

**PANEGYRICUS CONSTANTINO AUGUSTO**

D I C T U S .

I. Facerem, sacratissime imperator, quod paulo ante mihi plerique suaserunt ut, quoniam maiestas tua hunc mediocritati meae diem in ista ciuitate celeberrimum ad 5 dicendum dedisset, de eo ipso ducerem sermonis exordium, nisi me ab hoc duplex ratio reuocaret considerantem neque mediae aetatis hominem ostentare debere subitam dicendi facultatem neque ad aures tanti numinis quicquam nisi diu scriptum et saepe tractatum afferri oportere. [nam qui aput imperatorem populi Romani dicit ex tempore, quantum sit non sentit imperium.] huc accedit quod iam satis multi sunt qui me putant nimium 10 multa dicturum, idque, ut arbitror, non ex ingenio meo, quod mediocre est, sed ex laudum uestrarum copia metiuntur. quorum ego expectationem inuitus licet fallam breuitate dicendi. reuera enim cogitaueram plura quae dicerem, sed malo orationem meam esse mancam quam respui. itaque primum illud compendium faciam quod, cum omnes uos, inuictissimi principes, quorum concors est et 15 socia maiestas, debita ueneratione suspiciam, hunc tamen quantulumcumque tuo modo, Constantine, numini dicabo sermonem. ut enim ipsos immortales deos, quamquam uniuersos animo colamus, interdum tamen in suo quemque templo ac seda ueneramur: ita mihi fas esse duco omnium principum pietate meminisse, laudibus celebrare praesentem.

II. A primo igitur incipiam originis tuae numine, quod plerique adhuc fortasse 20 nesciunt, sed qui te, amant plurimum sciunt. ab illo enim diuo Claudio manat in te auita cognatio qui Romani imperii solutam et perditam disciplinam primus reformauit immanesque. Gothorum copias Ponti faucibus et Histri ore proruptas terra marique deleuit, utinam diutumior recreator hominum quam maturior deorum comes. quamuis 25 igitur ille felicissimus dies proxima religione celebratus imperii tui natalis habeatur, quoniam te isto habitu primus ornauit, iam tamen ab illo generis auctore in te imperii fortuna descendit. quin immo ipsum patrem tuum uetus illa imperatoriae domus praerogatiua prouexit, ut iam summo gradu et supra humanarum rerum fata 30 consisteres, post duos familiae tuae principes tertius imperator. inter omnes, inquam, participes maiestatis tuae hoc habes, Constantine, praecipuum quod imperator ortu es, tantaque est nobilitas originis tuae ut nihil tibi addident honoris imperium nec possit fortuna numini tuo imputare quod tuum est, omissa ambitu et suffragatione.

III. Non fortuita hominum consensio, non repetinus aliquis fauoris uentus te 35 principem fecit: imperium nascendo meruisti. quod quidem mihi deorum immortalium munus et primum uidetur et sa maximum, in lucem statim uenire felicem et ea quae alii uix totius uitiae laboribus consequuntor iam domi parta suspicere. quamuis enim magna sit et admiranda felicitas quae stipendiis in ordine emeritis et militiae gradibus emensis ad fastigium istud maiestatis ascendit et solis uirtutis nixa radicibus ad 40 tantum potentiae robur inualuit (quod quidem etiam tu, quantum per aetatem licuit, consecutus es et, quamuis te super omnes acquirendae gloriae moras fauor fortunae posuisset, crescere militando noluisti et adeundis belli periculis ac manu cum hostibus etiam singulari certamine conserenda notiorem te gentibus reddidisti, cum non posses esse nobilior), magnum, inquam, etsi est ab se profectum ad maxima peruenire: longe tamen aliud est niti per ardua et iuga montium petere e plano aliud jpsa ortus sui sublimitate fultum uerticem tenere fortunae et quae summa sunt non 45 sperare, sed habere.

IV. Sacrum istud palatum non candidatus imperii, sed designatus intrasti, confestimque te illi paterni lares successorem uidere legitimum. neque enim erat dubium quin ei competeteret hereditas quem primum imperatori filium fata tribuissent. te enim tantus ille et imperator in terris et in caelo deus in primo aetatis suae 50 flore generauit adhuc toto corpore uigens, illa praeditus alacritate ac fortitudine quam bella plurima praecipueque campi uidere Uindonii. inde est quod tanta ex illo in te formae similitudo transiuit ut signante natura uultibus tuis impressa uideaiur. idem enim est quem rursus in te colimus aspectus, eadem in fronte grauitas, eadem in 55 oculis et in ore tranquillitas. sic est index modestiae rubor, sic testis iustitiae sermo. accipe, imperator, non ancipitem nostrorum sensuum confessionem: dolet quod Constantius excessit a nobis, sed, dum te cernimus, illum excessisse non credimus. quamquam quid ego illum excessisse dico, cuius inmortalia facta uiuunt et in ore omnium hominum oculisque uersantur?

V. Quis enim non dico reminiscitur, sed quis non adhuc quodam modo uidet quantis ille 60 rebus auxerit ornaritque rem publicam? qui adscitus imperio primo aduentu suo innumerabili hostium classe feruentem exclusit oceanum et exercitum illum qui Bononiensis oppidi litus insederat terra pariter ac mari saepsit, cum reciprocis aestus illius elementi iactis inter undas uallis diremisset, ut, quorum portas fluctus alluerat, ei quo mare tangerent perdidissent. qui eodem exercitu uirtute 65 capto, clementia conseruato, dum aedificandis classibus Britanniae reciperatio comparatur, terram Batauiam sub ipso quondam alumno suo a diuersis Francorum gentibus occupatam omni hoste purgauit nec contentus uicisse ipsas in Romanas transtulit nationes ut non solum arma, sed etiam feritatem ponere cogerentur. nam quid ego de

receptione Britanniae loquar? ad quam ita quieto mari nauigauit ut oceanus ille tanto  
 70 uectore stupefactus caruisse suis motibus uideretur, ita peruectus ut non comitata  
 illum sit, sed praestolata uictoria.

VI. Quid de misericordia dicam qua uictis temperauit? quid de iustitia qua spoliatis  
 amissa restituit? quid de prouidentia qua sociis sibi iunctis se eiusmodi in iudicio  
 75 dedit ut seruitutem passos iuuaret recepta libertas, culpae consciens ad poenitentiam  
 reuocaret impunitas? quid loquar rursus intimas Franciae nationes iam non ab his  
 locis quae olim Romani inuaserant, sed a propriis ex origine sui sedibus atque ab  
 ultimis barbariae litoribus auulsas, ut in desertis Galliae regionibus collocatae et  
 pacem Romani imperii cultu iuuarent et arma dilectu? quid commemorem Lingonicam  
 80 uictoriam etiam imperatoris ipsius uulnere gloriosam? quid Uindonissae campos hostium  
 strage completos et adhuc ossibus opertos? quid immanem ex diuersis Germanorum  
 populis multitudinem, quam duratus gelu Rhenus illexerat ut insulam, quam diuortio  
 sui idem amnis amplectitur, pedestri agmine ausa transmittere repente laxato flumine  
 clauderetur et so dimissis statim obsessa nauigiis ita se dedere cogeretur ut, quod  
 85 difficilius est, sorte communi elegeret et ex aequo quos captiuitati traderet,  
 relatura cum reliquiis suis infamiam proditionis suorum.

VII. Dies me ante deficiet quam oratio, si omnia patris tui facta uel hac breuitate  
 percurram. cuius etiam suprema illa expeditio non Britannica trophya, ut uulgo  
 creditum est, expetiuit, sed dis iam nocantibus ad intimum terrarum limen accessit.  
 neque enim ille tot tantisque rebus gestis non dico Caledonum, Pictorum aliorumque  
 90 siluas et paludes, sed nec Hibemiam proximam nec Thylen ultimam nec ipsas si quae  
 sunt Fortunatorum insulas dignabatur acquirere, sed, quod eloqui nemini uoluit,  
 iturus ad deos genitorem illum deorum ignea caelis astra refouentem prospexit  
 oceanum, ut fruiturus exinde luce perpetua iam uideret illic diem paene continuum.  
 uere enim profecto illi superum templo patuerunt receptusque est consessu caelitum,  
 95 Ioue ipso dexteram porrigente. quin immo statim sententiam rogatus cui imperium  
 decemeret, dixit, ut decebat, Constantium Pium: manifeste enim sententia patris  
 electus es, imperator. quod quidem ita nos dicere cum ueritas iubet, tum pietati  
 tuae, ut uideo gratissimum est. sed cur tantummodo priuatis tuis affectibus  
 blandiamur, cum omnium deorum fuerit illa sententia, et quidem iam pridem auctoritate  
 100 perscripta, quamuis tunc pleno sit firmata consilio? iam tunc enim caelestibus  
 suffragis ad salutem rei publicae uocabaris, cum ad tempus ipsum quo pater in  
 Britanniam transfretabat classi iam uela facienti repentinus tuus aduentus illuxit,  
 ut non aduectus cursu publico, sed diuino quodam aduolasse curriculo uidereris.

VIII. Non enim ulla Persarum Cydonumue tela tam certis iactibus destinata fixerunt  
 105 quam tempestiuus patri tuo terras relicturo comes affuisti omnesque illius curas quas  
 praesaga et tacita mente ualuebat praesentiae tuae securitate laxasti. di boni,  
 quanta Constantium Pium etiam in excessu suo felicitate donastis! imperator transitum  
 facturus in caelum uidit quem relinquebat heredem. ilico enim atque ille terris  
 fuerat exemptus, uniuersus in te consensit exercitus, te omnium mentes oculique  
 110 signarunt et, quamquam tu ad seniores principes de summa rei publicae quid fieri  
 placeret rettulisses, praeuenerunt studio quod illi mox iudicio probauerunt. purpuram  
 statim tibi, cum primus copiam tui fecit egressus, milites utilitati publicae magis  
 quam tuis affectibus seruientes iniecere lacrimanti. neque enim fas erat diutius  
 fleri principem consecratum. diceris etiam, imperator inuicte, ardorem illum te  
 115 depositis exercitus fugere conatus equum calcaribus incitasse. quod quidem, ut  
 uerum audias, adulescentiae errore faciebas. quis enim te Cyllarus aut Arion posset  
 eripere quem sequebatur imperium? illa, inquam, illa maiestas, quippe Iouis oblata  
 nutu nec Iridi deum nuntiae, sed pinnis commissa Uictoriae, tam facile te comitata  
 est quam cito ad terras caelo missa perueniunt. sic modestiam tuam atque pietatem et  
 120 differendi imperii conatus ostendit et rei publicae felicitas uicit.

IX. O fortunata et nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quae Constantiūm Caesarem  
 prima uidisti! merito te omnibus caeli ac soli bonis natura donauit, in qua nec rigor  
 est nimius hiemis nec ardor aestatis, in qua segetum tanta fecunditas ut muneribus  
 utrisque sufficiat et Cereris et Liberi, in qua nemora sine inmanibus bestiis, terra  
 125 sine serpentibus noxiis; contra pecorum mitium innumerabilis multitudo lacte distenta  
 et onusta uelleribus, certe quidem, quapropter ibi uita diligitur, longissimae dies  
 et nullae sine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa litorum extrema planities non attollit  
 umbras noctisque metam caeli et siderum transit aspectus, ut sol ipse qui nobis  
 uidetur occidere ibi appareat praeterire. di boni, quid hoc est quod semper ex aliquo  
 130 supremo fine mundi noua deum numina uniuerso orbi colenda descendunt? sic Mercurius a  
 Nilo cuius fluminis origo nescitur, sic Liber ab Indis prope consciis solis orientis  
 deos se gentibus ostendere praesentes. sacratiora sunt profecto mediterraneis loca  
 uicina caelo et inde proprius a dis mittitur imperator ubi terra finitur.

X. Imperatoris igitur filius et tanti imperatoris et ipse tam feliciter adeptus  
 135 imperium quomodo rem publicam uindicare coepisti? ignobilem, credo, aliquam  
 barbarorum manum, quae repentina impetu et improviso latrocinio ortus tui auspicia  
 temptasset, affecisti poena temeritatis. reges ipsos Franciae, qui per absentiam

patris tui pacem uiolauerant, non dubitasti ultimis punire cruciatibus, nihil ueritus  
 gentis illius odia perpetua et inexpiables iras. cur enim ullam reputet iustae  
 140 seueritatis offensam imperator qui quod fecit tueri potest? tuta clementia est quae  
 parcit inimicis et sibi magis prospicit quam ignoscit. te uero, Constantine,  
 quantumlibet oderint hostes, dum perhorrescant. haec est enim uera uirtus ut non  
 ament et quiescant. cautior licet sit qui deuinctos habet uenia perduelles, fortior  
 145 tamen est qui calcat iratos. renouasti, imperator, ueterem illam Romani imperii  
 fiduciam quae de captis hostium ducibus uiudictam morte sumebat. tunc enim captiui  
 reges cum a portis usque ad forum triumphantium currus honestassent, simulatque in  
 Capitolium currum flectere cooperat imperator, abrepti in carcerem necabantur. unus  
 150 Perses ipso Paulo qui dedentem se acceperat deprecante legem illius seueritatis  
 euasit. ceteri omnes in uinculis luce priuati aliis regibus dedere documentum ut  
 mallent amicitiam colere Romanam quam exasperare tristitiam. adeo et hoc boni confert  
 poena hostibus irrogata ut non solum inimici ferocire non audeant, sed etiam amici  
 impensis reuereantur.  
 XI. Lide igitur est, imperator, pax ista qua fruimur. neque enim iam Rheni  
 gurgitibus, sed nominis tui terrore munimur. quamlibet ille aut arescat aestu aut  
 155 resistat gelu, neutro hostis audebit uti uado. nihil enim tam insuperabili uallo  
 natnra praecludit quod non penetreret audacia, cui aliqua conandi spes relinquatur.  
 ille est inexpugnabilis murus quem extruit fama uirtutis. sciunt posse se Franci  
 transire Rhenum, quos ad necem suam libenter admittas, sed nec uictoriā possunt  
 sperare nec ueniam. quid ipsos maneat, ex regum suorum  
 160 cruciatibus metiuntur ideoque tantum abest ut amsis illius transitum moliantur, magis  
 ut coepto ponte desperent. ubi nunc est illa ferocia? ubi semper infida mobilitas?  
 iam ne procul quidem Rhenum audetis accolere et uix securi flumina interiora potatis.  
 contra hinc per interualla disposita magis omant limitem castella quam protegunt.  
 arat illam terribilem aliquando ripam inermus agricola, et toto nostri greges bicom  
 165 amne mersantur. haec est tua, Constantine, de Ascarici Regaisique supplicio cotidiana  
 atque aetema uictoria omnibus quondam secundis proeliis anteponenda. semel acie  
 uincitur, sine fine est documento. cladem suam, quamuis multi pereant, uulgas  
 ignorat: compendium est deuincendorum hostium duces sustulisse.  
 XII. Ut tamen omnibus modis barbarorum immanitas frangeretur nec sola hostes regum  
 170 suorum supplicia maererent, etiam immissa Bructeris uastatione fecisti, imperator  
 inuicte. in quo prima consilii tui fuit ratio quod exercitu repente traecto  
 inopinantes adortus es, non quo aperto Marte diffideres ut qui palam congredi  
 maluisses, sed ut illa natio perfugiis siluamm et paludum bellum solita frustrari  
 175 fugae tempus amitteret. caesi igitur innumerabiles, capti plurimi; quicquid fuit  
 pecoris, raptum aut trucidatum est; uici omnes igne consumpti; puberes qui in manus  
 uenerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiae nec ferocia seruituti, ad poenas  
 spectaculo dati saeuientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt. hoc est, imperator,  
 fretum esse uirtute sua atque fortuna, hoc est non pacem emere parcendo, sed  
 uictoriā quaerere prouocando.  
 XIII. Insuper etiam Agrippinensi ponte faciendo reliquiis afflictae gentis insultas,  
 ne umquam metus ponat, semper horreat, semper supplices manus tendat, cum tamen hoc  
 tu magis ad gloriam imperii tui et ornatum limitis facias quam ad facultatem,  
 quotiens uelis, in hosticum trauseundi, quippe cum totus armatis nauibus Rhenus  
 180 instructus sit et ripis omnibus usque ad oceanum dispositus miles immineat. sed  
 pulcrum tibi uidetur (et reuera pulcherrimum est) ut Rhenus ille non solum  
 superioribus locis, ubi aut latitudine uadosus aut uincinia fontis exiguus, sed etiam  
 ibi nouo ponte calcetur ubi totus est, ubi iam plurimos hausit amnes quos hic noster  
 indigena fluuius et barbarus Nicer et Moenus inuexit, ubi iam immani meatu ferox et  
 185 alluei unius impatiens in duo cornua gestit excedere. seruit profecto, Gonstantine  
 maxime, ipsa rerum natura numini tuo, cum in illa gurgitum altitudine tantarum molium  
 fundamenta iaciuntur fidam et stabilem firmitatem habitura. iunxerit licet quondam  
 Helleponti angustias classe conexa Persarum rex potentissimus: temporarius ille  
 190 transitus fuit. simili nauium continuatione Bajanum sinum strauerit ab Augusto  
 tertius Caesar: delicata fuit illa uectatio principis otiosi.  
 195 hoc opus et difficile factu et usu futurum est sempitemum. certe quidem iam tibi in  
 exordio sui hostium mouit obsequia, qui pacem supplices petierunt, nobilissimos  
 obsides obtulerunt. ex quo nemo dubitat quid perfecto ponte facturi sint qui iam  
 seruiunt inchoato.  
 XIV. Talibus te pro utilitate ac dignitate publica rebus intentum auerterunt in se  
 200 noui motus eius hominis quem successibus tuis maxime fauere decuisset. de quo ego  
 quemadmodum dicam adhuc ferme dubito et de nutu numinis tui expecto consilium.  
 quamlibet enim merito pietatis tuae questibus acuatur, debet tamen sibi uox priuata  
 moderari, praesertim cum eum qui tibi ex tantis beneficiis tuis et tanto  
 necessitudinum fonte ingratus extiterit adhuc contemplatu tui cogamur quamuis irati  
 205 reuereri. quid faciam igitur ut tam profunda vulnra suspensa manu tractem? usurpabo  
 nimirum illa communias omnium facinorum patrocinia, quae tamen plerumque etiam a

sapientibus assenmtur, neminem hominem peccare nisi fato et ipsa scelera mortalium  
 actus esse fortunae, contra autem deorum munera esse uirtutes. gratulare,  
 210 Constantine, naturae ac moribus tuis quod te talem Constantius Pius genuerit, talem  
 siderum decreta formarint ut crudelis esse non possis. illum autem [non] credo, cum  
 uenturus in lucem optionem uitiae qua ueteretur acciperet, sortem incurrisse fugiendam  
 quae multis hominibus iniustum et postremo ipsi uoluntarium ferret exitium. ut enim  
 alia mittam, hoc ipsum nonne fati necessitas tulit ut ille pietati tuae hanc referret  
 uicem, quem tu ab urbe pulsum, ab Italia fugatum, ab Illyrico repudiatum tuis  
 215 prouinciis, tuis copiis, tuo palatio recepisti?  
 XV. Quid, oro, sibi uoluit? quid optauit? uel quid amplius adipisceretur his quae a  
 te fuerat consecutus? cui tu summa et diuersissima bona, priuatum otium et regias  
 opes, dederas, cui digredienti aulicos mulos et raedas, cui impensis etiam quam tibi  
 220 occurrere obsequia nostra mandaueras, cuius omnibus iussis sic statueras oboedire ut  
 penes te habitus, penes illum potestas esset imperii. quisnam ille tantus fuit non  
 ardor potentiae (quid enim te imperante non posset?), sed error iam desipientis  
 aetatis, ut tot natus annos grauissimas curas et bellum ciuile susciperet? nullis, ut  
 res est, fortunae muneribus explentur quorum cupiditates ratio non terminat, atque  
 225 ita eos felicitas ingrata subterfluit ut semper pleni sperum, uacui commodorum,  
 praesentibus careant dum futura prospectant. at enim diuinum illum uirum qui primus  
 imperium et participauit et posuit consilii et facti sui non poenitet nec amisisse se  
 putat quod sponte transcripsit, felix beatusque uere quem uestra tantorum principum  
 colunt obsequia priuatum. sed et ille multiugo fultus imperio et uestro laetus  
 230 tegitur umbraculo, quos scit ex sua stirpe creuisse, et glorias uestras iuste sibi  
 uindicat. hunc ergo illum, qui ab ipso fuerat frater adscitus, puduit imitari. huic  
 illum in Capitolini Iouis templo iurasse poenituit. non miror quod etiam genero  
 peierauit.  
 XVI. Haec est fides, haec religio Palatini sacrarii deuota penetralibus, ut lente et  
 cunctanter, iam scilicet cum illis belli consiliis, itinere confecto, consumptis  
 235 copiis mansionum ne quis consequi posset exercitus, repente intra parietes consideret  
 purpuratus et bis depositum tertio usurparet imperium, litteras ad sollicitandos  
 exercitus mitteret, fidem militum praemiorum ostentatione turbare temptaret; secure  
 scilicet usurus exercitu quem uenales manus habere docuisset. quo quidem illius  
 errore declaratum est, imperator, quantus te militum tuorum amor complecteretur, qui  
 240 te omnibus donis quae ille promiserat, omnibus honorum oblationibus praetulerunt.  
 rara illa uirtus continentiae uix a paucis sapientiae preeceptoribus, si tamen  
 aliquando, seruata propter ie, Constantine, omnibus hominibus est facta communis, nec  
 solum his quos ratio litterariae uitiae ac quies mitigauit, sed etiam ille militarium  
 ardor animorum respectu tui lucra contempsit. fuerint aliqui exercitus alacritate ac  
 245 uiribus tuis similes: tibi uni contigit habere exercitum sapientem. multi olim prau  
 duces, certasse armis impares, largitione certarunt: sed breuis eorum fuit et caduca  
 popularitas, quos facile uicit quisquis aemulatus est. hic firmus, hic aetemus est  
 rei publicae custos quem ipsum per se milites amant, cui non e blandita nec uendita  
 seruit adulatio, sed simplex et sincera deuotio. dona tua, Constantine, manifeste  
 250 sunt grata militibus, sed hoc gratiora quod tua sunt. quaecumque porrigis, manu tua  
 fiunt acceptiora. quam nemo tecum potest hac ambitione contendere! insuperabile genus  
 est largitionis, cum ipse militi praemium est imperator. itaque tribuis tu quidem  
 exercitibus tuis etiam plura quam cupiunt, sed tuum te magis nomen, tua de memoria  
 patris auctoritas, tua aetatis gratia, tua denique ista uenerabilis forma commendat.  
 255 XVII. Pulcrum enim, di boni, et caeleste miraculum imperator adulescens, in quo illa  
 quae iam summa est fortitudo adhuc tamen crescit, in quo hic fulgor oculorum, haec  
 ueneranda pariter et grata maiestas preestringit simul et inuitat aspectus. talem  
 Macetum illum regem, talem Thessalam uirum mente concipio, quorum summa uirtus  
 pulcritudini coniuncta celebratur. non frustra enim doctissimi uiri dieunt naturam  
 260 ipsam magnis mentibus domicilia corporum digna metari et ex uultu hominis ac decore  
 membrorum colligi posse, quantus illos caelestis spiritus intrarit habitator. itaque  
 te cum ingredientem milites uident, admirantur et diligunt, sequuntur oculis, animo  
 tenent, deo se obsequi putant, cuius tam pulcra forma est quam ceirta diuinitas.  
 XVIII. Statim igitur ut foedum illud facinus audierant, ultro a te proficisciendi  
 265 signum petiuerunt; cum uiatica dares, id ipsum sibi moram facere plusque iam se quam  
 sufficeret ex largitionibus tuis habere dixerunt. inde arreptis armis portas  
 petiuerunt, tot dierum iter a Rheno usque ad Ararim sine ulla requie peregerunt  
 indefessis corporibus. animis flagrantibus, crescente in dies ardore uindictae quanto  
 propius accederent. tum quidem tua, imperator, cura, qua refouendis eorum uiribus a  
 270 Cabillonensi portu nauigia prouideras, festinantibus paene non placuit. segnis ille  
 et cunctabundus amnis numquam fuisse tardior uidebatur: carinis tacite labentibus et  
 ripis lente recedentibus stare se, non ire clamabant. tum uero usum pedum manibus  
 aggressi incubere remigiis et naturam fluminis urguendo uicerunt et tandem eluctati  
 Araris moras uix ipso Rhodano fuere contenti: parum illis uidebatur concitus ruere,  
 minus solito Arelate properare. quid multa? confitendum est tibi, imperator: cum hoc

tuo uigore corporis, hoc mentis ardore laborasti interdum ut quem ducebas sequereris exercitum. tanto enim omnes impetu ferebantur ut, cum illum Arelate deserto comperissent abisse Massiliam, confestim nauibus euolarent effasoque cursu non iam Rhodani curricula, sed ipsa quodammodo uentorum flabra praeuerterent. tantus illos incenderat amor numinis tui ut, quamuis scirent oppugnandam esse munitissimam ciuitatem, sufficere sibi crederent peruenire.

XIX. Massilia enim, ut audio, in profundum mare prominens et munitissimo accincta portu, in quem angusto aditu mediterraneus refluit sinus, solis mille quingentis passibus terrae cohaeret, qua firmissimus et turribus frequens murus opponitur. quippe olim Graecos Italosque illuc conuenas, cum artibus ingenioque pollerent, etiam ipse docuit locus omnia quae bello usui forent largius in eam partem quae adiri posset impendere, cum natura in ceteris sum ptum operis remisisset. itaque illam tum graui fato Caesari portas pro duce seniore claudentem terra marique admotis machinis, aggeribus extractis, nauibus proeliis saepius oppugnatam quam territam uix obsessio diutuma patefecit, cum tamen Graeculi magistratus et ipsum Gaesarem et mox duces eius et copias non tam uiribus suis quam moenibus reppulissent. at enim nunc primo tuo, imperator, aduentu primoque impetu exercitus tui nihil eiusdem Massiliae altitudo murorum, nihil creberrimae turres, nihil loci natura remorata est quominus et portum caperes et urbem continuo, si uelles. quippe tanta fiducia murum omnem milites inuaserant ut statim sine dubio ascensuri fuissent, nisi in parandis quas admouerant scalis coniecturam oculorum sublimitas fefellisset. sed sic quoque multi scalarum breuitate decepti, quod supererat ascensui, extensis corporibus aequabant et succedentium humeris subleuati iam interualla pinnarum uncis manibus inuasenmt. adeo nihil periculi in uindictae executione metuebant ut sibi non murum scandere, sed ex aequo congregari uiderentur.

XX. Sed singularem tuam, Constantine, pietatem et sua semper officia etiam inter arma seruantem! signum receptui dedisti et uictoram distulisti ut omnibus tibi liceret ignoscere neu quid atrocius faceret milos iratus quam clementiae tuae natura pateretur. in quo licet optimi imperatoris sollicitudine caueris ut inducti in fraudem milites poenitendi tempus acciperent atque ultro ueniam precarentur, nos tamen qui mitissimos tuos sensus intuemur (nihil est enim tam perspicuum quam in pectore tuo bonitas) illi te intellegimus pepercisse quem, si prima copiam habuisset irruptio, eripere ferro nemo potuisset. ita, quod ad pietatem bmm pertinet, imperator, et illum et omnes quos receperat reseruasti. sibi imputet quisquis uti noluit beneficio tuo nec se dignum uita iudicauit, cum per te liceret ut uiueret : tu, quod sufficit conscientiae tuae, etiam non merentibus pepercisti. sed, ignosce dicto, non omnia potes: di te uindicant et inuitum.

XXI. Quod quidem nobis semper optandum est ut prosperos habeas etiam ultra tua uotia. successus, qui omnem spem in gremio maiestatis tuae ponimus et tuam ubique praesentiam, quasi dari possit, expetimus. ecce enim, dum a limite paulisper abscesseras, quibus se terroribus barbarorum perfidia iactauerat scilicet, dum sibi illa proponunt: quando perueniet? quando uincet? quando fessum reducet exercitum? cum repente audito reditu tuo uelut attoniti conciderunt, ne tuum pro re publica uotum amplius quam unius noctis cura tetigisset. postridie enim quam accepto illo nuntio geminatum itineris laborem susceperas, omnes fluctus resedisse, omnem quam reliqueras tranquillitatem redisse didicisti, ipsa noc sic ordinante fortuna ut te ibi rerum tuarum felicitas admoneret dis immortalibus ferre quae uotaueras, ubi deflexisses ad templum toto orbe pulcherrimum, immo ad praesentem, ut uidisti, deum. uidisti enim, credo, Constantine, Apollinem tuum comitante Uictoria coronas tibi laureas offerentem, quae tricenum singulae ferunt omen annorum. hic est enim humanarum numerus aetatum, quae tibi utique debentur ultra Pyliam senectutem. et immo quid dico 'credo'? uidisti teque in illius specie recognouisti, cui totius mundi regna deberi uatum carmina diuina cecinerunt. quod ego nunc demum arbitror contigisse, cum tu sis, ut ille, iuuenis et laetus et salutifer et pulcherrimus, imperator. merito igitur augustissima illa delubra tantis donariis. honestasti ut iam uetera non quaerant. iam omnia te uocare ad se tempa uidentat praecipueque Apollo noster, cuius feruentibus aquis periuria puniuntur, quae te maxime oportet odisse.

XXII. Di immortales, quando illum dabitis diem, quo praesentissimus hic deus omni pace composita illos quoque Apollinis lucos et sacras sedes et anhela fontium ora circumeat? quorum scaturigines leni tepore nebulosae arridere, Constantine, oculis tuis et osculis sese inserere uelle uidentur. miraberis profecto illam quoque numinis tui sedem et calentes aquas sine ullo soli ardantis indicio, quarum nulla tristitia est saporis aut halitus, sed. talis haustu et odore sinceritas qualis fontium frigidorum. dabis et illic munera, constitues priuilegia, ipsam denique patriam meam ipsius loci ueneratione restitues. cuius ciuitatis antiqua nobilitas et quondam fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriata opem tuae maiestatis expectat, ut illic quoque loca publica et tempa pulcherrima tua liberalitate reparentur, sicuti uideo hanc fortunatissimam ciuitatem, cuius natalis dies tua pietate celebratur, ita cunctis moenibus resurgentem ut se quodammodo gaudeat olim corruisse, auctior tuis facta

345 beneficiis. uideo circum maximum aemulum, credo, Romano, uideo basilicas et forum, opera regia, sedemque iustitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari ut se sideribus et caelo contigua et uicina promittant. quae certe omnia sunt praesentis munera. quaecumque enim loca frequentissime tuum numen illustrat, in his omnia et hominibus et moenibus ex muneribus tuis augentur, nec magis Ioui et Iunoni recubantibus nouos flores terra summisit quam circa tua, Constantine, uestigia urbes et templa consurgunt. ideoque hoc notis meis sufficit ut patriam meam uideas ducente pietate, quia statim erit restituta, si uideris. sed enim ista felicitas uiderit an adhuc meae debeatur aetati.

350 XXIII. Literim quoniam ad summam uotorum meorum tua dignatione perueni, ut hanc meam qualemcumque uocem diuersis fori et palatii officiis exercitam tuis auribus cosecarem, maximas numini tuo gratias ago tibique, quod superest, commendo liberos meos praecipueque illum iam summa fisci patrocinia tractantem, in quem me totum transtulit pietas, cuius felix seruitus, si quando respexeris, maxime tuae conueniet aetati. ceterum quod de omnibus liberis dixi, lata est, imperator, ambitio. praeter 360 illos enim quinque quos genui etiam illos quasi meos numero quos prouexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. multi quippe ex me riui non ignobiles fluunt, multi sectatores mei etiam prouincias tuas administrant. quorum successibus laetor omniumque honorem pro meo duco et. si forte hodie infra expectationem mei dixero, in illis me confido placuisse. si tamen hoc quoque mihi tuum numen indulserit ut ex hac 365 oratione non eloquentiae, quod nimium est, sed quantulaecumque prudentiae et denotae tibi mentis testimonium referam: cedant priuatorum studiorum ignobiles curae, perpetua mihi erit materia dicendi, qui me probauerit, imperator.

See XII panegyrici latini: Emil Baehrens

PANEGYRIC TO CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS

D I C T U S.

370 I. I would do, most sacred emperor, what many have advised me a little while ago, that since your majesty had given me this most famous day in this city to speak, I should begin my speech on that very subject, if a double reason were to dissuade me from this, considering that neither a man of middle age should display a sudden faculty of speech, nor should anything be brought to the ears of so great a divinity except what has been written and often discussed at length. [For he who speaks of the emperor of the Roman people from time, does not feel the extent of his empire.] To this is added that there are already quite a few who think that I will say too much, and that, as I think, they measure this not by my talent, which is mediocre, but by the abundance of your praises. Although I may unintentionally disappoint their 380 expectations by the brevity of my speech. For I had truly thought of more things to say, but I would rather my speech be incomplete than rejected. Therefore, I will first make that summary which, when I regard all of you, most invincible princes, whose majesty is concordant and allied, with due veneration, I will nevertheless 385 address this discourse, however small in your own way, Constantine, to the deity. For as we worship the immortal gods themselves, although we worship them all in our minds, yet sometimes we venerate each in his own temple and shrine: thus I consider it right for me to remember with piety all the princes, and to celebrate with praises the present one.

390 II. I will therefore begin with the first of your divinity's origins, which perhaps many still do not know, but those who love you know very well. For from that divine Claudius flows your ancestral kinship who was the first to reform the loose and lost discipline of the Roman empire and who was monstrous. He destroyed the forces of the Goths, who burst forth from the jaws of Pontus and the mouth of the Historians, by 395 land and sea, would that the restorer of men had been more long-lived than the companion of the gods who had matured. Therefore, although that most happy day, celebrated in the nearest religion, is considered the birthday of your empire, since it was the first to adorn you with this habit, yet from that originator of the race the fortune of empire has descended upon you. Nay, indeed, that ancient prerogative 400 of the imperial house has advanced your father himself, so that you now stand in the highest rank and above the destinies of human affairs, the third emperor after the two princes of your family. Among all, I say, participants in your majesty, you have this most important thing, Constantine, that you are emperor by birth, and such is the nobility of your origin that the empire of honor does not add to you, nor can fortune impute to your divinity what is yours, leaving aside your environment and suffrage.

405 III. It was not the accidental consent of men, nor any wind of favor that made you a prince: you deserved the empire by birth. Which indeed seems to me to be both the first and the greatest gift of the immortal gods, to come into the light of day happy

410 and to undertake those things which others scarcely attain by the labors of a whole life, having already won at home. For although great and admirable is the happiness which, having earned the ranks in the order and risen to that pinnacle of majesty, and having grown strong at the roots of virtue alone, has attained to such a strength of power (which indeed you also have achieved, as far as your age permitted, and, 415 although the favor of fortune had placed you above all delays in acquiring glory, you did not wish to grow by fighting and by approaching the dangers of war and by engaging in single combat with the enemy you have made yourself more known to the nations, since you could not be more noble), great, I say, even if it is a progress of its own, to reach the greatest heights: yet it is far one thing to strive to seek 420 from the plain over steep and mountain peaks, and quite another to hold the summit of fortune supported by the very sublimity of its origin, and not to hope for, but to have what are the highest.

IV. You entered that sacred palace not as a candidate for the empire, but as one designated, and immediately saw yourself as the legitimate successor to that paternal home. For there was no doubt that the inheritance was due to him whom the fates had first bestowed on the emperor. For that great emperor on earth and in heaven, the god begot you in the prime of his life, still vigorous in his whole body, endowed with that eagerness and fortitude which many wars, especially the plains of Vindonum, 425 have seen. Hence it is that such a likeness of form has passed from him in you that we see it imprinted on your countenances, with nature indicating it. For it is the same whom we again worship in you, the same gravity on the forehead, the same 430 calmness in the eyes and mouth. Thus is blushing an index of modesty, so is speech a witness of justice. Accept, emperor, the unhesitating confession of our senses: it grieves us that Constantius has departed from us, but while we behold you, we do not 435 believe that he has departed. Although what do I say that he has departed, whose immortal deeds live on and are discussed in the mouths and eyes of all men?

V. For who does not remember, but who does not still in some way see with how many things he has increased and adorned the republic? He who, having assumed command, at his first arrival shut out the raging ocean with an innumerable fleet of enemies, and 440 fenced off the army which had settled on the shore of the town of Bologna by land as well as by sea, having scattered the reciprocal tides of that element by throwing valleys between the waves, so that the gates whose waves had washed over would be destroyed wherever they touched the sea.

Having seized upon virtue, having preserved clemency, while the recovery of Britain 445 was being prepared by building fleets, he cleared the land of Batavia, occupied by his former pupil by various Frankish nations, of every enemy. And not content with having conquered, he transferred these nations to the Romans, so that they were forced to lay down not only arms but also savagery. For what shall I say of the 450 recovery of Britain? To which he sailed on such a calm sea that that ocean, astonished by so great a carrier, seemed to have lost its motions, so carried away that victory did not accompany him, but awaited him.

VI. What shall I say of the mercy with which he tempered the conquered? what of the justice with which he restored what was lost to the despoiled? what of the providence with which he gave himself in judgment to his allies, so that freedom recovered might 455 help those who had suffered servitude, and impunity might call those who were conscious of guilt to repentance? Why should I speak again of the inner nations of France, now no longer from these places which the Romans had once invaded, but from their own original homes and from the furthest shores of barbarity, so that, placed in the desert regions of Gaul, they might both help the peace of the Roman empire by 460 their culture and by the levy of arms? Why should I mention the victory of Lingonica, glorious even for wounding the emperor himself? Why should I mention the fields of Windonissa, filled with the slaughter of the enemy and still covered with bones? Why should the immense multitude of the various Germanic peoples, whom the Rhine, hardened by ice, had enticed to cross the island which the same river embraces at its 465 fork, by a foot-force, suddenly be blocked by the loosened river, and so, having let go of the ships, besieged immediately, and forced to surrender in such a way that, what is more difficult, they would choose by common lot and by equal right whom they would hand over to captivity, sharing with their remains the infamy of their own betrayal.

VII. The day will fail me before I can speak if I go through all the deeds of your father, even in this brevity. His supreme expedition did not seek British trophies, as is commonly believed, but, while the gods were already harming him, he approached the innermost threshold of the earth. For he did not deign, after so many and great deeds, to acquire, I do not say Caledonia, the forests and marshes of the Picts and others, but neither the nearest Hibemia nor the last Thyla nor the islands of the 470 Fortunates themselves, if there are any, but, as he did not want to tell anyone, about going to the gods, he saw that father of the gods, the fiery stars shining in the heavens, looking out over the ocean, so that from then on he could enjoy

480 perpetual light and see there an almost continuous day. For truly, the temples of the gods were opened to him and he was received by the assembly of the heavenly beings, with Jupiter himself extending his right hand. Nay, indeed, when asked at once to whom he should give his command, he said, as was fitting, Constantius Pius: for you were clearly chosen, emperor, by the will of your father. which indeed we say so when the truth commands us, then to your piety, as I see is most pleasing. But why are we flattered only by your private affections, when that opinion was of all the gods, and indeed long ago written down by authority, although then it was confirmed by full counsel? For even then you were called by heavenly suffrages to the salvation of the republic, when at the very time when your father was crossing to Britain with the fleet already setting sail, your sudden arrival shone forth, so that you seemed to

490 have flown not by a public course, but by a certain divine course.

VIII. For no Persian or Cydonumian weapons aimed at such certain throws were fixed as you were present as a timely companion to your father when he was about to leave the land, and you relieved all his cares which he desired with a premonition and a silent mind by the security of your presence. Good gods, how much happiness you bestowed on

495 Constantius Pius even in his passing! The emperor, about to make his passage to heaven, saw whom he was leaving as his heir. For as soon as he had been released from the land, the whole army agreed on you, the minds and eyes of all were fixed on you, and although you had reported to the senior princes what they wished to do about the highest state, they anticipated with zeal what they soon approved by judgment.

500 Immediately, when you were the first to make your presence felt, the soldiers who served the public interest rather than your own feelings, bestowed the purple on you, who was weeping. For it was not right for a consecrated prince to weep any longer. You will also be said, invincible emperor, that you stirred up that ardor of the army that was begging you with your spurs. Which indeed, if you hear the truth, you did through the error of youth. For who could Cyllar or Arion rescue you from whom the empire was following? That, I say, that majesty, since offered by a nod to Jupiter, not to Iris, the messenger of the gods, but entrusted to Victory with wings, accompanied you as easily as things sent from heaven reach the earth quickly. Thus your modesty and piety and the effort to postpone the empire showed and the happiness of the republic won.

510 IX. O fortunate and now happier than all lands Britain, which first saw Constantine Caesar! deservedly nature has endowed you with all the good things of heaven and earth, in which there is neither excessive rigor of winter nor excessive heat of summer, in which the crops are so fruitful that they suffice for the gifts of both

515 Ceres and Liber, in which woods are free from monstrous beasts, the land is free from noxious serpents; against the gentleness of cattle an innumerable multitude of milk-drenched and laden with fleeces, certainly indeed, which life is loved there, the days are very long and there are no nights without some light, while that extreme plain of the shores does not raise shadows and the sight of the sky and stars passes the end of the night, so that the sun itself, which seems to us to be setting, appears to be passing by there. Good gods, what is this that always from some highest end of the world new deities of gods descend to be worshipped throughout the whole world? Thus Mercury from the Nile, the origin of which river is unknown, thus Liber from the Indians, showing himself to the nations, gods who are almost conscious of the rising sun. Surely the places near the sky are more sacred than the inland ones, and from there the emperor is sent closer to the gods where the earth ends.

520 X. So, son of an emperor and yourself so happily acquiring the empire, how did you begin to claim the republic? I believe that some ignoble band of barbarians, who had tried the auspices of your birth with a sudden attack and unexpected robbery, you

530 inflicted the punishment of your rashness. The very kings of France, who had violated the peace by the absence of your father, you did not hesitate to punish with the ultimate tortures, fearing nothing of the perpetual hatred and inexpiable anger of that nation. For why should an emperor, who can protect what he has done, consider any offense of just severity? Safe is clemency which spares enemies and looks after

535 itself more than it forgives. But you, Constantine, no matter how much your enemies hate you, as long as they are terrified. For this is true virtue, that they do not love and remain silent. Although he is more cautious who pardons the defeated, he is

540 still stronger who tramples on the angry. You have renewed, emperor, that ancient confidence of the Roman empire which assumed death for captured enemy leaders. For then, when the captive kings were marching from the gates to the forum in triumph,

and as soon as the emperor had begun to turn his chariot into the Capitol, they were taken away and put to death. One Persian, who had received him surrendering, escaped the law of that severity by the plea of Paulus himself. The rest, all in chains, deprived of light, gave other kings a lesson that they would rather cultivate Roman

545 friendship than aggravate their sorrow. So much so that this punishment inflicted on enemies confers good, that not only do enemies not dare to be ferocious, but even friends are more deeply revered.

XI. Therefore, emperor, this peace which we enjoy is a lie. For we are no longer protected by the whirlpools of the Rhine, but by the terror of your name. Whether it 550 dries up with heat or resists frost, neither enemy will dare to use the ford. For nature prevents nothing from being penetrated by such an insurmountable wall that audacity, to which some hope of attempting is left, cannot penetrate. That is an impregnable wall which the fame of virtue has built. The French know that they can cross the Rhine, whom you willingly admit to their death, but they can neither hope 555 for victory nor pardon. What remains for them, they measure by the tortures of their kings, and therefore it is so far from them that they attempt to cross that embankment, rather than despairing of having begun the bridge. Where is that ferocity now? Where is that ever treacherous mobility? Now you dare not even approach the Rhine far away and you can hardly safely water the inner rivers. On the other hand, 560 the castles arranged at intervals rather love the boundary than they protect it. Sometimes the helpless farmer plows that terrible bank, and our entire flocks are drowned in the two-lane river. This is yours, Constantine, from the punishment of Ascaricus and Regais, a daily and eternal victory to be preferred to all previously 565 successful battles. Once defeated in battle, it is an endless document. The common people do not know their own defeat, although many perish: it is a summary that the leaders of the defeated enemies have taken away.

XII. So that the barbarians' cruelty might be broken in every way and that the 570 enemies of their kings alone should mourn the punishments, you have also done this, unconquered emperor, by the devastation unleashed by Bructeri. In which the first reason of your plan was that you suddenly crossed the army and attacked them unexpectedly, not because you were distrustful of open war, as you would have preferred to meet them openly, but so that that nation would lose time in flight, being frustrated by the usual wars of refuge in forests and marshes. Innumerable 575 people were therefore killed, many were taken prisoner; whatever cattle there were was carried off or slaughtered; all the conquered were consumed by fire; the adults who came into their hands, whose treachery was not suited to the military nor their ferocity to serve, were given to the spectacle of punishment and exhausted the wild beasts with their multitude. This is, O emperor, to rely on one's own virtue and fortune, that is, not to buy peace by sparing, but to seek victory by provoking.

XIII. Moreover, by building the bridge of Agrippina, you insult the remnants of the 580 afflicted nation, lest they ever fear, always shudder, always stretch out their supplicant hands, when yet you do this more for the glory of your empire and the adornment of your frontier than for the opportunity, whenever you wish, to cross over to the enemy, since the whole Rhine is equipped with armed ships and soldiers are 585 stationed on all the banks as far as the ocean. But it seems beautiful to you (and it is truly most beautiful) that that Rhine should be crossed by a new bridge not only in its upper reaches, where it is either shallow in width or small near its source, but also where it is in its entirety, where it has already absorbed many rivers, which our native and barbarian Nicer and Moenus have invaded, where it has already 590 been driven into two horns by its immense course and impatient of a single flood. Certainly, most Constantine, the very nature of things has served your divinity, since in that gurgling height the foundations of such mills are laid that will have a reliable and stable firmness. Although the most powerful king of the Persians once 595 joined the narrows of the Hellespont with a connected fleet: that crossing was a temporary one. By a similar connection of ships, Caesar the Third built the Bay of Baeanus from Augustus: that was a delicate task for the idle prince.

This work will be both difficult to do and very long in practice. Certainly, at the 600 beginning, the service of your enemies moved you, who supplicated for peace and offered the most noble hostages. Since then, no one doubts what those who are already serving the bridge that has been begun will do.

XIV. While you were intent on such matters for the benefit and dignity of the public, the new movements of that man whom it would have been fitting to favor your successes 605 most turned you away. As I shall say, I still doubt and await the advice of your divinity. For however much he may be rightly sharpened by the complaints of your piety, he must nevertheless moderate his voice, especially since he who has been ungrateful to you for so many of your benefits and so great a source of necessities is still compelled by the contemplation of you, although we are angry and reverent. What shall I do, then, to treat such deep wounds with a suspended hand? I will 610 certainly assume those common patronages of all crimes, which, however, are often assent even by wise men, that no man sins except by fate, and that the very crimes of mortals are acts of fortune, while virtues are gifts of the gods. I congratulate you, Constantine, on your nature and character, that Constantius Pius has begotten you, and that the decrees of the stars have formed you so that you cannot be cruel. But [I] do not believe that he, when he was about to come into the world and was about to 615 accept the choice of life he would use, had incurred a fate to be avoided, which would bring an unjust and ultimately voluntary destruction to many men. For to send

others, did not the necessity of fate bring about this very thing that he should return to your piety this time, whom you, having been driven from the city, put to flight from Italy, and repudiated from Illyricum, received into your provinces, your forces, and your palace?

XV. What, I pray you, did he want for himself? What did he desire? Or what more could he gain from what he had obtained from you? To whom you had given the greatest and most diverse goods, private leisure and royal wealth, to whom you had given court mules and chariots when he departed, to whom you had commanded our services to be met even more earnestly than to you, to whom you had so determined to obey all his commands that the power of the empire would be in his possession, as if he were in your possession. Who was he, not so eager for power (for what could he not do when you were ruling?), but the error of an already foolish age, that he should undertake the most serious cares and a civil war after so many years? As it is, no one is satisfied with the gifts of fortune, whose desires are not limited by reason, and so ungrateful happiness slips under them that, always full of hopes, empty of conveniences, they lack present things while they look forward to the future. But for that divine man who was the first to share in the empire and to establish it according to his own plan and deed does not regret it, nor does he think that he has lost what he has voluntarily transcribed, truly happy and blessed, whom your many princes worship and have deprived of their homage. But even he, supported by many yokes, is joyfully sheltered by the empire and your little shadow, whom he knows to have grown from his stock, and justly claims your glories for himself. Therefore, this man, who had been adopted by him as a brother, was ashamed to imitate him. He regretted that he had sworn to him in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. I do not wonder that he also betrayed his son-in-law.

XVI. This is the faith, this religion of the Palatine shrine, devoted to the inner sanctum, so that slowly and hesitantly, now that those war plans, the journey completed, the forces of the mansions consumed so that no one could catch up with the army, he would suddenly consider within the walls, wearing the purple, and twice deposed, a third time, would usurp the empire, would send letters to solicit the army, would try to disturb the faith of the soldiers by the display of rewards; surely, he would take advantage of the army which he had taught to have venal hands. By which error of his was made manifest, emperor, how much love your soldiers would embrace you, who preferred you to all the gifts he had promised, to all the offerings of honors. That rare virtue of continence was scarcely possessed by a few teachers of wisdom, if at all, preserved for the sake of, say, Constantine, it became common to all men, and not only to those whom reason for a literary life and tranquility had tempered, but also that military ardor of the mind despised in respect to your gains.

655 There were some armies similar to yours in their enthusiasm and strength: you alone happened to have a wise army. Many bad generals of old, unequal in arms, competed with generosity: but their popularity was short and fleeting, whom anyone who emulated easily conquered. This firm, this eternal is the guardian of the republic whom the soldiers love for themselves, whom flattery did not flatter or sell, but

660 simple and sincere devotion served. Your gifts, Constantine, are clearly grateful to the soldiers, but all the more grateful because they are yours. Whatever you extend, becomes more acceptable with your hand. No one can compete with you in this ambition! It is an insurmountable kind of generosity, the emperor himself is the reward of the soldier. Therefore, indeed, you grant your armies even more than they desire, but

665 your name, your authority from the memory of your father, your grace of age, and finally your venerable form command you more.

XVII. For, good gods, the young emperor is a beautiful and heavenly miracle, in whom that strength which is already supreme is still growing, in whom this brilliance of the eyes, this equally venerable and pleasing majesty simultaneously fascinates and invites the gaze. I conceive in my mind such a king Macetus, such a Thessalian man, whose supreme virtue is celebrated combined with beauty. For it is not in vain that the most learned men say that nature itself can be measured by great minds and that the dwellings worthy of bodies can be gathered from the face of a man and the beauty of his limbs, how much of a heavenly spirit inhabits them. Therefore, when the

670 675 soldiers see you entering, they admire and love you, they follow you with their eyes, they hold you in their hearts, they think that they are obeying a god, whose form is as beautiful as his divinity is certain.

XVIII. As soon, then, as they heard of that foul deed, they voluntarily asked you for a sign to set out; since you were giving them a journey, they said that they would delay it themselves, and that they had more than enough of your bounty. Then, seizing their arms, they went to the gates, and without any rest they completed the journey of so many days from the Rhine to Arari, with their bodies unwearied. Their spirits were burning, and the closer they drew nearer they drew, the more ardor they felt for the vindicated. Then indeed, your care, O emperor, by which you had provided ships for their forces to resupply from the port of Cabillon, was almost not pleasing to

those in haste. That sluggish and hesitant river seemed never to have been slower: as the banks silently slid and the banks slowly receded, they cried out that they were standing still, not going. Then, however, they attacked the use of their feet and hands, and they leaned on the oars and overcame the nature of the river by urging it, 690 and at last, having escaped the delays of Arari, they were scarcely content with the Rhone itself: it seemed to them that they were rushing at a gallop, much less that they were hurrying to Arelate. What is much? I must confess to you, emperor: with this vigor of your body, this ardor of mind, you sometimes labored to follow the army you were leading. For all were carried away with such impetuosity that, when they 695 discovered that he had left Marseilles in the desert of Arelate, they immediately took to their ships and with a rapid course, no longer the courses of the Rhone, but in a way the very gusts of the winds themselves, pre-empted them. Such was the love of your divinity that, although they knew that a most fortified city was to be attacked, they believed that it was sufficient for them to arrive.

700 XIX. For Marseilles, as I hear, jutting out into the deep sea and surrounded by a most fortified harbor, into which the inland gulf flows back by a narrow approach, is joined by only fifteen hundred paces of land, against which is opposed a very strong wall, densely studded with towers. For in times past, when the Greeks and Italians, who were strong in arts and ingenuity, were accustomed there, the place itself also 705 taught them to spend more liberally all that was useful in war in that part which could be approached, while nature had otherwise remitted the cost of the work. Therefore, a long siege revealed that Caesar, who was then closing the gates of the city on behalf of his senior leader, was often attacked by land and sea, with engines brought in, ramparts built, and naval battles, and was hardly more frequently 710 attacked than terrified, although the Greek magistrates had repelled Caesar himself and soon his generals and forces not so much with their own strength as with their walls. But now, O emperor, at your first arrival and the first attack of your army, nothing, not the height of the walls of the same Massilia, not the densest towers, not the nature of the place, prevented you from capturing both the harbor and the 715 city at once, if you wished. Indeed, with such confidence the soldiers had stormed the entire wall that they would have immediately climbed it without a doubt, had not the height of the ladders they had brought up deceived their guesses. But even so, many, deceived by the shortness of the ladders, stretched out their bodies, and, having lifted the shoulders of those who succeeded them, were already storming the 720 gaps in the ramparts with their hands. They feared so little danger in the execution of the sentence that they seemed to be meeting each other on equal terms, not scaling the wall.

XX. But your singular piety, Constantine, and your ever-observant duties even under arms! You gave the signal for retreat and postponed victory so that you might be 725 permitted to forgive all, lest Milos, in his anger, should do anything more atrocious than the nature of your clemency would suffer. In which, although you took care with the solicitude of an excellent emperor that the soldiers led into fraud should take time to repent and voluntarily beg for forgiveness, yet we who behold your most gentle feelings (for nothing is so clear as the goodness in your breast) understand 730 that you spared him whom, if the first burst had had the strength, no one could have rescued with the sword. Thus, as pertains to your piety, you reserved both him and all those whom you had received. Let him impute to himself who did not wish to use your benefit nor judged himself worthy of life, when through you it was permitted to live: you, what is sufficient for your conscience, have spared even those who do not 735 deserve it. But, forgive me, you cannot do everything: the gods avenge you even the unwilling.

XXI. Which indeed we must always hope that you may prosper even beyond your desires. success, which we place our hope in the bosom of your majesty and seek your presence everywhere, as if it could be given. For behold, while you had departed from the 740 frontier for a short time, with what terrors the perfidy of the barbarians had boasted, namely, while they were asking themselves: when will he arrive? when will he conquer? when will he bring back his weary army? when suddenly, having heard of your return, they fell down as if astonished, lest your vow for the republic should have touched the care of more than one night. For the day after you had received that news 745 and undertaken the double labor of the journey, you learned that all the waves had subsided, and all the tranquility you had left had returned, the very night having so arranged fortune that the happiness of your affairs there reminded you to offer to the immortal gods what you had vowed, where you had turned to the most beautiful temple in the whole world, nay, to the present god, as you saw him. For you saw, I 750 believe, Constantine, Apollo, accompanied by your Victory, offering you laurel wreaths, each of which bears the omen of thirty years. For this is the number of human ages, which are certainly due to you beyond Pylian old age. And indeed, what do I say 'I believe'? You have seen and recognized yourself in the form of him to whom the divine songs of the prophets sang that the kingdoms of the whole world were due.

755 Which I now finally believe has happened, since you are, like him, young and happy and salutary and most beautiful, an emperor. Therefore, you have deservedly honored those most august temples with such great gifts that they no longer seek the old ones. Now all the temples see that you are calling to them, especially our Apollo, whose boiling waters punish perjury, which you must hate most of all.

760 XXII. Immortal gods, when will you grant that day on which this most present god, composed in all peace, will also go around those groves and sacred seats of Apollo and the mouths of the sighing springs? whose springs, smiling with gentle misty warmth, seem, Constantine, to want to insert themselves into your eyes and kisses. You will certainly marvel at that seat of your divinity and the warm waters without any sign of burning sun, of which there is no sadness in the taste or breath, but.

765 such sincerity in the sip and smell as that of cold springs. You will also give gifts there, establish privileges, finally restore my homeland itself to the veneration of the place itself. The ancient nobility of which city, once boasting of the fraternal name of the Roman people, awaits the help of your majesty, so that there too public places and temples may be repaired by your beautiful generosity, just as I see this most fortunate city, whose birthday is celebrated by your piety, so rising from all its walls that it somehow rejoices that it once fell, increased by the benefits you have bestowed. I see around my greatest rival, I believe, Roman, I see basilicas and the forum, royal works, and the seat of justice raised to such a height that they

770 promise themselves to be contiguous and close to the stars and the sky. All of which are certainly gifts of the present. For whatever places your divinity most frequently illuminates, in these all things, both men and walls, are increased by your gifts, and the earth has not given new flowers to Jupiter and Juno while they are reclining, as around you, Constantine, cities and temples have risen. Therefore, this is

775 sufficient for my acquaintances, that you see my country with your piety guiding you, because it will be restored immediately if you see it. But for that happiness will see whether it is still due to my age.

780 XXIII. Literally, since I have reached the sum of my vows by your deign to consecrate to your ears this voice of mine, whatever it may be, exercised in the various offices of the forum and palace, I give the greatest thanks to your divinity and, what

785 remains, I commend to you my children, especially him who is now handling the highest patronage of the treasury, to whom piety has transferred me entirely, whose happy service, if you ever look back, will be most suitable to your age. However, what I have said about all my children, is broad, emperor, ambition. For besides those five

790 whom I have begotten, there are also those who are like mine in number whom I have promoted to the protection of the court, to the offices of the palace. Indeed, many rivers flow from me, not ignoble, many of my followers also administer your provinces. I rejoice in their successes and I lead them all to honor for my sake. If perhaps today I have spoken below my expectations, I trust that I have been pleased

795 with them. If, however, your divinity has also granted me this, that from this speech I may report not a testimony of eloquence, which is too much, but of the little prudence and mind that you have shown: let the ignoble cares of private studies give way, and I will have perpetual material for speech, whoever approves me, emperor.