

Panegyric of Maximian Augustus by an Anonymous Orator

1 While on every holiday, most sacred emperor, your honor ought to be equated with the divine, the veneration of your deity must especially be united with the annual reverence of the Sacred City,¹ on this most famous and, since you have become emperors, most joyous day,² for what we have learned of the city's origin is surely true that a king from another land built there the first seat of your deity, that holy and venerable Palace, but that Hercules hallowed it as a guest.²³ It is neither a fable of poetic license nor a belief derived from the tales of earlier generations, but a plain and proven fact attested to this day by both the great altar of Hercules and the Pinarii attendant upon sacred Hercules,³ that the progenitor of your family and name⁴ visited the city of Pallas after his victory and, although the kingdom was small then, he was received with the greatest reverence and laid the foundations of her future majesty, so what had been the lodging of Hercules could be the house of the Caesars.⁵⁴ And so it is right that on this day when the origin of the immortal city, mistress of nations, is the object of your devoted celebration, that we sing praises and give thanks especially to you invincible emperor, whom the very likeness to your ancestor and the silent strength of your nature have made so liberal in honoring Rome's birthday that you care for an established city as if you had founded her yourself.⁵ In truth, most sacred emperor, anyone would justly call you and your brother the founders of the Roman empire, since you are the closest things, its restorers, and although I grant that this is that city's birthday and concerns the origin of the Roman people, the first days of your reign are the origin of her salvation.

2 Therefore if all the magistrates and pontiffs and priests at Rome now honor the temple of Hercules as they honor the parents of the city and the founding gods because long ago he drove

¹ The date is 21 April, Rome's birthday; the year 289 (Galletier I.8-9). The place is Trier.

² The orator refers to Hercules' encounter with Cacus and the honors offered him afterwards (Virgil *Aen.* 8.193-272; Livy 1.7.4-11).

³ The great altar is the Ara Maxima erected in the Forum Boarium. Romulus is credited with having instituted this cult of Hercules according to the Greek rite: Livy 1.7.3; Virgil *Aen.* 8.268-270 makes the altar antedate Romulus (cf. Macrobius *Sat.* 1.12.28, 3.6.17). Livy says that the Potitii and Pinarii were given charge of the cult, but that the Potitii later died out (1.7.12-14); cf. Macrobius *Sat.* 3.6.13: *Potitii, qui ab Appio Claudio praemio corrupti sacra servis publicis prodiderunt*: no Pinarii were in charge of the cult after 312 BCE, when Ap. Claudius Caecus (as censor) changed it to a state cult. See F. Münzer, *RE* 20 (1950) s.v. Pinarius 1395-1397. The orator is merely alluding to Virgil (*Aen.* 8.270: *et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacra*) when he calls on the family as proof. Cf. Symmachus *Orat.* 2.32: *Pinarios Hercules occupavit*. The latest Pinarius in *RE* is P. Valens (no. 26), *patruus* (or *pater* or *parens*) of the emperor Pupienus: SHA (*Max-Balb*) 4.4, 5.5. The latest one before that (no. 25) lived in the time of Trajan. There are no Pinarii in *PLRE* I.

⁴ Diocletian had adopted the cognomen Iovius for himself, and Herculius for his colleague; references to Hercules are therefore abundant in the panegyrics addressed to Maximian. See 10.2.4 below on Maximian's divine ancestry.

⁵ He makes the Palatine hill equivalent to Pallanteum, which was on the site of future Rome.

his conquered spoils from the river Ebro and the Ocean accessory to the setting sun⁶ to Tyrrhenian pastures, and on the Palatine hill left footprints for you who were to come, then we who are here, who gaze upon you, a god in person, victor not only throughout the world but now in particular the suppressor in the same western quarter not of a grotesque shepherd with three heads but of a monster far more hideous,⁷ ought with the greatest dedication not only to employ all of whatever breath and voice we may have in your praises, but, if necessary, to consume them! ²So where shall I begin? Shall I mention your fatherland's services to the state? Though who would deny that for many centuries now, from the time when its resources were added to the Roman name, Italy has indeed been the mistress of the nations in duration of glory, but Pannonia⁸ in valor? ³Or shall I rehearse the divine origin of your family, which you attest to not only by your immortal deeds but even by your succession to the name? ⁴Or shall I proclaim how you were raised and taught in that region, that home of the strongest legions, among the activities of mighty youth and the sounds of arms echoing your infant cries? ⁵Such things are invented about Jupiter,⁹ but in your case they are true, emperor. Or shall I attempt to count your accomplishments, what signs first consecrated you with imperial auspices, what camps ready to receive a lord admitted you, what wars led you in various directions, what victories increased your power? ⁶Shall I then go following the traces of your military success along the whole length of the Danube and all along the Euphrates' course¹⁰ and shall I wander the banks of the Rhine and the shore of the Ocean? ⁷But he who would wish to embrace all those feats of yours ought to hope for yourself centuries and countless years and a lifetime as long as the one which you have earned.

3 Therefore to the profit of my oration but loss to my own inclination, I shall do what is exceptionally fitting on this occasion: I shall omit the rest, and I shall treat of that especially which perhaps seems astonishing to many, and yet is actually very true: that when you were

⁶ The Atlantic. Hercules visited Italy on his way back from Spain with the cattle of Geryon.

⁷ Geryon is the three-headed shepherd; the more hideous monster may be the peasants on the rampage in Gaul (the Bagaudae), further described at 10.4.3–4. There, however, the Bagaudae are compared to the Giants. Galletier (I.25 n. 1) believes that this is an allusion to Carausius (see 10.12.1 below), especially in view of the present participle *opprimentem* ("suppressing"; here rendered "the suppressor").

⁸ Maximian's parents lived near Sirmium (*Epit.* 40.10). Aurelius Victor says of the Tetrarchs, *his sane omnibus Illyricum patria fuit*. Diocletian was born in Dalmatia (Eutropius 19.2; *Epit.* 39.1; Zonaras 12.31). Galerius was a native of Dacia (Eutropius 22.1; *Epit.* 40.16), and Constantius may have come from the same region (Barnes *NE* 35–36). Several recent emperors were natives of the Danubian provinces (e.g. Decius, Claudius, Aurelian, Probus). All were men who had risen through the ranks by their military abilities. Diocletian and his colleague may have seemed but the latest in a line of such vigorous but briefly reigning rulers.

⁹ He refers to the story of the infant Jupiter (Zeus), hidden from his father Kronos in a cave on the island of Crete. The Curetes danced around the cave and made their weapons clang to create enough noise to drown out the infant's wails. See Apollodorus *Bibl.* 1.1.6–7 for one version.

¹⁰ Barnes *NE* 33 cites this passage as the only evidence for Maximian's career prior to 285, and conjectures that Maximian was with Carus in Mesopotamia in 283.

summoned by your kindred deity Diocletian to restore the state,¹¹ you granted a greater favor than you received. The nature of rule ought not to be contemplated only in its appearance and name.² To both of you belong triumphal robes and consular fasces and curule chairs and this glittering crowd of subjects, and that light surrounding your divine head in a shining orb;¹² For your accomplishments both of you have adornments which are splendid and majestic.³ But far greater are those things which you have in return for the favor when he shared the rule with you: to take into your heart the care for so great a state, to become responsible for the fate of the entire world and in a way forgetful of yourself to live for the nations and to stand on so lofty a summit of human affairs, from which you seem to gaze down upon all lands and seas and inspect with your eyes and mind in turn where there is assured fair weather, where a dangerous storm, what judges emulate your justice, what generals preserve the glory of your military power,⁴ to receive countless messengers from every quarter, to send back just as many commands, to worry about so many cities and nations and provinces, to endure to pass every night and day in anxiety for everyone's safety.

4 When you accepted all these things which your excellent brother offered, you acted bravely, he wisely.² For it was not as if you added a beneficial hand to the helm when a favorable tail-wind was driving the ship of state, but when, after the ruin of earlier times, only divine intervention, and even that not in itself, was sufficient to restore it. By the side of the prince you sustained the tottering Roman name with the same timely aid which your Hercules once displayed when he assisted your Jupiter with the greater part of the victory as he struggled in the war with the Earth-born,¹³ and proved that he had not received heaven from the gods so much as returned it to them.³ Or was not the evil in these lands like the two-formed monsters?¹⁴ But I do

¹¹ Diocletian first appointed Maximian Caesar in 285 and sent him to pacify Gaul; in the following year he promoted him to Augustus (Eutropius 20.3; Stein 66). There is some discussion about the chronology: Galletier (I.8 n. 4) accepts the date given by Seston 66–67 of 1 March 286 for Maximian's elevation to Caesar, and puts his promotion to Augustus in September of the same year. Barnes *NE* 4, 28 supports the dates of 21 July 285 for appointment as Caesar and 1 April 286 for promotion to Augustus.

¹² The emperors were often represented with a nimbus or halo. The orator may or may not refer to an actual diadem: see K. Keyser, *RE* 17:1 (1930) s.v. Nimbus 591–624.

¹³ The Giants were the sons of Earth and Uranus (Hesiod *Th.* 185). They were sometimes portrayed with snakes for feet (Waser, *RE* Suppl. 3 [1918] s.v. Giganten 736). The Giants attacked the Olympians, who called on Hercules to help them in the struggle: Apollodorus *Bibl.* 1.6.1. Hercules was made immortal after his death.

¹⁴ The Giants are the two-formed monsters. The orator compares the mythological struggle to the rebellion of farmers and thieves, the *Bagaudae* (two-formed because they were peasants in soldiers' clothing), organized by Aelianus and Amandus when Carinus left Gaul to meet the usurper Diocletian (Eutropius 9.20.3; Aurelius Victor 39.17). The speaker does not dwell upon the unpleasant affair; cf. 11.5.3, 7.8.3. All sources agree that Maximian used little force. A similar situation arose in the fifth century; Salvian *De gubernatione Dei* 5.22–26 blames Roman magistrates for the desperation of the poor. There is some little support for the idea that Aelianus and Amandus had imperial pretensions: Th. Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian und seine Zeit* (Leipzig 1869) 30; Seston 69 and n. 1. Panegyrists who are plainly embarrassed about the Gallic Empire

not know, Caesar, whether it was your might which suppressed it or your clemency which tamed it, when unpracticed farmers sought military dress, when the ploughman played infantryman, the shepherd acted as cavalryman, and the rustic destroyer of his own fields imitated the barbarian enemy? ⁴But I pass over this topic briefly, for I see that such is your love of the country that you would rather have that victory forgotten than praised.¹⁵

5 What then? That wretched uprising had scarcely settled down, when immediately all the barbarian tribes threatened the destruction of the whole of Gaul, and not only the Burgundiones and Alamanni but even the Chaibones and Eruli, the foremost of the barbarians in power and whose territory is the most distant, invaded these provinces in a sudden raid.¹⁶ What god would have brought us salvation so unexpected if you had not been here? ²Now reckoning, emperor, that the war ought to be managed by the stratagems of your divine foresight rather than by force, you allowed the rest of the enemies, to whom their very numbers were fatal, to sink to the depths of starvation and later fall victim to disease from lack of sustenance, intending after a while to employ your troops to round them up for display in your triumphal procession.¹⁷ On the other hand, you did not consider the Chaibones and Eruli worthy of being destroyed by a similar device, and intending at the same time that your divine valor not lack its accustomed practice, you overwhelmed them in one attack in open battle, and employed not the whole army for this fight but only a few cohorts. ³For what need was there of great numbers when you yourself fought, you yourself covered the whole battle line from every position, you yourself rushed to counter the foe everywhere, where he stood firm as well as where he gave way and broke into flight, and you created a delusion not only for the enemy but for your own men as well, when the savages thought you were not a single man and your soldiers could not follow you even with their eyes, let alone with escorts and guards. You ranged over the whole battleground no differently from the way a great river swollen with winter rains and snows flows everywhere over the plain. ⁴So all the Chaibones and the Eruli, all of them, were cut down and killed in such

(260–274) would not be likely to give the rebel leaders the status even of tyrants. Numismatic evidence is lacking: Mattingly-Sydenham 5.579; see also Jullian 7.54 n. 1; O. Schäfer 55 n. 3.

¹⁵ Cf. 2.24.2 for a similar sentiment.

¹⁶ This visitation probably belongs to late 285 (Barnes *NE* 57), if the *statim* of 10.5.1 means anything. The Burgundiones and Alamanni appear to be more familiar visitors, whose incursions were expected. They were also more numerous than the other two groups, for Maximian engaged the Chaibones and Eruli in battle and defeated them (10.5.2–4, 11.7.2). See the next note. The name Chaibones is a hapax (see Galletier I.28 n. 1; Ihm, *RE* 3 2022). During the reign of Gallienus the Eruli (Heruls) invaded Thrace by way of the Black Sea. The Alamanni had frequently visited the western provinces, including Italy, for the past fifty years. Their territory at this time was east of the Rhine in the northern part of what had been Germania Superior (east of Raetia). The Burgundiones (or Burgundii as in Pan. 11.17.1) were to the northeast of the Alamanni. They had been crossing into the empire for over a generation.

¹⁷ "The rest" were the Burgundiones and Alamanni. The emperors did not usually court a set battle against large enemy forces; they preferred to allow the barbarians to disperse on raids and then attacked isolated groups of them. This tactic was the safest, but it made temporary victims of the country-dwellers. This orator does not explicitly say how long it took Maximian to round them up. The future participle *usurus* refers to the emperor's plan, and makes a virtue of a necessity.

a great massacre that the bearer to their wives and mothers left at home of the news that they were dead was not some fugitive from the battle but the glory of your victory.

6 I do not mention your countless battles and victories all over Gaul.¹⁸ For what discourse could do justice to so many worthy deeds? ²Still, I cannot possibly pass by in silence the inaugural day of your consulship,¹⁹ when you alone of all men brought about this achievement, that a day which used previously to seem suitable only for beginning things then for the first time could meet the need for accomplishing them, and the sun saw you, within the space of one day (and a short one at that) both beginning the duties of a consul and fulfilling the tasks of a commander. ³We saw you, Caesar, on the same day both make vows on behalf of the state and to owe thanks for them answered,²⁰ because that which you had wished for the future you instantly accomplished, and you seem to me to have anticipated the very help of the gods for which you had prayed and to have done already whatever they had promised. We saw you, Caesar, on the same day both in the shining attire of peace and in splendid military apparel. ⁴I would say (may the gods forgive me) that not even Jupiter himself changes the appearance of his own sky with the speed and ease with which you, emperor, exchanged the toga praetexta for a breastplate, put down the staff and snatched up a spear, betook yourself from the tribunal to the field, from the throne to the back of a horse, and returned again from the battle in triumph, filling the entire city, troubled by your sudden attack on the enemy, with joy and exultation and glowing breezes²¹ and sacrificial odors kindled for your deity. ⁵Thus at both beginning and end of that day²² a divine offering was attended with equal reverence: to Jupiter while men made vows for the future; when they discharged them for the victory, to you.

¹⁸ This probably refers to operations against the Burgundiones and Alamanni, but Galletier (I.29 n. 1) suggests that it refers to the Bagaudae (Seston 68 concurs), while Jullian (7.61 n. 7) attributes it to an otherwise unattested campaign against the Franks on the left bank of the Rhine. The orator of 291 mentions only the two groups which Maximian defeated immediately; his silence about the others may suggest time-consuming and not altogether successful operations.

¹⁹ 1 January 287; Jullian 7.64 and n. 1. Jullian believes that 287 is more likely than 288, after Maximian's invasion of Germany.

²⁰ Literally, "to owe them proven". The manuscripts have *coniuncta debere*; Galletier prints *coniunctim*, the emendation of Arntzen. Mynors follows C. G. Schwarz, who compared Cicero *De domo sua* 145, "quod perperam fortasse intellexerat noster": Mynors). The passage from Cicero is as follows: *hanc ego devotionem capitis mei, cum ero in meas sedis restitutus, tum denique convictam esse et commissam putabo*. Various other emendations have been offered. The sense is that Maximian (like many generals in many battles) vowed something if the gods would grant him victory, and was in the position of having to fulfill his vow on the same day.

²¹ Breezes (*auris*) is the manuscript reading. Cuspinianus (1513; see Mynors viii for the value of this edition) prints *aris* (altars), "fortasse recte" (Mynors). Blazing altars would make better sense.

²² The affair is not otherwise known, and appears to have been a raid by a relatively small group of people. Preuss (p. 36) plausibly suggests the Franks (if the invasion took place near Trier; cf. Barnes *NE* 57 n. 48). Although Galletier (I.29 n. 2) doubts that one day may have been sufficient, the orator twice states that it was, and the speed and success of Maximian's reaction seem to be the main reason for dwelling upon the episode.

7 Then what followed such an auspicious beginning of that year but a new and prodigious miracle? ²What greater thing, moreover, could happen than your passing over the border into Germany, ²³ by which you first of all men, emperor, proved that there is no boundary of the Roman empire save that of your arms? ³And yet before that Nature herself seemed to have fashioned the Rhine in such a way as to protect Roman provinces from the barbarians' savagery with that boundary. ⁴Was there anyone before you were princes who ever did not rejoice that Gaul was defended by that river? When has an extended period of calm weather made the Rhine's channel shallow, and we have not felt fear? When have its floods increased, and we have not felt joy?²⁴ ⁵I believe that in just the same way the Euphrates protected by its own embrace, so to speak, the rich and fertile province of Syria before the Persian kingdom willingly surrendered itself to Diocletian.²⁵ But he accomplished this in the manner of his Jupiter, by the paternal nod at which all things tremble, and by the majesty of your names; ⁶you, however, invincible emperor, tamed those wild and ungovernable races by ravaging, battles, slaughter, fire and sword. This is the fate of the race of Hercules, to owe what you protect to your valor. Now we are free and happy in spirit. ⁷Though the Rhine dry up and barely touch the smooth pebbles with a thin trickle in its transparent shallows, there is no fear from that quarter: whatever I can see beyond the Rhine is Roman.

In the same way Carthage, once a long-standing rival and enemy of Roman power, was defeated by Publius Scipio, when by taking his army to Africa he recalled Hannibal from the devastation of Italy.²⁶ Had you heard this, emperor, or did you observe by yourself with your divine intelligence that in this way the enemy could at last be overthrown, if they were conquered in their own territory and not merely lost the spoils which they had taken, but themselves mourned their wives and children and parents and the capture of everything most dear to them? ³Either you knew and imitated this or did it on your own initiative: ⁴in either case an illustrious thing, since imitators of great deeds deserve no less praise than the authors

²³ The date is 287, if that is the date of the remarkable consulship (Schäfer p. 62; Barnes *NE* 57; Preuss p. 36 prefers 288). Again, what specific group of Germans Maximian attacked is not known. The descriptive "wild and ungovernable races" below (10.7.6) seems to rule out Franks, who are regularly portrayed as crafty and fickle (cf. 10.11.4 below; 7.4.2, 12.22.3). Stadler (49-53) has demonstrated that Germans = Alamanni, and a reference in a later panegyric (8.10.4) cites numerous invasions of Alamannia. The expedition was probably a punitive thrust at the invaders of 286 (Burgundiones and Alamanni). The orator cares more about the success of the venture (and he is confirmed by the speaker of 291: 11.5.3, 11.7.2, 11.16.1) than the edification of later generations. There is evidence that Maximian based his operations at Mainz. E. Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris 1895) 270 no. 849, show a lead medallion, found at Lyon, with the legend F. RENVM CASTEL, MOGVNTIACVM, and shows a bridge reuniting the two cities. Maximian, preceded by two figures of Victory, stands on the bridge; he is returning to Mainz.

²⁴ The value of a natural barrier is important to the orator; cf. 6.11.1.

²⁵ In 287 (Seston 161-163; Barnes *NE* 51 and n. 27) Diocletian put Tiridates III on the Armenian throne and won Mesopotamia by treaty from the Persian king Vahram II (the latter event occurred in 288 according to Stein 67).

²⁶ Scipio's invasion of Africa in 204 BCE won the Second Punic war for Rome. Hannibal was recalled to Carthage in 202.

themselves.²⁷ ⁵More than that, an untried plan, however excellent, is in the hands of Fortune; the same plan repeated and used a second time surely redounds to the glory of one's judgment. ⁶That is why, most sacred emperor, both of you now are greater than Scipio himself, because you imitated Africanus and Diocletian imitated you.

9 He recently entered that part of Germany which is opposite Raetia and with similar valor extended the Roman border by his victory:²⁸ you reported so openly and affectionately to his deity whatever you had done for these provinces when you came together from the ends of the earth and joined your unconquered right hands, so trusting and fraternal was your conference.²⁹ ²At that meeting you two offered mutual examples of every virtue and by turns you each (and up to now it did not seem possible that it could be done) enriched the other, he by showing you his Persian gifts, you by showing him your German spoils. ³But your military successes did not restrain him from his generosity, nor his wealth you from your military endeavors: now you are both most bountiful, both most powerful and in this very likeness to each other more and more united in spirit and, what is more sure than any blood relationship, brothers in excellence. ⁴So it happens that you hold so great an empire in common without any rivalry and you allow there to be no distinction between you, but like those twin Lacedaemonian kings, the Heracleidae,³⁰ you hold the state in equal shares. ⁵Although in this respect you are better and juster, because their mother forced them by her stratagem to reign with equal authority and seniority, since she confessed to no one whom she had first given birth to; of your own accord you do this, since a resemblance not of face but of character has made you equal in the highest estate.

10 Furthermore it was less remarkable that those kings, if they had been able to know the difference between each other, shared together a tiny realm which an energetic walker has often traversed in one day. But that you, who mark the limits of the empire by the boundaries not of

²⁷ The orator expresses delight in the reversal of the usual order. Cf. 7.8.4 on the novelty of Maximian's action.

²⁸ In 288 Diocletian invaded German where it abuts Raetia, working in the same general area as Maximian, but from a different direction. Seston (p. 73), citing this passage, declares, "Il réussit, la surprise aidant, à porter le *limes* jusqu'aux sources du Danube." The panegyrist does not say anything about surprise or the Danube (but cf. 11.5.4, 8.3.3), but to take the Danube as the limit would be a natural inference. Aurelian and Probus, however, had both had to clear Vindelicia of marauders, thus protecting Raetia (SHA [*Aurel.*] 26.35.4, [*Prob.* 28.16.1]). It may be that Diocletian had to restore the old boundary once again. The panegyrist of Constantius says that Dacia was restored and that the *limites* of Germany and Raetia were pushed forward to the source (*caput*) of the Danube (8.3.3), but the date of this speech is 298, and Maximian and Diocletian had fought in the area more than once (8.2.1, 8.10.4, 7.8.5). A date of 288 (or 289, taking the *nuper* of 10.9.1 literally) may be too early for total pacification of the area.

²⁹ 288 is the most likely date for the meeting; its location is not known. The meeting preceded Diocletian's invasion of Raetia and Maximian's accord with Gennobaudes the Frank.

³⁰ Eurysthenes and Procles, according to Herodotus 6.52, one version of the origin of the two royal houses at Sparta. Their mother professed not to be able to tell them apart, but the truth was learnt by observation of her preference. The Delphic oracle instructed the Spartans to make both children kings, but to honor the older one more. Herodotus says that the two kings were at odds all their lives.

earth but of heaven, share with each other so much might, so much power, is surely attributable to your divine and immortal fidelity, which no greed has perverted.² Still you see, emperor, that I cannot find anything from all of antiquity which I could compare to you except the example of the race of Hercules,³ since even Alexander the Great now seems to me insignificant in returning his kingdom to the Indian king,³¹ when so many kings, emperor, are your clients, since through your agency Gennobaudes recovered his kingdom,³² from you he truly received a gift.⁴ What else did he seek to gain by coming with all his people to your presence, if not that he might finally reign with full authority when he had appeased you, Maximian?⁵ He repeatedly, I hear, displayed you to his people and ordered them long to fix their gaze upon you and to learn the acts of subjection, since he himself was your subject.⁶ In this same way the king of the Persians, who never before has deigned to admit that he is a human being, humbles himself to your brother and throws open his entire kingdom, if he should consider it worthy to enter.³³ ⁷ Meanwhile he offers a variety of marvelous things, he sends wild beasts of exceptional beauty; content to have asked for and won the name of friendship, he earns it by obedience.

11 Invincible princes, your harmony makes even fortune repay you with equality in success. For you rule the state with one mind, and the great physical distance between you does not prevent your governing as with right hands clasped.² Therefore, although you enhance the royal majesty with your twin deity, you maintain the advantage of a single empire by your unanimity.³ For this reason, if Greek poets do not idly promise in return to men who cultivate righteousness two offspring each for their beasts and doubles fruits of their trees, now double of everything is due to every single land of yours, whose masters so piously nurture justice and harmony.⁴ You at least are surely convinced, emperor, that there is so much good in harmony that by friendship and marriage alliance you have bound to yourself even those who perform important functions in your service,³⁴ considering that it is a magnificent thing to hold them close by your side not through the obedience of fear but through the vows of loyalty. Under their leadership a little while ago, when they used your most favorable auspices, that slippery and deceitful race of savages was punished as it deserved.³⁵ Yours is the praise for this, emperor, yours; from you

³¹ Alexander defeated the Indian king Porus in battle, but restored his kingdom to him afterwards (Arrian *Anab.* 5.19.1-3).

³² Gennobaudes is a Frank (cf. 11.5.4); Gregory of Tours *HF* 2.9 mentions a Frankish leader of the same name. He and his people became Maximian's clients; in return, Maximian supported his claim to kingship.

³³ An exaggeration of the effect of Diocletian's agreement with Vahram II (see above n. 25).

³⁴ Constantius I married Maximian's (step)daughter Theodora and Galerius married Valeria, Diocletian's daughter. According to *PLRE* I s.vv. Eutropia 1 and Afranius Hannibalianus 3, Maximian's wife Eutropia, the mother of Maxentius and Fausta, was previously married to Theodora's father, who may be identified with Hannibalianus, cos. 292; if he was Theodora's former husband, then presumably he was PPO in the west in 289. It is a curious recommendation, but not without precedent (e.g., Nero and Otho, although Otho lost favor as well as his wife). Barnes *NE* 125-126 rejects this theory and prefers the one which makes Constantius marry Theodora while he was PPO before he became Caesar. This makes better sense of the passage. Cf. I. König, *Chiron* 4 (1974) 574.

³⁵ The description fits the Franks (see n. 23), who were allied with the usurper Carausius (see below). Cf. also 11.7.2. Note that Maximian did not direct this operation himself.

proceeds even what is carried out through others. ⁶As all good things produced in heaven or on earth, although they seem to grow for us by the aid of various deities, flow nevertheless from the highest source, from Jupiter ruler of heaven and Hercules peace-maker of the globe, thus Diocletian oversees³⁶ and you bring to completion all fair things, even those carried out under other generals. ⁷It is due to your good fortune, to your felicity, emperor, that your soldiers have already reached the Ocean in victory, that already the receding waves have soaked up the blood of enemies slain on that shore.³⁷

12 What state of mind does that pirate³⁸ have now, when he sees that your armies almost entered into that straight [the English Channel] by which alone he has delayed his death thus far, and that your armies, forgetting about ships, followed the receding sea where it gave way? ²What island farther removed, what other Ocean can he wish for himself? How can he escape at last the republic's vengeance, unless perchance he be swallowed up by the earth or carried off by some whirlwind to distant rocks? ³Splendid ships have been built and equipped to set forth toward the Ocean from all the rivers at once;³⁹ not only have men toiled eagerly to complete them, but even the rivers have suddenly increased in size to receive them. ⁴For almost the entire year, emperor, when you required fair weather for ship-building, cutting timber, keeping up the spirits of the workmen so their hands would not slacken, almost no day was marred by rain. ⁵The winter itself was like the mild weather of spring. We no longer think that we lie beneath the stars of the north but that the constellations or the lands must have changed places, and we feel the mildness of the southern heavens. ⁶This river of ours [the Mosel],⁴⁰ long lacking its quota of rains, could not bear ships but carried only materials for your vessels. Yet suddenly, when it was time to launch the galleys, Earth sent forth abundant springs for you, for you Jupiter poured forth copious rains, for

³⁶ Mynors prints *Diocletianus † facit* (Diocletian does/makes [?]) and notes *alius aliud supplet*. I have written something reasonable for the sake of providing sense, hence, "Diocletian oversees". The choices of *ortum* or *initium* (see Galletier's app.crit. ad loc.) make the analogy with Jupiter and Hercules a close one, but are not quite satisfactory to the tone of the speech as a whole, and rob Maximian of initiative.

³⁷ Although Maximian's men overcame Carausius' allies on the continent, they could not pursue them without a fleet. Carausius had taken over whatever vessels the Empire had had in the area (Pan. 8.12.1).

³⁸ Carausius. The usual practice is not to name a usurper, but to call him a tyrant or a pirate or by some worse epithet. Diocletian had appointed Carausius, apparently a native of Belgica (a Menapian), to clear the sea of Franks and Saxons who had been raiding the coast of Gaul (Armorica) and Belgica. Carausius retained for himself the recaptured booty, whereupon Maximian ordered that he be killed. Carausius sailed to Britain and declared himself emperor. Em. Janssens, *Latomus* 1 (1937) 27, believes that Aurelius Victor, or his copyists, confused the unfamiliar toponym Monapia (= Mona, the Isle of Man) with the more familiar Menapii who lived on the mainland. Thus Carausius becomes the first "national ruler" of Britain. See Eutropius 9.21 and 9.22.2, Aurelius Victor 29.20-21, 29.29-42. Aurelius Victor reports that Carausius was judged fit to rule and accepted as a colleague; Eutropius says that the emperors first tried to dislodge him. At the time of this oration, Maximian was still planning his attack. See Panegyrics 11 and 8 for more on the recovery of Britain.

³⁹ Maximian's fleet has finally been built but he has not yet embarked for Britain.

⁴⁰ Galletier I.35 n. 2.

you Ocean overflowed all the riverbeds. ⁷Then the ships moved through waters willingly sustaining them, impelled by only a slight effort from their guides, who for that most prosperous beginning had more need of the sailors' song than of labor. ⁸And so anyone can easily understand, emperor, what favorable successes in maritime endeavors will attend you, whom the convenience of the seasons already obeys.

13 Fortunate you are, then, in having such princes, Rome (for it is right to end the respectful duty of this speech where we began); fortunate, I say, and now far more fortunate than under your founders Remus and Romulus. ²For those men, although they were brothers and twins, contested which of the two would give you his name, and they chose different mountains, received different auspices. Although your empire is as much greater as the area of whatever land men cultivate is more extensive than the old boundary, these your preservers vie for you with no rancor. These rulers, when first they return to you in triumph, wish to ride in one vehicle, to approach the Capitol together, together to reside in the Palace. ³Use, I pray, the name of either of your princes, since you are not forced to choose: may you now be called both *Herculia* and *Jovia*. ⁴O emperor, how much more majestic would that city be now, how much more would she celebrate this birthday of hers, if she were to see you two surrounded by your senate in the citadel of Capitoline Jupiter! And doubtless at this moment she pretends that you are there by visiting the temples of your deities and over and over, as was ordained by our ancestors, calling on Jupiter Stator and Hercules Victor. ⁴¹ ⁵Once long ago a man gave this title to that god, a man who, after he had conquered pirates on a transport vessel, heard in his sleep from Hercules himself that he had achieved victory with his help. Now after many centuries, most sacred emperor, it is still very much among the duties of your deity to overcome pirates.

14 But surely that day will soon dawn, when Rome sees you, victors, and at your right hand your lively son [Maxentius], ⁴² endowed with every advantage of intelligence for learning noble arts, whom some lucky tutor awaits, who will without difficulty urge your divine and immortal child to the pursuit of praise. ²It will not be necessary to set forth men like Camillus and

⁴¹ The temple of Jupiter Stator stood on the *Sacra Via* (SE of the Arch of Titus); its foundations may still be seen. Romulus is said to have vowed it during a battle with the Sabines. The extant foundations belong to its reconstruction by M. Atilius Regulus in 294 BCE, which he vowed during a battle with the Samnites (photo in Nash I.534). Story of Hercules Victor: Servius ad *Aen.* 8.363; Macrobius *Sat.* 3.6.10-11: *Romae autem Victoris Herculis aedes duae sunt, una ad portam Trigeminam, altera in foro Boario, huius commentum causam Masurius Sabinus Memorabilium libro secundo aliter exponit: Marcus inquit Octavius Herrenus, prima adolescentia tibicen, postquam arti suae diffisus est, instituit mercaturam, et bene re gesta decimam Herculi profanavit, postea cum navigans hoc idem ageret, a praedonibus circumventus fortissime repugnavit et victor recessit. hunc in somnis Hercules docuit sua opera servatum. cui Octavius impetrato a magistratibus loco aedem sacravit et signum, Victoremque incisus litteris appellavit.* Nash I.473 reproduces a drawing by Baldassare Peruzzi showing a reconstruction of the round temple to Hercules Victor in the Forum Boarium. A cult statue (Nash I.474) was found when the remains of the temple were removed under Sixtus IV (1471-1484).

⁴² Maxentius. His date of birth is not known; authors of *PLRE* I cite this passage for a date of 286/7. It does show that he child was too young for schooling. Barnes *NE* 34 prefers a date ca. 283.

Maximus and Curius and Cato for imitation;⁴³ rather, let him point out your deeds to him, let him often and always display you two in person, the best teachers of imperial training. ³Yet in the meantime, mistress of nations, since reasons of state detain this most longed for prince in Gaul, we beseech you if you can, do not envy this city [Trier] on which he now confers a likeness to your majesty by celebrating your birthday with the customary magnificence which is your due. ⁴And even when peace has been secured throughout the world, and that mother of your empire has received you, we beg you yourself, emperor, to withdraw from time to time your pious hands from her close embraces; and may you especially (and I believe the East asks the same of Diocletian) often visit these provinces of yours, and though they be flourishing in profound peace, by the advent of your deity may you make them even happier. ⁵You see, emperor, how great is the force of your divine services to us: up to now we have enjoyed your presence, and already we long for your return.

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⁴³ M. Furius Camillus vindicated and refounded Rome after the invasion of the Gauls in 387/6 BCE (Livy 5.49.1-54.7, 6.2.4-4.3). Q. Fabius Maximus, called Cunctator for his policy while dictator (217 BCE) of following Hannibal without risking a pitched battle (cf. Pan. 12.15.5 and note); his strategy was later believed to have been Rome's salvation at the outset of the Second Punic War (Livy 22.8-18, 23-30). M'. Curius Dentatus conquered the Samnites and Sabines (290 BCE), Senones (284 BCE), Pyrrhus (275 BCE), and the Lucanians (274 BCE) (Livy *Per.* 11 and 14); he was famous for his moderation as well as his military ability. M. Porcius Cato the Censor, the rival of the Scipios and instigator of the Third Punic War, is probably meant, although his great-grandson Cato the Suicide, who was renowned for his inflexible adherence to certain Republican principles, is a noteworthy model in his own fashion, but not for an emperor.