀγχόνη.... ἀποερέτας; ἀποερέχνημι

θάψιν, ψυχὴν κλπ. mean simply "die", see Liddell and Scott, s.v. ἀποερέχουμι ; thus Eusebius cannot be fairly used to support either viewpoint. Huss's further point that there may after all be no discrepancy between the panegyrist and Lactantius, so that neither support a free-will suicide, is not acceptable: he points out (art.cit. p.721) that the panegyrist speaks not of a *voluntarium exitium* but a *postremo...voluntarium exitium*, but his whole argument (ibid.) reads a great deal into the text which is not there, and it is difficult to explain away the clear implication of 20,3 (above.)

Although of all the sources the panegyrist was closest to the events in question there are good reasons for rejecting his testimony: the weight of all the other evidence is against him; it would be surprising if Constantine had spared Maximian for he could surely never have trusted him again; Constantine would not wish to appear as Maximian's murderer (see Huss, art.cit. p.722), and, as Warmington has pointed out (art.cit. p.376), Maximian's record in Gaul was good (see also above ad 14,2 ff). Thus the official suicide version (which Seeck did not find implausible (Geschichte 1, p.107 ff)) must be rejected and attributed to the emperor himself whom we know sanctioned the speech (see 14,1 with commentary, ad loc.) and who almost certainly felt very uneasy about, and wished to cover up, his execution order.

If we accept this, then the story of Maximian's pardon (20,2), designed undoubtedly to show Constantine's consideration for Maximian, also falls away and it is worth noting the panegyrist's

way of expressing this: not that it did happen, but only that he understands (*intellegimus*) that it happened, perhaps the give-away that he is faithfully expressing his master's wishes.

Galletier (art.cit. p.291 ff) accepts the idea of a pardon, but this is necessitated by his belief that there was a second plot, which we have seen is doubtful.

Huss too (art.cit. p.724), believes in a pardon, because he accepts the testimony of the panegyrist and Lactantius on this score, both of whom we have seen are suspect. Maximian's subsequent death he attributes (citing Eutropius) to a plan on his part to link up with Maxentius in Italy again. But as this is expressed in Eutropius (vid.sup.) it is given more as a cause of the siege of Massilia than of Maximian's death.

The simplest and most likely scheme, then, is that Massilia fell, probably after Constantine secured collaboration from within the town, and that Constantine realising that Maximian could not be trusted again, forthwith ordered his execution, possibly allowing him to choose his mode of death.

It is most likely that the execution took place at Massilia, and Orgels' suggestion of Arles as the place of death of Maximian has been refuted by Galletier (art.cit. p.292 ff with references) convincingly; cf. Huss art.cit. p.719/20 with notes .

21: Constantine's return to the frontier and the vision of Apollo

21,2 (i) *ecce....concliderunt*

It appears that during Constantine's absence from the Rhine, where he had been occupied (supra, ad 16,1,(iv)) fresh troubles broke out which subsided the moment Constantine's return was announced.

(ii) *ne....tetigisset*

See translation ad loc; *ne....tetigisset* must surely be a consecutive clause; for the history of *ne = ut non* in consecutive clauses see Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* II, p.641 ff; see also next note.

21,3 (i) *postridie....didicisti*

The panegyrist says that on a particular day Constantine heard of the trouble on the Rhine and doubled his marching speed; on the following day he heard that the trouble was over. Thus, as the orator said in 21,2, he was only troubled for one night.

geminatum itineris laborem

Milns (Historia, 15, 1966, p.256) shows that Alexander the Great's forced marches with his army gave him a daily average of some 16½ - 17½ miles and observes that "Cyrus, in 401 B.C., moving as fast as possible, covered the 440 miles from Thapsacus to Cunaxa in 40 days....at an average of 11 miles per day".

It is not unlikely that Constantine's forced march speed was along these lines.

(For Orgel's unacceptable interpretation of *geminatum*.... *susceperas* as "tu avais assumé les fatigues du retour"; see Galletier, art.cit. p.295; as Galletier observes it does not take account of *geminatum*.)

(ii) *ipsa....pulcherrimum*

On the second day (i.e. the one after he had doubled his marching speed), Constantine when he had heard that the troubles had passed turned aside to discharge certain vows he had made to the gods, presumably after the capitulation of Maximian (see Galletier, P.L. II, p.72, n.1); Galletier's argument (ibid.) that the tense of *deflexisses* "montre que l' empereur s' était déjà engagé sur le chemin du temple... quand il reçut la nouvelle rassurante du front barbare" does not seem necessarily correct since *ubi deflexisses* may modify *ferre* rather than *admoneret*, and the tense will then be accounted for by the natural fact that the offerings were made after Constantine had turned off the road; furthermore if Galletier is correct then it means that Constantine made a detour to give sacrifice while still in the belief that the frontier was threatened by troubles so serious that he had doubled his marching speed, something very unlikely in itself.

The location of the temple in question which was of Apollo (see 21,4) cannot be known for sure.

According to Galletier (art.cit. p.296), para.21 shows that the announcement of Constantine's return brought back calm to

the Rhine and that Constantine was informed of this twenty-four hours later ("ce dont l' empereur fut avisé au bout de vingt-quatre heures"); if the emperor was informed of this within twenty-four hours, then, given the time/distance factors involved, the army must have already completed some 2/3 of the route and he is thus able to accept Jullian's suggestion of the temple of Apollo Grannus near Neufchateau in the Vosges mountains (see Jullian, Histoire VII, p.107: Grannus = mod. Grand chez les Leuques; see also Galletier P.L. II, p.44, n.1).

This is a possible interpretation of the text and inference therefrom but it is not necessarily the only one.

An alternative is as follows:

At a certain point on a particular day the revolt broke out and almost immediately a report thereof went out to Constantine. Some twenty-four hours later a message came in from Constantine that he was on his way back. There need be no causal relationship between these two messages. When the outgoing message left the Rhine, Constantine's incoming message was simply twenty-four hours short of its destination and it may have left Constantine some days before.

Constantine's message, about his return, had an immediate effect on the barbarians who ceased hostilities forthwith, and with the minimum of delay another message went out to Constantine to say the danger had passed.

Constantine naturally received this second message roughly

twenty-four hours after the first, which former one had occasioned him to double the speed of his army.

Contrary to Galletier's interpretation both these messages may have been received while Constantine's march was still in its early stages. What is assumed in Galletier's argument is that the message received about Constantine's return was a response to the first message out to him, but there is nothing in the text that says this was so, and Constantine's message to the Rhine may have been simply that he was on his way back, and may have been sent several days before the first message to him left.

Once this is realized then the location of the temple can really only be guessed at. The only thing that seems reasonably certain is that it was, as Jullian has suggested, "un temple rural", for this is what is indicated by the verb *deflexisses* (*ibid.*). (For the sites that various scholars have suggested see Galletier, *art.cit.* p.297 ff; MacKendrick, *Roman France*, p.170/1, who thinks the vision took place at Grand, as Jullian, clearly believes that this temple matched the orator's description of a *templum toto orbe pulcherrimum*; this, however, is not proof in itself: as MacKendrick indicates on p.167, other Gallic sanctuaries remain unexcavated.)

21,4-5 *vidisti....cecinerunt*

The orator records the first vision of Constantine which Gregoire and Piganiol believed to be the model of Constantine's Christian vision of 312 (see Gregoire, *Die "Bekehrung" Konstantins*

des Grossen, tr. from the French in Konstantin der Grosse, hrsg. Kraft, p.204 ff; Piganiol is quoted by Galletier, P.L. II, p.45).

The panegyrist says that Constantine saw Apollo and Victory, each offering him a crown which represented an omen of thirty years, and that these two generations still remained to Constantine, *ultra Pyliam senectutem*. This reference is clearly to Nestor whose home was Pylos, but exactly what the panegyrist means is not so clear, since the lowest of the references to Nestor's age in Homer has him already having lived two generations (Iliad I, l.250 ff). Stevenson, (A New Eusebius, p.298) has suggested that to the two generations must be added Constantine's age at the time (thirty he says, which need not be the case, vid.sup. ad Pan. VII, 4,1,(ii); it does not affect the interpretation he suggests). This is plausible and it would thus mean that Constantine is to live longer than Nestor is depicted as having lived in the Iliad (loc.cit.).

If the laurel wreaths expressed omens of thirty years each, it is difficult to know how they could have done this unless by bearing the numerals XXX, and in this case the numerals must surely be identified with those which had long been used on *vota* coinages (and monuments), in this case to indicate *vota suscepta*, wishes that the emperor enjoy a reign of length indicated by the numerals on the coin (see R.I.C. VI, p.19 ff; cf. Galletier P.L. II, p.45 and Gregoire, art.cit. p.205 ff).

Sutherland has in fact remarked that "the vision is conceived very nearly within the form of a normal coin-type of the

period" (op.cit., p.20, n.3). Various elements of the vision are indeed well attested on coins before 310, the date of the vision: for Victory on coins holding a wreath see, e.g. R.I.C. IV, pt. III, p.75, with plate 6, no.4, of Philip I; R.I.C. V, pt. I, p.136/7, of Gallienus; for the imperial *vota* in a laurel wreath see e.g. R.I.C. V, pt. I, p.138, of Gallienus; (cf. comment ad 8,6,(iii) above, where there also appears to be a relationship between the content of the panegyric and the coinage of the period).

This casts serious doubt on the genuineness of the vision which has long been suspected (Bidez, whose view is cited and accepted by Alföldi, Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome, p.18, n.3, believed it to be the invention of the panegyrist; Moreau, R.E.A., 55, 1953, p.314 ff thought it was based on a vision of Aurelian recorded in the Historia Augusta, Aurelian 24, 2-8; Hatt, Latomus, 9, 1950, p.427 ff believed its basis was Constantine's contemplation of a group of temple sculptures, while Galletier has suggested it may have been staged by the temple priests, P.L. II, p.44, n.2).

A further point against the genuineness of the vision is that it can be linked with the overall propaganda theme of the panegyric, which is to advance Constantine's claim to be sole legitimate emperor (vid.sup. ad 2,(i)).

We note that it is Apollo whom Constantine sees, and although in Gaul where the vision is placed, Apollo was "a god of healing and patron of sacred springs" (Warmington, art.cit. p.377; cf. Baynes,

Proceedings of British Academy, 15, 1929, p.346), there is good reason for agreeing with Alföldi (op.cit. p.6) that Constantine's offerings in this Gallic shrine were for "the universal Sol-Apollo, not for any local Gallic deity" (cf. Vogt, op.cit., p.349).

Dörries (op.cit., p.24) has suggested that the passage in question echoes Vergil's Fourth Eclogue; the panegyrist's *Apollinem tuum* is indeed reminiscent of Vergil's *tuus....Apollo* (l.10), and there the theme is that the rule of a child which is about to commence, will inaugurate a Golden Age, and what is even more noteworthy is that it will be Apollo who is regnant during this age: *tuus iam regnat Apollo* (ibid.), and this Apollo can be no Gallic deity.

But whether it is correct to see this literary parallel, or not, what surely cannot be escaped (*pace* Warmington, art.cit. p.378) is the way in which the orator describes the god with whom Constantine is presented as nearly identical, *teque in illius specie recognovisti* 21,5, and that it is as a god to whom world rule, *totius mundi regna*, ibid., was destined to fall, *deberi*, ibid. (cf. Vogt, ibid.: "Constantin habe sich in den Zügen Apollos als künftigen Weltherrscher erkannt").

Thus the orator states in a different way Constantine's intention of sole rule, but at the same time this reverence of Sol-Apollo, which is emphasized on Constantine's coinage after the vision (see Sutherland R.I.C. VI, p.111), and which continues to be expressed

long after his Christian vision and the Edict of Milan of 313 (see Jones, Constantine and the Conversion of Europe, p.97), and which may not, as far as the emperor was concerned, have been incompatible with Christianity (see Chadwick, The Early Church, p.126/7), is entirely consistent with, and appropriate to, the descent through Constantius claimed from Claudius Gothicus, since this divinity was especially favoured by Claudius and Constantius (see Jones, op.cit. p.74; cf. Baynes, ibid.; Dörries, ibid.; in Pan. VII, 14,3 it is Sol who transported Constantius to heaven - see also Pan. VII, ad 1,1,(iii)).

The presence of the goddess Victory in the vision is again surely a pointer to Constantine's true intentions and wishes: the campaigns that are to follow must be smiled upon by that divinity.

21,7; 22: The invitation to Autun

21,7 *iam omnia....noster*

(i) The orator begins here, and continues in 22, 1-4, his invitation to Constantine to visit his mother city, Autun. For this and the identification of the temple and the town, see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section B.

(ii) *cuius ferventibus aquis periuria puniuntur*

The geysers near Mt. Etna in Sicily were also believed to effect punishment on oath-breaking (see Diodorus Siculus, XI, 89 and Macrobius, Saturnalia, 5, 19, 19 ff).

22,1 *omni pace composita*

To be linked, possibly, with the message of 21,4-5 (see above, ad fin.): when the wars are over by which Constantine will establish his supremacy.

22,4 *cuius....gloriata*

The Aedui sought Rome's help against the Arverni and Allobroges in 121 B.C. and received from the senate the title *fratres consanguineique* (see O.C.D. s.v. *Aedui*; also Pan. V, 2,4 and Intro. to Pan. VI, Section B, n.1).

hanc....celebratur

For the case for Trier as the place of delivery of this panegyric, see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section C; for the anniversary loc.cit. Section A.

22,5 *video....munera*

The buildings mentioned here appear to belong to Trier, and thus constitute a part of the argument that the panegyric was delivered in Trier.

For impressive buildings as a mode of imperial propaganda see Charlesworth, Proceedings of the British Academy, 23, 1937, p.109.

(i) *circum maximum*

For the circus in Trier see Wightman, op.cit. p.102/3.

She believes that this may have been located in the eastern part of the city and that there may have existed here a circus before the fourth century; the orator is thus probably referring to a re-building rather than a first construction.

(ii) *basilicas et forum*

Wightman (op.cit. p.78) believes that the forum may have been erected in the early 2nd century A.D.; thus the panegyrist must again be referring to a reconstruction of this part of the town. For a plan of the forum, see op.cit. p.76.

The word *basilicas* presumably bears the meaning usual for the western half of the Empire: "large, multi-purpose public halls which regularly accompanied the fora...." (O.C.D. s.v. *basilica*). Possibly then the panegyrist means here the two buildings built it seems on a "grand scale" to the west of the forum, which according to Wightman belong to the 4th century (see op.cit. p.116 and fig.12, p.121, c.8 and 9).

(iii) *sedemque iustitiae*

Wightman believes that this is to be identified with what is today called the Basilika, and is the same building Ausonius referred to as a *consistorium*, *sacrarium* and possibly *auditorium* (op.cit. p.108/9 with reference to Ausonius).

22,6 *quaecumque....consurgunt*

Trier was in fact the place where Constantine had spent

most of his time since his accession (see above ad 14,6,(iv)), and which, to the best of our knowledge, had so far been the chief recipient of Constantine's beneficence. The panegyrist's obvious exaggerations, e.g. *urbes....consurgunt*, seem to stem from his wish to introduce a comparison between the effects of Constantine's reign and those of the love-making of Zeus and Hera (*Iovi Iunonique recubantibus*) in the Iliad, XIV, l.346 ff.

22,7 *ideoque....pietate*

Supra, ad 21,7,(i).

23: The orator recommends his children to the emperor, and offers to devote himself to his praise

23

The main interest of this paragraph lies in the light it throws on the orator himself, for which see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section B.

The son whom he describes as *summae fisci patrocinia tractantem* (23,1), as Galletier plausibly suggests (P.L. II, p.74), may have been an *advocatus fisci*, holding one of the posts created by Hadrian to provide for the representation of the *fiscus* in cases with *privati*; the phrase *patrocinia tractantem* does suggest that his work was forensic.

NOTES

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. For abbreviations and means of reference see Bibliography. I have, in writing the commentary, numbered (i), (ii) etc. comments on various paragraphs, or sections of paragraphs where several comments were required; thus e.g. Pan. VII, 10,2,(ii), in note 21 below, refers to comment (ii) on the second section of para.10 of Pan. VII; Pan. VI, 2,(i) (note 23 below) refers to comment (i) on para.2 of Pan. VI.
Dates are A.D. unless specified as B.C.
2. See Schanz, p.138; Galletier, P.L. I, p.xxxviii ff; Lubbe, Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus, p.18 ff.
3. See Ziegler, R.E. XVIII, 3, col.571.
4. See Schanz, ibid; MacCormack Latin Prose Panegyrics, in Empire and Aftermath, Silver Latin II, ed T.A. Dorey, p.193, n.5; Ziegler, op.cit. col.572; Galletier, P.L. I, p.xi.
5. See MacCormack, ibid; Ziegler, ibid; Galletier, P.L. I, p.x and xi.
6. See MacCormack, ibid; Lubbe, op.cit. p.19; Galletier, P.L. I, p. xii ff.
7. See Galletier, ibid; because Pan. XI also has a different heading from the other panegyrics in the second part of the collection it does not follow that it, too, was added later (see Galletier, P.L. I, p.xii); note also that the overall headings of certain manuscripts for the second part of the collection containing the words *incipiunt octo diversorum* or *incipiunt panegyrici diversorum* VIII are as Galletier points out (P.L. I, p.xii ff) later corrections aimed at ironing out the discrepancy between a heading that referred to seven panegyrics and a collection (or part of a collection) that contained eight.
8. See e.g. MacCormack, op.cit., p.143.
9. Inst.Or. II, 10, 11.
10. Inst.Or. III, 8, 7.

11. MacCormack, loc.cit.
12. op.cit. col.570.
13. ibid.
14. See Born, American Journal of Philology, 55, 1934, p.35.
15. See Charlesworth, The Virtues of a Roman Emperor, in Proceedings of the British Academy, 23, 1937, p.105 ff, esp. 125/6; Downey, Justinian and the Imperial Office, in University of Cincinnati: Classical Studies 2, p.137 ff; for a rough index of imperial virtues found in Pans. VI and VII see Appendix of the present work.
16. Storch, Acta Classica, 15, 1972, p.71 ff; Born, art.cit. p.20 ff; Downey, loc.cit. p.139.
17. Pliny, Ep. 3,18, to Vibius Severus.
18. op.cit. p.159 ff; it will be seen from the index of virtues referred to, that in Pan. VI, in connection with the defeat of the Franks, Constantine's *severitas* is praised and *clementia* viewed unfavourably (but note that in the same speech in a different context his *clementia* is lauded).
19. On this see especially MacCormack, op.cit. p.159 ff; Pichon, Les derniers écrivains profanes, p.86 ff.
20. See Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A.
21. See commentary ad Pan. VII, 2,2 and 10,2,(ii).
22. See Intro. to Pan. VI, Sections A and C.
23. See commentary ad Pan. VI, 2,(i) and 20.
24. Jones, Constantine and the Conversion of Europe, p.10.
25. See e.g. Pichon, op.cit. p.74; Glover, Life and Letters in the Fourth Century, p.221; more recently, see Galletier's Introductions on historical value in P.L. I, II and III, and Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.3.

26. I know of no full commentary on these panegyrics; in writing the commentary, in addition to the obvious goal of evaluating and, if necessary, amplifying the panegyrists' statements, I have also aimed at elucidating and clarifying the speeches for a reader, and for this reason occasional non-historical material, e.g. mythological or literary, has been introduced.
27. I have used 'v' for consonantal 'u', which is printed 'u' in Mynor's text.

INTRODUCTION TO PANEGYRIC VII

SECTION A

1. Seston, R.E.A. 1937, p.200; Kent, Numismatic Chronicle, 1957, p.75.
2. Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.13 ff.
3. Sutherland, op.cit. p.14; Kent, art.cit. p.76 ff.
4. Cf. 5,3; the texts of Mynors, Galletier (Budé) and Baehrens (Teubner) indicate no textual variants; see bibliography for details.
5. *Consularia Constantinopolitana* in Chronica Minora, p.231.
6. See Kent art.cit. p.75.
7. For 31 March, see e.g. Galletier, P.L. II, p.4; Seston art.cit.; Jullian Histoire, VII, p.102, n.6; Palanque, R.E.A. 40, 1938, p.250.
For 25 December: Lafaurie, Mélanges Piganiol, 1966; Bruun, Numismatic Chronicle, 9, 1969; Paschoud, Zosime, Vol. I, p.83, n.18.
8. C.I.L. 1,1², p.261.
9. See Mommsen's remarks ibid. p.302, under *divi Constantini III k. Mart*.
10. ibid. p.260.
11. For his discussion of the ms. tradition, op.cit. p.254; Seston (art.cit. p.200, n.3) prefers the reading *Constantini* but, as we shall see his argument is untenable.
12. C.I.L. 1,1², p.255.
13. *nam facilius ibi librarius cavere debuit a vulgari errore Constantii nominis mutandi in Constantinum, quoniam hoc paulo ante praecesserat* (op.cit. p.301); this date is accepted by Seeck R.E. IV, col.1040.

14. art.cit. p.197, n.1; p.200, n.3.
15. art.cit. p.204.
16. ibid. p.206/7.
17. Chron.Min. p.231; for the validity of this statement see on.
18. art.cit. p.75, n.2.
19. Cited by Sutherland, R.I.C. IV, p.12: H. Stern, Le Calendrier de 354 (Paris, 1953); in the case of an emperor becoming Augustus after he had been Caesar, there would naturally be a day on which he was elevated to the higher rank, but it was the first accession to *imperium* that was celebrated as the *dies imperii*; support for this may be seen in the cases of Constantius II and Julian the Apostate: Constantius II, proclaimed Caesar on 8 November 324 (Chron.Min. p.232) and proclaimed Augustus on 9 September 337 (op.cit. p.235), has the former date recorded as a *dies natalis* in the *Fasti Philocali* (C.I.L. 1,1², p.276), and we know from the index of *veri natales* affixed to the *fasti* that his true birthday was 7 August (op.cit. p.255); Julian, proclaimed Caesar on 6 November 355 (Chron.Min. p.238), and proclaimed Augustus by his troops in February 360, according to A.H.M. Jones (see O.C.D. s.v. *Julianus* (1)), has 6 November as a *dies natalis* in the *Fasti Polemii Silvii* (see C.I.L. 1,1², p.277), and the compilers of P.L.R.E. citing sources record his true birthday in May/June (s.v. *Iulianus* 29).
20. See Seston art.cit. p.199.
21. ibid.; see also Seston's table art.cit. p.217.
22. See Bruun, Numismatic Chronicle 9, 1969, p.178.
23. art.cit. p.200 ff.
24. art.cit. p.202.
25. art.cit. p.799 ff.
26. art.cit. p.179 ff.

27. art.cit. p.803.
28. See e.g. Sydenham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1934, p.166; Parker, H.R.W. p.244 ff; Sutherland op.cit. p.12 ff and p.28 ff.
29. So Paschoud, op.cit. p.196, n.17.
30. For Maximian's return see Lactantius D.M.P. XXVIII; for Galerius' campaign D.M.P. XXVII.
31. See Chron.Min. p.66 ff; Sutherland R.I.C. VI, p.29, n.4; P.L.R.E., Fasti Consulares ad 307.
32. See Sutherland R.I.C. VI, p.13 and p.29.
33. See Chron.Min. p.66 ff; Mommsen (Gesammelte Schriften VI, p.326 with n.1) argues that *novies* must refer to Maximianus Herculus.
34. Cf. Sutherland for numismatic evidence suggesting "a date when open alliance between Herculus and Constantine was confirmed just before Severus' Italian campaign of c. March 307" (R.I.C. VI, p.338).
35. See commentary on Pan. VII, 1,1,(iii).
36. art.cit. p.178; Bruun incorrectly cites Kent who believes the numismatic evidence is inconclusive; so Sutherland, R.I.C. VI, p.14: "certain proof is lacking".
37. See above.
38. See on I.L.S. 8941: *exspectaveris imp.* VIII.
Any mistake with the number of tribunician powers seem less likely as these were augmented regularly on 10 December, whereas the date of the augmentation of the imperial salutations varied (see next note).
39. For the annual renewal by this time of the title imperator, see Barnes, Phoenix, vol.30, 1976, p.175: "Diocletian and his colleagues automatically renewed the title of imperator

on each anniversary of their accession"; cf. Sandys, Latin Epigraphy p.253: "Beginning with Diocletian, the numerals following the title, IMP, cease to denote acclamations decreed in consequence of victories, but simply record the successive years of the reign".

40. Chron. Min. p.235: Drake (In Praise of Constantine, p.12 and Historia XXIV, 1975), has argued for a date 25 July 336. We note (a) the day is not affected; (b) Drake's observation (art.cit. p.353) that "he (sc. Constantine) initiated the practice of regularly conducting two celebrations, one at each end of the Jubilee year". The Consularia Constantinopolitana may thus be referring to the earlier celebration (by the official method of inclusive counting, Constantine's thirtieth year did in fact fall in 335).
41. The view advanced here does not pretend to solve every problem of Constantinian chronology and two inscriptions remain difficult: the Brigetio inscription apparently to be dated 9 June 311, showing Constantine as *trib.pot.* VII, *imp.* VI (for discussions see Seston art.cit. p.211 ff; Lafaurie art.cit. p.800 ff) and the inscription of the forum of Trajan showing Constantine *trib.pot.* XXXIII, *imp.* XXXII (see Seston art.cit. p.199 ff, Lafaurie p.798 ff), but these are problematical for the computations of Lafaurie and Seston also. What it does claim to do, is to simplify the problems (and perhaps the eventual solution) of Constantine's chronology, not only by eliminating the complicating factor of a *dies imperii* to commemorate Constantine's elevation as Augustus, but also the difficult and inconclusive additional task of establishing when Constantine "switched back" to 25 July as his *dies imperii* (the year was 314, according to Seston, art.cit. p.204 ff; 324 according to Lafaurie art.cit. p.805; 315 according to Bruun, Arctos IX, 1975, p.14 ff).
42. op.cit. p.13

43. The source is Lactantius D.M.P. XXVII.
44. Sydenham, art.cit. p.166.
45. Lactantius D.M.P. XXVII.
46. Callu, Genio Populi Romani. Paris, 1960, p.77, cited by Lafaurie, art.cit. p.796, thinks it occurred in November, but his argument is based on numismatic grounds which we have seen lack cogency, and it seems unlikely for the reasons suggested that the marriage would have been delayed so long.

SECTION B

1. Cf. Galletier P.L. II, p.4 and Schanz, p.145; see also Pichon op.cit. p.274.
2. So Pichon, op.cit. p.283; see Lubbe, Incerti Panegyricus Constantino Augusto Dictus, p.22 for the difficulties of an identification with Eumenius.
3. ibid.; this Mamertinus will be the possible author of Pans. X and XI which according to Schanz, p.148/9 and p.150 have a common author; the identity of the author is in question: "ob den *magister* Mamertinus oder einen anonymen *magister Memoriae* ist die Frage" (p.148/9); cf. Galletier, P.L. I, p.5 ff who believes the author is Mamertinus; the compilers of P.L.R.E. believe that this Mamertinus may have been the father or grandfather of Claudius Mamertinus who delivered Pan. III, a *gratiarum actio* to Julian (P.L.R.E. s.v. *Mamertinus* 1 and 2).
4. P.L. II, p.9 ff.

SECTION C.

1. Cf. Galletier P.L. II, p.4.
2. ibid. n.2, for references; add Lubbe, ibid.
3. See Jullian, Histoire VII, p.102, n.6, and p.116, n.4.
4. op.cit. p.4; Parker's comment (H.R.W. p.241) that after the Frankish invasion Constantine proceeded to the south of Gaul, seems unsupported by the sources; for imperial Trier and its importance see E.M. Wightman, Roman Trier and the Treveri, p.58 ff.
5. Pan. V, 2,1; for the date see Intro. to Pan. VI, Section A.
6. Wightman, loc.cit.

INTRODUCTION TO PANEGRYIC VI

SECTION A.

1. For Trier as the place of delivery see Section C.
2. See Galletier, P.L. II, p.34.
3. See 14,5; 20,3-4.
4. Sydenham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1934, p.167; for other names see Galletier, ibid. n.2; P.L.R.E. gives "309 or 310" s.v. *Maximianus* 8.
5. 21,7 ff; see also this introduction, Section B.
6. See Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A; the text is thus understood in Schanz, p.147: "also sind seit dem Regierungsantritt Constantins (25 Juli 306) 5 Jahre verflossen".
7. The picture is, of course, altered if one takes the start of Constantine's reign from a day in 307 (31 March or 25 December) - supra, Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A - and this is, in fact, what Galletier does, P.L. II, p.78; a date in 307, as I have shown (vid.sup., ibid.), presents difficulties, but in any case *ex quo tu imperare coepisti* (V, 13,1) seems to suggest the first occasion Constantine wielded imperial power, i.e. 25 July 306 (cf. Schanz, quoted above).
8. For Constantine's practice of celebrating anniversaries twice, at the beginning and end of the anniversary year, see Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A, n.40.
9. The date 25 July 311 is favoured by Barnes, in a review, in Classical Philology 73, 1978, no.3, p.246, but he does not indicate how he arrives at the date.
10. ibid.
11. VI, 2,3 *quamvis....ornavit*
12. See Intro. to Pan. VII, Section A.

SECTION B.

1. See Galletier, P.L. II, p.31; Pan. VI, 22,4: *cuius civitatis antiqua nobilitas et quondam fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriata*; Pan. IX, 4,1: *civitatem istam et olim fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam*. (For the interpretation of *cuius....gloriata*, see commentary ad 22,4.)
2. Thomas, Hist. de l'antique cité d'Autun, p.129; de Fontenay, Autun et ses monuments, p.133 ff; both cited by Galletier, P.L. II, p.31.
3. See O.C.D. s.v. Augustodunum; Parker, H.R.W. p.188.
4. It has been proposed to read fori for otii but this is not supported by the MSS. (see Pichon, op.cit. p.276, who nevertheless inclines towards such a correction).
5. So Seeck, cited by Pichon, ibid.; Galletier, P.L. II, p.32; cf. Schanz, p.146.
6. So Seeck, ibid.; cf. Galletier, ibid.
7. The possibility of his being a jurist emerges from Galletier P.L. II, p.32/3, but his discussion is very confusing: he cites Stadler's dissertation Die Autoren der anonymen gallischen Panegyrici, which it has unfortunately been impossible to obtain in South Africa, and initially says Stadler regards the panegyrist as an advocate: "Stadler, lui, y voit l'exercice unique de la profession d'avocat", but a few lines later says: "Stadler a raison en faisant de lui un juriste, un professeur d'éloquence contentieuse"; before the line of jurists disappeared, there was a significant difference between advocates and jurists (see O.C.D. s.v. advocatus).
8. See O.C.D. s.v. Education.

9. See O.C.D. s.v. Jurisprudence, Rome (3); cf. op.cit. s.v. Law and Procedure, Roman, (9).
10. Pichon's observation ibid. of *otium* that "il est souvent opposé aux mots qui qualifient ce metier" (sc. de rheteur) does not prove that this applies in the case of VI, 23,1. He in fact cites one actual example with a form of *otium* (Pan. IV(IX), 15), and the word as it is used there indicates nothing more than a break or interruption - for Eumenius from rhetoric (see Galletier, P.L. I, p.133, n.1).
11. See P.L.R.E. s.v. *Nazarius*.
12. P.L. II, p.32 ff.
13. Galletier's interpretation of *cedant privatorum studiorum ignobiles curae* as the contemplation of an eventual farewell to remunerated pleading: "plaidoiries rémunérées" (P.L. II, p.33), recalls the difficulties seen above (n.7) in having the speaker both advocate and jurist, but in any case there is nothing in the speech that points to his having been a practising lawyer.
14. Galletier, P.L. I, p.xxi ff; P.L. II, p.31 and p.106; Pichon, op.cit. p.274 ff; but see Lubbe, op.cit. p.21 ff.
15. vid.sup.
16. Pan. IX, 1.
17. *satis multi sunt qui me putant nimium multa dicturum* (VI, 1,3) implies that many people have heard him speak before.

SECTION C.

1. See also Galletier, P.L. II, p.34/5; Schanz, p.146; for the limes, commentary, ad Pan. VI, 11,5,(i).
2. See commentary on Pan. VI, 22,5.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations and means of reference

J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies
R.E.A.	Revue des Études Anciennes

Others are bracketed below.

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APPENDIXRough index of virtues and attributes of the emperors in
Panegyrics VI and VII

(The list is of nouns, and adverbial forms such as fortiter,
sapienter are not included.)

- A.
- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| <u>alacritas</u> | VII,4,4 (Constantine) |
| <u>auctoritas</u> | VII,10,5 (Maximian); 12,1 (id.)
VI,16,9 (Constantine) |
- B.
- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| <u>bonitas</u> | VI,20,2 (id.) |
|----------------|---------------|
- C.
- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| <u>caritas</u> | VII,13,4 (Maximian and Constantine) |
| <u>clementia</u> | VI,5,3 (Constantius); 10,4 (with reference
to Constantine, but contrasted unfavourably
with <u>severitas</u>); 20,1 (Constantine) |
| <u>constantia</u> | VII,9,2 (Maximian) |
| <u>continentia</u> | VII,3,4 (inherited by Constantine from
Constantius); 4,1 (id.)
VI,16,3 (Constantine) |
- D.
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| <u>divinitas</u> | VII,3,2 (Maximian)
VI,17,4 (Constantine) |
|------------------|---|
- F.
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| <u>felicitas</u> | VII,10,1 (of Maximian's rule)
VI,8,2 (Constantius); 8,6 (of the state
through Constantine's accession); 21,3 (of
his activities) |
|------------------|---|

fortitudo/

- fortitudo VII,3,4 (inherited by Constantine from Constantius); 4,2 (id.)
VI,17,1 (Constantine)
- fortuna VII,5,3 (id.); 7,4 (Maximian); 7,5 (id.)
VI,12,4 (Constantine)
- G.
gravitas VII,5,3 (id.)
VI,4,4 (inherited by Constantine from Constantius)
- I.
iustitia VII,3,4 (id.); 5,1 (Constantius' imitated by Constantine)
VI,4,4 (inherited by Constantine from Constantius); 6,1 (Constantius)
- M.
maiestas VII,7,2 (Maximian); 11,4 (id.); 12,4 (id.)
VI,1,1 (Constantine); 8,5 (id.); 17,1 (id.); 21,1 (id.); 22,4 (id.)
- maturitas VII,5,3 (id.); 13,5 (Maximian)
- misericordia VI,6,1 (Constantius)
- modestia VI,4,4 (inherited by Constantine from Constantius); 8,6 (Constantine)
- N.
numen VII,8,3 (Maximian)
VI,1,1 (Constantine); 1,4 (id.); 2,1 (Claudius Gothicus); 13,3 (Constantine); 14,1 (id.)
18,7 (id.); 22,6 (id.); 23,3 (id.)
- P.
pietas VII,1,4 (Maximian and Constantine); 2,3 (id.);

- 5,1 (Constantius' imitated by Constantine);
 7,4 (Maximian); 9,2 (id.); 11,5 (id.);
 13,3 (Maximian and Constantine)
 VI,8,6 (Constantine); 14,2 (id.); 14,6 (id.);
 20,1 (id.); 20,3 (id.); 22,4 (id.); 22,7 (id.)
- providentia VII,7,2 (Maximian); 12,1 (id.)
 VI,6,1 (Constantius)
- prudencia VII,3,4 (inherited by Constantine from
 Constantius); 5,2 (his father's surpassed by
 Constantine)
- S.
severitas VI,10,3 (Constantine)
- sollicitudo VI,20,2 (id.)
- V.
venia VII,4,4 (Constantius)
 VI,10,4 (with reference to Constantine, but
 rejected in favour of a harsher approach);
 20,2 (Constantine)
- verecundia VII,4,1 (id.); 6,5 (id.)
- virtus (Forms of the plural, meaning neutrally
 "virtues", are not listed, nor instances such
 as virtus continentiae, where eg. it will be
continentia which is registered)
 VII,5,2 (Constantine); 11,3 (Maximian);
 13,5 (Constantine)
 VI,10,4 (id.); 11,2 (id.); 12,4 (id.);
 17,2 (of Alexander and Achilles, by
 implication Constantine)