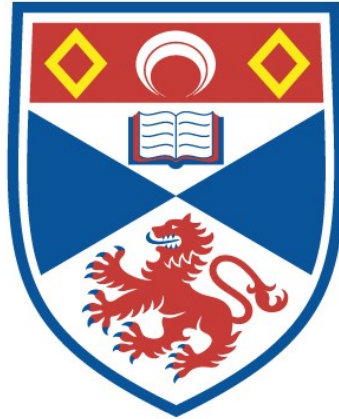


IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY IN LATIN PANEGYRIC, 289-298

Roger Rees

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Imperial Ideology in Latin Panegyric 289-298

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Abstract

Four Latin panegyrics survive from the period 289 to 298. They originate from Gaul. The empire was governed by collegiate rule, with Diocletian and Maximian joint Augusti (the Dyarchy) until 293, when the imperial college was expanded to four (the Tetrarchy) with the promotion to the subordinate rank of Caesar of Constantius and Galerius. To meet the threats of usurpers and external enemies, the emperors exercised their authority in different parts of the Empire and were rarely together.

The creation of collegiate government posed a novel challenge for panegyrists: they had to balance the impulse to praise the individual addressee with the need to integrate him into the wider government. These potentially competing demands were intensified by the circumstances of the delivery of the speeches, since loyalty had to be expressed to both present and absent emperors. A tension existed between the ideologies of governmental unity and individualism.

A texture of tension and resolution is generated in the four speeches. The dynamics of vocative address are used to articulate loyalty. Figurations of the unity of government are employed to signal the relationships between the emperors and their resulting cosmic significance. Individual profiles are cut for the emperors primarily through the use of mythological and historical *exempla*. The *signa* Jovius and Herculus, which the emperors assumed, are exploited to characterize and differentiate them.

In their detail and overall ideologies, differences between the four speeches are distinct. Each orator adapted the conventions of the genre to an evolving political landscape; furthermore, varying and sometimes competing loyalties are revealed. Panegyric is seen to be capable of great versatility and nuance.

Preface

This thesis would never have been completed without the generous help and support I have received from various quarters. It gives me great pleasure to record my thanks.

Professor Roger Green of Glasgow University supervised my research throughout. His meticulous scrutiny of my work and penetrating remarks have enabled me to clarify both thought and expression; every page would be much the poorer but for his attention. In the academic year 1994-5 I attended a graduate course on Tetrarchic and Constantinian history specially set up by Professor Michael Whitby, now of Warwick University, and Dr. Jill Harries, of St. Andrews University. It was during this course that I was encouraged to consider the historical value of panegyric. I am also indebted to Dr. Harries and Dr. Adrian Gratwick, also of St. Andrews University, for their careful supervision of substantial sections of the work.

Further thanks for encouragement and advice are due to Professor Ted Nixon, of Macquarie University, Dr. Mary Whitby, of Royal Holloway College, London University, Dr. Roy Gibson, of Manchester University and Dr. Jonathon Williams of the Coins and Medals Department at the British Museum; and to Amanda Carrington, for her help with German. At the Postgraduate Ancient History Conference in the Institute of Classical Studies in 1996 I delivered a paper which in time, evolved into *Praesentia* (pp.17-38); in 1997 at the Leeds International Latin Seminar on 'Myth and Power', I gave a short talk based on some material from Part Three. I am grateful to the audiences on both occasions for their criticisms and suggestions. Others too numerous to mention have provided generous help with specific matters.

My thanks to the staff at the University Libraries in St. Andrews and Cambridge, the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies, the Manuscript Room in the British Museum and, not least, Swallowgate in St. Andrews. My study has been made possible through awards from the British Academy and St. Andrews University to whom I am most grateful.

My biggest debt is to my family; to Aileen, Halina and now Logan. They have no interest in *res Romanae* - 'Daddy's boring Latin' - but have indulged mine with love and patience.

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Introduction

In 1924 Harry Caplan wrote of the classification of panegyric by some scholars as "the most worthless bequest of antiquity".¹ Twenty years later, William Alexander turned his scorn not only on the speeches themselves but also on their modern readers:

It is safe to wager that the *Panegyrici Veteres* find few readers today, and perhaps reasonable to guess that anyone known to loiter in their neighbourhood is mentally suspect.²

Even William Maguinness, a scholar who highlighted the important distinction between the literary dexterity of the orators and the ethical values which underpinned their subject-matter, began his 1932 article in an apologetic tone, writing of the speeches' "attendant vices".³

These forthright denunciations of the genre appeared despite the publication in 1911 of the second Teubner edition of the *Panegyrici Latini*, which had drawn together the remarkable output of textual advances of the previous forty years, and Rene Pichon's fêted 1906 monograph, *Les Derniers Ecrivains Profanes*, which was the first modern work to attempt to establish a historical context for the speeches.⁴

Fortunately, recent years have witnessed the rehabilitation of panegyric. The starting-point for this change was Edouard Galletier's three volume French edition, with lengthy preface, an introduction to each of the speeches and translation.⁵ His individual introductions cover issues such as the authorship, historical circumstances and literary and historical value of the speeches. These discursive and enlightened discussions marked a new direction in research into Latin panegyric; Galletier stimulated and fuelled scholarly interest in areas such

¹ H. Caplan, 'The Latin Panegyrics of the Empire', *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* 10 (1924) 41-52, p.41, reprinted in *Of Eloquence* (Ithaca and London 1970) 26-39

² W.H. Alexander, 'The Professoriate in Imperial Gaul (297A.D.)', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series 38 (1944) II, 37-57, p.37.

³ W.S. Maguinness, 'Some Methods of the Latin Panegyrists', *Hermathena* 47 (1932) 42-61, p.41.

⁴ W.A. Baehrens, *XII Panegyric Latini*, (Leipzig 1911), a revision of the edition by the same title of A. Baehrens, his father, (Leipzig 1874); R. Pichon, *Les Derniers Ecrivains Profanes* (Paris 1906).

⁵ *Panegyriques Latins* (Paris 1949-55).

as the social function of the speeches, their value as historical sources and as indicators of the religious climate of their times.⁶

Although the present study is restricted to four speeches, the approach is similar to that of Galletier in that it is self-consciously literary and historical. It addresses the speeches which survive from the period 289-298 and attempts to relate the literary qualities of those panegyrics to the undulating political and social realities of these nine years. Inherent in this project is the belief that panegyric is not formulaic or vacuous, but a genre capable of great delicacy and sophistication; and that its best exponents were gifted and educated orators whose speeches were carefully designed to articulate, within the spirit of late antique ceremonial, some very specific ideologies. This is not to deny that forces were exerted on the orators by literary tradition and social circumstances, but to maintain that within such limitations, a degree of licence was exercised which enables clear differentiation of one speech from another.

The Collection and the Manuscripts

In 1433, in a library in Mainz, Johannes Aurispa discovered a manuscript containing twelve Latin speeches. These speeches are known as the *XII Panegyrici Latini*. That manuscript, known as M, is lost but descended from a copy of it made by Aurispa, also lost, are two branches of Italian manuscripts, known as X₁ and X₂. A different line of manuscripts is also derived from M: these are known as H (British Library: Harleianus 2480), N (Cluj: Napocensis) and A (University Library, Upsala). Lassandro has demonstrated that A derives from N and N from H.⁷ H is generally considered the best of the surviving manuscripts, although variant readings found in other manuscripts, marginal comments (including those of *h*, a corrector of H), and

⁶ See, for example, the items in the bibliography by D'Elia, Burdeau, Lassandro, MacCormack, Nixon, Rodgers, L'Huillier, Mause and Rodríguez Gervás. Galletier's broad format is adopted by C.E.V. Nixon and B.S. Rodgers in their 1994 edition and English translation, *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors. The Panegyrici Latini*, (*The Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 21, Berkeley 1994).

⁷ D. Lassandro, 'I manoscritti HNA nella tradizione dei *Panegyrici Latini*', *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini* 15 (1967) 55-97.

three early editions, those of Puteolanus (Milan 1476), Cuspinianus (Vienna 1513) and Livineius (Antwerp 1599), make pressing cases occasionally.⁸

The twelve speeches in the collection, which span nearly three hundred years, are not preserved in chronological order. The earliest is dated to 100 and the latest to 389. The chronological order and manuscript sequence have led to two systems of reference which can be summarized as follows:

Orator	Order according to Manuscript	Date of Delivery	Order according to date
Pliny the Younger	I	100	1
Pacatus	II	389	12
Claudius Mamertinus	III	362	11
Nazarius	IV	321	10
Anonymous	V	311	8
Anonymous	VI	310	7
Anonymous	VII	307	6
Anonymous	VIII	297	5
Eumenius	IX	298	4
Anonymous ⁹	X	289	2
Anonymous ¹⁰	XI	291	3
Anonymous	XII	313	9

The existence of two reference systems necessitates the use of both for clarity.¹¹ I use the Roman numerals to denote the manuscript reference, followed by the chronological reference in Arabic numerals in parenthesis. Hence, for example, X(2) refers to the panegyric of 289, IV(10) to Nazarius' speech of 321.

⁸ One of the most controversial textual issues is considered in Appendix Two. For full discussion of the manuscript tradition and editions see Galletier (1949) pp.xxxviii-lxii; R.A.B. Mynors, *XII Panegyrici Latini*, (Oxford 1964) pp.v-xi; Lassandro (1967). Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.35-7 summarize concisely.

⁹ See Appendix One.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Confusion with the reference systems is notorious, especially with speeches III(11) and XI(3), VIII(5) and V(8), and VI(7) and VII(6). Furthermore, French scholars tend to refer to the anonymous speech of 297 as IV(8) and Eumenius' speech of 298 as V(9).

The Collection and its Composition¹²

Pliny revised and expanded his speech considerably before its publication.¹³ Furthermore, L'Huilier recently suggested that Pacatus did not in reality deliver his speech to Theodosius.¹⁴ Notwithstanding the artificiality which might be detected in these two speeches, this work takes as its premise that the remaining speeches were actually delivered and survive unrevised. The accumulation of incidental details which facilitates more or less precise reconstruction of the circumstances of delivery discounts the possibility that the speeches are mere schoolroom products.

Questions concerning the collection and its composition are intriguing. It clearly covers a broad sweep of time, and hence cannot represent an expression of loyalty to any single emperor. Pliny addressed Trajan, Pacatus Theodosius, Claudius Mamertinus Julian; speeches IV(10), V(8), VI(7), and XII(9) are addressed to Constantine, VII(6) to Maximian and Constantine, VIII(5) to Constantius; Eumenius addressed his speech to an anonymous *vir perfectissimus* in the time of the first Tetrarchy; and both X(2) and XI(3) were addressed to Maximian and Diocletian in the time of the Dyarchy. Thus the collection cannot even be seen to express support for a particular constitution, as it contains speeches written in times of Monarchy, Dyarchy and Tetrarchy.

Although the speeches offer many insights into religious affairs in general and the imperial cult in particular, it seems likely that such matters were a mainstay of the genre and not peculiar to this collection. Maximian and Diocletian were famous persecutors of Christianity, Constantine its first imperial supporter; Julian's apostasy briefly revived paganism in the imperial court, and Theodosius was known for his Christian piety. Although these extreme fluctuations are not reflected in detail in the speeches, (presumably because of the orators' obligation before audiences of mixed Christian and

¹² The exemplary discussion remains that of R. Pichon, 'L'origine du recueil des *Panegyrici Latini*', *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 8 (1906) 229-249.

¹³ *Epistles* 3.18

¹⁴ M.-C. L'Huilier, *L'Empire des Mots. Orateurs Gaulois et Empereurs Romains 3e et 4e siècles*, (Paris 1992) p.169. The theory is based on the very infrequent occurrences of vocative addresses to Theodosius in the speech. The position of Pacatus' speech as second in the collection although the latest of them in time adds weight to the theory.

pagan faith to be tactful and conciliatory), the religious content of the *XII Panegyrici Latini* could hardly have provided the inspiration for the collection.

In terms of geographical origin the speeches are diverse, but Gaul can be identified as a focus. The speeches of Pliny, Nazarius and Pacatus were delivered in Rome. Claudius Mamertinus spoke in Constantinople. The remaining eight works were delivered in Gaul; Trier is usually identified as the location for all except Eumenius', which has conventionally been placed at Autun.¹⁵ However, although they spoke in Rome, Pacatus was Gallic whilst Nazarius might have been, as might Claudius Mamertinus.¹⁶ Thus with the exception of Pliny's *Panegyricus*, whose position at the head of the collection suggests that it stood as a model of the genre, the speeches all have a strong association with Gaul.

Together with this geographical focus, the driving motivation for the collection of the speeches seems to have been literary. This theory accounts for the presence and position of Pliny's *Panegyricus*, a speech geographically and historically anomalous. The popularity which Pliny's *Epistles* enjoyed in the fourth century further explains the inclusion of his *Panegyricus* in a collection of otherwise late imperial speeches.¹⁷ Furthermore, the orators whose speeches are included in the collection clearly absorbed and appreciated the work of predecessors. Echoes of Cicero, Pliny, Vergil and many others appear.¹⁸ For example, Nazarius reworked famous passages of the *Aeneid* to describe the benefits which Constantine's peace brought to Rome:

duci sane omnibus videbantur subacta vitiorum agmina quae Urbem graviter
obsederant: Scelus domitum, victa Perfidia, diffidens sibi Audacia et
Importunitas catenata. Furor vinctus et cruenta Crudelitas inani terrore

¹⁵ See below p.14.

¹⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.334ff., 386ff., 437ff.

¹⁷ A. Cameron, 'The Fate of Pliny's *Letters* in the Late Empire', *Classical Quarterly* 15 (1965) 289-298. The publication of Symmachus' letters mirrored Pliny's division of correspondence into nine books of private letters and one of official.

¹⁸ Echoes of earlier literature are collected by A. Klotz, 'Studien zu den *Panegyrici Latini*', *Rheinisches Museum* 66 (1911) 513-72.

fredebant; Superbia atque Arrogantia debellatae, Luxuries coercita et Libido constricta nexu ferreo tenebantur. (IV(10)31.3)¹⁹

These were the speeches of learned men, written for a sophisticated audience. In addition, borrowings in the collection from earlier speeches demonstrate that the panegyrists read and adapted contemporary work to suit their own needs.²⁰ This is particularly true of Pacatus, the author of the latest speech in the collection: this, and the position of his speech as second only to Pliny's, has led to the tempting theory that Pacatus himself put the collection together.²¹ As such, the *XII Panegyrici Latini* might be considered representative of the literary tastes and provincial pride of an educated Gaul in the late fourth century. Perhaps too it was intended to illustrate the loyalty of the province of Gaul over the decades to Rome. In 388 Theodosius had defeated Magnus Maximus who had controlled Gaul, and part of Pacatus' purpose in his speech of 389 might have been to reassure Theodosius of Gaul's undiluted loyalty towards him.²² The collection would put the seal on this loyalty.

If reasonable conjectures can be made to account for the collection and Pacatus' part in it, the order of the speeches as preserved in the manuscripts remains baffling. Pliny's speech stands at the head as a model work by a popular author; Pacatus, as editor, inserted his own speech in second place. Claudius Mamertinus and Nazarius include borrowings from each of the other eight speeches except XII(9); this might suggest that a collection of the seven speeches from V(8) to XI(3) came into being before Nazarius spoke in 321.²³ After 389, Pacatus could incorporate this smaller collection *en bloc* and add to his own and Pliny's the speeches of Nazarius, Claudius Mamertinus and the anonymous XII(9). Although this reconstruction leaves unanswered the question why the speeches of Nazarius, Claudius Mamertinus and XII(9) appear

¹⁹ cf. e.g. *Aen.* 1.294-6, 6.853.

²⁰ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.6 "nearly all the panegyrists are in debt to their predecessors in the corpus".

²¹ Pichon (1906 "Recueil") pp.244ff.

²² C.E.V. Nixon, *Pacatus. Panegyric to the Emperor Theodosius*, (*Translated Texts for Historians* 3, Liverpool 1987) p.4 = Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.438.

²³ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.4-5.

where they do in the collection, nevertheless it does account for the general shape of the corpus.

Diocletian and Colleagues 284-298

The years 289-298 take in four of the *XII Panegyrici Latini*. Speeches X(2), XI(3), VIII(5) and IX(4) constitute important sources for the period of Diocletian's influence over the Roman world.²⁴ He became emperor near Nicomedia on 20th November 284.²⁵ In the spring of the following year he led his army to confront Carinus, the Augustus in the West. As battle commenced at the River Margus in Moesia, Carinus was assassinated by one of his own men and Diocletian was left sole Augustus. In 285 he created the Dyarchy by appointing Maximian emperor and sent him to quell unrest in Gaul.²⁶

In 287 Carausius pronounced himself Roman emperor in Britain but his claims were never recognised by the Dyarchs. Between 289 and 291 Maximian attempted to recover Britain, but his campaign failed. About nine years after Carausius' usurpation, Allectus assassinated and replaced him as British emperor.²⁷ In 293 Dyarchy evolved into Tetrarchy with the promotion to the imperial college, with the subordinate rank of Caesar, of Constantius and Galerius. The Tetrarchy was underpinned by marriage alliances - Constantius married Maximian's daughter, and Galerius Diocletian's. In 296 Constantius defeated Allectus and brought Britain back under Roman authority. Early in 297 Galerius suffered defeat in battle against the Persians, a result he reversed within a year. From 298 the Tetrarchs faced no further significant threats to their authority.

²⁴ VII(6) of 307, might also be considered 'Tetrarchic', but because it was delivered to Constantine and Maximian after the latter's return to power (following his abdication in 305), it falls outside the scope of this study, which focuses on the speeches dated to the period of the Dyarchy and first Tetrarchy.

²⁵ This account follows T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1981) pp.3-10; id, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, (Cambridge, Mass.1982) pp.3-4, 47-63; S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, (London 1985) pp.24ff.

²⁶ There remains much uncertainty about Maximian's original rank - Caesar or Augustus - and the date/s of his promotion. He was Augustus by 286. For a recent discussion and bibliography, see S. Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs. Imperial Pronouncements and Government A.D. 284-324*, (Oxford 1996) p.273.

²⁷ See P.J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus. The British Usurpers* (London 1994).

The Tetrarchic model did not last long. In 305 Diocletian and Maximian abdicated. Galerius and Constantius became Augusti and Severus and Maximinus Daia were appointed Caesars. However, after the death of Constantius in 306, his son Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by Constantius' troops. The Tetrarchic practice of non-dynastic succession was over. Complicated power-struggles and civil war ensued, ending in 324 with Constantine's victory over Licinius leaving him sole, uncontested emperor.

Yet although the Dyarchic and Tetrarchic eras together hardly spanned twenty years, these systems of government need not be judged to have failed.²⁸ The third century had witnessed a daunting multiplicity of short-lived emperors and pretenders. By creating an imperial college, Diocletian enabled legitimate emperors to operate throughout the empire without needing to usurp authority. In theory, the Tetrarchs could deal with threats to the Empire's integrity without themselves precipitating its fragmentation; Diocletian and Galerius generally focused on the East, against threats such as the Persians or the revolt in Egypt of 297-8; meantime Maximian and Constantius could concentrate on the West, where regions such as the Rhine frontiers and Britain demanded action. The Dyarchy and Tetrarchy provided a degree of stability to the Empire from which Constantine's ultimate restoration of monarchy would emerge.

The Four Speeches

Panegyrics X(2) and XI(3) were delivered in the time of the Dyarchy. VIII(5) and IX(4) are Tetrarchic. They are important texts for two reasons: first, they contribute to the reconstruction of a narrative history of the time, which would otherwise be very patchy²⁹; and secondly, they are valuable as sources favourable to the government. In Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* and especially Lactantius' *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, there is much negative sentiment about the Dyarchs and Tetrarchs; the four panegyrics offer interesting and alternative views of the imperial college.

²⁸ cf. the view of Lactantius in his *De Mortibus Persecutorum*.

²⁹ The fourth century historians Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Festus cover these years, but their works are brief and, at times, contradictory.

Although not hostile to the emperors, the four panegyrics do not speak with one voice, and one of the aims of this work is to highlight differences in imperial ideology in the speeches. The ideology that each panegyric espouses is not to be considered a slavish duplication of imperial propaganda; in recent scholarship there has been a growing realization that the relationship of orators to emperors was more complex than that of government spokesman to leader.³⁰ The assumption that because panegyrists broadcast very flattering views of their subjects, they were therefore simply regurgitating propaganda which the emperor or his courtiers had sanctioned, oversimplifies the social function of the genre. Of course, on occasion some of what the panegyrists said must have required the emperor's prior approval.³¹ Doubtless too a resourceful panegyrist would tap into the wealth of imperial ideology inherent in contemporary media such as art, literature and coinage. An orator's overriding concern would be to win from the emperor either particular concessions or general approval, either for himself or for those he represented, and an obvious means of securing this would be to speak of the emperor in flattering terms. Thus the element of flattery in panegyric should be seen more as a function of the orators' agenda than as evidence for imperial control over what was said.

Against this backdrop, the imperial ideology enshrined in these speeches ought not be considered to have emanated undiluted from the emperors but to have been filtered by the orators. As such, differences in ideology in the speeches should not be seen faithfully to reflect new directions in government policy, but to constitute the response of intelligent and responsible orators to a kaleidoscope of circumstances, which would include consideration of official policy but also matters of national, local and personal interest.

The single most significant difference between the governments overseen by Diocletian and those which had gone before lay in the number of emperors. The plurality of emperors in the time of Dyarchy and Tetrarchy was a

³⁰ e.g. G. Sabbah, 'De la Rhétorique à la communication politique: les *Panégryriques Latins*', *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 43 (1984) 363-88; C.E.V. Nixon, 'Constantinus oriens imperator: Propaganda and Panegyric. On reading Panegyric 7 (307)', *Historia* 42 (1993) 229-46; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.26-33.

³¹ An excellent example of this is the arresting claim made in the speech of 310 that Constantine was related to the emperor Claudius Gothicus (VI(7)2.2). Constantine must have consented to this assertion, and perhaps even prompted it himself.

successful response to the range of threats facing the unity of the Empire. The official collegiality of emperors throughout these years was an important milestone in Roman constitutional history. Inevitably, the novelty of these forms of government would have made demands upon the orators who delivered panegyrics. In times of monarchy a panegyrist could devote his praise to the sole emperor; by contrast, collegiate systems, such as Dyarchy and Tetrarchy, required a more diplomatic approach. In practice the emperors rarely met, so usually an orator would find himself delivering a panegyric to one member of the college, or perhaps in a location which was subject to the influence or control of one emperor.³² In this circumstance a tension could arise between the praise of an individual emperor and the obligation to recognize the collegiate government in general. The circumstances of his delivery and matters of local or personal agenda might naturally incline an orator to focus his praise on a single emperor, in order to secure from him some particular concessions or general goodwill. At the same time, recognition of the authority of the collegiate government to which the emperor belonged would be diplomatic as it was that very constellation of leaders which guaranteed the legitimate authority of each of them. The ideologies of individuality and cooperation need not be considered oppositional, but as this enquiry seeks to highlight, the different weight orators could attach to such factors and the different means they could adopt to express them resulted in speeches of great texture.

Dates, places, orators and attendants

Every orator would, of course, tailor his speech to the circumstances of its delivery. No less than the broad developments on a political or diplomatic front across the empire, such considerations would include the interests and loyalties of those attending the speech. For this reason, consideration of the imperial ideologies enshrined in the four speeches must take into account the question of their particular audiences.

³² Barnes (1982) pp.47-87 on imperial journeys. See below p.14 for the delivery of Eumenius' speech (IX(4)) to a provincial governor. VII(6) was delivered before Maximian and Constantine.

X(2) was delivered on the anniversary of Rome's birthday, 21st April.³³ Details within the speech and others in XI(3) but not in X(2) help to pinpoint the year - 289, when the Dyarchy was an established system of government.³⁴ The location is generally agreed to be Trier, but was without doubt in northern Gaul, a region subject to the influence and authority of Maximian.³⁵ The identification of the author as one Mamertinus is welcomed by some scholars, but resisted in this work³⁶; here, more important than pinning a name on an otherwise unknown orator is a clear appreciation of his audience. The opening vocative address is *sacratissime imperator*, who, it is revealed, is Maximian.³⁷ Diocletian is also included in the vocative address *invictissimi principes* (11.1), but it is clear from the speech's closing sentences that the orator spoke face-to-face to Maximian alone:

tuque potissimum (credo enim hoc idem Diocletianum Oriens rogat) has provincias tuas frequenter inlustres, et profundissima licet pace florentes adventu numinis tui reddas feliciores. vides, imperator, quanta vis sit tuorum in nos caelestium beneficiorum: adhuc praesentia tua fruimur, et iam reditum desideramus. (14.4-5)

XI(3) is attributed by some to the same Mamertinus; again I prefer to resist the identification.³⁸ The speech is tentatively dated to 21st July, Maximian's birthday³⁹; it was certainly delivered after Maximian's *quinquennalia* had passed (1.3) and before 292.⁴⁰ If July 21st is rejected, at least a date sometime in summer 291 can be accepted, a time when the imperial college was still Dyarchic. Trier is again assumed to be the location of the

³³ 1.1.

³⁴ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.42-3.

³⁵ cf. Barnes (1982) p.57 n.48 argues that Cologne or Mainz are possible locations.

³⁶ See Appendix One.

³⁷ 1.1.

³⁸ See Appendix One.

³⁹ Galletier (1949) p.11; C.E.V. Nixon, 'The "Epiphany" of the Tetrarchs? An examination of Mamertinus' Panegyric of 291', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 111 (1981) 157-166, p.166; Barnes (1982) p.58 n.52. See Appendix Two.

⁴⁰ See Barnes (1982) p.58 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.76-79.

speech.⁴¹ From the opening chapter, Maximian's presence at the delivery can be confirmed:

voveram, inquam, potissimum ut me dignatione qua pridem audieras rursus audires, siquidem apud tanti praesentiam numinis hoc ipsum mihi maximum dicendi praemium videbatur ut dicerem. (1.2)

By contrast, although the speech contains several vocative addresses which include Diocletian, such as *fortunatissimi imperatores* (18.1), it was not addressed to that emperor's face. Using the *Codex Iustinianus*, Barnes places Diocletian in Sirmium in Pannonia in May 291, and Oescus in Moesia by December.⁴² This itinerary and the orator's insistence on Maximian's attendance at the delivery of XI(3) determine that the circumstances of XI(3) were very similar to those of X(2). Both were delivered in North Gaul, perhaps at Trier, in the time of the Dyarchy, to Maximian's face.

Similarly, VIII(5) is generally thought to have been delivered at Trier.⁴³ It can be dated to spring 297, four years after the creation of the Tetrarchy with the accession of Constantius and Galerius.⁴⁴ There are no clues as to the orator's name. It is clear from *Caesar auditor* (1.5) and *Caesare stante dum loquimur* (4.4) that Constantius was present to hear the speech. The three other emperors were not there: according to Barnes' reconstruction of imperial journeys, Diocletian was in Syria in late 296 and Egypt by late 297; Maximian was in Mauretania; and Galerius was recovering from his Persian defeat and preparing for a new campaign.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See Appendix One.

⁴² (1982) p.52.

⁴³ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.105-6

⁴⁴ T.D. Barnes, 'Emperors, panegyrics, prefects, provinces and palaces (284-317)', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 (1996) 532-552, p.540 specifies 1st March after *o kalendae Martiae* VIII(5)3.1-2, but Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.106 point out that the orator does not establish that he is speaking on that day. C. Zuckerman, 'Les Campagnes des Tétrarques, 296-298. Notes de Chronologie', *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994) 65-70 sets Galerius' initial defeat by the Persians to very early 297, and his later victory over Narses to Autumn 297. This framework provides the explanation for Galerius' omission from VIII(5)21 and his inclusion in IX(4)21 for which, see below Part One pp.91, 98-9.

⁴⁵ Barnes (1982) pp. 54, 59, 63. Barnes reasonably cites VIII(5)5.2. as evidence for Maximian's campaign in Mauretania, *iam iamque*.

IX(4) was delivered by Eumenius, the Professor of Rhetoric at the Maenianae, a school in Augustodunum (Autun). The location of the delivery is not as clear as was once assumed: Autun itself was generally accepted as the location, but recently Rodgers has challenged this orthodoxy, preferring Lyons or Trier.⁴⁶ From the phrase *Persicos arcus pharetrasque calcentem* (21.2) we can deduce that the speech dates to late 297 or 298.⁴⁷ It clearly postdates VIII(5).⁴⁸ No emperors were present to hear the speech, as the recurrent vocative *vir perfectissime* makes clear. This man must have been a provincial governor.

Structure

The thesis is tripartite. Part One, 'Addressing the Throne', considers the dynamics of vocative address in the four speeches and the ways in which it could be used to articulate political support. This Part, which is prefaced with discussion of imperial *praesentia*, combines statistical-lexical analysis with exegesis. Two different 'modes' of address are identified and the balance between them examined. Each of the four speeches is considered in turn, before a brief section highlighting the phenomenon in other texts aims to put the findings into context.

Whereas Part One essentially deals with the speeches' discourse, Part Two, 'The United Government' and Part Three, 'The Individual', are more thematic in approach. Both also consider the speeches in turn. Part Two is concerned with the various ways in which the theme of government unity is asserted; a range of methods are identified, varying from a metaphorical application of family referents to the assimilation of imperial and cosmic systems. Some of these expressions of governmental unity are seen to have parallels in contemporary art and coinage.

⁴⁶ B.S. Rodgers 'Eumenius of Augustodunum', *Ancient Society* 20 (1989) 249-266, 262-6; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.146-8.

⁴⁷ F. Kolb, 'Zu chronologischen Problemen der ersten Tetrarchie', *Eos* 76 (1988) 105-125; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.148; Barnes (1996) p.541 argues for summer 298 at the earliest.

⁴⁸ cf. Mynors (1964) p.299.

To counterbalance Part Two, Part Three deals with the orators' characterization of the emperors as individuals. In both X(2) and XI(3) the association of Maximian with Hercules and of Diocletian with Jupiter is instrumental in this characterization, but to different effects. In VIII(5) historical *exempla* are employed in the assertion of Constantius' individuality; and in IX(4) Eumenius is seen to praise the particular *virtutes* of Constantius which accord with his own personal agenda.

The conclusion seeks to draw together the various approaches speech by speech and to highlight the political texture which results. Despite the many similarities in circumstance, the loyalties which the speeches articulate will be seen to vary significantly.

Appendix One brings together the various arguments raised in earlier enquiries about the authorship of X(2) and XI(3) and adds the evidence which this project has revealed. Appendix Two addresses the important textual issue of the *genuinus/geminus natalis dies* in XI(3).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Although all modern editions have been consulted, the text followed is Mynors' *Oxford Classical Text* (1964) The very infrequent departures from his edition are discussed. See the bibliography for a list of editions. Bibliographic references are full in the first instance, thereafter by author and year of publication.

Part One

Addressing the Throne

PRAESENTIA

The Senators gathered to listen to a speech in which they were ignored, yet they were not offended; the speech's topic was already nine years old and well-known to everyone, but nobody objected; and to cap it all, the man to whom the speech was addressed was not present, and had not even been expected - in fact, his absence made it all the better. Nazarius' panegyric of 321 is a curious speech.¹ It raises many questions, the answers to which the original audience would have taken for granted. But even the word 'audience' encourages misconceptions; this speech was written for and delivered to an empty throne.

Although Constantine II is addressed directly in the closing chapters of the speech, most of the vocative addresses by far are to his father.² In recognition of this, most modern editors have sought to clarify the potential confusion caused by there being two members of the imperial college called Constantine by entitling the speech *panegyricus Nazarii dictus Constantino Augusto*.³ However this speech was not delivered before Constantine in the same way as, for example, Pliny addressed Trajan. For, in the Spring and Summer of 321, Constantine was not in Rome.⁴ Nazarius says in chapter 3:

quis, oro, Constantine maxime (praesentem enim mihi adloqui videor
qui, etsi conspectu abes, revelli tamen mentibus non potes), quis,
inquam adspirare laudes tuas audeat equiparandi magis spe quam gratia
non tacendi? (3.1)

¹ March 1st is usually given as the date of delivery, e.g. Galletier (1952) pp.149-50, Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.338. However, Nazarius' previous speech referred to with *pridie* (30.2) ('yesterday' or perhaps 'a short time ago') is likely to have been delivered as part of the same celebrations of his sons' *quinquennalia*, suggesting a date a little after March 1st at the earliest for the surviving panegyric.

² See also 5.5, where both Caesars are addressed.

³ A. Baehrens, Galletier, Nixon/Rodgers. For a similar controversy, see H. Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux. Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy*, (London and New York, 1993), who claims that Gratian did not attend Ausonius' *gratiarum actio* of 379, p.119; cf. R.P.H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius*, (Oxford, 1991) p.537.

⁴ Barnes (1982) p.74.

Perhaps it was because of Constantine's absence that the X₁ family of manuscripts entitles the panegyric *Constantino Caesari*, assuming that it was addressed to the son of the same name.⁵ Even if the vocatives of chapter 37 are cited to support the claim that Constantine II, aged a mere four and a half, was separated from his brother and father and stood alone in the Senate at Rome to receive Nazarius' panegyric, not all of the oddities disappear.⁶ For, regardless of the location of his infant son, Constantine was not in Rome yet he is the subject and addressee of the speech. Constantine is the absent addressee.⁷

With its sustained addresses to an absent emperor and the lack of addresses to the audience which was present, consisting one supposes of Senators, Nazarius' panegyric is operating on a different level to that adopted by orators who addressed emperors to their face.⁸ Yet although the Senators were gathered to hear a speech which was not addressed to them and were therefore not implicated directly in the discourse, nevertheless their presence at the delivery was an indispensable component of the ceremonial.⁹ Simply by being there, they legitimized the panegyrist, authorized the sentiments expressed and sanctified the moment. It is by virtue of their non-involvement in the discourse but attendance at the speech's delivery that they sealed the occasion's import. Indeed, without their presence, the piece would lose all efficacy. Panegyric is more than a public genre, as it presupposes and guarantees a concomitant and

⁵ Mynors (1964) p.145 leaves *Constantino*, in which he is followed by V. Paladini and P. Fedeli, *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Rome 1976); D. Lassandro, following the X₂ branch of MSS adds *imperator*, *XII Panegyrici Latini* (Torino 1992).

⁶ The vocatives addressed to Constantine II appear only in chapter 37 and therefore might be elevating the tone of the speech at its peroration.

⁷ This apparent paradox is built upon an alien conception of *praesentia*; see following note. 38.6 suggests that none of the emperors was there; *unum modo est quo fieri possit Roma felicior, maximum quidem sed tamen solum, ut Constantinum conservatorem suum, ut beatissimos Caesares videat*.

⁸ Modern understanding of 'presence' is usually confined to physical limitations; to the ancients this was not the case. In the following discussion I use the term 'metaphysical' to denote *praesentia*, such as Constantine's in the panegyric of 321, when physical separation constitutes no barrier to involvement in discourse: this is to be distinguished from 'literal' *praesentia* which relies upon physical proximity.

⁹ G. Boissier, 'Les Rhéteurs Gaulois du IV^e siècle', *Journal des Savants*, January 1884 5-18, p.15 has a clear awareness of the importance of the delivery despite Constantine's (literal) absence.

consenting audience, even if they are not addressed themselves. Panegyric is part of a social showpiece, at which the community's unanimity and approval of the *status quo* are articulated.¹⁰ By their silent non-involvement in Nazarius' declamation the Senators voiced their participation.¹¹

All panegyrics had this potential for symbolism, but some also operate on a much more mundane level. As a public genre they had what Sabbah has termed a "fonction véhiculaire".¹² That is, panegyrics could be used to convey information. The speech could communicate news to the gathered throngs. For example, in the panegyric of 310, addressed to Constantine, for the first time we know of, the emperor's lineage is traced back to Claudius Gothicus.¹³ This claim must have had the emperor's consent or perhaps even originated from him.¹⁴ To function as part of a propaganda machine, panegyrics could include such *communication descendante*, stemming from the emperor and being passed on to his subjects.¹⁵

But panegyric could also include *communication ascendante*. Later in the same speech of 310 the panegyrist asks Constantine for imperial investment in a rebuilding programme at Autun¹⁶; and the author of V(8), delivered to Constantine in 311 expresses thanks on behalf of Autun for tax-relief.¹⁷ Of course, for such approaches to be meaningful, the emperor had to be able to hear them. Accordingly, the panegyrist of 311 travelled from Autun to Trier, where Constantine was staying, to deliver his speech to the emperor's face. Beginning his address by establishing his home-town's desire to shout out her thanks to Constantine, he says:

¹⁰ S. MacCormack, 'Latin Prose Panegyrics' in T.A. Dorey (Ed.) *Empire and Aftermath Silver Latin II* (London 1975) 143-205, pp.158-9. For a similar assessment of the importance of the *adventus*, see P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago 1981), p.98.

¹¹ M-C. L'Huillier, 'La figure de l'empereur et les vertus impériales, Crise et modèle d'identité dans les *Panégryriques Latins*', *Ann. Litter. de l'Univ. de Besançon* (1986) 529-582, p.543.

¹² Sabbah (1984) p.372.

¹³ VI(7)2.2. See above p.10 n.31.

¹⁴ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.215.

¹⁵ Sabbah (1984) p.378.

¹⁶ VI(7)22.

¹⁷ V(8) 2.1.

sed quoniam id non potest (gestit animo quod natura non patitur), clamores suos, quibus cotidie laudes tuas tollit in caelum, exaudiri a te non sinit interiecta longiquitas [sua], id quod fieri decebat, gaudiorum patriae meae nuntium sponte suscepi, ut essem iam non privati studii litterarum sed publicae gratulationis orator. (1.2)

To speak directly to the emperor this orator had to travel.¹⁸ Unlike Nazarius, an address to a literally absent would not have suited his agenda.¹⁹ Not only did the orators have to tailor their panegyrics according to the contemporary political situation, but also to the very circumstances of their delivery. In their reaction to the peculiar dramaturgy of their delivery and (in the case of several orators) their expatiation on the general benefits of the emperor's attendance at a variety of events, imperial *praesentia* is not only an important theme in the panegyrics, but even a conditioning factor.²⁰ The first appearance of the theme, albeit brief, is in the earliest speech of the collection, Pliny's *Panegyricus*.

Pliny

Because most of Pliny's *Panegyricus* is centred in Rome, Trajan's *praesentia* or *absentia* is rarely an issue. However, the speech generally follows Trajan's career chronologically, and so the first reference to his *praesentia* deals with the unusual circumstances of his call to office. Nerva adopted Trajan and promoted him to share imperial power in 97 while Trajan was away from Rome, on campaign in Germany. Pliny relates what a

¹⁸ Brown (1981) pp.86-7.

¹⁹ Commenting on the orator at XI(3)1.3 Nixon says "For some reason or other, presumably the absence of the Emperor [my italics], he has been unable to deliver a speech for the celebration of Maximian's *quinquennalia*", (1981 "Epiphany") p.157. There must have been some good reason, but since neither Eumenius nor Nazarius were deterred by the absence of the emperor, and the orator of 291 did not have a specific request to make of Maximian, the latter's absence seems unlikely to have caused a postponement of the panegyric in 291.

²⁰ L'Huillier (1986) p.564.

relieving effect this had on Nerva, who, we are to understand, was tottering under the weight of the responsibilities of sole rule:

inde quasi depositi imperii qua securitate qua gloria laetus (nam quantum refert, deponas an partiaris imperium? nisi quod difficilior hoc est), non secus ac praesenti tibi innixus, tuis umeris se patriamque sustentans tua iuventa, tuo robore invaluit. (8.4)

This metaphysical imperial *praesentia* occurs but rarely in the speech: as we shall see, its potential for signalling an extraordinary power and influence was fully exploited by later panegyrists.

Far more commonly, *praesentia* in the *Panegyricus* is used in its literal form. Trajan is praised for his *civilitas* in acquainting himself with the demands of military life by experiencing them in person (15 *passim*) and in sitting in a place level with the people in the Colosseum (51 *passim*).²¹ He is missed when absent (20.1); the literal moment of his *praesentia*, his *adventus*, draws to him from others the attention of everyone (19.1-2) and causes superlative joy throughout the city (22 *passim*). His second consulship was held not in Rome, but amongst barbarians, who were thus able to enjoy his literal *praesentia* and not have to rely on effigies (56.8). The reason that Trajan's *praesentia* is so cherished and appreciated (92. 5) is that it distinguishes him from the reclusive, evil emperors who had gone before. Trajan is praiseworthy for his refreshing desire to live amongst his people, see them and be seen by them, pass them in the street and welcome them into his home (e.g. 44.1, 63.4, 83.1-3) - in short, he is free with his *praesentia*. This compares favourably with the *absentia* of Nero and, particularly, Domitian:

non adire quisquam non adloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem, nec umquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret. (48.5)

²¹ A. Cameron, *Circus Factions The Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976) p177.

This use of imperial *praesentia*, though literal, was seldom to have the same currency two hundred years later, for by then Rome was still the empire's capital, the *gentium domina* (X(2)14.3, XI(3)12.1), but the emperor/s spent little time there.²² The contrastive character of Trajan's *praesentia*, compared with the tyrants of earlier in the first century, was a virtue of its time.

More enduring was to be Pliny's most striking exception to the regular model of *praesentia*:

o vere principis atque etiam dei curas, reconciliare aemulas civitates, tumentesque populos non imperio magis quam ratione compescere; intercedere iniquitatibus magistratum, infectumque reddere quidquid fieri non oportuerit; postremo velocissimi sideris more omnia invisere omnia audire, et undecumque invocatum statim velut adesse et adsistere. (80.3)

Although the adverb *velut* restricts the hyperbolic force of the closing clause, the idea of Trajan's ability to be anywhere is firmly established. This metaphysical *praesentia* serves to equate Trajan with Jupiter (80.4-5). In the use made by the later panegyrists of imperial *praesentia* there was a greater balance between the literal and metaphysical types.

Adventus.

The itinerant nature of the lifestyle of emperor/s in late antiquity meant that his/their literal *praesentia* could not be taken for granted.²³ The opportunity to see the emperor would bring much joy to the citizens.²⁴ Delivering his speech to Maximian in Trier in 289, the orator addressed

²² Pacatus praises Theodosius for being accessible, as Pliny had Trajan, II(12) 21.2 and Nixon's note 64 *ad loc.*, (1987) p.68 = Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.471. For Maximian's visits to Rome see Nixon 'The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's visits to Rome' *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 70-76. On imperial presence see L'Huillier (1986) p.564.

²³ F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World 31BC - 337AD* (London 1977), p.39.

²⁴ See for example, V(8)2.1, XII(9)19.6, VI(7)10.2, 22.5; Millar (1977) p.31.

Rome in the two closing chapters. He begs the *gentium domina* not to be jealous of Trier's enjoyment of Maximian's *praesentia* on 21st April, Rome's birthday (X(2)14.3). The *ratio rei publicae* keeps Maximian in Gaul. The orator concludes the speech with an account of the effect on Gaul of Maximian's *praesentia*:

tuque potissimum (credo enim hoc idem Diocletianum Oriens rogat) has provincias tuas frequenter inlustres, et profundissima licet pace florentes adventu numinis tui reddas feliciores. vides, imperator, quanta vis sit tuorum in nos caelestium beneficiorum: adhuc praesentia tua fruimur, et iam reditum desideramus. (X(2)14.4-5)²⁵

Although the result is sensational - the degree of prosperity and felicity caused automatically by his *adventus* elevates the emperor to a quasi-divine status, a sense reinforced by *numen*²⁶ - the *praesentia* is to be understood to be literal.²⁷

Imperial *divinitas* is generally most pronounced in the scenes of *adventus*, that highly charged ceremonial which marked the beginning of *praesentia*. MacCormack has called *adventus* "a double-faced ceremony, which could stress either the moment when the travelling emperor 'arrived', or the moment when the emperor symbolically gave to the city the almost numinous security of his 'presence'".²⁸ *Adventus* was used under the Dyarchy, Tetrarchy and in the early years of Constantine's reign to

²⁵ See above p.12. The last line is turned on its head by Pacatus, *magis magisque expetitur, et (novum dictu) praesens desideratur* (II(12)21.5). See also IV(10)38.6.

²⁶ B.S. Rodgers 'Divine insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*', *Historia* 35 (1986) 69-104, p.72.

²⁷ See also VI(7)8.1 *praesentiae tuae securitate*, 21.1 *quod quidem nobis semper optandum est ut prosperos habeas etiam ultra tua vota successus, qui omnem spem in gremio maiestatis tuae ponimus et tuam ubique praesentiam, quasi dari possit, expetimus* and IV(10)3.1 *quis, oro, Constantine maxime (praesentem enim mihi adloqui videor qui, etsi conspectu abes, revelli tamen mentibus non potes), quis, inquam, adspirare laudes tuas audeat aequiparandi magis spe quam gratia non tacendi?*, II(12)31.4 *num tandem dubitari potest quid fuerit eo praesente facturus, quem non vidit et fugit?*. Rodgers (1986) p.77 "the source of the greatest benefits to the provinces is the physical presence of the emperor himself" and note 23. S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 1, Berkeley 1981)* pp.17-33.

²⁸ S. MacCormack, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: the ceremony of *adventus*', *Historia* 21 (1972), 721-752, pp.721ff; (1981) pp.18, 23.

articulate the emperors' *divinitas*.²⁹ The descent of Maximian and Diocletian from the Alps into Milan in the winter of 290 is described in religious terminology, culminating in a candid expression of imperial divinity:

ut vero propius propiusque coepti estis agnosci, omnes agri oppleti non hominibus modo ad visendum procurentibus sed etiam pecudum gregibus remota pascua et nemora linquentibus, concursare inter se agricolae, nuntiare totis <suis> visa, arae incendi, tura poni, vina libari, victimae caedi, cuncta gaudio calere, cuncta plausibus tripudiare, dis immortalibus laudes gratesque cantari, non opinione traditus sed conspicuus et praesens Iuppiter cominus invocari, non advena sed imperator Hercules adorari. (XI(3)10.5)³⁰

This religious tone is maintained in the following chapter, which recounts their reception in the city itself (XI(3)11.1-3).

Constantius' arrival in London after the defeat of Allectus is described in similar terms:

merito igitur statim atque ad litus illud exoptatus olim vindex et liberator appuleras, obvius sese maiestati tuae triumphus effudit, exsultantesque gaudio Britanni cum coniugibus ac liberis obtulerunt, non te ipsum modo, quem ut caelo delapsus intuebantur, sed etiam navis illius quae tuum numen advexerat vela remigiaque venerantes, paratique te ingredientem stratis sentire corporibus. (VIII(5)19.1)

"The presence of the *praesens deus* with his subjects ...was the culminating point of *adventus*".³¹ The rhetoric of panegyric and the iconography of visual representations of this ceremonial have religious elements which elevate the *adventus* to the level of a cosmic event and the emperor/s to

²⁹ MacCormack (1972) pp.726ff.

³⁰ J.H.G.W. Liebeschuetz, 'Religion in the *Panegyrici Latini*' in *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest* (Aldershot 1990) 389-398, p.392; MacCormack (1981) pp.25-6.

³¹ *ibid.* p.32

divine status.³² *Adventus* gave to the artist and panegyrist the opportunity to select “vignettes of real life which are expounded in a framework of religion and myth”.³³ The chance to add “universal significance” to a “merely historical” event is clearly grasped in these examples³⁴; however, although in each case the universal significance is the most important, and most memorable feature, nevertheless that meaning is generated from the emperors’ literal *praesentia* in Milan and London. *Adventus* and its exegesis depend upon a literal interpretation of imperial *praesentia*. And, one imagines, for the audience in Trier, the emperor’s literal *praesentia* was at least as important as any symbolic significance attached to it.³⁵

Itinera

Confirmation of the importance of literal imperial *praesentia* can be found in descriptions of travel. The anonymous author of 297 makes this clear early in the speech:

quanta enim, invictissimi principes, et vobis et rei publicae saecula propagatis orbis vestri participando tutelam? cuius licet esset omni hoste perdomito certa securitas, nimios tamen in diversa discursus vel revisenda poscebat. (VIII(5)3.2)

In 291 the orator makes this travel a praiseworthy feature of the Dyarchy, an action triggered by the emperors’ divine strength:

quarum infatigabiles motus et impetus ipsa vis divinitatis exercet, quae vos tantis discursibus toto quem regitis orbe deducit, ut nos semper anxios vestri caritate nuper ad libertatem piaie conquestionis impulerit,

³² e.g. Arras medallion for which see MacCormack (1972) pp.729ff., (1981) pp.29ff., plate 9 and p.23 on the combination of divine and imperial dominion in Tetrarchic art and panegyric.

³³ MacCormack (1981) p.33.

³⁴ MacCormack (1972) pp.722ff.

³⁵ MacCormack (1981) p.17; Brown (1981) p.98 on the concord between emperor and subjects generated by *adventus*; “The *praesentia* of the Emperor...was held to embrace the whole, undivided community.” See XII(9)19.6.

cum itinera vestra ipsis hiberni solstitii diebus per vicina illa caelo
Alpium iuga, quibus Italiam natura vallavit, perque illa saxa et duriores
saxis nivium densitatem desiderio vestri et amore sequeremur, et
<quam> virtus vestra non sentit pati vos putaremus iniuriam. (XI(3)2.4)

MacCormack's neat articulation of the strategy of praise which informs many panegyrics, "a particular event becomes an expression of an imperial characteristic to which general validity is attributed", justifiably gives prominence over the particular (and mundane) to the general (and symbolic).³⁶ In the above examples, the provinces enjoyed the confidence and security which the emperors' physical *praesentia* bestowed upon them, and our orators' celebration of these great boosts to their home-towns is dependent on a literal understanding of imperial *praesentia*.³⁷

While insisting upon the benefits of literal *praesentia*, at times the orators also included implications of imperial *divinitas*. They achieved this by exaggerating the speed of his journeys throughout the empire:

ita omnes provinciae vestrae, quas divina celeritate peragastis, ubi sitis
vicissim nesciunt: sciunt tamen vos ubique vicisse. (XI(3)4.4)

neque enim illud progressio fuit nec itineris confectio nec solitis
adminiculis usa properatio. quid simile concitus eques aut velivola
navis? divinus quidam impetus fuit, quo repente in eundem locum ab
utroque solis adverso fine venistis... etenim cum nihil sit animo velocius,
vos, quorum igneae immortalesque mentes minime sentiunt corporum
moras, pervecti estis ad vos mutui desiderii celeritate. (XI(3)8.2-5)

tanta facilitate illa quae tunc aliis forent inaccessibilia superastis, atque
inde Iulias hinc Cottias Alpes quasi relictas aestu arenas patentium
litorum transcurristis. (XI(3)9.3)

³⁶ MacCormack (1972) p.722.

³⁷ Millar (1977) pp.28-40 on imperial journeys.

Their *divina celeritas* and *divinus impetus* elevate Maximian and Diocletian far above the mortals they rule and yet at the same time reinforce the importance of literal *praesentia* as they permit *praesentia* in more places.³⁸ Thus, in the preparation for *adventus* and at the very moment of *praesentia* itself, the panegyrists combine the two levels of meaning, the literal and the metaphysical. The literal broadcasts and sanctions the ongoing policy of visiting the provinces, to boost their confidence through *praesentia*³⁹; and the metaphysical lifts the emperors above the range of human predicaments.

However, the emperors' mundane need to travel can coexist with the rhetoric of metaphysical *praesentia*. This can be seen in the general slide from the 'fact' to the 'symbol', observed by MacCormack and well illustrated in the implication of *divinitas* in *praesentia*. The orator makes the connection early in his speech in 289:

quare si nunc Romae omnes magistratus et pontifices et sacerdotes iuxta parentes urbis et statores deos Herculis templa venerantur, quia partam aliquando ex victoria praedam a flumine Hiberno et conscio occidui solis Oceano ad pabula Tyrrhena compulerit et in Palatino iugo venturo tibi reliquerit vestigia, quanto tandem studio nos hic convenit, qui te praesentem intuemur deum toto quidem orbe victorem, sed nunc cum maxime in eadem occidentis plaga non pastorem trino capite deformem sed prodigium multo taetrius opprimentem, quidquid spiritus et vocis habeamus, omne id in laudibus tuis non occupare modo sed, si res poscat, absumere. (X(2)2.1)

This is picked up a few chapters later, *quis deus tam insperatam salutem nobis attulisset, nisi tu adfuisses?* (X(2)5.1). The equation of imperial with

³⁸ In Ausonius' *gratiarum actio* to Gratian, XVIII where Gratian's *celeritas* is not *divina*, the emperor's literal *praesentia* at the speech is appreciated by the orator and is rarely extended to a metaphysical level, presumably to maintain a Christian decorum. cf. chap.I *ades enim locis omnibus*.

³⁹ cf. VIII(5)14.2 where Constantius is praised at the expense of Antoninus Pius for attending battles in person.

divine characteristics is a natural step consequent upon the panegyric topoi of the hyperbolic effects of imperial *praesentia*.⁴⁰

deus absens

In comparison with the other surviving works, a lexical approach to Nazarius' panegyric uncovers relatively few words attesting to Constantine's divinity.⁴¹ The nouns *numen*, *divinitas* and *maiestas* and the adjectives *caelestis*, *sacer* and *divinus* are employed far less frequently of Constantine by Nazarius than of emperors by other panegyrists in surviving work.⁴² Yet by invoking a literally absent emperor, regardless of his diction, Nazarius articulates Constantine's 'numinousness' in his discourse.⁴³ For Nazarius' addresses to Constantine attribute to the emperor the divine quality of omnipresence. Although not there in body, Constantine does have some sort of *praesentia* there - a metaphysical *praesentia*.

There are many parallels for what Hopkins has called 'the living presence' from perceptions of the emperor in other spheres.⁴⁴ The panegyrist of 297 describes the last frantic moments of Allectus, the British usurper who was defeated by Constantius:

demens qui nesciebat, quacumque fugeret, ubique vim vestrae divinitatis esse, ubi vultus vestri ubi signa colerentur. (VIII(5)15.6)

The emperor's power reaches as far as his image, and his image was, of course, revered everywhere. Recognition of an emperor's *imago* was tantamount to acceptance of his status.⁴⁵ The emperor's portrait was one of

⁴⁰ MacCormack (1972) p.721, (1981) p.23. See VI(7)22.1.

⁴¹ Rodgers (1986) pp.87-8.

⁴² *ibid.* pp.100-4.

⁴³ F. Burdeau, 'L'empereur d'après les *Pangyriques Latins*', in F. Burdeau, N. Charbonnel, M. Humbert (Edd) *Aspects de l'Empire Romain* (Paris 1964) 1-60, p.21 touches on the link between *numen* and *praesentia*.

⁴⁴ K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, (Cambridge 1978) pp.215-231. For the 'invisible presence' of saints in late antiquity, see Brown (1981), *passim*, but especially p.88.

⁴⁵ P. Bruun, 'Portrait of a Conspirator. Constantine's Break with the Tetrarchy', *Arctos* 11 (1976) 5-25, pp.6ff.

several standards carried by the army⁴⁶; in a probably fictitious letter to the emperors Maximus and Balbinus in the *Historia Augusta* there is a reference to the auxiliary troops and their respect for the imperial image, *quae ubique terrarum iam vultus vestros adorant*⁴⁷; the emperor's statue adorned fora and temples throughout the empire and even the most mundane of objects, the imperial coinage, asserted his power.⁴⁸

A fragmentary but now lost inscription from the Baths of Diocletian in Rome, dated to 305-6, provides further evidence of this register of *praesentia*:

quas [thermas] Maximianus Augustus absens ex Africa sub praesentia maiestatis disposuit.⁴⁹

By its reference to both modes, this epigraphical evidence is quite explicit in its attempt to reconcile the literal and metaphysical; Maximian is not there in the flesh, but his presence is felt in the efficacy of his *maiestas*. The text is not unproblematic, inasmuch as *maiestas* was regularly used of the emperor as a synonym for the pronoun, but here we are obliged to recognise a distinction between the literal whereabouts of Maximian on the one hand, and the geographical range of his power on the other.⁵⁰

The conceptual link between power and presence is easily made: the emperor's *praesentia* guarantees his *potentia*, and his *potentia* is dependant on his *praesentia*.⁵¹ According to Nazarius, Maxentius' rule over Rome was an impious tyranny (6.2), and his defeat was inevitable when confronted with Constantine's military supremacy and superior moral worth (7-8). With his victory complete, Constantine's *potentia* in Rome is now reflected in the *felicitas* of peace, with new buildings gleaming and old ones revived in splendour (35.4). But it is also reflected in the ceremonial of panegyric; the

⁴⁶ Hopkins (1978) p.224.

⁴⁷ *Historia Augusta* Maximus and Balbinus 17.2

⁴⁸ See also the gloss put on the emperor's robe by Ausonius, *Gratiarum Actio XI Constantius in argumento vestis intexitur, Gratianus in muneris honore sentitur*.

⁴⁹ *CIL* 6 1130; *ILS* 646, where Dessau has *rediens* for *absens*.

⁵⁰ Rodgers (1986) p.103.

⁵¹ Brown (1981) chapters 5, *praesentia* and 6, *potentia*, especially pp.100-120.

occasion itself is an acknowledgement of Constantine's right to rule, a recognition of his *potentia*. How appropriate, therefore, is Nazarius' invocation of the literally absent Constantine, as it reaffirms the association between *potentia* and *praesentia*. Peter Brown, in *The Cult of the Saints*, says of the widely attested phenomenon of the possession and exorcism of visitors to sacred locations, "Nothing gave a more palpable face to the unseen *praesentia* of the saint than did the heavy cries of the possessed".⁵² We might say of Nazarius' panegyric that nothing gave a more audible voice to the metaphysical *praesentia* of the emperor than did the repeated vocatives of the orator.

Omnipresence.

However, even in the case of speeches whose delivery was attended by an emperor, just as *praesentia* slides from a fundamentally literal usage towards a balance between a literal and metaphysical one, so too it is used on a purely metaphysical level. No matter where Maximian and Diocletian are, no matter the distance between them, their *praesentia* enables them to join with each other in their rule, *neque vobis tanta locorum diversitas obest quominus etiam veluti iunctis dexteris gubernetis* (X(2)11.1).⁵³ Although the adverb *veluti* imposes a cautious limit on the applicability of the metaphor, nevertheless the orator uses metaphysical *praesentia* to join two geographically separated emperors, to announce their stability and concord.

In 291 the panegyrist goes further, articulating imperial omnipresence without qualification:

vos tantae rei publicae administratione suscepta, quos huc atque illuc tot
urbes tot castra tot circumiecta Romano imperio flumina montes litora

⁵² *ibid.* p.108.

⁵³ See also X(2)9.1 *dexterarum contulisti*, VII(6)1.5 *non dextrarum tantum sed etiam sensus vestros mentesque iunxisse*, XI(3)12.3 *coniunctas in omni sermone dextrarum*. See below pp.123ff., 142ff. For the motif in visual art see R.D.Rees, 'Images and Image: a Re-examination of Tetrarchic Iconography', *Greece and Rome* 40 (1993) 181-200, p.193. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) say of *iunctio* on coins "Its appearance is usually sinister, testifying to lack of harmony, and civil war", pp.66-7.

vocant, tantum animis ac fortuna valetis ut in unum convenire possetis, nihilominus orbe securo. neque enim pars ulla terrarum maiestatis vestrae praesentia caret, etiam cum ipsi abesse videamini. (XI(3)13.4-5)

As a result of this, the barbarian nations do not dare to rise up against the empire:

ubicumque sitis, in unum licet palatium concesseritis, divinitatem vestram ubique versari, omnes terras omniaque maria plena esse vestri. quid enim mirum si, cum possit hic mundus Iovis esse plenus, possit et Herculis? (XI(3)14.3-4)⁵⁴

The extension to the metaphysical usage of *praesentia* is absolute here, in that the literal whereabouts or *praesentia* of the emperor/s is immaterial.

Metaphysical *praesentia* proved to be particularly efficacious in military contexts. Thus, we see a combination of the metaphysical and the literal to a specific effect. Maximian's *praesentia* on the battlefield was such that the orator describes it in terms of omnipresence, *ipse omnibus locis totaque acie dimicares* (X(2)5.3). Constantius' very arrival at Gesoriacum (Boulogne) is said to have won him the battle, such was its import, *statim itaque Gallias tuas, Caesar, veniendo vicisti* (VIII(5)6.1).⁵⁵ Later, the same author attributes greater military significance to imperial *praesentia* than to the emperor's cavalry and infantry:

tu enim ipse, tu domine Maximiane, imperator aeternae, novo itineris compendio adventum divinitatis tuae accelerare dignatus repente Rheno institisti, omnemque illum limitem non equestribus neque pedestribus copiis sed praesentiae tuae terrore tutatus es (VIII(5)13.3).⁵⁶

⁵⁴ See H.P.L'Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life*, (Princeton 1965) p.52 and Symmachus' *Oratio* I.1, to Valentinian, *merito non potest hodie obesse proviciis tam longa absentia tua, quas tuetur prima notio. similis est princeps deo pariter universa cernenti, qui cunctas partes novit imperii; Oratio* II.7 *quid iuvat quaerere ubi potissimum degas, cum ubique semper appareas?*

⁵⁵ See also VI(7)18.7 *tantus illos incenderat amor numinis tui ut, quamvis scirent oppugnandum esse munitissimam civitatem, sufficere sibi crederent pervenire.*

⁵⁶ See also XII(9)5.4-5, where Maxentius' men only try to defend Susa against

My final example, from the same panegyric, attributes a similar, real power to imperial *praesentia* in a war-zone, but in this instance, the combination of literal and metaphysical is particularly bold:

utcumque cum ducibus tuis maluit experiri quam praesens maiestatis
tuae fulmen excipere, demens qui nesciebat, quacumque fugeret, ubique
vim vestrae divinitatis esse, ubi vultus vestri, ubi signa colerentur.
(VIII(5)15.6)⁵⁷

The belief in the emperor's *praesentia* in his images was firmly embedded in the rituals of the imperial cult.⁵⁸ This was a forerunner to the Christian belief in the *praesentia* of a saint at the shrine of his/her relics; "the saint in heaven was believed to be 'present' at his tomb on earth".⁵⁹ In both the pagan and Christian versions, the subject's metaphysical *praesentia* at a given place enables his/her *potentia* to operate there. But in both versions too, the incorporeality does not extend to the level of omnipresence: for just as Constantius' power is said to reach as far as the limits of empire (and no further), "the holy... was accessible to one group in a manner in which it could not be accessible to anyone situated elsewhere".⁶⁰ The realities of geography still managed to impose their restrictions on this metaphysical *praesentia*.

In the above example, Allectus preferred to try his luck against Constantius' generals rather than against Constantius himself, *praesens maiestatis tuae fulmen*. However, by a shift in mid-sentence from the literal to the metaphysical, the panegyrist manages to assert Constantius' *praesentia* in more places than one and thus to validate the claim that the

Constantine because they do not believe he is present at the battle; 22.3 *ilico obvius adfuisti et praesentia tua, ne auderent transitum, terruisti*; VI(7)8.1 *praesentiae tuae securitate*; and IV(10)18.3-4 where Constantine disguises his identity and denies that he is present to make the barbarian enemy drop their guard.

⁵⁷ MacCormack (1972) p.747.

⁵⁸ e.g. Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 42.1.

⁵⁹ Brown (1981) p.3. See also chapter 5, *Praesentia*.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* p.86.

victory over Allectus was Constantius' in person. By exploiting the gap between the literal and metaphysical *praesentia* of Constantius, the orator can avoid any references to Asclepiodotus (the general considered to be the genuine victor over Allectus), and thus exalts Constantius higher.⁶¹ The combination of literal and metaphysical images in these military contexts also reaffirms the *pax imperii* which is credited to the emperor/s.

The universal quality of *pax imperii* sits comfortably alongside the notion of imperial omnipresence. In passages very reminiscent of Pliny, (*Panegyricus* 80.3), the panegyrists of 289, 291 and 297 extend the understanding of metaphysical *praesentia* to equate the addressee/s with gods in heaven. In 289, the orator gives praise to Maximian for accepting, when taking office, more responsibilities than personal benefits. This leads to a summary of the duties of office:

admittere in animum tantae rei publicae curam et totius orbis fata
suscipere et oblitum quodammodo sui gentibus vivere et in tam arduo
humanarum rerum stare fastigio, ex quo veluti terras omnes et maria
despicias vicissimque oculis ac mente conlustres ubi sit certa serenitas,
ubi dubia tempestas, qui iustitiam vestram iudices aemulentur, qui
virtutes vestrae gloriam duces servant, accipere innumerabiles undique
nuntios, totidem mandata dimittere, de tot urbibus et nationibus et
provinciis cogitare, noctes omnes diesque perpeti sollicitudine pro
omnium salute transigere. (X(2)3.3-4)

The orator of 297 has a similar passage:

sed neque Sol ipse neque cuncta sidera humanas res tam perpetuo
lumine intuentur quam vos tuemini, qui sine ullo fere discrimine dierum
ac noctium inlustratis orbem, salutique gentium non his modo quibus
immortales vultus vestri vigent sed multo magis illis divinarum mentium
vestrarum oculis providetis, nec solum qua dies oritur et praeterit et

⁶¹ See Casey (1994) pp.137-8; P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford 1981) pp.288-9, 296-313 on the Carausian episode.

conditur sed etiam ex illa septentrionali plaga salutari beatis luce provincias: adeo, Caesar, vestra in orbem terrarum distributa beneficia, prope plura sunt quam deorum. (VIII(5)4.3)

In these passages, metaphysical imperial *praesentia* works to identify the addressee/s as god/s. With a protective eye the emperors look down on earth from their exalted station. The realities of literal *praesentia*, such as that at *adventus* at battle or in a town, are left far behind.

Terms of Address

Literal *praesentia* - especially *adventus*, the moment of *praesentia* - provided an opportunity for elaborate ceremonial, one aspect of which would be the delivery of a panegyric. The people felt honoured and protected by the emperor's presence and were keen to express their gratitude. Yet we see in our panegyrics two registers of the theme of *praesentia*; one is the literal, where the actual presence of the emperor is a source of comfort and celebration; the other the metaphysical, where the incorporeal emperor/s is/are invoked. This metaphysical *praesentia* is sometimes equated with omnipresence and sometimes limited to geographical boundaries. On the scale from 'human emperor' to 'divine emperor', up and down which our panegyrics slide, the literal register tends towards the former and the metaphysical the latter.⁶² In theory the two registers counteract each other; in practice, the panegyrists so handle the forms to avoid contradiction and paradox which would invite censure - they have it both ways.⁶³ Thus the emperor can bless a community with his literal *praesentia*, whilst at the same time, his metaphysical presence reaches out to everyone elsewhere.

We could expect the notion of imperial *praesentia* to underpin the application of terms of address in the panegyrics. *Praesentia* of the emperor/s and vocative address to him/them could clearly interlock, and so

⁶² Rodgers (1986) *passim*, for the emperors' status as man or god.

⁶³ W.S. Maguinness, 'Locutions and Formulae of the Latin Panegyrists', *Hermathena* 48 (1933) 117-138, pp.118, 121-123.

this survey of the use of the former in the speeches should be seen as prolegomena to the main topic of Part One. An assessment of the terms of address should provide an indication of one way our panegyrists managed the competing demands of presence and absence.⁶⁴

Having studied texts from a variety of genres from this period Corcoran states:

“When approached individually, the emperors are usually addressed in the second person singular... The tetrarchic panegyrics tend also to use the singular. But both explicit and implicit references to the co-rulers make plurals quite frequent”.⁶⁵

In Part One I consider in detail how and to what effect the orators use terms of address as a means of articulating loyalty in each of the four panegyrics. I close with a brief survey of the use of terms of address in other similar texts in order to set my findings in context. I apply the terms ‘literal’ and ‘metaphysical’, taken from the classification of the two registers of imperial *praesentia*, to the two different modes of address. For example, in X(2), delivered on April 21st 289 in Trier, the singular terms *tu* and *tuus*, singular vocatives and second person singular verb forms are literal in that they reflect the circumstances of the declamation. On the other hand, *vos*, *vester*, plural vocative and second person plural verb forms are metaphysical in that they depend upon a metaphysical understanding of imperial *praesentia* - in 289 Diocletian was not there in body to hear the panegyric, but the plural

⁶⁴ Galletier distinguishes between *tu* and *vos* etc. by using the French *tu* and *vous* respectively. The cost of this attempt at clarity is, of course, that the orators address a single emperor with the French *tu*! Nixon and Rodgers in their 1994 translation, and Caplan in his abridged X(2) (1924) use ‘you’ indiscriminantly.

⁶⁵ Corcoran, (1996) Appendix E, ‘Imperial Plurals’ p.320. On p.319 Corcoran classifies plurals in imperial constitutions as ‘majestic’ or ‘collegiate’; by ‘majestic’ he means instances when a single emperor uses a plural term, and by ‘collegiate’ when a plural term, although used by a single emperor, is designed to extend to his imperial colleagues. Corcoran acknowledges the difficulty in distinguishing between his two types because of the multiplicity of emperors at this time. Panegyrics are less problematic: in each of the four speeches under consideration, singular terms are used to address individual emperors; this in turn encourages the interpretation of plural terms as ‘collegiate’.

terms extend the speech's range beyond the physical limits of the orator's voice.⁶⁶

Although it is usually the case that plural terms of address are in the metaphysical mode and singular in the literal, such a systematic classification is proved inadequate by the speeches themselves; the address to *Constantine* quoted at the outset of this chapter is in the metaphysical mode, although singular.⁶⁷ The classification of a term of address by mode depends not on number but on the circumstances of the declamation in relation to the emperors' location. The orator's shifting interpretation of imperial *praesentia* is the linchpin.

Likewise, it is important to remember that although no reference is made to the literal addressee's colleague/s in the literal terms, the addressee is not excluded from the metaphysical; and that, therefore, although there is a contrast between literal and metaphysical modes of address, that does not mirror an opposition between the literal addressee and his colleague/s in office. The terms are not antonymic. Tables One, Two, Four and Five demonstrate the frequency, chapter by chapter of the literal and metaphysical terms.⁶⁸ Given that Dyarchy was not the regular form of government in the early Empire and that Tetrarchy, when introduced in 293, was a novel system, panegyrist had rarely been faced with such a variety of possible combinations of literal and metaphysical addresses.⁶⁹ Thus, despite the generic restrictions which faced the orators, the new political landscape demanded originality too. This study of the dynamics of vocative address

⁶⁶ The question of the place, date and attendants at each of the speeches is discussed in the introduction. S. MacCormack, 'Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor and his genius', *Classical Quarterly* 25 (1975) 131-150, p.147 gives examples of the use of second person addresses to the deceased in Roman funerary *laudationes*; the panegyrist's addresses to absent emperors represents an adaptation of this custom. I assume throughout that *vos* and *vester* signify the plural; for a very few, controversial exceptions to this in earlier Latin, see A.E. Housman, '*vester* = *tuus*', *Classical Quarterly* 3 (1909) 244-8, reprinted in J. Diggle and F.R.D. Goodyear (Edd) *The Classical Papers of A.E. Housman vol. II (1897-1914)* (Cambridge 1972) 790-4.

⁶⁷ See above p.17.

⁶⁸ M.-C. L'Huillier (1992) p.152 for the division of the speeches into chapters.

⁶⁹ Trajan had been appointed to Caesar by Nerva, and other emperors had promoted their heirs to share imperial duties to some extent, but there had never been such a systematic organisation as the Tetrarchy. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.57.

aims to highlight one way in which the authors demonstrated, through an acute awareness of the need for political diplomacy, original literary means.

The tables divide the terms into sections headed 'Literal' and 'Metaphysical'. I shall draw a number of conclusions from the tabulated results, but in an attempt to avoid being reductive, I shall refer to specific passages for closer consideration of their literary context - and political and ideological implications. This consideration of imperial *praesentia* in the four panegyrics enables us to appreciate that the metaphysical terms of address have greater significance than rhetorical apostrophe is generally granted; for the development of the understanding of imperial omnipresence, on which the metaphysical terms of address depend, inspires a wholly different response to that elicited by apostrophe used in genres such as tragedy and epic.⁷⁰ When a panegyrist uses a literal term of address he is simultaneously articulating and celebrating the literal presence of the emperor - which is, of course, the usual inspiration for the delivery of the surviving speeches⁷¹ - and thus provides a reminder of the dramaturgical elements of the ceremonial occasion. Yet when he uses a metaphysical term, he elevates the speech to a higher plane to invoke the omnipresence of the emperor/s.

We will see an oscillation between the two modes in the tables giving the frequency and distribution for terms of address. Yet this oscillation also has political implications. *tu* in 289 and 291 was Maximian, *vos* Maximian and Diocletian. *tu* in 297 was Constantius, *vos* Constantius, Maximian, Diocletian and Galerius.⁷² In Eumenius' speech of 298, the literal addressee was a provincial governor, although each of the four emperors is addressed too. The frequency with which an orator shifts from one mode of address to the other is not only a gauge of his desire to combine two stylistic registers, it is also a measure of his willingness to recognize and embrace the collegiate government of which the literal addressee is but one

⁷⁰ And indeed adopted in panegyric. eg. Roma (X(2)13.1, IV(10)13.1, II(12)45.7), Greek eloquence (III(11)8.1), Xenophon (Ausonius' *gratiarum actio* XV), Cleopatra (II(12)33.2), Britain (VI(7)9), Tiber (XII(9)18).

⁷¹ cf. IV(10) and IX(4).

⁷² See below, pp.73-4 for exceptions at VIII(5)2.2-3.

member.⁷³ The frequencies, distributions and contexts of terms of address will provide an insight into the literary and political preoccupations of the orators. The plural forms might be thought to announce the *concordia* of the collegiate rule; underpinned as they are by an understanding of metaphysical *praesentia*, they also attribute to the emperors a superhuman, quasi-divine quality; and, in conjunction with the literal forms, they advertise the literal addressee's right to be included in the collegiate government and to be representative of it in real terms. That is not to say, however, that the literal forms militate against those implications of *concordia* and *divinitas*; but they focus attention on the individual addressee, his personality, history, actions and motivations, in a way which does not complement the unity of government.

⁷³ cf. Eumenius, whose literal addressee is not an emperor.

PANEGYRICI LATINI X(2)

Manuscript evidence suggests that there has been considerable confusion concerning the number of literal addressees in X(2). The speech is entitled *Panegyricus Maximiano Diocletianoque dictus* in the edition of F. Puteolanus (Milan 1476).¹ Puteolanus may have followed the manuscript tradition represented by the scribe who introduced the speech in manuscript Vaticanus Latinus 1775 with *dictus maximiano et diocletiano*.² In the most recent edition, Lassandro heads the speech *Mamertini Panegyricus dictus Maximiano et Diocletiano*.³ By contrast, manuscript Bruxellensis 10026-32 has the title *dictus maximiano qui una cum diocletiano imperavit*. On a literal level, *dictus* could denote Maximian alone, on a metaphysical, Maximian and Diocletian. The relationship between the number of literal addressees and the modes of address is fundamental to an appreciation of the political dynamics of the work; in the panegyric of 289 singular, literal terms of address denote Maximian and plural, metaphysical terms Maximian and Diocletian.⁴

Table One. Literal and Metaphysical Terms of Address in X(2)

Chap. no.	LITERAL				ratio	METAPHYSICAL			
	<i>tu</i>	<i>tuus</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>voc.</i>		<i>vos</i>	<i>vester</i>	<i>verb</i>	<i>voc.</i>
1	2	4	2	3	11:6	1	4	1	-
2	6	6	4	1	17:0	-	-	-	-
3	4	-	5	-	9:4	-	4	-	-
4	2	2	5	1	10:1	-	1	-	-
5	3	3	8	1	15:0	-	-	-	-
6	7	4	10	3	24:0	-	-	-	-
7	2	3	2	2	9:2	1	1	-	-
8	5	1	4	2	12:1	-	-	1	-
9	3	1	2	-	6:14	7	-	7	-
10	5	2	1	3	11:5	3	1	1	-
11	4	1	3	3	11:17	4	7	5	1
12	5	1	-	2	8:1	-	1	-	-
13	-	1	-	2	3:4	2	2	-	-
14	2	4	3	2	11:6	3	2	1	-

¹ According to D. Lassandro, 'Bibliografia dei Panegyrici Latini', *Invigilata Lucerna* 11 (1989) 219-259, p.228.

² See the apparatus of Paladini/Fedeli (1976), p.211.

³ (1992) p.315.

⁴ See Introduction p.12.

total	50	33	49	25	157: 61	21 ⁵	23	16	1
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The table indicates that *tuus* appears in every chapter except 3, in which the duties of imperial office are described; although *vester* occurs four times here, Maximian is not neglected, as *tu* and singular verb forms are frequent. *tu* is absent from chapter 13 only; *tuus* features only once here, and singular verbs not at all. The explanation lies in the fact that Roma is the main addressee of chapters 13 and 14, as the orator encourages the city in her attitude towards Maximian and Diocletian; so although Maximian features less prominently here than elsewhere, it is to extend the address to the emperor's capital, not to other individuals.

On the other hand, metaphysical references do not feature in chapters 2, 5 and 6, and only once in chapters 4, 8 and 12. Chapter 2 deals with Maximian's military history, 4, 5 and 6 with his achievements in Gaul, 8 with the Republican general Scipio and 12 with the usurper Carausius. Rarely in these chapters does the orator interrupt his narrative in order to extend his subject matter from the particular to the general. However, 31 of the 61 metaphysical references (that is, approximately half of them) feature in chapters 9 and 11. Only in these two chapters do metaphysical forms significantly outnumber the literal. Also in chapter 11 alone, we have a plural vocative, *invictissimi principes*. These metaphysical forms combine with other indications of teamwork to present a remarkably sustained impression of harmony.⁶ However, the table demonstrates that references to Maximian alone do not disappear in these chapters - the individual is still recognised amid the claims for unity. Outside these two chapters, the metaphysical mode only occurs in substantial numbers at the beginning and end of the speech. Also interesting is the identical ratio of literal to metaphysical modes in chapters 1 and 14. These facts taken together suggest a very careful handling of the forms.

⁵ L'Huillier (1992) p.173 records 18 occurrences of *vos* and *vobis*. The total recorded here includes the genitives *vestri similitudine* (9.3), *praesentiam vestri* (13.4) For this post-classical construction, see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.16

⁶ e.g. *una mente* and *consentiendo*. See below, Part Two, p.128.

Since a table of frequencies lifts words out of their contexts, it is appropriate to balance the above observations with a consideration of the orator's use of the modes in some specific examples. For, despite the incidence of concentration of terminology which the table demonstrates, it cannot illustrate the tone of particular usages or the way the orator alters the mode of his address without warning.

Exordium (Chapters 1-2)⁷

For an example of this shift we need look no further than the speech's opening sentence:

cum omnibus festis diebus, **sacratissime imperator**, debeat **honos vester** divinis rebus aequari, tum praecipue celeberrimo isto et **imperantibus vobis** laetissimo die veneratio **numinis tui** cum sollemni sacrae urbis religione iungenda est. (1.1)

As the bold print demonstrates, the orator changes his address from the literal to metaphysical and back to literal. Thus, subject matter aside, he introduces a recurrent strategy of his panegyric - his willingness to embrace both emperors together whilst directing the core of his material to Maximian. The chiasmus of modes leaves Maximian at the beginning and end, but more significant than the arrangement is the nuance: the vocative is singular, appropriate for the opening address of the speech⁸; *honos* is qualified by *vester* as the orator starts from a general observation, *omnibus festis diebus*; however, with the transition from *imperantibus vobis* to *numinis tui* we have a sense of privileging, for

⁷ For alternative subdivisions of the speech, see Galletier (1949) pp.22-3, L'Huillier (1992) p.441. There is, of course, an arbitrary nature in any subdivision.

⁸ The tendency of scribes to abbreviate vocative addresses could be thought to complicate their categorization as literal or metaphysical. For example, *sac imp* might normally be assumed to be an abbreviation for *sacratissime imperator*, but the possibility that the full form was *sacratissimi imperatores* cannot be ruled out absolutely. The metaphysical plural vocative addresses in X(2), XI(3) and VIII(5) are unambiguous in MS Harleianus 2480; for example at XI(3)9.4 the manuscript reads *invictissimi imp* and at 18.5 *optimi imperatores*. The meticulous precision of these readings suggests that the scribe was aware of the potential for confusion and was at pains to avoid it. I assume, therefore, that the recurrent *sac imp* denotes a singular vocative address. At X(2)1.1 Harleianus 2480 has the unambiguous *sacratissime imp*.

veneration of Maximian's *numen* is to be a source of special pleasure for both emperors and to be linked to the celebration of Rome's birthday.⁹ After Maximian's adoption of the *signum* Hercules (between 286 and 289¹⁰), Hercules, an important figure in the early history of Rome, could be used as a bridge between Maximian and the city.¹¹ The distinction made in this opening sentence, between Maximian alone and Diocletian and Maximian together, is confirmed in the second by *numinis vestri*, where their shared residence at Rome is indicated. Thus, in the opening sentence, in addition to the introduction of the orator's strategy of shifting his mode of address in mid-sentence from the literal to the metaphysical or vice-versa (by which the Dyarchy is brought to the audience's mind), the details of content serve to privilege Maximian over Diocletian.¹²

Another example of this shifting in the opening chapter is in the fourth sentence:

iure igitur hoc die quo immortalis ortus dominae gentium civitatis **vestra pietate** celebratur, **tibi potissimum, imperator invicte**, laudes canimus et gratias agimus, quem similitudo ipsa **stirpis tuae** ac vis tacita naturae ad honorandum natalem Romae diem tam liberalem facit, ut urbem illam sic **colas** conditam, quasi **ipse condideris**. (1.4)

⁹ Rodgers (1986) p.104 classifies each occurrence of *numen* in the *Panegyrici Latini*, Symmachus' *orationes* and Ausonius' *gratiarum actio* under headings Numen, Pronoun and Imperium when referring to the emperor/s and when referring to the gods. She analyses *divinitas*, *maiestas*, *divinus* and *caelestis* in a similar manner. The arbitrary nature of some of her classifications, which she herself acknowledges, p.72, casts doubt on the validity of her methodology. The fact that an arbitrary element is unavoidable attests the polysemy of words such as *maiestas*. *numen* in the opening sentence of X(2) is classified as synonym for the pronoun *tui*, yet the tone set by terms such as *sacratissime*, *divinis rebus*, *veneratio*, *sollemni sacrae* and *religione* argue against Rodgers; the synonym for the pronoun would detract from the atmosphere of religious awe with which the orator claims Maximian is treated. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.53 "*numen* (divinity) is a hard word to translate"; p.82 "I regularly translate *numen* as 'deity'".

¹⁰ See below, Part Three pp.200ff.

¹¹ MacCormack (1975) pp.141-2.

¹² R. Seager, 'Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrists. The Demands of Propaganda and the Dynamics of Literary Composition', in F. Cairns (Ed). *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 129-165, identifies two aims of this panegyric: "the advertisement of the religious and political principles on which the dyarchy was founded and the exaltation of Maximian at the expense of his senior colleague". To achieve this, the orator "skilfully alternates compliments to both emperors with praise of Maximian alone" p.130.

vestra pietate perhaps refers to the celebration of 21st April (the *dies natalis Romae*), which was practised throughout the Empire, and not just in Rome.¹³ The idea of universal celebration is pressed home by *vestra* after reference to Roma as *domina gentium civitas*. However, after *vestra* we have *tibi potissimum*, followed by the singular vocative, the possessive adjective *tuae* and two singular verbs. Therefore, having introduced Diocletian in the phrase *vestra pietate*, the orator sets up a contrast by playing out the rest of the sentence in the literal mode. *potissimum* is perfectly placed to highlight this opposition¹⁴; 'to you especially', 'to you above all others' implies a comparison (which must be with Diocletian), yet this preferencing is so managed to avoid criticism of Diocletian. Comparison has long been recognised as a key weapon in the panegyrist's armoury; although many critics refer to the technique, its clearest expositors are Nixon and Maguinness.¹⁵ In a manner not dissimilar to Pliny's statement that Trajan is better than Nerva, who is himself *optimus*, the orator praises by comparison without criticising directly those who lose by the comparison.¹⁶

With its statement of the Dyarchs' fraternity, the final sentence of the opening chapter appears to refocus attention on their unity:

re vera, **sacratissime imperator**, merito quivis **te tuumque fratrem** Romani imperii dixerit conditores: **estis** enim, quod est proximum, restitutores et, sit licet hic illi urbi natalis dies, quod pertinet ad originem populi Romani, **vestri imperii** primi dies sunt principes ad salutem. (1.5)

However, once again, it is possible to detect a tone which serves to privilege Maximian. First, the reference to the Dyarchs as *te tuumque fratrem*: fraternity suggests an equality in status which militates against the hierarchy which can

¹³ R.O. Fink, A.S. Hoey and W.F. Snyder (Edd) *The Feriale Duranum*, *Yale Classical Studies* 7 (1940) 1-222, pp.45, 102-112. See the echo of this phrase with the literal adjective, VI(7)22.4 *cuius natalis dies tua pietate celebratur*.

¹⁴ See also X(2)14.4.

¹⁵ C.E.V. Nixon 'The use of the Past by the Gallic Panegyrists' in G. Clarke (Ed) *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (New South Wales 1990) 1-36; Maguinness (1932) pp.45ff.

¹⁶ Pliny, *Panegyricus* 89.1.

be seen in Diocletian's position as senior Augustus, and so the phrase bolsters Maximian¹⁷; and more subtly, the reference to the pair by means of the literal forms *te* and *tuum*, when the orator had already established earlier in the chapter his licence to use a metaphysical term such as *vos*, bestows on Maximian a hint of authority which itself suggests superiority over Diocletian. This tone lurks beneath the closing clause too; for although *vestri* enhances the idea of the security established by joint rule, that in itself constitutes promotion of Maximian. Diocletian was sole emperor from late 284 until he appointed Maximian Caesar or Augustus, sometime in 285.¹⁸ The orator's claim that the Empire's *salus* dated to the time of Maximian's promotion, not Diocletian's accession, all couched in the phrase *vestri imperii*, implies that Diocletian and the Empire relied upon Maximian for their well-being - an idea which is developed with mythological allusions in chapters 3 and 4.¹⁹

With seventeen literal terms and no metaphysical, Diocletian is completely neglected in chapter 2, although because his homeland Illyricum bordered on Maximian's Pannonia, there was an opportunity open to the orator to extend his address to the metaphysical level.²⁰ Instead, the orator even dares to exalt Maximian over Diocletian:

an divinam **generis tui** originem recensebo, quam **tu** non modo factis immortalibus sed etiam nominis successione **testaris**? an **quemadmodum educatus institutusque sis** praedicabo in illo limite, illa fortissimarum sede legionum, inter discursus strenuae iuventutis et armorum sonitus **tuis vagitibus** obstrepentes? finguntur haec de Iove, sed **de te** vera sunt, **imperator**. (2.3-5)

The concentration on the literal terms in this passage focuses attention firmly on Maximian when the subject matter would very easily accommodate

¹⁷ On Diocletian's superiority, see P.Beatty Panopolis 1.245, Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.13. 5-6 and 11, *vita Constantini* 1.14, 2.51, Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 15.6. Julian *Orationes* 1.7ab; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.45. See below Part Two, pp.113ff.

¹⁸ Barnes (1982) p.4; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.46ff; see below Part Two, pp.111ff.

¹⁹ See below, Part Three, pp.209ff.

²⁰ Barnes (1982) pp.30ff.

Diocletian too. Furthermore in the closing sentence the orator elevates Maximian over Diocletian; “The passing remark that what is true of Maximian is falsely asserted of Jupiter by implication exalts Maximian further at Diocletian’s expense”.²¹

Propositio: Maximian’s Services to the State (Chapter 3)

Discussion of the orator’s use of Hercules is delayed until Part Three, but in a passage sandwiched between references to Hercules, the orator shifts his form of address:

trabeae vestrae triumphales et fasces consulares et sellae curules et haec obsequiorum stipatio et fulgor, et illa lux divinum verticem claro orbe complectens, **vestrorum** sunt ornamenta **meritorum**; sed longe illa maiora sunt quae **tu** impartito **tibi** imperio vice gratiae **rettulisti**: admittere in animum tantae rei publicae curam et totius orbis fata suscipere et oblitum quodammodo sui gentibus vivere et in tam arduo humanarum rerum stare fastigio, ex quo veluti terras omnes et maria **despicias** vicissimque oculis ac mente **conlustres** ubi sit certa serenitas, ubi dubia tempestas, qui **iustitiam vestram** iudices aemulentur, qui **virtutis vestrae** gloriam duces servant, accipere innumerabiles undique nuntios, totidem mandata dimittere, de tot urbibus et nationibus et provinciis cogitare, noctes omnes diesque perpeti sollicitudine pro omnium salute transigere. (3.2-4)

The ornaments and splendour of imperial office belong to both Maximian and Diocletian, as the opening clause makes clear; the subsequent conjunction *sed* signals a distinct opposition to this metaphysical plural. The emphatically placed *tu*, with the alliteration and polyptoton of *tu impartito tibi* drive Diocletian from our minds, leaving Maximian the focal point. The catalogue of infinitives which detail the duties of imperial office, and which we might expect to refer to both emperors after the information we receive in the passage’s opening words about the benefits of office which both emperors enjoy, is

²¹ Seager (1983) p.131; see below, Part Three, pp.208ff.

qualified by the singular verbs *despicias* and *conlustres*. The cares of office are Maximian's (alone); he (alone) forgets his personal well-being to live for his subjects; he (alone) stands at the heights of worldly affairs - in short, Maximian does the work. Yet to add a further dimension to this simultaneous exaltation of Maximian and relegation of Diocletian, the credit for the actions Maximian oversees is given to the two Dyarchs, *iustitiam vestram, virtutis vestrae*. The traditional characterization of the Dyarchs - to use the cliché, Diocletian as the brains, Maximian the brawn - receives the orator's panegyric gloss here, as elsewhere in X(2) (and XI(3)).²² In this passage, Maximian is not Diocletian's functionary, but his foundation; and it is the orator's control of the modes of address which elicits this interpretation.

War against the Bagaudae (Chapter 4)

Diocletian's dependence on Maximian - and his subsequent subordination to him - is developed further in the following chapter:

neque enim cum rei publicae navem secundus a puppi flatus impelleret, salutare manum **addidisti**, sed cum ad restituendam eam post priorum temporum labem divinum modo ac ne id quidem unicum sufficeret auxilium, praecipitanti Romano nomini iuxta principem **subiuvisti** eadem scilicet auxilii opportunitate qua **tuus Hercules Iovem vestrum** quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoriae parte iuvit probavitque se non magis a dis accepisse caelum quam eisdem reddidisse. (X(2)4.2)

²² e.g. X(2)4.1 *tu fecisti fortiter ille sapienter*; Eutropius *Breviarum* IX.27.1 *Herculus autem propalam ferus et incivilis ingenii, asperitatem suam etiam vultus horrore significans. hic naturae suae indulgens Diocletiano in omnibus est severioribus consiliis obsecutus*; X.1.3 *Diocletiani suspectam prudentiam et Maximiani sanguinariam temeritatem*; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus* 39.17 *Maximianum statim fidum amicitia quamquam semiagrestum, militiae tamen atque ingenio bonum imperatorem iubet*; Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 8.2 *hoc solum differebant, quod avaritia maior in altero fuit, sed plus timiditatis, in altero vero minus avaritiae sed plus animi, non ad bene faciendum sed ad male*. Galerius too was condemned by later writers, for which see O. Nicholson, 'The Wild Man of the Tetrarchy. A Divine Companion for the Emperor Galerius', *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 253-275, p.270.

Maximian's *salutaris manus* echoes the *salus* at the close of the first chapter, but the orator is increasingly insistent upon Maximian's greater benefit to the empire. For, in the opening chapter, the establishment of *salus* is attributed to the two emperors; here, the claim that Maximian alone secured the peace whilst Diocletian struggled to rid the empire of its threats is explicit. *tuis Hercules* appropriates for Maximian the victor over the giants and thus makes Maximian alone responsible for the overthrow of the barbarians; by contrast, *Iovem vestrum* claims Jupiter for both emperors and therefore does not grant to Diocletian the superiority he might expect as the senior Augustus.

Campaign against the Germans (Chapters 5-8)

With no metaphysical references in chapters 5 and 6, Diocletian is momentarily sidelined. Not only are the military successes in Gaul not attributed to the Dyarchy, but they are not even credited to Maximian's army. Maximian alone is responsible:

quid enim opus erat multitudine cum **ipse pugnares, ipse** omnibus locis totaque acie **dimicares**, ipse hosti undique et qua cederet et qua fugeret **occurreres**, erroremque **adversariis** pariter ac **tuis faceres**, cum neque **te** barbari unum putarent neque milites, non dico stipatione atque comitatu sed saltem oculis sequi non possent? toto quippe proelio **ferebare**, non aliter quam magnus amnis solet hibernis imbribus auctus et nivibus passim fluere qua campus est. (5.3)

This attribution of the victory to the emperor's exploits alone, minimizing the assistance of his troops and neglecting entirely his imperial colleague, is a panegyric topos we shall meet again.²³ The orator concludes this theme with the literal terms *victoriae tuae* (5.4) and *transeo innumerabiles tuas tota Gallia pugnans atque victorias* (6.1). The focus on the individual and his achievements here contrasts with the implications of the metaphysical terms

²³ See discussion of VIII(5)6 below, p.78.

applied at other times to military success.²⁴ The orator claims the liberty to choose his mode according to the desired effect in his speech, not according to the historical circumstances of the original event.

The primacy accorded to Maximian is made more explicit in chapter 7:

quod autem maius evenire potuit illa tua in Germaniam **transgressione**, qua tu **primus omnium, imperator, probasti** Romani imperii nullum esse terminum nisi qui **tuorum** esset **armorum**? atqui Rhenum antea videbatur ipsa sic Natura duxisse, ut eo limite Romanae provinciae ab immanitate barbariae vindicarentur. ecquis umquam **ante vos principes** non gratulatus est Gallias illo amne muniri? (7.2-4)

In the opening sentence the orator moves from the specific *in Germaniam transgressione* to the general *Romani imperii*. However, it is significant that this transition is conducted throughout in the literal mode. The emphatic *tu primus omnium, imperator, probasti* locates Maximian at the heart of the Roman successes. The universal consequences of his advance into German territory are even such to render redundant the natural defences offered by the Rhine, on which all previous emperors relied. Thus Maximian is superlative. With the argument phrased in this way, the metaphysical *ante vos principes* seems little more than lip-service to the collegiate government.

The orator again hints at Diocletian's dependence on Maximian when describing the Dyarchs' foreign conquests:

credo, itidem opimam illam fertilemque Syriam velut amplexu suo tegebat Eufrates, antequam Diocletiano sponte se dederent regna Persarum. verum hoc Iovis sui more nutu illo patrio, quo omnia contremescunt, et maiestate **vestri nominis** consecutus est; tu autem, **imperator invicte**, feras illas indomitasque gentes vastatione, proeliis, caedibus, ferro ignique **domuisti**. (7.5-6)

²⁴ e.g. X(2)12.1 *exercitus vestros*; VIII(5)18.4 *victoria vestra*. See below, p.88.

This is a clear example where *vestri*, which refers to both Diocletian and Maximian, is used when *illius*, referring to Diocletian alone, might be expected (although *illius* might be felt to lack necessary clarity). The orator broadens his approach to embrace Maximian when describing Diocletian's campaigns, attributing the victories to their shared rule. However, the distinct lack of reciprocation in the rest of the sentence, where Maximian's successes are his alone, is signposted by the aggressively emphatic *tu autem, imperator invicte*. The catalogue of means by which Maximian tamed his 'wild' enemies further highlights his personal achievements. In this instance we see the orator's shift from the metaphysical to the literal operating to Maximian's advantage.

Chapter 8 includes another enlightening example of this shifting in modes:

ideoque hoc nunc **ambo, sacratissime imperator**, ipso **estis** Scipione potiores, quod et **tu** Africanum et **te** Diocletianus imitatus est. (8.6)

Diocletian is, of course, the other addressee in the metaphysical phrase *ambo estis potiores*, although the vocative singular which divides the words reminds us that in the court in Trier, Maximian alone was the literal addressee. However, Diocletian's relegation by the end of the sentence to the third person *Diocletianus* creates the chiasmus and anaphora in the phrase *et tu Africanum et te Diocletianus*, which in itself refocuses attention on Maximian alone. Panegyrists regularly compared their addressee/s with characters from myth or Republican history.²⁵ Often these characters themselves had good reputations, so the addressees are thus exalted to a huge extent. Scipio, as a famous (or not so famous²⁶) victor over a famous aggressor, sufficiently long ago not to rival the addressee's aspirations towards a matchless reputation, is a typical choice. Maximian is explicitly compared with Scipio, and with the panegyrist's ability to have it both ways, is superior *utrumque pulcherrimum est* (8.3). However, in the chapter's closing sentence, quoted above, Diocletian's relegation to the third person facilitates an implicit comparison between him and the remaining

²⁵ See above p.43.

²⁶ Nixon (1990) p.7.

addressee, Maximian. Furthermore, to compound the orator's trickery, he does not apply with any consistency his attitude towards imitation of successful military strategy; Maximian's action, in copying Scipio, was superior to Scipio's original action, since Scipio trusted to Fortune whilst Maximian was assured victory. Yet no such reasoning or elucidation accompanies the expression of Diocletian's imitation of Maximian; when put so briefly, in the third person, the act of imitation implies a relationship between Maximian and Diocletian of leader and led respectively. Therefore, by a shift in mode of vocative address and explicit and implicit comparison, the orator manages to praise both the imperial college and the individual.

Victoriae (Chapters 9-11)

As Table One demonstrates, chapters 9 and 11 feature more metaphysical terms than the other chapters. In chapter 10 also, the metaphysical mode is well represented. However, shifting between modes occurs regularly too:

in quo **vobis** mutua **prae**buistis omnium exempla virtutum atque invicem **vos**, quod fieri iam posse non videbatur, **aux**istis, ille **tibi** ostendendo dona Persica , **tu** illi spolia Germanica. sed neque illum **virtutes tuae bellicae** <a> liberalitate <neque **te**> illius opes a bellica virtute revocarunt: **ambo** nunc **estis** largissimi, **ambo** fortissimi atque hac ipsa **vestri** similitudine magis magisque concordēs et, quod omni consanguinitate certius est, virtutibus fratres. (9.2-3)

The literal terms form perfect balances with references to Diocletian, to accentuate the sense of their harmony. Throughout the panegyric, the emperors' *concordia* is most apparent when they demonstrate and celebrate their military victories. Maximian's success in the German campaign is mirrored by Diocletian's suppression of the Persian threat. In the image of the emperors joining together their *invictas dexterās*, having journeyed from distant parts (9.1), these campaigns become representative of their universal

victory. The effect is repeated in chapter 10 with the reference to the Frankish king Gennoboude, over whom Maximian had asserted his authority, balanced by that to *rex ille Persarum*, Bahram II, who had been compelled to conclude a peace treaty with Diocletian (10.3-7).²⁷

The emperors' delight in each others' company is cemented by their knowledge of each others' absolute military authority. *concordia* and *victoria* are presented as inseparable facts of their government. "Imperial victory ideology stands out as a specific manifestation of the more general notion of imperial unity".²⁸

**vestra hoc concordia facit, invictissimi principes, ut vobis tantā
aequalitate successuum etiam fortuna respondeat. (11.1)**

The close relationship between *concordia* and absolute victory is crystallised in the vocative *invictissimi principes*. This is the only metaphysical vocative in the speech, and appearing in a sentence whose opening nominative is *vestra concordia*, the appeal to imperial harmony is unmistakable. By invoking the presence of both emperors, the panegyrist confirms the harmony on which their universal success depends.

The adjective *invictus* had long since been a component of imperial titulary.²⁹ Here, instead of applying historically specific victory epithets, such as *Germanicus* and *Persicus*, the orator uses the universal *invictissimi*.³⁰ In this metaphysical epithet, the geographically disparate emperors are united and their specific recent successes are superceded by a recognition of their general invincibility. The metaphysical mode is ideally suited to convey the message that absolute imperial victory and absolute *concordia* are mutually supportive characteristics of the Dyarchy.

²⁷ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.68-9.

²⁸ M.McCormick, *Eternal Victory, Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986), p.112.

²⁹ Barnes (1982) p.24; R.H. Storch, 'The "Absolutist" Theology of Victory: its place in the Late Empire', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 29 (1968) 197-206; S. Weinstock, 'Victor and invictus', *Harvard Theological Review* 50 (1957) 211-247, on the Tetrarchic and Constantinian use of the terms, pp.243-5.

³⁰ On victory epithets, see T.D. Barnes, 'Imperial Campaigns A.D. 285-311', *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 174-93, and (1982) pp.254-8.

Peroratio (Chapters 13-14)

Most of the shifts discussed so far are unheralded - that is, they are not anticipated by linguistic or grammatical markers earlier in the sentence. Such shifts can, of course, be surprising to the audience. However, in the final chapter, the orator causes greater surprise by defeating the expectation he had established by opening the sentence with the singular *te*:

teque ipsum, imperator, oramus ut etiam cum **vos** totius orbis securitate composita illa **imperii vestri** mater acceperit, amplexus eius artissimos interdum piis manibus **resolvatis**. (14.4)

This shift from literal to metaphysical involves a syntactical change from the singular *teque ipsum*, which establishes anticipation of a singular verb, to *resolvatis*, the plural verb with which the sense is completed. Again, the implication is that Maximian exercises authority over Diocletian, as only his consent need be sought to secure action from both of them.

Conclusion

Thus although the table of frequencies indicates the orator's concern to invoke the literal and metaphysical *praesentia* of the emperor/s, in a desire to recognise the validity and concord of the government, nevertheless at specific points it is possible to discern another voice concurrent and in competition with those claims for *concordia*. The ideologies of metaphysical and literal *praesentia* are politically charged, as the orator uses the dynamics of address to convey different loyalties. In chapters 9 and 11 the use of the metaphysical mode to advertize the Dyarchy is very distinct. At other points, the different tones established by the integration of the two modes is more subtle. By his control of the ensuing tension, the orator demonstrates an original quality. However, to establish with greater precision the effect of this tension, we should turn to the next panegyric for comparison.

PANEGYRICI LATINI XI(3).

This speech was also delivered before Maximian and not the two Dyarchs: the opening chapter's vocative addresses (both *sacratissime imperator*) establish the dramaturgic reality from the outset.¹ However, the addition to the speech's title *eidem Maximiano dictus*, in the *codex Bruxellensis*, was surely a response to some doubt about its original literal addressee/s.²

Table Two. Literal and Metaphysical Terms of Address in XI(3)

The results make remarkable reading when set against those for X(2). Perhaps the single most interesting point of comparison is between the ratios for literal and metaphysical terms; in X(2) the ratio is 157:61 (~16:6), a statistic which suggests a marked concentration on Maximian ahead of the Dyarchy; in XI(3) the ratio is 28:192 (~1:9), an enormous swing in favour of the metaphysical mode of address.

Chap. no.	LITERAL					METAPHYSICAL			
	<i>tu</i>	<i>tuus</i>	verb	voc.	ratio	<i>vos</i>	<i>vester</i>	verb	voc.
1	-	2	2	2	6:4	1	2	1	-
2	1	-	-	1	2:16	7	5	4	-
3	-	1	-	2	3:11	5	3	3	-
4	1	-	2	-	3:20	4	5	11	-
5	-	1	-	1	2:7	1	6	-	-
6	-	-	-	1	1:15	5	7	3	-
7	3	-	1	1	5:20	8	3	8	1
8	-	-	-	1	1:17	8	3	6	-
9	-	-	-	-	0:9	3	2	3	1
10	-	-	-	-	0:4	-	3	1	-
11	-	-	-	-	0:7	3	1	3	-

¹ Indeed, the ratio for literal vocatives against metaphysical vocatives in this speech (12:5) provides the only case in which the literal outnumbers the metaphysical. For the circumstances of the speech, see above pp.12-3..

² The addition *et Diocleciani (sic)*, made by the 'corrector codicis Vaticani 1775' according to Mynors' (1964) edition (p.256) and *et Diocletiani*, according to Galletier's Budé edition and not attributed to the 'corrector' (1949 p.50), was perhaps inspired by a desire for clarification after the confusion caused by the reading *geminus dies natalis*, for which see Appendix Two. Lassandro entitles the speech *eiusdem genethliacus Maximiani et Diocletiani imperatorum Augustorum feliciter incipit*, (1992) p.331.

12	-	-	-	-	0:13	3	6	4	-
13	-	-	-	1	1:13	3	6	4	-
14	-	-	-	-	0:10	4	3	3	-
15	-	1	-	1	2:4	1	1	2	-
16	-	-	-	-	0:5	-	2	2	1
17	-	-	-	-	0:1	-	1	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	0:8	1	1	4	2
19	-	1	-	1	2:8	3	3	2	-
total	5	6	5	12	28: 192	60 ³	63	64	5

As Table Two demonstrates, only in the opening chapter do literal forms outnumber the metaphysical; here also there is a high number of first person verb forms, as the author establishes his relationship with the addressee by clearly drawing up the lines of dramaturgy. The twelve vocative singular forms throughout the panegyric remind us of the dramaturgic setting; yet the five vocative plural forms, (as opposed to only one in X(2)), give testimony to a greater readiness to offset the literal mode with the metaphysical. Of the twelve vocative singular addresses, ten are *sacratissime imperator* and the remaining two *Maximiane*.⁴ By contrast, each of the five plural addresses is different; *sacratissimi principes* (7.7), *invictissimi imperatores* (9.4), *sancte Iuppiter et Hercules bone* (16.2), *fortunatissimi imperatores* (18.1) and *optimi imperatores* (18.5).⁵ The standardization of the singular vocatives and the variety of the plural is a curious feature of this panegyric - the singular vocative has a functional character, rendering it a marker of the speech's setting without further semantic significance, whereas the plural forms, by their very diversity, seem to have been chosen with greater concern for context and meaning.

Eight of the nineteen chapters contain no literal terms of address at all. In chapters 6,8 and 13, the only literal reference is the vocative *sacratissime imperator*. In total, twenty-three of the twenty-eight literal references appear in chapters 1-8; the dominance of the metaphysical mode over the literal is so emphatic that in chapters 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17 and 18 (where no literal

³ L'Huillier (1992) p.173 n.21 records 26 occurrences of *vos* and 21 of *vobis*. The figure 60 is here is the aggregate of the occurrences of *vos* (26), *vobis* (22), *vosmet* (2), *vosque* (1) and the genitive *vestri* or *vestrum* (9).

⁴ See Appendix One for consideration of the use of vocatives in deciding the speech's author.

⁵ L'Huillier (1992) pp.169-170.

references but 57 metaphysical feature) the audience is encouraged to forget the setting and imagine the Dyarchy.

This brief analysis of the statistics, therefore, suggests that the imperial college is granted far more attention in XI(3) than it was in X(2). However, before confirming this conclusion, we must consider some specific passages.

Exordium (Chapters 1-4)⁶

The first occurrence of a shift in mode of address is in the opening sentence:

omnes quidem homines, **sacratissime imperator**, qui **maiestati vestrae** laudes canunt et gratias agunt, debitum **vobis** conantur exsolvere (quis enim est qui possit implere?); sentio tamen a me [hoc] praecipue^{hoc}/piae vocis officium iure quodam sacrosancti feneratoris postulari, ut exspectationem sermonis eius quem **tuis quinquennialibus** praeparaveram hac gemini natalis praedicatione compensem, et dicendi munus quod tunc voti promissione susceperam, nunc religione debiti repraesentem. (1.1)⁷

The progression *sacratissime imperator... vestrae... vobis... tuis* is very reminiscent of that of the opening sentence of the panegyric of 289, *sacratissime imperator... vester... vobis... tui*.⁸ However, whereas I have argued that the combination of literal and metaphysical modes serves to privilege Maximian in X(2)1.1, in the opening chapter of XI(3) the literal addressee does not receive similarly preferential treatment. For although in this chapter alone the literal terms outnumber the metaphysical, and therefore hint that Maximian is exalted above the Dyarchy, nevertheless the contexts and usages of the terms force the opposite conclusion. Of the six literal terms, two are the vocative *sacratissime imperator*; but whereas in the preceding speech the singular vocatives were more fully integrated into the texture of the chapter

⁶ Following the subdivisions of Galletier (1949) p.48 and L'Huillier (1992) p.442.

⁷ I print *geminus* in the text, following Mynors. For discussion of the problem see Appendix Two.

⁸ See Appendix One and cf. discussion of X(2)1.1 above, pp.41-2.

by echoing or foreshadowing other key words, in this case the addresses generate no such points of contact or depth of suggestion.⁹ The vocatives are merely dramaturgic. The two possessive adjectives *tuis quinquennialibus* (1.1) and *decennialibus tuis* (1.3) do not function to privilege Maximian as the metaphysical *vester* would be nonsense. Likewise, the two second person singular verb forms from this chapter convey details of historical actuality which would not permit of the metaphysical mode:

voveram, inquam, potissimum ut me dignatione qua pridem **audieras** rursus **audires**. (1.2)

Thus we see that each of the six literal terms is more functional or dramaturgical than indicative of subtle political privileging.

The four metaphysical terms in the opening chapter are, by their very nature, likely to have broader ideological implications. I have argued that in the opening sentence of X(2) the two metaphysical terms actually work to privilege Maximian over Diocletian.¹⁰ In XI(3) Maximian is not promoted above his colleague. In the opening sentence quoted above, the metaphysical terms introduce the audience to the supreme importance of the Dyarchy. *maiestati vestrae laudes canunt et gratias agunt* not only elevates the speech from the literal to the metaphysical, but echoes X(2) to a remarkable degree; *tibi potissimum imperator invicte laudes canimus et gratias agimus* (X(2)1.4). The similarity between these phrases emphasizes the difference. Thanks and praise are given in X(2) explicitly and emphatically to Maximian alone; in XI(3) to the Dyarchs together.

This new orientation in XI(3) is confirmed with the further metaphysical reference *vobis* in the opening sentence and the general tenor of the second:

voveram autem, **sacratissime imperator**, longe infra spem honoris eius quem in me **contulistis** (unde enim vel tantam fiduciam mei gererem vel tam

⁹ X(2)1: *sacratissime imperator* (bis) - *sacrae urbis*; *imperator invicte* - [*Herculem*] *victorem*. See below, Part Three, pp.205-6.

¹⁰ See above pp.42-4.

improbe concupiscerem, ut optare mihi quantum **iudicio vestro** sum consecutus auderem?) (1.2)

The transition from the literal to the metaphysical in this sentence emphasizes the speaker's attribution of his own position to both emperors, not to Maximian alone. Given that they seldom had chance to meet, the impracticality of a consultation between Diocletian and Maximian about the appointment of an orator to deliver a panegyric in Trier, makes the choice of the metaphysical *contulistis* and *vestro* quite deliberate.¹¹ In practice, the *iudicium* was surely Maximian's; but by clarifying the fact that it was bestowed on him in the name of both emperors, the speaker is foregoing an excellent opportunity to focus on Maximian as the literally present emperor.¹²

The dominance of the metaphysical mode over the literal is sustained from chapter two until the speech's close.¹³ Certain instances of metaphysical terms have caused great difficulty in scholarly exegesis.¹⁴ One such example occurs in the third chapter:

reddidimus tamen rationem sollicitudini nostrae, et inspecta penitus veritate cognovimus quae causa faciat ut numquam otio adquiescere **velitis**. profecto enim non patitur hoc caelestis ille **vestri generis** conditor vel parens. nam primum omnium, quidquid immortale est stare nescit, sempiternoque motu se servat aeternitas. deinde praecipue **vestri illi parentes**, qui **vobis** et nomina et imperia tribuerunt, perpetuis maximorum operum actionibus occupantur. (3.1-3)

¹¹ Galletier (1949) has a note on *honoris* (XI(3)1.2): "Mot vague qui indique peut-être seulement l'honneur de parler plus tard et de prononcer ce discours-ci; qui indique peut-être aussi quelque dédommagement pour la harangue manquée."

¹² Barnes, (1982) p.195, "Imperial pronouncements of all types were conventionally issued in the joint name of all the emperors who belonged to the imperial college". See IX(4)14.5 and the Tetrarchic Edict on Prices, where the first-person plural form is used throughout, (text and translation by E.R. Graser, in Tenney Frank (Ed) *Economic Survey Of Ancient Rome* vol.5 (Baltimore 1940) pp.305-321; text and commentary in S. Lauffer (Ed) *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin 1971)). See also Corcoran (1996) pp.318-9.

¹³ Lengthy discussion of chapter two is postponed until Appendix Two. However, for the purposes of the present enquiry, it is worth noting that if the reading *genuinus* is to be preferred to *geminus* (2.2), the overwhelming ratio of metaphysical to literal terms (16:2) indicates the speaker's desire to pass briefly over the particular to dwell on the symbolic.

¹⁴ For *vobis* (2.1) see Appendix Two and Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") p.165; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.82.

The difficulty concerns the phrase *vestri generis conditor vel parens*. Galletier assumes that the speaker is referring to both Jupiter and Hercules, but does so in a rather obscure way: "Ce divin fondateur sera plus loin precise pour chacun d'eux par les noms de Jupiter et d'Hercule".¹⁵ The clarity of the phrase *vestri illi parentes*, denoting Jupiter and Hercules, is manifest, but the singularity of *vestri generis conditor vel parens* precludes a similar interpretation.¹⁶ The different divine parentage claimed for and by Diocletian and Maximian make A. Baehrens' deletion of *vel parens* very attractive¹⁷; by deleting the two words we lose the contradiction of *parens... parentes* and improve the sense considerably. Because *vestri illi parentes* introduces the subject of family relationships, we should understand *vestri generis* to be denoting something different. But just as Maximian and Diocletian do not share one literal *genus*, so too they alone cannot share one *conditor*.¹⁸ *vestri generis conditor* could refer to the father of

¹⁵ Galletier (1949) p.52. n.1.

¹⁶ cf. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.79, "It is worthy of note that Jupiter, being Hercules' father, is Maximian's ancestor as well as Diocletian's." For the plurality of the Dyarchs parents see XI(3)3.8 *cum non laborare vos sed parentes deos videamus imitari*; 1:4 *vos dis esse genitos*; 7.4-6 *passim*.

¹⁷ Despite criticisms of A. Baehrens' textual emendations of 1874, (levelled by his son W.A. Baehrens (1911) p.III, L.C. Purser, 'Notes on the *Panegyrici Latini*', *Hermathena* 46 (1931) 16-30, p.16 and Galletier (1949) pp.LIV and LXII), in this circumstance he seems to be justified. *vel parens* appears in some manuscript texts or margins. In Harleianus 2480, generally considered to be the best manuscript, the sentence ends at *generis*; *h*, a different hand, added *conditor parens* in the margin. Mynors deduced that *vel parens* appeared in the margin of X ((1964) p.257 *apparatus criticus*). W.A. Baehrens reinstated the phrase, with the claim *ne pro glossemate eiciamus obstat clausula*, a view sanctioned by A. Klotz in his review, *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1911) 42-49. Mynors too includes *vel parens* for rhythmical reasons (p.257 *apparatus criticus*). The whole phrase appears in Lassandro (1992). Paladini/Fedeli (1976) print <vel> *parens* and include a full *apparatus criticus*. Dependency of textual criticism on rhythmical criteria in clausulae is ill-advised; see L.D. Stephens, 'Syllable quantity in late Latin clausulae', *Phoenix* 40 (1986) 72-91, p.73 and W.H. Shewring and K.J. Dover in 'Prose Rhythm', OCD2, pp.888-890. However, when considered in conjunction with other criteria, questions of clausulae can be enlightening. According to metrical rhythm, *conditor vel parens* is a dicretic (-v- -v-), one of Cicero's favoured clausulae. According to accentual rhythm, *conditor vel parens* is trispondaicus, which S.M. Oberhelman has shown to have been included by the Latin panegyrist in their employment of the full *cursus mixtus*, 'The History and Development of the *Cursus Mixtus* in Latin Literature' *Classical Quarterly* 38 (1988) 228-242, p.237. By contrast, *generis conditor* does not represent a recognized Ciceronian or late antique clausula, but is an example of the *cursus tardus*. Oberhelman and R.G. Hall have demonstrated that 55 of the 226 clausulae in XI(3) do not operate the *cursus*, and 53 of the 226 do not operate metrical rhythms, 'Meter in Accentual Clausulae of late Imperial Latin Prose', *Classical Philology* 80 (1985) 214-227, p.222. Thus on palaeographical, rhythmical and contextual grounds, I accept A. Baehrens' reading.

¹⁸ e.g. X(2)2.3 *divinam generis tui originem*, X(2)1.3 *principem tui generis*, X(2)7.6 *Herculei generis* XI(3)19.4 *vestrorum generum*. cf. the unity of family claimed in Constantine's

the human race in general, namely Jupiter. The phrase is highly figurative and elusive, binding the emperors together without surrendering to lucid interpretation.

Of the three literal terms in chapter three, two introduce the section on Hercules' tireless activity which balances that on Jupiter's, *itidemque, Maximiane, Herculis tui virtus* (3.6.), and the last, the vocative *sacratissime imperator* (3.8.), heads a sentence played out in the metaphysical mode.¹⁹ Literal terms are used similarly in the next chapter, whose theme is the energy of the emperors:

illum modo Syria viderat: iam Pannonia suscepit. **tu** modo Galliae oppida
inlustraveras: iam summas arces Monoeci Herculis **praeteribas**. (4.2)

Even these three literal terms, which are in any case heavily outweighed by the twenty metaphysical terms in the chapter, do not privilege Maximian over Diocletian but signal the emperors' similarity with each other. This similarity is emphasized by the balancing in clause structure and vocabulary in the two sentences - Maximian, inevitably addressed in the second person, is in perfect match with Diocletian.

Propositio (Chapter 5)

The two literal forms in the fifth chapter appear in the opening sentence, a concentration which might suggest a redirection of interest from the Dyarchy to Maximian alone:

sed de rebus bellicis victoriisque vestris, **sacratissime imperator**, et
multi summa eloquentia praediti saepe dixerunt et ego pridem, cum mihi

marriage to Fausta VII(6)2.2 *seriem vestri generis*.

¹⁹ *Herculis tui virtus* is A. Baehrens' (1874) emendation, followed tentatively by Mynors (1964). W. Baehrens (1911) prints *Hercules tuus*, following Puteolanus (1476) and followed in turn by Galletier (1949) and Paladini/Fedeli (1976). *Herculistus* of M is clearly wrong but renders the cases for both Puteolanus and A. Baehrens plausible. In each phrase, *Hercules* is qualified with *tuus*; this alignment of Hercules with Maximian balances well the phrase used to introduce Jupiter, *ille siquidem Diocletiani auctor deus* (3.4).

auditionis tuae divina dignatio eam copiam tribuit, quantum potui praedicavi. (5.1)

However, as we see, the metaphysical form is not excluded and first person references are common too. Furthermore, the nature of the literal forms hardly hints at anything more than a reminder of the setting; *sacratissime imperator*, the by now well-used vocative, reminds us of the present occasion, and *auditionis tuae* of a former one.²⁰ Far from privileging Maximian over Diocletian, the panegyrist moves on to a lengthy *praeteritio* which 'passes over' military successes recorded by both emperors.²¹

Pietas and felicitas (Chapters 6-18)

After 16 literal terms in the *exordium* and *propositio*, there are only a further 10 before the *peroratio*.²² The metaphysical terms number 58 and 126 respectively. Thus we can see that the speech's main themes, *pietas* (chapters 6-12) and *felicitas* (13-18) are played out primarily in the metaphysical mode. For most of the time from chapter six, the metaphysical terms so dominate, with the literal all but disappearing, that the Dyarchy, not Maximian alone, is the object of the audience's attention.²³ The orator introduces the main subject of his speech:

quae igitur illa sunt? **pietas vestra, sacratissime imperator, atque felicitas.**
nam primum omnium, quanta vestra est erga deos pietas, quos aris

²⁰ For the possibility of a reference to the speech of 289 see S. D'Elia, 'Ricerche sui Panigirici di Mamertino a Massimiano', *Annali della Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia* 9 (1960/1) 121-391, p.129 and cf. Galletier (1949) on XI(3)1.2., p.50, n.4. The question is discussed below in Appendix One.

²¹ *Sarmatiae vastationem* - Diocletian 289/290. See also XI(3)16.1, where *Sarmaticas et Raeticas expeditiones* are *vestras*, that is, shared by the emperors, not *illius* (Diocletian's). *limitem Raetiae* - Diocletian 288; see also X(2)9.1; *trophaea Germanica* - Maximian 287; *Sarracenum* - Diocletian 290; *rege* (Gennobaudes) - Maximian, see also X(2)10.3; *Parthumque* - Diocletian, see also X(2)10.6. See Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.88 on the dominance of plural forms of address in 5.3-5.

²² L'Huillier (1992) Texte 3, Annexe II, p.442, illustrates by means of a bar chart the fact that the *exordium* of this panegyric consists of a greater percentage of total number of words in the speech than any other of the corpus (25.9%).

²³ With the exception of chapter 17, whose subject is internecine barbarian war, where only one term of address features, the apostrophic *o magnam vim numinis vestri!*

simulacris templis donariis, **vestris** denique **nominibus** adscriptis, adiunctis imaginibus **ornastis**, sanctionesque **fecistis** exemplo **vestrae venerationis**.
(6.1)

With the vocative address providing this key chapter's only literal form, the panegyrist makes unequivocal his intention to privilege the collegiate rule. Further manifestations of imperial concord abound - such as the progression from the emperors' *pietas* towards the gods to their *pietas* towards each other (6.3-7) - making this chapter comparable to chapters 9-11 of X(2).²⁴ However, as I argued above, those chapters are exceptions to the rule in X(2), whereas chapter six of XI(3) has no such anomalous character, but seems entirely in keeping with its context.

Despite five literal terms in chapter 7, the theme of *concordia* is dominant. In a style similar to that seen in chapter 4, the literal terms are used to establish a balance between Maximian and Diocletian. What we do see for the first time in the speech in this chapter is the metaphysical vocative:

intellegimus enim, **sacratissimi principes**, geminum **vobis**, quamvis dispare **sitis** aetatibus, inesse consensum: neque **tu illi videris** promptior neque **tibi ille** cunctantior, sed invicem **vosmet imitamini** invicem **adfectatis annos vestros**. (7.7)

The interlacing of the two modes of address enables the alternate privileging of the Dyarchs together and Maximian alone. For, the opening vocative, by which for the first time the panegyrist extends the use of the metaphysical mode to the direct address to both emperors, is a fitting high-point in a section dominated by the achievements and character of the Dyarchy²⁵; and yet the reversion to the literal, in *tu illi videris tibi ille*, with the conventional word-order altered to leave the dative *tibi* before the nominative *ille*, thereby privileging Maximian further, reminds us of the panegyrist's two-fold agenda.

²⁴ See below, Part Two.

²⁵ L'Huillier (1992) Annexe III Table 1 (p.453) and Table 4 (p.454) does not include this occurrence of *sacratissimi principes* in her consideration of terms of address. *fortunatissimi imperatores* (XI(3)18.1) is also overlooked. Her Table 1 records a total of 9 vocative addresses in X(2); my own Table One records 26.

The seventh is the only chapter after the *exordium* and *propositio* which features more than two literal terms of address. Most have none. As an illustration of the domination of the metaphysical mode over the literal in the speech's main body, the opening sentences of chapter 13 can be used:

facilis est mihi transitus, **sacratissime imperator**, ab hac **pietatis vestrae** laude ad praedicationem felicitatis. hoc enim ipsum felicitatis est quod ut conspicere **vos** invicem complectique **possitis** in **manu vestra** est. solem ipsum lunamque cernimus, quia totius mundi funguntur officiis, non nisi post multa saecula certa lege temporum convenire: **vestra** tam libera est et beata **maiestas**, ut in summis rebus generis humani nihil **vobis** necesse sit nisi **vestrae** parere **pietati**. (13.1-2)

Although the dative *mihi* and the literal vocative *sacratissime imperator* remind us of the dramaturgical dynamics, this passage which bridges the themes of *pietas* and *felicitas*, is conducted in the metaphysical mode. This is entirely consistent with the consideration of *pietas* which has preceded. The most distinctive feature of their *pietas* towards each other is their desire to be together (chapter 8). This is represented by their *adventus* in Milan (10) and culminates in the subsequent audience in the palace there (11). The orator thus renders the iconographic *imperatorum iunctio* (11.4) a marker not only of *concordia* but also of *pietas*. In chapter 13 their *pietas* - their desire to see and embrace each other - is linked directly to their *felicitas*; by their *pietas* they want to form a *iunctio*, and by their *felicitas* they can. The metaphysical mode, in this context a further manifestation of imperial *concordia*, is thus a fundamental component of the presentation of their *pietas* and *felicitas*.

In the penultimate chapter, there are two vocative plural forms. The epithets are in the conventional superlative, but the adjectives chosen are closely integrated with the context. The first is a natural conclusion to the chapters praising imperial *felicitas*, where the author indulges in word-play:

iam, inquam, **fortunatissimi imperatores**, felicitate **vincitis** sola. (18.1)

As it was to *pietas* and *concordia*, *felicitas* is related to the emperors' universal victory.²⁶ The second, appearing in the chapter's closing sentence, draws together the two subjects of *pietas* and *felicitas*, whilst reiterating the Dyarchs' superiority over other Roman emperors, mentioned in 18.2²⁷:

felicitatem istam, optimi imperatores, pietate meruistis! (18.5)

The integration of epithets, virtues and victory creates an intricate web of imperial characteristics. Each thread is held in place by the others. The metaphysical mode confirms these claims by elevating the tone, to celebrate with an air of inevitability, the Dyarchy's solidity and permanence.

Maiestas

4 of the 10 literal terms between chapters six and eighteen are the vocative *sacratissime imperator*, and of the remaining 6, 5 appear in chapter seven and the possessive adjective *tuus* in chapter 15:

admonet me et temporis et loci ratio et maiestatis tuae reverentia ut finem dicendi faciam, quamquam de felicitate vestra tam pauca dixerim et tam multa restent. (15.1)

The arbitrary nature of classification according to meaning of an item of vocabulary with a range of signification is accentuated when the noun is qualified by the possessive adjective *vestra*, as the phrase then assumes a metaphysical signification anyway.²⁸ However, when the literal term *tua* accompanies the noun, we can infer the sense with greater confidence.

maiestas does not appear in Eumenius' speech (IV(9)) and the 4 occurrences in X(2) are not qualified with a possessive adjective. Of the 10

²⁶ For *felicitas* and victory, see McCormick (1986) pp.12ff. The link is made on coins too: the legend PERPETUA FELICITAS AUGG. with Victory walking towards Jupiter appears on a Diocletianic coin, *Roman Imperial Coinage* 5.2, P.H. Webb, (London 1933), p.232.

²⁷ M.P. Charlesworth, '*pietas* and *victoria*: the emperor and the citizen', *Journal of Roman Studies* 33 (1943) 1-10, p.1 "Because the emperor is *pius* the gods will render him *felix*".

²⁸ Rodgers (1986) pp.71-2 and 103.

occurrences in XI(3), 6 have the adjective *vestra* and only the passage quoted above, *tua*.²⁹ *tuus* is used only 6 times throughout XI(3), compared to the 63 occurrences of *vester* (Table Two). 4 of the 5 other occurrences of *tuus* are characterized by an ordinariness, a prosaic quality without elevation - in short, they are statements of fact.³⁰ One further occurrence appears to be elevated because it links Maximian and Hercules.³¹ The pattern suggested by the employment of the adjective elsewhere in XI(3), when taken with the fact that 15.1. provides the only occurrence of the collocation *maiestas tua*, confirms Rodgers' classification of this usage as a synonym for the pronoun *tu*.³²

This interpretation is confirmed by the meaning of the collocation as it appears in the other speech of this study, VIII(5). *maiestas* appears 11 times, of which 4 are with *vestra* and 5 with *tua*.³³ Rodgers classifies 4 of these 5 examples of the collocation *maiestas tua* under the heading Pronoun - that is they are synonyms for *tu*.³⁴ This classification is convincing, as we can see from the first example:

si mihi, Caesar invicte, post diuturnum silentium sola esset vincenda
trepidatio qua rudimenta quaedam vocis meae rursus experior, haud
immerito me ultra quam aetas et quantulumcumque studii mei ferret opinio
perturbari confiterer, praesertim cum apud **maiestatem tuam** divina
virtutum vestrarum miracula praedicarem. (VIII(5)1.1)

After classifying the occurrence of the collocation in *infestum maiestatis tuae fulmen intenderas* (VIII(5)13.1) under the heading Pronoun, Rodgers is surely wrong to classify under *Maiestas* the occurrence in *praesens maiestatis tuae*

²⁹ *Ibid.* p.103. *maiestas vestra* occurs at 1.1, 5.2, 8.3, 9.2, 13.2 and 13.5. The singular *maiestas* is used of the collegiate emperors in surviving inscriptions, e.g. *ILS* vol.1, 617, 627.

³⁰ *tuus* qualifies *quinquennalia* and *decennalia* in chapter 1, where *vester* would be non-sensical; *auditionis tuae* (5.1) refers to the occasion of an earlier speech delivered to Maximian; for *natali tuo* (19.1) see Appendix Two and Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") p.166.

³¹ XI(3)3.6. See n.19. The text is corrupt, but as *tuus* seems certain, the argument remains unaffected.

³² See n.28.

³³ *maiestas vestra* at 2.2, 2.3, 5.3 and 6.4. *maiestas tua* at 1.1, 1.6, 13.1, 15.6 and 19.1. See Rodgers, (1986) pp.71 and 103.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.103.

fulmen (VIII(5)15.6). The latter phrase clearly echoes the former and should be interpreted in the same way - as a synonym for the emperor or Pronoun.

This digression has established that the literal term *maiestatis tue* (15.1.) is functioning like the pronoun *tui* and as such serves more to remind us of the setting than to privilege Maximian.³⁵ The transition from the literal mode to the metaphysical in *de felicitate vestra* leads us back to the Dyarchy.

Numen

Chapter 17 has no literal terms and only one metaphysical, the apostrophe *o magnam vim numinis vestri!* (17.4). *numen* appears frequently in the corpus and, like *maiestas*, has a range of significations. According to Rodgers' classification, *numen* refers far more commonly to the emperor/s in Panegyrics V-XI than to the gods.³⁶ In our four panegyrics, *numen* occurs 30 times. Of this number, 17 are combined with possessive adjectives - *tuum*, *vestrum* or the plural *vestra*. Table Three shows the distribution of these collocations.

Table Three. *numen* in X(2), XI(3), VIII(5) and IX(4)

Panegyric	<i>tuum numen</i>	<i>vestrum numen</i>	<i>vestra numina</i>
X(2)	1.1, 6.4, 13.5, 14.4	1.2	13.4
XI(3)	-	10.4, 17.4	2.3, 3.8
VIII(5)	1.5, 5.4, 13.2, 19.1, 21.3	4.2	15.4
IX(4)	-	-	-

In X(2) and XI(3) *vestra numina* refers to the emperors' patron gods, Jupiter and Hercules.³⁷ *tuum numen* features four times in X(2) and nowhere in XI(3),

³⁵ A phrase reminiscent of XI(3)15.1 argues for a similar interpretation; *et habenda ratio est temporis, Caesare stante dum loquimur* (VIII(5)4.4).

³⁶ (1986) pp.72-4 and 104.

³⁷ Rodgers incorrectly classifies the occurrences of *numina vestra* at 2.2 (*sic*) and 3.8 under the heading for the emperors' *numen*, p.104. At 2.3-4 *vestri* refers to the emperors, so *vestrorum numinum* must signify something else:

vestri pariter ac vestrorum numinum reverentia colimus, siquidem vos dis esse genitos et

a distribution which further confirms the implications of Tables One and Two - that X(2) expresses its principal loyalty to Maximian and XI(3) to the Dyarchy.

By contrast *vestrum numen* appears twice in XI(3); the singular *numen*, shared by the emperors, is a mark of their *concordia*. The collocation first appears in X(2)1.2., where the emperors' residence at Rome is referred to as *primam in ea sedem numinis vestri*.³⁸ In XI(3) the phrase first appears in chapter ten, when the author describes the descent of the emperors into Milan:

nunc autem, ut primum ex utrisque Alpium iugis **vestrum numen** effulsit, tota Italia clarius lux diffusa, omnibus qui suspexerant aequae admiratio atque dubitatio iniecta, ecquinam di de illis montium verticibus orirentur an his gradibus in terras caelo descenderent. (10.4)

The privileging of the Dyarchy, so dominant in these chapters which lack any literal term of address, is enhanced by the mutuality underlying *vestrum numen*. So too in chapter 17; it is the singularity of their *numen* which binds Maximian and Diocletian tight.³⁹

nominibus quidem vestris sed multo magis virtutibus approbatis.

The rest of the sentence establishes that *numina vestra* refers to the emperors' patron gods, Jupiter and Hercules, and should be classified under Rodgers' heading Gods; see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.83. Likewise with 3.8: after a lengthy explanation of the ceaseless energy and activity of Jupiter and Hercules (3.4-8), the orator brings his subject round to the emperors again:

adeo, **sacratissime imperator, utraque vestra numina** semper aliquid agunt agendumve curant, ut iam nobis illa quam **pro vobis** susceperamus cura ponenda sit, cum non laborare vos sed parentes deos videamus initari.

numina vestra are here cited as a model for imperial behaviour and, as such, must constitute something other than the emperors themselves; after the discussion of Jupiter and Hercules immediately prior to this excerpt, it must be they who are signified by the phrase.

³⁸ Rodgers (1986) p.104, classifies this as a synonym for the Pronoun, but Galletier is nearer the mark with his translation "le premier siege de votre divinite" (1949, p.24) and now Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.53 "the first seat of your divinity".

³⁹ The singular *numen* is used of the emperors in several surviving inscriptions, e.g. *ILS* vol.1, 631-643.

Peroratio (Chapter 19)

The closing chapter has 2 literal terms, the vocative *sacratissime imperator* and the possessive adjective in *natali tuo* (XI(3)19.1).⁴⁰ Both appear in the first sentence, but the metaphysical ends in the ascendant with 8 terms featuring in the rest of the chapter. The orator develops his subject from Maximian's *natalis* to imperial *natales* in general:

gemini ergo natales pias **vobis** mentes et imperatorias tribuere fortunas,
atque inde **sanctitatis vestrae** omniumque ^lsu^lccessuum manat exordium
quod nascentes **vos** ad opes generis humani bona sidera et amica viderunt.
(19.3)

The progression from the particular to the universal which is a recurrent dynamic of the panegyric is mirrored by regular transitions from the literal to the metaphysical mode. Mode of address mirrors content.

Conclusion

Some of the implications of the difference in use of literal and metaphysical modes of address between the two panegyrics delivered in the time of the Dyarchy of Maximian and Diocletian are discussed in Appendix One. The statistics presented in Tables One and Two suggest clear differences in intent; most of these differences are borne out by consideration of the context of the forms. The loyalty most commonly expressed through the modes of address in XI(3) is to the Dyarchic college; Maximian is not privileged as he is in X(2). However, although the dynamics of address have been shown to be means of articulating different sympathies and support, nevertheless, neither text is overtly hostile towards Maximian or the Dyarchy through the modes. Both praise both, but it is in the balancing of these demands that we can recognize that the two Dyarchic panegyrics had different agendas.

⁴⁰ See Appendix Two.

PANEGYRICI LATINI VIII(5)

Panegyric VIII(5), delivered in Spring 297 to Constantius, probably also at Trier, by an orator whose name has not been passed down to us, demonstrates a finely poised balance between the literal and metaphysical modes of address.¹

Table Four. Literal and Metaphysical Terms of Address in VIII(5)

Chap. no.	LITERAL				ratio	METAPHYSICAL			
	<i>tu</i>	<i>tuus</i>	verb	voc.		<i>tu/vos</i>	<i>tuus/ vester</i>	verb	voc.
1	-	5	1	2	8:6	1	4	1	-
2	-	-	-	1	1:3	-	3	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	0:4	1	1	1	1
4	-	-	-	1	1:9	1	4	4	-
5	-	2	-	1	3:1	-	1	-	-
6	-	4	4	2	10:2	1	1	-	-
7	-	2	-	2	4:1	-	1	-	-
8	-	2	-	1	3:0	-	-	-	-
9	-	1	2	2	5:3	1	2	-	-
10	-	-	-	-	0:1	-	1	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	0:1	-	1	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	0:2	-	2	-	-
13	1	3	2	2	8:8	2	2	2	2
14	2	3	2	1	8:0	-	-	-	-
15	1	2	-	1	4:7	1	6	-	-
16	3	2	-	1	6:1	-	1	-	-
17	3	-	4	3	10:2	-	2	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	0:5	1	4	-	-
19	2	3	1	1	7:4	2	2	-	-
20	-	-	-	-	0:11	3	2	4	2
21	1	2	-	2	5:5	1	2	-	2
total	13	31	16	23	83: 76	15	42	12	7

¹ For the circumstances of the speech see above, introduction p.13; Galletier (1949) p.73 and n.3; Nixon /Rodgers (1994) pp.105-6; L'Huillier (1992) pp.48 and 304. At p.48 L'Huillier gives Autun as the location of the speech, at p.304 Trier. Galletier records the fact that some editors of the speech believed it to have been addressed before Constantius and Maximian. Paladini/Fedeli (1976) p.173 record that MS Vaticanus Latinus 1775 introduces the speech *dictus Maximiano*; this is demonstrably wrong - were we to understand the references to Maximian in chapters 13 and 21 to be literal, we would also have to conclude from chapter 21 that Diocletian was present too.

Of the 76 metaphysical terms of address tabulated above, 64 are plural; the remaining 12 are singular terms addressed to Maximian or Diocletian.²

The singular addresses to Maximian in chapter 13 are reminiscent of the appeal to Nerva in Pliny's *Panegyricus*:

quanto nunc, **dive Nerva**, gaudio **frueris** cum **vides** et esse optimum et dici, quem tamquam optimum **elegisti!** quam laetum **tibi**, quod comparatus **filio tuo vinceris!** neque enim alio magis adprobatur **animi tui** magnitudo, quam quod optimus ipse non **timuisti** eligere meliorem. (89.1)

However, as the epithet *dive* makes clear, the addressee there is a deified emperor and is thus celestial and omnipresent. The metaphysical addresses to Maximian and Diocletian in VIII(5), both still living, represent a new departure.

It is interesting to note that these singular metaphysical terms are not part of a balanced scheme to appeal to all four Tetrarchs, such as we shall see in Eumenius' speech (IX(4)21), for there is no similar address to Galerius.³ The absence of an address to Galerius in VIII(5)21, concurrent with the syntactical association between the three remaining emperors ("sicuti pridem tuo, Diocletiane Auguste, iussu... *sicut* postea tuo, Maximiane Auguste, nutu... *ita* nunc per victorias tuas, Constanti Caesar invicte..."), exalts Constantius above Galerius his counterpart. The fact that this is the closing chapter makes the feature especially notable. However, there is nothing to suggest that Galerius is excluded from the metaphysical plural forms in the speech; and, indeed, as I shall argue, he and Constantius only are the addressees in two of the plural forms in chapter 2.⁴

As we see in the ratio 83:76, the literal terms only just outnumber the metaphysical, whereas in the two preceding speeches the ratios are 157:61 (X(2)) and 28:192 (XI(3)). However, the speeches' totals for terms of address are illuminating:

² All the metaphysical terms of address in chapter 8 are directed to Maximian. In the final chapter Maximian and Diocletian are each addressed twice.

³ See below, pp. 98-9.

⁴ See below, pp. 73-4.

X(2) uses 218 terms in 2678 words.

XI(3) uses 220 terms in 3013 words.

VIII(5) uses 159 terms in 3265 words.⁵

Despite being a longer speech, VIII(5) contains far fewer terms of address than the earlier works. Yet although literal and metaphysical addresses are a less common feature of this speech, they are not negligible in effect. Six chapters contain no literal terms and two no metaphysical; chapters 10, 11 and 12 have few or none of either type. Instead, the speech concentrates on other matters; for example, narrative of Constantius' campaign against Allectus, or consideration of historical events, both recent and distant, which are designed to shed light on Constantius' achievements.⁶ What the chapter-by-chapter ratios for the speech indicate is some very distinct weighting despite the relative equality over the whole; chapters 6 and 17 favour the literal mode, whereas 4 and 20 are dominated by the metaphysical. Therefore, although the overall ratio 83:76 signifies a careful balancing of the two modes, nevertheless, from chapter to chapter the speech fluctuates from favouring one to another. Rodgers' comment, "the orator's consistent use of the second person plural indicates that he was mindful of other ears" underplays the subtleties involved in the shifts from one mode of address to another.⁷ Table Four demonstrates that the distribution of second-person plural forms is highly variable. However, the rationale underlying the distribution of terms of address is most apparent when the speech is analysed by rhetorical subdivisions. Moreover, we must not forget what the orator kept securely in his mind - that the literal addressee was

⁵ For word totals see L'Huillier (1992) pp.429-31. I have taken the word counts from pp.430-1 as L'Huillier's results on p.429 do not tally with pp.430-1.

⁶ "[The panegyric] does not offer a narrative of the campaign as much as a rhetorical meditation upon its main events" D.E. Eichholz, 'Constantius Chlorus' invasion of Britain', *Journal of Roman Studies* 43 (1953) 41-46, p.41. See L'Huillier (1992) p.443 for graphic representation of the subject-matter of the speech. For examples of historical references, Xerxes (7.1), Gallienus (10.1-3) and Caesar (11.2-4). MacCormack (1981) p.27 notes how this panegyrist follows Menander Rhetor's recommendation that historical narrative could be included in a speech. Although in Table 13, 'References historiques ou mythiques' p.199, L'Huillier makes no entry for this speech, Nixon (1990) discusses the orator's use of the past and concludes "This panegyrist is more historically minded than most of his fellows" p.14-17 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.105.

⁷ Rodgers (1986) p.81.

Constantius.⁸ When metaphysical terms are used, it is not solely - or even primarily - for the sake of the absent emperors; they are used to help to define the literal addressee's relationship with his colleagues and thereby his mandate to rule.

Exordium (Chapter 1)⁹

The speech's opening sentence establishes the identity of the addressee immediately:

si mihi, **Caesar invicte**, post diuturnum silentium sola esset vincenda
trepidatio qua rudimenta quaedam vocis meae rursus experior, haud
immerito me ultra quam aetas et quantulumcumque studii mei ferret opinio
perturbari confiterer, praesertim cum apud **maiestatem tuam** divina
virtutum vestrarum miracula praedicarem. (1.1)

Caesar invicte, supported by *apud maiestatem tuam*, clearly signifies Constantius, despite the shift to the metaphysical *virtutum vestrarum*. With the exception of 21.1, where he is *Constanti Caesar invicte*, the only epithet used of Constantius is *invicte*. At other points the term *Caesar* alone is used.¹⁰ *invicte* introduces in the opening sentence the speech's theme of victory.¹¹ The epithet's justification is established in time by the narration of the defeat of Allectus in general, and by specific phrases such as *ille vestro auspicio invictus exercitus* (15.2). However, if as seems likely, the speech was delivered as part of the celebrations for the defeat of Allectus, the epithet *invicte* would have required no qualification for the audience.¹²

⁸ VIII(5)4.4 *habenda ratio est temporis, Caesare stante dum loquimur*.

⁹ Following Galletier (1949) pp.80-1.

¹⁰ L'Huillier (1992) p.453 records no instance of *Caesar* in the speech; however, see 4.3, 6.1, 6.4, 7.1, 8.1, 9.5, 13.1, 16.3 and 19.3.

¹¹ cf. the opening address of X(2) and XI(3), both *sacratissime imperator*. On *invicte* here see Seager (1983) p.137 "the speech begins appropriately enough with the apostrophe *Caesar invicte*, to which the use of *vincenda* of the speaker's need to conquer his nerves provides an entertaining counterpoint". On the history of the epithet *invictus* see Weinstock (1957), Storch (1968) and McCormick (1986) pp.22-24.

¹² The celebrations appear to have coincided with Constantius' *quinquennalia*, although the anniversary receives no attention after chapter 3; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.111.

A further distinction between this opening sentence and those of X(2) and XI(3) is its programmatic quality. Significantly, that programme is expressed in the metaphysical mode, *apud maiestatem tuam divina virtutum vestrarum miracula praedicarem*. This phrase demonstrates the orator's awareness of the need to articulate the relationship between his literal addressee and the Tetrarchy. The phrase is both programmatic in content and, by its shift from literal to metaphysical modes, indicative of the technique to be employed most often in achieving the intended goal.

The first of the speech's specific references to Maximian and Diocletian appears in the third sentence:

quaevs enim prima tunc in re nascentem rem publicam **patris ac patris tui** merita, licet dicendo aequare non possem, possem tamen vel censere numerando. (1.3)

The relationships claimed in the alliterative phrase *patris ac patris tui* advertize vociferously the closeness between Constantius and the Augusti¹³; *tui* serves to include Constantius in the sweep of the sentence, although in fact it is the achievements of Diocletian and Maximian which are being celebrated.

The concord suggested in the family ties is reinforced by a series of 5 metaphysical terms:

sed [et] cum et me illo vetere curriculo aut inter adyta **palatii vestri** alia quaedam sermonis arcani ratio demoverit aut post indultam a **pietate vestra** quietem studium ruris abduxerit, et **vos** interim nullum ulciscendae augendaeque rei publicae vacuum tempus **amiseritis**; cum tot postea **virtute vestra** partae victoriae... (1.4)

In the first two terms, for the kindness afforded to the speaker in procuring for him a post in the imperial service, and the subsequent opportunity to retire, the Tetrarchs are granted group responsibility, although it seems that he was in the

¹³ Neither was Constantius Maximian's natural son nor Diocletian his natural brother. Barnes (1982) pp. 32-37. On the use of family referents in the speeches, see below, Part Two.

service of Maximian, through the agency of Constantius.¹⁴ The harmony implicit in this is then developed into generalization about military successes in the third, fourth and fifth terms. Thus, although literal terms outnumber the metaphysical by two, the opening chapter establishes the underlying importance of the collegiate government. This balance between college and individual which is struck at the outset sketches an ideology which is to be developed throughout the speech.

Propositio (Chapter 2)

Caesar invicte provides the only example of a literal term in the second chapter:

det igitur mihi, **Caesar invicte**, hodiernae gratulationis exordium divinus ille **vestrae maiestatis** ortus ipso quo inluxit auspicio veris inlustrior, cui dies serenus atque, ut celebrantes sensimus, ultra rationem temporis sol aestivus incaluit, augustiore fulgens luminis claritate quam cum originem mundi nascentis animavit; siquidem tunc inter illa rerum tenera primordia moderatus dicitur ne noceret ardentior, nunc certasse creditur ne **maiestate vestra** videretur obscurior. (2.2-3)

The orator is referring to a specific day, the celebration of which includes Constantius, *hodiernae gratulationis*. Rodgers lists the first instance of *vestra maiestas* here under the heading Pronoun, and the second under Maiestas.¹⁵ As we shall see, by considering the meaning of the phrase *divinus ille vestrae maiestatis ortus*, Rodgers' classification seems unconvincing.

¹⁴ Galletier (1949) pp.71-6; C.E.V. Nixon 'Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period', in B. Croke and A.M. Emmett (Edd) *History and Historians in Late Antiquity* (Sydney 1983). 88-99, p.91; Corcoran (1996) pp.266-292.

¹⁵ (1986) p.103. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.111 translate the first occurrence by "Your Majesties" and the second "Your Majesty".

Universal Prosperity (Chapters 3-5)

The day of *vestrae maiestatis ortus* was brighter than the first day of spring and clearer than the day of creation. The orator hints that the *ortus* too took place in Spring before confirming that it occurred on March 1st:

felix beatumque ver novo partu, iam non amoenitate florum nec viriditate
segetum nec gemmis vitium nec ipsis tantum favoniis et luce reserata laetum
atque venerabile, quantum ortu Caesarum maximorum! o tempus quo
merito quondam omnia nata esse credantur, cum eodem nunc confirmata
videamus! o kalendae Martiae, sicuti olim annorum volventium, ita nunc
aeternorum auspices imperatorum! (3.1)

As he progresses, the orator includes more and more information, leading to the recognition that the *ortus Caesarum*, on March 1st, is the *vestrae maiestatis ortus*, mentioned only obliquely before. The metaphysical terms *vestrae maiestatis* and *maiestate vestra* both refer not to the Tetrarchs but to Constantius and Galerius, each appointed Caesar on March 1st 293.¹⁶ Their *maiestas*, which began on the day of their accession to the throne, must be that which distinguishes an emperor from a subject; the word here connotes more than the individuals.

This use of the metaphysical *vester* restricted to Constantius and Galerius is a bold manoeuvre, relegating the two Augusti and charging the Caesars' accession with greater significance to the world than creation. However, the focus on the Caesars is not sustained, as the next sentence illustrates:

quanta enim, invictissimi principes et vobis et rei publicae saecula
propagatis orbis vestri participando tutelam? (3.2)

¹⁶ There are unsolved problems about the date of Galerius' accession: see I. König, 'Die Berufung des Constantius Chlorus und des Galerius zu Caesaren: Gedanken zur Entstehung der ersten Tetrarchie', *Chiron* (4) 1974 567-76; Barnes (1982) pp.4, 62; A. Chastagnol 'L'évolution politique du règne de Dioclétien', *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994) 23-31 p.27; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.112. The orator of VIII(5) clearly considers their accession a joint event; see *vester* in 2.2-3

By praising the emperors for sharing the responsibilities of empire, the orator is, once again, embracing the four Tetrarchs in his address.¹⁷ *invictissimi principes* is employed for two of the speech's three plural metaphysical vocatives, confirming the orator's interest in military conquest.¹⁸

The singularity of *numen vestrum* at 4.2 and the plurality of the sentence's subject matter generates a paradox:

quippe isto **numinis vestri** numero summa omnia nituntur et gaudent, elementa quattuor et totidem anni vices et orbis quadrifariam duplici discretus Oceano et emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia et quadrigae Solis et duobus caeli luminibus adiuncti Vesper et Lucifer. (4.2)¹⁹

The juxtaposition of the singular and the plural dissolves the tension between the ideal of Tetrarchic unity and the reality of the geographical separation which the emperors experienced. Through its singularity, *numen vestrum* overarches the various individual qualities and contributions of the emperors and presents a united front.

This sense of concord is developed in the next sentence by four metaphysical verb forms, three possessive adjectives and the emphatic *vos* :

sed neque Sol ipse neque cuncta sidera humanas res tam perpetuo lumine intuentur quam **vos tuemini** qui sine ullo fere discrimine dierum ac noctium **inlustratis** orbem, salutique gentium non his modo quibus immortales **vultus vestri** vigent sed multo magis illis **divinarum mentium vestrarum** oculis **providetis**, nec solum qua dies oritur et praeterit et conditur sed etiam ex illa septentrionali plaga salutari **beatis** luce provincias: adeo, **Caesar, vestra** in orbem terrarum distributa **beneficia** prope plura sunt quam deorum. (4.3)

¹⁷ The catalogue of conquered areas incorporates areas in which Diocletian, Maximian and Constantius had operated, Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.113.

¹⁸ Seager (1983) p.137 "the apostrophe... keeps the theme of victory in play".

¹⁹ Rodgers (1986) p.81 classifies *numen* here under Imperium.

The catalogue of imperial benefactions, reminiscent of X(2)3.2-4 and Pliny's *Panegyricus* 80.3-5, elevates all four emperors above the human, dealing with cosmic themes such as light, time and space.²⁰ *septentrionali plaga* hints at Britain and thus its recent conqueror, who then receives the only literal term of address in the chapter, *Caesar*. In this first main section after the *exordium* and *propositio* the dominant metaphysical mode legitimizes the theme of universal prosperity. Constantius' place in the Tetrarchy is guaranteed by his contribution to universal order.

Literal terms of address outnumber the metaphysical in chapter five, yet by referring to conquests secured by each of the three absent Tetrarchs the orator sustains the themes of victory and harmony.²¹ The transition from these references to victories secured by absent Tetrarchs to literal terms to Constantius is made by a bridging sentence which both incorporates a metaphysical term and notes the emperors' absence:

aliis haec permittente **maiestate vestra** celebrabo temporibus; di
immortales, vota suscipio ut ipsis qui gessere praesentibus. (5.3)

The performative nature of the verb *permitto*, when taken with the explicit recognition in the second half of the sentence that the Tetrarchs are absent, suggests that the significance of the noun *maiestas* here is abstract.²² That this sentence combines the term *maiestate vestra* with the expressed desire to address the three absent emperors at some time in the future is confirmation of the metaphysical nature of the plural addresses. Moreover, the confidence with which the orator juxtaposes the metaphysical term and details of the direct lines of literal address is a measure of the ease he felt in shifting from one mode to

²⁰ For the Tetrarchs in a cosmic setting in contemporary art, see M.S. Pond Rothman, 'The Panel of the Emperors Enthroned on the Arch of Galerius', *Byzantine Studies* 2:1 (1975) 19-40; MacCormack (1981) pp.176ff.

²¹ *Sarmaticae expeditiones* - Diocletian 289/290 and 294. *Niliaca sub quibus Aethiops et Indus tremuit* - Diocletian 296/7, Galletier (1949) p.85; I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 'The Imperial Chamber at Luxor', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975) 225-251 p.241; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.115-6, 173-4; Barnes (1982) p.196 says that Galerius was in Egypt too. *ruina Carporum* - Galerius 296, Galletier (1949) p.86, Barnes (1982) p.257 and Diocletian, Barnes (1982) p.54, 297 Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.116 *Mauris* - Maximian 296, Galletier (1949) p.85, Barnes (1982) p.59; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.117, 174-5.

²² Rodgers (1986) p.103.

another. Accordingly, the chapter's final sentence is dedicated to Constantius with three literal terms.

Gesoriacum (Chapters 6-7)

The orator proclaimed in 5.4 his intention to focus on Constantius; yet this contradicts his statement in the programmatic opening sentence of chapter 1 and, as we shall see, his actual practice in the speech. The tension which arises from these diverse resolutions is at times dissolved by the recognition that in their unity the Tetrarchs share their victories and achievements and that, therefore, praise of one emperor does not militate against praise of all, but actually constitutes it. At other times the tension is deliberately sustained and accentuated to promote Constantius alone. Chapter 6 contains 10 literal terms and only 2 metaphysical. Not only is Constantius foregrounded, but the opening sentence even works to the detriment of Maximian:

statim itaque **Gallias tuas, Caesar, veniendo vicisti.** (6.1)

Maximian had been sent to Gaul on his accession to the throne in 285.²³ The orator of 289 refers to Gaul (and the West in general) with the possessive adjective in his speech to Maximian *has provincias tuas frequenter inlustres*.²⁴ In attributing Gaul to Constantius, the orator of 297 is not necessarily providing evidence of formal fourfold division of the empire after the establishment of the Tetrarchy in 293, but is insisting that influence over the province had passed from Maximian to Constantius.²⁵ Constantius' superiority receives further confirmation by reference to the ease with which he gained a speedy victory over the separatists at Boulogne; Maximian had tried and failed to bring them

²³ X(2)4-6, Barnes (1982) p.196.

²⁴ X(2)14.4.

²⁵ Despite Lactantius' comment *tres enim participes regni sui fecit in quattuor partes orbe diviso* (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 7.2), the prevailing opinion is that the empire was not formally divided into four areas until 305. See W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie* (Paris 1946) pp.231-247, G.E.M. De Ste. Croix, 'Aspects of the "Great" Persecution', *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954) 75-113, pp.105-108; Barnes (1982) pp.195-197. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.66, 141; Chastagnol (1994) p.28. cf. eg. W.S. Maguinness, 'Eumenius of Autun', *Greece and Rome* 21 (1952) 97-103 p.98.

back into the fold. Therefore, because of the local interest in this sentence, the literal terms might be thought to exalt Constantius over Maximian.

The credit both for the strategy chosen to break the siege at Boulogne and for the hard work on which the successful outcome depended is naturally directed towards Constantius:

in quo divina **providentia tua** et par consilio effectus apparuit, qui omnem illum sinum portus, quem statis vicibus aestus alternat, defixis in aditu trabibus ingestisque saxis invium navibus **reddidisti** atque ipsam loci naturam admirabili ratione **superasti** cum mare frustra reciprocum prohibitis fuga quasi inludere videretur tamque nullo usu iuvaret inclusos, quasi redire desisset. (6.2)²⁶

The *providentia* in the planning for the conflict at Boulogne is Constantius', here and again at 7.1. In both chapters, literal terms of address significantly outnumber the metaphysical. By contrast, *providentia* is accorded the metaphysical adjective in chapter 18:

nec idcirco minoribus gaudiis feruntur dempti periculi merito quod experiundi necessitate caruerunt, sed hoc ipsum et in administratione [vel] **providentiae vestrae** et in refectione fortunae impensius gratulantur, quod tanta illa vis nauticae rebellionis in vestigiis suis concidit. (18.6)²⁷

In this chapter, where no literal terms feature, the reconquest of Britain is attributed to the collegiate government. Thus we see the orator using both literal and metaphysical terms with the same noun in relation to the same campaign, according to his varying needs.

The two metaphysical terms in chapter 6 appear in the final sentence:

²⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.134.

²⁷ M.P. Charlesworth, '*providentia* and *aeternitas*', *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936) 107-32, esp. 107-122 for consideration of *providentia* earlier in the empire. cf. 4.3, the metaphysical *providetis*. The singular *providentia* is used of the collegiate emperors in surviving inscriptions, e.g. *ILS* vol.1, 617, 620, 637, and in coin issues, e.g. *Roman Imperial Coinage* vol.6, C.H.V. Sutherland (London 1967) pp.350-3, 459, 461, 510, 529, 578.

[Oceanus] cum tot interim, qua terras circumfluit, litora solveret ripasque defringeret, uno illo, ut res est, loco aut potentia **vestrae maiestatis** inferior aut pro debito **vobis** honore clementior. (6.4)

A hint of the literal meaning 'bigness' or 'bigness' makes good sense here in relation to the sea's respect for the Tetrarchs.²⁸ In chapter seven, the orator goes on to ridicule Xerxes' attempt to tame the sea by casting gold chains into the water; Constantius, by contrast, does manage to exert his authority over the sea. This encourages the audience to understand a notion of power in *maiestas*, confirmed by *potentia* and *inferior*. The shift to the metaphysical mode in this final sentence is suggestive of the wide recognition of Tetrarchic unity; for, the sea is aware of the Tetrarchs' *maiestas* and due *honor*, and behaves accordingly towards Constantius, who is representative of them. In chapters six and seven the concentration on the literal mode rather than the metaphysical promotes Constantius' role in the siege at Gesoriacum; the effect is to acclaim Constantius as an individual. But, since the other emperors' reliance on Constantius is not mentioned, Tetrarchic decorum is maintained.

Batavia (Chapters 8-9)

Chapter nine is one of only a few which contain more than two terms from both literal and metaphysical modes. There is, however, a strong division between modes within the chapter: the 3 metaphysical terms appear in the first half and the 5 literal ones in the second.²⁹ There is no shift between modes in mid-sentence. As the chapter moves from the metaphysical mode towards the literal its subject matter alters accordingly, from observations about the general state of the empire, *totis porticibus civitatum provincialibus vestris* (9.1) to specific details about Gaul and Britain, *Chamavus et Frisius* (9.3) and *transitus in Britanniam* (9.5). Thus we see a fine balance maintained between an

²⁸ cf. Rodgers (1986) p.103. On the etymology of *maiestas* see Rodgers p.75, "bigness"; this is the etymology preserved by Priscianus. cf. Paulus Diaconus, *maiestas a magnitudine dicta*. See R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*, (Leeds 1991) p.360.

²⁹ Galletier (1949) p.89 translates *quod pace vestra loquar* with "avec votre permission", Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.121 with "I say this by your leave". Because chapter 9 is concerned with the established peace the phrase might constitute a pun.

awareness of Constantius' personal achievements and the wider picture into which they fit.

Britannia - the background (Chapters 10-12)

From chapters ten to twelve there are no literal terms. In this time, as the orator generally concerns himself with Gallienus and Julius Caesar, there are only 4 metaphysical terms, yet even these four are significant. Chapter ten deals with the difficult years of Gallienus' reign, when the empire was contracted by the loss of several provinces including Gaul:

minus indignum fuerat sub principe Gallieno quamvis triste harum provinciarum a Romana luce discidium. (10.1)

From mention of this temporary loss of Gaul we might expect the orator to move to Constantius' recovery of the province of Britain. However, this anticipated discussion of contemporary affairs is played out in the metaphysical mode:

nunc vero toto orbe terrarum non modo qua Romanus fuerat **virtute vestra** recepto sed etiam qua hostilis edomito, cum totiens proculcata esset Alamannia, totiens obstricta Sarmatia, Iuthungi Quadi Carpi totiens profligati, summittente se Gotho pace poscenda, supplicante per munera rege Persarum, urebat animos (quod nunc denique confitemur) una illa tanti imperii contumelia, eoque nobis intolerabilior videbatur quod gloriae sola restabat. (10.4)

In mode and detail, the orator foregoes an opportunity to privilege Constantius and instead expatiates about the benefits and successes of the Tetrarchy.³⁰

³⁰ *Alamannia* - perhaps the Raetian frontier, Diocletian and Maximian 288 Barnes (1982) p.5; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.110; *Sarmatia* - Diocletian 289/290. Nixon/Rodgers p.124 "there are no other references to Tetrarchic victories over the Iuthungi and Quadi". On the Carpi, *ibid.* p.116.

In chapter 11 the orator talks of Britain, and the first Roman conqueror of the island, Julius Caesar. Again, we might expect such topics to be ideal material from which to introduce a favourable comparison with Constantius. Again, however, the chapter's only term of address is metaphysical, *Caesar ille auctor vestri nominis* (11.2). Likewise in chapter 12, where the preparations for the campaign against the separatists form the focus, the orator uses metaphysical terms, *exercitibus autem vestris licet invictis virtute* (12.1) and *inclementia maris victoriam vestram fatali quadam necessitate distulerat* (12.2). When compared with *exercitui tuo* (14.4), *tuis exercitibus* (16.1) and *victorias tuas* (21.1), referring to the same armies and successes respectively, the force and implications generated by the terms of address can be appreciated fully. The shift from the metaphysical, concordant allocation of the campaign against Allectus to the literal, individual mode attests to the manipulation by the orator of the same circumstances to promote each of two messages at different times.

Britannia - the campaign (Chapters 13-17)

In contrast to the three preceding chapters, thirteen and fourteen have no metaphysical plural terms of address, but chapter thirteen contains 8 metaphysical terms addressed to Maximian. These 8 terms feature in one sentence:

tu enim ipse, tu domine Maximiane, imperator aeterne, novo itineris compendio adventum **divinitatis tuae** accelerare dignatus repente Rheno **institisti**, omnemque illum limitem non equestribus neque pedestribus copiis sed **praesentiae tuae** terrore **tutatus es**: quantoslibet valebat exercitus Maximianus in ripa. (13.3)

This sustained address to the Augustus of the Western world is very emphatic, yet the switch to the third-person in the final clause confirms the metaphysical nature of the vocative terms. *tu enim ipse, tu domine Maximiane imperator aeterne*, the extraordinarily extensive vocative address both confers great

respect on Maximian and, by its unusual length, alerts the audience to the unusual trope - the singular, metaphysical address. The next sentence returns to the literal addressee and concentrates on his military prowess:

tu vero, invicte Caesar, instructis armatisque diversis classibus ita hostem incertum consilii inopem **reddidisti**, ut tunc denique senserit quod non munitus esset Oceano sed inclusus. (13.4)

That Maximian secured the frontier by being present, whereas Constantius prepared to engage his enemy in battle need not be considered a cause of undiluted celebration for each of them; lurking beneath the surface of the final sentence, and in particular the epithet *invicte*, we might detect a sense of the exaltation of Constantius over Maximian. For, in challenging and defeating the separatists, Constantius achieved a victory that Maximian had sought in vain.

With no metaphysical terms, singular or plural, featuring in chapter fourteen, attention is exclusively directed towards Constantius. He is praised for his energy and success in campaigning, and is compared most favourably with earlier emperors.³¹ One personal quality of Constantius mentioned by the orator is his 'steadiness', *exemplo constantiae tuae hortator atque impulsor fuisti* (14.3). Perhaps the orator could not resist the opportunity for a pun in praising Constantius' *constantia*, although a seldom registered virtue, as later Ausonius was to relish expressing his *grates* to Gratian.³²

divinitas

Three occurrences of *divinitas* in VIII(5) have the complement *vestra* and two *tua*.³³ The singularity of *divinitas*, when qualified with *vestra* enhances

³¹ Nixon (1990) p.16.

³² There are 9 entries for *constantia* in T.Janson, *Concordance to the Latin Panegyrics* (Hildesheim and New York 1979). It might be a deliberate pun here and at VII(6)9.2 and XII(9)2.1. Ausonius explicitly acknowledges his word-play at chapters II and VIII.

³³ All five instances are listed under the heading Pronoun by Rodgers; 2.1, 8.4, 13.3, 15.2 and 15.6, (1986) p.102. *divinitas* does not feature more than three times in any other speech in her analysis. If Rodgers is right to classify all cases as synonyms for the pronoun, then those complemented by *vestra* and that by *tua* addressed to Maximian (13.3) have a metaphysical force.

the sense of a shared essence and unity, in a way similar to that achieved by *numen vestrum*.³⁴ Yet the singularity of *divinitas vestra*, as opposed to *divinitas tua*, argues against Rodgers' classification of it as a synonym for a (plural) pronoun; certainly, a strong case could be made against Rodgers' interpretation of *divinitas* at 15.6 as signifying something more numinous than a synonym for 'you':

demens qui nesciebat, quacumque fugeret, ubique vim **vestrae divinitatis** esse, ubi **vultus vestri**, ubi signa colerentur. (15.6)³⁵

As with *maiestas* and *numen*, we see that the signification of *divinitas* is conditioned by the mode of its complementary possessive adjective.

The ratio for terms of address in chapter fifteen suggests an interest in both literal and metaphysical modes. Accredited to collegiate rule are *felicitas* (15.1), *auspicium* (15.2), *divinitas* (15.2 and 6), *numina* (15.4) and *vultus* (15.6)³⁶; to Constantius alone *duces* (15.6) and *maiestas* (15.6).³⁷ Furthermore, the soldiers who invaded Britain are said to have gained their confidence *vestri contemplatione* (15.3).³⁸ If we acknowledge the validity of Rodgers' classification of *maiestatis tuae* as a synonym for the pronoun and recognize that in it, *te* and the subsequent vocative *Caesar invicte* the orator is recording the fact that Constantius alone and not the entire Tetrarchy was present at the campaign to regain Britain, little is left to resist the dominance of the metaphysical mode in the chapter.

Chapters sixteen and seventeen give priority to the literal mode of address. The opening sentence of sixteen is particularly emphatic:

³⁴ See above, pp.65-6.

³⁵ Rodgers' classification is more convincing when the noun is complemented by *tua*, at 8.4, *dicioni tuae divinitatis omnes sese dedere cogerentur* and 13.3, *novo itineris compendio adventum divinitatis tuae accelerare dignatus*.

³⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.135 "plural *vestra numina* warns us not to take [the panegyrist] too literally" - for Constantius was not present at this point in the campaign.

³⁷ See above, pp.62ff. For *vultus* as 'portrait' see H.P. L'Orange *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture* (Oslo 1947) pp.116ff.

³⁸ *vestri* implies that the soldiers considered themselves answerable to the Tetrarchs in general. In fact, the circumstances of eg. Constantine's accession indicate that the soldiers would readily neglect Tetrarchic etiquette to support their own favourite; Lactantius *de Mortibus Persecutorum* 24; Eutropius *Breviarium* X.II.2; Aurelius Victor *De Caesaribus* 40.2-4.

te tamen ille fugiens incidit in **tuorum** manus, a **te** victus a **tuis exercitibus** oppressus est. (16.1)

The hyperbaton in *te tamen ille fugiens incidit in tuorum manus* adds to the emphasis placed on the literal terms. The weight of these literal terms not only attests to Constantius' role as an active and successful soldier, and therefore confirms the claim made in chapter 14 that he led his troops by example, but also makes him solely responsible for the defeat of Allectus. The latter implication exalts Constantius at the expense of the general Asclepiodotus, who is recognised as the general responsible for the victory at the battle in Hampshire.³⁹ Thus in the narration of the campaign to secure Britannia, the literal mode dominates; Asclepiodotus is ignored. The wider, Tetrarchic picture receives less attention than the literal addressee, but the orator's concern is not to minimize the significance of the collegiate government but to maximize the significance of Constantius' contribution to the campaign.

Like chapters six and fourteen, chapter seventeen demonstrates a majority of literal over metaphysical terms of address. The vocative *Caesar invicte* occurs three times, relating directly to the subject-matter - Constantius' recovery of Britain. Yet the long opening sentence refers not only to the divine approval of Constantius but also to his position within the wider scheme of government.

enimvero, **Caesar invicte**, tanto deorum immortalium **tibi** est addicta consensu omnium quidem quos **adortus fueris** hostium sed praecipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites vestri qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abiuncti ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quidquid ex mercennaria illa multitudine barbarorum proelio superfuerat, cum direpta civitate fugam capessere cogitarent, passim tota urbe

³⁹ Eichholz (1953) p.41 "the aim of the writer is to divert all the credit of the campaign from Asclepiodotus, who won the decisive victory, to his superior officer, Constantius, who achieved only limited success." Eutropius *Breviarium* IX.22.2 [*Allectus*] *ductu Asclepiodoti, praefecti praetorio, oppressus est*; for the site of the battle see Eichholz pp.45-6; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.133-6; Casey (1994) pp.136-9 reviews the arguments for the details of the campaign. Victories always belong to emperors, not to their generals.

confecerint et non solum **provincialibus vestris** in caede hostium dederint salutem sed etiam in spectaculo voluptatem. (17.1)

Constantius' massacre of the Franks facilitates the soldiers' victory over Allectus' fleeing troops in London; Constantius is the cause of the victory if not the agent. The Roman troops, like the inhabitants of London are described with the adjective *vester*. Constantius enables the recovery of Britain to happen, but two great components of the Empire - the soldiers and the provincials - are shared assets.

In the two closing sentences of the chapter, Constantius is dominant:

gloriare tu vero, **Caesar invicte**, alium **te** orbem terrarum repperisse, qui Romanae potentiae gloriam restituendo navalem **addidisti** imperio terris omnibus maius elementum. **confecisti**, inquam, bellum, **Caesar invicte**, quod cunctis impendere provinciis videbatur, tamque late vagari et flagrare poterat quam late omnis Oceanus et mediterranei sinus adluunt. (17.3-4)

With the repeated vocative, the unusual position of the verbs at the beginning of their sentences and the emphatic collocation *gloriare tu*, the privileging of Constantius is absolute. The assertion that Constantius restored naval glory to Roman power is all the more flattering for the claim that the enemy fleet was a threat throughout the Roman empire. Constantius' indispensability is secured. However, a subtext to these claims might be some disapprobation of Maximian, who tried in vain to recover Britain by a fleet invasion. On the surface, the chapter celebrates Constantius' victory over Allectus; but in hearing Constantius vaunted to such an extent for his success, the audience of 297 would not have forgotten Maximian's failure.

felicitas

The only metaphysical term in chapter sixteen appears in a sentence which has a shift in mode of address:

adeo, **Caesar**, etiam hoc rei publicae tribuit **vestra felicitas**, ut nemo fere Romanus occiderit imperio vincente Romano. (16.3)

In XI(3) *felicitas* and *pietas* are selected as the key topics of the panegyric, and the orator links the two virtues as he reaches the speech's close:

felicitatem istam, **optimi imperatores**, pietate **meruistis**. (18.5)⁴⁰

Their *felicitas* is a product of their *pietas*, part of which the orator has demonstrated is their behaviour towards each other.⁴¹ *felicitas* is a shared quality throughout XI(3).⁴²

In X(2) *felicitas* is qualified with the metaphysical *vestra*:

vestrae, inquam, **fortunae**, **vestrae felicitatis est**, **imperator**, quod iam **milites vestri** ad Oceanum pervenere victoria, iam caesorum in illo litore hostium sanguinem reciproci fluctus sorbuerunt. (11.7)⁴³

Although, as we shall see, Eumenius does not regularly address the emperors, he likewise views *felicitas* as a communal quality⁴⁴:

sed enim, vir perfectissime, inter omnia quae virtute principum ac felicitate recreantur, sint licet fortasse alia magnitudine atque utilitate potiora, nihil est tamen admirabilius hac liberalitate quam fovendis honorandisque litterarum studiis impartiant. (IX(4)19.1)

The author of VIII(5) generally adopts this attribution, assigning *felicitas* the metaphysical adjective *vestra* at 15.1, 16.3 and 18.2. This sole metaphysical adjective in chapter 16 reminds the audience of the place Constantius' victory over Allectus had within the empire at large; it confirmed the *felicitas* of the

⁴⁰ McCormack (1981) pp.32-33.

⁴¹ eg XI(3)6 and 8.

⁴² For *felicitas* as a shared virtue in XI(3) see 6.1, 13.1, 13.3, 15.1, 16.1, 18.1 and 19.6.

⁴³ *felicitas* appears on coins both as a type and as a legend. *RIC* 5.2 indices iv and v. McCormick (1986) pp.12-3, Charlesworth (1943) p.1; McCormack (1975) p.148.

⁴⁴ See below, p.93.

Tetrarchs, the military supremacy of the Romans and Constantius' right to campaign under the Roman standard. *felicitas* is seen to be a general aura of well-being of which *victoria* can be a specific manifestation. In this government, where victory by one emperor is celebrated by all four Tetrarchs, it is quite natural that *felicitas* should be complemented with the metaphysical *vestra*.⁴⁵

There is, however, one exception to this principle, in this and any of the four speeches being considered:

potuisset enim, **Caesar invicte**, illo virtutis ac **felicitatis tuae** impetu totum peragi continuo bellum, nisi aedificandis navibus dari tempus rei necessitudo suasisset. (7.3)

This attribution of *felicitas* to Constantius alone is in accord with the tone of the chapter set by *tua providentia*.⁴⁶ The Tetrarchy is not ignored as their reputation for clemency is mentioned, *clementiae vestrae fides* (7.3), but in *providentia* and *felicitas* the inspiration for and success of the campaign are Constantius'.⁴⁷ This exceptional occurrence of *felicitas tua* helps to consolidate Constantius' status as Caesar after the siege at Boulogne, his first campaign as emperor. The later occurrences of *felicitas vestra* work to confirm this and, at the same time, to denote the unity of government in which Constantius shares.

Britannia - the outcome (Chapters 18-19)

With no literal terms and five metaphysical, chapter eighteen reverses the statistical bias of the preceding chapters. Each of the five terms touches on or repeats an idea already mentioned in the speech. For, *metu vestri* (18.1) is suggestive of the concerns the separatists felt about the collegiate government, hinted at by *divinitatis vestrae monitus* (15.2); the 4 occurrences of *vester* all signal collegiate ownership of *felicitas*, *victoria* (twice) and *providentia*.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁵ Barnes (1976) *passim* and (1982) pp.27, 254-5 on sharing victory titles.

⁴⁶ See above, p.78.

⁴⁷ Perhaps *clementia* receives the metaphysical complement *vestra* because of the general reputation the Tetrarchy had for sparing the defeated; this being Constantius' first campaign as an emperor, he would have had no opportunity to establish such a reputation for himself.

⁴⁸ *felicitas* (18.2) - see *vestra felicitas* 15.1, 16.3; *felicitas tua* 7.3. *providentiae* - see

grouping of these five metaphysical terms, each of which complements a virtue or achievement attributed elsewhere in the speech to Constantius alone, sustains the theme of *concordia* without the intensity of chapters four and twenty.

By attributing metaphysical terms to achievements such as Constantius' victory over Allectus, the chapter integrates him fully into the government of the empire. Yet the orator goes beyond this notion of integration; he makes Constantius responsible for the security of the empire:

itaque hac **victoria vestra** non Britannia solum servitute est liberata, sed omnibus nationibus securitas restituta quae maritimo usu tantum in bello adire periculi poterant quantum in pace commodi consequuntur. nunc secura est, ut de latere Gallico taceam, quamvis paene conspicuis litoribus Hispania, nunc Italia nunc Africa nunc omnes usque ad Maeotias paludes perpetuis curis vacant gentes. (18.4-5)

The hyperbole of *omnibus nationibus* and *perpetuis curis* and the repetition of *nunc* which punctuates the geographical catalogue lends the passage a rhetorical tone which accentuates the good done everywhere by Constantius' victory - here complemented by the metaphysical adjective.

The opening sentence of chapter nineteen, describing Constantius' triumphal *adventus* in London, inevitably concentrates on him, with 5 literal terms:

merito igitur statim atque ad litus illud exoptatus olim vindex et liberator **appuleras**, obvius sese **maiestati tuae** triumphus effudit, exsultantesque gaudio Britanni cum coniugibus ac liberis obtulerunt, non **te** ipsum modo, quem ut caelo delapsus intuebantur, sed etiam navis illius quae **tuum numen** advexerat vela remigiaeque venerantes, paratique **te** ingredientem stratis sentire corporibus. (19.1)⁴⁹

providentia tua 6.2, 7.2. *victoria* - see *victoria vestra* 12.2; *victoria tua* 21.1. *metu vestri* - fear of Constantius 15.5.

⁴⁹ For the religious implications see Rodgers (1986) pp.80-1; Seager (1983) p.139; McCormack (1981) p.27; (1972) pp.722ff. For the integration of *triumphus* and *adventus*, McCormick (1986) pp.14-6.

If recovery of Britain by defeat of Allectus is of fundamental importance to the *salus* of the empire, then the victor over Allectus is of similar import. Constantius, the *exoptatus vindex et liberator*, is singled out to be greeted with divine honours. The achievement and the glory are his.

However, after this exaltation of the individual, the orator moves on to use metaphysical terms of address:

siquidem praeter illam **clementiae vestrae pietatisque** famam, quae communi gentium voce celebratur, in ipso, **Caesar, tuo vultu** videbant omnium signa virtutum: in fronte gravitatis, in oculis lenitatis, in rubore verecundiae, in sermone iustitiae. quae singula ut respectantes agnoverant, laetitiae clamoribus concinebant; **vobis** se, **vobis** liberos suos, **vestris liberis** omnis generis sui posteros devovebant. (19.3-4)

In the opening sentence of this passage, the potentially competing demands between the literal and metaphysical modes find their peace. Constantius is representative of the collegiate body and in him can be recognised a microcosm of the wider government.⁵⁰ From this assertion of harmony the orator moves to metaphysical terms for the close of nineteen and all of chapter twenty.

Peroratio (Chapters 20-21)

This theme is developed in the penultimate chapter without recourse to literal or metaphysical terms of address:

tenet uno pacis amplexu Romana res publica quidquid variis temporum vicibus fuit aliquando Romanum, et illa quae saepe veluti nimia mole diffluxerat magnitudo tandem solido cohaesit imperio. nihil ex omni terrarum caelique regione non aut metu quietum est aut armis domitum aut pietate devinctum. (20.2-3)

⁵⁰ See below, Part Two, especially pp.174-5.

Thus the link between the significance to the Roman empire of the sea and of Britain, established in the historical digression in chapters ten and eleven and consolidated in details about Allectus' defeat in chapters twelve to sixteen is fully explicated in seventeen, eighteen and twenty. The reconquest of Britain is equated with the reconquest of the sea, which in turn guarantees the *salus* of the entire empire. Geographically Britain may be a small island on the edge of a huge land empire, but its political significance places it at the very heart of Roman life. It represents no mere outpost but a foundation-stone, its reconquest no mere optional luxury but a necessity. By phrasing the argument in this way, the orator creates for himself the opportunity to use literal or metaphysical terms while maintaining diplomatic decorum.

Chapter twenty includes two metaphysical vocative terms, *perpetui parentes et domini generis humani* (20.1) and *invictissimi principes* (20.5).⁵¹ The first phrase, with its implications of eternity and humanity, elevates the Tetrarchs to a curious quasi-divine status and prefigures a phrase the Tetrarchs were to use of themselves in the Edict of Prices, *parentes sumus generis humani*.⁵² The second term, an echo of 3.2, functions as a conclusion to consideration about the recovery of Britain:

ultra Oceanum vero quid erat praeter Britanniam? quae a **vobis** ita recipitata est ut illae quoque nationes terminis eiusdem insulae cohaerentes **vestris nutibus** obsequantur. nulla progrediendi causa superest nisi si, quod Natura vetuit, fines ipsius quaerantur Oceani. omnia, inquam, **invictissimi principes, vestra sunt** quae digna sunt **vobis**, et inde est quod consulere singulis aequaliter licet, cum universa **teneatis**. (20.4-5)

By the attribution of the victory over Allectus to the Tetrarchs, *quae a vobis ita recipitata est*, Constantius is subsumed into the college. He can be representative of them or simply one of them, and similarly his successes can be allocated to him or to the Tetrarchy.

⁵¹ L'Huillier (1992) does not include the vocative from 20.1 in her tables of addresses, pp.453-455.

⁵² See Frank (1940) p.312; Corcoran (1996) pp.209-10.

Like chapter thirteen the final chapter is most remarkable for its singular metaphysical terms of address. Here, however, both Diocletian and Maximian are addressed individually:

itaque sicuti pridem **tuo**, **Diocletiane Auguste**, **iussu** deserta Thraciae translatis incolis Asia complevit, sicut postea **tuo**, **Maximiane Auguste**, **nutu** Aruorum et Trevirorum arva iacentia Laetus postliminio restitutus et receptus in leges Francus excoluit, ita nunc **per victorias tuas**, **Constanti Caesar invicte**, quidquid infrequens Ambiano et Bellouaco et Tricassino solo Lingonicoque restabat, barbaro cultore revirescit. (21.1)

After the metaphysical terms in chapter two, by which Galerius is invoked, and the dominance of the metaphysical mode in chapter twenty, the absence of Galerius from this sentence is striking.⁵³ A possible explanation is that Galerius had not yet won as resounding a victory as those mentioned by the orator and was, therefore, unworthy of inclusion in the address.⁵⁴ Perhaps as the most junior Tetrarch he was overlooked.⁵⁵ Whatever the reason, Galerius' absence exalts Constantius above his colleague. Furthermore, the progression of time in *pridem... postea... nunc* renders Constantius the present champion, the natural successor to Diocletian and Maximian. Constantius' successes are now his own, *tuas victorias*, and only he receives an epithet, *invicte*.⁵⁶

Thereafter, although there is one plural metaphysical term in *devotissima vobis civitas Aeduorum*, the speech finishes with literal terms in the ascendancy. The final sentence, with two literal terms and four first person references, reminds the audience of the dramaturgical setting.

⁵³ See above, p.69.

⁵⁴ Galerius' greatest success was to be against Narses, dated originally by Barnes to 298 (1982) pp.62-3, (1976) p.185, and adjusted by Zuckerman (1994) to Autumn 297, accepted by Barnes (1996) pp.543-4.

⁵⁵ For the date of Galerius' accession, Barnes (1982) p.62 n.73; L'Orange (1965) p.44; Seston (1946) p.94; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.112; Chastagnol (1994) p.27.

⁵⁶ The full official name of an Augustus and a Caesar included the epithet *invictus*, so in dropping it from the metaphysical vocatives but retaining it in the literal, the orator is exercising some choice; Barnes (1982) p.24. *tuas victorias* belies Eichholz's comment that the orator "never suggests that the victory was won by Constantius himself" (1953) p.42.

Conclusion

The statistical equilibrium between the literal and metaphysical modes in VIII(5) (Table Four) is a useful pointer to the political support for Constantius and the Tetrarchy within the speech. There is a clear sense of balance sometimes between chapters, such as four and six, and at other times, within a chapter, such as in one and nineteen. However, more enlightening is the weighting within subdivisions of the speech. With the historical narrative of Constantius' successes at Gesoriacum, Batavia and Britannia as the principal topic of chapters six to nineteen, the literal mode of address features more often than the metaphysical. By contrast, in the observations about universal prosperity (3-5) and the *peroratio* (20-21) where the metaphysical mode is more common, we have a clearer indication of Constantius' role in the broader government .

There are fewer literal and metaphysical terms in total than in X(2) and XI(3), and mid-sentence shifting between the modes is less common. However, comparisons with the two preceeding speeches should be made with caution, for although VIII(5) features the same technique of combining literal and metaphysical modes of address, the political landscape has altered significantly. In VIII(5) Constantius the literal addressee is one of four emperors, not one of two. Therefore, although the basic principle of privileging the individual or the wider government by literal or metaphysical address respectively is usually constant, the greater number of emperors in 297 allows for greater sophistication in the employment of the modes. For example, in the exclusion of the Augusti in the metaphysical terms in chapter two, the exclusion of an address to Galerius in twenty-one, the sustained address to Maximian in thirteen but the implicit privileging of Constantius over Maximian in six and seventeen, the orator has created a more varied texture in his use of the modes than orators could during the years of Dyarchy. Concurrent with the increase in the number of the participants in government was the increase in opportunity for orators to express a range of loyalties in their praise.

PANEGYRICI LATINI IX(4)

In respect of modes of address, the most important difference between the three panegyrics discussed so far and IX(4) is that Eumenius, the author of IX, did not address an emperor directly, but the governor of Lugdunensis.¹ This is clear from the 16 occurrences of the vocative address *vir perfectissime*. The addresses to the emperors in the speech's closing chapter are metaphysical.

Table Five. Literal and Metaphysical Terms of Address in IX(4)

Chap. no.	LITERAL				ratio	METAPHYSICAL		
	<i>tu</i>	<i>tuus</i>	verb	voc.		<i>tu</i>	<i>tuus</i>	voc.
1	1	-	1	1	3:0	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	3	3:0	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	1	1:0	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	1	1:0	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
9	-	-	-	2	2:0	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	1	1:0	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
13	-	-	1	1	2:0	-	-	-
14	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
15	1	-	-	1	2:0	-	-	-
16	-	-	-	1	1:0	-	-	-
17	1	-	-	2	3:0	-	-	-
18	-	-	-	-	0:0	-	-	-
19	-	-	-	1	1:0	-	-	-
20	-	-	1	1	2:0	-	-	-
21	1	1	2	1	5:8	2	2	4
total	4	1	5	17	27:8	2	2	4

27 literal terms feature, 16 of which are the vocative *vir perfectissime*.² 8 metaphysical terms feature, two to each Tetrarch in the closing chapter.

¹ See above, p.14; Nixon (1990) p.22; Galletier (1949) p.109; C.E. Van Sickle, 'Eumenius and the Schools of Autun', *American Journal of Philology* 55 (1934) 236-243, p.242; L'Huillier (1986) pp.538-9, (1992) p.167; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.146-7.

² The outstanding literal vocative address is to a Glaucus in chapter 17.

Therefore, in a speech of 2984 words, only 35 terms of address appear.³ This aggregate makes interesting comparison with 159 (VIII(5)), 218 (X(2)) and 220 (XI(3)); Eumenius is clearly less interested in address than his fellows. Of his 35 terms, 21 are vocatives, of which four are metaphysical. Many chapters contain no terms of address at all; metaphysical terms appear only in chapter twenty-one. The final chapter is extraordinary for its total number of terms (13) and their distribution.

A further difference between this speech and the others under consideration is the lack of celebration of imperial *praesentia*, of either literal or metaphysical type. Mention of the emperors' literal *praesentia* would be inappropriate to the circumstances of the delivery of the speech, but the lack of celebration of metaphysical imperial *praesentia* correlates with the absence of the emperors from the speech's delivery.⁴ This lack of reference to imperial *praesentia* is mirrored in the frequency and distribution of terms of address.

Exordium (Chapters 1-2)

The speech's opening term of address is the vocative *vir perfectissime* (1.1):

certum habeo, **vir perfectissime**, non quidem **te**, qui semper in omni genere dicendi maxima facultate **vigisti**, sed circumstantium plerosque mirari, quod ego, qui ab ineunte adulescentia usque in hunc diem numquam isto in loco dixerim et, quantulumcumque illud est quod labore ac diligentia videor consecutus, exercere privatim quam in foro iactare maluerim, nunc demum sero quodam tiricinio ad insolitum mihi tribunal adspice~~m~~(1.1)

perfectissimus was a formal title for the grade of the equestrian order worth 300000 sesterces. The term covered a range of offices, but almost all provincial

³ L'Huillier (1992) p.431 for word-counts. The figure 35 excludes chapter 14, the whole of which is devoted to the text of Constantius' letter of appointment to Eumenius - it is therefore involved in a different type of discourse and is outside of Eumenius' creative processes.

⁴ cf *Praesentia* above, pp.16-37 where VIII(5), X(2) and XI(3) are discussed. The only occurrence of *praesentia* or cognates in IX(4) is at 17.4 *te, Glauce, appello praesentem quem videmus*; Glaucus is unidentified; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.168.

governors were *perfectissimi*.⁵ The extent of the integration of the terms of address into the syntax of this opening sentence, such as the indirect statement *te... mirari* and the relative clause *qui... vixisti* is seldom approached throughout the rest of the speech.⁶ Yet although this sentence has 3 literal terms within the opening 20 words and no metaphysical, there are to be 12 references to the first-person in the chapter; despite his protestations of unworthiness, Eumenius lacks humility.⁷

Propositio (Chapter 3)

Chapter three has 3 vocative terms, but in each case, there is little focus on the addressee as the sentence is dominated by reference to the speaker or to his task:

scio [haec] inquam haec, **vir perfectissime**, neque sciens fallo. (3.1)

quamquam in hac oratione, **vir perfectissime**, loci tantummodo insolentia, non dicendi novitate perturber, siquidem id postulo quod non modo contradicendo nemo audeat impedire. (3.2)

quam quidem ego, **vir perfectissime**, duas in partes arbitror dividendam. (3.4)

This pattern is repeated throughout the speech.⁸ The lack of variety in the literal vocative address and the cursory manner with which it is employed leave minimal information about the addressee and more about the orator than is the case in any of the other speeches.⁹

⁵ A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey* (Oxford 1964), vol.1, pp.525-6, 48; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.147.

⁶ cf vocative addresses, which are never integral to the resolution of the sentence.

⁷ cf. Maguinness (1952) p.101 "[Eumenius] is in fact a much less glib panegyrist than the other orators whose speeches are preserved in the collection"; Galletier (1949) p.118 "Melange unique de vanite candide, de desintereselement, de noblesse, de confiance en la jeunesse et en l'avenir, qui fait la saveur de ce discours."

⁸ 6.1, 10.3, 13.2, 15.1 and 16.3.

⁹ Several articles aim to reconstruct aspects of Eumenius' life and career, Van Sickle (1934);

Restoration (Chapters 4-19)

Although Eumenius does not employ metaphysical terms of address to the emperors until the final chapter, the emperors themselves are not neglected throughout the speech. The first literal, third-person reference to them is in chapter 4:

ante omnia igitur, **vir perfectissime**, divinae imperatorum Caesarumque nostrorum providentiae singularique in nos benevolentiae huius quoque operis instauratione parendum est, qui civitatem istam et olim fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam et tunc demum gravissima clade percussam, cum latrocinio Bagaudicae rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani principis invocaret, non solum pro admiratione meritorum sed etiam pro miseratione casuum attollere ac recreare voluerunt, ipsamque ruinarum eius magnitudinem immortalibus liberalitatis suae monumentis dignam iudicaverunt, ut tanto esse inlustrior gloria restitutorum quanto ipsa moles restitutionis immanior. (4.1)

providentia and *benevolentia* are attributed to the collegiate government, although the rebuilding programme at Autun was surely Constantius' initiative and the crushing of the Bagaudae Maximian's victory.¹⁰ Eumenius is adopting the formula used by Constantius in his letter of appointment to Eumenius, quoted in full in chapter fourteen:

denique etiam salarium te in sescenis milibus nummum ex rei publicae viribus consequi volumus, ut intellegas meritis tuis etiam nostram consulere clementiam. vale, Eumeni carissime nobis. (14.5)

Alexander (1944); Maguinness (1952) Rodgers (1989 "Eumenius"); for the majority of the other orators we do not even have the name.

¹⁰ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.154-5 on Lipsius' conjecture *Bagaudicae* for *Batavicae*.

Both the emperor and the panegyrist use the plural of decisions and achievements enacted by the individual.¹¹

The decision to appoint Eumenius to the chair as part of the process of improving Autun's fortunes is generally attributed to all four emperors.¹² By contrast, Constantius' particular contribution to Eumenius' promotion rarely receives specific attention. Most of this privileging appears in chapter six:

sed domini nostri Constanti, vere principis iuventutis, incredibilem erga iuventutem Galliarum suarum sollicitudinem atque indulgentiam mirari satis nequeo, qui honorem litterarum hac quoque dignatione cumulavit ut me filio potius meo ad pristina mea studia aditum molientem ipsum iusserit disciplinas artis orat oriae retractare. (6.1-2)

In this passage Constantius alone seems responsible for Eumenius' promotion.¹³ This action is used to represent a general sympathy towards education, again attributed to Constantius alone:

credo igitur, tali Caesar Herculus et avi Herculis et Herculi patris instinctu tanto studium litterarum favore prosequitur, ut non minus ad providentiam numinis sui existimet pertinere bene dicendi quam recte faciendi disciplinas, et pro divina intellegentia mentis aeternae sentia litteras omnium fundamenta esse virtutum, utpote continentiae modestiae vigilantiae patentiae magistras. (8.1-2)

Thus we see both Constantius and the entire Tetrarchy attributed with the same achievements and virtues at different times in the speech. However, all of these examples are in the third-person, and therefore lack the immediacy of the terms of address seen in the other speeches; and without an equivalent to the

¹¹ Alexander (1944) p.41 describes the letter as "an imperial communication addressed to Eumenius by the two Augusti, Diocletian and Maximian, and their associated Caesars, especially Constantius as the ruler most vitally concerned with the prefecture of Gaul"; Corcoran (1996) pp.132-3, 318-9.

¹² eg. 10.3, 11.2, 13.1, 14 *passim*, 15.1, 15.2, 16.4 and 17.5.

¹³ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.158 n.26 and Corcoran (1996) pp.268-9 on Maximian's control over Constantius' appointments

mid-sentence shifting between literal and metaphysical modes, they lack the intensity and the tension created in those speeches.

Peroratio (Chapters 20-21)

The one exception, is of course, the final chapter, which for its fluctuations between the literal and metaphysical modes is quoted in full:

ibi fortissimorum imperatorum pulcherrimae res gestae per diversa regionum argumenta recolantur, dum calentibus semperque venientibus victoriarum nuntiis revisuntur gemina Persidos flumina et Libyae arva sitientia et convexa Rheni cornua et Nili ora multifida; dumque sibi ad haec singula intuentium animus adfingit aut **sub tua, Diocletiane Auguste, clementia** Aegyptum furore posito quiescentem aut **te, Maximiane invicte**, perculsa Maurorum agmina fulminantem aut **sub dextera tua, domine Constanti**, Bataviam Britanniamque squalidum caput silvis et fluctibus exserentem aut **te, Maximiane Caesar**, Persicos arcus pharetrasque calcantem. nunc enim, nunc demum iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum. **habes, vir perfectissime**, studii ac voti mei professionem. abs **te** peto ut eam **litteris tuis** apud sacras aures prosequi non **graveris**, siquidem maximus ac paene solus fructus est recta cupientium, ut voluntas eorum ad divinam tantorum principum scientiam perferatur. (21)

With *fortissimorum imperatorum* (21.1) and *tantorum principum* (21.4), the chapter opens and the speech closes with the literal mode which has been the only one employed in chapters 1 to 20. We are further reminded of the literal mode in the succession of an unprecedented five terms of address in the final two sentences.

The presence of literal terms in this chapter and the cumulative effect of the mode throughout the speech renders the occurrence of the metaphysical mode in 20.2 most surprising. The sentence's construction is notably ordered with the pattern *te/tua* followed by the vocative, the name of foreign places or

people, and a participle, appearing four times. Unlike in the closing chapter of VIII(5), Galerius is addressed.¹⁴ The four Tetrarchs are addressed in their order of superiority, as the three were in VIII(5). The epithets and titulature employed differentiate the Tetrarchs, but not to an extent whereby they suggest competitiveness: *Augustus* was Diocletian's and Maximian's title, so too *invictus*.¹⁵ *Maximiane* was part of Galerius name.¹⁶ *dominus* appears neither in official titles or names, but is used of Maximian at VIII(5)13.3 and all four emperors at VIII(5)20.1. In the application of these terms of address there may be a hint of Diocletian's seniority as Augustus and Constantius' seniority as Caesar; however, such a hint is light at most and would only serve to confirm the accepted internal hierarchy. It is for dramatic force that the metaphysical mode is employed at the speech's finale, not to privilege any one addressee.

Conclusion

As we have seen, Eumenius' very limited use of metaphysical address to the emperors is related to his inability to address Constantius literally. In this respect, the two modes are cognate. Nonetheless, the literal absence of Constantine from the delivery of Nazarius' speech did not deter that orator from addressing him. By comparison, Eumenius' speech is far less adventurous in its discourse. However, in his peroration Eumenius employs the metaphysical mode extensively as an appropriate means of elevating the tone at the speech's climax.

¹⁴ L'Huillier (1992) p.167.

¹⁵ Barnes (1982) p.24. cf. X(2) for *invicte* of Maximian.

¹⁶ Barnes (1982) p.4; see Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, *passim* for reference to Galerius as Maximianus.

OTHER TEXTS

Although the tabulated results help to focus attention on the pervasiveness and density of metaphysical and literal terms of address, they cannot indicate the subtlety with which the modes are employed in their contexts. To conclude that metaphysical terms promote collegiality and literal terms the individual is to generalize and oversimplify; the modes can be used to advertize these causes, but they can also be used with greater subtlety. In their choice of epithets, application of possessive adjectives and attribution of successes and achievements, the orators generate a means of support which can fluctuate in tone and content from paragraph to paragraph, and clause to clause. To gauge the orators' interest and success in the application of metaphysical and literal terms of address, it will be instructive to survey briefly the use of the modes in other Latin texts addressed to an emperor in late antiquity; for even after the collapse of the Tetrarchic system, a collegiate government tended to be the norm.¹

VII(6), delivered by an unknown author in Trier, perhaps in the month of September 307, gives praise on the occasion of the marriage of Constantine to Flavia Maxima Fausta, daughter of Maximian.² There is no reason to doubt that the speech was delivered to Maximian, who had reclaimed the purple after his abdication, and Constantine.³ Thus, although in its terms of address the speech progresses from a concentration on Constantine (ch.3ff.) to Maximian (ch.7ff.), with plural terms featuring most abundantly in chapters 1,2 and 13, the speech is conducted throughout in the literal mode.⁴ The distribution and

¹ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.441.

² Barnes (1982) p.43; Galletier (1952) gives the date as March 31st, pp.3-4; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.179-185.

³ See Mynors' (1964) title *Maximiano et Constantino dictus*; the opening vocatives *sacratissimi principes Maximiane velis nolis semper Auguste, et Constantine oriens imperator*; Lactantius' evidence confirms that the two emperors met up to celebrate the marriage, *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 27.1, [*Herculius*] *proficiscitur in Galliam, ut Constantinum partibus suis conciliaret suae minoris filiae nuptiis*.

⁴ With the exception of *inter vos* (9.2), addressed to Maximian and Diocletian. There are conventional apostrophes to Rome (11.7), the deceased Constantius (14.3-7) and from Rome to Maximian (11.1-4)

ratios of these literal terms confirm Nixon's interpretation that the speaker is more comfortable praising Maximian (for his past achievements) than Constantine (who was as yet untried).⁵ By contrast, the orator neither employs the metaphysical mode to address the absent Maxentius, Galerius, Maximinus or Severus, nor even refers to them in the third-person.⁶ With the luxury of two emperors there to hear his speech, the orator had no need or inclination to use the metaphysical mode of address.

The next speech in the collection, VI(7) was delivered to Constantine in Trier in 310 by when the political landscape had altered again: Severus had abdicated in Spring 307 and died later that year, Maximian earlier in 310⁷; Licinius had been appointed Augustus in 308.⁸ Literal terms of address dominate the panegyric, but the metaphysical mode does feature:

itaque primum illud compendium faciam quod, cum omnes vos, invictissimi principes, quorum concors est et socia maiestas, debita veneratione suspiciam, hunc tamen quantulumcumque tuo modo, Constantine, numine dicabo sermonem. ut enim ipsos immortales deos, quamquam universos animo colamus, interdum tamen in suo quemque templo ac sede veneramur, ita mihi fas esse duco omnium principum pietate meminisse, laudibus celebrare praesentem. (1.4-5)

Once again we see the metaphysical mode incorporated explicitly to advertise the concord of the imperial college. Rodgers describes this "Tetrarchic catechism" as "politely correct" and "perfunctory". At the same time the orator

⁵ There are 68 terms addressed to Constantine, 103 to Maximian and 27 to the two of them and 6 to Constantine and Fausta. Nixon (1993) *passim*. See also B.H. Warmington, 'Aspects of Constantinian Propaganda in the *Panegyrici Latini*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104 (1974) 371-384, pp.373-4.

⁶ Barnes (1982) pp.5-13 on these emperors and usurpers. On the orator's silence about them, Barnes (1981) p.31, Nixon (1993) pp.244-5, B.S. Rodgers, 'The Metamorphosis of Constantine', *Classical Quarterly* 39 (1989) 233-246, p.237 and 'Constantine's Pagan Vision', *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 259-278, p.264, n.10; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.186-7.

⁷ The details of Severus' death are unclear: see R.P.C. Hanson, 'The Circumstances attending the death of the Emperor Flavius Valerius Severus in 306 or 307', *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 59-68, Barnes (1982) p.5 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.179.

⁸ Galletier (1952) pp.31-35; Barnes (1982) pp.6, 13 and 70. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.211-214; E. Galletier, 'La mort de Maximian d'après le panégyrique de 310 et la vision de Constantin au temple d'Apollon', *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 52 (1950) 288-299, pp.288-9.

announces his intention to focus his speech's attention on Constantine. Rodgers remarks that one of the motivating principles for including an address to Constantine's colleagues is that thereby a framework is created in which Constantine's virtues can receive favourable comparison, even if only by implication.⁹

The key objects of praise, in which we infer comparison with the other emperors, are Constantine's lineage from Claudius Gothicus, his divine election by Apollo and his extreme beauty. However, Rodgers' assertion that Constantine's "unequal colleagues from the oration's beginning are either forgotten or threatened; the monarchy has no place for them" is not quite accurate, for the metaphysical mode is employed again¹⁰:

at enim divinum illum virum qui primus imperium et participavit et posuit consilii et facti sui non paenitet nec amisisse se putat quod sponte transcripsit, felix beatusque vere quem **vestra** tantorum principum colunt **obsequia** privatum. sed et ille multiiugo fultus imperio et **vestro** laetus tegitur **umbraculo**, quos scit ex sua stirpe crevisse et **glorias vestras** iuste sibi vindicat. (15.4)¹¹

The primary dynamic of this reference to Diocletian is the favourable comparison it establishes with Maximian, mentioned immediately before.¹² However, the possessive adjectives reach out to Constantine and his colleagues, as is appropriate in a reference to Diocletian, the founder of the Tetrarchic system.¹³

The metaphysical mode is entirely absent from V(8), delivered to Constantine at Trier in 311 or 312 and XII(9), also to Constantine at Trier, in

⁹ (1989 "Metamorphosis") p.237, (1980) p.262. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.215 describe this and the next quoted passage as "lip service", but even lip service constitutes some recognition and validation; see B. Müller-Rettig, *Der Panegyricus des Jahres 310 auf Konstantin den Grossen*, (*Palingenesia* 31, Stuttgart 1990), pp. 48-9.

¹⁰ (1989 "Metamorphosis") p.239. See also Rodgers (1980) p.262.

¹¹ Müller-Rettig (1990) pp.218-20.

¹² Warmington (1974) p.375.

¹³ MacCormack (1981) p.181 "[The Gallic panegyrists] were still, between 307 and 313, concerned with showing up some continuity between the rule of the Tetrarchs and that of Constantine, for, from the Gallic point of view, the Tetrarchy had been a period of stability and peace".

313.¹⁴ The addressee's mandate to rule is confirmed by his lineage from Claudius Gothicus and Constantius, yet Licinius and Maximinus had no such claim; these colleagues do not feature in V(8) at all, and in XII(9) "the panegyrist... discovers another way to dispose of awkward partners. He mentions them early on with no particular respect and later silently assigns them the fate reserved for incompetents, to cease to exist".¹⁵

Delivering his speech IV(10) in 321, "Nazarius ignores Licinius and his son, Constantine's nephew", although the former was Constantine's co-Augustus and the latter the co-Caesar of Constantine's sons, Crispus and Constantine II.¹⁶ However, although Nazarius does not use the metaphysical mode or the conventional third-person to embrace these eastern emperors, he does employ the metaphysical mode in a complicated pattern.¹⁷

Second-person plural forms appear occasionally, particularly at the beginning and end. The oration's first term of address is *vestris studiis* (1.1) and its last *vos* (38.6).¹⁸ The collegiality claimed in these terms is not between Constantine and Licinius but between Constantine and his sons Crispus and Constantine II, as chapter 5 makes clear:

igitur, ut **facitis, beatissimi Caesares**, per omnes paternarum laudum vias
ite securi. (5.5)

Scholars are not unanimous in their interpretation of these plural terms. Galletier assumes that the Caesars were present at the delivery of the speech, but Nixon and Rodgers mention some doubt.¹⁹ Barnes uses the speech to

¹⁴ Galletier (1952) pp.77-8, 105-6; C.E.V. Nixon, 'The Occasion and Date of Panegyric VIII(V) and the Celebration of Constantine's *quinquennalia*', *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 157-169. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.255-6 and 289-90. Bruun concludes from the coinage of these years that there was some willingness to collaborate between the emperors, (1976), p.8.

¹⁵ Rodgers (1989 "Metamorphosis") pp.239-240. The comment in Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.279 "The Gallic panegyrists are in some respects quite parochial, and references to rulers and events in the East are sparing" could be taken further; the authors are not only parochial but also partisan.

¹⁶ Rodgers (1989 "Metamorphosis") p.245; Barnes (1981) p.73, (1982) p.7; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.338 and 347 "Nazarius does not reveal that Constantine has, or ever had, a colleague".

¹⁷ See above pp.17ff.

¹⁸ See also *ad gloriam vestram* (17.2) and *armis vestris* (37.4).

¹⁹ (1994) p.338.

conclude that Crispus and Constantine II were with their father at the time of the speech; if so, both singular terms to Constantine and plural terms are metaphysical.²⁰ Whatever the circumstances of the delivery, Nazarius' intention to exclude the Eastern emperors and to include the absent Western emperors in his terms of address is clear.²¹ The trying demands of the need for tact in the contemporary political climate are reflected in his employment of the modes.

The next surviving Latin panegyric, that by Claudius Mamertinus to Julian in 362 contains no metaphysical terms; the emperor was present in Constantinople to hear the oration, and furthermore, had no imperial colleagues. The literal mode provides Claudius Mamertinus with sufficient flexibility to achieve his aims.

By late March 364 collegiate rule had been restored, with Valentinian I Augustus of the West and his brother Valens Augustus of the East.²² In 367 Valentinian promoted his son Gratian to the throne too.²³ Thus by the time of Symmachus' surviving imperial panegyrics, an orator had more than one emperor to consider.²⁴ The first oration to Valentinian, congratulating him on his *quinquennalia*, delivered in northern Gaul, perhaps Trier, on 25th February 369, is predominantly in the literal mode, but there are occasional departures.²⁵ These exceptions signal the closeness of the imperial family and thus the collegiality of government.²⁶

Accompanying Valentinian I on this tour of Gaul was his son, the Augustus Gratian. Gratian is not addressed in the speech, but what appears at first sight to be a curious omission is explained by Symmachus' panegyric to

²⁰ Barnes (1982) pp.83-4, IV(10)36-37. However, the implication of *nunc* and present tense verbs at 36.4 is complicated by the past tenses which follow; Barnes' interpretations are far from decisive.

²¹ cf. the exclusion of Licinius from Constantine's constitutions at this time, Corcoran (1996) p.319.

²² Ammianus Marcellinus *Res Gestae* 26.4.

²³ *ibid* 27.6.

²⁴ Three panegyrics survive, all fragmentary but not inconsiderable. They are collected by O. Seeck in *Monumenta Germanica Historica* VI.1(1883).

²⁵ J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D.364-425*, (Oxford 1975) p.32; Jones (1964) Vol.1 p.140 on Valentinian living in Gaul.

²⁶ Ch.1 *totius orbis estis indigenae alibi fructum lucis, alibi usum laboris adepti*; ch.3, with the apostrophe to the father of Valentinian and Valens, Gratian, *familiae vestrae*; ch.13 *illis nihil est in mundana luce consimile, vobis totum est in orbe commune*; ch.22 *o mira inter vos similitudo pietatis!*

Gratian, perhaps delivered on the same day.²⁷ For, just as Gratian is not addressed in the speech to Valentinian, so Valentinian is not addressed in the speech to his son; within each oration, Symmachus is consistent in his use of the literal mode, confining his address to the single emperor.²⁸

Symmachus' second panegyric to Valentinian was also delivered during the orator's tour of Gaul, perhaps in Trier, on New Year's Day 370. Second-person singular forms dominate the substantial fragments which survive, although on occasion the orator employs a plural form to extend his address.²⁹ The speech's closing chapters are most notable in this respect:

de te autem, Gratiane venerabilis, narrabo grandia, sed spondebo maiora. sciet res publica, geminis se custodibus esse munitam sed quasi uni esse munificam, sub communi stipendio duos principes militare, plures necessitates laborum esse quam sumptuum. felicitis saeculi commoditas est obsequia utrique iuncta praebere et beneficia divisa percipere. moderatum est, quod penditur, quia simul **sumitis**, amplissimum, quod geritur, quia certatim ambo **praestatis**. (*Or.*II.31)

As Gratian was with his father, these terms belong to the literal mode; yet Valens, Valentinian's brother is excluded:

vestri imperii iuncta frugalitas est, discreta maiestas; unum quodammodo **in vobis** putamus esse, qui regimur, cum duos sentiant, qui resistunt. (*Or.*II.32)

Symmachus employs the (literal) plural to accentuate the sense of *concordia* between Valentinian and Gratian, but in so doing neglects Valens. It might be argued that the speech's concentration on the restoration and security of Gaul

²⁷ See n.25.

²⁸ In that the fragments are considered to have been delivered on the same day at the same place by the same orator, they may belong to one, longer speech; if so, that single panegyric must have had a distinct structure whereby Symmachus addressed first one emperor then the other.

²⁹ Ch.2 *aliorum tempora fastis numerata sunt, vestra victoriis*; ch.16 *turpiter amissa revocastis negligenter facta corrigitis*; ch.24 *invenies vetustatem paene ignaram fluminum, quae tenetis*.

would render a (metaphysical) address to Valens inappropriate; yet Symmachus had employed the metaphysical mode to embrace Valens in the earlier speech to Valentinian. Certainly, *geminis custodibus, duos principes, utrique, ambo* and *duos* seem unequivocal.³⁰

As *praefectus urbi* in 384/5, Symmachus was involved in official correspondence with the emperor/s. Many *relationes* survive. R.H. Barrow writes "All the *relationes*, with the exception of 9 and 42, were written for the attention of Valentinian II. They may have been addressed to more than one emperor, but this practice was in deference to the principle of the 'collegiality' of the emperors".³¹ Despite the pressures which this different genre may have exerted on Symmachus, his willingness to use the metaphysical mode in 384 contrasts sharply with his avoidance of it in 370.

Ausonius' *gratiarum actio* to Gratian, delivered in Trier in 379, does not employ the metaphysical mode. Ausonius refers to Valentinian II, Gratian's brother and co-emperor, but relegates him to a position of dependancy on Gratian.³² Theodosius, by contrast, the newly appointed Augustus features nowhere. Mention of hostility or tension between Gratian and Theodosius is avoided, as it was between Constantine and Licinius in Nazarius' speech, but *concordia* is not claimed.³³

Pacatus' panegyric to Theodosius, II(12), was delivered before the emperor in Rome in the summer of 389.³⁴ In the speech, Valentinian II is generally ignored or described as reliant on Theodosius.³⁵ There are only two metaphysical terms of address in the speech; *vestrae domus* (5.4) refers to Theodosius' father and family, as *una familia* (5.4) makes clear; and *vestra natura* (10.1), an extraordinary reference to the emperor which places him amongst *divina* and thereby identifies him as immortal.

³⁰ The incomplete survival of these panegyrics urges caution in exegesis.

³¹ R.H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor; the Relationes of Symmachus A.D. 384* (Oxford, 1973) p.15. See also Corcoran (1996) p.320 n.17.

³² Ch.2 *instar filii ad imperium frater adscitus*; ch.8 *tuendo in fratre*.

³³ cf. Green, (1991) p.538 "Any suspicion of friction or disagreement within the imperial family is blotted out by the pervasive aura of *pietas*."

³⁴ 1.1 *te praesente dicturus*. Galletier (1955) pp.51-2; Nixon (1987) p.9 = Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.443.

³⁵ On ch.1, Nixon (1987) p.55 = Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.448, "Note Pacatus' failure to mention the absent Valentinian II, who is rightly regarded as a cipher"; 3.4, 11.5 and 47.6 for Valentinian II's dependency on Theodosius; 45.3 where he is ignored.

The final text to be considered in this survey is the enigmatic *Historia Augusta*. Most scholars agree that this collection of biographies from Hadrian to Carinus was written by one hand at the end of the 4th century³⁶; yet the text itself purports to be written by six authors, dated internally to between 293 and post-324. Much of the internal evidence is provided by the dedications, for throughout the text there are addresses "to Diocletian or Constantine or to a friend of the author".³⁷ In his terms of address in biographies addressed to Diocletian, the author employs both literal and metaphysical modes:

deusque etiam nunc habetur, ut **vobis ipsis, sacratissime imperator Diocletiane**, et semper visum est et videtur, qui eum **inter numina vestra** non ut ceteros sed specialiter **veneramini** ac saepe **dicitis**, vos vita et clementia tales esse cupere qualis fuit Marcus, etiamsi philosophia nec Plato esse possit, si revertatur in vitam. (*Marcus Antoninus* XIX.12)

In this oscillation between modes the author embraces at least one of Diocletian's colleagues (presumably Maximian) and perhaps all of them. At other points the author uses literal or metaphysical terms exclusively.³⁸ Syme has shown that despite writing nearly a century later, the author was well-informed about the emperors from the time of the Tetrarchy³⁹; this extends to a combination of modes of address which parallels that of the contemporary Tetrarchic panegyrists.

By contrast, biographies addressed to Constantine use only the literal mode.⁴⁰ In the contemporary panegyrics, rival emperors such as Maxentius and Licinius are generally ignored, but the metaphysical mode is used at times,

³⁶ First suggested by H. Dessau, 'Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*' *Hermes* 24 (1889) 337-392; see now R. Syme, *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford 1971).

³⁷ A. Birley, introduction to his translation, *Lives of the Later Caesars*, (Harmondsworth 1976) p.10. See R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers*, (Oxford 1983) p.25 and D. Magie, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, (Loeb 1921) pp.XII-XV.

³⁸ e.g. Aelius I.1 *numinis tui*; Avidius Cassius III.3 *cognoscere*; Aelius II.2 *vestra clementia*; Verus XI.4 *praeter vestram clementiam*, *Diocletiane Auguste*.

³⁹ (1983) p.73.

⁴⁰ e.g. Clodius Albinus IV.2 *quae familia hodie quoque, Constantine maxime, nobilissima est et per te aucta et augenda*; Geta I.1; Elagabalus XXXIV.1-5. XXXV.3-5; Severus Alexander LXV.3; Maximinus I.1-2; Gordian I.1-3, XXXIV.6.

notably by Nazarius. In his consistent use of the literal mode in biographies addressed to Constantine we can perhaps detect an oversight in the author's intricate dissimulation.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this survey of the use made by other authors of the literal and metaphysical modes of address is to put into relief the various effects of terms of address in the four Dyarchic and Tetrarchic panegyrics. With the exception of Nazarius, whose whole speech might be lacking in the literal mode, Constantine's panegyrists are sparing in their use of the metaphysical mode. In his speech to the monarch Julian, Claudius Mamertinus has no need for the mode. Ausonius too avoids the mode altogether although the political circumstances granted to him greater choice than Claudius Mamertinus enjoyed. Pacatus' speech is almost exclusively in the literal mode. Of these fourth century panegyrists, only Symmachus, in variety and frequency, approaches the use of the modes made by the orators of 289, 291 and 297. Although these later orators employed both metaphysical and literal terms of address, the potential of the modes for indicating political and ideological support was most fully exploited by the Dyarchic and Tetrarchic panegyrists.

The coincidence of the language's facility to distinguish number in second-person address and the political landscape of the years 289 to 298 was exploited to novel effect by those panegyrists of the Dyarchy and Tetrarchy. In their extension of the culture of metaphysical *praesentia*, they adopted and manipulated metaphysical terms of address to create a balance between modes which was sufficiently flexible to take full advantage of the circumstances of delivery and the collegiality of government. We have seen that clear demonstrations of political allegiance and privileging underscore the orators' employment of metaphysical and literal modes of address; that both in a shift in mid-sentence from one mode to another and in sustained passages of one mode exclusively, their control of forms is an efficacious means of articulating political support.

The literal and metaphysical modes of address are rhetorical manifestations of the two conceptions of *praesentia* with which this enquiry began. The free interplay between the modes of address and these conceptions is peculiarly Classical.⁴¹ Imperial *praesentia* and the modes of address are politicized in the four speeches under consideration to generate different ideologies and expressions of loyalty. By extending (or not) an address to an absent emperor, or by incorporating (or not) an absent emperor in an address, a panegyrist demanded of his audience a complex appreciation of his discourse. The political and religious implications of the use of these modes were far-reaching.

⁴¹ English is incapable of reflecting many of the shifts in mode and French, although able to distinguish between number in second-person, still distorts the tone.

PART TWO

The United Government

Relationships and Rank

Part One examined how the modes of address could be exploited to control the tension between loyalty towards one emperor and towards the entire imperial college. In Part Two the focus is broadened to consider the different themes and strategies employed to advertize the unity of government. "Harmony and trust between emperors was of crucial importance to Rome's welfare".¹ This general truism was particularly relevant to the late third century, after the multiplicity of pretenders, usurpers and civil wars in the preceding years; and especially to Gaul, keenly aware of Postumus' Gallic Empire only thirty years previously, and Carausius' empire in Britain.²

Panegyrist were uniquely well-placed to advertize harmony and trust in the imperial houses and make this concord relevant to their own needs. Again treating the speeches diachronically in order to trace developments over time, we shall see the panegyrist adopting and reworking a variety of approaches to suit their own circumstances and agendas. In each, a key means of asserting the unity of government is to sketch the relationship between the emperors. In doing this, our orators assume a deal of creative licence.

The history of the nature of the relationship between Maximian and Diocletian is difficult to chart. Few of the sources are reliable or contemporary; besides, between them they do not present a coherent picture. Much is left to speculation. The date of Diocletian's accession to the throne of the East is given in a surviving papyrus - 20th November 284.³ The following spring Carinus was assassinated by his troops at the Battle of Margus and Diocletian became sole emperor of the united empire. After this he appointed Maximian to the imperial college. The precise dates of these events and the position to which Maximian was promoted - Caesar or Augustus - are unclear.⁴ In his

¹ Nixon (1987) p.6 = Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.441. See also Burdeau (1964) pp.38-9.

² For Postumus see J.F. Drinkwater, *The Gallic Empire. Separatism and Continuity in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire A.D. 260-274* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 52, Stuttgart 1987); for Carausius, see Casey (1994).

³ *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Chester Beatty Monographs* 10, T.Skeat (Dublin 1964) 2.163. The *Chronicon Paschale* gives the date as 17th September but Lactantius *De Persecutorum Mortibus* 17.1 confirms the later date.

⁴ Seston (1946) pp.53, 61-81; Barnes (1976) pp.176-7, (1981) pp.5-6, (1982) p.4, (1996) pp.536-9; F. Kolb *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in*

Breviarium Eutropius states that Maximian was promoted to the rank of Caesar:

ita rerum Romanarum potitus cum tumultum rusticani in Gallia concitassent et factioni suae Bacaudarum nomen inponerent, duces autem haberent Amandum et Aelianum, ad subigendos eos Maximianum Herculium Caesarem misit, qui levibus proeliis agrestes domuit et pacem Galliae reformavit. (IX.20.3)⁵

That Maximian's original rank was Caesar is confirmed afterwards when his promotion to Augustus is described:

Diocletianus Maximianum Herculium ex Caesare fecit Augustum (IX.22.1)

This seems to be corroborated to some extent by a comment of Ammianus, who when mentioning Valentinian's promotion of Gratian directly to the rank of Augustus, noted that the emperor was overstepping the traditional protocol, *morem institutum antiquitus supergressus*.⁶ As Caesar to Diocletian Augustus, Maximian would have been in a position of subordination.

However, no coins dedicated to Maximian as Caesar survive, casting doubt on the validity of Eutropius' assertion.⁷ Maximian was certainly Augustus by summer 286.⁸ If Maximian was Caesar in 285/6, when he was campaigning successfully against the Bagaudae, it seems probable that he would have been adopted as Diocletian's son. His "acquisition of the name

der Organization monarchischer Herrschaft? (Berlin 1987) pp.23-32; Chastagnol (1994) pp.23-4; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.43. Eutropius IX.20.2 has only *postea* for the relative chronology of Aper's murder, Diocletian's accession and the Battle of Margus.

⁵ See also John Malalas, 12.38. Aurelius Victor has the ambiguous *imperatorem iubet* (39.17); the *Epitome de Caesaribus* has *is Maximianum Augustum effecit* (39.2), but its chronology for these years is hopelessly compressed.

⁶ 27.6.16.

⁷ P.H. Webb, 'The Pre-Reform Coinage of Diocletian and his Colleagues' *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th Series 9 (1929) 191-217, p.191.

⁸ The following account owes much to Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.44-8.

Valerius suggests formal adoption by Diocletian".⁹ However, if the relationship was that of *pater-filius*, it was short-lived and unattested.¹⁰

After Maximian's promotion to the position of Augustus, according to some sources, there still seems to have been a hierarchy in place within the Dyarchy.¹¹ Diocletian is referred to in the papyri from Panopolis as the 'Senior Augustus'.¹² This seems to have been more than simply honorary. For example, Lactantius' account of the Tetrarchs' move to increase the severity of the actions against Christians suggests that Diocletian held supreme responsibility. After deciding policy in consultation with Galerius, Diocletian sent orders to the two emperors of the Herculian dynasty:

etiam litterae ad Maximianum atque Constantium commeaverant, ut eadem facerent; quorum sententia in tantis rebus spectata non erat. et quidem senex Maximianus libens paruit per Italiam, homo non adeo clemens. nam Constantius, ne dissentire a maiorum praeceptis videretur, conventicula, id est parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est, verum autem dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit. (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 15.6-7)

If this episode characterizes Maximian as weak, especially in comparison to Constantius, it also indicates the lines on which Diocletian expected the Tetrarchy to function. *paruit* and *maiorum praecepta* clearly outline the subordination of the two Western emperors to Diocletian. Later, after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, the question of hierarchy in the

⁹ *Ibid.* p.44. See also the association of *Caesar* and *filius* in Lactantius' *De Persecutorum Mortibus* 20.3 and 32.5.

¹⁰ cf. Malalas *loc. cit.*, and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.45. In 289, the orator makes no mention of the issue.

¹¹ cf. Kolb (1987) pp.95ff. who argues that the *signa* Jovius and Herculius did not signify a hierarchy within the imperial college, nor was one evident in the coinage. However, in this sense, coins and speeches do not so much reflect the practical realities of government as constitute images and ideologies. The precise function of the *signa* is not known, but we would not expect a panegyrist of Maximian to draw attention in a speech to Maximian Herculius' subordination to Diocletian Jovius. On the question of coinage, the Carausian issue AUGUSTIS CUM DIOCLETIANO (British Museum, Coins and Medals Department 12.1.1) suggests that the British usurper recognised and acknowledged Diocletian's seniority.

¹² e.g. 1.252, 2.164.

imperial college is raised explicitly. Galerius is said to have despised Constantius because of his seniority:

nam Constantium quamvis priorem nominari esset necesse, contemnebat, quod et natura mitis esset et valitudine corporis impeditus. (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 20.1)¹³

Lactantius' inference that the practicalities of office were conditioned by this imperial hierarchy must of course be seen in the light of his own agenda - that of a Christian polemicist, damning the memory of the emperors who persecuted his faith. The fragmentation of the Tetrarchy, to a degree caused by Galerius' dissatisfaction with its hierarchy, would very much suit Lactantius' desire to present the imperial college as an unworkable system of government. Nevertheless, other sources confirm that the workings of the college were subject to its hierarchy.¹⁴ Eusebius describes the Christian witnessing of Euethius in Nicodemia when both Diocletian and Galerius were in the city. Euethius tore down a copy of their edict against the churches 'when two emperors were there in the same city, the most senior of them all and the one who held the fourth place in the government'.¹⁵ Of the deaths of the Tetrarchs, he writes:

The one who had reached first place in status and years [Diocletian] succumbed to a prolonged and very painful physical disease. The one who held second place [Maximian] strangled himself, thereby fulfilling a demon-inspired prediction, for he had been guilty of innumerable atrocities. Of the junior pair, the occupant of the last place [Galerius], who as already stated was the person behind the whole persecution, suffered the fate described above, but his immediate superior, the kindest and mildest of emperors, Constantius, spent the whole of his reign in a manner worthy of his exalted position. (*History of the Church* 8. Appendix 3-4)

¹³ For a further reference to an internal hierarchy, see 18.6.

¹⁴ See above, Part One X(2) 1.4. pp.42-4; for the effects of the hierarchy on the Tetrarchs' legal powers, see Corcoran (1996) pp.266-292.

¹⁵ *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.5.

The fact that Eusebius could refer to the individual Tetrarchs by rank instead of by names suggests that the hierarchy both in concept and in personnel was widely known. This hierarchy would clearly have affected the relationships between the emperors and would therefore have a bearing on the unity of the government.

The panegyrists had to operate within the context of this hierarchy. With X(2) and XI(3) delivered to Maximian, VIII(5) to Constantius and IX(4) to a government official answerable to Constantius, none of the four speeches was directed to the Senior Augustus. The orators were dealing with subordinate emperors. This constitutional reality forms the backdrop to their formulations of the unity of government.

PANEGYRICI LATINI X(2)

fraternitas

An established means of presenting the imperial college as a united government was through the terminology of family relationships. In particular, brothers had been key players throughout the time of the Empire. Suetonius records that, despite Domitian's enmity towards him, Titus viewed their fraternity as the only qualification necessary for Domitian's position as co-emperor.¹ In the second century, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus shared power, although not because of any blood-kinship. Marcus Aurelius was son of Annius Verus², and Lucius Verus' father was Lucius Aelius Verus.³ However, they were both adopted by Antoninus Pius, so shared a fraternity which, as in the case of the siblings Titus and Domitian, qualified them for joint rule:

post excessum divi Pii a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere fratrem
sibi participem in imperio designavit (*Historia Augusta* Marcus Aurelius
7.5).⁴

The *Historia Augusta* hints at a desire for an imperial college of Caracalla and Geta, the sons of Severus. Severus had ordered that a duplicate be made of the statue of Fortuna which emperors carried, so that he could leave a figure to each of his sons.⁵ As it turned out, Caracalla murdered Geta in order to assume sole office, although he had to bribe some troops who had pledged support to the two sons of Severus.⁶ The anecdote, of course, may be fictional,

¹ Suetonius, *vita Titi* 9.3. See J.C. Rolfe, 'Notes on Suetonius' *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 45 (1914) 35-47, pp.42ff. on the machinations over succession after Vespasian's death. B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, (London and New York 1992) pp.18-21, on the tense relationship between the brothers.

² *Historia Augusta*, Marcus Aurelius 1.1.

³ *Historia Augusta*, Verus 1.6.

⁴ See Ammianus Marcellinus 27.6.16 and J. Boswell, *The Marriage of Likeness. Same-sex Unions in Pre-modern Europe*, (London 1995) p.98 n.213.

⁵ Severus 23.5ff. Later, Severus changed his mind and decided to have the original statue placed in each of his sons' bedrooms on alternate days.

⁶ *Historia Augusta* Caracalla 2.7.

but its inclusion in the work provides an insight into the attitude towards fraternity of this author who is usually dated to the late fourth century.

Later in the third century the brothers Carinus and Numerian were joint emperors, yet their reigns were too brief for them to develop the ideology of the relationship within an imperial framework. After the disintegration of the Tetrarchic system, Constantine re-established the principles of dynastic succession and power sharing amongst brothers by dividing the the empire between his sons Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans.⁷ On appointing his cousin Julian to the position of Caesar, Constantius II commended him to his troops as *amantissime mihi omnium frater*.⁸ As dynastic succession promised the Empire stability over time, so fraternity offered security throughout its vast range. And just as the fact of adoption presented no barrier to the inheritance of imperial authority, such as in the case of Trajan, so too fraternity did not have to be natural to be considered legitimate.

In 289, the orator is unequivocal; Maximian and Diocletian are cast as brothers⁹; their brotherhood is explicitly cited at 1.5 (*te tuumque fratrem*), 4.1 (*fratre optimo*), 9.1 (*fratrumque colloquium*), 9.3 (*frater*) and 10.6 (*fratri tuo*). In addition, their relationship is delineated in *cognato tibi Diocletiani numine* (3.1). Their fraternity inspires a comparison with Rome's most famous brothers in the penultimate chapter:

felix igitur talibus, Roma, principibus (fas est enim ut hoc dicendi munus
pium unde coepimus terminemus); felix, inquam, et multo nunc felicior
quam sub Remo et Romulo tuis. illi enim, quamvis fratres gemini,que essent,
certaverunt tamen uter suum tibi nomen imponeret, diversosque montes et

⁷ Eutropius *Breviarium* X.9.1.

⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus 15.8.12. See also Pan. Lat. III(11)3.1 *in tantum ut imperatoris fratris mererentur invidiam, 27.4 offensarum gratiam faciens induit fratrem*; Julian's *Letter to Hermogenes*, 389D and cf. *Misopogon* 357B.

⁹ "The relationship is fraternal", Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.43. If Diocletian had initially adopted Maximian as a son, the orator may have avoided reference to that relationship because, as adopted son, Maximian would have been considered subject to Diocletian's authority, Boswell (1995) pp.97-9; *The Kindness of Strangers. The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York, 1988) p.115. According to the orator, Maximian is Diocletian's saviour, not his dependant, and on accession (which may have coincided with his own adoption) Maximian gained less than Diocletian (3.1, 4.2). The orator is almost studious in his refusal to acknowledge that Maximian was in any way in debt to Diocletian.

auspicia ceperunt. hi vero conservatores tui (sit licet nunc tuum tanto maius imperium quanto latius est vetere pomerio, quidquid homines colunt) nullo circa te livore contendunt. (13.1-2)

The *pater-filius* relationship which Diocletian and Maximian might have experienced from 285 to 286 is nowhere mentioned; not even in chapters 3 to 5 which deal with those first months of Maximian's reign. If Diocletian had been *pater*, he was now *frater*.¹⁰ Thus Diocletian has reversed the established order; instead of offering to a natural or adoptive brother a share in the governance of the Empire, Diocletian has offered to an imperial colleague a share in his own family.¹¹

It would seem otiose to restate that the Augusti were not siblings¹² were it not for the fact that the orator himself draws attention to it. An example of this is the reference to Maximian's homeland and origins in the early part of the speech. The orator combines details of Maximian's natural origins with his more recent association with Hercules:

an divinam generis tui originem recensebo, quam tu non modo factis immortalibus sed etiam nominis successione testaris? an quemadmodum educatus institutusque sis praedicabo in illo limite, illa fortissimarum sede legionum, inter discursus strenuae iuventutis et armorum sonitus tuis vagitibus obstrepentes? finguntur haec de Iove, sed de te vera sunt, imperator. (2.3-5)

In *generis tui originem* here and *principem tui generis* (1.3) we are reminded that Maximian's *signum* Herculius is a symbol of his relationship with Hercules. The emphasis on Maximian's lineage from Hercules and their relationship in general, which is developed throughout the speech¹³, is at odds with a natural

¹⁰ cf. Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 8.1, *quid frater eius Maximianus*. Chastagnol (1994) pp.24-5; B. Salway, 'What's in a name; a survey of Roman Onomastic practice c.700B.C. to A.D. 700', *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994) 124-145, pp.138-9 claims that by exchanging the *nomina* Aurelius and Valerius in 286, Diocletian and Maximian created a "fictive brotherhood"; Barnes (1996) pp.535ff.

¹¹ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.57.

¹² Barnes (1982) pp.30-2.

¹³ See below, Part Three, pp.202-215.

fraternity with Diocletian, whose relationship with Hercules is ignored. The close family tie between Hercules and Maximian establishes that the fraternity between Maximian and Diocletian is not based on blood.

This lack of a blood kinship is confirmed in chapter 9:

ambo nunc estis largissimi, ambo fortissimi atque hac ipsa vestri similitudine magis magisque concordēs et, quod omni consanguinitate certius est, virtutibus fratres. (9.3)

The emperors are not brothers through *consanguinitas*, but through an associative fraternity.¹⁴ To seal the superiority of this fraternity over *consanguinitas*, the Dyarchy is said to be of greater benefit to the empire than the rule over Rome of the twins Romulus and Remus (13.1-2) and the rule over Sparta of the Heraclidae twins (9.4-5).

However, the merits of *consanguinitas* are not consistently underplayed in the speech. With a surprising change of subject matter in the final chapter, the orator refers to Maximian's son Maxentius, who was about six years old at the time¹⁵:

sed profecto mature ille inlucescet dies, cum vos videat Roma victores et alacrem sub dextera filium, quem ad honestissimas artes omnibus ingenii bonis natum felix aliquis praeceptor^{inspectat}, cui nullo labore constabit divinam immortalemque progeniem ad studium laudis hortari. (14.1)

Although this passage cannot be cited with confidence as evidence to confirm or refute the claim that the future Tetrarchic policy of succession by adoption was understood in 289¹⁶, nevertheless it reaffirms belief in the importance of the *pater-filius* relationship. Birth (*natum*), and descent (*progeniem*) are the cornerstones. *consanguinitas* is again the determining factor.

¹⁴ For the hazards of a relationship based on kinship, see Cicero *Laelius de Amicitia* v (19) *namque hic praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest.*

¹⁵ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.75.

¹⁶ *ibid.*; Barnes (1981) p.9

There is no surviving evidence from before 289 attesting to the fraternity of Maximian and Diocletian. A now lost inscription from the Baths of Diocletian at Rome, dated to 305-6, is the only epigraphic evidence for the relationship.¹⁷ By means of a now famous coin issue, Carausius attempted to assert the legitimacy of his and the Dyarchs' reign; the coin depicts the busts of the three emperors and has the legend CARAUSIUS ET FRATRES SUI.¹⁸ This issue has been dated to 291.¹⁹ Yet not only did the Dyarchs not reciprocate this gesture, but they did not even publicize on coins the fraternity between the two of them; no Dyarchic (or Tetrarchic) coins refer to such a relationship in their legends. Therefore this orator's is the earliest surviving evidence for their fraternity. The frequency of the references to their fraternity and the orator's explanation of the legitimacy of the term *frater* suggest that one function of this panegyric might have been to broadcast the news of this recently conceived relationship.²⁰

However, the orator passes over the circumstances of the inception of the emperors' fraternity in silence. In fact, the relative chronology of Maximian's original accession to power and his fraternity with Diocletian are conflated by the orator:

te, cum ad restituendam rem publicam a cognato tibi Diocletiani numine fueris invocatus, plus tribuisse beneficii quam acceperis. (3.1)

The issue of the dating of their *cognatio* is deliberately fudged. We are encouraged to recognise that their fraternity, although not founded on blood is, like any blood-kinship, not restricted by time.

¹⁷ ILS 646=CIL 6 1130; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.45.

¹⁸ With the reverse legend PAX AUGGG., RIC V2 pp.442, 550; P.J. Casey, 'Carausius and Allectus. Rulers in Gaul?' *Britannia* 8 (1977) 283-301, p.291; (1994) pp.65, 95 and Plate 5, no.6. The same obverse with the reverse legend VIRTUS AUGGG. occurs too, British Museum Coins and Medals Department, 1938 7.15.2.

¹⁹ As they often have no internal evidence which can be securely dated, the chronology of many Carausian, Dyarchic and Tetrarchic coin types is controversial.

²⁰ *communication descendante*, as Sabbah has called it (1984) p.378. See Nixon (1983) p.93; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.219-220. D'Elia (1960/1) pp.278-88 dates the origin of their fraternity to the date of their assumption of *signa Iovius* and *Herculius*, that is, in 288 at Milan; see below, Part Three, p.200.

It remains, therefore, to consider the nature of their fraternity, here proclaimed for the first time in surviving sources.²¹ In the passage quoted above (9.3), in which *consanguinitas* is denied, Maximian and Diocletian are designated brothers by their virtues, *fratres virtutibus*. Unlike previous emperor-brothers, whose fraternity depended on birth or adoption, Maximian and Diocletian became brothers by their qualities.²² *virtutes* are the foundations of their fraternity. Maximian demonstrated *virtus* in his campaign against the Germans (7.6) and Diocletian showed *similis virtus* when himself invading Germany (9.1). Diocletian and Maximian share with each other examples of all virtues (9.2) and, in particular, their combination of *bellica virtus* and *liberalitas* is manifested in their mutual display of their spoils of war (9.3).²³ Maximian's successes over the Germans and Diocletian's over the Persians illustrate their *fortitudo*²⁴, and in their generosity with booty and victories we recognise their *largitas*²⁵; *ambo nunc estis largissimi, ambo fortissimi*.

similitudo

The similarity in virtues, expressed in 9.1 and 9.3, does not extend to a physical resemblance:

quamquam hoc vos meliores et iustiores, quod illos mater astu coegit, cum nemini fateretur quem prius edidisset in lucem, pari aetatis auctoritate regnare, vos hoc sponte facitis, quos in summis rebus aequavit non vultuum similitudo sed morum. (9.5)

The absence of facial similarities in the emperors marks an important milestone in the presentation of the Dyarchs and Tetrarchs.

²¹ For consideration of the phrase *artificial fraternity* see Boswell (1995) pp.272-6.

²² D'Elia (1960/1) pp.278-82; "dalla fraternità derivano e dipendono le caratteristiche dell'impero in comune", p.281.

²³ I see no hint of comparison which could confirm Seager's claim that "[Maximian's] *spolia Germana* are more impressive than Diocletian's *dona Persica*, his *bellae virtutes* than his colleague's *liberalitas* and *opes*" (1983) p.132.

²⁴ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.66

²⁵ As an example of the mutuality of victories, see the system for the assumption of victory titles in this period, Barnes (1981) p.27.

The portraiture of the Tetrarchy at least from the reforms of the mints (294)²⁶ until the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian (305) is characterized by *similitudo*. "The most outstanding feature of imperial portraiture under the tetrarchs was the deliberate suppression of distinctiveness in favour of a communal image".²⁷ For example, in the porphyry groups now at the Ducal Palace, Venice and in the Vatican Library, any attempt to identify individual emperors would be futile and misguided.²⁸ Beards might distinguish two of the Venice figures as Augusti, as might frowns on the Vatican pairs²⁹, but these are markers of rank rather than of individuality.

Coins issued in this period also demonstrate a remarkably uniform iconography.³⁰ "The emperors are usually shown as hardy rulers with short hair, bearded with strong, square jaws, and eyes which stare straight ahead. The neck is unnaturally thick, the lips tight and the eyebrows sternly furrowed".³¹ Without the accompanying legend, identification of the emperor would be hazardous.³² The style of portraiture and the degree of similarity between the emperors varied from mint to mint³³, but assimilation was the general principle.

For the period before the reform, Webb has identified three artistic styles for the busts of the emperors.³⁴ The first, which has been dated to as early as 288, was restricted to the mint at Rome. Maximian and Diocletian are very similarly portrayed as old. The second, dated to the period from 290 to 293 and originating from Antioch or Cyzicus, has the two "very similar to each other except that the nose of Maximian is often more upturned".³⁵ The third style is considered like the second in date and provenance, but "with projecting

²⁶ See Rees (1993) p.188.

²⁷ D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, (New Haven and London 1992) p.400. See also L'Orange, (1965) pp.46-52; Rees (1993), *passim*.

²⁸ For plates of these groups see Rees (1993) pp.184, 194-5. For the futility of identification, see Kleiner (1992) p.426; Rees (1993) p.193. For recent some discoveries, see D. Srejavic, 'The Representations of the Tetrarchs in *Romuliana*', *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994) 143-152.

²⁹ Kleiner (1992) p.403.

³⁰ C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Some political notions in coin types between 294 and 313', *Journal of Roman Studies* 53 (1963) 14-20; *RIC* 6 pp.109-110.

³¹ Rees (1993) p.188; see also Kleiner (1992) p.400.

³² Kleiner (1992) p.426; L'Orange (1965) p.46; cf. *RIC* 6 p.108.

³³ *RIC* 6 p.108.

³⁴ *RIC* 5.2 pp.208-9; Kleiner (1992) p.400.

³⁵ *RIC* 5.2 p.208.

nose and chin and an extremely virile expression".³⁶ As with the later numismatic and plastic portraiture, the images of the Dyarchs in these years were generally very similar.³⁷

In quoting from this panegyric to provide a literary equivalent of *similitudo* in artistic portraits of the emperors, some scholars have misrepresented the orator.³⁸ For the orator's assertion that the Dyarchs share *similitudo* not in appearance but in character is unambiguous. The reason for this apparent contradiction needs to be considered.

Interpretation of the orator's phrase *non vultuum similitudo* would be helped by clear appreciation of chronology and geography. It seems reasonable to assume that the orator's audience had acquired their impression of Diocletian's appearance from representations, as he spent the years from 284 primarily in the East.³⁹ At the beginning of his reign Diocletian's *aurei* adopted the style of the previous reign, that of Carinus.⁴⁰ After what might be considered a respectable period of continuity and consolidation, some changes were introduced which matured into the three styles outlined above. For the people of Gaul the key mint was at Lugdunum (Lyon).⁴¹ Webb describes Lugdunum's portrait of Diocletian as "fine and dignified, with good features, the face of an able gentleman".⁴² The portrait of Maximian is coarser and "betrays his humble origins... No other mint supplies portraits of both rulers so suggestive of their respective characters and capacities".⁴³ Speaking in Trier in 289, the orator is perhaps reacting to this difference in the emperors' appearance. To claim *similitudo vultuum* would be to counter the message of the contemporary, local coinage.

Alternatively, if the representations of the Dyarchs in North-West Gaul, both on coins and in other formats, such as busts, had already established

³⁶ *ibid* p.209.

³⁷ Webb (1929) p.200.

³⁸ e.g. L'Orange (1965) p.50; N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, (Aarhus University Press 1986) p.307.

³⁹ Barnes (1982) pp.49-51. The closest Diocletian came to Trier before the speech's delivery was Milan, in 288.

⁴⁰ *RIC* 5.2 pp.125-6, 208; Webb (1929) p.198.

⁴¹ Casey (1994) p.57.

⁴² *RIC* 5.2 p.212.

⁴³ *ibid*.

physiognomical similarity for the two emperors by 289, then the orator's counter claim would be indicative of an awareness of the abstract nature of the art.

The orator's insistence on the *similitudo* of the emperors' characters and virtues is an important development in Dyarchic and Tetrarchic ideology. In time, their *similitudo* was to be undeniably physiognomical, yet although the orator falls short of such a claim, we might recognise in his panegyric an early step in that direction. And as with other themes and details at his disposal, the orator uses *similitudo* to suit his own circumstances; for the absence of *similitudo vultuum* helps to confirm the emperors' lack of *consanguinitas*. The *similitudo morum* thus reinforces the fraternity based on virtues.⁴⁴

Political concordia

In their impulse to share with each other individual achievements, the Dyarchs are alike; in their behaviour, they demonstrate similarity (9.3, 9.5).⁴⁵ There is great affection and harmony between them: Maximian reported to Diocletian *simpliciter amanterque* (9.1)⁴⁶; unlike Romulus and Remus, there is no jealousy between them (9.4, 13.2); they tolerate no difference between them and, like twins, rule with equal authority (9.4-5). The unanimity of their governance is manifest and they join their right hands in solidarity (9.1, 11.1).⁴⁷ *Concordia* is a natural product of this unanimity and compatibility.

"*concordia* as a political concept... had had a long history".⁴⁸ The first temple of Concordia at Rome supposedly dated to 367 B.C.E. and celebrated the *concordia ordinum*.⁴⁹ The notion featured often on the coins and in the political literature of the late Republic as leaders made plain their own peaceful

⁴⁴ For the importance of *similitudo* in *amicitia*, Cicero Laelius *de Amicitia* xxii (82) *par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere*.

⁴⁵ cf. *similitudo ipsa stirpis tuae* 1.4. Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 8.1, *non dissimilis ab eo*.

⁴⁶ cf. Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* 8.1. *nec enim possent in amicitiam tam fidelem cohaerere nisi esset in utroque mens una, eadem cogitatio, par voluntas, aequa sententia*.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, (Oxford 1971) p.260.

⁴⁹ *ibid.* Livy 6.42.12.

intentions.⁵⁰ It acquired particular currency as the expression of accord between two politicians.⁵¹ Hellegouarc'h points out that although *concordia* had much in common with *consensus* and *consensio*, it differed from them in that it was entirely affective.⁵² *concordia* and *pax* were closely related too.⁵³ From the reign of Nero onwards, *concordia* was one of the most frequent reverse types on imperial coins.⁵⁴ Of the issues with legends, *CONCORDIA MILITUM* and *CONCORDIA EXERCITUUM* were very common, but the *AUGUSTI* and *AUGUSTORUM* types were frequent too.⁵⁵

No securely dated *CONCORDIA* issues in the relevant *Roman Imperial Coinage* volume predate this speech; again it may be that the speech constitutes one of the earliest examples of a new direction in imperial ideology.⁵⁶ However, in any attempt to trace the relationship between panegyric and numismatic iconography, caution is urged by the notorious difficulty associated with dating coins. When incorporating *concordia* in his speech of 289, the orator might have been tapping into an already established theme.

What is certain is that *concordia* was to become a mainstay of Tetrarchic numismatic and artistic iconography. Coins with the legend *CONCORDIA AUGG*, with two figures standing clasping hands were minted

⁵⁰ J. Beranger, 'Remarques sur la *Concordia* dans la propagande monétaire impériale et la nature du Principat', in *Principatus* (Geneva 1973) 367-382, pp.368ff.; G. Davies, 'The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art', *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985) 627-640, pp.637-8; F. Cairns, 'Concord in the *Aeneid* of Virgil', *Klio* 67 (1985) 210-215; F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge 1989) chapter 4, *Concord and Discord*, *passim*.

⁵¹ J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le Vocabulaire Latin des Relations et des Partis Politiques sous la République* (Paris 1963) 125-7; e.g. Pliny, *Panegyricus* 91.6, uses *concordiae nostrae* of the consuls (Pliny and Cornutus Tertullus).

⁵² *Ibid.*, and the etymology of *concordia* according to Varro *L.L.* 5.73, *concordia a corde congruente*. Beranger (1973) p.373 describes *concordia* as the source of other imperial virtues.

⁵³ Weinstock (1971) p.265; P. Jal, 'Pax Civilis - Concordia' *Revue des Etudes Latines* 39 (1961) 210-231; Cairns (1989) p.108.

⁵⁴ P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Imperial Roman Art*, (Upsala 1945, reprinted, Rome 1968) pp.18ff. *CONCORDIA* was a common legend on the coinage of many emperors, e.g. *RIC* 5.2 Index 5. Beranger (1973) pp.371ff.

⁵⁵ e.g. *RIC* 5.2 pp. 88 for Probus and 168 for Carinus. Beranger (1973) *passim*; E. Kantorowicz, 'On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960) 1-16, p.7; I. Scott Ryberg, 'Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art', *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* 22 (1955) p.161.

⁵⁶ cf. the Dyarchs' fraternity, above p.120. For *CONCORDIA AUGG*. on Dyarchic/Tetrarchic coins, see e.g. Webb (1929) pp.201-3; *RIC* 5.2, pp.250-1, 290; *RIC* 6 pp.653, 671, 279.

at Lugdunum in the names of each of the four Tetrarchs in 294.⁵⁷ “The handclasp is the readily comprehensible sign of mutual good relations and collaboration between the rulers of the Empire”.⁵⁸ A different type of *dextrarum iunctio* is celebrated in the surviving plastic art; instead of a handshake, in the porphyry groups mentioned above, the emperors’ right hands reach across the chest or back to rest on the shoulder of their colleague. In the Vatican groups in particular, in order to preserve both the *iunctio* and the groups’ frontality, the right arms are outsize.⁵⁹ Legibility is unaffected by the lack of legend; the claim to *concordia* is unmistakable.⁶⁰

The *dextrarum iunctio* to denote *concordia* is an important motif in this panegyric:

adeo numini illius simpliciter amanterque, quidquid pro hisce terris feceras,
rettulisti, cum ex diversa orbis parte coeuntes invictas dexteras contulisti,
adeo fidum illud fuit fraternumque conloquium. (9.1)

rem publicam enim una mente regitis, neque vobis tanta locorum diversitas
obest quominus etiam veluti iunctis dexteris gubernetis. (11.1)

iunctio in the speech is clearly used a means of uniting the Dyarchs; it proves their *concordia*.⁶¹ Significantly in 9.1 the right hands are *invictas* - the *concordia imperatorum* is associated with their victories. In 11.1 the *iunctio* is only metaphorical, but it therefore asserts the Dyarchs’ power and omnipresence.⁶² It is related to their governance (*gubernetis*). The right hands

⁵⁷ RIC 5.2 pp.223, 262, 297 and 304; Beranger (1973) pp.370, 381-2. This issue in the name of all four Tetrarchs must post-date the panegyric. A recently acquired Carausian coin in The British Museum Coins and Medals Department (12.1.1) depicts three emperors with the legend AUGUSTIS CUM DIOCLETIANO. The reverse legend reads CONCORDI AUGGG.

⁵⁸ Hamberg (1945) p.24. Clasped hands appear on many Carausian coin types; see RIC 5.2, pp.466-515.

⁵⁹ Rees (1993) p.193; L’Orange (1965) pp.44-47; Kleiner (1992) pp.403-4.

⁶⁰ cf. Kantorowicz (1960) pp.5-6, who writes enigmatically of the “heart-warmingly acid feelings” of these monuments.

⁶¹ *ibid.* Nixon/Rodgers pp.66-7 wonder whether the panegyrist’s appeals to *concordia* are overstated, “testifying to a lack of harmony”. This can only be speculative. For the hands as a sign of *concordia*, see Tacitus, *Histories*, 1.54, 2.8.

⁶² See *Praesentia* above, pp.17-38.

thus symbolise *concordia* and universal military supremacy.⁶³ The *iunctio* is a powerful political icon.

Private *concordia*

There is, however, another reading of the *concordia* of this panegyric. *Concordia imperatorum* was guaranteed by universal victory, but the very nature of the Dyarchy - a partnership of two people - allows for a more personal understanding of the term. "Concord was the result of a balance of forces, and it took two to produce it... *Concordia* seems to be demonstrated by outward signs that a couple are getting on well together and to be strongly linked with affection".⁶⁴ Treggiari is writing within the context of Roman marriage, an institution described by Dixon as "a partnership in which each side supported the other and which was ideally harmonious and long-lasting".⁶⁵ The quotations are no less pertinent to the relationship between Maximian and Diocletian in this panegyric.⁶⁶

In Part One it was seen how in this panegyric, chapters 9 and 11 are exceptional for the density of metaphysical terms of address.⁶⁷ With a closer look at the adumbration in these chapters of the relationship shared by the Dyarchs, we can see how the mode of address is related to content here, in order to conjoin the two emperors. In the passage quoted above (9.1), the transition to the metaphysical mode, the adverbs *simpliciter amanterque*, the emphatically repeated prefix in *coeuntes*, *contulistis* and *conloquium*, the explicit reference to their fraternity and the *dextrarum iunctio* contribute to a sustained and unmistakable expression of concord.

The mode and message are continued in chapter 11:

⁶³ For similar iconography, see *RIC* 5.2 p.249 for a coin of Diocletian with, on its reverse, the two emperors facing each other, separated by Victory, whose hands are on their shoulders, and pp.288-9 for the issue in Maximian's name. In general, see Hamberg (1945) p.20.

⁶⁴ S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the time of Cicero to the time of Ulpian* (Oxford 1991) pp.251-2.

⁶⁵ S. Dixon, *The Roman Family*, (Baltimore and London 1992) p.71.

⁶⁶ For the polysemy of the term *concordia*, see Beranger (1973) pp.367-382.

⁶⁷ See above, Part One, pp.50ff.

vestra hoc concordia facit, invictissimi principes, ut vobis tanta aequalitate successuum etiam fortuna respondeat. rem publicam enim una mente regitis, neque vobis tanta locorum diversitas obest quominus etiam veluti iunctis dexteris gubernetis. (11.1)

The mode is metaphysical, unanimity and equality are established by *aequalitate*, *una mente*, *singularis* and *consentiendo* and the *dextrarum iunctio* again features.

The Roman deity originally associated with marriage was Iuno, but the personified Concordia came to assume a rôle in the institution.⁶⁸ "An ideal marriage was ensured by harmony, *concordia*, or even identified with it".⁶⁹ The range of surviving evidence establishes that *concordia* was a quality cherished by married couples and to which they aspired.⁷⁰ *concordia* was the linchpin of a successful marriage.⁷¹

When *concordia* was used of the emperor's family it broadcast more than the harmony of his private relationship. The *concordia* was seen to extend to the empire itself.⁷² Flory has argued that the dedication of Livia's shrine to Concordia was originally a claim for familial rather than political harmony.⁷³ Yet whatever the initial inspiration for such an appeal to Concordia, the ultimate message is two-fold. The *concordia* of the imperial household refers both to the harmony between the individuals concerned and to the stability of the empire.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ L. Reekmans, 'La *dextrarum iunctio* dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne', *Bulletin l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 31 (1959) 22-95, pp.31-7, 89; Kantorowicz (1960) p.5. This is illustrated on, for example, a coin of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, with the legend CONCORDIAE, *ibid.* fig.12.

⁶⁹ Treggiari (1991) p.251, with examples from poetry and prose.

⁷⁰ Boswell (1995) pp.199-200; Beranger (1973) p.371.

⁷¹ See M.B. Flory, '*sic exempla parantur*: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae', *Historia* 33 (1984) 309-330, p.317 and Dixon (1992) p.70, who both discuss the literary and epigraphic evidence; Reekmans (1959) pp.31-7 for the evidence of numismatic and monumental art.

⁷² Dixon (1992) p.70; Kantorowicz (1960) p.5; Reekmans (1959) p.89; Beranger (1973) p.377.

⁷³ Flory (1984) *passim*. esp. p.310 and n.10.

⁷⁴ See I.M. le M. DuQuesnay, 'Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue*', in F. Cairns (Ed) *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* (1976) 25-99, pp.69-70. Cicero recognises the link between harmony of individuals and the harmony of state, *Laelius de Amicitia* vii (23) *id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordiaeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi potest. quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma civitas est, quae non odiis et*

As we have seen, in the panegyric of 289, a key element of the iconography of *concordia* is the *dextrarum iunctio*. There has been some controversy as to the provenance and signification of the image of joined hands in antiquity. Hamberg relates the theory that its origins were in ancient magic practices.⁷⁵ Davies surveys the gesture in Greek, Etruscan and Roman art and attributes to it a variety of associations, ranging from meeting to parting, reunion, unity and marriage.⁷⁶ Kantorowicz suggests that the *iunctio* and its implications of marital harmony grew out of the physical seizing in the rape of the Sabine women.⁷⁷ Treggiari recognises its appearance in a wide variety of contexts.⁷⁸ However, despite its other connotations, the *iunctio* was a feature of the wedding ceremony and, therefore, of the iconography of marriage.⁷⁹ From the second century A.D., the motif on sarcophagi was more closely associated with marriage and on coins with the *concordia* of the imperial family.⁸⁰

The orator includes in his panegyric many of the characteristics so often seen in representations of marriage. The emperors share *concordia* (9.3, 11.1, 11.3, 11.4), join their hands (9.1, 11.1), are of one mind (11.1, 11.2)⁸¹, and have an open, loving and generous disposition towards each other (9.1-2). In addition, in the fraternity between the emperors which is articulated so clearly, there is an echo of the terminology used of partners in ancient romantic relationships (both hetero- and homosexual).⁸² Yet because Maximian and Diocletian were married to Eutropia and Prisca respectively⁸³, we must consider

discidiis funditus possit everti?

⁷⁵ (1968) p.22.

⁷⁶ Davies (1985) *passim*; on departure see also Reekmans pp.27-30.

⁷⁷ (1960) p.5.

⁷⁸ (1991) pp.164-5. Hamberg writes of its "diversified application" in imperial art, (1968) p.27.

⁷⁹ The fullest treatment is Reekmans' (1959). For the *dextrarum iunctio* in the wedding ceremony, see Treggiari (1991) pp.149-150; Kantorowicz (1960) p.4; Boswell (1995) pp.211-217; G. Williams, 'Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals', *Journal of Roman Studies* 48 (1958) 16-29, p.21.

⁸⁰ Reekmans (1959) pp.46-50; Davies (1985) pp.639-40.

⁸¹ Treggiari (1991) p.252 for the quality of unanimity in Roman marriages.

⁸² Boswell (1995) pp.67-71.

⁸³ See Barnes (1982) pp.30-33.

why the orator chose to ground the emperors' relationship in the iconography of marriage.⁸⁴

The first advantage of adumbrating the relationship between the Dyarchs in terms of marriage is the ensuing assertion of universal peace. If *concordia* existed in the imperial household, the empire was stable and productive. As we have seen, in times of monarchy, the *concordia* of the emperor's marriage was presented as the cause and a symbol of universal harmony. By adapting the iconography of marriage to the Dyarchs - by 'marrying' the two imperial households - the same effect is achieved. In phrases such as *ille tibi ostendendo dona Persica, tu illi spolia Germanica* (9.2), the sense of the empire's security against threats from beyond the frontiers is accentuated by the emperors' mutual generosity with victory spoils. By underpinning the Dyarchs' relationship with some conventional components of a successful marriage, the orator effectively negates any potential allegations of brinkmanship or posturing from either of the two emperors. The *concordia imperatorum* thus determines the *concordia militum*. In turn, *concordia militum* and victories over foreign armies combine to produce universal peace.

The employment of the literary conventions of marriage to the relationship between two emperors is taken to its fullest extent in the anonymous panegyric of 307 (VII(6)). The speech celebrates the marriage of Constantine and Fausta, the daughter of Maximian (1.1-2). However, the only relationship which is clearly described in the speech is that which the two emperors share:

quid rebus humanis contingere potuit aut nobilius ad gloriam aut certius ad salutem, quam quod pristinae vestrae concordiae perpetuaeque pietati hoc quoque pignus accessit, summorum nominum artissima coniunctione venerabile, ut imperatori filiam conlocaverit imperator? sed tamen nos oportet omnes homines exultatione superare, qui hoc tantum rei publicae bonum praesentes intuemur, et ipsa vultuum vestrorum contemplatione sentimus ita convenisse vos, ita non dexterarum tantum sed etiam sensus

⁸⁴ For homosexual marriages in antiquity, see Boswell (1995).

vestros mentesque iunxisse ut, si fieri possit, transire invicem in pectora vestra cupiatis. (1.4-5)

pignus here refers to the marriage of Constantine and Fausta, but the other features of a marital relationship, *concordia*, *perpetua pietas*, *artissima coniunctio*, *dextrarum iunctio*, '*mentium iunctio*' and *pectus* are attributed to Maximian and Constantine. To a modern reader, more acquainted with a romantic element in marriage, this attribution might appear cruelly insensitive to Fausta. However, the appropriation of the iconography of marriage for a political relationship was manifestly a compelling manoeuvre.⁸⁵

Paradoxically, a further effect of the orator's decision in 289 to couch the emperors' relationship in terms which may denote marriage is to boost Maximian's status. For as we have seen, Maximian had been selected and promoted by Diocletian, perhaps to the rank of Caesar; he may have been adopted as Diocletian's son; and in the allocation of *signa*, the Herculian dynasty might be considered subordinate to the Jovian. The formulation of the relationship with terminology regularly used of marriage eschews any implication of hierarchy. The devotion, reciprocity and co-operation, on which any successful marriage and the Dyarchs' partnership were built, depended upon a degree of parity between the parties.⁸⁶ By referring to their fraternity and by recognising in their partnership some characteristics of marriage, the orator celebrates the emperors' equality.⁸⁷ This equality has been effected by the upgrading of Maximian's status and the downplaying of Diocletian's authority.

The application to the Dyarchs' relationship of some of the iconography of marriage is also a very potent snub to Carausius. His coins suggest that Carausius sought his rule over Britain to be sanctioned by Diocletian and Maximian and, therefore, that he himself be incorporated into the government to create an official rule of three.⁸⁸ The Dyarchs' refusal to reciprocate in coin

⁸⁵ See R.D. Rees, 'The Private Lives of Public Figures in Latin Prose Panegyric', in M. Whitby (Ed) *The Propaganda of Power: the role of panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, forthcoming 1998).

⁸⁶ Treggiari (1991) p.252.

⁸⁷ Boswell (1995) pp.23, 69-70. For explicit terms for equality, see 9.5 and 11.1. For equality in *amicitia*, Cicero *Laelius de Amicitia* xix (69-70).

⁸⁸ See above p.120.

issues details their attitude unequivocally. In the panegyrics, Carausius and his assassin and successor Allectus are not named but signified with a range of damning vocabulary which serves to underscore their illegitimacy⁸⁹; in X(2) Carausius is *non pastorem trino capite deformem sed prodigium multo taetrius* (2.1) and *ille pirata* (12.1). But in addition, by speaking of the legitimate emperors' relationship as a marriage, the orator excludes Carausius. This idea is emphasized by other references to the Dyarchs' duality; *ambo nunc estis largissimi, ambo fortissimi* (9.3), *geminato numine* (11.2) and the comparisons of the Dyarchs with the Heraclidae twins (9.4-5) and Romulus and Remus (13.1-2). The iconography of marriage helps to cast Carausius further into the political wilderness.

Universal Prosperity

As private and political *concordia* impinge on each other, a rigid distinction between the two spheres is artificial. The political ramifications of the personal relationship between Diocletian and Maximian as outlined in the speech are far-reaching. For example, as discussed above, the adjective *invictas* (9.1) adds a military dimension to the Dyarchs' relationship. At other points the orator attributes to the emperors' personal harmony the effect of universal prosperity. The theme of universal rule first appears with reference to Maximian alone:

te praesentem intuemur deum toto quidem orbe victorem. (2.1)

This grand claim is thereafter modified to incorporate Diocletian. One of the Dyarchs' duties of office is to be responsible for the destiny of the *totus orbis* (3.3); to hold the imperial conference at Milan they come together from opposite corners of the world, *ex diversa orbis parte coeuntes* (9.1); and in the final chapter the orator speaks of worldwide peace, *totius orbis securitate*

⁸⁹ D. Lassandro, 'La dominizzazione del nemico politico nei *Panegyrici Latini*', *Contributi dell' Istituto di Storia Antica dell' Univ. del Sacro Cuore*, (Milan) 7 (1981) 237-249, pp.240-2; cf. M.J. Rodríguez Gervás, *Propaganda Política y opinion Pública en los Panegiricos Latinos del Bajo Imperio* (Universidad de Salamanca 1991) pp.31-49 on the emperors' legitimacy.

composita (14.4).⁹⁰ This recurrent theme establishes the extent of the Empire, and concedes no area to barbarians or pretenders. Dyarchic rule is absolute.

The orator associates the enormity of the empire with the emperors' personal harmony. Immediately after the orator has related their *fraternitas*, *similitudo* and *concordia*, he continues:

vos vero, qui imperium non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminatis, tantam vim tantam potestatem mutuo vobis impartire divinae profecto immortalisque fiducia est, quam cupiditas nulla perturbet. (10.1)⁹¹

The imperturbable closeness between the emperors guarantees the security of their empire which here is seen to extend even to the heavens.⁹² Quite appropriately, given the cosmic range of their rule, the sentence is in the metaphysical mode.

Again in the metaphysical mode, the orator gives further details about the connection between the emperors' personal relationship and universal fertility. The emphasis is on the duplication of the benefits of Dyarchy:

quare, si non frustra Graeci poetae hominibus iustitiam colentibus repromittunt binos gregum fetus et duplices arborum fructus, nunc omnia gentibus universis gemina debentur, quarum vos domini tam sancte iustitiam et concordiam colitis. (11.3)

The Greek poets are Homer (*Odyssey* 19.108-114) and Hesiod (*Works and Days* 171-3, 225ff).⁹³ The rhetorical schematisation of the topos of prosperity under a good king can be traced in Theocritus (*Idylls* 16 and 17), Vergil (*Eclogue* 4), Cicero (*Pro Marcello*), Horace (*Odes* 4.5 and 4.15), Velleius Paterculus (2.89, 126) and the later panegyrists, such as Symmachus.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ See Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.69-76 on the motif of the *orbis terrarum* in the panegyrics. For the Dyarchs as *totius orbis restitutores* see *ILS* vol.1 617.

⁹¹ cf. Cicero *In Catilinam* 3.11.26 *duos civis... quorum alter finis vestri imperi non terrae sed caeli regionibus terminaret*, where, significantly, the orator is speaking of two men.

⁹² Burdeau (1964) p.39

⁹³ Galletier (1949) p.34.

⁹⁴ DuQuesnay (1976) pp.61-3; Symmachus *Oratio* II.9.

Menander Rhetor encourages the inclusion of the topos in his *basilikos logos* (377.10-24). Homer, Hesiod and Menander make explicit that the cause of prosperity is the ruler's justice. The orator himself adopts this convention and adds a new dimension; men owe the fecundity of the flocks and trees to the justice of the emperors, and the duplication of this fecundity to the duality of the administration.⁹⁵ The panegyric topos is adapted to embrace the new form of rule: two concordant emperors generate twice the benefits.

The direct relationship between the redoubled bounty of the earth and the duality of government is most appropriately propounded in the metaphysical mode of address. However, as with the political nuances of the balance of the modes in X(2), the orator is versatile in his attribution of influence over the forces of nature. For whereas in chapter 11, in which *concordia* is the dominant theme, the earth's prosperity is duplicated because the two emperors enjoy a close relationship, in the following chapter, where the literal mode of address prevails, Maximian alone is the reason for the cooperation of the weather.⁹⁶ His troops are said to have enjoyed a winter of notable clemency when building the fleet which was to be launched against Carausius. Only when it was completed and they needed the river waters to rise did it rain:

ecce autem subito, cum iam deduci liburnas oporteret, tibi uberes fontes
Terra submitit, tibi largos imbres Iuppiter fudit, tibi totis fluminum alveis
Oceanus redundavit. ita in aquas sponte subeuntes impetum navigia
fecerunt levi modo commota nisu ducentium, quorum ad felicissimum illud
exordium magis opus erat nautico carmine quam labore. facile itaque quivis
intellegit, imperator, quam prosperi te successus in re maritima secuturi sint,
cui iam sic tempestatum opportunitas obsequatur. (12.7-8)

In the opening sentence the repetition of *tibi* at the beginning of each of three cola emphatically excludes Diocletian. Yet not only has the focus narrowed from the Dyarchy to Maximian alone⁹⁷, but the terms of natural reference have

⁹⁵ *gemina* (11.4) echoes *geminato numine* (11.2) and the emphatic *vos* (11.4) stresses the plurality of emperors.

⁹⁶ Seager (1983) pp.132-3.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

been expanded from the fecundity of the flocks and fields to the cooperation of land, heaven and sea.⁹⁸ The universal expressions *Terra*, *Iuppiter* and *Oceanus* preclude any specific geographical references⁹⁹ and predicate for Maximian a sphere of influence stretching far beyond the West. As with Vergil's Aeneas, the emperor is not in direct control of the elements, but as the closing clause of the passage makes evident, he is blessed with favourable weather and can be said to "control by proxy".¹⁰⁰ His relationship with Diocletian is irrelevant to this capacity of his and is ignored.

Conclusion

The themes of *fraternitas*, *similitudo morum*, *concordia* and universal prosperity are used to convey impressions of a united government in X(2). Through these, the orator creates an extensive canvas, ranging from the nature of the personal relationship between Maximian and Diocletian to the cosmic effects that relationship secured. These figurations of Dyarchic unity are metaphorical, with the orator avoiding any mention of political negotiations or government policy. Thus the speech is invested with a grandeur and dignity.

The theme of a united government is most prominent in chapters 9 and 11. Here the orator moves from the metaphorical application to the Dyarchs of the terminology of marital and fraternal relationships to consideration of the reduplicated bounty of the earth. Therefore the number of emperors is seen to be of fundamental importance to the success of the government and the *felicitas* of the world.

Outside of these two chapters, the focus of the speech tends to be Maximian and not the united government. As he did with his balance of the metaphysical and literal modes of address, the orator manages to champion Maximian without subverting the *concordia imperatorum*.

⁹⁸ On universal expressions and their distribution and effect, see P.R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, (Oxford 1986) Chapter 7. *Iuppiter* here functions as a metonymy for 'heaven' but can also be read as a reference to Diocletian; as such it hints at a hierarchy in which Diocletian's best interests are served by assisting his colleague. cf. 4.1-2.

⁹⁹ Galletier (1949) p.35 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.73 quite reasonably identify the river as the Moselle, although the scholarly instinct to attach names to features undermines the force of the rhetoric.

¹⁰⁰ Hardie (1986) pp.206-7.

PANEGYRICI LATINI XI(3)

In chapters 16 and 17 the orator describes how Rome's traditional enemies, the barbarians, were involved in internecine wars. Their behaviour is characterized by a series of damning qualities: *furor* (16.1), *illam rabiem* (16.2), *vesaniam* (16.3), *obstinataeque feritatis* (16.5) and *furit in viscera sua gens effrena* (17.1).¹ The untamed madness of the various ethnic groups, which is witnessed in their fighting, serves to clarify appreciation of the peace currently enjoyed in the Roman Empire (16.1, 18 *passim*). It is even claimed that barbarian internecine war is better for the Empire's prosperity than barbarian peace:

at enim quanto hoc est laetabilius ac melius quod de prosperitate saeculi vestri certatim omnium hominum sermo circumfert "Barbari ad arma, sed invicem dimicaturi! vicerunt barbari, sed consanguineos suos!" (18.3)

But in fact, the orator has already established that the Empire's prosperity is not a product of barbarian madness. Knowledge of the barbarians' wars enhances the Romans' appreciation of their own peace, but the cause of their prosperity has been internal *concordia*. This *concordia* is generated by the two key qualities praised in the speech - the emperors' *pietas* and *felicitas*.²

An illuminating detail within the broad generalizations about barbarian madness concerns the Persian royal household:

ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Sacis et Rufiis et Gelis petit frater Ormies nec respicit vel pro maiestate quasi regem vel pro pietate quasi fratrem. (17.2)

In mounting a challenge to his sibling Bahram II for control of Persia, Ormies demonstrated no regard for the *maiestas* of a king nor the *pietas* of a brother. By encouraging his audience to recognize that in his neglect of his natural

¹ See Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.53-69.

² In the orator's vision of contemporary affairs we might recognise a reworking of Vergil's *furor* and *pietas*. See e.g. *Aeneid* 1. 294-6.

obligations of *pietas* towards his brother, Ormies' behaviour was symptomatic of barbarian madness, the orator is promoting his own understanding of the proper conduct of brothers towards each other. Barbarians transgress the expected mores of fraternity and this alienation of barbarians is underpinned by appreciation of Roman practice. The model brothers are, of course, Maximian and Diocletian.

Brothers in Arms

References to the emperors' parentage and birth throughout the speech are inconclusive about their relationship with each other. The enigmatic *vestri generis* (3.2)³ and *stirpis vestrae* (4.1), by their singularity, suggest a very close tie, but the plural forms *vestri illi parentes* (3.3), *parentes* (3.8) and *vestrorum generum* (19.4) seem to preclude any claims for natural fraternity. As with the previous speech, if the two are brothers, their fraternity is associative.⁴

In X(2) the emperors' fraternity was first mentioned as early as the opening chapter (1.5), before the precise nature of the relationship was covered in chapters 9 and 11. In XI(3) the issue of fraternity is not raised until chapter 6. After observing how united the Dyarchs are in their *pietas* towards each other, the orator moves naturally to *concordia*. This, in turn, leads to the harmony which brothers share:

deinde, id quod maxime deorum immortalium cum religione coniunctum est, quanta vosmet invicem pietate colitis! quae enim umquam videre saecula talem in summa potestate concordiam? qui germani geminive fratres indiviso patrimonio tam aequabiliter utuntur quam vos orbe Romano? (6.3)

The clear implication is that in their mutual *pietas* and *concordia*, Maximian and Diocletian are like brothers. However, by the quality of their *concordia* and the

³ See above, Part One p.58.

⁴ Boswell (1995) pp.17-26 on the "freight of metaphorical meaning" that sibling referents can carry.

extent of their patrimony, they surpass siblings and even twins. They are more fraternal than brothers.⁵

In the following chapter the Dyarchs are said to share their possessions and victories (7.1-3). We are to recognise that such harmony is usually demonstrated by brothers, for the orator goes on:

obstupescerent certe omnes homines admiratione vestri, etiam si vos idem parens eademque mater ad istam concordiam Naturae legibus imbuissent.
(7.4)

The *concordia* which Maximian and Diocletian share puts them above the realm of ordinary mortals as it even defies the laws of nature:

diversum sanguinem adfectibus miscuistis. non fortuita in vobis est germanitas. (7.6)

Just as they are brothers although not related, so too they share blood although not of the same parents. In their ability to defy the element of chance in their family relationships, the Dyarchs are exceptional. Their fraternity is, quite literally, like nobody else's.

This fraternity is all the more admirable and glorious for not being dependent on natural kinship. In X(2) the Dyarchs were styled *virtutibus fratres* (9.3). Here they are brothers by dint of their achievements:

at enim quanto hoc est admirabilius vel pulchrius quod vos castra, quod proelia, quod pares victoriae fecere fratres. (7.5)

These achievements are specifically military. The camps, battles and victories on which their fraternity depends could so easily have led to rivalry. The orator's presentation of the similar military circumstances as a cause of harmony rather than tension, and his determination to use this metaphor for fraternity despite

⁵ On the panegyrists' ability "to have it both ways" see Maguinness (1933) pp.121-3.

the logical problems of its application are a testament to the symbolic power of the relationship.

Equality

In X(2) equality between the emperors is implied by the ideological associations of the relationships of marriage and fraternity.⁶ Explicit terms denoting equality feature only twice.⁷ In XI(3) equality is introduced as the characteristic which distinguishes brothers most obviously:

qui germani geminive fratres indiviso patrimonio tam aequabiliter utuntur
quam vos orbe Romano? (6.3)

Although, as we have seen, the emperors do not share blood-kinship, their equality compensates for their lack of *consanguinitas*. To illustrate his point the orator compares the emperors with others. Even artisans of the meanest crafts are jealous of their rivals and are spurred on to out-perform each other (6.5). No such emotions distract the Dyarchs, despite the enormity of their concerns:

vester vero immortalis animus omnibus opibus omniue fortuna atque ipso
est maior imperio. vobis Rhenus et Hister et Nilus et cum gemino Tigris
Eufrate et uterque qua solem accipit ac reddit Oceanus et quidquid est inter
ista terrarum et fluminum et litorum, tam facili sunt aequanimitate
communia quam sibi gaudent esse communem oculi diem. ita duplices vobis
divinae potentiae fructus pietas vestra largitur: et suo uterque fruitur et
consortis imperio. (6.5-7)

Universal and personal dimensions are integrated with great poise. The geographical references qualify *orbe Romano* (6.4); and the singular *immortalis animus* and *aequanimitate* explain the Dyarchs' attitude towards their

⁶ cf. V(8)3.1 *quo nomine [fraternitatis] praeter cetera necessitudinum vocabula et
communitas amoris apparet et dignitatis aequalitas.*

⁷ 9.5 and 11.1.

patrimony. Throughout, the interplay between singular and plurals conveys a sense of the equality and unity of the two men.

These qualities are illustrated with specific military examples (7.1-2). Whatever victories each emperor wins, the other celebrates and accepts as his own. The military aspect of their fraternity we have considered, but the orator also insists upon the equality of their successes:

at enim quanto hoc est admirabilius vel pulchrius quod vos castra, quod proelia, quod pares victoriae fecere fratres! dum virtutibus vestris favetis, dum pulcherrima invicem facta laudatis, dum ad summum fastigium pari gradu tenditis, diversum sanguinem adfectibus miscuistis. (7.5)

Their victories are equal and they advance with equal strides. The disparity in their ages in no way affects their equality, as they aim to imitate each other (7.6-7). This general parity in military affairs and mutual *pietas* defines them as brothers: *uterque vult hoc esse quod frater est* (7.7). The themes of universal victory and imperial equality and fraternity are bound in a self-reinforcing nexus of imperial ideology. The emperors rely on each other and the universal order depends upon them both.

similitudo

The theme of equality appears far more frequently in XI(3) than in X(2). By contrast, *similitudo* features only fleetingly in the later speech, in a difficult passage:

non fortuita in vobis est germanitas sed electa; notum est saepe eisdem parentibus natos esse dissimiles, certissimae fraternitatis est usque ad imperium similitudo. quin etiam intervallum vestrae vincit aetatis. (7.6)

The texts of Mynors and Lassandro follow that of Cuspinianus (1513), but the words from *sed electa* to *fraternitatis est* do not appear in any extant

manuscripts and have been condemned by some scholars as a gloss.⁸ Whichever reading we accept, *similitudo* is the quality demonstrated by Maximian and Diocletian which qualifies them for office. This *similitudo* is not in blood (7.5) or age (7.6) but attitude. They have *geminum consensum* and copy each other (7.7). This moral *similitudo* has much in common with their relationship as delineated in 289 (9.5).

Private concordia

The emperors' *pietas* is introduced as a religious observance rather than a private commitment.

nam primum omnium, quanta vestra est erga deos pietas, quos aris simulacris templis donariis, vestris denique nominibus adscriptis, adiunctis imaginibus ornastis, sanctioresque fecistis exemplo vestrae venerationis.
(6.1)

Their *pietas* towards the gods is measured by the munificence of their dedications.⁹ Likewise, from the orator's exposition of the equality, *similitudo* and military victories, on which the emperors' extraordinary fraternity is built, a clear sense of a warm personal relationship is lacking. The emperors' courage and respect for each other are manifest, but in his original explication of the way their relationship is structured, there is little indication of a personal dimension.

⁸ Harleianus 2480 reads *non fortuita in vobis est germanitas usque ad imperium similitudo quae etiam intervallum vestrae vincit aetates...* Galletier omits the words of Cuspianus' text and translates "Ce n'est point fraternité de hasard que le ressemblance entre vous jusque dans le pouvoir suprême", (1949) p.57. The edition of Paladini/Fedeli has the words in brackets. The Teubner editions by A. and W. Baehrens also omit the words, but accept the reading *germanitatis* which appears in the X2 family of manuscripts. Without a compelling palaeographic reason for *germanitatis*, I am inclined to accept the text of Harleianus 2480, including the pronoun *quae* for *quin*, which gives the translation "The non-accidental sibling relationship between you is a *similitudo* right up to the supreme power, a *similitudo* which even overcomes the disparity in your ages".

⁹ cf Pliny, *Panegyricus* 3.5 and Y. Shochat, 'The Change in the Roman Religion at the Time of the Emperor Trajan', *Latomus* 44 (1985) 317-336, p.325.

The hints of a personal bond in *diversum sanguinem adfectibus miscuistis* (7.5) and *delectari societate* (7.6) are developed into a sustained motif of the Dyarchs' desire to be together.

inde igitur proxime illa impatientia vestrae pietatis erupit quod vos nulla regionum longinquitas, nulla iniquitas locorum, nulla tempestatis asperitas retinere aut morari potuit, quominus ad conspectum vestri pervolaretis. (8.1)

By making their impatience to see each other the cause of their extensive and demanding travels, the orator forges a link between the emperors' private lives and the needs of state. Chapters 8 and 9 are concerned with imperial journeys throughout the empire. The great speed of these journeys elevates the Dyarchs beyond the mortal, but is again inspired by their desire to be together:

vestra vobis pietas, sacratissime imperator, volucres dedit cursus. etenim cum nihil sit animo velocius, vos, quorum igneae immortalesque mentes minime sentiunt corporum moras, pervecti estis ad vos mutui desiderii celeritate. (8.4-5)

The speech's centrepiece - the *adventus* of the emperors into Milan (chapter 10) - not only urges a divine formulation of the emperors and their actions¹⁰ but also indicates their personal devotion to each other.¹¹

This devotion dominates an extended passage about the emperors' feelings towards the end of their Milan meeting:

interim tamen, dum mihi ante oculos pono cotidiana vestra conloquia, coniunctas in omni sermone dextras, ioca seriaque communicata, obtutu mutuo transacta convivia, illa me cogitatio subit quam animi magnitudine ad revisendos exercitus vestros discesseritis pietatemque vestram utilitate

¹⁰ See especially 10.5.

¹¹ *desiderium* is used of the feeling separated lovers have for each other. e.g. Pliny's letters to his wife Calpurnia, 6.4 *equidem etiam fortem te non sine cura desiderarem*, 6.7 *sed eo magis ad desiderium tui accendor*, 7.5 *incredibile est quanto desiderio tui tenear*; Propertius 4.3.28; Ovid, *Remedia Amoris* 646.

rei publicae viceritis. qui tunc vestri sensus fuere, qui vultus! quam impatientes ad dissimulandum indicium perturbationis oculi! respexistis profecto saepius neque haec de vobis vana finguntur. talia vobis dedistis omina, cito ad conspectum mutuuum reversuri. (12.3-5)

This scene has a high emotional charge. *vestra conloquia* echoes *conloquuntur* (11.4), but *cotidiana* might carry a suggestion of personal closeness.¹² *conloquium* itself could be used of lovers' discourse.¹³ More compelling is the phrase *coniunctas in omni sermone dextras*. We have seen how by this time the *dextrarum iunctio* was regularly employed in the iconography of marriage¹⁴, but the yearning for physical contact implicit in this phrase also has its forerunners in erotic writing. In *Amores* 1.4, Ovid instructs his beloved how to behave at a forthcoming dinner-party to which both they and her *vir* have been invited. The poet discourages his beloved from touching her *vir*:

nec femuri committe femur nec crure cohaere
nec tenerum duro cum pede iunge pedem. (43-4)¹⁵

Ovid employs the motif in the *Metamorphoses* when the young lovers Pyramus and Thisbe are separated by a wall which they address in complaint:

'invide' dicebant 'paries, quid amantibus obstans?
quantum erat ut sineres toto nos corpore iungi'. (4.73-4)

The Dyarchs too take comfort from the other's touch. Although *sermo* too could be used of lovers' conversation¹⁶, it is the accumulation of topoi rather than specific diction which evokes an erotic atmosphere in this scene.

¹² For *conloquium*, see also X(2)9.1.

¹³ Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1.607 *conloquii iam tempus adest*; *Ex Ponto* 1.4.54 *sperato numquam conloquioque frui*.

¹⁴ See above pp.129ff.

¹⁵ For a similar setting, see Tibullus 1.6, especially 1.26 *per causam memini me tetigisse manum*.

¹⁶ e.g. Ovid, *Amores* 2.5.19, *Ars Amatoria* 1.569; Tibullus 1.6.17; Propertius 3.20.19.

After their *conloquia* and *coniunctas dextras*, the third and fourth recollections that are mentioned of the Dyarchs are the variety of their conversations and their *convivia*.¹⁷ Recognising that the symposium was a regular context for Greek and Hellenistic erotic poetry, McKeown argued that the *convivium* was rarely the setting for Roman elegy.¹⁸ However, against this, Yardley has demonstrated that a sympotic context is "an important theme of Augustan elegy".¹⁹ The erotic atmosphere of the Dyarchs' *convivium* is confirmed by the preceding catalogue of details.

As a possible source for the *ioca seriaque* Nixon and Rodgers cite Sallust's *Jugurtha* (96.2), where Sulla chats amongst his troops.²⁰ The military camaraderie conjured up by Sallust would not be inappropriate to the orator's 'brothers-in arms', but the intimacy of this Dyarchic scene perhaps owes more to treatises on *amicitia*. A parallel from Cicero's *de finibus*, suggested by Klotz, implies that the phrase was conventional:

at quicum ioca seria, ut dicitur, quicum arcana, quicum occulta omnia?
(2.26(85))²¹

The question is a fictional objection to Cicero's critique of Epicurean ideas of friendship. In a letter to Claudius Severus, in recommendation to him of his friend Sulpicius Cornelianus, Fronto says of himself and the latter, *habitavimus una, studuimus una, iocum seriumque participavimus*.²² It seems that a combination of both *ioca* and *seria* could be used as typical characteristics of *amicitia* between men.²³ Although *iocus* and cognates feature in erotic poetry, with a range of significations²⁴, the orator's usage more precisely mirrors those from prose.

¹⁷ Puteolanus was surely right with his conjecture *convivia*, but *connubia*, presumed to have been in M, has a curiously appropriate tone!

¹⁸ J.C. McKeown, *Ovid Amores Volume 2* (Leeds 1989) p.76.

¹⁹ J.C. Yardley, 'The Symposium in Roman Elegy' in W.J. Slater (Ed) *Dining in a Classical Context*, (Michigan 1991) 149-155, p.149.

²⁰ (1994) p.97.

²¹ Klotz, (1911 "Studien") p.534.

²² *Ad amicos* 1.1.

²³ See also Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 1.18.1; Livy 1.4.9; Ausonius *Parentalia* 7.11.

²⁴ R. Pichon, *Index Verborum Amatoriorum*, (Paris 1902, reprinted Hildesheim 1966), p.175.

obutu mutuo, the gaze which the emperors shared at the *convivium*, is more akin to an erotic topos. A high emotional charge associated with the eye and with visual dynamics in general is a very common motif in erotic poetry.²⁵ Two examples illustrate the power of this. The *convivium* held for the Trojans in the Carthaginian palace, at the end of *Aeneid* 1, is visually rendered by Vergil. The connection between sight and love is forged explicitly:

expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo

Phoenissa. (713-4)

As Dido's love grows, she even cherishes the mental picture of Aeneas.²⁶ The second example, from a poem already mentioned, also has a sympotic context. Because of the presence of her *vir*, Ovid and his beloved cannot talk frankly. They can, however, communicate by eyes:

me specta nutusque meos vultumque loquacem:

excipe furtivas et refer ipsa notas

verba superciliis sine voce loquentia dicam. (*Amores* 1.4.17-19)

Maximian and Diocletian suffer no such check on their behaviour and can spend the whole *convivium* enjoying the uninterrupted sight of each other.

A similar relationship is suggested by the description of the Dyarchs' departure from Milan. The first of three topoi borrowed from erotic contexts is the reluctance of the emperors to depart. Propertius was so attached to Cynthia that he was unable to leave her by going abroad with Tullus. He says that he is not afraid to go, but cannot:

sed me complexae remorantur verba puellae. (1.6.5)

And if his reluctance to leave his beloved prevents him from serving abroad as a soldier, instead he undergoes a different type of *militia*:

²⁵ *ibid.* pp.218-9.

²⁶ e.g. 4.4, 83.

non ego sum laudi, non natus idoneus armis:

hanc me militiam fata subire volunt. (29-30)

Although, by contrast, the Dyarchs are capable of overcoming their *pietas* towards each other to return to military affairs, this fact merely serves to enhance appreciation of their magnanimity (12.3).

The second erotic topos is the misery of separation. Despite their inclination to subordinate their enjoyment of each other's company to the needs of state, the Dyarchs cannot completely conceal their emotions. Their eyes, which during the *convivia* were so expressive of their devotion, now reveal the emperors' unwillingness to separate (12.4). And in using a third topos, the orator has Maximian and Diocletian comfort each other by exchanging omens prophesying their safe return (12.5). Tibullus writes of Delia's actions before he took leave of her.

illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit: illi

rettulit e trinis omina certa puer.

cuncta dabant reditus, tamen est deterrita nusquam

quin fleret nostras respiceretque vias. (1.3.11-14)

The orator's account of the emperors' strategic meeting borrows its topoi and some of its vocabulary from scenes of lovers' trysts in Latin erotic literature. Thus we have a figuration of the Dyarchs' relationship.

However, just as in X(2) where the terminology and iconography of marriage is used to construct a metaphor for imperial harmony, so too in the speech of 291 this figuration of romantic love between the Dyarchs is not to be taken literally.²⁷ The conventions of erotic literature are adopted to generate a

²⁷ A parallel example can be used to support this. In his 50th poem, addressed to Licinius Calvus, Catullus adopts conventions and diction of erotic verse to describe his own feelings towards his fellow poet, the day after an evening's drinking and versifying together. This has led many critics to assume a homosexual relationship between the two. However, by referring to the close association between *amor* and *amicitia*, as set down by Cicero in *Laelius de Amicitia* xxvii (100), Williams has argued that Catullus' relationship with Calvus was not erotic but was one of *amici*, M.F. Williams, 'Catullus 50 and the Language of Friendship', *Latomus* 47 (1988) 69-73.

sense of political harmony. That such borrowings from erotic contexts were permissible in epideictic oratory is discernible from Menander Rhetor's recommendations about propemptic speeches. He says that there are many types of propemptic. One, given by a superior when sending off a junior, such as a teacher addressing a pupil, can contain advice. Another, given when the reputation and position of the two parties are equal, such as when a friend sees off a friend, can contain 'praise and passionate (*erotikous*) words' and can express 'a passionate (*erotikon*) and ardent attitude towards the man being sent off'.²⁸ In 291 the orator's description of the emperors just prior to their separation has clear points of contact with the setting of a propemptic speech. By incorporating erotic topoi and, to a lesser extent, the *sermo amatorius*, the orator presents the audience with a striking image of the Dyarchs' relationship. These two powerful political figures, each with his own vital military and strategic concerns, are as close as lovers. They have the *pietas* to sacrifice their emotions to the needs of state, but the attraction they feel towards each other and the pleasure they enjoy in each other's company assure them a closeness usually restricted to erotic relationships.

Although *illa me cogitatio subit* (12.3) hints that the orator knows that this figuration is his own interpretation of the emperors' relationship, the return to the narrative in the indicative mood (*fuere*) in the following sentence lends a degree of objectivity to the details of the emperors' feelings on separation. This technique whereby the orator asserts that his speech is not a personal view but is representative of widely held opinions confirms the message of the *prosopopoia* of the previous chapter:

clamare omnes prae gaudio, iam sine metu vestri et palam manu
demonstrare: "vides Diocletianum? Maximianum vides? ambo sunt! pariter
sunt! quam iunctim sedent! quam concorditer conloquuntur! quam cito
transeunt!" (11.4)

²⁸ Treatise II 395.

In *ambo*, *pariter*, *iunctim* and *concorditer* the orator represents everybody's recognition that the Dyarchs' political and strategic alliance is underpinned by their personal relationship.

The effect of this romantic figuration of their relationship is much the same as that achieved by the iconography of marriage in X(2). There is no hierarchy or rivalry within the imperial college, yet such is their affection for each other that there is no prospect of incorporating a third emperor. Carausius is still *persona non grata*.

Universal Prosperity

In X(2) we saw the topoi of universal prosperity used variously to promote the Dyarchy and the individual addressee Maximian.²⁹ In XI(3) such topoi are employed with greater frequency and uniformity. The recurrent themes are the extent of the emperors' influence, the duality of their government and the luminous nature of their rule.

The extent of the emperors' influence on earth is again absolute; it covers the *totus orbis*. This idea is introduced in chapter 2, *toto quem regitis orbe* (2.4) and is concluded to give a cyclical effect in the closing chapter, *praeter victorias toto orbe terrarum partas* (19.4). The orator forestalls the charge of a logical inconsistency between this claim for ubiquitous authority and the existence of areas occupied by barbarians by insisting that the emperors' influence functions there too - to turn the barbarians against each other, *si qui hostilem in mutua clade vesaniam toto orbe percenseat* (16.3).³⁰ The emperors' great influence in areas over which they exercise no political jurisdiction is a further manifestation of their ubiquity:

tantum animis ac fortuna valetis ut in unum convenire possitis, nihilominus orbe securo. neque enim pars ulla terrarum maiestatis vestrae praesentia caret, etiam cum ipsi abesse videamini. (13.4-5)

²⁹ See above pp.132-5.

³⁰ For the presentation of barbarian internecine wars as an imperial achievement, see 18.3. For the *orbis terrarum* motif see Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.69-76.

The theme of absolute earthly dominion is therefore closely associated with metaphysical *praesentia* which, as we have seen, is a recurrent motif of the panegyric.³¹

At other points in the speech the emperors' influence is not restricted to the terrestrial dimension. In the course of the panegyric there is a progression from an association to a direct identification of Diocletian and Maximian with Jupiter and Hercules respectively, culminating with the vocative *sancte Iuppiter et Hercules bone* (16.2).³² An important stage in this development is the quotation from Vergil and the subsequent cosmological extrapolation:

itaque illud quod de vestro cecinit poeta Romanus Iove, Iovis omnia esse <plena>, id scilicet animo contemplatus, quamquam ipse Iuppiter summum caeli verticem teneat supra nubila supraque ventos sedens in luce perpetua, numen tamen eius ac mentem toto infusam esse mundo, id nunc ego de utroque vestrum audeo praedicare: ubicumque sitis, in unum licet palatium concesseritis, divinitatem vestram ubique versari, omnes terras omniaque maria plena esse vestri. quid enim mirum si, cum possit hic mundus Iovis esse plenus, possit et Herculis? (14.2-4)³³

In the course of this highly flattering and carefully constructed passage, the orator advances several of the arguments which are integral to his speech. On the issue of the extent of Roman rule there are no references to natural frontiers or barbarian incursions, but to the *mundus*. The governance of the empire is presented in cosmic terms, with the emperors' omnipresence featuring prominently. This, in turn, causes the distinction between the emperors and their patron gods to lose its focus. And by asserting in the final clause absolute equality between the two emperors³⁴, the orator presents this ideal world order as a binary system.

Dyarchy as a means of government is naturally accommodated in a cosmos which is regularly articulated through binary oppositions, or 'polar

³¹ See *praesentia* above, pp.17-38.

³² *Ibid.* and below Part Three, pp.222ff.

³³ *Eclogues* 3.60 *Iovis omnia plena*; see also Ausonius, *Gratiarum actio* 1.

³⁴ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.98.

expressions'.³⁵ By emphasizing the binary character of the governmental and cosmological systems, the two are seen to operate in unison. The first example encourages a very close association between these governmental and cosmological systems:

ambo, cum ad Orientem Occidentemque occupari putaremini, repente in medio Italiae gremio apparuistis. (4.2)

ad Orientem Occidentemque is not to be understood to indicate a strict division of empire between the two Dyarchs³⁶ but to be a deliberate means of articulating the *orbis*. That the Dyarchs come together from East and West to meet in the middle clinches the paradox that the unity of empire is guaranteed by the duality of government.³⁷

A similar binary opposition comes to dominate a passage which begins with a universal expression distributed over four terms:

vobis Rhenus et Hister et Nilus et cum gemino Tigris Eufrate et uterque qua solem accipit ac reddit Oceanus et quidquid est inter ista terrarum et fluminum et litorum, tam facili sunt aequanimitate communia quam sibi gaudent esse communem oculi diem. ita duplices vobis divinae potentiae fructus pietas vestra largitur: et suo uterque fruitur et consortis imperio. (6.6-7)

The Rhine, Danube, Nile and the twin Mesopotamian rivers loosely represent the four compass points and the limits of empire.³⁸ However, three binary systems assert themselves. The first is of East and West, *uterque qua solem accipit ac reddit Oceanus*, echoing the ideas of chapter 4; the second is of land and water, and the third of eyes. Inevitably the emperors' *pietas* duplicates the

³⁵ On the distribution of universal expressions over two terms in the *Aeneid*, see Hardie (1986) pp.295ff. The orator's decision to restrict his speech to two imperial virtues, *de duabus rebus* (5.2), is in accord with this system.

³⁶ See above, Part One p.77; 6.3 *indiviso patrimonio*.

³⁷ See also 8.3 *divinus quidam impetus fuit, quo repente in eundem locum ab utroque solis adverso fine venistis*, the quotation from Ennius at 16.3 *a sole exoriente usque ad Maeotis paludes* and 16.4-5 *ab ipso solis ortu... sub ipso lucis occasu*.

³⁸ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.91.

rewards of their power.³⁹ The dualism which is the *sine qua non* of each of these systems generates the impression that, as a form of government, Dyarchy is part of the *natura rerum*.

A polar expression is employed even when the orator mentions one means of articulating the emperors' virtues, only to dismiss it as a *fabula* of the ignorant:

dignum est maiestate vestra, diurna vobis et nocturna curricula utraque mundi lumina commodasse. (8.3)

The *fabula* is rejected in the next sentence, but the possibility has been raised, confirming the binary framework within which the orator is operating. The sun/moon opposition is suited to his needs elsewhere, if only to be surpassed by the Dyarchs:

solem ipsum lunamque cernimus, quia totius mundi funguntur officiis, non nisi post multa saecula certa lege temporum convenire: vestra tam libera est et beata maiestas, ut in summis rebus generis humani nihil vobis necesse sit nisi vestrae parere pietati. (13.2)⁴⁰

The Dyarchs surpass the sun and moon by their freedom of movement; they are not bound by any natural or cosmic orders, but, once again, the binary frame of reference helps to define the type of government and its efficacy.

By juxtaposing Dyarchy with other binary oppositions the orator does not present the rule of two as a political system but as a cosmological imperative. In this formulation, Dyarchy is not a political and strategic response to the difficult problems of the time, which, like any other system of government, is burdened with its own limitations and contingencies.⁴¹ The

³⁹ See also 15.4 *cultura duplicatur* and X(2)11.3 above, pp.133ff.

⁴⁰ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.98 record that Arntzen omits *generis* and understands the emperors have no need for normal human concerns except to obey their *pietas*. The interpretation is convincing, but the deletion of *generis* has no MSS support. However, if *generis humani* is taken with *nihil* and not with *summis rebus*, both Arntzen's interpretation and the text hold good. cf. Symmachus, *Oratio* 1.13 for sun and moon imagery for Valentinian I and Gratian.

⁴¹ For the rationale behind the creation of the Dyarchy and Tetrarchy, see Kolb (1987).

orator presents Dyarchy as a natural component of the cosmos, just one of a series of binary systems on which the universe depends. Of course in 293 Dyarchy was to be replaced by Tetrarchy, but at the time of delivery, this discourse has a very keen edge; a cosmos dependant on binary notation can have no room for Carausius.

The final theme to be considered confirms, if confirmation were needed, that this cosmological Dyarchy is an auspicious power. This is achieved by associating with the emperors the salutary effects of the sun and stars. Ekphrastic qualities pervade much panegyric as the orators appeal to the audience's appreciation of the visual character of ceremonial.⁴² Without neglecting this trope⁴³, the orator aims too at a higher register by drawing frequently on solar imagery when speaking of the emperors. The first example of this concerns Maximian's birth:

et profecto, si non sensus meos dicatorum vobis dierum proxima quaeque
veneratio sui maiestate praestringit, hic mihi dies videtur inlustrior magisque
celebrandus, qui te primus protulit in lucem. (2.1)

The metaphor of brightness for Maximian's genesis renders light a loaded motif. When his speech comes full circle and the orator returns to the issue of imperial birth, again the formulation embraces light:

gemi ergo natales pias vobis mentes et imperatorias tribuere fortunas,
atque inde sanctitatis vestrae omniumque successuum manat exordium quod
nascentes vos ad opes generis humani bona sidera et amica viderunt. (19.3)

The subject is expanded to include both emperors' births, which are presented not as commonplace domestic events but as moments of cosmological significance.

⁴² MacCormack wrote of prose panegyrics in general that "they appeal to sight as much as to hearing" (1975) p.180.

⁴³ e.g. chapters 11 and 12.

Because of the sun's daily course, solar imagery can be used to express the nurturing qualities of light and the extent of empire, from East to West.⁴⁴ As we have seen, the opportunity to describe the universe in binary terms suits the orator's political purpose well, as it unites the emperors and proscribes Carausius.⁴⁵ But, furthermore, by repeatedly referring to the extent of empire with terms used to describe the path of the sun, the orator aligns Dyarchic rule with the quality of the sun as well as with the range of its movement. The Dyarchy is seen both as part of the cosmological order and as a salutary force.

This is made explicit in chapter 15:

revera enim, sacratissime imperator, scimus omnes, ante quam vos salutem rei publicae redderetis, quanta frugum inopia quanta funerum copia fuerit, fame passim morbisque grassantibus. ut vero lucem gentibus extulistis, exinde salutares spiritus iugiter manant. (15.3)

The security the Dyarchs brought to the Empire is expressed in meteorological terms. Rather than being the beneficiaries of light, as elsewhere in the speech, here they are its stewards. This develops the theme of 'control by proxy' which nevertheless features in the speech⁴⁶:

adeo, ut res est, adversus inclementiam locorum ac siderum vestrae vos maiestatis potentia tuebatur, et ceteris hominibus atque regionibus vi frigorum adstrictis et oppressis vos solos aurae lenes vernique flatus et diductis nubibus ad itinera vestra directi solis radii sequebantur. (9.2)

In this example favourable weather follows the emperors, a privilege which can be viewed as a means of control.⁴⁷ In chapter 15 the emperors themselves

⁴⁴ M. Christol, 'Littérature et Numismatique: l'avènement de Dioclétien et la théologie du pouvoir impérial dans les dernières décennies du III^e siècle', in P. Bastien, F. Dumas, H. Huvelin, C. Morisson (Edd) *Mélanges de Numismatique, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à Jean Lafaurie*, (Paris 1980) 83-91, p.87 says of the sun that by association with the emperor, "Son mouvement régulier et visible par tous devient le signe sensible de la continuité de l'empire et l'expression de son éternité."

⁴⁵ See above pp.149-152.

⁴⁶ Hardie (1986) p.206.

⁴⁷ Seager (1983) p.135.

control the weather directly. This, of course, attributes to Maximian and Diocletian a divine power; appropriately Jupiter's universal authority is described in terms of weather and light:

ipse Iuppiter summum caeli verticem teneat supra nubila supraque ventos
sedens in luce perpetua. (14.2)

Thus, distinguished in turn by the blessing of favourable weather and by the ability to control the weather, the emperors are assimilated to gods.

This assimilation is clarified by the description of the Dyarchs' journey through Italy:

nunc autem, ut primum ex utrisque Alpium iugis vestrum numen effulsit,
tota Italia clarius lux diffusa, omnibus qui suspexerant aequae admiratio
atque dubitatio iniecta, ecquidnam di de illis montium verticibus orientur, an
his gradibus in terras caelo descenderent. (10.4)

According to the witnesses of this scene, this was a divine epiphany. The key quality of this *adventus* is light, but the emperors are not simply blessed by light or in control of it - they are its source. In their ability to range over the universe bringing light to the earth, Maximian and Diocletian have surpassed the sun.⁴⁸

The impression of the emperors' solar character is enhanced by references to their souls. The first example compares the Dyarchs with other men:

ex quo profecto manifestum est ceterorum hominum animas esse humiles et
caducas, vestras vero caelestes et sempiternas. (6.4)

The heavenly and eternal nature of their souls locates the emperors far above mortal concerns. This idea is repeated in a second instance when the orator speaks of their desire to be together:

⁴⁸ Chastagnol (1994) p.26.

etenim cum nihil sit animo velocius, vos, quorum igneae immortalesque mentes minime sentiunt corporum moras, pervecti estis ad vos mutui desiderii celeritate. (8.5)

The association of omnipresence, immortality and light again grants to the emperors a cosmological significance.⁴⁹

Conclusion

The themes of *fraternitas*, equality and *concordia* are combined in XI(3) to generate a sustained impression of a united government. This unity guarantees the prosperity of the universe. Dyarchy, and the personal relationship on which it is founded, is presented as a phenomenon whose kindly influence is all-pervasive. As was the case in X(2), the resultant atmosphere is highly dignified. However, unlike in X(2), consideration of the nature of the united government and the effects of that unity pervades the speech of 291.⁵⁰

Although the orator's stated intention is to limit his subject to *pietas* and *felicitas* (6.1), the Dyarchs are seen to display qualities ranging from the homely virtues of love and loyalty to military supremacy and even to control of the cosmos. The iconographies of fraternal and erotic relationships are exploited as metaphors for a political unity which itself ensures general prosperity.

The orator is keen to relate the number of emperors to the good effects of government. To confirm this, references to a range of binary systems throughout the speech create a backdrop against which Dyarchy is seen to be an essential part of cosmic order and, therefore, deserving of reverence.

⁴⁹ For later development of this theme in the *Panegyrici Latini*, see R. Turcan, 'Images solaires dans le *Panegyrique* VI', in M. Renard and R. Schilling (Edd) *Hommages à Jean Bayet*, (Collection Latomus 70, Brussels 1964) 697-706; M. Christol, 'Littérature et Numismatique: l'avènement de Dioclétien et la théologie du pouvoir impérial dans les dernières décennies du III^e siècle', in P. Bastien, F. Dumas, H. Huvelin, C. Morisson (Edd) *Mélanges de Numismatique, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à Jean Lefaurie* (Paris 1980) 83-91.

⁵⁰ In X(2) the unity of government is most apparent in chapters 9 and 11. See above p.135.

PANEGYRICI LATINI VIII(5)

By the time of the next surviving speech, the Dyarchy had been superseded by the Tetrarchy. For the anonymous orator of VIII(5), two could no longer be the cardinal number on which imperial security and universal prosperity depended; nor, for the same reason, could the iconography of marriage or erotic contexts be adapted for the political purpose of emphasizing the unity of government. Security, prosperity and unity remained staple themes in imperial ideology, but the increase in the imperial college from two to four altered the frames of reference and demanded of the orators new approaches and representations of government.

filius Maximiani

One constant between the Dyarchic panegyrics and this speech is the decision to cast the emperors as relatives. In X(2) and XI(3) Maximian and Diocletian are presented as brothers. In the opening chapter of VIII(5) this relationship is again mentioned, *patris ac patrui tui* (1.3). Maximian is also referred to later in the chapter:

favente numine tuo ipse ille iam pridem mihi, qui me in lucem primus eduxit,
divinarum patris tui aurium aditus evenerit. (1.5)

One function of this second reference to Maximian is to establish the orator's credentials for addressing Constantius. By the orator's assertion that he had delivered a speech to an emperor before, through the agency of his current addressee, we are given a clear sense both of Constantius' influence with Maximian and of the speaker's experience. The speaker's pedigree is demonstrated, but so is the relationship between Constantius and Maximian. Maximian is *pater* not *Augustus*; in this key opening chapter the orator twice chooses to mention the familial relationship not the political ranks.¹ A reference to Maximian by name or rank would exclude Constantius; *pater* implies the correlate *filius* and the relationship between the two men.

¹ See also 13.2 *patris tui*.

It is not clear whether Maximian was *pater* to Constantius by adoption or by being father to Constantius' wife.² Constantius appears to have married Maximian's daughter (or step-daughter) Theodora before the delivery of X(2) on 21st April 289 and therefore became Maximian's son-in-law.³ VIII(5) itself provides the information that Constantius was appointed emperor on 1st March 293.⁴ In 307, VII(6) hints at an official adoption of Constantius by Maximian. In a sentence addressed to Maximian, the orator speaks of the addressee's relationship with Constantine, the son of the late Constantius:

o divinum tuum, Maximiane, iudicium, qui hunc tibi iure adoptionis nepotem, maiestatis ordine filium etiam generum esse voluisti, divi, inquam, Constantii filium. (3.3)

If, as this passage claims, Maximian had adopted Constantius as his son, this would naturally have occurred at the time of the latter's accession in 293.⁵ It is unclear whether the orator of VII(6) was speaking with any authority about this issue, or was drawing conclusions based on the styling of Constantius and Maximian as *filius* and *pater*, which would have been common for over ten years by 307; what is manifest, however, is the importance to the emperors and their panegyrists of family referents in imperial ideology.

If Constantius had been adopted as Maximian's son on his accession, by the time of the delivery of VIII(5) his status as *filius Augusti* would have been well-known and in no need of broad publicity. Furthermore, adoption of sons was conventional practice throughout the Empire and would have required no explanation. Hence the nature of the father-son relationship between Maximian and Constantius is not extensively glossed in VIII(5).⁶ Only once does the orator give any details:

² Barnes tentatively identifies Constantius' father as Flavius Dalmatius, (1982) p.36.

³ See X(2)11.4, Barnes (1982) pp.33, 37, 125-6 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.70.

⁴ See 2.2-3.1 and Barnes (1982) pp.4, 62; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.50-1, 112.

⁵ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.109, 194. Galerius, the parallel case as the other Caesar, married Diocletian's daughter Valeria, perhaps before 293; Barnes (1982) p.38.

⁶ In comparison, the associative fraternity between Maximian and Diocletian is given lengthy consideration in X(2) and XI(3); see above, pp.116ff. for the peculiar nature of this relationship and its novelty in 289.

Partho quippe ultra Tigrim redacto, Dacia restituta, porrectis usque ad Danubii caput Germaniae Raetiaeque limitibus, destinata Bataviae Britanniaeque vindicta, gubernacula maiora quaerebat aucta atque augenda res publica et, qui Romanae potentiae terminos virtute protulerant, imperium filio pietate debebant. (3.3)

Whatever the reason for their father-son relationship, it appears to function conventionally, with *pietas* as a defining characteristic. The fact that *filio* is singular here requires explanation. As the indirect object of the verb *debeant*, referring to Maximian and Diocletian, it might be thought to exclude Galerius. The exclusion of Galerius from the speech's closing chapter could support this reading.⁷ An alternative interpretation, citing as support the inclusion of Galerius in the preceding sentences (2.2-3.1⁸) might recognise in *filio* a general statement about the inheritance of imperial power and a normative expression about any father-son relationship. *pietas*, a quality identifiable in conventional father-son relationships, would in turn support this interpretation. Thus although only adoptive, the father-son tie between Maximian and Constantius is assumed to be functioning as smoothly as any natural kinship.

Tetrarchic ideology enshrined a system of non-dynastic succession, but paradoxically, family referents are used in the panegyrics to generate an atmosphere of unity based upon personal relationships. Direct dynastic succession might have been abandoned, but the terminology of family connections survived. Relationships such as an associative fraternity (in X(2) and XI(3)) or adoptive paternity (in VIII(5)) still provided a sense of security through permanence and unity.

The Caesars' Accession

Mention of his address before Maximian gives the orator the opportunity to introduce his subject-matter for the current speech; he will not

⁷ See above, Part One, p.91 on chapter 21.

⁸ See above, Part One, pp.73-4.

go over ground he covered on that previous occasion but intends to draw his material from the time passed since Constantius' accession to the throne (1.6-2.1). The actual day of accession, shared it seems by Galerius⁹, gives the orator his starting-point:

det igitur mihi, Caesar invicte, hodiernae gratulationis exordium divinus ille vestrae maiestatis ortus ipso quo inluxit auspicio veris inlustrior, cui dies serenus atque, ut celebrantes sensimus, ultra rationem temporis sol aestivus incaluit, augustiore fulgens luminis claritate quam cum originem mundi nascentis animavit; siquidem tunc inter illa rerum tenera primordia moderatus dicitur ne noceret ardentior, nunc certasse creditur ne maiestate vestra videretur obscurior. (2.2-3)

The political event of accession is described in cosmogonical terms. The phrase used for the actual accession, *maiestatis ortus*, combines the dignity of the imperial office with a solar metaphor. This flamboyant expression initiates the extended comparison between the Caesars, as a source of invigorating light, and the sun itself. The beginning of the Caesars' reign is *inlustrior* than the beginning of Spring, and the world came into being at Springtime. The accession is thus seen as a beneficent event of fundamental cosmological significance.

There existed in antiquity little consensus about the cosmogony. Various schools of thought existed. Manilius surveys a few of these:

quem sive ex nullis repetentem semina rebus
natali quoque egere placet, semperque fuisse
et fore, principio pariter fatoque carentem;
seu permixta chaos rerum primordia quondam 125
discrevit partu, mundumque enixa nitentem
fugit in infernas caligo pulsa tenebras;
sive individuis, in idem reditura soluta,
principiis natura manet post saecula mille,

⁹ See above, p.74.

et paene ex nihilo summa est nihilumque futurum, 130
caecaque materies caelum perfecit et orbem;
sive ignis fabricavit opus flammaeque micantes,
quae mundi fecere oculos habitantque per omne
corpus et in caelo vibrantia fulmina fingunt;
seu liquor hoc peperit, sine quo riget arida rerum 135
materies ipsumque vorat, quo solvitur, ignem;
aut neque terra patrem novit nec flamma nec aer
aut umor, faciuntque deum per quattuor artus
et mundi struxere globum prohibentque requiri
ultra se quicquam, cum per se cuncta crearint. 140
(*Astronomica* 1.122-140)

These theories have been attributed to Xenophanes (122-4), Hesiod (125-7), Leucippus (128-31), Heraclitus (132-4), Thales (135-6) and Empedocles (137ff).¹⁰ Manilius goes on to say that there will always be dispute about the nature of creation (145), and then expounds the conventional Stoic account of creation, in which the four elements of air, fire, water and earth are dominant. The account of the cosmogony in VIII(5) follows none of these theories but emphatically casts the sun as the initial agent in creation (2.2). The sun alone is not given primacy by any of the philosophies listed by Manilius. Lucretius grants the sun an important role in creation, but the earth is presented as the mother of nature¹¹; in his cosmogony, the creation of the earth predates that of the sun.¹² The panegyrist's account reverses this order to render the sun the primary element.

According to the panegyrist, the light of the sun animated the nascent earth; it moderated the glare of its light in case it harmed the first products of creation. This cosmogonical theory is lent a vague authenticity by the statement of its currency, *dicitur*. This may be a reference to Lucretius whose own theory was that natural forces were mild at first to allow early life to develop:

¹⁰ For these attributions, see G.P. Goold in his Loeb edition, (London, 1977) p.14.

¹¹ *De Rerum Natura* 5. 783-825.

¹² 5. 450-72.

at novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat
nec nimios aestus nec magnis viribus auras
(*De Rerum Natura* 5.818-9)

The two theories are clearly comparable, but there remain significant differences between this panegyrist's and Lucretius' accounts of the earth's beginnings. Lucretius tells us that winter, the sun and the winds tempered their strengths to help nature's increase; the panegyrist, by contrast, concentrates on the role of the sun alone. The sun alone is granted control over nature's destiny at that critical time. This complements the claim that the sun brought life to earth, and thus the integrity of the solar metaphor *maiestatis ortus* is secure; the Caesars' accession is an event of literally fundamental importance.

The panegyrist's employment of the common vocabulary of the cosmogony, adds a further degree of authority to its philosophical pretensions.¹³ He has, it seems, established a new cosmogonical theory; and as the force of his assertion that the Caesars' accession was an event of great cosmological significance depends to a large degree on the validity of this theory, he aims to authenticate his cosmogony by employing the traditional diction of cosmogonical literature. This cosmogonical theory is hardly a serious contribution to philosophy, but a useful vehicle for panegyric.

The creative licence which the orator brings to the cosmogony, by which the sun is seen to have brought life to the *mundus*, facilitates two key points; first, it sets up the comparison between the benefits accorded by the sun at creation and the Caesars at accession (2.3); and secondly, it enables the panegyrist to celebrate the coincidence of the anniversary of creation, the arrival of Spring and the emperors' accession:

o felix beatum ver novo partu, iam non amoenitate florum nec viriditate
segetum nec gemmis vitium nec ipsis tantum favoniis et luce reserata laetum
atque venerabile, quantum ortu Caesarum maximorum! o tempus quo
merito quondam omnia nata esse credantur, cum eodem nunc confirmata

¹³ e.g. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.3 *origine mundi*, Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 5.548 *ab origine mundi*; 1.55, 210, 268, 483, etc., Manilius *Astronomica* 1.125 *rerum primordia*.

videamus! o kalendae Martiae, sicuti olim annorum volventium, ita nunc
aeternorum auspices imperatorum! (3.1)

This passage is underpinned by the belief that creation occurred in Spring; this belief is naturally consequent upon the conviction that first life-forms were animated by the nurturing warmth and light of the sun. After his catalogue of the various examples of Spring's fecundity, Vergil writes:

non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
crediderim; ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
orbis
(*Georgics* 2.336-9)

The subjective but nonetheless rational tone set by the first-person *crediderim* enhances the inherent likelihood of the claim; a similarly realistic tone is clear in Ovid's account of the Golden Age:

ver erat aeternum, placidique tepentibus auris
mulcebant zephyri natos sine semine flores.
(*Metamorphoses* 1.107-8)

Because in the Golden Age the earth was always spontaneously bountiful, it must have been Spring permanently. This would date creation to Springtime.¹⁴

Naturally the belief that creation occurred in Spring led to the celebration of its anniversary in Spring, specifically on March 1st. In his *Fasti* Ovid states simply *Martis erat primus mensis* (1.39) and later tries to provide evidence of this (3.97-8, 135ff.).¹⁵ March 1st had been celebrated as New Year's Day until 153 B.C.E.¹⁶ Thereafter New Year was dated to January 1st,

¹⁴ *Pervigilium Veneris* 1 *vere · natus orbis est*. R.A.B. Mynors, *Virgil Georgics* (Oxford 1990) p.142 of 2.336ff. "It is said to have been a Stoic view".

¹⁵ cf. the claim made by Janus, in answer to the poet's questions, that New Year fell on January 1st, *Fasti* 1.149-64.

¹⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.112; M. Salzman *On Roman Time. The Codex Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1990) p.109.

but vestiges of the old system survived in the new, Julianic Calendar. Salzman specifies the New Year associations of the *Natalis Martis*, celebrated on March 1st and recorded in Philocalus' Codex-Calendar of 354.¹⁷ On this day in Rome there were festivities and ceremonies. Therefore, although the calendrical system which the panegyrist invokes in this passage had long since been superseded, the popular association of March 1st with New Year enabled him to celebrate the two in relation to the Caesars' accession.

Just as the orator employed the diction of traditional accounts of the cosmogony to underline the legitimacy of his own claims, so too in this passage he describes the felicity of Spring with conventional formulae. *flores* as a marker of Spring was a literary commonplace. In his characterization of the four seasons Ovid states simply *ver praebebat flores*.¹⁸ Claudian was to write of the rustic man:

autumnnum pomis, ver sibi flore notat. (*Carmina Minora* 20.12¹⁹)

The verdure of the crops is less well attested as a characteristic of Spring, although *viridis* is regularly used of nature to denote vigour and growth in general.²⁰ Vergil refers to the growth of the green alder tree in Spring, *vere novo viridis se subicit alnus*.²¹

Ovid also cites blossoming and the growth of buds on the vine as indicators of the advent of Spring:

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Remedia Amoris* 188.

¹⁹ See also Ovid *Tristia* 4.1.57, *Metamorphoses* 1.107, Horace *Odes* 2.11.9, Vergil *Eclogues* 9.40-1, Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 5.739-40, 6.539, Catullus 68.16.

²⁰ See *OLD ad loc.*

²¹ *Eclogues* 10.74. See also Calpurnius Siculus, also writing bucolic verse, who says of the beginning of Spring:

tunc florent silvae viridisque renascitur annus (*Eclogues* 5.21).

And a couplet from the *Tetrastichon authenticum de singulis mensibus*, quoted in Salzman (1990), pp.106, 273., identifies the goat, the swallow, milk and green grass as the signs of Spring:

tempus ver<num> hedus petulans er garrula hirundo
indicat et sinus lactis et herba virens (395.11-12)

quot nova terra parit flores, cum vere tepenti

vitis agit gemmas pigraque fugit hiems.

(*Ars Amatoria* 3.185-6²²)

Recommending gardening as an activity suitable for the elderly Cicero associates *gemmae* on the vines with the coming of Spring:

itaque ineunte vere in eis quae relictæ sunt existit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur a qua oriens uva se ostendit (*de senectute* 53).²³

For the Romans, the arrival of the Favonius wind, also known as Zephyr, marked the beginning of Spring. So widespread was this means of recognizing the season that Cicero could condemn Verres because he did not use this wind or the stars as signs of the seasonal change:

[veris] initium iste non a Favonio neque ab aliquo astro notabat. (*In Verrem* 5.27)

The only debate about the Favonius concerned the date of its arrival. Columella variously dates the wind from 13th February and 7th February²⁴; Varro also dates it to 7th February²⁵; Pliny specifies 8th February²⁶ and Ovid 5th.²⁷ Nisbet and Hubbard reasonably observe that these dates are "over-precise".²⁸ In relating the nourishing breath of the Favonius to the Caesars' accession, the panegyrist seems to contrast the beneficial nature of each event rather than to claim a precise chronological coincidence. He has chosen a catalogue of traditional characteristics of Spring as preserved in a range of literary genres; by

²² See also *Fasti* 1.151-3

²³ For the appearance of *gemmae* on the vine at Spring, see also Columella *De Re Rustica* 4.29.4; Vergil, *Georgics* 2.335; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.235-8, 4.126-8; Vergil, *Eclogues* 7.48 mentions the ripe *gemmae* in summer.

²⁴ *De Re Rustica* 8.11.7 and 11.2.15.

²⁵ *Res Rusticae* 1.28.2.

²⁶ *Naturalis Historiae* 2.122.

²⁷ *Fasti* 2.148.

²⁸ *Horace Odes Book I* (Oxford 1970) on *Odes* 1.4.1, p.62.

adding to this list the *ortus Caesarum*, the Caesars' rise to power is presented as preordained, cosmic and favourable to the world.

The coincidence of the Caesars' accession, Springtime, and the cosmogony, is emphasized by the orator to establish an irresistible sense of the desirability and inevitability of the rise to power of Constantius and Galerius. This emphasis is achieved by associating the literary traditions of accounts of the cosmogony and the natural fertility of Springtime with the date of the Caesars' promotion. This elevates the Caesars' importance to a cosmic level, as they are said to outshine the sun and bring greater blessings to the earth than Springtime. The orator has worked the conventions of literary accounts of the cosmogony and the fecundity of Spring to render the Caesars integral to the order of time and the universe.

Although Galerius is excluded from the speech's final chapter, where some imperial military victories are mentioned, it is significant that he is fully embraced here where the Caesars' cosmic influence is asserted. Constantius is the literal addressee, but Galerius shares in the praise. Their influence is not emphasized by any binary notation, but the sun alone is the central metaphor for their reign. Nor does the orator attempt to justify the exclusion of Diocletian and Maximian from this cosmological subject; without apology he turns his address to all the emperors when these statements are complete, *invictissimi principes* (3.2).²⁹ At this stage the orator takes panegyric advantage of the timing of the Caesars' accession rather than the collegiate nature of the government.

Quaternary Systems

The orator extends the cosmological theme of his account of the Caesars' accession into chapter 4. Just as in speeches X(2) and XI(3) the panegyric potential in the association of the imperial college of two men with references to cosmic binary systems was exploited, so too the orator of VIII(5)

²⁹ See above, Part One, pp.74-5.

relates the number of regents to the order of the universe.³⁰ By the time of his address, of course, the imperial college had doubled:

quippe isto numinis vestri numero summa omnia nituntur et gaudent,
elementa quattuor et totidem anni vices et orbis quadrifariam duplici
discretus Oceano et emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia et quadrigae Solis
et duobus caeli luminibus adiuncti Vesper et Lucifer. (4.2)

Each of these six quaternary systems is indeed of great importance, *summa*. The *elementa quattuor* are fire, air, earth and water.³¹ Many believed them to be the original components after whose separation at creation all else came into being.³² According to Manilius, the four elements might be the components of all other forms.³³ The panegyrist is no keener to justify his citation of the theory of the elements than he was to qualify his claims about the cosmogony in chapter 2; in this instance, the quaternary nature of the elements, and not their philosophical authenticity, is of interest to the orator.

totidem anni vices reintroduces the subject of the progression of the seasons, already featured in the preceding chapters in the coincidence of the advent of Spring and the Caesars' accession. In his reference to the whole year, the panegyrist changes his approach to relate the number of the seasons to to the number of emperors.³⁴ This orator's ability to adapt a similar theme to suit different topics is crystallized in these chapters; his versatility is a vital weapon in his arsenal.

Flasar has observed that catalogues in antiquity usually listed three components; this group of six quaternities has therefore doubled the norm and thus focuses more interest on the third and sixth items.³⁵ Flasar points out that

³⁰ See above pp.133-4, 149-152.

³¹ e.g. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 2.10; Varro, *Res Rusticae* 1.4.1.

³² e.g. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.5-31.

³³ See above, pp.159-60, *Astronomica* 1.137-44. A lengthy explication of this theory, which he attributes to Empedocles, is decisively refuted by Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 1.705-829.

³⁴ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.114 and Galletier (1949) p.85 translate *vices* by 'seasons' and 'saisons' respectively; *vices* rather refers to the turning-points of the year when one season supersedes another. e.g. Horace, *Odes* 1.4.1 *solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et hyeroni*. For the equal division of the year into four, see Vergil, *Georgics* 1.258.

³⁵ M. Flasar, 'orbis quadrifariam duplici discretus Oceano', in D. Srejavic (Ed) *The Age of the Tetrarchs (Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Scientific Meetings 74: Historical*

the panegyrist's description of the earth's water-masses neatly mirrors the structure of the imperial college, because of the fundamental importance to each of them of the number two. The twofold Ocean is reflected in the two imperial houses of the Tetrarchy.³⁶ As with the elements, the orator's claim for a four-fold division of the earth's land masses might have met some scepticism. According to Ovid, the earth is divided, like the sky, into five zones, characterized by their temperature.³⁷ Varro, on the other hand, following Eratosthenes, divides the world into two land masses, Europe (including Africa) and Asia.³⁸ Pliny the Elder recognizes a tripartite division, Europe, Asia and Africa.³⁹ However, Macrobius, writing about a century after the panegyrist, also identifies a four-fold division of the earth's land masses, separated by two oceans; according to Macrobius, the main ocean flows around the Equator, but streams come off it in the East and West and themselves collide with each other at the North and South poles. These two resulting oceans, one latitudinal and the other longitudinal, separate the land four ways, *omnem terram quadrifidam dividunt*.⁴⁰ Each land mass is, in effect, an island:

quia et singulae de quattuor habitationibus parvae quaedam efficiuntur insulae, Oceano bis eas ut diximus ambiente. (2.9.6)

Macrobius' insistence that the longitudinal ocean is an outflow from the latitudinal matches the panegyrist's *duplex Oceanus*:

non uno sed gemino eius ambitu terrae corpus omne circumflui(2.9.1).⁴¹

Again, the panegyrist makes no attempt to justify or explain his claim. The four-fold division of the earth is stated as a geographical reality.⁴²

Sciences 24) (Belgrade 1995) 115-125, p.117. I use the term *quaternity* to denote a system of four.

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *Metamorphoses* 1.45-51; see also Vergil, *Georgics* 1.233ff.

³⁸ *Res Rusticae* 1.2.3.

³⁹ *Naturalis Historiae* 3.3.

⁴⁰ *Commentary on the Somnium Scipionis* 2.9.4.

⁴¹ See M. Regali, *Commento al Somnium Scipionis*, (Pisa 1990) p.170.

⁴² The *orbis* is a recurrent theme in these chapters; 4.3, *inlustratis orbem*, 4.3 *vestra in*

The use of *lustrum* as a period of four years is unusual but not unique. *lustrum* generally refers to a five-year period, but by inclusive computation it can refer to four.⁴³ In *emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia* the orator describes the four-year solar cycle which is completed by the intercalation of an extra day, in a Leap Year.⁴⁴ The quaternary system of time complements the subdivision of the year into four, *anni vices*; the alternation of these references to temporal dimensions with physical (*elementa*) and geographical (*orbis quadrifariam*) systems, emphasizes the cardinal importance of the Tetrarchy to the complete range of human experience.

The catalogue of quaternary systems is concluded with two references to heavenly bodies. The first of these, *quadrigae Solis*, the four-horse chariot of the sun is less technical and more fabulous than the other groups of four.⁴⁵ The nature of this reference to the sun contrasts markedly with that of the discussion of the sun's rôle at the cosmogony (2.2-3), where a more philosophical and deliberative tone is established. The combination of the cosmological and the quaternary in *quadrigae Solis* make it entirely suitable. Furthermore, the implications of common purpose and teamwork in *quadrigae* make the image particularly relevant to the orator's purpose.⁴⁶

The final quaternity, which is emphasised by its position, is of the sun and moon (*duobus caeli luminibus*), the Evening-Star (*Vesper*) and the Morning-Star (*Lucifer*). Pliny the Elder observes that Vesper and Lucifer are different names for one planet, Venus; Vesper appears after sunset and Lucifer before sunrise.⁴⁷ Galletier observes that the panegyrist's error was a regular

orbem terrarum distributa beneficia; see Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.69-76. The orb was used as a symbol of worldly dominion in Tetrarchic art and coinage, without reference to a natural fourfold division of the *orbis*. See Rees (1993) plates 3,9, 10 and p.193.

⁴³ e.g. Pliny, *Epistles* 9.37.2; Manilius *Astronomica* 3.580.

⁴⁴ For the term *lustrum* for a Leap Year cycle, see Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 2.122, 130; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.155ff, where *lustrum* is the period it takes the sun to return to *sua signa* (161).

⁴⁵ The myth of Phaethon's fatal journey in the chariot is told in great detail in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.750 - 2.329. The four horses are named at 2.153-4. For *quadrigae* of the sun, see also Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.535, Plautus, *Amphytrio* 422, cf. Tibullus 3.4.17; Manilius refers to the sun's *currus*, *Astronomica* 1.174 and 198.

⁴⁶ cf. the metaphor in the *Historia Augusta*, *Probus* 24, *non enim dignum fuit ut quadrigae tyrannorum bono principi miscerentur*. The four tyrants are Firmus, Saturninus, Bonosus and Proculus.

⁴⁷ *Naturalis Historiae* 2.36.

one in antiquity.⁴⁸ Conversely, Flasar believes that the orator was aware that Vesper and Lucifer were two names for one star and deliberately chose them to emphasize the "oneness" of the two Caesars.⁴⁹ The quaternity certainly generates a powerful political metaphor; bound up in it are implications of eternity, ubiquity, luminosity and order. Through this and the other quaternary systems he details, the panegyrist relates the fourfold imperial college to time, space, light and the order and nature of the universe. Through these associations, not only is the imperial college presented as a dimension without which the universe cannot properly function, but also the essence of this government is seen to reside in its Tetrarchic configuration.⁵⁰

The orator's determination to catalogue a range of cosmic quaternities in order simultaneously to justify and honour Tetrarchic government overrides any concern for a coherence of argument in the relationship between government and universe. For example the specific association between the Caesars' accession and Spring (2.2-3.1) sits uncomfortably with the example of the four seasons as a parallel for Tetrarchic rule (4.2). Within the catalogue of quaternities the orator draws upon the traditions and disciplines as varied as physical geography, astronomy and mythology, using each only inasmuch as it provides a group of four. The discrepancy between the poetic tone of *quadrigae Solis* and the technical precision of *orbis quadrifariam duplici discretus Oceano* does not disqualify either from inclusion. The orator sacrifices matters of literary and dialectical consistency to the cardinal importance of the universal quaternity.

This sustained exposition of the cardinal nature of the universe and government is far more insistent than the association between *cosmos* and *imperium* in earlier panegyric. To Trajan Pliny attributes the rôle of Jupiter's vice-regent on earth⁵¹; this invests Trajan with a degree of super-human authority, but this power is in the gift of the god and is not intrinsically linked to the monarchical government. In the panegyrics of 289 and 291 a relationship

⁴⁸ Galletier (1949) p.85.

⁴⁹ Flasar (1995) p.118.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pp.115-6 "This sequence of six concisely-given images analogues provides an argumentation that should corroborate the conviction that the tetrarchic system is based on general laws of nature."

⁵¹ *Panegyricus* 80.4-5.

between the Dyarchic nature of government and the *cosmos* is implied by the citation of universal binary systems, such as East and West.⁵² However, this association is never made explicit. In 297, the orator's integration of the system of government with the order of time, space and the universe, through the emphasis on their identical numerical nature, represents a novel panegyric strategy.

Sun and Sea

Having quoted both Sol and Oceanus in the catalogue of cosmic quaternities, the panegyrist uses each of them in the rest of the speech to consolidate the notion of imperial authority. As well as providing parallels for Tetrarchic government, the catalogue of quaternities also functions as a reference point for many of the images and assertions throughout the panegyric. For example, with time established as a quaternary system, both in *anni vices* and *emenso quater caelo lustra redeuntia* (4.2), the later metaphysical address *o perpetui parentes* (20.1) both confirms the original parallelism and heaps praise on the emperors. This tendency to draw upon the catalogue of chapter four for images and metaphors relating to imperial rule, especially those of sun and sea, is a powerful strategy. The images of the speech are thereby self-contained and mutually supportive. Furthermore, the common criterion of the catalogue - the quaternary nature of the systems - reminds the audience of the Tetrarchic nature of the government. Thus in many cases, Constantius is the focus of the praise, but by incorporating imagery which echoes the quaternary systems of chapter four, we are reminded of the imperial college.

After citing the sun and stars as quaternary parallels for Tetrarchic government, the orator has the emperors surpass them in the benefits they bring to the world:

sed neque sol ipse neque cuncta sidera humanas res tam perpetuo lumine
intuentur quam vos tuemini, qui sine ullo fere discrimine dierum ac noctium
inlustratis orbem, salutique gentium non his modo quibus immortales vultus

⁵² See above pp. 133-4, 149-152.

vestri vigent sed multo magis illis divinarum mentium vestrarum oculis providetis, nec solum qua dies oritur et praeterit et conditur sed etiam ex illa septentrionali plaga salutari beatis luce provincias. (4.3)

The immediate transition from the justification of the fourfold nature of the imperial college to a summary of the emperors' *beneficia* enables the panegyrist to transfer the theme of cosmic order directly to the actions of the government. No longer is the number of the government simply in keeping with the rhythms and patterns of the cosmos; in their care for the well-being of mankind everywhere, the Tetrarchs are actually set above the sun and stars. The conclusion here - that the emperors surpass the sun - echoes that of the good effects of the Caesars' accession (2.2-3). In chapter four, however, the panegyrist has established that the universal succour offered by the government is a result of its united quaternary character.

Likewise, towards the speech's close, the orator describes the joy of the British people at the arrival of Constantius after the defeat of Allectus:

nec mirum si tanto gaudio ferebantur post tot annorum miserrimam captivitatem, post violatas coniuges, post liberorum turpe servitium tandem liberi tandemque Romani, tandem vera imperii luce recreati. (19.2)

Commentators note that *vera imperii luce recreati* recalls the Arras Medallion, minted after the same military success over Allectus and showing Constantius' *adventus* at London, with the legend *redditor lucis aeternae*.⁵³ From this and other examples it is clear that coins and panegyric adopted similar strategies and motifs in their presentation of the emperor. Here, however, the phrase *vera imperii luce* also recalls the references to the sun in chapter four. Furthermore, just as the Tetrarchs surpass the sun because their health-giving light is unbroken⁵⁴, so too here the fact that their light is 'true', (*vera*), sets them apart from the sun. This inversion, whereby the metaphor for the benefits of the *pax Romana* has the distinction of being 'true' in tacit comparison to the literal sun,

⁵³ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.140; Galletier (1949) p.98. See also MacCormack (1981) p.29 and plate 9.

⁵⁴ 4.3 *perpetuo lumine; salutari luce*.

confirms the Tetrarchs' position as an established cosmic entity. The *lux imperii* was clearly used in both oratory and numismatic art in the aftermath of the recovery of Britain⁵⁵; this panegyrist goes beyond an isolated reference to the *lux*, to deny its metaphorical nature and, by recalling the references to the sun in the catalogue of worldly quaternities in chapter four, to relate the theme to the united, fourfold government.

Throughout the speech, the recovery of Britain from the control of the separatists is presented as a naval victory, from the first mention of the enemy, *manum piraticae factionis* (6.1) to the details of Constantius' triumphal entry into London, *vela remigiaeque venerantes* (19.1). The siege of Boulogne was a naval blockade (6-7); the terrain of the low countries is seen to be so wet that the campaign to destroy all the enemy there is *ad navale certamen* (8.3); Britain's feeble resistance to Julius Caesar is attributed to her lack of ships, as it is assumed that a clash would inevitably be by sea, *ad navale bellum* (11.3); Constantius' crossing from Boulogne (14.4-15.1) and his troops' decision to burn their own ships on safe arrival at the British coast (15.2) are presented as key stages in the campaign. The victory over Allectus is seen to have ended the threat which reached anywhere he might have directed his fleet, *qua iacent maria quaque venti ferunt* (18.2). None of these claims is demonstrably false, but their presentation and the suppression of others clearly point to particular motives.⁵⁶

The first of these motives is to heighten appreciation of Constantius' role in the recovery of Britain. The panegyrist nowhere mentions Asclepiodotus, Constantius' general who defeated Allectus; this silence is complemented by the insistence that the campaign was essentially naval, because Allectus was killed in a land-battle against Asclepiodotus.⁵⁷ The nature of the final conflict is not falsified or ignored, as such tailoring would have rendered the speaker ridiculous. It is established that this was a land-battle - *campos atque colles* (16.3) - but the attention dedicated to this is vastly outweighed by the frequent references to the campaign as sea-borne. The sails

⁵⁵ See also IX(4)18.3. *lucis*. M. Christol, 'Panégyriques et Revers Monétaires: L'Empereur, Rome et les Provinciaux à la fin du IIIe Siècle', *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 2 (1976) 421-433.

⁵⁶ Eichholz (1953) pp.41-2.

⁵⁷ The site of this battle is unclear; see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.136 n.59.

and oars used in Constantius' parade in London and the regular assertion that the victory over the separatists was naval promote the emperor's contribution and belittle Asclepiodotus'.

The second motive for emphasizing the naval aspects of the campaign is to illustrate the emperors' cosmic influence by reference to specific, recent events. Constantius is seen to have conducted a successful naval campaign because of his ability to dominate the forces of the sea. This theme is introduced in the account of the siege of Boulogne:

in quo divina providentia tua et par consilio effectus apparuit, qui omnem illum sinum portus, quem statis vicibus aestus alternat, defixis in aditu trabibus ingestisque saxis invium navibus reddidisti atque ipsam loci naturam admirabili ratione superasti, cum mare frustra reciprocum prohibitis fuga quasi inludere videretur tamque nullo usu iuvaret inclusos, quasi redire desisset. (6.2)

In this example, Constantius harnesses his and the sea's resources to frustrate and defeat the separatists. The sea is described as either weaker in power than the emperors' majesty or milder, out of respect for their honour (6.4). This formulation, in turn, puts the panegyrist in mind of Xerxes who hubristically tried to chain the sea in gold fetters (7.1). Constantius excels by comparison with the Persian king because he is said to have deserved the sea's *obsequium* (7.2). In this employment of the established panegyric motif of attributing to the subject a degree of control over natural forces, the panegyrist develops the theme of the sea in a manner similar to his treatment of the sun. After the introduction of the sun as part of a cosmic quaternity (4.2), solar metaphors are used of the emperors to establish their superiority⁵⁸; likewise, the sea is a component of a cosmic quaternity (4.2), but acknowledges obedience to Constantius. In each case, the natural quaternities are in some way subordinated to imperial majesty.

The key difference between the development of solar and marine themes after the catalogue of quaternities, in which both the sun and the sea originally

⁵⁸ 4.3, 19.2 and discussion above, p. 171.

feature, is that solar imagery is related to the entire Tetrarchy but control over the sea is attributed to Constantius alone. The extended solar metaphor in 4.3, for example, is conducted throughout in the metaphysical mode. By contrast, the focus of the description of the decision to cross the channel after the blockade of Boulogne is Constantius (14.3-5). The literal mode is used throughout, but Constantius is further marked out by the context.⁵⁹ Although the weather was poor and threatening, Constantius' generals had such confidence in their emperor that they entrusted themselves to the crossing at his encouragement:

quis enim se quamlibet iniquo mari non auderet credere te navigante? omnium, ut dicitur, accepto nuntio navigationis tuae una vox et hortatio fuit: "quid dubitamus? quid moramur? ipse iam solvit, iam provehitur, iam fortasse pervenit. experiamur omnia, per quoscumque fluctus eamus. quid est quod timere possimus? Caesarem sequimur." (14.5)

The troops recognize Caesar's easy dealings with the sea; this authority over the sea is known to all, but it is specifically Constantius'. His imperial colleagues have been temporarily forgotten.

Constantius' control of the sea and the successful campaign against the separatists which is consequent upon that authority, are of direct credit to Constantius alone. Because Constantius is part of the Tetrarchy, the entire imperial college receives indirect credit, but the panegyrist is careful to establish with precision the dynamics of glory and reflected glory. This is illustrated in the balance between references to Constantius' particular concerns and those of the wider government. In respect of the recovery of Britain, the panegyrist says:

festino cupidus ad singularem illam victoriam, qua universa res publica tandem est vindicata. (9.5)

⁵⁹ See the literal mode used of *providentia* at 6.2 and 7.2.

Constantius' individual contribution to the world's well-being is underscored by the progression from *singularem* to *universa*. A similar development is seen in the penultimate chapter, this time in a sentence addressed to the four emperors:

omnia, inquam, invictissimi principes, vestra sunt quae digna sunt vobis, et inde est quod consulere singulis aequaliter licet, cum universa teneatis.
(20.5)

The delicate contrast between *singulis* and *universa* again highlights a fundamental principle of this government. Between them the emperors control everything and any individual contribution to Tetrarchic authority is seen to be shared amongst them. This clear statement of Tetrarchic ideology, combining the individual and collegiate responsibilities, enables the panegyrist to alternate praise of Constantius with statements of the unity of government without compromising either.

Conclusion

There are far fewer explicit references to the unity of the imperial college in VIII(5) than in X(2) or XI(3). This is not an indication of a lack of interest in the theme in the panegyrist of 297, but an index of the signal importance in 289 and 291 of establishing and defining the nature of the relationship between the two Dyarchs. For in 297, the theme still features, but less frequently. Furthermore, the theme of unity is impressed by generally different means.

For example, *concordia*, *similitudo* and *fraternitas*, the three qualities which contribute so predominantly to the theme of unity in X(2) and XI(3), are nowhere mentioned in VIII(5).⁶⁰ Constantius is cast as son and nephew of Maximian and Diocletian respectively, *patris ac patruus tui* (1.3)⁶¹, but not as

⁶⁰ *similitudo* is used of heaven and earth at 4.1, and *fraternitas* of the relationship between the town of the Aedui and Rome at 21.2. The terms are not used of the emperors.

⁶¹ Maximian and Diocletian are therefore brothers, although the relationship is not stated directly.

related to Galerius, even in chapters two and three when the two Caesars are addressed together.

similitudo, be it of appearance or character, is not employed as an indication of unity. Instead, Constantius' good character can be seen in his face:

in ipso, Caesar, tuo vultu videbant omnium signa virtutum: in fronte gravitatis, in oculis lenitatis, in rubore verecundiae, in sermone iustitiae. quae singula ut respectantes agnoverant, laetitiae clamoribus concinebant; vobis se, vobis liberos suos, vestris liberis omnis generis sui posteros devovebant. (19.3-4)

From Constantius' appearance the panegyrist broadens his perspective to embrace the emperor's colleagues in the metaphysical mode; however, neither in their physical nor moral qualities does the panegyrist liken the emperors to one another.

Just as binary systems would be inappropriate for a panegyrist of the Tetrarchy, so too the particularly nuanced usage of *concordia* in the Dyarchic speeches would not adapt to the demands of a speech addressed to a government of four.⁶² However, the *concordia* of the Tetrarchy had been widely advertized at its inception; in mints across the Empire, coins with the legend CONCORDIAE AUGG heralded the new type of government.⁶³ Given the use of *concordia* in previous panegyrics and its currency in numismatic iconography, the absence of this quality in VIII(5) highlights above all else, the determination of this orator to break new ground in signalling the unity of the government.

This originality is, of course, most apparent in the catalogue of cosmic quaternities. The association of the emperors with natural phenomena, founded on the similarity of numbers, has forerunners in the Dyarchic speeches⁶⁴; the explicit, detailed and sustained connection between the imperial college and

⁶² See the discussion of private *concordia* above, pp.127-132.

⁶³ R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, (London and New York, 1990); e.g. *RIC* 5.2 p.223.

⁶⁴ e.g. X(2) 11.3, XI(3)13.2.

summa omnia, in which the government is integrated with the cosmic order, both in importance and cardinal number, is an unprecedented means of announcing the unity of government.

PANEGYRICI LATINI IX(4)

Eumenius' oration is unique in the collection because it is not addressed to an emperor.¹ Nor does the speech appear to have been a panegyric written for the demands of ceremonial, such as, for example, X(2), delivered on Rome's birthday in 289, XI(3), delivered on Maximian's birthday in 291, or VII(6), delivered on the occasion of the marriage of Constantine and Fausta in 307. For Eumenius' principal concern is to request permission to use his own salary to help restore the Maenianae, the school at Autun. Eumenius' speech is, in this respect, more akin to VI(7), delivered in 310 to Constantine, in the course of which the speaker requests that the emperor regenerate Autun.²

However, although none of the emperors attended Eumenius' speech and his primary ambition is to secure permission to fund the school's restoration, nevertheless he does not exclude praise of the emperors from his oration.³ As one government appointee himself addressing another about a financial matter which would have important ramifications for local tax payers, Eumenius sensibly includes regular references to the Tetrarchs.⁴ The centrepieces of these references are chapter 14, where his own letter of appointment from Constantius is quoted in full, and the peroration chapter 21 when each of the Tetrarchs is addressed in turn. The inclusion of references to emperors adds dignity and status to a speech which might otherwise be categorised as a work of only local and fiscal interest.

Imperial Family

Family referents are used of the emperors only twice in the speech. In both cases, Maximian is referred to as Constantius' father. At 6.2 he is *parens* and 8.1 *pater*. Although the relationship is mentioned, neither the obligations it

¹ See above p.14; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.146; cf. Nazarius' speech which is addressed to Constantine despite his absence.

² 22.2-7.

³ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.146.

⁴ For Eumenius' appointment see chapter 14; his addressee was a provincial governor, see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.146-8.

entailed nor the affections it implied are touched upon.⁵ Furthermore, neither the parallel relationship between Diocletian and Galerius nor the fraternity shared by Maximian and Diocletian are mentioned. Eumenius does not employ the terminology of family relationships as a means of underlining government unity as fully as the orators in the three previous panegyrics.

Imperial Policy

The complete imperial college is first mentioned in chapter 3, *principum maximorum* (3.4), in the context of their generosity to the town of Autun. This theme is developed in the succeeding period:

ante omnia igitur, vir perfectissime, divinae imperatorum Caesarumque nostrorum providentiae singularique in nos benevolentiae huius quoque operis instauratione parendum est, qui civitatem istam et olim fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam et tunc demum gravissima clade percussam, cum latrocinio Bagaudicae rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani principis invocaret, non solum pro admiratione meritorum sed etiam pro miseratione casuum attollere ac recreare voluerunt, ipsamque ruinarum eius magnitudinem immortalibus liberalitatis suae monimentis dignam iudicaverunt, ut tanto esset inlustrior gloria restitutorum quanto ipsa moles restitutionis immanior. (4.1)

providentia and *benevolentia* are attributed to the collegiate government, although the rebuilding programme at Autun was surely Constantius' initiative and the crushing of the Bagaudae Maximian's victory.⁶ By referring to the imperial college as a whole, Eumenius urges a sense of a government united in policy.

The decision to appoint Eumenius to the chair as part of the process of improving Autun's fortunes is generally attributed to all four emperors.⁷ By

⁵ cf. VIII(5)3.3. *imperium filio pietate debebant*.

⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.154-5 on Lipsius' conjecture *Bagaudicae* for *Batavicae*.

⁷ eg. 10.3, 11.2, 13.1, 14 passim, 15.1, 15.2, 6.4 and 17.5. cf. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.158 n.26; Corcoran (1996) pp.132-3.

contrast, Constantius' particular contribution to Eumenius' promotion rarely receives specific attention. Most of this privileging appears in chapter 6:

sed domini nostri Constanti, vere principis iuventutis, incredibilem erga iuventutem Galliarum suarum sollicitudinem atque indulgentiam mirari satis nequeo, qui honorem litterarum hac quoque dignatione cumulavit ut me filio potius meo ad pristina mea studia aditum molientem ipsum iusserit disciplinas artis oratoriae retractare. (6.1-2)

In this passage Constantius alone seems responsible for Eumenius' promotion. Eumenius' ambition concerns the rehabilitation of the school. One method he adopts to secure this end is to impress upon the addressee the degree of imperial interest in literary affairs. This interest can be identified in Constantius:

credo, igitur, tali Caesar Herculus et avi Herculis et Herculi patris instinctu tanto studium litterarum favore prosequitur, ut non minus ad providentiam numinis sui existimet pertinere bene dicendi quam recte faciendi disciplinas, et pro divina intellegentia mentis aeternae sentiat litteras omnium fundamenta esse virtutum, utpote continentiae modestiae vigilantiae patientiae magistras. (8.1-2)

The association between these four qualities and literature combines praise of Constantius with a candid reminder of Eumenius' own agenda.⁸

However, both before and after this specific reference to Constantius, a similar ethic is attributed to all four emperors. Their concern for studies is reflected in their decision to rebuild Autun:

ex quo manifestum est eos qui coloniam istam / tantisque opibus totius imperii erigere atque animare statuerunt, vel praecipue sedem illam liberalium litterarum velle reparari, cui peculiarem frequentiam honestissimae iuventutis inlustrato studiorum honore providerint. cui enim

⁸ Rees (1998) on the tendency of Eumenius, Symmachus and Ausonius to align their own private interests with their emperors'.

umquam veterum principum tantae fuit curae ut doctrina atque eloquentiae studia florerent quanta his optimis et indulgentissimis dominis generis humani? (5.1-2)

Later the Tetrarchs are seen to value letters despite their other urgent obligations:

quo magis horum nova et incredibilis est virtus et humanitas, qui inter tanta opera bellorum ad haec quoque litterarum exercitia respiciunt atque illum temporum statum quo, ut legimus, Romana res plurimum terra et mari valuit, ita demum integrari putant, si non potentia sed etiam eloquentia Romana revirescat. (19.4)

The link between *potentia* and *eloquentia* is cunningly wrought. After the separatist Gallic Empire, the sacking of Autun (269-70), the uprising of the Bagaudae and the secession of Britain under Carausius and Allectus, military security in the West was a priority for the government.⁹ By associating *potentia* and *eloquentia* Eumenius claims his own profession to be of equal importance to Roman well-being as military supremacy, and thus constructs a powerful argument in support of his request about the funding of the Maenianae. Furthermore, the attribution of the belief in the fundamental importance of letters to the emperors, in the verbs *respiciunt* and *putant*, articulates government unity. Without drawing attention to any similarity in their attitude to literature and government, Eumenius unites the emperors by having them all behave alike. Again this method of advertizing unity is understated but effective.

Thus we see both Constantius and the entire Tetrarchy credited with the same achievements and virtues at different times in the speech. Although the passages do not explicitly mention the nature of the relationship between the four emperors, they are seen to have in common the same attitudes towards education in general and Autun in particular. Admiration for her merits and pity for her misfortunes are not felt by a single government representative alone, but

⁹ The appointments of Maximian and Constantius reflect this urgency.

by all of them (4.1). Likewise, the decision that Autun was worthy of investment and the rebuilding itself (4.2-3) are attributed to the college of emperors. This assertion that all the emperors are involved in decisions concerning Autun has two effects. First, it magnifies the town's importance by claiming on its behalf a significance for all the emperors, wherever they might be. This forestalls any reluctance the addressee might have to grant Eumenius' request. Secondly, it signals a unified government; not a unity founded upon fraternity, quaternity or personal relationships, but on political ideology and policy. The emperors are united in their response to practical matters. rL

The common ground the emperors share in their ethical predispositions, which Eumenius hopes is to be translated into practical results, is the focus for assertions of government unity throughout the speech. The recurrent image of the Tetrarchy is of a government united in political ideology. This can be seen in the number of references to the Tetrarchs in the third person, a linguistically simple feature which presents the government as a single unit. An example of this is Eumenius' justification of his digression about his grandfather:

quod quidem ego meum erga honorem domus ac familiae meae studium non confiterer, vir perfectissime, nisi si ipsis imperatoribus Caesaribusque nostris gratum esse confiderem ut publicam eorum in restituendo orbe pietatem pro suo quisque captu in renovandis suorum vestigiis aemuletur. (17.5)

The comparison between Eumenius' interest in his own family and the Tetrarchs' restoration of the world may appear strained, but the claim rests on a unity both of ethic and achievement. The Tetrarchs are assumed to have identical principles and records.¹⁰

adventus imperatorum

Official Tetrarchic art encouraged the viewer to conceive not of individuals but of a united government.¹¹ Eumenius confirms this instinct in his

¹⁰ For other references to the complete college, see 3.4, 4.1, 5.2, 9.1, 10.2, 11.2, 13.1, 15.1, 15.2, 16.4, 17.5, 19.4 and 20.1.

¹¹ Rees (1993) *passim*.

oration by himself conceiving of the entire Tetrarchy, not individuals. One argument he employs to support his request concerning funding is to highlight the importance of a restored school to the town's appearance. In the heart of Autun, the Maenianae would be seen by visitors to the town and was thus worthy of the expense of a sumptuous appearance. Eumenius illustrates this point by mentioning the most highly-charged of all visits to a town, an imperial *adventus*:

quid autem magis in facie vultuque istius civitatis situm est quam haec eadem Maeniana in ipso transitu advenientium huc invictissimorum principum constituta? (9.2)

The link between military supremacy and education is again suggested by the epithet *invictissimorum* in this context. The possibility of an imperial *adventus*, with all its potential benefits, would doubtless appeal to Eumenius' fellow townspeople; the attractiveness of the scene is enhanced by the number of emperors envisaged. It is ironic that in a speech which none of the Tetrarchs attended, Eumenius wistfully imagines an *adventus* of all four of them. The orator's inclination to picture the Tetrarchs together, however unrealistic that might be, is a dynamic affirmation of the unity of government.

The Imperial Letter

Eumenius' general tendency to conceive of government ethic, policy and ceremonial in terms of a united Tetrarchy is a reflection of the Tetrarchic formula as illustrated in the imperial letter quoted in full in chapter fourteen. The letter was sent by Constantius to announce to Eumenius his promotion to the chair of rhetoric at Autun. That Constantius initiated the process is made clear by the reference to his return from Italy:

merentur et Galli nostri ut eorum liberis, quorum vita in Augustodunensium oppido ingenuis artibus eruditur, et ipsi adulescentes, qui hilario consensu

meum Constanti Caesaris ex Italia revertentis suscepere comitatum, ut eorum indoli consulere cupiamus. (14.1)

The awkward phrase *meum Constanti Caesaris comitatum* indicates Constantius' desire to identify himself explicitly.¹² However, this reference aside, the letter is conducted in the first-person plural, from *Galli nostri* (14.1) to the closing vocative *vale Eumeni carissime nobis* (14.5).¹³ It is curious that Eumenius does not echo this use of the metaphysical mode until his final chapter. However, the sense of Tetrarchic unity which this letter urges is corroborated by the orator in his regular references to the fourfold government. Despite the difference in adopted mode of address, both Constantius in his letter and the panegyrist throughout his speech use the plural of decisions and achievements enacted by the individual.¹⁴ The instinct to visualize the complete Tetrarchy instead of a sole emperor and the regular transition from an individual's action to collegiate celebration both contribute to the ideological presentation of the unity of the government.

Military Supremacy

The most notable feature of the closing chapter of the speech is the use of the metaphysical mode.¹⁵ Eumenius relates particular areas of success for each of the emperors to the maps in the Maenianae (20.2), thus further emphasizing a relationship between imperial *potentia* and education. Each of the Tetrarchs is addressed in turn, with a geographical reference to his military successes.¹⁶ This series of addresses includes Galerius, *Maximiane Caesar* (21.2). This sets Eumenius' final chapter apart from that of VIII(5), where only the Augusti and Constantius are addressed.¹⁷ Eumenius' addresses to all of the

¹² Corcoran (1996) p.133.

¹³ Corcoran (1996) pp.318-323 on 'Imperial Plurals'; Latin regularly uses the first-person plural to denote the singular, but in a circumstance such as this, where plural and singular forms are used, it seems likely that both have their literal force.

¹⁴ See above, Part One, p.97.

¹⁵ See above, Part One, Table Five p.93.

¹⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.172-7 on the victories cited; Kolb (1988) pp.106-116 on the use of this passage in dating military movements and successes.

¹⁷ See above, Part One, p.91.

Tetrarchs, each with a designated area of military supremacy, generate a sense of a united government of the world. He concludes.

nunc enim, nunc demum iuvat orbem spectare depictum, cum in illo nihil videmus alienum. (21.3)

In the train of the emperors' successes comes a sense of order. The four-fold government is geographically diverse but has united the world under its authority.

Conclusion

Eumenius' affirmation of the unity of government is far less elaborate than that of the three previous panegyrics. He does not employ the language and topoi of close personal relationships, such as *fraternitas* or *concordia* as metaphors for imperial harmony; nor does he relate the number of emperors to themes of universal harmony, fertility or cosmic order. No passages are dedicated to an assessment of the nature of the emperors' relationships with each other. Even in the final chapter, elevated by Eumenius' only example of the metaphysical mode, the range of imperial sovereignty is kept within geographical dimensions.

The lack in the speech of the inflated language and strategies seen in X(2), XI(3) and VIII(5) can be explained in part by its function: Eumenius was not addressing an emperor directly, nor was his agenda wholly - or even predominantly - panegyric. Although his immediate concerns are essentially parochial, the orator does not lose sight of the imperial college, to which his appeal will ultimately be redirected (21.4). Amid the undulations of argumentation, self-justification and praise, the united Tetrarchy is a recurrent theme. Always understated and never qualified, Eumenius' trust in the unity of the government is constant.

SUMMARY

Although unity of government is an important motif in each of the four panegyrics, its prominence and nature vary considerably. In the speeches of 289 and 291, government unity is generally expressed by adapting to a Dyarchic framework the iconography of essentially personal relationships. In X(2) *fraternitas* founded on virtues is asserted; in XI(3) the Dyarchs are designated brothers by their military achievements; in both, *concordia* with its freight of associations is emphasized. Both *fraternitas* and *concordia* were inherited from the traditional vocabulary of imperial propaganda. Whether or not Diocletian and Maximian had yet conceived of the radical form of government that was to mature into Tetrarchy, in their presentation of the relationship between the two emperors, the panegyrics of 289 and 291 draw significantly on established figures of expression. Given that Tetrarchic ideology was to reject the traditional claims of family ties in an attempt to guarantee its survival as a form of government, it is ironic that a key means of articulating the strength of the Dyarchy in panegyric was to employ the language of family relationships.¹

With only one earlier panegyric surviving, and that delivered in a time of monarchy, it is possible only to guess how these Dyarchic speeches were innovative in their articulation of the unity of government. The adaptation of the iconography of marriage to a political relationship is certainly striking, but perhaps not original. Both speeches too suggest a direct relationship between the prosperity of nature and the harmony between the two emperors. There was a long tradition in panegyric literature of imperial *felicitas* extending to the natural world, but again the emphasis in these speeches on the importance of the cardinal number two suggests that generic conventions had been adapted to suit the new type of government.

In X(2) the unity of government is asserted most insistently in two chapters²; in XI(3) the motif is more uniform. This difference mirrors the frequency and distribution of the modes of address in the two speeches. Both use the metaphysical mode concurrently with claims for a united government.

¹ Maguinness (1933) p.137.

² 9 and 11.

In the anonymous panegyric VIII(5) personal relationships are neglected as a means of advertizing the unity of government; presumably the lack of personal referents of a familial, marital or social nature, which denote an equal and devoted group of four, denied the orator the opportunities which had been enjoyed in the Dyarchic works. Instead the orator aligns the quaternary nature of the government with the other structures and dimensions which bring order to the universe. Thus the Tetrarchy's unity is seen to be founded on its cosmological significance. The cosmological importance of empire was a traditional theme, but this orator's insistence on the cardinal number four must have been an original - or at least recent - development.

Of the four speeches Eumenius' conception of government unity is the most overtly political - in the sense that it relates to government policies. Personal relationships and cosmological significance give way to a unity of political intention and action. Just as the emperors present themselves in Eumenius' letter of appointment, so too Eumenius speaks of the government as a college cooperating in affairs both routine and grand. Expressions of unity are less elaborate in Eumenius' speech, and for that reason, less prominent. As in the other speeches, however, the united government is a recurrent theme. The unity of the government would have been a proof of its legitimacy; an orator's recognition of government unity would, therefore, be as clear a statement of his loyalty as demonization of Carausius or celebration of imperial victories.

Part Three

The Individual

Characterizing the Emperor

A commonplace of panegyric is the attempt to characterize the addressee. This impulse is underpinned by the objective of justifying the addressee's right to power by reference to his personal qualities. In essence, panegyric deflects attention away from the vagaries of dynastic succession or military supremacy - the two means by which an emperor usually came to power - and focuses instead on the individual qualities, ethical and physical, which characterized the emperor. According to this dynamic, neither the number of troops an emperor had at his command nor the accident of his birth is presented as the principal source of his authority, although the latter was often cited to illustrate the inevitability of the addressee's *imperium*. Generally, the emperor's qualifications for office are personal. Of course, within this broad framework, each panegyrist had to consider the peculiar circumstances of his own addressee and make suitable adjustments. For example, Pliny, addressing Trajan the adopted son of Nerva, decries the practice of natural dynastic succession (*Panegyricus* 7.6); by contrast the anonymous orator of 307 celebrates Constantine's inheritance of power from his natural father Constantius (VII(6)14.4). Every panegyrist would manipulate to his own advantage the particular aspects of his addressee's career, but in every case it is the emperor's individual qualities which are the linchpin of his authority.

This can be seen in the high density of 'virtues' which are attributed to the emperors in surviving panegyrics.¹ Conspicuous amongst these are qualities such as *felicitas*, *pietas*, *fortitudo*, *iustitia* and *modestia*. Despite the very public circumstance of the delivery of panegyrics, the process of characterization of the emperor regularly extended to consideration of his

¹ On imperial virtues in the speeches see L.K. Born, 'The Perfect Prince according to the Latin Panegyrists', *American Journal of Philology* 55 (1934) 20-35; R.H. Storch, 'The XII *Panegyrici Latini* and the Perfect Prince', *Acta Classica* 15 (1972) 71-6; Seager (1983); L'Huillier (1986) and (1992) pp.321-345; Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.77-109; M. Mause, *Die Darstellung des Kaisers in der Lateinischen Panegyrik (Palingenesia* 50, Stuttgart 1994). On imperial virtues in general, A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and his Virtues', *Historia* 30 (1981) 298-323 and J.R. Fears, 'The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.17.2 (1981) 827-948.

private life as well as the more well known aspects of his career, such as courage in war.² These good qualities are often supplemented by comparison with the characteristics of former emperors or recent rivals.³ For example, Pliny regularly compares Trajan with Nero and Domitian⁴; Claudius Mamertinus juxtaposes the restraint of the emperor Julian with the self-indulgence of the recent pretenders Nepotianus and Silvanus.⁵ Thus the regular strategy of differentiating the addressee from others helps to characterize him. This characterization both flatters the emperor and articulates the orator's loyalty.

This tradition of characterization in imperial panegyric was naturally consequent upon the political system under which the genre flourished; the presentation of the emperor as an individual itself complemented the institution of the monarchy. When one man was to rule, his authority was more secure if he was seen to be different from everybody else.⁶ The characteristics an orator chose to emphasize or his methods of emphasis would vary according to the context of delivery, but the impulse to characterize the emperor must have been a mainstay of the genre.

The authors of the panegyrics from 289 to 298 were thus faced with the challenge of adapting to the political systems of Dyarchy and Tetrarchy a literary inheritance which was essentially monarchical. Part One examined how literal and metaphysical modes of address enabled the panegyrists to strike a balance between commitment to the individual and loyalty to the wider government. Part Two examined different figurations of a united government in the four speeches; this theme of unity generally complements the use the orators made of the metaphysical mode of address. Part Three seeks to highlight a thematic complement for the literal mode of address - the ways in which the orators present the emperors as individuals.

² On consideration of private life, see Rees (1998).

³ On comparison as a panegyric device, see Maguinness (1933) *passim*.

⁴ e.g. *Panegyricus* 2.6; S. Morton Braund, 'Praise and Protreptic in early Imperial panegyric', in M. Whitby (Ed) *The Propaganda of Power: the Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, forthcoming 1998).

⁵ III(11)13.3.

⁶ cf. the disingenuous claims of Pliny and Claudius Mamertinus for the *civilitas* of their addressee. See Morton Braund and Rees in Whitby (1998).

These speeches tend not to dwell on the emperors' private lives other than to describe the relationship they shared with each other.⁷ However, other means of characterizing the emperors were available to the orators. Analysis of the literal mode of address across the four speeches indicates the orators' desire to direct parts of their work to an individual emperor; in this section, some of the themes the orators chose to help characterize the emperors as individuals are considered.⁸ In the absence of references to the emperors' private lives, these themes are generally taken from myth, history and religion.

Hercules

One function of panegyric was to publicize the loyalty of the speaker and his community to the emperor. This served as a recognition and celebration of the subject as emperor. One regular means of legitimizing the emperor was to broadcast his religious right to rule; by casting the emperor as a god, an agent of the gods or peculiarly dear to the gods, panegyric constructed an argument which was very difficult to counter. Hence, a religious dimension is characteristic of the genre. The *Panegyrici Latini* have yielded up a mass of material to students of the religious climate of the period. In the Constantinian era, for example, there can be charted a development from a focus on Apollo and *pietas* (in VII(6) 307) to a monotheism in Nazarius' speech of 321 which was not incompatible with Christianity.⁹ The apostasy of Julian and the Christianity of Theodosius are both hidden behind ambiguous and vague terminology, designed presumably to appeal to pagan and Christian alike.¹⁰ Given the emperors' virulent antipathy towards Christianity, culminating in the Great

⁷ Rees (1998).

⁸ This enquiry will be restricted to the emperors recognised by the orators. On the demonization of Carausius, see Lassandro (1981).

⁹ e.g. Pichon (1906 "Ecrivains") pp.98-107.

¹⁰ *ibid.*; J. Beranger, 'L'expression de la divinité dans les *Panegyriques Latins*', *Museum Helveticum* 27 (1970) 242-254; Liebeschuetz (1981); L'Huillier (1986) pp.545-61.

Persecution of 303, it is no surprise that the Dyarchic and Tetrarchic panegyrists are firmly pagan in outlook.¹¹

The speeches provide valuable information about the status of the emperor as man or god. In Part One it was seen that the motif of imperial *praesentia* could be used to reinforce belief in the emperors' divinity.¹² Maximian, Constantine and Theodosius are each addressed as a god, but, with the exception of Pliny's *Panegyricus*, in none of the speeches is an emperor explicitly cast as a human.¹³ In addition there remains the considerable problem of the inseparability of religious claims and generic conventions; the question whether divine epithets addressed to emperors reflect contemporary religious attitudes or are merely a part of the traditional practice of panegyrists is tantalizing.

One focus of this study of characterization through myth, history and religion is the god Hercules. By 289 Diocletian and Maximian had adopted the *signa* Iovius and Herculus respectively. When the Tetrarchy was created in 293 and Constantius and Galerius were adopted by Maximian and Diocletian respectively, the new Caesars took the appropriate *signum* too.¹⁴ The designation of one imperial dynasty as Jovian and the other as Herculan unites the two in the sense that they were both set apart from everybody else, elevated beyond the status of simple mortals; yet the nomenclature also creates the potential for the panegyrists to differentiate between the emperors, especially in the speeches of 289 and 291, when the *signa* Iovius and Herculus identified one man each. As discussed in Part Two, the government is regularly presented as united in the speeches under consideration, but the *signa* and the alignments with the respective deities which they imply provide an obvious means of distinguishing between the two emperors in speeches X(2) and XI(3) and the two imperial dynasties in VIII(5) and IX(4). Depending, therefore, on the choices each orator made when faced with the various myths,

¹¹ For the persecution see Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum* and Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bk. 8. Both of these Christian authors claim that Constantius had no active role in the persecutions.

¹² See above, pp.28ff.

¹³ *Panegyricus* 2.3; Rodgers (1986) *passim*.

¹⁴ See below pp.225-6.

reputations and beliefs associated with Hercules, Jupiter and their eponyms, the characters of the emperors could be sketched and their relationship nuanced. Thus analysis of the use of Hercules in the speeches will further illustrate the panegyrists' balance between praise of the individual and of the collegiate government.

What matters for this study is less what the emperors originally intended by taking the *signa* than what use the orators made of them in their panegyrics. The emperors' personal intentions might have been known to the orators, but they also had to consider other factors: the prevailing attitudes towards former emperors who had taken similar cognomina; the recent use of Hercules in imperial propaganda, especially in Gaul; and the vast range of inherited literary characterizations of Hercules, from Stoical hero to comic buffoon.¹⁵

Nero and Commodus

Before Maximian, other leading Romans had claimed an association with Hercules, adding a religious dimension to their political authority. According to Plutarch, Mark Antony deliberately cultivated an association with Hercules by dressing like him.¹⁶ In Suetonius' biography, the emperor Nero also imitated Hercules:

destinaverat etiam, quia Apollinem cantu, Solem aurigando adaequiperare existimaretur, imitari et Herculis facta; praeparatumque leonem aiunt, quem vel clava vel brachiorum nexibus in amphitheatri harena spectante populo nudus elideret. (*Nero* 53)¹⁷

Nero's suicide prevented him from fulfilling his ambition to emulate Hercules' deeds, but later the emperor Commodus managed to defy his

¹⁵ For a survey of different approaches to Hercules, see G.K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, (Oxford 1972) pp.126-84.

¹⁶ *Life of Antony* 4.

¹⁷ Hercules strangled the Nemean lion after finding his weapons useless, T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, (London 1990) p.120; H.J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, (London 1928) p.211.

enemies long enough to establish securely a link between himself and the demigod:

appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercules quod feras Lanuvii in amphitheatro occidisset. (*Historia Augusta, Commodus* 8.5)

Even the Senate, despite their hostility towards Commodus, consented to this name, albeit only as a joke:

et eo quidem tempore quo ad senatum rettulit de Commodiana facienda Roma, non solum senatus hoc libenter accepit per inrisionem quantum intellegitur, sed etiam se ipsum Commodianum vocavit, Commodum Herculem et deum appellans. (*Historia Augusta, Commodus* 8.9)¹⁸

To confirm this relationship with Hercules, Commodus commissioned statues of himself in the hero's garb.¹⁹ When he renamed the months, September became 'Hercules'.²⁰

Although the tone of the biographies of these emperors is generally contemptuous of their 'Herculean' posturing, the *Historia Augusta* includes some lines which suggest a motive for Commodus' behaviour:

Commodus Herculem nomen habere cupit,
Antoninorum non putat esse bonum,
expers humani iuris et imperii,
sperans quin etiam clarius esse deum
quam si sit princeps nominis egregii.
non erit iste deus? nec tamen ullus homo.
(*Diadumenianus* 7.3)

¹⁸ Dio also tells of Commodus' insistence on taking the demigod's name, 73.15.5.

¹⁹ *accepit statuas in Herculis habitu eique immolata est ut deo*, *Historia Augusta, Commodus* 9.2;; Dio 73.15.2; such a bust survives in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome.

²⁰ *Historia Augusta*, *Commodus* 11.8; Dio 73.15.3.

Here and elsewhere, the emperors concerned are condemned by a variety of means, prominent amongst which is the charge, implicit in their bearing towards Hercules, of *hubris*. These examples of emperors' conscious association with Hercules do not set a happy precedent for Maximian.²¹

In particular, Commodus' attitude towards Hercules has much in common with Maximian's. The epithet **HERCULES COMMODIANUS**, which featured on coins, can be seen as a parallel to Maximian's adoption of the *signum* Herculus.²² For D'Elia the names are analogous but opposite: when Commodus adapted his own name to create an epithet to append to Hercules', he achieved something quite different to Maximian - Commodus is claiming to be Hercules, whilst Maximian is claiming an ill-defined association with him.²³ The *signa* Iovius and Herculus were new in that they had not been adopted by emperors before, but were old in their formulation.²⁴ Thus, whilst recognizable and to a degree, comprehensible, to the Roman world of the 280s, the *signum* Herculus would not have forged a link between Maximian and the earlier emperors Nero and Commodus.²⁵

Postumus

However, in the minds of the Gallic orators' audience in this period, a more recent and relevant precursor for Maximian's close association with Hercules was Postumus. Postumus' Gallic Empire, lasting from 260 until his assassination in 269, was focused around the cities of Cologne, Trier

²¹ Although addressed in part to Diocletian, the *Historia Augusta* is dated by most scholars to the late fourth century, and could not, therefore, have advertized Commodus' behaviour in Maximian's time; notwithstanding this, presumably the text builds upon traditional accounts of its subjects. See T.D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta*, *Collection Latomus* 155 (1978) pp.13-18, and his conclusion that the text was written between 395 and 399.

²² *Roman Imperial Coinage* vol.3 H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham (London 1930) pp.432-3.

²³ D'Elia (1960/1) p.216.

²⁴ K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, (Munich 1960) p.365; Salway (1994) p.137.

²⁵ C.C. Vermeule, 'Commodus, Caracalla and the Tetrarchs: Roman Emperors as Hercules', in U. Höckmann and A. Krug (Edd) *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1977) 289-294, concludes that the Tetrarchic adoption of *signa* "was no by-product of demented ego-mania, but a rational part of a calculated policy of turning the *imperium* into a divine polity". This set Diocletian and Maximian apart from their predecessors.

and Mainz.²⁶ Coins were issued in Postumus' name from two or three mints and the numismatic evidence suggests a clear association between Postumus and Hercules.²⁷ In 260 at Trier, coins were minted with the legend HERCULI DEUSONIENSI and HERCULI MAGUSANO.²⁸ Deuso stood on the Rhine, close to Cologne; Magusa was a small town on the Moselle. Both towns stood on rivers between Postumus' empire and the barbaric Germans; in these two local coin types, Postumus sought to reassure the people of North-East Gaul.²⁹ Drinkwater sees in these local issues an attempt by Postumus to secure the future support of the army of Lower Germany.³⁰ The coins consolidate and advertize the support on which Postumus relied.

Hercules appears more than any other god on Postumus' coinage, on aurei, denarii and antoniniani.³¹ Some show Hercules with his usual attributes, such as his club and lion-skin, others with him engaged in his labours. In 268 Postumus pressed coins with the labours and accompanying legends as follows:

ARCADIO - Ceryneian stag	INVICTO - Amazons
ARGIVO - Hydra	LIBYCO - Antaeus
CRETENSI - bull	NEMAEO - lion
ERUMANTINO - boar	PISAEO - stables
GADITANO - Geryon	ROMANO - Hesperides
IMMORTALI - Cerberus	THRACIO - horses
HERCULI - Stympheian birds. ³²	

²⁶ For the problems of chronology see Drinkwater (1987) pp.95-106.

²⁷ On the mints see *RIC* 5.2. pp.327-332; Drinkwater (1987) pp.135-145. Other gods are not neglected on Postumus' coins; "His coin-types abound in representations of a number of deities, but there can be no doubt that particular honour was shown to Hercules", Drinkwater p.162.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp.162, 167-8.

²⁹ R. Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, (London 1985) pp.28-9.

³⁰ (1987) pp.162-3.

³¹ *RIC* 5.2. p.331.

³² *Ibid.* pp.331-2.

Without attaching a *signum* to the legend, some coins show Postumus in Hercules' lion-skin, carrying his club on his shoulder.³³ The identification of emperor with Hercules is clear.³⁴ This makes the complete programme of Hercules' labours a more aggressive statement. Gallienus rejected the request for a joint rule, and Postumus added to his own empire Britain, Spain and most of Gaul.³⁵ The 'Labours of Hercules' series is dated to 268, after Postumus had ended Gallienus' attempt to regain the Western provinces. Hercules who wards off evils all over the world would appeal to civilians and soldiers alike, so perhaps the issues of 268 were intended to win for Postumus a broader base of support.³⁶

No previous emperor had shown such devotion to Hercules on coin issues and the god rarely features on the issues of Postumus' Gallic successors.³⁷ A break with Postumus' religious programme might have been considered politically advantageous for the emperors Laelianus and Marius. Postumus' use of Hercules on coins, whereby he advertized the security of Eastern Gaul against further Germanic invasions and expressed a pretension to a wider sphere of authority, had been well-considered, but short-lived.

Diocletian

Although there remain some uncertainties concerning the accession of Diocletian and Maximian, nevertheless, it is established that Diocletian had at least two or three months during which he considered himself the only legitimate emperor.³⁸ According to Webb's chronology, some coins were minted in this short time.³⁹ Some coin issues minted at Antioch and

³³ *RIC* 5.2. p.331; Drinkwater (1987) p.166.

³⁴ G.C. Brauer, *The Age of the Soldier Emperors. Imperial Rome AD244-284*, (New Jersey 1975) p.142.

³⁵ Drinkwater (1987) pp.27-30.

³⁶ *id.* p.163

³⁷ *id.* (1987) p.175. cf. the issue of Tetricus II, HERCULES COMES, recorded in *RIC* 5.2. p.421.

³⁸ See above pp.111-112. Eutropius, *Breviarium* 20.2, gives only *postea* for the relative chronology of the murder of Aper, Diocletian's accession and the battle at Margus. Barnes (1996) pp.535-9 surveys the modern scholarship.

³⁹ *RIC* 5.2. p.211. Webb assumes that all Diocletianic coins with the legend termination AUG date to the short period of his sole rule. By this system, a surprisingly large

Tripolis are dated to 284, and thus must predate Maximian's accession, and others minted at Lugdunum, Rome, Ticinum and Siscia are dated to 285, and therefore might have predated Maximian's accession. Coins from Cyzicus, the other mint which Diocletian found at work at his accession, are generally undated.⁴⁰ The coins from 284 make no reference to Hercules; they are dedicated to Jupiter Conservator and Victoria.⁴¹

Carinus had included Hercules in some of his coin types.⁴² Although Hercules was not granted priority over other gods by Carinus, his appearance on his issues prior to the battle of Margus might account for the absence of Hercules from the coinage of Diocletian in the same period. Carinus' assassination at the battle, allegedly for his reputation for seducing his general's wives, belied the protection of the gods which his coinage claimed and opened the way for Diocletian to pay his respects to them without compunction.⁴³

Hercules on the coins of Diocletian and Maximian

From 285 Hercules featured on the coins of Diocletian and Maximian. Diocletian's dedications on coins are predominantly to Jupiter from the beginning of his reign, although from 285 Hercules appears too, and on occasion the two gods together.⁴⁴ From his accession in 285, Maximian dedicated coins to Jupiter, to Hercules and to the two together.⁴⁵ Within two years, coins featuring Hercules were the most common of Maximian's issues, although other types still appeared. The god was particularly popular in his issues of 288-9, especially at the Lugdunum mint, when INVICTO and PACIFERO were the chosen epithets.⁴⁶

number of issues survive from that period. There are inconsistencies however, e.g. p.222. Webb points out that in a few circumstances moneyers' errors led to an incorrect termination being used, p.212. Webb's chronological framework must be taken with caution.

⁴⁰ *id.* pp.250-1.

⁴¹ *id.* pp.256-7.

⁴² *id.* pp.168-9, 178.

⁴³ Aurelius Victor *De Caesaribus* 39.11.

⁴⁴ D'Elia (1960/1) pp.188, 203-4; *RIC* 5.2 pp.221-257.

⁴⁵ *RIC* 5.2. pp.260-295; D'Elia (1960/1) pp.204-5.

⁴⁶ *RIC* 5.2. pp.262-4, 272-3.

Coin types depicting Hercules labours are generally dated to after the mint reforms of 294 or 295.⁴⁷ Until the reform, Maximian's coins dedicated to Hercules usually have one of the four epithets CONSERVATOR, INVICTUS, VICTOR or PACIFER.⁴⁸ In addition, Hercules often appears on Maximian's coins in this period with the dedication VIRTUS or VIRTUTI AUGG. Rome and Lugdunum in particular regularly minted this type.⁴⁹ These common issues are not as adventurous as, for example, the programme of coins minted by Postumus to include all of Hercules labours. Nevertheless these epithets are readily comprehensible. Both Maximian and Diocletian dedicated coins to CONSERVATOR HERCULES and CONSERVATOR JUPITER as part of their drive to be seen as saviours and restorers of the Roman world after the chaotic years of the third century. INVICTUS and VICTOR could signal the Dyarchs' general military supremacy, exemplified by any or all of several successes secured during these years. The VIRTUS and VIRTUTI AUGG legends, with the accompanying traditional iconography of Hercules, further advertized an association between the god and the emperors.

In the years following Maximian's accession, then, the two emperors and Maximian in particular used coin issues to publicize their close relationship with Hercules.⁵⁰ The particular qualities of the god which they chose to emphasize were those which contributed to a sense of military security; from the extensive range of potential characterizations of the god, only aspects were selected which would be of use in the face of the specific circumstances of the time. In the promotion of his intention to establish peace and restore the Roman world, the attribution to Maximian not only of a close relationship with Hercules, but even of Herculean qualities himself, was a considered diplomatic manouvre.

⁴⁷ RIC 5.2. pp.206-7; C.H.V. Sutherland, 'Diocletian's reform of the coinage: a chronological note', *Journal of Roman Studies* 45 (1955)116-8; RIC 6, p.1.

⁴⁸ RIC 5.2. pp.262-293.

⁴⁹ RIC 5.2 pp.211, 260-89; Liebeschuetz (1981) p.394.

⁵⁰ For a modification of the claim that emperors used coinage to publicize aspects of their rule, see B.M. Levick, 'Propaganda and the Imperial Coinage', *Antichthon* 16 (1982) 104-116.

Maximianus Herculus

Sometime before 289, Diocletian and Maximian adopted the *signa* Jovius and Hercules respectively. Kolb dates this to Maximian's promotion to the position of Augustus in Spring/Summer 286, citing a bronze medallion he dates to January 287 with the legend IOVIO ET HERCULIO as a *terminus ante quem*.⁵¹ Chastagnol and Pasqualini date the adoption of the *signa* to 287.⁵² Seston argues that the *signa* were adopted after Carausius' usurpation and before the campaign to recover Britain began - that is in 287 or 288.⁵³ D'Elia is more precise, claiming that the *signa* were adopted when the Dyarchs met in late Autumn 288, probably at Maguntium.⁵⁴ If so, only about six months were to pass before the delivery of panegyric X(2), dated to April 21st 289. In this speech the orator takes for granted general appreciation of Maximian's *signum*, which suggests that the Dyarchs had had time to advertize their new titles.⁵⁵

The year of the adoption of the *signa* has a bearing on appreciation of the emperors' motives; if, for example, the *signa* were adopted at Maximian's accession or promotion, then a conventional claim for divine patronage of the emperors could be reasonably cited as a motive; if, on the other hand, they were adopted after 286, it could be argued that there was a more overtly political dimension - that the Dyarchs were acting to distance themselves from the usurper Carausius. Whatever the date of their adoption, these theophoric *signa* would have been attractive for their ramifications in the political and strategic arenas.

Scholars have tried to pinpoint the religious implications of the *signa*. Seston identifies a theocratic dimension which they brought to the Dyarchs' rule.⁵⁶ Mattingly suggested that in claiming association with Jupiter and Hercules the Dyarchs were trying to interpret paganism in a

⁵¹ (1987) pp.63ff.

⁵² A. Pasqualini, *Massimiano Herculus. Per un'interpretazione della figura e dell'opera*, (Studi Pub. Inst. Italiano Storia Antica 30, Rome 1979) p.111; Chastagnol (1994) p.25.

⁵³ (1946) p.77.

⁵⁴ (1960/1) pp.182-7, 221-37.

⁵⁵ For the question of the year of adoption, see also Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.48-51.

⁵⁶ (1946) pp.211-230.

manner acceptable to Christians, because the father-son relationship of the pagan gods mirrored that of the Christian god and Christ.⁵⁷ D'Elia quotes the conclusions of eighteen earlier scholars: through their *signa* the emperors are variously seen to be agents on earth of the two gods Jupiter and Hercules, sharing *genii* with the gods, equal in power with the gods, gods themselves, elected emperors by the will of men but ^{confirmed} by the decision of the gods, recipients of divine grace and objects of adoration on earth.⁵⁸ D'Elia himself concludes that in the *signa* the emperors were claiming a closer relationship with gods than with humans and that in power and virtue the emperors were the gods' appointed vicars on earth. This was a particularly efficacious means of legitimizing the Dyarchs' rule and thereby outlawing Carausius'.⁵⁹ Pasqualini argues that through a 'carisma trasmissibile' the *signa* facilitated two ambitions for Diocletian - the preservation of a united empire and a peaceful succession.⁶⁰

The multiplicity of modern interpretations of the *signa* highlights an inherent polysemy which panegyrists faced. These theophoric names provided orators with potential for their speeches, but were in no sense prescriptive. When the orator addressed Maximian in 289, he was in a position to exploit a rich legacy of Herculean myth, the characterization of the god on contemporary coinage, and the novel application of the *signum* Herculus.

⁵⁷ H. Mattingly, 'Jovius and Hercules', *Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952) 131-4.

⁵⁸ (1960/1) pp.208-210.

⁵⁹ *id.* pp.210-220.

⁶⁰ (1979) pp.105ff.

PANEGYRICI LATINI X(2)

Rome's Birthday

April 21st was the date of the ancient agricultural festival Parilia, but in time came to be more important as the birthday of Rome. This anniversary seems to have been celebrated throughout the Empire as an expression of provincial loyalty both to Rome and to the Emperor. It appears on the Hadrianic *Feriale Duranum* and the *codex Philodami* of 354.¹ The city's birthday provided the orator of 289 with material for his introductory remark:

cum omnibus festis diebus, sacratissime imperator, debeat honos vester divinis rebus aequari, tum praecipue celeberrimo isto et imperantibus vobis laetissimo die veneratio numinis tui cum sollemni sacrae urbis religione iungenda est. (1.1)

Rome is the subject of the speech's opening, and is to dominate the closing chapters too, to a consciously circular effect.² Maximian is the main topic in between. Praise of an emperor was, of course, the dominant theme of panegyric, whatever the reason for the delivery, but the orator of 289 forges a natural link between the reason for celebration and the addressee. After the first sentence, Hercules is introduced in his capacity as a founding father of Rome and a key figure in the establishment of the definitive religious practice in the city:

verum est enim profecto quod de origine illius civitatis accepimus, primam in ea sedem numinis vestri, sanctum illud venerandumque palatium, regem advenam condidisse sed Herculem hospitem consecrasse. (1.2)

In this opening reference, Hercules' religious significance is of singular importance. Once Hercules has been introduced, the transition to Maximian is completed through the relationship between the two implied in the *signum*

¹ See Fink, Hoey and Snyder (Edd) (1940) pp.45, 102-112; Salzman (1990) p.122.

² Chapters 13-4; *fas est enim ut hoc dicendi munus pium unde coepimus terminemus* (13.1).

Herculius. The orator designates this relationship as both nominal and genetic, in referring to Hercules as *principem illum tui generis ac nominis* (1.3); Maximian is seen to have inherited family resemblances and traits, *similitudo ipsa stirpis tuae ac vis tacita naturae* (1.4). From the starting point of the reason for the gathering - Rome's birthday - the orator moves quickly to underline the nature of the relationship between Hercules and Maximian. This progression associates the emperor with the grandeur of the city, the piety of ancient religion and the dignity of the past.

Hercules at Rome

The myth of Hercules at Rome, and in particular, the foundation of the Ara Maxima, dedicated to Hercules, is treated in several surviving texts.³ The orator's recognition of the literary history of the myth appears in the form of a denial of any fictional elements in his own account:

neque enim fabula est de licentia poetarum nec opinio de fama veterum saeculorum, sed manifesta res et probata, sicut hodieque testatur Herculis sacri custos familia Pinaria, principem illum tui generis ac nominis Pallantea moenia adisse victorem et, parva tunc licet regia, summa tamen religione susceptum futurae maiestatis dedisse primordia, ut esse posset domus Caesarum quae Herculis fuisset hospitium. (1.3)

The claim to be telling the truth is characteristic of the genre.⁴ This panegyrist's claim to be avoiding poetry and rumour and relying instead on the incontrovertible and contemporary testimony of the Pinarii is a means of authenticating the association between Hercules and Maximian; this Hercules is no figure from literature but a deity of current significance.

³ Discussed by J.G. Winter, 'The Myth of Hercules at Rome' in H.A. Sanders (Ed), *Roman History and Mythology*, (*University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series* 4 (1910)) 171-273.

⁴ e.g. Pliny, *Panegyricus* 72.5.

Paradoxically, this denial of poetic licence and rumour occurs in a passage replete with echoes of Vergil's account of the myth of Hercules at Rome.⁵ The clearest of these concerns the ministry of the cult:

ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri
hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
(*Aeneid* 8.268-72)⁶

The appointment of the two patrician families, the Potitii and Pinarii, to the priesthood of Hercules, is a feature common to Livy (1.7.12), the *Origo Gentis Romanae* (8), Dionysius (1.39ff) and Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.12.28). The fact that the Potitii do not survive in the panegyrist's account can be explained by the details, preserved by Servius, Macrobius and Lactantius, of how the family had succumbed to bribery to teach public slaves how to perform their responsibilities, a crime for which the family was soon destroyed. This occurred in 312 B.C.E., over six hundred years before.⁷ From the absence of the Potitii in the accounts of Strabo (5.3) and Diodorus (4.21), Winter concludes that the family was an "aetiological accretion"⁸; the exclusion of literary aetiologies from this panegyric would help to validate the orator's stated intent to present *manifesta res et probata*. The fact that the Pinarii had perhaps also died out by 289 does not prevent the orator from insisting on their value as witnesses to the cult of Hercules.⁹ This might be an error of fact, but the orator certainly thinks

⁵ *Aeneid* 8. 184ff.

⁶ Nixon (1983) p.83, Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.54, describes the panegyrist's echo of this Vergilian passage as "borrowed knowledge" and quotes Servius Auctus *ad Aen.* 8.271 *ingens enim est ara Herculis sicut videmus hodieque*. A further echo in Servius, which also suggests a source common to him and the panegyrist is *ad Aen.* 8.269, where *suscipiebantur* and *susceptus (bis)* are used of the reception of guests, as is *susceptum* in X(2)1.3. Other echoes from Vergil are *victorem* (1.3), (*Aen.* 8.203), Hercules' *hospitium* is *sedes* (1.2), (*Aen.* 8.362); it is *regia* (1.3), (*Aen.* 8.363), in both cases unpretentious; *Pallantea moenia* (1.3) recalls *moenia Pallantea*, *Aen.* 9.196, 241. See Klotz, (1911 "Studien") p.537.

⁷ Servius, *Comm. ad Aen.* 8.269; Macrobius *Sat.* 3.6.13; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 2.7.15.

⁸ Winter (1910) p.226.

⁹ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.54; Winter (1910) p.198.

that the family name buttresses his claims for the centrality of Hercules to the establishment of the cult at Rome.

There are, then, distinct echoes of Vergil, most notably in the phrase *Herculei sacri custos familia Pinaria*. A distinct difference between the texts is the absence from the panegyric of Cacus. The various surviving accounts of Hercules at Rome characterize Cacus in different ways.¹⁰ The clash between Hercules and Cacus, when the latter is a fire-breathing monster, is a dominant episode in *Aeneid* 8. The orator could hardly uphold his claim to be free from poetic licence and rumour while including such a colourful and fabulous incident in his speech.¹¹

The attraction to the orator of a brief reference to Hercules at Rome was that it would constitute a natural link between Rome and Maximian, suitably elevated with the dignity of Vergilian echoes; and to avoid characterizing his speech at the outset as a mythological showpiece, he is appropriately selective with the details. We are left with the grandeur of epic poetry and ancient cult, but without the unnecessary romance of fiction.

Herculean Maximian

The genetic relationship between Maximian and Hercules, announced unambiguously in *principem illum tui generis ac nominis* (1.3) and *similitudo ipsa stirpis tuae* (1.4) can be seen in the natures which are attributed to each of them.¹² Hercules is *victorem* (1.3), Maximian *imperator invicte* (1.4). Just as the Pinarii attend on the *sacrum Herculeum* (1.3), so too Maximian is *sacratissime* (1.5). Both of them are not *conditores* but close to that honour. Of Evander the orator says:

regem advenam condidisse sed Herculem hospitem consecrasset. (1.2)

Of the emperors he relates:

¹⁰ Winter (1910) pp.194ff; J. Bayet, *Les Origines de l'Hercule Romain* (Paris 1926) pp.203-36.

¹¹ cf. the absence of Cacus from Strabo's account of Hercules at Rome, *Geography* 5.3.3.

¹² See also 2.3, *divinam tui generis originem* and *nominis successionem*.

re vera, enim, sacratissime imperator, merito quivis te tuumque fratrem
Romani imperii dixerit conditores: estis, enim, quod est proximum,
restitutores. (1.5)¹³

The building on the Palatine, although enlarged, provides a physical legacy and link between the two, *domus Caesarum quae Herculis fuisset hospitium* (1.3). These four associations and similarities underline the genetic and nominal relationship which the two enjoy. This assimilation of Hercules and Maximian grants to the orator a great potential for the rest of the speech; by redefining and realigning Hercules' qualities and achievements, the orator characterizes Maximian.

Coin Epithets

The assimilation of the two characters in this opening chapter also mirrors the contemporary coinage in Gaul. The epithet VICTOR was traditionally used of Hercules¹⁴; Maximian's coin issues at this time used the epithet as a legend particularly frequently.¹⁵ Another very common legend used of Hercules on Maximian's coins was INVICTUS.¹⁶ With the reference to Hercules as *victorem* (1.3) the panegyrist confirms the particular characterization of Hercules as triumphant; with the address to Maximian as *invicte* (1.4) he further grafts onto the emperor the character of the god.¹⁷ This strategy is very common throughout the speech. Maximian is again *invicte* (7.6) and the two Dyarchs are *invictissimi* (11.1); Maximian is *victorem* (2.1)¹⁸; he is compared directly with Hercules *pacator* (11.6) and his peace is celebrated in the final chapter (14.4); Maximian and Diocletian are styled as Rome's *conservatores* (13.2); and Maximian's *virtus* is mentioned many times.¹⁹

¹³ cf *ILS* vol.1. 617, *totius orbis restitutores*.

¹⁴ e.g. Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.203 and the comment *ad loc.* of Servius, *Victor - perpetuo epitheto Herculis usus est, quia omnia animalia vicit*.

¹⁵ See above p.199.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Barnes (1982) p.24 for *invictus* as a regular imperial epithet.

¹⁸ See below, p.207.

¹⁹ e.g. 2.2, 2.6, 3.3, 5.2, 7.6; Seager (1983) pp.130-4.

VICTOR, INVICTUS, PACIFER, CONSERVATOR and VIRTUS were the most common epithets used of Hercules on local, contemporary coin issues.²⁰ The transfer to Maximian of the qualities popularly associated with Hercules is a subtle but powerful technique; it authenticates a genetic relationship between emperor and god and establishes for Maximian an unquantifiable *divinitas*. It suggests a very considered method of composition; the common iconographies of coins and oratory present a very clear message about the emperor.

Geryon and the West

In the second chapter, the assimilation of Hercules and Maximian is developed through more detailed references to their victories. Hercules is worshipped in Rome because of his visit there after securing his victory in the West, *ex victoria* (2.1). Maximian receives similar honours:

te praesentem intuemur deum toto quidem orbe victorem. (2.1)

The epithet *victor* is now transferred to the emperor; the construction of such parallels and interchanges contributes to the divine atmosphere surrounding Maximian. The orator's argument depends upon the logical progression that similarity in achievement signals similarity in status; accordingly, Maximian, who, like Hercules, is *victor*, is also, like Hercules, a god.

The labour of the cattle of Geryon is one of the most common in Roman literature perhaps because Hercules returns from the West to Eurystheus via Italy, and so, as with the Cacus episode, can be seen to have a distinctly Roman connection. However, although Rome's birthday is the starting-point and reason for the speech, and the city is even the addressee of chapters 13 and 14, the orator uses the Geryon myth to focus attention on the West:

praedam a flumine Hiberno et conscio occidui solis Oceano ad pabula
Tyrrhena compulerit. (2.1)

²⁰ See above, p.199.

As a Gaul himself, the orator is, of course, attempting to tap into a sense of local interest in his choice and perspective of Herculean labour.²¹ Simultaneously the Geryon myth is used to press further the assimilation of emperor and god. Maximian is said to be enjoying his success in precisely the same region, *in eadem occidentis plaga* (2.1). The orator could not mention the Spanish island Erytheia, the home of Geryon in conventional mythological accounts, without reducing the similarities between the circumstances of Hercules' victory and Maximian's.²² By locating events vaguely in the West, the similarities between the two are maximized. The myth of Geryon enables the orator to illustrate the theme of victory, to liken the emperor to the god and to redirect the focus of his speech from Rome to the West.

Jupiter

By concentrating on Hercules' role as victor and assimilating the god and emperor, the orator forges for Maximian a particular character. This process of characterization detracts attention from Maximian's co-emperor. Diocletian's relationship with Jupiter is not delineated in an equivalent manner, although general awareness of the senior Augustus' *signum* Iovius would lead the audience to assume a similar pattern. Against this background, the details and allusions concerning Maximian's infancy constitute a snub to Diocletian:

an quemadmodum educatus institutusque sis praedicabo in illo limite, illa fortissimarum sede legionum, inter discursus strenuae iuventutis et armorum sonitus tuis vagitibus obstrepentes? finguntur haec de Iove, sed de te vera sunt, imperator. (2.4-5)

The dismissal as fictional of the accounts of Jupiter's childhood on Mt. Dicte insidiously demeans Diocletian Iovius.²³ The claim for *res manifesta et probata*

²¹ Pichon (1906 "Ecrivains") pp.29ff on how the *Panegyrici Latini* are as Gallic in intention as they are in fact.

²² The identity of the *prodigium multo taetrius* is not made explicit: see Galletier (1949) p.25 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.55, where Carausius is posited. If Carausius is meant, then the orator is confidently predicting the victory.

²³ Seager (1983) p.131.

of Hercules (1.3), together with this allegation of fiction concerning Jupiter serves to differentiate Maximian from Diocletian.

Although Hercules is not mentioned by name in the third chapter, the orator's words at 3.1 are echoed in a mythological context in the fourth chapter. Both chapters deal with Maximian's accession. The orator begins:

te, cum ad restituendam rem publicam a cognato tibi Diocletiani numine fueris invocatus, plus tribuisse beneficii quam acceperis. (3.1)

The forthright statement that Diocletian gained more than Maximian at Maximian's promotion to the throne is justified in the following chapter by reference to the attempt by the giants to overthrow the gods on Olympus:

praecipitanti Romano nomini iuxta principem subiuvisti eadem scilicet auxilii opportunitate qua tuus Hercules Iovem vestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoriae parte iuvit probavitque se non magis a dis acceperisse caelum quam eisdem reddidisse. (4.2)

The parallels are clear: just as the gods, and in particular Jupiter, needed Hercules if they were to maintain their position, so too Diocletian needed Maximian; just as Hercules did not so much receive divine status as return it to the Olympians, so too Maximian did not so much gain the throne as restore it to Diocletian. Maximian's victory was over the Bagaudae.²⁴ The orator even identifies similarities between the Bagaudae uprising and the assault on heaven by the giants - both are *biformium* (4.3) (the giants as half-man, half-serpent, the Bagaudae as half-farmer, half-soldier²⁵). The orator here ignores his earlier inclination to avoid the tales of poets, and relates recent events to myth. In this way, Maximian, who has already been presented with the characteristics of his patron deity, is seen to be morally and physically superior to Diocletian.

After the orator has established associations between the Dyarchs and their respective deities, further reference to Hercules or Jupiter can be seen to

²⁴ Galletier (1949) p.27; Seager (1983) p.131.

²⁵ cf. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.61 for the slightly different explanation that they were "farmers and citizens on the one hand, but bandits and enemies on the other".

be charged with a political force²⁶. It is, therefore, significant that the next time Jupiter appears in the text the god is compared directly with Maximian:

bona venia deum dixerim, ne Iuppiter quidem ipse tanta celeritate faciem
caeli sui variat quam facile tu, imperator, togam praetextam sumpto thorace
mutasti. (6.4)

On one level, this comparison serves to imply that Maximian operates in ways normally reserved for gods and therefore elevates him above the realms of ordinary mortals. But because of the association which the orator has already implied between Jupiter and Diocletian, this comparison also has a political charge. The claim is vague, but asserts for Maximian an advantage over his colleague. The vagueness of the claim enables the orator to maintain a decorum which would preclude direct criticism of Diocletian. Nevertheless, it is clear by his choice and manipulation of myths and qualities relating to Jupiter that he saw in the imperial *signa* an opportunity to distinguish between the Dyarchs and assert Maximian's superiority.

Hercules and Jupiter

The distinction between the two Dyarchs does not operate simply at a nominal level - that is, it not only their *signa* which the orator uses to identify them. Infact, the *signa* provide the starting-point for characterization of the emperors. This is achieved by claiming for the two emperors the qualities which were commonly observed in their respective deities. This has been noticed in the use of similar epithets for both Hercules and Maximian.²⁷ This process of differentiation by characterization is most prominent when both Maximian and Diocletian are discussed. In chapter seven Maximian's suppression of the barbarian threat across the Rhine is celebrated; this leads to mention of the land around the Euphrates conceded to Diocletian by the Persians:

²⁶ An exception might be 12.6, *tibi largos imbres Iuppiter fudit*, which highlights Maximian's good dealing with the god, rather than with political colleagues.

²⁷ See discussion of chapter one, above, pp.206-7.

credo, itidem opimam illam fertilemque Syriam velut amplexu suo tegebat Eufrates, antequam Diocletiano sponte se dederent regna Persarum. verum hoc Iovis sui more nutu illo patrio, quo omnia contremescunt, et maiestate vestri nominis consecutus est; tu autem, imperator invicte, feras illas indomitasque gentes vastatione, proeliis, caedibus, ferro ignique domuisti. Herculei generis hoc fatum est, virtuti tuae debere quod vindicas. (7.5-6)

The spontaneity of the Persian surrender to Diocletian is seen to suit the Jovian emperor, since Jupiter himself only has to nod to make all things tremble.²⁸ The contrast with Maximian, emphatically signalled by *tu autem*, rests on the emperor's vigour and activity. Jovian Diocletian did not have to exert himself to secure Syria; Maximian, with an energy and courage characteristic of his patron deity Hercules, secured his victories through his *virtus*. The vigorous repression of savage people by Maximian is complemented by the Herculean epithet *invicte*. These references to Jupiter and Hercules do not constitute as vivid a criticism of Diocletian as the earlier chapters which deal with Maximian's accession to the throne; however, the conscious styling of the two Dyarchs as Jovian and Herculean respectively characterizes them in different ways.

This particular characterization of the dyarchs with Maximian practical and dynamic and Diocletian contemplative and studied would have rung true to the orator's audience in Gaul. For them, Maximian was the man of action who had relieved them from the attacks of the Bagaudae and the threats from across the Rhine; he too was preparing to campaign against the separatists under Carausius. By contrast, the only action for which the Gauls were directly in debt to Diocletian was his decision to appoint Maximian to the throne. Maximian's accession marked the beginning of his campaign against the Bagaudae, so his reign was one of action from the outset. The orator says of Maximian's accession:

haec omnia cum a fratre oblata susceperis, tu fecisti fortiter ille sapienter.
(4.1)

²⁸ For the accuracy of the claim see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.64-5.

Diocletian's wisdom lay in his decision to appoint Maximian to protect the empire; Maximian's courage lay in his willingness to accept the responsibilities and dangers. The antithesis characterizes and differentiates the Dyarchs²⁹, but does so in a way more respectful to each of them than other writers were.³⁰

The picture of Diocletian, like Jupiter, generally detached from fields of action and Maximian, like Hercules, completely immersed in his labours, is created in most detail in a difficult passage:

ut enim omnia commoda caelo terraque parta, licet diversorum numinum
ope nobis provenire videantur, a summis tamen auctoribus manant, Iove
rectore caeli et Hercule pacatore terrarum, sic omnibus pulcherrimis rebus,
etiam quae aliorum ductu geruntur, Diocletianus † facit, tu tribuis effectum.
(11.6)

Galletier supplies *initium* where Mynors highlights the *crux*.³¹ Nixon and Rodgers tentatively offer the translation "the decisions" to maintain the characterization developed throughout the speech.³² As Kolb has argued, Maximian should not be seen, according to this characterization, to be subordinate to Diocletian.³³ Having earlier celebrated Maximian's great capacity for action and practical results, the orator here puts his claim into a cosmic context. In addition, he has already established that Jupiter owed his tenancy of the heavens to Hercules' victory over the giants (4.2), so this passage crystallizes claims the orator has already made in the panegyric.

This characterization of the emperors as equivalent to their patron deities highlights their ability to cooperate with and complement each other. In chapters three and four, when the orator mentions Diocletian's decision to promote Maximian to the throne and Maximian's suppression of unrest in Gaul, the teamwork exhibited by the emperors is not celebrated; the myth of Hercules

²⁹ Seager (1983) p. 131; Williams (1985) pp. 44-5

³⁰ See above, p.46.

³¹ Against A. Baehrens' (1874) *Diocletianus facem tu tribuis effectum* A.I.Kronenberg reinstated *facit*, citing in support *facitis* (4.3) and *facta* (7.5), 'ad Panegyricos Latinos', *Classical Quarterly* 6 (1912) 204.

³² Mynors includes other suggestions in his *apparatus criticus* p.252; Galletier (1949) p. 34; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp. 71-2.

³³ Kolb (1987) p. 97.

and the giants is invoked to present Maximian alone as the empire's saviour. But, as was seen in Parts One and Two, when modes of address and means of articulating the unity of government were considered, chapters nine and eleven of this speech are extraordinary for their dedication to the two emperors together.³⁴ This comparison of the Dyarchs' government with the control over heaven and earth exercised by Jupiter and Hercules not only associates the imperial college with the cosmic dimension but also celebrates the emperors' teamwork. Thus, despite the awkward textual crux which hampers analysis of these lines, the claim that between them Diocletian and Maximian fulfil the tasks necessary for the successful administration of the empire is entirely in keeping with the general tenor of the chapter.

Hercules Victor

In the penultimate chapter the orator again refers to contemporary religious practice in Rome and specifically to the cults of Jupiter Stator and Hercules Victor. This ring composition is deliberate and explicit, *fas est enim ut hoc dicendi munus pium unde coepimus terminemus* (13.1). No mention is made of the etymology of the name Stator, but the orator includes a short anecdote about the derivation of the epithet *Victor*:

hoc enim quondam illi deo cognomen adscripsit is qui, cum piratas oneraria nave vicisset, ab ipso audivit Hercule per quietem illius ope victoriam contigisse. adeo, sacratissime imperator, multis iam saeculis inter officia est numinis tui superare piratas. (13.5)

According to Servius Auctus and Macrobius, the adventure's hero is one Octavius Herrenus.³⁵ After an abbreviated career as flute-player, Herrenus turned to trade. He dedicated a tenth of his profit to Hercules. Once while transporting goods by sea he was beset by pirates. He had to defend himself and returned to shore victorious. Hercules appeared to him in a dream and told him

³⁴ See above, pp.40, 135.

³⁵ Servius Auctus, in *Aen.* VIII.363, Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.6.11. See Klotz (1911 "Studien") pp.537-8.

that his victory over the pirates was achieved through his agency. Herrenus therefore dedicated a temple to Hercules in the Forum Boarium in Rome, with the epithet VICTOR inscribed on it.³⁶ It is one of the less well-known incidents from the many which survive concerning Hercules, of little interest beyond antiquarian and commentary purposes. The panegyrist of 289, however, found certain details of the episode ideally suited to his agenda.

The orator is far more selective than Servius and Macrobius in his details. Octavius Herrenus is not named; his flute-playing is ignored, and the temple of Hercules is the starting-point for the digression, but not its dominant subject. Instead, the orator emphasizes the theme of victory (*vicisset, victoriam*), the defeat of pirates (*piratas oneraria nave, superare piratas*) and Maximian's status (*muminis tui*). The result is an unmistakable implication of a causal relationship between the emperor's *signum* and his success in naval expeditions. After *ille pirata*, the earlier reference to Carausius (12.1), this mention of a sea victory achieved through Hercules' agency constitutes a confident prediction of Maximian's victory over Carausius. Thus the campaign to regain Britain which was actually only in preparation (12.3-8) is presented as divinely sanctioned and therefore, guaranteed success. Hercules' role in the recovery of Britain, as foreseen by the orator, also focuses attention on Maximian and not the collegiate government.³⁷ Diocletian is nowhere in this enterprise.

Conclusion

The orator of 289 used Maximian's *signum* as a means of sketching a character for the emperor. The *signum* clearly provided the orator with the opportunity to cast the emperor as an individual in the most flattering terms without the need to consider his actual personality. From the nominal and vague association implicit in the *signum*, he developed a genetic relationship; this

³⁶ These two accounts, each written later than the panegyric, are almost identical. Macrobius identifies as his source the *Memorabilia* of the first century jurist Masurius Sabinus. It is the purpose of both Servius and Macrobius to explain why Hercules has the epithet Victor at his two temples in Rome. *aedes* introduces the anecdote in the panegyric (13.4) too, which suggests that the orator too was drawing on the same source.

³⁷ cf. VIII(5), where the defeat of Allectus is attributed alternately to Constantius and the Tetrarchy.

kinship is illustrated by the qualities and instincts the emperor and deity share. As with the contemporary coinage, whose message the orator exploits by transferring to Maximian legends originally used of Hercules, these instincts are eirenic and the qualities *virtus* and victory. The relationship between emperor and god is so styled by explicit statement, loaded comparison and a fluidity in the allocation of epithets and achievements, that references to one of them can be extended to the other. Maximian is hardly characterized without reference to Hercules; likewise, references to Hercules come to have pointed implications for the appreciation of Maximian. Each is presented as a peacemaker whose victories over evil are divine.

The orator uses myth sparingly, preferring instead the immediacy and relevance of more topical matters. The short reference to Hercules' obscure role as an enemy of piracy generates optimism for Maximian's imminent campaign against Carausius. Myth does, however, provide an important parallel for the balance of power between Maximian and Diocletian. Jupiter does not consistently appear less capable than Hercules, but key passages claim for Hercules more genuine and far-reaching achievements. The variety in the orator's treatment of this feature creates a texture for the speech which complements his shrewd employment of modes of address. Just as literal terms of address far outnumber the metaphysical terms, generally focusing attention on Maximian, so too the use the orator makes of the relationship between Maximian and Hercules usually works to marginalize, subordinate or ignore Diocletian. The outstanding exception is chapter eleven, which is one of the two chapters where the metaphysical mode of address is dominant, and the theme of unity central.³⁸

³⁸ Chapter nine is also dominated by the theme of unity. The phrase *non vultuum similitudo sed morum* (9.5) is suited to this theme but not to differentiated characterization.

PANEGYRICI LATINI XI(3)

Hercules features less prominently in the panegyric of 291. Given the support for the collegiate government which this speech articulates in ways discussed in Parts One and Two, it is no surprise that the orator does not adopt the method used in panegyric X(2) of characterizing Maximian as Herculean to the disadvantage of Diocletian. However, Hercules and Jupiter are by no means entirely absent. The different uses this panegyric makes of the relationship with the gods illustrates the range of material and approaches an orator had at his disposal to convey his desired message.

Names and Virtues

The imperial *signa* are used by the speaker of 291 as the starting-point for consideration of the Dyarchs' divinity:

quos quidem, sacratissime imperator, quotiens annis volventibus
revertuntur, vestri pariter ac vestrorum numinum reverentia colimus,
siquidem vos dis esse genitos et nominibus quidem vestris sed multo magis
virtutibus approbatis. quarum infatigabiles motus et impetus ipsa vis
divinitatis exercet. (2.3-4)

As was the case in the panegyric of 289, the nominal association between addressee and god is consolidated by other evidence for the nature of the relationship, here *virtutes*.¹ By a similar conceit, this is presented as confirmation of a genetic relationship.² Although the orator's strategy is the same as that used in the earlier speech, there is an important difference: the metaphysical mode of address here embraces both Maximian and Diocletian, whereas the comparable sentiment in 289 was directed to Maximian alone. From this first reference to the patron gods in the speech, the orator of 291 sets out his stall; the theophoric *signa* provide an opportunity for favorable

¹ For *nomina* see also 3.3.

² e.g. X(2)2.3. For further assertion of a genetic relationship in XI(3), see 3.2-3, 3.8, 4.1.

characterization of both of the Dyarchs, but are not used to assert a preference for the literal addressee.

Jupiter

The orator's claim for the emperors' *divinitas* rests on their ceaseless activity (2.4-3.1). Such behaviour is said to be characteristic of their patron gods, whose activities are surveyed in turn. In a structure which is, in itself, not suggestive of any discrimination in favour of the literal addressee, Diocletian's Jupiter is considered first:

ille siquidem Diocletiani auctor deus praeter depulsos quondam caeli
possessione Titanas et mox biformium bella monstorum perpeti cura
quamvis compositum gubernat imperium, atque hanc tantam molem
infatigabili manu volvit, omniumque rerum ordines ac vices pervigil servat.
neque enim tunc tantummodo commovetur, cum tonitrua incutit et fulmina
iacit, sed etiam, si tumultuantia elementorum officia pacavit, nihilominus
tamen et fata disponit et ipsas quae tacitae labuntur auras placido sinu
fundit, et in adversa nitentem impetu caeli rapit solem. (3.4-5)

In myth, the Titans and the monsters of two-forms, the Giants, were Jupiter's challengers in his two struggles for ultimate authority.³ The orator of 289 used the myth of Jupiter's need for Hercules' help in his struggle against the Giants as an allegory for Diocletian's debt to Maximian⁴. Here, with the focus on the successes of Jupiter alone, there is no mention or hint of any debt owed to Maximian by Diocletian. Famously vanquished opponents of Jupiter, the Titans and Giants alike head a catalogue of the god's achievements which is designed to illustrate his tirelessness. This, in turn, is mirrored by Diocletian.⁵ The mythological allusions have religious implications for Diocletian but are not used to compare him with Maximian on a political level.⁶

³ Galletier (1949) p.52.

⁴ X(2)3-4.

⁵ *infatigabili manu* (3.4), used of Jupiter, echoes *infatigabiles motus* (2.4), used of Diocletian and Maximian. See later *ad infatigabilem consuetudinem laboris* (3.9).

⁶ cf. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.84.

Jupiter's activity and vigilance are reminiscent of the typical Stoic god.⁷ With his attention to cosmic order, the elements, fate and the heavens, Jupiter is characterized as busy, conscientious and concerned for universal well-being. By association with his *auctor deus* Diocletian too is ascribed similar qualities. This extended characterization of Jupiter and his emperor is a thorough endorsement of Maximian's colleague.

Hercules

To balance the claim for Diocletian's *divinitas* by reference to Jupiter's endless activity, the orator turns to Maximian and Hercules in a *praeteritio*:

itidemque, Maximiane, Herculis <tui vir>tus. mitto quod dum inter homines erat terras omnes et nemora pacavit, urbes dominis crudelibus liberavit, etiam caelo dirarum alitum volucra tela detraxit, etiam terrores inferum abducto custode compescuit; exinde certe nihilominus post adoptionem caelitum Iuventaeque conubium perpetuus est virtutis adsertor omnibusque fortium virorum laboribus favet, in omni certamine conatus adiuvat iustiores. his quidem certe diebus, quibus immortalitatis origo celebratur, instigat, ut videmus, illos a sacris certaminibus accitos ut pertinaci animositate certandi multa faciant ipsius similia Victoris. (3.6-8)⁸

A recurrent theme of this survey of Hercules' activity is his *divinitas*; the temporal clause *dum inter homines erat* reminds the audience of his later apotheosis, *adoptionem caelitum* refers to the deification directly, and his *immortalitatis origo* is cited as the reason for the festival at which the panegyric was delivered.⁹ This insistence on Hercules' *divinitas* implies for Maximian a status identical to that of Diocletian.

To illustrate Hercules' activity the orator incorporates a broad range of his achievements. The orator's selection of Herculean labours signals the extent

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ See above, Part One, p.59 for the textual crux.

⁹ Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") argues this case for the occasion of the delivery of the speech. See Appendix Two.

of his influence. His noble deeds occur in the countryside (*nemora*), cities (*urbes*), the sky (*caelo*) and Underworld (*inferum*).¹⁰ His pacification of the lands and groves balances Jupiter's control of the elements (*elementorum officia pacavit*). This characterization of Hercules creates the impression of a god who cares for mankind. The deeds the orator chooses demonstrate Hercules' courage, eirenic instinct and sense of justice. These qualities can transfer well to Maximian whose notable achievements in Gaul by 291 were the suppression of the Bagaudae and the consolidation of the Rhine defences; he had also attempted to restore Britain to the Roman Empire, but the campaign against Carausius had been unsuccessful.

The summary of Hercules' role after his apotheosis is no less flattering. The curious phrase *virtutis adsertor* reminds the audience of Hercules' moral impulse; the delayed adjective *iustiores* emphasizes this quality. His spirit of competition is prominent (*omni certamine, sacris certaminibus, certandi*), and significantly the passage ends with reference to Hercules by his epithet alone, *Victoris*. This Hercules concerns himself with human affairs and encourages those worthy of his help in their trials.

These discursive examples of the activity of Jupiter and Hercules have a moral dimension. Each of the gods works to rid the world of evil and to establish peace. Although their spheres of influence are not explicitly interlinked by the orator, their preoccupations complement each other well. Jupiter is distant yet watchful, and Hercules' assistance is more immediate. The orator next reverts to the metaphysical mode of address and likens the emperors to their gods, *non laborare vos sed parentes deos videamus imitari* (3.8). This characterization of the emperors by reference to their patron gods differentiates them from each other without promoting one at the expense of the other. The image of a distant Jupiter and a Hercules close at hand had a precise imperial equivalent in North-East Gaul at the time, with Diocletian away in the East and

¹⁰ Hercules' deeds in the *nemora* might refer to any or all of his labours involving the Nemean lion, the Hydra, the Keryneian hind, the Mycenaean boar, the Cretan bull, the Thracian horses, etc. The cruel tyrants he overthrew might include Busiris. The birds mentioned must be the Stymphalian birds. Cerberus was the guardian of the Underworld whom Hercules had to take to Eurystheus.

Maximian present at the delivery of the panegyric.¹¹ It is because of their differences that their administration works.

Jupiter and Hercules

The desire to present a universe controlled by Jupiter and Hercules can be seen in a later passage, which takes as its starting-point a Vergilian tag:

itaque illud quod de vestro cecinit poeta Romanus Iove, Iovis omnia esse
<plena>, id scilicet animo contemplatus, quamquam ipse Iuppiter summum
caeli verticem teneat supra nubila supraque ventos sedens in luce perpetua,
numen tamen eius ac mentem toto infusam esse mundo, id nunc ego de
utroque vestrum audeo praedicare: ubicumque sitis, in unum ^{locet} palatium
concesseritis, divinitatem vestram ubique versari, omnes terras omniaque
maria plena esse vestri. quid enim mirum si, cum possit hic mundus Iovis
esse plenus, possit et Herculis? (14.2-4)¹²

The pattern of discussing Jupiter before presenting Hercules in a similar vein, established in chapter three, is repeated. This dynamic illustrates the orator's concern to show the indispensability of each god. Of course, this theological perspective has political repercussions. The link between gods and emperors is explicit in this passage, where the orator moves from Jupiter to the Dyarchs and finally to Hercules. Jupiter, Hercules, Diocletian and Maximian are divine and omnipresent.¹³

The image of Jupiter has been modified slightly. He is still celestial, but his reputation for ceaseless activity has been replaced by the picture of a sedate god whose omnipresence permits a more relaxed attitude. Hercules is not characterized, other than as being everywhere. It is this omnipresence, neatly and memorably encapsulated in Vergil's phrase, which can be recognised in the emperors too and, therefore, stands as the quality which marks them out. Their

¹¹ Barnes (1982) pp.52, 58.

¹² *Iovis omnia plena* Vergil, *Eclogues* 3.60.

¹³ See *Praesentia* above pp.17-38.

association with their respective gods is not used to divide the Dyarchs but to unite them.¹⁴

Emperors as their Gods

The significance of some references to Hercules is indeterminate. The toponym *arces Monoeci Herculis* is used of Monaco when the orator describes Maximian's visit there (4.2).¹⁵ It is suggestive of Maximian's association with the god without yielding to detailed exegesis. A similar geographical reference is likewise unqualified:

vos, invictissimi imperatores, prope soli Alpium vias hibernis nivibus obstructas divinis vestigiis aperuistis, ut quondam Hercules per eadem illa culmina Hiberiae spolia incommitatus abduxit. (9.4)

The adjective *invictissimi* is reminiscent of Hercules' regular epithet *Invictus*, but is here used of the emperors. Their footprints are divine; they travelled across the Alps with few attendants. The simile of Hercules' unaccompanied journey over the same peaks works to identify the emperors with the god. Significantly, Diocletian is not left out, but is integral to the sentence. Both emperors can be Herculean.

The orator's tendency to transform the association between the emperors and their patron gods from a genetic relationship resulting in common character traits to a point of identification of the emperors as their gods suitably reaches its apogee at the speech's centrepiece. A conference between Diocletian and Maximian took place perhaps in December 290 or January 291 at Milan.¹⁶ The orator describes the celebrations at the emperors' *adventus* in terms of a festival to mark a divine epiphany¹⁷:

¹⁴ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.98 n.75.

¹⁵ *id.* p.86 n.26.

¹⁶ *id.* p.77; Barnes (1982) pp.52,58.

¹⁷ MacCormack (1981) pp.25-6.

ut vero propius propiusque coepti estis agnosci, omnes agri oppleti non hominibus modo ad visendum procurrentibus sed etiam pecudum gregibus remota pascua et nemora linquentibus, concursare inter se agricolae, nuntiare totis <suis> visa, arae incendi, tura poni, vina libari, victimae caedi, cuncta gaudio calere, cuncta plausibus tripudiare, dis immortalibus laudes gratesque cantari, non opinione traditus sed conspicuus et praesens Iuppiter cominus invocari, non advena sed imperator Hercules adorari. (10.5)

The conventional preparations for religious ceremony and more bizarre happenings such as the devotion of flocks are described. Through its accumulation of observations and the culminating revelation of the subjects of reverence, the sentence progresses like the emperors' journey through the Alps towards Milan. As the clauses and details accumulate, the sense that the emperors are divine intensifies. Their *divinitas* is confirmed in the final two clauses, but the orator has not simply insisted upon their deification by the conventional application of adjectives and nouns.¹⁸ As *praesens Iuppiter* and *imperator Hercules* Diocletian and Maximian are respectively identified as the gods who were previously their patrons and forebears. The approximation of the two emperors and the two gods is absolute.

This fashioning of the Dyarchs as their gods is repeated in an extraordinary vocative address:

sancte Iuppiter et Hercules bone, tandem bella civilia ad gentes illa vesania dignas transtulistis, omnemque illam rabiem extra terminos huius imperii in terras hostium distulistis. (16.2)

The vocatives appear in a passage dominated by the metaphysical mode of address.¹⁹ The warring between various barbarian forces beyond the Roman frontiers is put down to the emperors' *felicitas*. The vocatives confirm the emperors' *divinitas* and present them working in harmony together.

This presentation of the emperors as their patron gods is a new development in surviving panegyric. In the speech of 289, in name and

¹⁸ For the language of 'divine insinuation' see Rodgers (1986).

¹⁹ See above, Part One, pp.53-4.

character Maximian is Herculean and Diocletian Jovian, but the orator does not identify the emperors as their gods explicitly. However, some coin issues from the Gallic mint Lugdunum provide parallels for the approximation of Maximian and Hercules which occurs in the speech of 291. On these coins, the obverse portraits of Maximian have the lion-skin and club - the traditional trappings of the god.²⁰ This combination is not common in issues from other mints.²¹ The coins with Maximian as Hercules cover a range of dates from 285 to 292-3; thus, the orator of 291 was adopting and developing an idea already established in numismatic art.

Conclusion

Although Hercules and Jupiter appear less often in the panegyric of 291 than they do in the speech of 289, the use made of the gods is no less decisive. The earlier speech takes as its starting-point the *signum* and argues for a genetic relationship between emperor and god which enables the orator to graft onto Maximian some key Herculean characteristics; the resulting characterization of Maximian denigrates his colleague. In 291 the *signa* provide the inspiration not only for characterization of both emperors but even ultimately for their equation with Hercules and Jupiter. Maximian and Diocletian are characterized and, therefore, differentiated from each other, but this system of two gods and two emperors has no favourites. Because they have different characters, Maximian and Diocletian are presented as playing complementary roles.

Myth and quotation of contemporary coin legends are used sparingly. The orator's primary concern is to use the *signa* to demonstrate the emperors' *divinitas*; his instinct here is to move from the particular to the universal. Thus, from mention of the theophoric *signa*, he goes on to address the emperors as Hercules and Jupiter; their *adventus* is presented as an epiphany. Both Maximian and Diocletian are cast as gods who work in tandem for the benefit of the Roman world. Together they end war and cultivate peaceful prosperity.

²⁰ *RIC* 5.2 pp.260-73; MacCormack (1982) pl.44. *RIC* 5.2. p.258, for coin with Diocletian on the obverse and Maximian, as Hercules, on the reverse, dated to 285.

²¹ *RIC* 5.2 has one example, from Rome p.276.

This process of characterization adds an important dimension to the view of imperial and cosmic order which is dependant on the Dyarchy. By fashioning the two emperors as individuals, the orator specifies the particular contribution each made to the government. Thus it is not only the political system of Dyarchy which is seen to be of cardinal importance to world order, but also the particular individuals who hold office within the system. This is an important ideological claim: according to this scheme, praise of the Dyarchy as an institution and praise of the Dyarchs as individuals go hand in hand. This characterization of two without preference for one is an unusual initiative for the genre. The orator has adapted the literary conventions to the political exigencies with tact and care.

PANEGYRICI LATINI VIII(5)

Constantius Herculus

The Augusti Diocletian and Maximian do not appear to have used their *signa* in documents such as edicts and letters, or on coins.¹ A medallion in the British Museum has the legend IOVIO ET HERCULIO² and Iovius is used of the later Tetrarch Maximinus Daia on a bronze coin from Antioch (310-311) and in a letter to a Sabinus, preserved by Eusebius.³ Such examples stand out as exceptions. The *signa* appear on an inscription at Thessaloniki, referring to the four emperors of the first Tetrarchy⁴, and again at Carnuntum on a dedication to Mithras dated to 307.⁵ However, although the *signum* Herculus did not appear on the legends of Maximian's coins, nevertheless the emperor's devotion to the god was unmistakable.⁶ Constantius' coins also suggest an affiliation with the god; mints across the empire issued coins in Constantius' name with references to Hercules in legend or type.⁷ The absence of the *signa* from Tetrarchic documents and coins suggests that they had a certain informality - a tone inappropriate for official usage. As the Dyarchic speeches X(2) and XI(3) demonstrate, the *signa* were suitable for inclusion in panegyric.

Panegyric did not have a monopoly on use of *signa*. In his famous Christian polemic, Lactantius is unequivocal in his description of the practice of inheritance of imperial *signa*;

ubi sunt modo magnifica illa et clara per gentes Ioviorum et Herculiorum
cognomina, quae primum a Dioclete ac Maximiano insolenter adsumpta ac
postmodum ad successores eorum translata viguerunt? nempe delevit ea
dominus et erasit de terra. (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 52.3)

¹ Barnes (1982) pp.17-29.

² Coins and Medals Department R4381.

³ *RIC* 6 p.636; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 9.9a.4; Barnes (1982) p.24; Salway (1994) p.137.

⁴ *ILS* 634.

⁵ *ILS* 659.

⁶ See above, pp.198-200.

⁷ e.g. *RIC* 5.2 pp.298, 301-2; *RIC* 6 pp.163, 169-70, 173, 280, 311, 422, 455, 554, 613.

Despite the informal, shorthand quality the names Iovius and Herculus seem to have had, Lactantius' claim that the successors of Diocletian and Maximian assumed their *signa* seems reasonable. It was presumably at their accession when the Caesars' ties to the Augusti were secured with marriage alliances.⁸ Although Lactantius published his work long after the disintegration of the first Tetrarchy, and Constantius' coinage in the years after his accession indicates devotion to Hercules, but also to Jupiter and Mars, it seems likely that Constantius' *signum* Herculus was widely known by the time of panegyric VIII(5) in 297.⁹

Therefore, given that awareness of the *signum* would be established after four years of Constantius' reign, and bearing in mind the frequency of references to Hercules in the Dyarchic panegyrics, the lack of interest in the theme in the speech of 297 is striking. In fact, the orator only mentions the Tetrarchs' patron gods Hercules and Jupiter in one sentence. Both the gods and the *signa* feature:

et sane praeter usum curamque rei publicae etiam illa Iovis et Herculis
cognata maiestas in Iovio Herculioque principibus totius mundi
caelestiumque rerum similitudinem requirebat. (4.1)

There are two key points to be drawn from this sentence. One is that in *cognata* the orator is adopting the perception of the association between emperors and gods, seen in the two previous speeches, as a family relationship. Secondly and more surprising is the implication that the *signa* identify the Augusti Diocletian and Maximian but not their Caesars. *Iovio* and *Herculio*, as singular epithets, refer to Diocletian and Maximian alone. This interpretation fits the sense of the line and the rest of the chapter: over and above the concerns of state which were becoming too great for two men to shoulder themselves, Diocletian Iovius and Maximian Herculus were prompted to appoint two further men to the imperial college so that the system of political government would mirror in the

⁸ On the value of *signa* as shorthand referents, Salway (1994) p.137; for the marriages, Barnes (1982) pp.37-8.

⁹ T.D. Barnes dates Lactantius' work to 313-5, 'Lactantius and Constantine', *Journal of Roman Studies* 63 (1973) 29-46 (1973). Galerius and Diocletian dedicated coins to Hercules too.

cardinal number four the other essential cosmic orders. This sentiment is not a denial of the Caesars' adoption of the *signa*, but it certainly directs attention away from the issue.

There are no references throughout the speech to myths involving Hercules or Jupiter; their roles as protecting deities, such as feature in the two Dyarchic speeches. are nowhere suggested. The gods, the imperial *signa* and their significance are not an issue for the panegyrist. Whereas the Dyarchic panegyrics present the emperors as individuals by characterizing them predominantly through use of the *signa*, the orator of 297 adopts other means. There is good reason for this: the panegyrists of the Dyarchic years used the *signa* as a means of differentiating between and characterizing the two emperors. At the inception of the Tetrarchy in 293 and the extension of the *signa* to the newly appointed Caesars, this potential evaporated, for now there were two Jovii and two Herculii. After 293, use of the *signum* as a vehicle for characterization precluded exclusive individualization of an emperor because two men used each *signum*. Both Maximian and Constantius belonged to the Herculean dynasty, Diocletian and Galerius to the Jovian. References to the Augustus in the speech suggest that outright denigration of Maximian was not part of the orator's agenda.¹⁰ By 297 the *signum* was simply a less efficacious means of characterizing emperors by differentiation, so the orator had to look elsewhere if Constantius were to be seen as an individual. The *signum* could no longer be used to identify an individual without complication.¹¹

Historical Characters

The orator avoids myth in general and instead takes his *exempla* from history, from a variety of periods.¹² In this approach this panegyrist is quite distinctive. Implicitly and explicitly, Constantius and his deeds are compared with characters and occasions from the past.

¹⁰ 13.3 and 21.1.cf the hints in *Gallias tuas* (6.1),discussed above, Part One, pp.77-8.

¹¹ Compare the potential for complexity in mode of address automatically created by the change from Dyarchy to Tetrarchy; see above, p.92.

¹² Nixon (1990) pp.14-17 and Appendix.

Xerxes

The first is the Persian king Xerxes. Constantius' control over sea-siege mechanisms at Boulogne is described in terms which claim for him authority over the sea itself. This in turn recalls Xerxes who considered himself dominant over the sea:

Xerxes, ut audio, Persarum rex potentissimus, pedicas iecit aureas in profundum, Neptunum se dictitans adligare quia fluctibus ferociret, stulta ille iactantia et sacrilega vanitate. at enim tua, Caesar, divina providentia et efficaci est usa consilio nec insultavit elemento, ut non provocaret odium sed mereretur obsequium. (7.1-2)

The story of Xerxes is related in Herodotus and Juvenal.¹³ The panegyrist adds details to the account and draws comparison between the religious decorum of his addressee and the Persian king.¹⁴ Xerxes provides an appropriate contrast because both he and Constantius extended empires by sea-conquest. Thus Constantius is explicitly characterized as pious and deserving of the sea's obedience; furthermore, the terms of reference themselves demand for Constantius recognition as a great campaigner.

Gallienus

In chapter ten, the orator discusses the defection of Britain from the Roman Empire during the reign of Gallienus (253-268). Britain was part of Postumus' so-called Gallic Empire, a fact which the orator tactfully passes over in silence.¹⁵ His reason for mentioning the defection in the first place is to provide a yardstick against which he can measure Constantius' recent recovery of Britain from the separatists Carausius and Allectus. Although the orator perceives of the two instances of British defection as of comparable significance

¹³ Herodotus 7.35; Juvenal 10.182.

¹⁴ In the panegyrist's account, the chains are gold, suggestive of Xerxes' luxury and excess. He identifies Xerxes' *sacrilegia* which contrasts with Constantius' *divina providentia*. In the next sentence the orator claims that this interpretation of affairs is the only legitimate one.

¹⁵ Nixon (1990) p.15; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.123-4.

to the health of the Roman Empire, Gallienus himself was of insufficient reputation to bestow much glory on Constantius by comparison. The earlier emperor is only mentioned in order to identify the time of the defection. This historical digression establishes the scale of the task facing Constantius as he prepared to face the British separatists. The comparison hinges on the extent of Roman dominion: the defection of Britain in the time of Gallienus was not outstanding because much of the Roman world was in the throes of revolt (10.1-3). In comparison, Constantius' recovery of the province restored Roman control over the whole world (4).¹⁶ His campaign is thus seen to be of universal importance. Without explicit reference to Constantius' character, an idea of his significance to Roman destiny is clearly established.

Julius Caesar

An individual deemed far more worthy of direct comparison with Constantius is Julius Caesar. He, of course, made Rome's first incursions into Britain, and the orator's description of the province recalls Caesar's own positive reaction to the island's potential:

terra tanto frugum ubere, tanto laeta numero pastionum, tot metallorum
fluens rivis, tot vectigalibus quaestuosa, tot accincta portibus, tanto
immensa circuitu (11.1).¹⁷

However, it is not only their expeditions into Britain which bind the two leaders. The orator draws attention to the men's name, *Caesar ille auctor vestri nominis* (11.2). This suggestive observation brings further credit to Constantius. In geographical area, name and, we are encouraged to assume, historical significance, Constantius matches that most celebrated of Roman generals.

¹⁶ The comparison is articulated by *tunc* (10.2) and *nunc* (10.4).

¹⁷ cf. Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* on Britain's crops, flocks, and metal deposits 5.12; on harbours 4.20; on its size 5.13. Reference to Caesar's writings, *scripsit* (11.2) further presses the association. On Britain's natural resources, Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.126 cite other authors too.

Having established the similarities between the circumstances of Caesar and Constantius, the orator proceeds to highlight the differences. In Caesar's time, Britain was not equipped to fight a naval battle whereas the Roman fleet was experienced and well-prepared after recent campaigns against pirates and Mithridates (11.3).¹⁸ Furthermore, with primitive and half-naked Picts and Hiberni, the Britons could scarcely offer a challenge to the Roman invaders. Caesar won the campaign with ease (*facile*, 11.4). By contrast, Constantius faced an army composed of well-equipped troops, experienced in sea warfare, and his own men were new to seafaring (12.1). Far from easy, this campaign was *tam necessarium, tam difficile aditu, tam inveteratum* (13.1). Therefore, although Caesar and Constantius his namesake faced comparable situations, the latter gains from the comparison. By his recovery of Britain, Constantius' contribution to Roman order is assured; nor, to his credit, did he balk at the challenge.

In a technique typical of the collection, the addressee gains from a comparison which the orator cannot make too explicit without demeaning the other party and thus invalidating the original purpose for the comparison.¹⁹ Thus Constantius' superiority over Caesar is implied but not clarified. An example of this is the repetition of vocabulary used previously in relation to Caesar. Caesar's reaction to his 'discovery' of Britain is described:

quam Caesar ille auctor vestri nominis cum Romanorum primus intrasset,
alium se orbem terrarum scripsit repperisse, tantae magnitudinis arbitratus
ut non circumfusa Oceano sed complexa ipsum Oceanum videretur. (11.2)

The claim that Caesar had discovered another world in Britain is carefully focalized as the general's himself. The orator first dampens Caesar's achievement by delimiting the reasons for glorifying his success:

prope ut hoc uno Caesar gloriari in illa expeditione debuerit quod navigasset
Oceanum. (11.4)

¹⁸ The comments of Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.126 on the historicity of these claims illustrate the licence a panegyrist could assume in presenting his argument.

¹⁹ Maguinness (1933) p.121.

Echoes of this chapter ring out when the orator voices decisive conclusions about Constantius' achievement in recovering Britain:

gloriare tu vero, Caesar invicte, alium te orbem terrarum repperisse, qui Romanae potentiae gloriam restituendo navalem addidisti imperio terris omnibus maius elementum. (17.3)

The orator's transfer to Constantius of claims first made by Caesar authenticates the addressee's contribution to Roman order without explicitly demeaning his predecessor. The repetition of vocabulary invites comparison of the two protagonists without insisting upon it.

Antoninus Pius

One further historical figure is used to enable the orator to cut a more commendable character for Constantius. Initially a comparison is drawn between Constantius and earlier emperors who spent their reigns in Rome:

hoc loco venit in mentem mihi quam delicata illorum principum fuerit in administranda re publica et adipiscenda [re publica] laude felicitas, quibus Romae degentibus triumphi et cognomina devictarum a ducibus suis gentium proveniebant. (14.1)

The generalizing opening sentence is critical of the earlier emperors: *delicata felicitas* is an uncomplimentary characteristic, suggestive of luxury and sloth²⁰; the position of *Romae degentibus* emphasizes the emperors' immobility. Their inactivity is underlined by the use of the dative case, *quibus*, for the emperors as indirect objects of the verbs, which are governed by the nominatives *triumphi et cognomina*. The disapprobation is clear, and sets a significant tone for the introduction of Antoninus:

²⁰ G. Cecconi, 'Delicata Felicitas: Osservazione sull' ideologia imperiale della vittoria attraverso le fonti letterarie' *Clio* 27 (1991) 5-29.

itaque Fronto, Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus, cum belli in Britannia confecti laudem Antonino principi daret, quamvis ille in ipso Urbis palatio residens gerendi eius mandasset auspicium, veluti longae navis gubernaculis praesidentem totius velificationis et cursus gloriam meruisse testatus est. (14.2)

As an illustration of the orator's point, Antoninus Pius is well-chosen.²¹ He appears not to have left Italy during his reign and is thus a good example of an emperor *Romae degens*.²² During his reign of office, Roman control of Britain was extended up to the Antonine Wall²³; the British connection renders Antoninus ideal for comparison with Constantius. Mention of Fronto, his sons' tutor and consul designate in 142, introduces the theme of the sincerity of panegyric²⁴; this implies a comparison between Fronto and the present orator which serves to assert the validity of the praise of Constantius.

The most important comparison is, however, between Constantius and Antoninus.²⁵ In contrast to the former emperor, a permanent resident at Rome, Constantius headed the campaign to recover Britain. He was *hortator* and *impulsor* (14.3). Of their own accord, his troops followed him despite the poor weather conditions (14.5). Thus, comparison with Antoninus facilitates the orator's presentation of Constantius as an energetic and inspirational leader.

Through comparison of Constantius with a series of historical figures the orator is able to dispense with the theophoric *signa* as a principal means of characterizing his subject.²⁶ Although this method of characterization does not invite comparison between Constantius and his imperial colleagues, it has a very topical resonance because the victory which the orator claims was secured

²¹ Hadrian, for example, who campaigned vigorously outside Italy, and extended Roman rule in Britain, would weaken the orator's claim and perhaps even outshine Constantius.

²² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Ant. Pius* 5.4 *per legatos suos plurima bella gessit*; 7.11; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.133.

²³ The governor who conquered Britain in the emperor's name was Q. Lollius Urbicus; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.133.

²⁴ *Romanae eloquentiae non secundum sed alterum decus* cf. Marcus Aurelius' description of Fronto as *decus eloquentiae Romanae* (Loeb 1:130).

²⁵ The pattern of the historical comparisons is essentially the same throughout the speech, with the figure from history discussed first, followed by clear linguistic indicators of a contrast and finally, Constantius: 7.1-2, *Xerxes... at enim tua, Caesar, divina providentia*; 10.2-4, *tunc... nunc, 11.3-13.1; 14.2-5 Antonino... at enim tu, Caesar...*

²⁶ See above, pp.226-7.

through Constantius' qualities, such as military leadership and divine favour, was in fact owed primarily to Asclepiodotus.

Asclepiodotus

Some questions about the career of Julius Asclepiodotus remain unanswered.²⁷ What is clear, however, is that, with the rank of Praetorian Prefect he was instrumental in the recovery of Britain from Carausius and Allectus. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, both writing in the fourth century, mention him briefly. In Eutropius' account Asclepiodotus is the only Roman mentioned in the campaign:

qui [Allectus] ductu Asclepiodoti, praefecti praetorio, oppressus est.
(*Breviarium* 9.22.2)

Aurelius Victor also gives Asclepiodotus' rank but emphasizes Constantius' seniority:

quo usum brevi Constantius Asclepiodoto, qui praetorianis praefectus praeerat, cum parte classis ac legionum praemisso delevit. (*De Caesaribus* 39.42)

Modern accounts of the campaign are unanimous in their attribution of the defeat of Allectus to Asclepiodotus.²⁸ The location of the battlefield is disputed, but there is general agreement that the leaders of the respective forces in that final showdown were Allectus and Asclepiodotus. Constantius was not there. The different emphasis the panegyric of 297 lays upon the campaign and its main players is very revealing of the genre.

It has been observed that the separatists Carausius and Allectus are not allowed the dignity of being named in the panegyric.²⁹ They are identified, but

²⁷ e.g. his tenure of the office of Praetorian Prefect, Barnes (1982) p.126, Casey (1994) p.110; cf. Corcoran (1996) pp.88-9.

²⁸ e.g. Eichholz (1953) p.41; Salway (1981) pp.288-313; Williams (1985) pp.71-77; Casey (1994) pp.137-8.

²⁹ Casey (1994) p.46.

only in damning terms.³⁰ This was characteristic of the genre, but equally significantly there is no mention in the speech of Asclepiodotus.³¹ By not naming or even acknowledging the existence of the Praetorian Prefect, the panegyrist directs all the glory for the successful outcome of the campaign towards Constantius.³² This focus on Constantius and neglect of Asclepiodotus can be seen in the orator's employment of modes of address; chapters sixteen and seventeen cover the final battle and subsequent consolidation of victory. The frequent use in these chapters of the literal mode of address to Constantius, rather than third-person references to his Prefect, exalts the emperor's role.³³ The panegyrist does not mean to condemn Asclepiodotus, but to ignore him.

The exaltation of Constantius for a victory won by Asclepiodotus is achieved as much by characterization of the former as by neglect of the latter. Mention of Gallienus establishes the scale of the problem which faced Constantius; the comparison of the Tetrarch with Xerxes confirms the divine support Constantius enjoyed; the comparison with Antoninus Pius serves to emphasize how profoundly involved in the campaign Constantius was; and the reference to Julius Caesar highlights the importance of the reconquest of Britain. The profile which the panegyrist cuts for the emperor, through this series of comparisons with historical figures, directs attention to the literal addressee. Furthermore this profile is essentially concerned with Constantius' leadership qualities, military ability and devotion to the Empire, all of which are demonstrated in the account of the recovery of Britain.³⁴

Conclusion

As the speech proceeds through the historical comparisons, a profile is developed for the addressee. His character, his role and his achievement are

³⁰ e.g. *archipiratum* (12.2), *signifer nefariae factionis* (15.5); Casey (1994) p.46.

³¹ Lassandro (1981); Casey (1977) p.301.

³² Eichholz (1953) p.41. Constantius' absence from the decisive battle against Allectus renders ironic the panegyrist's comparison between him and Antoninus Pius (14.1-4). The praise of Constantius for his custom of being present at victories in a speech which celebrates a victory from which he was absent illustrates the panegyrist's daring. It is aided by a deliberate blurring of the difference between literal and metaphysical *praesentia*; see above p.32 on 15.6.

³³ See above, Part One p.68.

³⁴ Nb. the importance of the theme of victory in the speech, Seager (1983) pp.137ff.

outlined. Generated through historical rather than mythological means and illustrated by reference to recent events, these terms of reference are relevant and immediate. Constantius is characterized as a fearless and tireless soldier-emperor whose successful campaigning has brought almost limitless benefits to the Empire. A consequence of the series of comparisons between Constantius and leaders and kings from history is an emphasis on his contribution on a human dimension. The speech lacks the religious texture of the panegyrics of 289 and 291.³⁵ This is in accord with the neglect in the speech of 297 of the theophoric *signa*, mentioned above.³⁶ In the panegyrics addressed to Maximian, the *signa* are used to characterize the two emperors by differentiating between them; simultaneously, both emperors are elevated above the realm of ordinary mortals. In VIII(5) the characterization of Constantius by comparison with earlier figures locates the emperor in an historical framework.

This characterization of Constantius does not undermine the orator's support for any of the imperial colleagues or for the Tetrarchy as an institution. The fine balance between the modes of address and the sustained attempts to cast the Tetrarchy as an indispensable component of cosmic order testify to the orator's loyalty to the rule of four.³⁷ Likewise, although the individual profile of the emperor does not have as polemical a function as those in the two previous speeches, and in particular X(2) where the characterization of the Dyarchs has distinctly tense political implications, the characterization of Constantius in VIII(5) does generate a powerful ideological message. He alone of the emperors is characterized in the speech, but this is achieved without any denigration of his colleagues.

³⁵ MacCormack (1981) p.27; Rodgers (1986) pp.80-2.

³⁶ pp.226-7

³⁷ See above Part One, p.92 and Part Two, pp.175-7.

PANEGYRICI LATINI IX(4)

After the delivery of VIII(5), there was no change in the constitution or the members of the imperial college by the time of the next surviving speech, Eumenius' *Pro Restaurandis Scholis* of 298. However, just as this speech treated the theme of unity of government in ways unlike VIII(5), so too it deals differently with the idea of individuals.¹ This speech's interest in personal character extends to the imperial college, but is most apparent closer to home. Of all the *Panegyrici Latini*, Eumenius' speech is the most revealing of its author. It is one of only four in the collection which can be securely attributed to a named orator.² Furthermore, Eumenius includes a good deal more autobiographical detail than other speeches.³ He mentions his career; he had attained the position of professor before becoming *magister memoriae*⁴; he had a son whom he wished to commit himself to the teaching of oratory too⁵; his grandfather, an Athenian by birth had also taught.⁶ In addition, with the frequency of first-person references, we are left with a strong sense of the orator as an individual.⁷

By contrast, the provincial governor whom Eumenius addressed is hardly characterized at all. The opening sentence of the speech mentions one quality of his, *in omni genere dicendi maxima facultate viguisti* (1.1). After this introductory remark, which seems well chosen to mirror the orator's own areas of interest, Eumenius includes no more details of the man other than his title, *vir perfectissime*.⁸ Although the metaphysical mode of address is not employed until the final chapter, the only individual to be characterized other than the orator himself, is Constantius. The means and the characterization are starkly different from those of panegyric VIII(5).

¹ See above, Part Two, pp.156-85.

² The others are I(1) (Pliny), II(12) (Pacatus) and III(11) (Claudius Mamertinus). On the authorship of X(2) and XI(3), see Appendix One.

³ Rodgers (1989 "Eumenius").

⁴ 6.2.

⁵ 6.2. For the position of *magister memoriae* see below, Appendix One, p.257.

⁶ 17.3.

⁷ The *vir perfectissime* cannot even be identified. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.145 describe the speech as "a personal appeal". For first-person references, see Part One p.95.

⁸ 1.1; for the vocative address, Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.151; L'Huillier (1992) p.453; above, Part One p.93.

princeps iuventutis

The imperial college first appears in chapter three and dominates the next two chapters. It is not until chapter six - after more than a quarter of the entire speech - that Constantius features alone. The subject is still the Tetrarchs' decision to rebuild the Maenianae:

sed domini nostri Constanti, vere principis iuventutis, incredibilem erga iuventutem Galliarum suarum sollicitudinem atque indulgentiam mirari satis nequeo, qui honorem litterarum hac quoque dignatione cumulavit ut me filio potius meo ad pristina mea studia aditum molientem ipsum iusserit disciplinas artis oratoriae retractare. (6.1-2)

Constantius' *sollicitudo* and *indulgentia* are identified in his attitude towards literary education. It is this interest in education which renders the epithet *princeps iuventutis* thoroughly suitable.

The term *princeps iuventutis* was first used in the Empire by Augustus of Gaius and Lucius Caesar.⁹ Until the third century the term denoted a Crown Prince; in the third century reigning emperors themselves came to use the title. After the creation of the Tetrarchy in 293, coins were minted at Rome and Siscia with the legend PRINCEPS IUVENTUTIS (or an abbreviation) for the Caesars Constantius and Galerius.¹⁰ Constantius was born approximately at the same time as Maximian and only a little after Diocletian, so the epithet was indicative less of a significant difference in age between the Augusti and Caesars than a rank and function within the Tetrarchy.¹¹ As it had traditionally been applied to Crown Princes, in the time of the Tetrarchy the term PRINCEPS IUVENTUTIS was presumably suggestive of the Caesars' subordination to Diocletian and Maximian. Eumenius' interpretation of the epithet casts Constantius not as a *iuenis* himself, but as a man with an interest in youth.¹²

⁹ Tacitus, *Annals* 1.3.

¹⁰ *RIC* 6 pp.356-7, 440, 456.

¹¹ On the Tetrarchs' birthdates, see Barnes (1982) pp.30-8.

¹² This is emphasised through repetition; *iuventutis*, *iuventutem* (6.1), *iuventutis* (6.4). See later *tenera aetate* (8.2), *iuventutis* (9.2), *conciliabulum iuventutis* (9.2), *iuventutis ingenia*

Constantius Herculus

The *signum* Herculus is used of Constantius after the reticence of the orator in 297.¹³ In the Dyarchic panegyrics, the military quality of Hercules was emphasized with the frequent epithet *invictus*. This characterization, which was simultaneously grafted on to the addressee Maximian, was chosen to suit the political circumstances of Trier at the time - the recent quashing of the Bagaudae, the threats across the Rhine and the usurpation of Britain. The epithet *invictus* encouraged thoughts of success. Eumenius too tailored his characterization of Hercules according to the agenda of the speech - a request to redirect money to the restoration of the Maenianae.

Mention of the *signum* is prefaced with some detailed allusions to religious monuments in Athens and Rome.¹⁴

aedem Herculis Musarum in circo Flaminio Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia censoria fecit, non id modo secutus quod ipse litteris et summi poetae amicitia duceretur, sed quod in Graecia cum esset imperator acceperat Heraclen Musageten esse, id est comitem ducemque Musarum, idemque primus novem signa, hoc est omnium, Camenarum ex Ambraeciensi oppido translata sub tutela fortissimi numinis consecravit, ut res est, quia mutuis opibus et praemiis iuari ornarique deberent, Musarum quies defensione Herculis et virtus Herculis [et] voce Musarum. (7.3)

Initially Eumenius' motive for this unusual step is unclear.¹⁵ However, the digressions enable him to introduce the theme of Hercules and the Muses; his purpose in doing so becomes clear in chapter 8. The temple of Hercules Musarum is the key building he mentions, because it links the god and the Muses. A reference to the same building is made in Cicero's *Pro Archia*, but

(10.1), *adulescentes* (10.2), *eorum liberis* (14.1), *adulescentium excolas mentes* (14.4).

¹³ See above, Part Three, pp.226-7.

¹⁴ cf. an identical pattern in X(2)1.3.

¹⁵ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.159 reasonably describe Eumenius' argument here as "forced"; however, their claim that it "contributes little to his case" undervalues the importance to Eumenius of the *signum* and the particular characterization of Hercules, for which chapter seven establishes the foundations.

Eumenius' sources are far from clear here.¹⁶ The altar of Misericordia at Athens (7.1) recalls Statius' *Thebaid*, but Eumenius does not follow the poet in identifying the altar's founders as Hercules' offspring - a conceit which would well suit his argument.¹⁷ The *Romanus dux* (7.1) has been identified as Claudius Marcellus whose "double temple" to Honos and Virtus was dedicated in 222 BCE.¹⁸ To this building was transferred the shrine of the Muses after it was struck by lightning at its original location, the spring of Camenae, established by Numa. In 187 BCE Fulvius Nobilior transferred the shrine to his temple, that of Hercules Musarum in the Circus Flaminius. Servius Auctus adds *unde aedes Herculis et Musarum appellatur*.¹⁹ Eumenius makes no mention of the shrine of the Muses, despite his reference to the temple of Honos and Virtus, and suggests that the *aedes Herculis Musarum* derived its name from the statues of the nine Muses taken by Fulvius Nobilior from Ambracia (7.3).²⁰ Cicero says that Nobilior built his temple with *manubiae*, Eumenius with *pecunia censoria*.²¹ Thus, there are no internal inconsistencies in Eumenius' account, but several idiosyncrasies.²²

Eumenius' determination to underline the association between Hercules and the Muses is explained in chapter 8:

credo igitur, tali Caesar Herculus et avi Herculis et Herculi patris instinctu
tanto studium litterarum favore prosequitur, ut non minus ad providentiam
numinis sui existimet pertinere bene dicendi quam recte faciendi disciplinas.
(8.1)

The appearance of the *signum* puts into context the digression of the previous chapter and secures the link between Hercules and literary education. Because

¹⁶ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.159-60.

¹⁷ Statius, *Thebaid* 12.481-511; Galletier (1949) p.127; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.159.

¹⁸ Galletier (1949) p.127; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.159; L. Richardson Jnr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1992) p.190.

¹⁹ *Ad Aen.* 1.8.

²⁰ This is corroborated by Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 35.66.

²¹ *Pro Archia* 27; 7.3.

²² The allusiveness of *Romani ducis* (7.1) or *summi poetae* (7.3) contrasts with the fastidiousness of *id est comitem ducemque Musarum* and *hoc est omnium* (7.3). Eumenius was confident that his audience would recognise Marcellus in *Romani ducis*, but Marius, another eminent *Romanus dux* also built a temple to Virtus and Honos; Richardson (1992) p.190.

Hercules is cast as Constantius' grandfather, the Caesar's enthusiasm for education is seen to be a family instinct.²³ Constantius, like his grandfather Hercules, is interested in literary affairs, demonstrable in his commitment to education in Augustodunum.

Eumenius is careful not to argue that literary skills constitute an end in themselves. *litterae* are seen not to be isolated, but as the foundation for all virtues (8.2). These ultimate qualities which rest on a secure literary footing even include military prowess (8.2). The orator thus contrives to present the restoration of the Maenianae as a necessity not a luxury. This argument is underpinned by the characterization of Constantius as Herculean and Hercules as sympathetic to learning.

The characterization of Constantius by reference, via the *signum*, to Hercules, mirrors the approach adopted in the Dyarchic speeches. The characterization is quite different, and less accessible, but is manifestly designed to suit the orator's agenda.²⁴ Just as the Dyarchic panegyrics presented Hercules as universal victor, a characterization which both reflected Maximian's military successes up to that point and predicted further victories in the future, so too Eumenius' presentation of Hercules as associate of the Muses mirrors Constantius' previous interest in the Maenianae and foresees further help. The pattern is identical, but the particular characterization alters according to circumstance.

Maximian Herculus

Without use of the metaphysical mode of address (except in the peroration) or figurative expressions of harmony and felicity, Eumenius creates a sense of the unity of the imperial college.²⁵ This is principally achieved by attributing to the four emperors a unity of policy. Accordingly, the

²³ Rodgers (1986) p.104 and Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.160 insist that here alone in the speech *numen* indicates Constantius, not a god. After the clear reference to Hercules in *numen* (7.3) and the appearance of the *signum* Herculus (8.1), it is reasonable to accept this occurrence of *numen* as a further reference to the god in his capacity as Constantius' patron deity.

²⁴ With the exception of the PRINCEPS IUVENTUTIS issues, not in themselves widespread, Eumenius had no contemporary media to appeal to in his characterization; hence, the "forced" nature of his argument (see above p.238).

²⁵ See above, Part Two, pp.178-85.

characterization of Constantius in the speech - either as *princeps iuventutis* or, like Hercules, as dedicated to learning - does not denigrate his imperial colleagues.

As said above, after 293, characterization of the emperors through reference to their *signa* was less pointed than before the creation of the Tetrarchy because there were two Herculi and two Jovii.²⁶ The *signa* alone no longer identified individuals, but pairs. The author of VIII(5) chose to use the *signa* only once²⁷; Eumenius, by contrast, was far happier to refer to other emperors through the *signa*. The first reference focuses on Constantius and Maximian, *tali Caesar Herculus et avi Herculis et Herculi patris instinctu* (8.1). The association between the two emperors is forged by the emphatic repetition of the *signum* and their family relationship. Although Eumenius does not illustrate Maximian's interest in literary education, this Herculean feature is extended to both of the Western emperors.

Herculi and Jovii

Having designated the school as itself *aedes Herculis atque Musarum* (8.3), Eumenius makes great play of the location of the Maenianae between the Temple of Apollo and the town's Capitolium (9.3). The religious dimension which the school gains by its location is complemented by the gods' approval of its activities. Apollo, as god of poetry, (10.1) and the three regular gods of the Capitol, will look with interest on the school:

ibi adulescentes optimi discant, nobis quasi sollemne carmen praefantibus,
maximorum principum facta celebrare (quis enim melior usus est
eloquentiae?), ubi ante aras quodammodo suas Iovios Herculosque audiant
praedicari Iuppiter pater et Minerva socia et Iuno placata. (10.2)

Not only does Eumenius incorporate all of the emperors in this picture but he refers to them only by their *signa* - their religious charge is ideally suited to this context. As with the reference to Maximian Herculus (8.1), Eumenius does not

²⁶ See above p.227.

²⁷ See above, p.226 on VIII(5)4.1.

qualify his terminology; nevertheless, the very use of *signa* highlights a recognition of differences within the imperial college as well as similarities. Here and later in the speech, the *signa* and references to the patron gods Jupiter and Hercules differentiate between the imperial dynasties without setting a competitive tone.²⁸ Eumenius contrives to give the imperial college a texture which is not destructive or polemical.

Conclusion

Eumenius devotes less time than the other orators to characterization of the individual. The principal reason for this is that his speech, although clearly panegyric in tone, is a petition. Praise of the government is sensibly interlaced with the details of Eumenius' request, but the speech was clearly an occasional piece delivered with an eye to specific administrative concessions rather than a component of a community's regular obligations to the rhythms of imperial ceremonial. Hence, much in the speech does not correspond to the conventional ingredients of panegyric.

Secondly, the speech is addressed to a provincial governor, not an emperor: most panegyrics must have been delivered before government officials rather than emperors themselves. In itself, an emperor's literal absence from the occasion of a speech's delivery need not preclude the orator from expatiating on imperial matters; the theme of *praesentia* could be approached in a variety of ways.²⁹ However, it seems likely that for most orators, imperial attendance at a speech would be sufficient incentive to incorporate observations about the emperor in their delivery; and conversely, an emperor's literal absence from a speech would render the instinct to cast him as an individual less compelling. Eumenius only employs the metaphysical mode of address in the final chapter of his speech, when he calls upon each of the four Tetrarchs in turn.³⁰ Thus the

²⁸ 16.2 and 18.5. In his edition of 1513, Cuspinianus has *Iovii Herculiique* where the surviving manuscripts have *Iovi Herculi* at 16.2. Galletier (1949) p.134 follows Cuspinianus, Mynors (1964) the manuscripts. (Curiously, Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.167 and 561 print Mynors' text but translate Cuspinianus'.) Nothing hinges on the preference.

²⁹ See above, *Praesentia*, pp.17-38.

³⁰ See above, Part One, pp.98-9.

nature of Eumenius' agenda and the circumstances of his delivery in part account for the relatively little characterization of the emperors in his speech.

Nonetheless, as we have seen, Constantius' individual qualities receive a degree of attention. The two main thrusts of this characterization are complementary: his interest in youth and commitment to education. Unlike the orators of the three previous speeches, Eumenius does not draw much on myth or history to document this characterization; the temple of Hercules Musarum is cited, but Herculean myths are absent. Eumenius' speech has a simplicity of tone which, again, might be related to the fact that it was not a conventional panegyric.

Mention of the god and the imperial *signum* naturally lead on to consideration of the other emperors. Although they are not themselves characterized in the speech, Diocletian, Maximian and Galerius are not demeaned by Eumenius' presentation of Constantius as an individual. Eumenius' intention in characterizing the Western Caesar as *princeps iuventutis* and an associate of the Muses is more to advance his own agenda concerning the Maenianae than to draw up controversial lines of political allegiance.

SUMMARY

In these four speeches there is a great variety in the interest each panegyrist has in characterization and in the means each uses to achieve it. One feature they have in common is a disinclination to use details of the emperor's private life to present a rounded impression of his character. In this aspect the speeches contrast very markedly with other panegyrics in the collection. For example, in his address to Trajan, Pliny considers the emperor's relationship with his sister and wife, and in the speech of New Year's Day 362, Claudius Mamertinus mentions Julian's lack of indulgence in sleep and food¹; although it would be naive to assume that such details of personal circumstances were accurate reflections of reality, given the genre's propensity for hyperbole and nuance, they must have been at least plausible for the orator to maintain any credibility. By contrast, the four speeches from 289 to 298 make no reference to details such as the emperors' wives, diets or sleeping habits. The Dyarchic panegyrics feature very figured uses of the terminology and topoi of family and erotic relationships, but only to convey a sense of the unity between the two emperors. Some of these themes the speeches of 297 and 298 echo in a diluted form, but in general the four works pass over in silence details of the emperors' personal life.²

This silence contrasts with the bitterness of Christian writers. Galerius' dining habits, for example, are pilloried by Lactantius for their extravagance and bestiality, conjuring up images of cruelty and cannibalism:

habebat ursos ferociae ac magnitudinis suae simillimos, quos toto imperii sui tempore elegerat. quotiens delectari libuerat, horum aliquem adferri nominatim iubebat. his homines non plane comedendi sed obsorbendi obiectabantur; quorum artus cum dissiparentur, ridebat suavissime, nec umquam sine humano cruore cenabat. (*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 21.5-6)³

¹ Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 83-4; III(11)14.3. See Rees (1998).

² See above, Part Two.

³ For another example, see Eusebius on Maxentius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.14.

However, Lactantius' shocking image of Galerius must be related to his own highly polemical agenda. Lactantius is as critical of the government as the panegyrists are flattering. Invective is as prone to distortion as panegyric, so the panegyrists' silence about the emperors' domestic affairs need not be ascribed wholly to the unsuitability of such details to epideictic oratory.

Aurelius Victor perhaps better accounts for the silence when he writes of the increase in imperial ceremonial under Diocletian:

primus ex auro veste quaesita serici ac purpurae gemmarumque vim plantis concupiverit. quae quamquam plus quam civilia tumidique et affluentis animi, levia tamen prae ceteris. (*De Caesaribus* 39.2-3)

When faced with the degree of ceremonial which Aurelius claims accompanied the new regime and distanced the emperors from their subjects, discussion of domestic details as a means of characterization would be entirely inappropriate for the orators. The fact that they still manage to characterize the emperors attests to the central importance to the genre of the emperor as an individual as well as an institution. The means the panegyrists used to characterize the emperors tend to result in impressions of remote individuals, elevated far above - though not unconcerned with - the vicissitudes of normal human existence. The speeches are outstanding for the distance they establish between emperor and citizen, but the orators cleverly combine characterization and ceremonial.

This atmosphere of inaccessibility is generated by the orators' use of myth, history and religion. These themes replace observations about emperors' lifestyles as a means of characterizing them. Consequently, instead of incorporating illustrations taken from the emperors' lives of qualities such as *modestia*, *pietas* and *abstinentia*, which serve to narrow the distance between emperor and subject by emphasizing a shared system of ethical values, these speeches characterize the emperors through their theophoric *signa*, comparisons from exalted historical figures and parallels with the gods Jupiter and Hercules. This process sets the emperors above the realm of ordinary

humans and is complemented by the claims for the cosmic significance of Dyarchic and Tetrarchic government which also feature in the texts.⁴

However, although this elevated tone is an ideological factor common to each of the four works, the precise details of characterization vary from speech to speech. Each panegyric presents the emperors in a different light, emphasizing certain characteristics according a particular agenda. In X(2) the character of Hercules Victor is grafted onto Maximian to swell optimistic expectations of his anticipated clash with Carausius; at the same time myths are selected to denigrate his colleague Diocletian Jovius. In XI(3) the *signa* provide the inspiration for the equation of the two Dyarchs with their patron gods, culminating in the presentation of their *adventus* as an epiphany. The anonymous orator of VIII(5) barely mentions the *signa* and chooses historical comparisons as his means of casting Constantius as an individual; this practice of characterization through history rather than myth or religion perhaps leaves Constantius a less remote figure, but it still locates him in a dimension beyond the reach of his subjects. For Eumenius, the gods and the *signa* are vital, as they grant him the opportunity to insist upon the sanctity of education and the dedication to literature of Hercules and Constantius; the school is cast as a temple to Hercules Musarum and the emperor as a champion of its causes. As was the case with their modes of address and expressions of governmental unity, the orators' characterizations of the emperors illustrate not only the layered and nuanced nature of loyalty to the imperial college in these years but also the variety of which the genre was capable.

⁴ See above, Part Two.

Conclusion

Although an elevated tone is typical of panegyric in general, it is peculiarly so in the four speeches considered in this project. With metaphysical terms of address, metaphorical and cosmic figurations of unity, and mythological and historical characterizations of the emperors as common currency in the four Dyarchic and Tetrarchic works, an atmosphere of grandeur and serenity is sustained. The speeches have a common ideology of emperors set above the human realm but, far from uninterested in human affairs, they are seen to be working actively in the interests of their people.

Because the orators spoke in times of collegiate government, ideologies of teamwork and individuality are central to the four speeches in both discourse and detail. In one sense, the two are mutually supportive - adumbration of the nature of the imperial college provided a useful means of articulating the legitimacy of the individuals who belonged to it. Yet in setting out the relationships which bound the college together the orators had to address the question of individual authority and power; in this, an individual could be foregrounded or privileged in a way which did not complement the claims made elsewhere for the unity of government. In every case, the orators do not transgress a panegyric decorum which would preclude explicit denunciation of imperial colleagues, but in their figuration and proportioning of these factors the orators generated layers of loyalty which can be seen to differentiate their speeches.

Panegyrici Latini X(2)

In the first of the Dyarchic panegyrics, the united imperial college of Maximian and Diocletian features most prominently in chapters nine and eleven. Here the orator develops the themes of fraternity, concord and *similitudo*; this political unity is modelled upon the emperors' personal relationship. The number of emperors is associated with the reduplicated fertility of the earth, and in their administration of the Empire, the cooperation of Diocletian and Maximian mirrors that of Jupiter and Hercules.

Significantly, when imperial unity is the panegyrist's subject, his mode of address is metaphysical. It is entirely appropriate that the orator includes the

literally absent emperor in his addresses particularly when discussing aspects of government unity. As a dialectical device nothing could be more illustrative of the emperors' close relationship than a simultaneous address to both of them. Thus in chapters nine and eleven, which expatiate most explicitly on the theme of the united government, the metaphysical mode is employed more frequently than the literal; this is striking because in only three of the speech's fourteen chapters is the literal mode outweighed by the metaphysical, and the speech's only metaphysical vocative, *invictissimi principes*, appears (11.1). The coincidence of mode of address and subject-matter is a potent strategy in the articulation of Dyarchic ideology.

Elsewhere in the speech, the literal mode of address is dominant. Maximian is accorded Hercules' character as victor and restorer of peace; the equivalent characterization of Jupiter serves to imply Diocletian's dependence on Maximian, a suggestion which receives confirmation in the use of modes of address in the catalogue of the cares of office (3.2-4). The orator's inevitable preoccupation with affairs relating to Gaul, such as Maximian's quashing of the Bagudae uprising (4.3-4) or the usurpation by Carausius of neighbouring territory (12), extends to a concentration on the Western Dyarch.

Thus the speech has two distinct layers of loyalty. Generally the loyalty expressed is to Maximian and predicates for him superiority over Diocletian. This ideology aims to reverse the established hierarchy of the Dyarchy, and as such, constitutes an aggressive challenge to Diocletian. However, this polemical ideology is offset at times, and in particular in chapters nine and eleven, where unalloyed loyalty towards the Dyarchy surfaces; here, the orator neither claims nor hints at anything other than a harmonious relationship of equals. There is no sense of any posturing or tension within the imperial college. With these competing loyalties, the resulting speech is one of remarkable texture.

Panegyrici Latini XI(3)

XI(3) was also delivered to Maximian in the years of Dyarchy. Despite this and other similarities, X(2) and XI(3) are significantly different in their

imperial ideologies.¹ As we saw in the frequency and distribution of terms of address, the speech of 291 deliberately insists upon the desirability of two emperors. In the panegyric of 289 the rare clusters of addresses in the metaphysical mode occur in passages dedicated to the theme of a united government. By comparison, XI(3) is of a more uniform texture; the distribution of the two modes of address is more even, with the metaphysical utterly dominant after the opening chapter, and the theme of the unity of government not restricted to a small number of chapters. And just as Diocletian is constantly invoked in the dynamics of address, so too in the subject-matter of the panegyric he is hardly less apparent than Maximian. As they are in X(2), mode of address and content are again complementary, but to different effect.

Maximian and Diocletian are cast as brothers through their military achievements (7.6). A similar conceit of expressing political unity through a figuration of a private relationship can be seen in the transfer of *topoi* of erotic literature to the Dyarchs (12.3-5). Because the cosmos is seen to be structured on a series of binary systems, Dyarchy is presented as part of the natural order. Maximian is characterized with Hercules' qualities and even as Hercules himself. In this speech the equivalent characterization of Diocletian through reference to Jupiter and the accompanying selection of myths and virtues do not function to assert the ascendancy of one emperor over the other; rather Maximian and Diocletian are presented as quasi-divine beings who cooperate with each other in absolute harmony.

This expression of loyalty to the Dyarchy is sustained throughout the panegyric. At no stage does the orator privilege one emperor at the expense of the other. This is all the more noteworthy considering that the starting-point for the speech seems to have been the celebration of the birthday of the literal addressee, Maximian²; the orator could have easily developed from this a speech which highlighted his loyalty to the Western emperor. The broader canvas which he preferred to adopt and the consistency of the expressions of loyalty to the Dyarchy indicate a marked difference to X(2).

¹ For similarities, differences and the general question of authorship, see Appendix One.

² On the occasion of XI(3) see Appendix Two.

Panegyrici Latini VIII(5)

Loyalty to Constantius, the literal addressee, is a prominent feature of VIII(5), the first of the two Tetrarchic speeches. The Caesar is characterized, not by use of the *signum* Herculus, but through a series of comparisons with historical *exempla*. These comparisons fashion for Constantius a marked profile as an indispensable member of the imperial college. The personal qualities emphasized are essentially military and are illustrated through the details of Constantius' campaigns in Gesoriacum, Batavia and Britain (6-19). Appropriately, the literal mode of address is used in these chapters to underline Constantius' personal role in these conquests. As well as establishing a historical context for his achievements and qualities, the prominence granted to Constantius in this panegyric underplays the contribution of Asclepiodotus to the victorious campaign against Britain.

The orator is concerned to integrate Constantius into the Tetrarchic college. The metaphysical mode of address is employed only marginally less frequently than the literal. The increase in the number of emperors from two to four denied Tetrarchic orators the opportunity to work the iconography of bilateral relationships, such as that of twins or lovers, to political effect. Instead, the orator of VIII(5) uses the catalogue of quaternities to assert the cardinal importance to the cosmos of the number four (4.2). The ratio in this chapter of one literal address to the nine occurrences of the metaphysical mode confirms the peculiar ability of the modes of address to underline the particular subject-matter.

A further marker of the orator's integration of the individual and the college is his willingness to salute other emperors and their achievements. The accession of Constantius and Galerius is celebrated as a day of fundamental cosmic significance (2.2-3.1); Maximian is singled out for metaphysical address for his role in occupying barbarian forces during Constantius' campaign (13.3); and Diocletian, Maximian and Constantius are each addressed individually in the final chapter with references to their campaign victories. Within this framework, the military victories which are cast as Constantius' personal

achievements, reflect well on the entire Tetrarchy. Thus the candid expressions of loyalty to the individual and to the imperial college complement each other.

The exclusion of Galerius from the peroration, perhaps because at the time of the delivery of the speech he had recently suffered a reverse at the hands of the Persians, appears to constitute a snub to the Eastern Caesar. The complex of loyalties revealed in the panegyric indicates the demands of diplomacy in addressing a member of an imperial college which the increase in number of emperors from two to four must have intensified.

Panegyric Latini IX(4)

In the last of the speeches considered in this study, the imperial ideology presented by Eumenius is very similar to that implied in the official letter he quotes in chapter 14. In its references to Constantius and, through the use of first-person plural forms, to the Tetrarchy as a whole, the letter gives the impression of closely-knit imperial college which automatically endorses the decisions and actions of its constituent members. In his attribution of similar ambitions and instincts to Constantius and to the Tetrarchy, Eumenius mirrors this ideology and generates a distinct sense of imperial harmony. The metaphysical terms of address to each of the four emperors in turn in the closing chapter provide a fitting culmination to this theme and to the speech in general.

Although Eumenius clearly casts Constantius as an individual, this aspect of the speech does not militate against the impression of imperial harmony. The *signum* Herculis is invoked to associate the emperor with Hercules Musarum, and therefore the liberal arts. The characterization of Constantius as *princeps iuventutis* with a profound concern for education does not set him apart from his imperial colleagues but emphasizes those features most relevant to Eumenius' request concerning the Maenianae. Thus the overriding sense is not one of a politicized speech with competing loyalties but of a work specifically intended to secure approval for a particular request.

In each of the four speeches, the orators were faced with a similar challenge - to negotiate the competing demands of loyalty to the emperor responsible for Gaul and to the wider imperial college. This challenge was new and required a considered approach. In discourse and detail, the literary expressions of the ideologies of collegiate government and individualism generate layers of loyalty which vary from speech to speech. The orators rose to meet their challenge with style and confidence.

Appendix One

On the authorship of *Panegyrici Latini* X(2) and XI(3)

Questions of authorship have troubled scholars of the panegyrics for centuries. With absolute confidence, the first four speeches in the collection I(1), II(12), III(11), and IV(10) can be ascribed to Pliny the Younger, Latinus Pacatus Drepanus, Claudius Mamertinus and Nazarius respectively¹; in addition the imperial letter quoted in chapter 14 of IX(4) identifies the author of that speech as Eumenius.² Attempts have been made to attribute some or all of speeches V(8), VI(7), VII(6), VIII(5) and XII(9) to Eumenius, but such enterprises seem to stem from a modern preoccupation to allocate names to works of art and literature and are generally discredited.³ However, although the mere attribution of names to speeches provides little more than a convenient means of reference, nevertheless enquiries into authorship can illuminate wider issues such as the independence and creative licence of orators. If, for example, Seeck's attribution of several speeches to Eumenius were upheld, it would be possible to trace the rhetorical and political evolution of an individual over a period of years and perhaps put any changes into a social context.⁴ The exercise is fraught with problems, since often the identification of the author and evidence for social or political change rest on the same details within a speech. The danger of constructing a circular argument is real.

With this caveat I turn to the issue of the authorship of speeches X(2) and XI(3). This question of authorship is at least as old as the manuscripts and still engages modern scholars. Most have addressed the question of the authenticity of the name "Mamertinus". The actual name has both palaeographical and prosopographical significance.⁵ Without dwelling on the question of the name itself, this appendix aims to summarize the many different

¹ These identifications are preserved in MSS titles.

² See Rodgers (1989 "Eumenius") p.249.

³ e.g. O. Seeck, 'Eumenius' in *Real Encyclopädie* (Pauly-Wissowa) 6 (1909) 1105-1114; E. Faure, 'Notes sur le *Panegyrique* VIII', *Byzantion* 31(1961) 1-41 pp.4-12.

⁴ The best opportunity to plot an individual's attitude to the emperor over a period of time is in Libanius' 'Julianic' orations, delivered between 362 and 365. See H.-U. Wiemer, *Libanios und Julian: Studien zum Verhältnis von Rhetorik und Politik im vierten Jahrhundert N. Chr.*, (*Vestigia* 46, Munich 1995) (1995), p.3.

⁵ For palaeographical issues see below; of prosopographical interest is the suggestion that the "Mamertinus" of these speeches is the father or grandfather of Claudius Mamertinus, the author of III(11), Galletier (1949) p.xix; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.388.

criteria which have supported various arguments, and to add the original material which this project has unveiled. The criteria are organised under three headings - palaeographical, biographical and thematic/stylistic. If it can be established that the two speeches have a common origin, intriguing questions about the shift in ideology between 289 and 291 are raised; finally, therefore, I consider briefly the implications of authorship on the layered loyalty with which I concluded the previous section.

(1) The manuscripts

The debate about the authorship of X(2) and XI(3) originates with the manuscripts. Essentially, questions are raised by two factors, (a) palaeographical, and (b) concerning the composition of the collection as a whole.

(a) The title of XI(3) in MS H, (Harleianus 2480, British Library), considered the best guide to the archetype, is *item eiusdem magistri mamerti genethliacus maximiani augusti*.⁶ The same title but with *mamertini* for *mamerti* appears in the Italian X₂ family of MSS. A different heading, *eiusdem magistri memet genethliacus maximiani augusti* appears in N, (Codex Napocensis), a MS believed to derive from H, and A (codex Upsaliensis), believed to derive from N.⁷ Mynors records that *memet* appears in the margin of H in the hand of a scribe.⁸

Mamertini as the name of the orator needs no explanation. A. Baehrens, Galletier, Rodríguez Gervás, Lassandro and L'Huillier welcome the detail.⁹ By contrast, *memet* demands explanation. Seeck interprets *magistri memet* as an abbreviation of *magistri mem<oriae> et <rhitoris latini>* and identifies this

⁶ On the pedigree of the MS, Lassandro (1967) p.93; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.36.

⁷ For the relationship between MSS, Baehrens (1911) pp.iii-xxx; Galletier (1949) pp.xxxviii-lv; Mynors (1964) pp.v-xi; Lassandro (1967) *passim*; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.35-37.

⁸ (1964) p.256.

⁹ Baehrens (1911) pp.262, 275, Galletier (1949) pp.xviii-xix, Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.20-1, Lassandro (1992) pp.315, 331 accept the identification of Mamertinus as the author of X(2) and XI(3). L'Huillier (1992) appears to accept this pp.42, 48 (with question marks), p.60 (without).

individual as Eumenius.¹⁰ But just as both *Mamertini* and *memet* can be justified, both can be challenged. *Mamertini* might have crept in because of the name of the author of III(11), Claudius Mamertinus¹¹; equally, Seeck's interpretation is ingenious but lacking in conviction, even if we accept the abbreviation but not the identification of the *magister* as Eumenius.¹² In support of Seeck's solution, it must be conceded that no more plausible explanation has materialized other than the hypothesis that *memet* is a garbled form of *Mamertini*.¹³ However, my own examination of Harleianus 2480 does not lead me to accept Mynors' reading. The alternative title to XI(3) is preserved in tiny script at the foot of the page. Legibility is hampered both by the size of the script and by the rough way the page has been cut. However, for the key word, I prefer the reading *memor* for Mynors' *memet*. In support of Mynors' *difficilior lectio* is the appearance of *memet* in N and A; against this, my reading *magistri memor* is an obvious abbreviation which renders Seeck's ingenious and elaborate explanation of *memet* unnecessary. *magistri memor* would be an abbreviation for *magister memoriae* and avoids the need for an explanation of the final syllable of *memet*.

The pitfalls of the controversy surrounding the name and/or position of the author/s of X(2) and XI(3) have urged caution on many scholars. Avoiding the issue of a name altogether, Pichon, D'Elia and Nixon/Rodgers concentrate on *eiusdem*, common to all manuscripts, and conclude with varying degrees of confidence that X(2) and XI(3) were written by the same author, whose name is irrecoverable.¹⁴

(b) After the four named panegyrics and before the title to V(8), the MSS preserve the comment *incipiunt panegyrici diversorum VII*. The next three speeches in the collection are in reverse chronological order, V(8) 312, VI(7)

¹⁰ RE 6 (1909) 1105-1114, 1106. *magistri* might refer to the honour mentioned at XI(3)1.2. The position of *magister memoriae* is thought to have been introduced in the 290s to replace the imperial secretary *a memoria*. See OCD³ p.910. For Eumenius as *magister memoriae* see IX(4)11.2.

¹¹ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.10.

¹² Galletier (1949) commends but rejects Seeck's "ingéniosité", p.xviii; he speaks of Seeck's "prétentions outrancières", p.xx.

¹³ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.10, 41.

¹⁴ Pichon, (1906 "Receuil") p.229; D'Elia (1960-1) p.127; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.10, 76.

310, and VII(6) 307. VIII(5) 297 and IX(4) 298 appear to be in chronological sequence, as after years of confusion, recent scholarship has shown.¹⁵ The last two of the seven - the two speeches in question - are demonstrably chronological in order.¹⁶ Consciously ignoring the problems of the dating of VIII(5) and IX(4) Nixon/Rodgers say of X(2) and XI(3) that "chronological ordering of the two speeches, in contrast with the remainder of the *diversorum VII*, might point to a common origin".¹⁷ The composition is certainly peculiar but Nixon/Rodgers' 'common origin' need not be a common author - common origin could just as much be due to their location (see below 2.(c)) or contemporary governmental system (Dyarchy). If the original collection of five speeches (V(8), VI(7), VII(6), VIII(5) and IX(4)) was increased to seven by the addition of X(2) and XI(3)¹⁸, there is no reason to assume the two were written by the same hand. The order of the speeches in the MSS contributes nothing to our knowledge of their authorship.

2. Biographical details

Panegyrics X(2) and XI(3) include minimal biographical information about the speaker. It can be divided into three areas for discussion.

(a) The author of XI(3) speaks in his opening chapter of an *honor* bestowed on him by the emperors (1.2). This *honor* could refer to the position of *magister memoriae* and therefore confirm Seeck's interpretation of *memet*. Against this, there is no pressing reason to assume that *honor* refers to such an office.¹⁹

¹⁵ Barnes (1996) pp.540-1.

¹⁶ The collection is completed with XII(9), dated to 313.

¹⁷ (1994) p.10. See also p.41.

¹⁸ Galletier (1949) p.xiii. Curiously, although Harleianus 2480 preserves the heading *incipiunt panegyrici diversorum VII* before V(8), and from V(8) to X(2) the transition from one panegyric to another is highlighted with a phrase such as (e.g. between VII(6) and VIII(5)) *finit tertius incipit quartus*, XI(3) is not referred to as *septimus* either at its beginning or end. At its close *expl* (*expletus*?) appears in a different hand.

¹⁹ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.81.

(b) A key issue which has been used to strengthen the case for a single author is the fact that the speaker of 291 mentions an earlier address he had made. There are two references to an earlier speech:

voveram, inquam, potissimum ut me dignatione qua pridem audieras rursus audires. (1.2)

sed de rebus bellicis victoriisque vestris, sacratissime imperator, et multi summa eloquentia praediti saepe dixerunt et ego pridem, cum mihi auditionis tuae divina dignatio eam copiam tribuit, quantum potui praedicavi. (5.1)

This orator is not unique in addressing a speech to an emperor on more than one occasion.²⁰ Refuting Stadler, Nixon/Rodgers argue convincingly that the extended *praeteritio* which appears after this passage (5.3-4) ought not be assumed to be a summary of the content of the earlier speech, but a brief indication of the subject-matter to be covered in the rest of the current one.²¹ However, *de rebus bellicis victoriisque vestris* (5.1) explicitly refers to the earlier delivery. Although the phrase is so vague that it could almost serve as a tag for the whole genre, it might reasonably be thought to encapsulate the content of X(2).

(c) The author of X(2) speaks of *hanc urbem* (6.4) and *fluvius hic noster* (12.6). Given the orator's anxiety about the threat of barbarians in the vicinity (6.2, 7) and the fact that Trier was established as Maximian's capital in Gaul, it seems reasonable that these phrases refer to Trier and, therefore, the Moselle respectively.²²

There are no indications for the specific location of the delivery of XI(3). Both Galletier and Nixon/Rodgers assume that the imperial games

²⁰ The anonymous orator of 297 mentions an earlier delivery (VIII(5)1.5-6); speaking in 313, the orator of XII(9) mentions his custom of addressing speeches (1.1); and later in the fourth century, Symmachus addressed two panegyrics to Valentinian (*Or.* 1 and 2).

²¹ (1994) p.88. cf. Galletier (1949) p.5.

²² Galletier (1949) pp.7-8; Rodríguez Gervás (1991) pp.20-1; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) pp.42,64, 73. cf. Barnes (1982) pp.57-8.

mentioned at 3.7 would have been staged at the provincial capital, Trier.²³ The identification of Trier as the location for both X(2) and XI(3) strengthens - but does not prove - the case for single authorship.

3(a) Thematic/Stylistic similarities

(i) Borrowings from earlier speeches in this collection of twelve panegyrics are common; even XII(9), which was not part of the nucleus of seven speeches and has no significant echoes in Nazarius or Claudius Mamertinus, was extensively used by Pacatus.²⁴ The following table of lexical, thematic and rhetorical similarities between X(2) and XI(3) is essentially a synthesis of the parallels cited by Galletier and D'Elia.²⁵

<u>X(2)</u>	<u>XI(3)</u>
1.1. cum <i>omnibus</i> festis diebus, <i>sacratissime</i> imperator, debeat honos vester divinis rebus aequari, tum <i>praecipue</i> celeberrimo <i>isto</i> et imperantibus vobis laetissimo <i>die</i>	1.1. <i>omnes</i> quidem homines, <i>sacratissime</i> imperator, qui maiestate vestrae <i>laudes canunt et gratias agunt</i> , debitum vobis conantur exsolvere (quis enim est qui possit implere?); sentio tamen a me <i>praecipue</i> hoc piaie vocis <i>officium iure quodam</i> sacrosancti fenoris postulari
1.4. <i>iure</i> igitur <i>hoc die</i>	
1.4. <i>laudes</i> canimus et <i>gratias</i> agimus	
1.1. omnibus diebus	2.1. <i>dierum... hic dies...</i>
1.4. <i>hoc die</i>	
1.3. neque enim <i>fabula</i> est de licentia poetarum ...sed manifesta <i>res</i> et <i>probata</i>	12.4. <i>neque haec de vobis vana finguntur</i>
1.4. <i>dominae gentium</i> civitati	12.1. <i>gentium domina</i>
2.2. <i>gentium domina</i>	
1.5. sit licet <i>hic illi urbi natalis dies</i> ... <i>vestri imperii primi dies</i>	2.2. etenim <i>ipsi illi dies</i> quibus <i>imperii</i> suspicia sumpsistis... at certe virtutes eas... <i>vestri</i> procreavere <i>natales</i>

²³ Galletier (1949) p.8; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.76.

²⁴ Pichon (1906 "*Ecrivains*") pp.286-88; Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.6 n.19.

²⁵ Galletier (1949) p.5 n.2; D'Elia (1960-1) pp.130-2. A few further parallels are added. The italics indicate lexical similarities. D'Elia also cites X(2)5.4. and XI(3)11.5 as parallels, p.131.

2.1. Hercules' journey to Latium

9.4. Hercules' journey through the Alps.

2.3. an *divinam* generis tui *originem* recensebo, quam tu non modo *factis* immortalibus sed etiam *nominis* successione *testaris*?

2.4. siquidem vos *dis esse genitos* et *nominibus* quibus vestris sed multo magis *virtutibus approbatis*, quarum... motus ipsa *vis divinitatis* exercet

1.4. *quem similitudo stirpis tuae ac vis tacita naturae... facit*

4.1. *stirpis vestrae*

2.2-7. Use of *praeteritio*

5.3-5. Use of *praeteritio*

2.2. *commemorabo*

5.3. *commemoro*

2.4. an quemadmodum educatus *institutusque sis* ...et armorum sonitus

3.8-9. cumque praeterea ...*nati institutique estis* ...fortiores sunt.

4.1. *patriorumque institutorum*

2.5. *finguntur haec de Iove*, sed de te *vera* sunt

8.4. sed removeamus istinc *fabulas* imperitorum, *verum* loquamur

2.5. *finguntur*

12.4. *finguntur*

2.5. tuas *res gestas enumerare* conabor

4.1. *expeditiones vestras numerare* non possumus

2.7. *sed* qui velit

5.1-2. *sed* de rebus bellicis ...*hodie vero*

3.1. *faciam igitur* compendio

3.1-3. neque enim ...sed longe illa maiora sunt...

5.3-5. non commemoro igitur ...*novam mihi propono legem*

3.2. *lux ...claro orbe*

10.4. *clarior lux*

3.3-4 Cares of office

13.4. Cares of office

3.4. *tot urbibus*

13.4. *tot urbes tot castra tot limites*

4.2. Hercules' assistance to Jupiter against the Giants.

3.4. Jupiter's repossession of heaven from the Titans.

7.5. Jupiter's power.

3.5. Jupiter's spheres of control.

4.2. *neque enim cum... sed cum*

3.5. *neque enim tunc... cum... sed etiam*

4.2. ad restituendam eam post *priorum temporum labem*

5.3. *exacerbata saeculi prioris iniuriis*

4.3. *monstrorum biformium*

3.4. *biformium bella monstrorum*

6.4-5. caelestes ...immortalis

10.5. dis immortalibus

7.6. Herculei generis hoc fatum est

3.6. itidemque, Maximiane, Herculis
<tui vir>tus

8.1. Hannibal

9.4-10. Hannibal

9.1. ingressus est nuper illam *quae*
Raetiae ...victoria protulit

5.4. transeo *limitem Raetiae*
repentina hostium clade *promotum*

9.1-2. coeuntes invictas *dexteras*
contulistis, adeo fidum illud fuit
fratrumque *conloquium*. in quo
vobis *mutua praeuistis* omnium
exempla

12.3. cotidiana vestra *conloquia*,
coniunctas in omni sermone *dexteras*,
ioca seriaeque *communicata*

11.1. *iunctis dexteris*

10.2. non invenire me ex omni
antiquitate quod comparem vobis

6.3. qui germani geminive fratres
indiviso patrimonio tam aequabiliter
utuntur quam vos orbe Romano?

10.3-4, 10.7. *offert* interim varia
miracula ...obsequio

5.4. Parthumque vobis *munerum*
miraculis blandientem

11-13 *felicitas*

13 *felicitas*

11.1. vestra *hoc concordia facit ...ut*
vobis tanta aequalitate *successuum*
etiam *fortuna* respondeat

18.4. tam innumeros vobis... *successus*
fortuna suppeditat *ut...* mihi necesse
sit illa quae initio separaveram rursus
hic coniungere...; *felicitatem istam...*
pietate meruistis.

11.2. *geminato numine*

11.1. *geminato numine*

11.3. Universal fertility

15.2-4. Universal fertility

11.6. *omnia* commoda caelo *terraque*
parta

19.4. praeter *victorias toto orbe*
terrarum partas

11.7. *vestrae felicitatis est*

16.1 *esse imperii vestri felicitatem*

12.8. *facile* itaque quivis intellegit

13.1. *facilis* est mihi transitus

13.2-3. Emperors in Rome.

11.3-4. Emperors in Milan.

13.2. quamvis *fratres geminique*
essent

6.3. *germani geminique fratres*

13.3. Herculia dicaris et Iovia

14.2-4. Jupiter and Hercules

13.4. Roma

12.1-2. Roma

The restrictions of generic convention and historical circumstance might be thought to limit an orator's characteristic style; accordingly, some of the simple lexical similarities listed above as parallels may strike the reader as spurious and not indicative of a common author.²⁶ Nevertheless, the breadth and cumulative effect of lexical, thematic and rhetorical correspondences are impressive. Most arresting are the instances of a combination of lexical and thematic/rhetorical similarities.²⁷ The complexity of such parallels argues against independent authorship.

(ii) In a series of articles surveying prose rhythm in late Latin prose, Obermann and Hall noted that the authors of the panegyrics from 289 to 389 all employed in clausulae the *cursus mixtus* - a combination of accentual and metrical rhythms. X(2) and XI(3), therefore, are of a kind with other texts from the genre. However, the statistical analyses on which Obermann and Hall base their conclusions highlight some striking similarities between X(2) and XI(3) in particular; X(2) employs accentual rhythm in 75.6 % of clausulae, XI(3) in 75.7%.²⁸ 77.1% of X(2) clausulae conform to metrical types, 76.5% of XI(3).²⁹

(iii) Both speeches twice have 1st conjugation perfect infinitives in the contracted *-asse* form - in X(2) *consecrasse* (1.2) and *communicasse* (10.1), in XI(3) *commodasse* (8.3) and *penetrasse* (9.4).

(iv) X(2) features 3 contracted second-person perfect verb forms - *mutasti* (6.4), *implesti* (6.4) and *probasti* (7.2).³⁰ XI(3) features 4 such forms - *peragrastis* (4.4), *ornastis* (6.1), *superastis* (9.3) and *turbastis* (11.1).

²⁶ cf. Galletier (1949) who notes a distinctive "atmosphère de merveilleux" in X(2)12 and XI(3)8-11, p.xxxvi.

²⁷ e.g. X(2)1.1 and XI(3)1.1; X(2)2.2 and XI(3)5.3; X(2)3.4 and XI(3)13.4.

²⁸ S.M. Oberhelman and R.G. Hall, 'A New Statistical Analysis of Accentual Prose Rhythms in Imperial Latin Authors', *Classical Philology* 79 (1984) 114-130, p.124. Other speeches are predominantly accentual too, but X(2) and XI(3) display remarkable similarity.

²⁹ (1985) p.222. Again, other speeches also demonstrate *cursus mixtus*, but X(2) and XI(3) stand out for their similarity. cf. Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.10.

³⁰ See also *ferebare* (5.3) and *placasset* (10.4).

(3)b. Stylistic differences

(i) Historical infinitives feature in XI(3) but not X(2).³¹ However, it is not a common stylistic feature in XI(3), and eleven of the fifteen historic infinitives appear in one sentence - the climactic description of the emperors' arrival in Milan (10.5).³²

(ii) In 1886 Burkhard published the results of his research into the forms of the third-person plural perfect in the *Panegyrici Latini*.³³ The scholar's concern was not the authorship of the two speeches, but nonetheless his statistics demonstrate a marked preference for perfect tense contractions in *ere* in XI(3) (9 occurrences) over X(2) (one occurrence).³⁴

(iii) Nixon/Rodgers claim that "the author of X(2) never uses *maiestas* as the equivalent of a pronoun, while he of XI(3) does; equally, the author of XI(3) never uses *numen* in place of a pronoun, while the author of X(2) nearly always does."³⁵

(iv) In a similar vein, the analysis of the speeches' singular vocatives in Part One also highlights notable differences. X(2) has twenty-five singular vocatives addressed to Maximian. These include *sacratissime imperator*, *imperator invicte*, *Caesar*, and *Maximiane*.³⁶ By contrast, XI(3) has twelve singular

³¹ Nixon/Rodgers (1994) p.10.

³² *videre* 6.3, *concursare*, *nuntiare*, *incendi*, *poni*, *libari*, *caedi*, *calere*, *tripudiare*, *cantari*, *invocari*, *adorari*, 10.5, *clamare*, *demonstrare* 11.4, (19.3 *tribuere*).

³³ 'de perfecti tertiae personae pluralis formis in (e)runt et ere exeuntibus, quae in *Panegyricis Latinis* inveniuntur, *Wiener Studien* 8 (1886) 170-2.

³⁴ Notwithstanding the effect on verb forms that the demands of clausulae might be thought to exert, the difference is striking; 5 of these 10 contracted forms in X(2) and XI(3) appear in mid-sentence, although that does not mean that they are not in clausulae. Likewise in (3)a (iii) and (iv) above, the demands of clausulae do not account for all of the contracted forms.

³⁵ (1994) p.10. See Rodgers (1986) pp.103-4. Nb. the arbitrary nature of some of Rodgers' classifications: see above Part One.

³⁶ See above, Part One pp.39ff. and Table One.

vocatives addressed to Maximian. Of these, ten are *sacratissime imperator* and two *Maximiane*.³⁷

(3)c. Modes of Address

(i) Both X(2) and XI(3) employ both the literal and metaphysical modes of address.³⁸ X(2) and XI(3) similarly interlace the two modes in their opening sentence.³⁹

(ii) X(2) and XI(3) both have a high density of the metaphysical mode of address in chapters dominated by the theme of Dyarchic unity.⁴⁰

(iii) The overall difference in frequency and distribution of the two modes across the speeches is distinct.

(3)d. Figurations of Imperial Unity

(i) In X(2) and XI(3) the unity of government is generally expressed by adapting to a Dyarchic framework the iconography of essentially personal relationships.

(ii) Both X(2) and XI(3) assert a direct relationship between the prosperity of nature and the unity between the emperors.

(3)e. Characterization of the Emperor

X(2) and XI(3) use the *signa* as a primary vehicle for casting the emperors as individuals.

³⁷ See above, Part One pp.53ff. and Table Two.

³⁸ See Part One.

³⁹ See Part One pp.41, 55.

⁴⁰ e.g. X(2)9 and 11; XI(3) 11 and 12.

Conclusion

Certain items above pinpoint features which differ between the two speeches. The differences themselves cannot be denied, but the interpretation of them is controversial. Nixon/Rodgers express their doubt that a feature of style as fundamental as a term of address could change in an individual in only two years.⁴¹ According to this belief, both the difference in the range of vocative epithets employed in the two speeches and their relative frequency, for example, should be considered indicators of different authors. However, according to a different interpretation, such changes might be considered indicative of a shift in political allegiance, but written by the same hand. The personal style and political ideology of the author are at times inseparable because, in the modes of address, loyalty is embedded in the language. But no isolated detail can uphold or refute the claims for single authorship.

Despite these methodological obstacles, there are sufficient criteria to support some tentative conclusions. Neither *Mamertini* nor (*magistri*) *mem<oriae> et <rhitoris latini>* should be accepted with confidence. *eiusdem*, although a welcome detail which provides valuable support for claims for single authorship, is also vulnerable; it may have been prompted by the stylistic similarities noted above. The biographical information does not rule out a single author, but does not prove it either. The question hinges on matters of style.

In subject matter, vocabulary, themes, employment of modes of address, use of *signa*, and *clausulae*, the two speeches have much in common - too much, I believe, for them to have been written independently. Notwithstanding their differences, XI(3) adopts, reworks and redirects too many features of X(2) to have been composed in isolation from it. This brings me to the conclusion that the author of XI(3) was at least well acquainted with X(2). The possibility that he was the author of both panegyrics, and therefore the issue of his name or office, remain open; but so too is the possibility that the author of XI(3) deliberately revived in his speech many aspects of another's work he respected.

⁴¹ (1994) p.10. cf. their observation "One might argue that the style and substance of panegyrics 10 and 11 are harmonious."

If there were two authors, and they both spoke in Trier, it is scarcely credible that they would not have known each other and each other's work, or at least that the orator of 291 knew the earlier work.

Although this conclusion is undramatic, it has wider implications when considered in tandem with the layered loyalties discussed above.⁴² The shift in ideology from X(2) and XI(3) has been noted: the further observation that the author of XI(3) had a close knowledge of X(2) and consciously reworked some of its features to new effect prompts questions about the different layers of loyalty to the Dyarchy articulated in these speeches. This is especially intriguing if a single author is assumed, but still arresting if two men spoke, as the latter obviously admired the speech of the former.

I therefore close this inquiry with two possible accounts as to why the attitude towards Maximian and the Dyarchy changed so emphatically between 289 and 291. In 289 Gaul was peculiarly committed to Maximian because of his successes against the Bagaudae and barbarian invaders, and therefore the orator felt the need to express this loyalty in public. One suggestion for the loyalty expressed to the Dyarchy in XI(3) is that by 291 the people of North-East Gaul felt more secure, the Dyarchy was established, and there remained no parochial need to single out Maximian for praise - hence the concentration on the unity of government. Alternatively, in 291 Maximian's recently failed attempt to restore Britain to Roman rule caused the orator to dwell less on the emperor's recent achievements (or lack of them) and to concentrate instead on other aspects of Dyarchic rule, such as the ideology of unity. According to this ideology, the successes of one man are celebrated as the successes of both (7.1-2). If this scheme is followed to its logical conclusion, then the orator manages to deflect criticism for the failed campaign against Carausius away from Maximian - the failures of one emperor are the failures of both.

⁴² See above pp.248-53.

Appendix Two

On the *dies natalis* in *Panegyrici Latini* XI(3)

In all modern editions, the phrase *geminus natalis* appears four times in XI(3).¹ On the first of these four occasions, the orator explains that he had postponed the delivery of a speech prepared for Maximian's *quinquennalia* and instead the *natalis* was the occasion of the current address (1.1). Clearly, therefore, his natural birthday (*dies natalis*), was not the same as the anniversary of his accession (*dies imperii*).²

For many years the *geminus natalis* of this speech was used by historians as evidence that Maximian and Diocletian shared the same birthday - not the same year, but the same day at least.³ Were this the case, it is surprising that no other ancient sources attest to the coincidence; indeed, in the hands of a competent panegyrist, the coincidence of their birthdays would surely have been presented as a divinely-inspired justification of the Dyarchy.

But recent discoveries all but prove that this was not the case. The Panopolis II papyrus, dated to 300, mentions Diocletian's birthday several times - it fell on December 22nd.⁴ The day is not referred to as Maximian's birthday also, which suggests that the two did not coincide. Confirmation of this is claimed in the *Acta Marcelli*, one of the contemporary Christian martyrdoms.⁵ According to Recension M of this text, Marcellus bore witness to his Christian faith and spurned his military insignia on July 21st.⁶ In the ensuing trial, a letter from Fortunatus refers to the incident:

die felicissimo ac toto orbe beatissimo natalis genuini dominorum nostrorum
eorumdemque Augustorum Caesarum cum solemne celebraremus...

¹ 1.1, 2.2, 19.1 and 19.3. A. Baehrens (1874), W. Baehrens (1911), Galletier (1949), Mynors (1964), Paladini and Fedeli (1976), Lassandro (1992). Nixon/Rodgers (1994) reproduce Mynors' text but translate as if the reading were *genuinus natalis*.

² Kolb (1987) p.53

³ They are not the same age as *intervallum vestrae aetatis* (7.6) makes clear. For examples of the wide acceptance of this interpretation, see Galletier (1949) pp.10-11; Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") p.158 n.3.

⁴ Published with translation in Skeat (1964); see Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") p.158.

⁵ To be found in H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford 1972), pp.250-9. The martyrdom is dated to 298.

⁶ p.250.

Because the trial took place in Tangier, an area subject to Maximian's sphere of influence, this reference is assumed to refer to his birthday, which can thus be dated to July 21st.⁷ Hence the *geminus natalis* of XI(3) cannot refer to the natural birthday of both Maximian and Diocletian. The text therefore has to yield a figurative interpretation or be emended.

Several scholars assume a figurative sense. Schwarz suggested that because, according to this panegyrist, the Dyarchs shared everything, they might also be felt to share in some way in each other's birthday.⁸ Wistrand does not condemn this interpretation, but wonders why such a figurative sense receives no gloss in the speech.⁹ Nixon points out that such a figurative understanding had no place in formal practice at the time, and in the absence of explanatory gloss in the speech, should be abandoned.¹⁰

Alternatively, Schwarz suggested that the *geminus natalis* might denote a birthday shared by Maximian and Hercules and that Diocletian and Jupiter shared a birthday too. This theory too is plausible; Nixon describes it as "not absurd".¹¹

Less well received has been the figurative interpretation of Seston.¹² Seston argues that the *geminus natalis* refers to the day in 287 when, on accepting the theophoric *signa* Jovius and Herculus, Diocletian and Maximian became gods. This 'birthday' is the anniversary of their epiphany. Although recently revived by L'Huillier, this theory has been convincingly rebutted by

⁷ The passage in the *Acta Marcelli* is puzzling, as it implies that all four emperors shared the same natural birthday, which is nonsense. Hence, Seston's emendation of *genuini* to *gemini*, in W. Seston, 'Jovius et Herculus ou l'épiphanie' des Tétrarques', *Historia* 1 (1950) 257-266. On the reading and Seston's emendation, see Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") pp.162-3; E. Wistrand, 'A note on the *geminus natalis* of Emperor Maximian', *Eranos* 62 (1964) 131-145, pp.140-2. Against the reliability of the *Acta Marcelli* it is noticeable that on p.256 one of the Tetrarchs of 298 is given as Licinius. Even without the details of the problematic *Acta Marcelli*, it remains inherently unlikely that the Dyarchs shared a natural birthday.

⁸ In Jäger (Nürnberg 1779) and Arntzen (Utrecht 1790-97), neither of which I have seen, but are reported in A. Passerini, 'Osservazioni su alcuni punti della storia di Diocleziano e Massimiano' *Acme* 1 (1948) 131-94, p.185; Galletier (1949) pp.10-11; Wistrand (1964) p.133; Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") p.158. Galletier p.11 n.1 and Wistrand p.133 quote Schwarz in Jäger p.102, *is in utriusque imperatoris honorem celebratur et ita festus habebatur ut simul tanquam natalis etiam alterius imperatoris Diocletiani coleretur celebrareturque*.

⁹ (1964) p.134.

¹⁰ (1981 "Epiphany") p.159.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See n.7.

Wistrand and Nixon, on two grounds.¹³ First, the *immortalitatis origo* (3.7), which Seston uses to support his theory, refers to Hercules not Maximian; and secondly, the penultimate occurrence of the phrase, *gemino natali tuo* (19.1), by its explicit reference to Maximian alone, renders the argument untenable.

Kolb also rejects Seston's interpretation and himself understands the *geminus natalis* to indicate the coincidence of birth of the ruler and of his divine *numen*.¹⁴ In support of this interpretation he quotes from the second chapter:

quos [natales] quidem, sacratissime imperator, quotiens annis volventibus revertuntur, vestri pariter ac vestrorum numinum reverentia colimus, siquidem vos dis esse genitos et nominibus quidem vestris sed multo magis virtutibus approbatis. (2.3)

The attraction of Kolb's interpretation is that it easily accounts for the phrase *gemino natali tuo* (19.1) because each of the two Dyarchs enjoyed a *geminus natalis* of his own.¹⁵ Against this interpretation is the argument that *vestra numina* in XI(3) refers to the Dyarchs' patron gods Jupiter and Hercules, not to their own divine essences.¹⁶

The emendation of *geminus* to *genuinus* was first proposed by I. Gothefredus in his 1665 edition of the Theodosian Code.¹⁷ This emendation opens up a literal interpretation which fits easily with the dates for the Dyarchs' natural birthdays. In anticipation of the objection that the designation of a birthday as *genuinus* four times in a speech is unnecessary or pedantic, both Wistrand and Nixon point out that in addition to his natural birthday, an emperor would celebrate the *dies natalis imperii*, the anniversary of his accession.¹⁸ Accordingly, they claim, *genuinus* is needed for clarity. Against this, although some parallels can be found for a *genuinus natalis*, the

¹³ Wistrand (1964); Nixon (1981 "Epiphany"); L'Huillier (1992) pp.372ff.

¹⁴ Kolb (1987) pp.60-1.

¹⁵ See below p.275.

¹⁶ See above pp.65-6, especially n.37.

¹⁷ (Lyon 1665); I have not seen the book. Gothefredus' emendation is reported by Passerini (1948) p.185; Wistrand (1964) 137-8; Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") p.163.

¹⁸ Wistrand (1964) pp.142-3; Nixon (1981 "Epiphany") pp.164-5. Kolb (1987) pp.58-9 points out that the first occurrence of the phrase *natalis imperii* is in VI(7)2.3, dated to 310.

appearance of the phrase four times in the speech when one glossed or unequivocal example would suffice, claims for the orator an uncharacteristically technical and laboured quality.¹⁹

In support of the reading *genuinus* Nixon also adduces manuscript Harleianus 2480.²⁰ At 1.1 and 2.2 the manuscript reads *genuini* with curious horizontal marks before the penultimate letter. At 1.1 but not 2.2 the later hand *h* has *genuini* in the margin.²¹ At 19.1 *genuino* appears in the text without the horizontal strokes. At 19.3 *genuini* appears, with exemplary clarity. Nixon cites this well-respected manuscript in support of the reading *genuinus natalis*.²²

Three factors prompt this new investigation into the readings. First, the debate so far has been polarised - scholars have argued consistently for *geminus* or consistently for *genuinus* - yet, there is no *a priori* reason why the readings must be considered mutually exclusive. If it is conceded that the speech was delivered on Maximian's *genuinus natalis*, (which the *Acta Marcelli* might suggest fell on July 21st), there is no obligation to rule out Schwarz's first figurative interpretation of *geminus* - that the celebrations of one Dyarch's birthday were somehow extended to his colleague. Thus, in the imperial calendar there would be two natural birthdays; given their significance and the emperors' *concordia*, it is easy to envisage how these two dates could be designated *gemini*. *genuinus* could become *geminus*. Thus, on July 21st and December 22nd both Dyarchs would celebrate a *geminus natalis*; the former would also be Maximian's *genuinus natalis*, and the latter Diocletian's. According to this solution, a rigorous polarity is unnecessary.

Secondly, Part One highlighted the frequent use made in XI(3) of the metaphysical mode of address; Part Two identified in the speech figured uses of fraternity and amatory motifs in relation to the Dyarchs' relationship. The orator's inclination to employ such figures encourages reappraisal of a figured

¹⁹ Kolb (1987) pp.58-60.

²⁰ (1981 "Epiphany") pp.163-4.

²¹ Curiously, Mynors (1964) makes no reference to Harleianus 2480 at 1.1.

²² In addition, at three other points in the speech where, given the palaeographic similarity between *genuinus* and *geminus*, there is an obvious potential for a error in transmission, the readings of Harleianus 2480 are distinct. See below ns.23, 25, 26.

natalis. Furthermore, the motif of 'twinning' appears in other contexts in XI(3). First, the orator mentions twin brothers:

qui germani geminive fratres indiviso patrimonio tam aequabiliter utuntur
quam vos orbe Romano? (6.3)²³

The tone of this question is elusive; it is unclear whether the Dyarchs as (figurative) twin brothers themselves are being compared to other twins²⁴, or their mutual generosity is all the more outstanding precisely because they are not twin brothers.

The next occurrence is not ambiguous. Despite the disparity in their ages, Maximian and Diocletian are said to be twinned by their *consensus*:

intellegimus enim, sacratissimi principes, geminum vobis, quamvis dispares
sitis aetatibus, inesse consensum (7.7).²⁵

This figured use of *geminus* in a passage which glosses the Dyarchs' figurative fraternity buttresses the argument in favour of a *geminus natalis*. The orator here unequivocally uses figured twinning as a means of articulating Dyarchic unity.

The twinning motif occurs for the last time when the orator describes the confusion caused to the people of Milan by the presence of two emperors:

quale pietas vestra spectaculum dedit, cum in Mediolanensi palatio admissis
qui sacros vultus adoraturi erant conspecti estis ambo, et consuetudinem
simplicis venerationis geminato numine repente turbastis ! (11.1)

geminato numine here denotes the fact that there were two emperors at the ceremony, when traditionally there had only been one.²⁶ However, the phrase is

²³ Harleianus 2480 reads *gemi ni ve*.

²⁴ In support of this reading, they are cast as brothers at 7.5 and are said to have *germanitas* at 7.7.

²⁵ Harleianus 2480 reads *geminum*.

²⁶ Harleianus 2480 reads *geminato numine*.

highly charged; *numine* not only refers to the emperors, but also insinuates their divinity; and *geminato* not only gives the number of emperors, but also figures their relationship.

Finally, in my conclusions to the main topic of this enquiry, I observed that XI(3) expressed a less layered loyalty to the imperial college than the other speeches under consideration. This has an ideological bearing on the question of the choice between *geminus*, which clearly bespeaks *concordia imperatorum*, or *genuinus*, which foregrounds Maximian.

The orator's inclination to conceive of the emperors figuratively, the recurrence of the figured theme of twinning, especially in relation to the emperors, and the speech's clear expression of loyalty to both emperors form a background against which the *geminus/genuinus* crux demands reconsideration. In looking at each of the four occurrences of the crux, I aim to balance the demands of the context and the broader thematic and stylistic characteristics of the panegyric.

The first occurrence of the phrase is in the opening lines when the orator announces that the *natalis* provides the reason for the speech's delivery:

omnes quidem homines, sacratissime imperator, qui maiestati vestrae laudes canunt et gratias agunt, debitum vobis conantur exsolvere (quis enim est qui possit implere?); sentio tamen a me [hoc] praecipue hoc piaie vocis officium iure quodam sacrosancti feneratoris postulari, ut expectationem sermonis quem tuis quinquennialibus praeparaveram hac gemini/genuini natalis praedicatione compensem. (1.1)

The context does not favour one reading over another. Nixon points to *tuis quinquennialibus* and argues that "*genuinus* makes perfect sense here, Maximian's actual birthday contrasted with the anniversary of his accession".²⁷ In support of *geminus* one could point to the instances of the metaphysical mode in *maiestati vestrae* and *debitum vobis*; the narrowing of focus explicit in

²⁷ (1981 "Epiphany") p.164.

genuinus natalis might be considered unsuitable to a speech which, from the outset, reaches out to embrace the two emperors.

Nixon again supports *genuinus* at the next crux by welcoming the contrast which is thereby established between *natalis* and *dies imperii*:

et profecto, si non sensus meos dicatorum vobis dierum proxima quaeque veneratio sui maiestate praestringit, hic mihi dies videtur inlustrior magisque celebrandus, qui te primus protulit in lucem. etenim ipsi illi dies quibus imperii auspicia sumpsistis ob hoc sancti sunt ac religiosi quod tales declaraverint imperatores; at certe virtutes eas quibus ipsum ornatis imperium gemini/genuini vestri procreavere natales. (2.1-2)²⁸

Again, Nixon's case is forceful, but just as at 1.1, the reading *geminus* is no less contrastive than *genuinus*. The *natales* here are clearly the emperors' natural birthdays, but if Schwarz's proposal that each of the Dyarchs celebrated and adopted his colleague's *natalis* is applied, then the reading *geminus* is not precluded. This interpretation can accommodate the enigmatic phrase *dicatorum vobis dierum* and *qui te primus protulit in lucem*. The latter phrase refers to Maximian's natural birthday but the former to a festival dedicated to and celebrated by both emperors - such as a *geminus natalis*.

The third and fourth occurrences of the crux are in the final chapter, which is quoted at length in order to establish the context clearly:

optime igitur, quantum arbitror, sacratissime imperator, haec potissima elegi quae gemino/genuino natali tuo praedicarem. etenim ceterae virtutes et bona cetera processu aetatis eveniunt: fortitudo annis accedentibus roboratur, continentia disciplinae praeceptis traditur, iustitia cognitione iuris addiscitur, ipsa denique illa quae videtur rerum omnium domina esse sapientia perspectis hominum moribus et exploratis rerum docetur eventis. solae cum nascentibus pariter oriuntur pietas atque felicitas; naturalia sunt enim animorum bona et praemia factorum. gemini/genuini natales pias vobis mentes et imperatorias tribuere fortunas, atque inde sanctitatis vestrae

²⁸ *Ibid.*

omniumque successuum manat exordium quod nascentes vos ad opes generis humani bona sidera et amica viderunt. (19.1-3)

Of the first crux Nixon says "*genuino natali tuo* is comprehensible, *geminio natali tuo* is nonsense".²⁹ Here the objections to *geminus* have greatest weight. The restriction of a *geminus natalis* to one person, *tuo*, seems paradoxical. One possible solution is that the *geminus natalis* in July was more Maximian's than Diocletian's in that it stemmed from him - and *vice versa* in December. On the other hand, *genuino natali tuo* appears supremely pedantic when there is no contrast with the *dies imperii* and the succeeding sentences address the development of man over the years of life.

The final crux clearly refers to the emperors' natural birthdays (*nascentes vos*), but *geminus* should be allowed to stand because the sentence is conducted in the metaphysical mode of address. For two emperors there are two birthdays, but if they both celebrate both, the figurative twinning does not appear strained.

I have demonstrated how the orator moves from the particular (Maximian's birthday) to the general (Dyarchic unity). A figurative *geminus natalis* is built upon the *genuinus natalis*. The justifications of Wistrand and Nixon aside, the repetition of the technical phrase *genuinus natalis* would militate against the orator's penchant for figurative expressions of the unity of government. My support for the reading *geminus*, based on the first interpretation of Schwarz and not those of Seston or Kolb, aims to rid the panegyric of an uncharacteristically pedantic quality and to reinforce its message of a concordant Dyarchic ideology. Hence I accept *geminus natalis* and understand it to be this orator's term for the two emperors' natural and different birthdays, which were both celebrated by both of them.³⁰

²⁹ *Ibid.* p.165.

³⁰ I accept Nixon's conclusion drawn from 3.7 that Maximian's birthday coincided with a festival associated with Hercules, (1981 "Epiphany") pp.161-2. That festival of Hercules might have been the anniversary not of his birth (see Nixon (1981 "Epiphany" p.159)), but of his deification, *immortalitatis origo* (3.7).

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