

PANEGYRICUS PLINII
SECUNDI DICTUS
TRAIANO IMP.

1. BENE ac sapienter, patres conscripti, maiores instituerunt ut rerum agendarum ita dicendi initium a precationibus capere, quod nihil rite nihil providerent homines sine deorum immortalium ope consilio honore auspicarentur. Qui mos cui potius quam consuli aut quando magis usurpandus colendusque est, quam cum imperio senatus, auctoritate rei publicae ad agendas optimo principi gratias excitatur? Quod enim praestabilius est aut pulchrius munus deorum, quam castus et sanctus et dis simillimus deorum? Ac si adhuc dubium fuisset, forte casusque rectores terris an aliquo numine darentur, principem tamen nostrum liqueret divinitus constitutum. Non enim occulta potestate fatorum, sed ab Iove ipso coram ac palam repertus electus est: quippe inter aras et altaria, eodemque loci quem deus ille tam manifestus ac praesens quam caelum ac sidera insedit. Quo magis aptum piumque est te, Iuppiter optime, antea conditorem, nunc conserva-

THE PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS
SECUNDUS DELIVERED TO THE
EMPEROR TRAJAN

1. Our ancestors in their wisdom, Conscript Fathers, laid down the excellent rule that a speech no less than a course of action should take its start from prayers: thinking that nothing could be properly and prudently begun by mortal men without the aid and counsel of the immortal gods and the honour due to them. Who should duly observe this custom if not the consul? And what occasion could be more appropriate for doing so than the day when by the Senate's command we are called on to express thanks in the name of our country to the best of emperors? For what gift of the gods could be greater and more glorious than a prince whose purity and virtue make him their own equal? If it were still in doubt whether the rulers of the earth were given us by the hazards of chance or by some heavenly power, it would be evident that our emperor at least was divinely chosen for his task; for it was no blind act of fate but Jupiter himself who chose and revealed him in the sight and hearing of us all, among the many altars of the Capitol, in the very place where the god makes his presence as clearly felt as in the heavens and stars. Wherefore, mighty Jupiter, once the founder and now the

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torem imperii nostri precari, ut mihi digna consule digna senatu digna principe contingat oratio, utque omnibus quae dicentur a me, libertas fides veritas constet, tantumque a specie adulationis absit gratiarum actio mea quantum abest a necessitate.

2. Equidem non consuli modo sed omnibus civibus enitendum reor, ne quid de principe nostro ita dicant, ut idem illud de alio dici potuisse videatur. Quare abeant ac recedant voces illae quas metus exprimebat. Nihil quale ante dicamus, nihil enim quale antea patimur; nec eadem de principe palam quae prius praedicemus, neque enim eadem secreto quae prius loquimur. Discernatur orationibus nostris diversitas temporum, et ex ipso genere gratiarum agendarum intellegatur, cui quando sint actae. Nusquam ut deo, nusquam ut numini blandiamur: non enim de tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de parente loquimur.

4 Unum ille se ex nobis—et hoc magis excellit atque eminet, quod unum ex nobis putat, nec minus hominem se quam hominibus praeesse meminit. Intellegamus ergo bona nostra dignosque nos illis usu probemus, atque identidem cogitemus, quam sit indignum,¹ si maius principibus praestemus obsequium, qui servitute civium quam qui libertate

¹ quam sit indignum: *om. M.*

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Dom.* 13. and Martial V. 8. 1, VII. 34. 8, etc. Domitian was addressed as *dominus et deus noster*. The title

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preserver of our realm, it is my right and proper duty to address my prayers to you: grant, I pray you, that my speech prove worthy of consul, Senate and prince, that independence, truth, and sincerity mark my every word, and my vote of thanks be as far removed from a semblance of flattery as it is from constraint.

2. It is my view that not only the consul but every citizen alike should endeavour to say nothing about our ruler which could have been said of any of his predecessors. Away, then, with expressions formerly prompted by fear: I will have none of them. The sufferings of the past are over: let us then have done with the words which belong to them. An open tribute to our Emperor demands a new form, now that the wording of our private talk has changed. Times are different, and our speeches must show this; from the very nature of our thanks both the recipient and the occasion must be made clear to all. Nowhere should we flatter him as a divinity and a god;¹ we are talking of a fellow-citizen, not a tyrant, one who is our father not our over-lord. He is one of us—and his special virtue lies in his thinking so, as also in his never forgetting that he is a man himself while a ruler of men. Let us then appreciate our good fortune and prove our worth by our use of it, and at the same time remember that there can be no merit if greater deference is paid to rulers who delight in the servitude of their subjects than to those who value their liberty. The

dominus was retained by the emperors, but without the suggestion of tyranny: it is always used by Pliny in addressing Trajan, except in *Æpp.* X. 1, 4 and 14.

6 laetantur. Et populus quidem Romanus dilectum principum servat, quantoque paulo ante concentu formosum alium, hunc fortissimum personat, quibusque aliquando clamoribus gestum alterius et vocem, huius pietatem abstinentiam mansuetudinem 7 laudat. Quid nos ipsi? Divinitatem principis nostri, an humanitatem temperantiam facilitatem, ut amor et gaudium tulit, celebrare universi solemus? Iam quid tam civile tam senatorium, quam illud additum a nobis Optimi cognomen? quod peculiare huius et 8 proprium adrogantia priorum principum fecit. Enimvero quam commune quam ex aequo, quod felices nos felicem illum praedicamus, alternisque votis "Haec faciat, haec audiat" quasi non dicturi nisi fecerit precamur! Ad quas ille voces lacrimis etiam ac multo pudore suffunditur; agnoscit enim sentitque sibi, non principi dici.

3. Igitur quod temperamentum omnes in illo subito pietatis calore servamus, hoc singuli quoque meditati que teneamus, sciannusque nullum esse neque sincerius neque acceptius genus gratiarum, quam quod illas acclamationes aemulemur, quae fingendi 2 non habent tempus. Quantum ad me pertinet

¹ Domitian: cf. Suetonius, *Dom.* 18. 1.

² Nero. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 15 and Suet. *Nero* 20.

³ Cf. 88. 4 and 7: *Ep.* II. 13. 8: III. 13. 1. Evidently Trajan received this title unofficially before October 98 when he was also called *pater patriae*. From 103 he was *optimus* on

people must have their own ways of distinguishing between their rulers. They all give the same acclamation now to one for his valour as another had a short time ago for his good looks,¹ and the cries which greeted the voice and attitudes of one of his predecessors² now serve to praise their present emperor's devotion to duty, his clemency and restraint. What about us? Is it the divine nature of our prince or his humanity, his moderation and his courtesy which joy and affection prompt us to celebrate in a single voice? Surely nothing could reveal him as citizen and senator more appropriately than the title bestowed on him of *Optimus*,³ Best, one which by contrast with the insolence of some of his predecessors he can claim as his individual right. One and all and all alike we acclaim his good fortune, and with it our own, and beg him to "continue thus" or again, "to hear our prayers," as if forming our requests in the sure knowledge that he will grant these. For his part, he listens with tears in his eyes, and his blushes show his awareness that he is addressed not as the holder of his title of prince but as himself.

3. This moderation, then, which we have all maintained in the sudden surge of our affection, we must individually try to keep in our more studied tributes, remembering that there is no more sincere nor welcome kind of thanks than that which most resembles the spontaneous acclamation which has no time for artifice. For my own part, I shall strive to make my coins (S. 34-8), and from July 114 he took *optimus* as an *agnomen* in inscriptions. Cf. Dio, LXVIII. 23. 1: S. 99-101, and Durry, *Panegyrique*, Appendix 1.

laborabo, ut orationem meam ad modestiam principis
 moderationemque submittam, nec minus considerabo,
 quid aures eius pati possint, quam quid virtutibus
 3 debeat. Magna et inusitata principis gloria, cui
 gratias acturus non tam vereor ne me in laudibus suis
 4 parcum, quam ne nimium putet. Haec me cura haec
 difficultas sola circumstat; nam merenti gratias agere
 facile est, patres conscripti. Non enim periculum
 est ne, cum loquar de humanitate, exprobrari sibi
 superbiam credat; cum de frugalitate, luxuriam;
 cum de clementia, crudelitatem; cum de liberalitate,
 avaritiam; cum de benignitate, livorem; cum de
 continentia, libidinem; cum de labore, inertiam;
 5 cum de fortitudine, timorem. Ac ne illud quidem
 vereor, ne gratus ingratusve videar, prout satis aut
 parum dixerō. Animadvertō enim etiam deos ipsos
 non tam accuratis adorantium precibus quam inno-
 centia et sanctitate laetari, gratioremque existimari,
 qui delubris eorum puram castamque mentem quam
 qui meditatam carmen intulerit.

4. Sed parendum est senatus consulto quod ex
 utilitate publica placuit, ut consulis voce sub titulo
 gratiarum agendarum boni principes quae facerent
 2 recognoscerent, mali quae facere deberent. Id nunc

¹ A practice which went back to the time of Augustus, and before A.D. 8 when Ovid was exiled (*Ep. ex Ponto* IV. 4. 35) though nothing is known of the decree. Cf. *Ep.* III. 13. 1;

speech conform with the modesty and moderation
 of my prince, and while paying due tribute to his
 merits shall remind myself of what his ears can en-
 dure to hear. And indeed it does him honour of no
 ordinary kind if in thanking him my fears are not that
 he will think I say too little in his praise but that I
 say too much. This is my sole anxiety, the only
 difficulty in my path; for it is easy, Conscript
 Fathers, to render thanks where they are due.
 There is no danger that in my references to his
 humanity he will see a reproach for arrogance; that
 he will suppose I mean extravagance by modest
 expenditure, and cruelty by forbearance; that I
 think him covetous and capricious when I call him
 generous and kind, profligate and idle instead of
 self-controlled and active, or that I judge him a
 coward when I speak of him as a brave man. I do
 not even fear that my gratitude or lack of it will be
 judged in accordance with the adequacy of my words,
 for I have noted that the gods themselves delight in
 the innocence and purity of their worshippers rather
 than in the elaborate preparation of the prayers
 they offer, and prefer the man who brings a chaste
 and sinless heart to their shrines to one who comes
 with a studied invocation.

4. But now I must bow to the decree of the Sen-
 ate¹ which in the public interest has declared that
 under the form of a vote of thanks delivered by the
 voice of the consul, good rulers should recognize
 their own deeds and bad ones learn what theirs

III. 18. 1; II. 1. 6 (Verginius Rufus). The *Panegyricus* is greatly enlarged from the original *gratiarum actio*. Cf. III. 13. 1 and note.

eo magis sollemne ac necessarium est, quod parens noster privatas gratiarum actiones cohibet et com-
 3 primit, intercessurus etiam publicis, si permitteret
 sibi vetare quod senatus iuberet. Utrumque, Caesar
 Auguste, moderate, et quod alibi tibi gratias agi non
 sinis, et quod hic sinis. Non enim a te ipso tibi
 honor iste, sed [ab]¹ agentibus habetur: cedis
 adfectibus nostris, nec nobis munera tua praedicare
 sed audire tibi necesse est.

4 Saepe ego mecum, patres conscripti, tacitus agitavi,
 qualem quantumque esse oporteret, cuius dicione
 nutuque maria terrae, pax bella regerentur; cum
 interea fingenti formantique mihi principem, quem
 aequata dis immortalibus potestas deceret, num-
 5 quam voto saltem concipere succurrit similem huic
 quem videmus. Enituit aliquis in bello, sed obsolevit
 in pace; alium toga sed non et arma honestarunt;
 reverentiam ille terrore, alius amorem humilitate
 captavit; ille quaesitam domi gloriam in publico,
 hic in publico partam domi perdidit; postremo
 adhuc nemo exstitit, cuius virtutes nullo vitiorum
 6 confinio laederentur. At principi nostro quanta
 concordia quantusque concentus omnium laudum
 omnisque gloriae contigit! Ut nihil severitati eius
 hilaritate, nihil gravitati simplicitate, nihil maiestati

¹ ab M: del. Gesner.

should be. That is the more necessary and solemn duty today because our Father has banned and forbidden private expressions of thanks and would intervene against public speeches also if he allowed himself to oppose the Senate's will. Both these actions, Caesar Augustus—your refusal of thanks elsewhere and your acceptance here—are proof of your moderation, for you do honour thereby not to yourself but to those who would thank you. You yield to our feelings of affection; and no necessity constrains us to proclaim your good deeds, whereas you have bound yourself to listen to them.

I often used to wonder, Conscript Fathers, what great gifts should be proper to the man whose word or gesture of command could rule land and sea and determine peace or war; but when I tried to picture to myself a ruler worthy of power equalling that of the immortal gods, even in my fondest hopes I never conceived the like of him whom we see before us today. One man may have shone in war, but his glory has grown dim in time of peace, while another has distinguished himself in civil life but not in arms. Some have won respect through men's fear, while others in courting popularity have sunk low. Sometimes the honour gained at home has been thrown away outside it, while at others a public reputation has been lost in private life. In fact there has been no one up till now whose virtues have remained unsullied by the close proximity of his faults. Contrast our prince, in whose person all the merits which win our admiration are found in complete and happy harmony! His essential seriousness and authority lose nothing through his candour and good humour;

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7 humanitate detrahitur! Iam firmitas, iam proceritas corporis, iam honor capitibus et dignitas oris, ad hoc aetatis indeflexa maturitas, nec sine quodam munere deum festinatis senectutis insignibus ad augendam maiestatem ornata caesaries, nonne longe lateque principem ostentant?

5. Talem esse oportuit quem non bella civilia, nec armis oppressa res publica, sed pax et adoptio et tandem exorata terris numina dedissent. An fas erat nihil differre inter imperatorem quem homines et quem di fecissent? quorum quidem in te, Caesar Auguste, iudicium et favor tunc statim, cum ad exercitum proficisceris, et quidam inusitato <omine>¹ enotuit. Nam ceteros principes aut largus cruor hostiarum aut sinister volatus avium consulentibus nuntiavit; tibi ascendenti de more Capitolium quamquam non id agentium civium clamor ut iam principi occurrit, siquidem omnis turba quae limen insederat, ad ingressum tuum foribus reclusis, illa quidem, ut tunc arbitrabatur, deum, ceterum, ut docuit eventus, te consalutavit imperatorem. Nec aliter a cunctis omen acceptum est. Nam ipse intellegere nolebas;

¹ omine *add.* Keil: *om. M.*

¹ By Nerva: cf. 7-8.

² As legate of Upper Germany (late 96). Cf. SHA *Hadr.*

2. 5. ff.

³ A statue to *Jupiter Imperator* in the temple on the Capitol had been brought from Praeneste in 380 B.C. by T. Quinctius

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he can show humanity but remain a sovereign power. In addition, his splendid bearing and tall stature, his fine head and noble countenance, to say nothing of the firm strength of his maturity and the premature signs of advancing age with which the gods have seen fit to mark his hair and so enhance his look of majesty—are these not sufficient signs to proclaim him far and wide for what he is: our prince?

5. And rightly so: for he was not created for us by civil wars and a country racked by the arms of battle, but in peace, through adoption,¹ by heavenly powers in our lands at long last moved by prayer. How could any man-made emperor ever be permitted to rank equal with the chosen of the gods? Indeed, their choice of you, Caesar Augustus, and their divine favour were made manifest at the very moment of your setting out to join your army² by an omen without precedent. The names of all your predecessors were revealed to those who sought the oracles either by a gush of blood from the victims or a flight of birds on the left; but in your case, as you mounted the Capitol, following due precedent, the citizens gathered there for other reasons hailed you with a shout as if you were already emperor: for when the doors of the temple opened for your entry, the entire crowd assembled at the threshold cried *Imperator!* At the time it was thought that they were addressing Jupiter,³ but events have proved that the title was intended for you, and the omen was thus interpreted by all. You alone were un-Cincinnatus (Livy VI. 29. 8). This must have been destroyed in the fire of 83 B.C., but this passage shows it had been replaced.

recusabas enim imperare, recusabas, quod erat bene
 6 imperaturi. Igitur cogendus fuisti. Cogi porro non
 poteras nisi periculo patriae et nutatione rei publicae;
 obstinatum enim tibi non suscipere imperium, nisi
 7 servandum fuisset. Quare ego illum ipsum furorem
 motumque castrensem reor exstitisse, quia magna
 vi magnoque terrore modestia tua vincenda erat;
 8 ac sicut maris caelique temperiem turbines tem-
 pestatesque commendant, ita ad augendam pacis
 tuae gratiam illum tumultum praecessisse crediderim.
 9 Habet has vices condicio mortalium, ut adversa ex
 secundis, ex adversis secunda nascantur. Occultat
 utrorumque semina deus, et plerumque bonorum
 malorumque causae sub diversa specie latent.

6. Magnum quidem illud saeculo dedecus, magnum
 rei publicae vulnus impressum est: imperator et
 parens generis humani obsessus captus inclusus,
 ablata mitissimo seni servandorum hominum potestas,
 ereptumque principi illud in principatu beatissimum,
 2 quod nihil cogitur. Si tamen haec sola erat ratio,
 quae te publicae salutis gubernaculis admoveret,
 prope est ut exclamem tanti fuisse. Corrupta est
 disciplina castrorum, ut tu corrector emendatorque

¹ The mutiny of the praetorian guard under its commander, Casperius Aelianus (Dio LXVIII. 3. 3); there was a real danger of civil war like that of 69. Cf. *Ep.* IX. 13. 11. (*Nutatio* is used metaphorically only here and in Tac. *Hist.* III. 49. 1, *totius urbis nutatione.*)

willing to accept it, for you were reluctant to assume imperial power, a sure sign that you would use it well. So then you had to be pressed. Even then you could only be persuaded because you saw your country in peril and the whole realm tottering to a fall;¹ for you were resolved only to take up the burden of supreme power when it was threatened with destruction. This, I fancy, explains the rioting and mutiny which had broken out in the army; it was to provide the widespread violence and terror which were needed to overcome your diffidence. Just as a period of calm in sky and sea is welcomed by contrast with storm and tempest, similarly, I think, that earlier season of unrest was designed to increase our appreciation of the peace we owe to you. Such are the vicissitudes of our mortal lot: misfortune is born of prosperity, and good fortune of ill-luck. God conceals their origins in both cases, and the causes of good and evil are hidden for the most part, each behind the other's mask.

6. The great blot on our age, the deadly wound inflicted on our realm, was the time when an emperor and Father of the human race was besieged in his palace, arrested and confined; from the kindest of elderly men was snatched his authority to preserve mankind, from a prince was removed the greatest blessing of princely power, the knowledge that he cannot be forced against his will. Yet if this were the only means whereby you were to be brought to steer the ship of state, I am still ready to declare that the price was not too high. Army discipline broke down so that you could come to correct and improve it; a shocking example was set

contingeres; inductum pessimum exemplum, ut optimum opponeretur; postremo coactus princeps quos nolebat occidere, ut daret principem, qui cogi non posset. Olim tu quidem adoptari merebare; sed nescissemus quantum tibi deberet imperium, si ante adoptatus esses. Expectatum est tempus quomodo liqueret non tam accepisse te beneficium quam dedidisse. Confugit in sinum tuum concussa res publica, ruensque imperium super imperatorem imperatoris tibi voce delatum est. Imploratus adoptione et accitus es, ut olim duces magni a peregrinis externisque bellis ad opem patriae ferendam revocari solebant. Ita filius ac parens uno eodemque momento rem maximam invicem praestitistis: ille tibi imperium dedit, tu illi reddidisti. Solus ergo ad hoc aevi pro munere tanto paria accipiendo fecisti, immo ultra dantem obligasti; communicato enim imperio sollicitior tu, ille securior factus est.

7. O novum atque inauditum ad principatum iter! Non te propria cupiditas proprius metus, sed aliena utilitas alienus timor principem fecit. Videaris licet quod est amplissimum inter homines consecutus, felicius tamen erat illud quod reliquisti: sub bono

¹ Nerva was compelled to punish the murderers of Domitian (Dio LXVIII. 3. 3).

² Perhaps a reference to Hannibal's recall to Carthage (Liv. XXX. 9).

so that you could counter it with a better; finally, a ruler was forced to put men to death against his will¹ in order to provide one on whom force should never prevail. Your merits did indeed call for your adoption as successor long ago; but had you been adopted then, we should never have known the empire's debt to you. We had to wait for the moment which would show you not so much the beneficiary as the benefactor. The country reeled under its blows to take refuge in your embrace; the empire which was falling with its emperor was put into your hands at the emperor's word; for it was through your adoption that you yielded to entreaties and allowed yourself to be recalled, like the great generals of the past who were summoned from distant wars abroad to bring aid to their homeland.² Thus it was that, father and son together, at one and the same moment you bestowed on each other the greatest of all gifts: he gave you supreme power and you returned it to him. You alone in our time have made proper return for such a gift, simply by your acceptance of it; nay, rather, you put the giver in your debt, for the sharing of authority increased your responsibilities while lessening his cares.

7. This is indeed a novel route to the principate, unheard of hitherto!³ No ambition of yours, no fears inspired by you, but another's interests and another's terrors have made you prince. It may appear that you have won the highest honour among men, and yet a greater happiness lay in what you renounced, namely, your position as subject under

³ But cf. Galba's speech on adopting Piso (Tac. Hist. I. 15-16), a speech with many verbal affinities with Pan 7-8.

3 principe privatus esse desisti. Adsumptus es in laborum curarumque consortium, nec te prospera et laeta stationis istius, sed aspera et dura ad capessendam eam compulerunt: suscepisti imperium, postquam alium suscepti paenitebat. Nulla adoptati cum eo qui adoptabat cognatio, nulla necessitudo, nisi quod uterque optimus erat, dignusque alter eligi alter eligere. Itaque adoptatus es non ut prius alius atque alius in gratiam uxoris. Adscivit enim te filium non vitricus sed princeps, eodemque animo divus Nerva pater tuus factus est, quo erat omnium.

4 Nec decet aliter filium adsumi, si adsumatur a principe. An senatum populumque Romanum, exercitus provincias socios transmissurus uni successorem e sinu uxoris accipias, summaeque potestatis heredem tantum intra domum tuam quaeras? non totam per civitatem circumferas oculos et hunc tibi proximum, hunc coniunctissimum existimes, quem optimum

5 quem dis simillimum inveneris? Imperatorus omnibus eligi debet ex omnibus; non enim servulis tuis dominum, ut possis esse contentus quasi necessario herede, sed principem civibus daturus et imperatorem. Superbum istud et regium, nisi adoptes eum quem constet imperaturum fuisse, etiamsi non

6 adoptasses. Fecit hoc Nerva nihil interesse arbitrat, genueris an elegeris, si perinde sine iudicio adoptentur liberi ac nascuntur; nisi quod tamen

¹ Augustus and Claudius had adopted their respective stepsons Tiberius and Nero to please their wives, Livia and Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* I. 3, XII. 25).

a good ruler. You were called upon to share his toils and troubles, nor was it the pleasures and successes of his position which compelled you, but its difficulties and pains. You assumed authority only after he wished to be rid of it. No tie of kinship or relationship bound adopted and adopter; your only bond was that of mutual excellence, rendering you worthy either to choose or to be chosen. Thus you were adopted not as others have been hitherto, in order to gratify a wife;¹ no stepfather made you his son, but one who was your prince, and the divine Nerva became your father in the same sense that he was father of us all. This is the only fitting way to adopt a son if the adopter is an emperor; for when it is a case of transferring the Senate and people of Rome, armies, provinces, and allies to a single successor, would you look to a wife to provide him, or seek no further than the four walls of your home? No indeed, you would search through all your subjects, and judge him the closest and dearest to you whom you find to be the noblest and dearest to the gods. If he is destined to rule the people, one and all, he must be chosen from among them all, for no natural law can satisfy you when you are not appointing an overlord for your household of cheap slaves, but a prince and emperor for the citizens of Rome. Not to adopt the one man who in the eyes of all could have proved himself a ruler even without adoption would indicate the wanton tyranny of power. Thus Nerva made his choice, realizing that unless sons are adopted with more judgement than they are begotten there is little difference between a son born and a son chosen—but for the fact that men

aequiore animo ferunt homines, quem princeps parum feliciter genuit, quam quem male elegit.

8. Sedulo ergo vitavit hunc casum, nec modo iudicium hominum sed deorum etiam in consilium adsumpsit. Itaque non in cubiculo sed in templo, nec ante genialem torum sed ante pulvinar Iovis optimi maximi adoptio peracta est, qua tandem non servitus nostra sed libertas et salus et securitas fundabatur. Sibi enim gloriam illam di vindicaverunt: horum opus, horum illud imperium. Nerva tantum minister fuit, utque¹ adoptaret, tam parvit quam tu qui adoptabaris. Adlata erat ex Pannonia laurea, id agentibus dis ut invicti imperatoris exortum victoriae insigne decoraret. Hanc imperator Nerva in gremio Iovis collocarat, cum repente solito maior et augustior advocata contione hominum deorumque te filium sibi, hoc est unicum auxilium fessis rebus, adsumpsit. Inde quasi depositi imperii qua securitate qua gloria laetus (nam quantulum refert, deponas an partiaris imperium? nisi quod difficilior hoc est), non secus ac praesenti tibi innixus, tuis umeris se patriamque sustentans tua iuventa, tuo robore invaluit. Statim consedit omnis tumultus.

¹ utque *Mymors*: ut qui *R*: utque qui *M*.

¹ In the second half of October 97.

² By the ceremony of *adrogatio*, as in the case of Tiberius's

will more readily forgive a ruler for a son who proves unworthy than for a successor who was a bad choice.

8. He took pains, then, to avoid such a disaster, seeking counsel from gods and men alike; and thus the adoption took place¹ not in his bedroom and by his marriage-bed but in the temple before the couch of Jupiter Best and Highest, the adoption² which was to be the basis of no servitude for us, but of security, happiness, and freedom. The gods have claimed the credit for this, since it was carried out at their command. Nerva was no more than their minister, no less obedient as adopter than you who were adopted. Laurels had been brought from Pannonia,³ at the gods' behest, for the symbol of victory to mark the rise of a ruler who would never know defeat. Nerva laid them in the lap of Jupiter and straightway rose up, taller and nobler than was his wont; before the gathered assembly of gods and men he chose you as his son, his sole support in time of crisis. From that moment onwards he delighted in the happiness and honour he derived from what might be termed his resignation—for there is little to choose between resigning and sharing power, except that the latter is more difficult—leaning on you as if you were there by his side, resting the burden of his person and his country on your shoulders, drawing strength from your youth and vigour. Every disturbance died away at once; though this

adoption (Suet. *Aug.* 65. 1). Contrast Piso's adoption (Tac. *Hist.* I. 16. 9).

³ Not Trajan's own victory, as he was in Germany. Laurels were sent with bulletins announcing victory (Pliny *N.H.* XV. 133-4).

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

fama: cum abunde expertus esset, quam bene umeris tuis sederet imperium, tibi terras te terris reliquit, eo ipso carus omnibus ac desiderandus, quod prospexerat ne desideraretur.

11. Quem tu lacrimis primum, ita ut filium decuit, mox templis honestasti, non imitatus illos qui hoc idem sed alia mente fecerunt. Dicavit caelo Tiberius Augustum, sed ut irideret; Vespasianum Claudium Nero, sed ut irideret; Vespasianum Titus, Domitianus Titum, sed ille ut dei filius, hic 2 ut frater videretur. Tu sideribus patrem intulisti non ad metum civium, non in contumeliam numinum, 3 non in honorem tuum, sed quia deum credis. Minus hoc est, cum fit ab iis qui et sese deos putant. Sed licet illum aris pulvinaribus flamine colas, non alio magis tamen deum et facis et probas, quam quod ipse talis es. In principe enim qui electo successore fato concessit, una itemque certissima divinitatis 4 fides est bonus successor. Num ergo tibi ex immortalitate patris aliquid adrogantiae accessit? Num hos proximos divinitate parentum desides ac superbos potius quam illos veteres et antiquos aemuleris, qui hoc ipsum imperium . . . 1 quam

¹ *lacuna nondum expleta.*

¹ Nerva died 27/8 January 98. The Tacitean epigram is echoed possibly in *Hist.* 1. 16. 3.

² There is no record of these apart from a doubtful coin showing a temple of Divus Nerva (Durry, *Pan.* p. 101).

³ Tac. *Ann.* 1. 10. 8; Dio LVI. 46. 1.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* XII. 69; XIII. 2. Suet. *Claud.* 45.

PANEGYRICUS, IO. 6-II. 4

glory and renown: once he had had ample proof that the Empire rested securely on your shoulders he left the world to you and you to the world, beloved and regretted by all for that very act of foresight intended to ensure that there need be no regrets.¹

11. He received the proper honours from you, first the tears which every son should shed, then the temples² you raised to him. Others have done the same, but with different intent; Tiberius deified Augustus,³ but his purpose was to introduce the charge of high treason; Nero had done the same for Claudius⁴ in a spirit of mockery; Titus had similarly honoured Vespasian and Domitian Titus, but only for one to be thought the son and the other the brother of a god.⁵ You gave your father his place among the stars with no thought of terrorizing your subjects, of bringing the gods into disrepute, or of gaining reflected glory, but simply because you thought he *was* a god. This is an honour which means less when it is paid by men who believe themselves to be equally divine; unlike you, who set up his cult with altars, couches and a priest, yet created and proved his godhead still more by being the man you are. For there is no more certain proof of divinity in a ruler who has chosen his successor before he met his end than the worthiness of his choice. Consequently, it is inconceivable that knowledge of your father's immortality would ever make you proud; you would not take your example from recent times, when sovereigns have grown insolent and idle just because their parents are divine, instead of from the rulers of the past who . . . their empire

⁵ Suetonius, *Dom.* 2. Martial IX. 101. 22.

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

imperator cuius pulsus fugatique non aliud maius
 5 habebatur indicium, quam si triumpharet. Ergo
 sustulerant animos et iugum excusserant, nec iam
 nobiscum de sua libertate sed de nostra servitute
 certabant, ac ne indutias quidem nisi aequis con-
 ditionibus inibant legesque ut acciperent dabant.

12. At nunc rediit omnibus terror, et metus et
 votum imperata faciendi. Vident enim Romanum
 ducem unum ex illis veteribus et priscis, quibus
 imperatorium nomen addebant contacti caedibus
 2 campi et infecta victoriis maria. Accipimus obsides
 ergo non emimus, nec ingentibus damnis immensisque
 muneribus paciscimur ut vicerimus. Rogant sup-
 plicant, largimur negamus, utrumque ex imperii
 maiestate. Agunt gratias qui impetraverunt, non
 3 audent queri quibus negatum est. An audeant, qui
 sciant te adsedisse ferocissimis populis, eo ipso
 tempore quod amicum illis difficillimum nobis,
 cum Danubius ripas gelu iungit, duratusque glacie
 ingentia tergo bella transportat, cum ferae gentes
 non telis magis quam suo caelo, suo sidere armantur?
 4 Sed ubi in proximo tu, non secus ac si mutatae
 temporum vices essent, illi quidem latibulis suis

¹ The *lacuna* has not been explained. "Our enemies" are
 needed as a subject for *sustulerant*; the *truce* may refer to
 Domitian's negotiations with Decebalus of Parthia in 89.
 Cf. Dio LXVII. 7.

² This must be in the winter of 99, when Trajan passed

PANEGYRICUS. II. 4-12. 4

. . . ¹ an emperor gave no surer proof of his humiliation
 and defeat than at the very moment of his triumph.
 Thus our enemies had lifted up their heads and
 shaken off the yoke; they fought against us, not for
 their liberty but to enslave us all, accepting no truce
 save on equal terms, no law before they had made
 their own.

12. Now once more terror is in their midst; our
 enemies are afraid, and crave permission to obey
 commands. They see that Rome has a leader who
 ranks with her heroes of old, whose title of *Imperator*
 was on seas stained with the bloodshed of victory
 and on battlefields piled high with the bodies of the
 dead. Today, therefore, we are receiving hostages,
 not paying for them; huge losses and vast sums of
 money are no longer needed to buy terms of peace
 which shall name us as the conquerors. The prayers
 and entreaties are on the other side,² for us to grant
 or refuse at will, so long as we promise our country's
 sovereign power. They show their gratitude when
 we will listen, but if we are deaf to their pleas, dare
 not complain—how could they, when they know
 how you encamped confronting a dangerous enemy
 at the very time which was best for them and least
 favourable to us: when the Danube is bridged by
 ice from bank to bank and can carry vast prepara-
 tions for war across its frozen surface, so that its
 savage peoples can enjoy the double protection of
 their own arms and the winter weather of their
 native climate? Once you were on the spot, the
 seasons might have been reversed; the enemy were
 through the Danube regions on his way from Upper Germany
 to Rome.

clausi tenebantur, nostra agmina perscurare ripas et aliena occasione si permitteres uti, ultroque hiemem suam barbaris inferre gaudebant.

13. Haec tibi apud hostes veneratio. Quid? apud milites quam admirationem quemadmodum comparasti! cum tecum inediam tecum sitim ferrent; cum in illa meditatione campestri militaribus turmis imperatorium pulverem sudoremque misceres, nihil a ceteris nisi robore ac praestantia <differeus>¹ libero Marte nunc cominus² tela vibrares, nunc vibrata susciperes, alacer virtute militum et laetus, quotiens aut cassidi tuae aut clipeo gravior ictus incideret (laudabas quippe ferientes, hortabarisque ut audent, et audebant); iam cum spectator <moderator>³ que ineuntium certamina virorum arma componeres, tela temptares, ac si quod durius accipienti videretur, ipse libreres.⁴ Quid cum solacium fessis, aegris opem ferres? Non tibi moris tua inire tentoria, nisi commilitonum ante lustrasses, nec requiem corpori nisi post omnes dare. Hac mihi admiratione dignus imperator <vix>⁵ videretur, si inter Fabricios et Scipiones et Camillos talis esset;

¹ differens *add.* *Aldus, om. M*: dispar, distans, diversus *alii*.

² cominus *M*: minus G. H. *Schaefer*.

³ moderatorque *add.* Puteolanus: spectatorque *M*.

⁴ libreres *codex Vaticanus*: vibrares *M*.

⁵ vix *add.* C. F. *Mueller*: *om. M*.

stopped up inside their lairs, while our armies were eager to cross the river and, if you permitted, adopt the enemy's tactics and launch a winter campaign on them unprovoked.

13. Thus your enemies bowed before your reputation. What shall I say now of the admiration which you won from your own men? They saw how you shared their hunger and thirst on field manoeuvres and how their commander's sweat and dust was mingled with their own; with nothing to mark you out save your height and physique, in open battle you launched your spears at close quarters or received those aimed at you; you delighted in the courage of your soldiers and rejoiced whenever a heavier blow struck you on shield or helmet, praising your assailants and urging them on to greater deeds of daring—which they at once performed. Nothing escaped your direction or your observant eye; it was you who assigned the men their arms before the start of operations, and tested the spears so that when one seemed too heavy for a man you could wield it yourself. Again, it was you who comforted the weary and attended to the sick, for it was your habit to inspect your comrades' tents before you retired to your own; the last man must go off duty before you would take a rest yourself. Such were the great generals of the past, bred in the homes of Fabricius, Scipio, and Camillus;¹ if they have a lesser claim upon my admiration it is because in their day

¹ Notably, Gaius Fabricius, hero of the war against Pyrrhus; the Scipios, father and son, who fought against Hannibal in the Second Punic War; and M. Furius Camillus, the saviour of Rome after the Gallic invasion in 387 B.C.

17. Videor iam cernere non spoliis provinciarum et extorto sociis auro, sed hostilibus armis captorumque regum catenis triumphum gravem; videor ingentia ducum nomina nec indecora nominibus corpora noscitate; videor intueri immanibus ausis barbarorum onusta fercula et sua quemque facta vinctis manibus sequentem, mox ipsum te sublimem instantemque curru domitarum gentium tergo, ante currum autem clipeos quos ipse perfoderis. Nec tibi opima defuerint, si quis regum venire in manus audeat, nec modo telorum tuorum, sed oculorum etiam minarumque coniectum, toto campo totoque exercitu opposito perhorrescat. Meruisti proxima moderatione, ut quandoque te vel inferre vel propulsare bellum coegerit imperi dignitas, non ideo vicisse videaris ut triumphares, sed triumphare quia viceris.

18. Aliud ex alio mihi occurrit. Quam speciosum est enim quod disciplinam castrorum lapsam extintam refovisti, depulso prioris saeculi malo inertia et contumacia et dedignatione parendi! Tutum est reverentiam, tutum caritatem mereri, nec ducum quisquam aut non amari a militibus aut amari timet; exinde¹ offensae pariter gratiaque securi, instant

¹ exinde *Baehrens*: inde *Keil*: et inde *M*.

¹ The triumph for the First Dacian War, held during the winter of 102-3. Cf. *Ep.* VIII. 4. 2.

² i.e. on painted scenes, or tableaux, mounted on wagons. These are shown on Trajan's column (for which see C. A. H. Plates V, pp. 36-40, 84).

17. Already I seem to see before me a triumph¹ piled high not with the spoils of plundered provinces and gold wrung from our allies, but with our enemies' arms and the chains of captured kings. I can recognise the high-sounding titles of chieftains whose persons are not unworthy of such names, and watch the wagons pass with their loads to show the fearful ventures of the savage foe, each prisoner following, hands bound, the scene of his own deeds;² then, close behind the conquered nations your own self standing high in your chariot, before which are the shields pierced by your own hand. The spoils of supreme honour would be yours if any king would dare to match himself against you, shuddering with terror though the whole field of battle and army might lie between, when confronted not only by your weapons but by a glance from your threatening eye. And your recent moderation has ensured that whenever you are compelled to war, offensive or defensive, for the honour of your realm, you will be known to win triumph through victory, not to seek victory in order to triumph.

18. How wonderful it was of you (for one idea suggests another) to rekindle the dying flame of military discipline by destroying the indifference, insolence and contempt for obedience, those evils of the preceding regime!³ Today it is safe to earn respect and affection, and no one in command need fear to be unpopular—or popular—with his men. Thus freed from the anxiety alike of incurring favour or giving offence, he can press on with constructive

³ Cf. *Ep.* VIII. 14. 7; X. 29. 1.

operibus, adsunt exercitationibus, arma moenia viros
 3 aptant. Quippe non is princeps qui sibi imminere
 sibi intendi putet, quod in hostes paretur; quae
 persuasio fuit illorum qui hostilia cum facerent
 timebant. Iidem ergo torpere militaria studia nec
 animos modo sed corpora ipsa languescere, gladios
 etiam incuria hebetari retundique gaudebant. Duces
 porro nostri non tam regum exterorum quam suorum
 principum insidias, nec tam hostium quam com-
 militonum manus ferrumque metuebant.

19. Est haec natura sideribus, ut parva et exilia
 validorum exortus obscurer: similiter imperatoris
 2 adventu legatorum dignitas inumbratur. Tu tamen
 maior quidem omnibus eras, sed sine ullius de-
 minutione maior: eandem auctoritatem praesente
 te quisque quam¹ absente retinebat; quin etiam
 plerisque ex eo reverentia accesserat, quod tu
 3 quoque illos reverebare. Itaque perinde summis
 atque infimis carus, sic imperatorem commilito-
 nemque miscueras, ut studium omnium laboremque
 et tamquam exactor intenderes et tamquam particeps
 4 sociusque relevares. Felices illos, quorum fides et
 industria non per internuntios et interpretes, sed ab
 ipso te nec auribus tuis sed oculis probabantur!

¹ quisque quam *Puteolanus*: quisquam *M.*

¹ Between his adoption (or Nerva's death) and his recall to Rome in the Spring of 99, Trajan carried out a tour of inspec-

work, conduct manoeuvres, make all arrangements
 for fortifications, weapons and his men. For ours
 is not a prince who sees in preparations against his
 enemies a threat directed at himself, after the fashion
 of his predecessors, who feared to fall victim to their
 own harsh practices and so were glad to see a falling
 off of interest in the soldier's life, slack training and
 lowered morale, while swords grew dull and blunted
 through disuse. Thus our generals had less to fear
 from foreign foes than from their masters' treachery,
 and more from the swords their own men held than
 from their enemies'.

19. In the heavens it is natural that the smaller
 and weaker stars should be overshadowed by the
 rising of the greater ones, and in the same way an
 emperor's legates can feel their prestige dimmed
 when he appears.¹ But you could be greater than all
 without anyone's suffering from your majesty; no
 one lost in your presence the authority he had en-
 joyed before you came, and many found men's re-
 gard for them the greater because you shared it too.
 So you were beloved by all, the highest and the
 lowest; the emperor and the comrade-in-arms so
 combined in your person that you could fire men's
 ardour and endurance by your supervision, while re-
 lieving their hardships by sharing the common lot,
 Happy those whose seal and loyalty were known
 to you not at second-hand, by word of mouth, but
 through the first-hand evidence of your own eyes!

tion of the troops on the Rhine and in Pannonia. The legates
 are either the governors of the imperial provinces (*legati
 Augusti propraetore*) or the commanders of the legions (*legati
 Augusti legionis*).

Consecuti sunt ut absens quoque de absentibus nemini magis quam tibi crederes.

20. Iam te civium desideria revocabant, amoremque castrorum superabat caritas patriae. Iter inde placidum ac modestum et plane a pace redeuntis.
 2 Nec vero ego in laudibus tuis ponam, quod adventum tuum non pater quisquam, non maritus expavit: adfectata aliis castitas, tibi ingenita et innata,
 3 interque ea quae imputare non possis. Nullus in exigendis vehiculis tumultus, nullum circa hospitium fastidium; annonae quae ceteris; ad hoc comitatus accinctus et parens. Diceres magnum aliquem ducem ac te potissimum ad exercitus ire: adeo nihil aut certe parum intererat inter imperatorem factum
 4 et futurum. Quam dissimilis nuper alterius principis transitus! si tamen transitus ille, non populatio fuit, cum abactus hospitium¹ exsereret, omniaque dextera laevaue perusta et attrita, ut si vis aliqua vel ipsi illi barbari quos fugiebat inciderent. Persuadendum provinciae erat illud iter Domitiani fuisse, non principis.
 5 Itaque non tam pro tua gloria quam pro utilitate communi edicto subiecisti, quid in utrumque vestrum esset impensum. Adsuescat imperator cum imperio calculum ponere; sic exeat sic redeat

¹ abactus hospitium exsereret *M*, quod tuetur Haupt: exeret codex deterior.

¹ Cf. 5. 2, and note.

It was also their good fortune that when you were not with them you trusted no man's judgement of them but your own.

20. But now your people's prayers were calling you home; affection for your country heard them, and love of army life had to stand aside. Your journey was quiet and undemanding, truly that of one returning from a settled peace. It is not for me to call it a virtue in you if neither father nor husband dreaded your approach; others have made a point of cultivating moral purity, but in you it is natural and inborn, and not something to be counted to your credit. Carriages were requisitioned without fuss, no difficulties were raised over lodgings, rations were the same for all, and your staff was alert and disciplined. It might have been some great general, most likely yourself, travelling to join his army,¹ for there was no difference, or practically none, between the high authority you held then and what it was to be. It was not long since another Emperor had passed that way² in very different fashion, and his progress was better called a plundering foray, when houses were forcibly emptied to provide lodgings, and right and left the land was burnt and trampled as if struck by some disaster or the very barbarian hordes from whom he fled. The provinces had to be convinced it was only Domitian, and not every emperor who travelled in this fashion, and so you published a statement contrasting his expenditure with your own. Here your chief concern was the public interest and not your reputation, for an emperor must

¹ Domitian, returning from the Suebian-Sarmatic war, in December 92.

6 tamquam rationem redditurus; edicat quid absumpserit. Ita fiet ut non absumat quod pudeat edicere. Praeterea futuri principes, velint nolint, sciant: "Tanti (< . . . tanti >)¹ tuum constat", propositisque duobus exemplis meminerint perinde coniecturam de moribus suis homines esse facturos, prout hoc vel illud elegerint.

21. Nonne his tot tantisque meritis novos aliquos honores, novos titulos merebare? At tu etiam patris patriae recusabas. Quam longa nobis cum modestia tua pugna, quam tarde vicimus! Nomen illud, quod alii primo statim principatus die ut imperatoris et Caesaris receperunt, tu usque eo distulisti, donec tu quoque, beneficiorum tuorum parcissimus aestimator, iam te mereri fatereris. Itaque soli omnium contigit tibi, ut pater patriae esses ante quam fieres. Eras enim in animis in iudiciis nostris, nec publicae pietatis intererat quid vocare, nisi quod ingrata sibi videbatur, si te imperatorem potius vocaret et Caesarem, cum patrem experiretur. Quod quidem nomen qua benignitate qua indulgentia exerces! ut cum civibus tuis quasi cum liberis parens vivis! ut reversus imperator, qui privatus exieras, agnoscis agnosceris! Eosdem nos eundem te putas, par omnibus et hoc tantum ceteris maior quod melior.

¹ tanti tuum constat *M*: lacunam indicat *Mynors addito tanti*.

² The text is very uncertain.

³ 57. 5 shows that Trajan already had the title of *pater patriae* before the consular elections of 98.

⁴ Pliny is doubtless thinking of Domitian, but the only emperor whose inscriptions show this title from the start is Nerva.

learn to balance accounts with his empire, to go abroad and return with the knowledge that he must publish his expenses and account for his movements, so that he will not spend what he is ashamed to make known to all. Moreover your successors will be obliged willy-nilly to know the cost of your respective journeys¹ and with both examples before them must realize that they will be judged according to which they elect to follow.

21. Although your many outstanding merits surely called for you to assume some new title and honour, you refused the title of Father of your country,² and it was only after a prolonged struggle between us and your modesty that in the end you were persuaded. Others³ accepted that title from the start along with that of Emperor and Caesar, on the first day of their principate, but you waved it away until even in your own grudging estimate of your services, you had to admit it was your due. Thus you alone have been Father of the country in fact before you were in name. In our hearts, in our minds we knew you as this; the title made no difference to the devotion of your people, except for our feeling of ingratitude if we addressed you only as Emperor and Caesar when we felt we had a Father in you. And now that you bear the name, how kind and considerate you show yourself, living with your subjects as a father with his children! You left us as an ordinary citizen, you return as emperor, knowing your subjects as you are known to them; in your thoughts we have not changed, nor in ours have you; you are one among us all, the greatest of us simply because you are the best.

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

6 Inde tu in palatium quidem, sed eo vultu ea moderatone, ut si privatam domum peteres; ceteri ad penates suos quisque iteraturus gaudii fidem, ubi nulla necessitas gaudendi est.

24. Onerasset alium eius modi introitus; tu cotidie admirabilior et melior, talis denique quales alii principes futuros se tantum pollicentur. Solum ergo te commendat augetque temporis spatium: iunxisti enim ac miscuisti res diversissimas, securitatem olim 2 imperantis et incipientis pudorem. Non tu civium amplexus ad pedes tuos deprimis, nec osculum manu reddis; manet imperatori quae prior oris humanitas, dexteræ verecundia.¹ Incedebas pedibus, incedis; laetabaris labore, laetaris, eademque illa omnia circa 3 te, nihil <in>² ipso te fortuna mutavit. Liberum est ingrediente per publicum principe subsistere occurrere, comitari praeterire: ambulas inter nos non quasi contingas, et copiam tui non ut imputes facis. Haeret lateri tuo quisquis accessit, finemque sermoni 4 suus cuique pudor, non tua superbia facit. Regimur quidem a te et subiecti tibi, sed quemadmodum legibus sumus: nam et illae cupiditates nostras libidinesque moderantur, nobiscum tamen et inter nos versantur. Emines excellis ut Honor, ut Potestas, quae super homines quidem, hominum 5 sunt tamen. Ante te principes fastidio nostri et

¹ dextrae verecundia *Cuspinianus: om. M.*

² in *add. Lipsius: om. M.*

PANEGYRICUS, 23. 6-24. 5

Then you walked to the palace, with the same modest demeanour as if it had been a private house, and everyone returned home to repeat the sincere expression of a happiness which was wholly spontaneous.

24. Such an entry would have overwhelmed another; but you became daily more admirable, more perfect, such a prince in fact as others can only promise to be. You alone have gained and grown in reputation through passage of time, for you have two extremes combined and blended in your person, a beginner's modesty and the assurance of one long accustomed to command. You do not direct your subjects to grovel at your feet, returning a kiss with no more than a proffered hand; your lips keep their old courtesy now you are emperor, your hand respects its proper use. You used to go on foot before, you still do now; you delighted in hard work, and still delight; though fortune has changed all around you, she changed nothing in yourself. When the prince moves among his subjects they are free to stand still or approach him, to accompany him or pass ahead, for you do not walk in our midst to confer a benefit by your presence, nor put us in your debt if we enjoy your company. Anyone who approaches you can stay at your side, and conversation lasts till it is ended by his discretion, not by any loftiness of yours. We are ruled by you and subject to you, but no more than we are to the laws, for these too must regulate our desires and passions, always with us and among us. You shine out in splendour like Honour, like Sovereignty, for these are always above mortal men and yet inseparable from them. Previous

quodam aequalitatis metu usum pedum amiserant. Illos ergo umeri cervicesque servorum super ora nostra, te fama te gloria te civium pietas, te libertas super ipsos principes vehunt; te ad sidera tollit humus ista communis et confusa principis vestigia.

25. Non vereor, patres conscripti, ne longior videar, cum sit maxime optandum, ut ea pro quibus aguntur principi gratiae multa sint; quae quidem reverentius fuerit integra inlibataque cogitationibus vestris reservari quam carptim breviterque perstringi, quia fere sequitur ut illa quidem de quibus 2 taceas, tanta quanta sunt esse videantur—nisi vero leviter attingi placet locupletatas tribus datumque congiarium populo et datum totum, cum donativi partem milites accepissent. An mediocris animi est his potius repraesentare, quibus magis negari potest? quamquam in hac quoque diversitate aequalitatis ratio servata est. Aequati sunt enim populo milites eo quod partem sed priores, populus militibus quod 3 posterior sed totum statim accepit. Enimvero qua

¹ These were (1) the *frumentationes* given monthly from the *fiscus* to the *plebs urbana frumentaria*, on the basis of a fixed number of 200,000 recipients; names could be added only when there were vacancies (cf. 25. 3). Trajan added 5,000 children to the list (28. 4). (2) the *congiarium*, money distributions to the *populus* at irregular intervals. Domitian in his early years gave 3 *congiaria* of 225 denarii a head. Nerva's lavish donations look like bribery, and Trajan paid out 650 denarii a head, a vast sum. See Syme, *JRS* XX. Note that Pliny says nothing about the alimentary system instituted by Nerva and revised by Trajan in 101 (S. 435-6,

rulers in their scorn for us, and, it may be, through fear of being brought down to our level, had lost the use of their legs; carried on the shoulders and bowed backs of slaves they rose above our heads. But you are borne aloft by your own renown and glory, by freedom and your subjects' love, far above those self-same rulers; you are lifted to the heavens by the very ground we all tread, where your imperial footsteps are mingled with our own.

25. I am not afraid of seeming long-winded, Conscript Fathers, since nothing is more desirable than that we should have much to offer thanks for to our prince. And rather than run quickly through a selection of his merits, we should show more respect if we left everything unspoken and implicit in our hearts: for what is left untouched is more likely to be judged at its true worth. Nevertheless, I should like to say a word about his gifts to enrich the urban population,¹ the largess distributed to civilians in its entirety, whereas the military received only half of their bonus.² This is sure indication of no ordinary spirit—to make a donation to those who could more easily have been refused—though in spite of this distinction, the rule of parity was not neglected, and the army was put on the same footing as the civilians in that it received its half-donation first, while the people who had the whole at once took second place. How generous the "Veleian Table"); perhaps this was still being reorganized when the speech was delivered.
² The *donativum* to each soldier, paid in cash. Nerva had evidently paid it in full on his accession, or Pliny would not make much of Trajan's policy.

concupiscant. Contra largiatur et auferat, aliat et occidat: ne ille id iam¹ brevi tempore effecerit, ut omnes non posteriorum modo sed sui parentumque paeniteat. Quocirca nihil magis in tota tua liberalitate laudaverim, quam quod congiarium das de tuo, alimenta de tuo, neque a te liberi civium ut ferarum catuli sanguine et caedibus nutriuntur; quodque gratissimum est accipientibus, sciunt dari sibi quod nemini sit ereptum, locupletatisque tam multis pauperiorem esse factum principem tantum. Quamquam ne hunc quidem: nam cuius est quidquid est omnium, tantum ipse quantum omnes habet.

28. Alio me vocat numerosa gloria tua. Alio autem? quasi vero iam satis veneratus miratusque sim quod tantam pecuniam profudisti, non ut flagitii tibi conscius ab insectatione eius averteres famam, nec ut tristes hominum maestosque sermones laetioe materia detineres. Nullam congiario culpam, nullam alimentis crudelitatem redemisti, nec tibi bene faciendi fuit causa ut quae male feceras impune fecisses. Amor impendio isto, non venia quaesita est, populusque Romanus obligatus a tribunali tuo, non exoratus recessit. Obtulisti enim congiarium gaudentibus gaudens securusque securis; quodque antea principes ad odium sui leniendum tumentibus

¹ id iam *Mymors*, *alii alia*: in tam *M*.

not lack subjects who desire sons. On the other hand, if he gives and then takes away, supports and then destroys, all too soon he will make men regret they had children, regret even that they had parents and are alive themselves. And so nothing in your generosity commands my admiration so much as the fact that these donations and allowances are paid from your own purse, so that the nation's children are not fed like wild beasts' cubs on blood and slaughter; and what is most welcome to the recipient is his knowledge that no one has been robbed to provide for him, that there is one alone who is the poorer for so many thus enriched—his prince. And perhaps not even he—for anyone with a share in a common wealth is as rich or as poor as the whole.

28. Your many claims for recognition beckon me elsewhere—but no; I have not paid admiring homage to the fact that you poured out these generous sums in no consciousness of crime committed, no desire to avert notoriety's pursuit, nor to provide more cheerful topics to divert grim suspicions from men's tongues. No fault in you had to be redeemed by your donation, no act of cruelty bought off by allowances; your benefactions were not inspired by hope of impunity for your misdeeds. By this expenditure you sought the affection, not the forgiveness of your subjects; the people of Rome heard no entreaties at the tribunal, but stepped down conscious only of their debt to you. For your donation was gladly offered and as gladly received, without apprehension on either side; what your predecessors had thrown as a sop to the surging anger of the populace, to appease the general hatred of them—

plebis animis obiectabant, id tu tam innocens populo
 4 dedisti, quam populus accepit. Paulo minus, patres
 conscripti, quinque milia ingenuorum fuerunt, quae
 liberalitas principis nostri conquisivit invenit adscivit.
 5 Hi subsidium bellorum ornamentum pacis publicis
 sumptibus aluntur, patriamque non ut patriam
 tantum, verum ut altricem amare condisunt; ex
 his castra ex his tribus replebuntur, ex his quandoque
 6 nascentur, quibus alimentis opus non sit. Dent tibi,
 Caesar, aetatem di quam mereris, serventque
 animum quem dederunt: et quanto maiorem in-
 fantium turbam iterum atque iterum iubebis incidi!
 7 Augetur enim cotidie et crescit, non quia cariores
 parentibus liberi, sed quia principi cives. Dabis
 congiaria si voles, praestabis alimenta si voles: illi
 tamen propter te nascuntur.

29. Instar ego perpetui congiarii reor adfluentiam
 annonae. Huius aliquando cura Pompeio non minus
 addidit gloriae quam pulsus ambitus campo, exactus
 hostis mari, Oriens triumphis Occidensque lustratus.
 2 Nec vero ille civilis quam parens noster auctoritate
 consilio fide reclusit vias portus patefecit, itinera
 terris litoribus mare litora mari reddidit, diversasque

¹ Pompey was given charge of the *annona* for five years in 57 B.C. (Cic. *ad Att.* IV. 1. 6). He passed the *Lex Pompeia de ambitu* in 52; rid the seas of pirates in 67; celebrated a triumph in 81 B.C., for quelling the "Marians" in Africa; another in 71 after overcoming Sertorius and his successor in Spain; and a third in 61 after settling the affairs of Asia.

² Trajan was actively engaged on public works from the start of his reign; e.g. repairs to the Via Appia, Via Aemilia, and Via Puteolana; the harbours at Ostia, Terracina, and Ancona (cf. *Ep.* VI. 31. 15 for Centum Cellae, under construction in 106); and in 110 the Decemnovium which crossed the

selves, you gave freely to the people, as innocent in your giving as they were in receiving. Nearly five thousand free-born children, Conscript Fathers, were sought out and found, to be entered on the lists through the generosity of their prince, to safeguard the state in war and adorn it in peace, supported by their country while they learn to love her not only as their homeland but as a nurse. The army and citizen body will be completed by their numbers, and they will have children one day whom they will support themselves without any need of allowances. Let the gods only grant you, Caesar, the long life which you deserve and preserve the spirit you owe to them, and the lists of children entered at your bidding will ever multiply! These grow increasingly day by day, not so much because parents care more for children, as because every citizen is cared for by his prince. Go on with subsidies and allowances if it is your wish; but the true reason for these births lies in yourself.

29. Now for the corn-supply, equivalent in its generosity, I believe, to a perpetual subsidy. Nothing so much as this¹ once brought Pompey such great honour, though he swept bribery from elections, rid the high seas of pirates, and strode in triumph across East and West. Herein he proved himself no finer citizen than our Father, who in his wisdom and authority and devotion to his people has opened roads, built harbours, created routes overland, let the sea into the shore and moved the shore out to sea,²

Pontine marshes from Forum Appii to Terracina. Pliny, however, speaks here only in general terms. Cf. *Ep.* X. 18. 3 and note.

illuc, ut tempus et necessitas posceret, transferret referretque, qui diremptam mari gentem ut partem aliquam populi plebisque Romanae aleret ac tueretur! 2 Et caelo quidem numquam benignitas tanta, ut omnes simul terras uberet foveatque: hic omnibus pariter si non sterilitatem, at mala sterilitatis exturbat, hic si non fecunditatem, at bona fecunditatis importat, hic alternis commeatibus Orientem Occidentemque conectit, ut quae ferunt quaeque expetunt opes ¹ gentes, discant invicem capiant, quanto libertati discordi servientibus sit utilius unum esse cui serviant. Quippe discretis quidem bonis omnium sua cuiusque ad singulos mala, sociatis autem atque permixtis singulorum mala ad neminem, ad omnes omnium bona pertinent. Sed sive terris divinitas quaedam, sive aliquis amnibus genius, et solum illud et flumen ipsum precor, ut hac principis benignitate contentum molli gremio semina recondat, multiplicata restituat. Non quidem repositimus fenus: 4 putet tamen esse solvendum, fallacemque unius anni fidem omnibus annis omnibusque postea saeculis tanto magis quia non exigimus excuset.

33. Satis factum qua civium qua sociorum utilitatus. Visum est spectaculum inde non enerve nec fluxum, nec quod animos virorum molliet et frangeret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera contemptumque mortis accenderet, cum in servorum etiam noxiorumque corporibus amor laudis et cupido victoriae 2 cerneretur. Quam deinde in edendo liberalitatem,

¹ opes *M*: omnes *Puteolanus*.

here and there, as occasion and necessity require, bringing aid and nourishment to a nation cut off by the sea as if its people were numbered among the humbler citizens of Rome! Even the heavens can never prove so kind as to enrich and favour every land alike; but he can banish everywhere the hardships if not the condition of sterility, and introduce the benefits of fertility, if not fertility itself. He can so join East and West by convoys that those peoples who offer and those who need supplies can learn and appreciate in their turn, after experiencing licence and discord, how much they gain from having one master to serve. Divide a common property, and each individual must bear his own losses; but where everything is jointly held, no one suffers personal loss and all share in the common wealth. Yet if there be divinities in earth and spirit-powers in streams, this is my plea to the soil and river of Egypt: ask no more of our prince's generosity, take the seed sowed in your soft embrace and return it multiplied. We ask no interest, but remember that you have a debt to repay; redeem the broken promise of a single year in all the years and all the centuries to come, the more so as we are making no demands.

33. Citizens and allies alike had had their needs supplied. Next came a public entertainment—nothing lax or dissolute to weaken and destroy the manly spirit of his subjects, but one to inspire them to face honourable wounds and look scorn on death, by exhibiting love of glory and desire for victory even in the persons of criminals and slaves. What generosity went to provide this spectacle! and what

quam iustitiam exhibuit omni adfectione aut intactus aut maior! Impetratum est quod postulabatur, oblatum quod non postulabatur. Institit ultro et ut concupisceremus admonuit, ac sic quoque plura inopinata plura subita. Iam quam libera spectantium studia, quam securus favor! Nemini impietas ut solebat obiecta, quod odisset gladiatorem; nemo e spectatore spectaculum factus miseram voluptates unco et ignibus expiavit. Demens ille verique honoris ignarus, qui crimina maiestatis in harena colligebat, ac se despici et contemni, nisi etiam gladiatores eius veneremur, sibi male dici in illis, suam divinitatem suum numen violari interpretabatur, cumque se idem quod deos, idem gladiatores quod se putabat.

34. At tu Caesar, quam pulchrum spectaculum pro illo nobis exsecrabili reddidisti! Vidimus delatorum agmen¹ inductum, quasi grassatorum quasi latronum. Non solitudinem illi, non iter sed templum sed forum insederant; nulla iam testamenta secreta, nullius status certus; non orbitas, non liberi proderant. Advertisti hoc malum partim (< . . . partim >)² avaritia.

¹ agmen *Cuspinianus*: om. *M.*

² partim *M*: principum *Puteolanus*: partim *add.* *Mignors*: lacuna *nondam expleta.*

¹ A further reference to Domitian.

impartiality the Emperor showed, unmoved as he was by personal feelings or else superior to them. Requests were granted, unspoken wishes were anticipated, and he did not hesitate to press us urgently to make fresh demands; yet still there was something new to surpass our dreams. How freely too the spectators could express their enthusiasm and show their preferences without fear! No one risked the old charge of impiety if he disliked a particular gladiator; no spectator found himself turned spectacle, dragged off by the hook to satisfy grim pleasures, or else cast to the flames! He¹ was a madman, blind to the true meaning of his position, who used the arena for collecting charges of high treason, who felt himself slighted and scorned if we failed to pay homage to his gladiators, taking any criticism of them to himself and seeing insults to his own godhead and divinity; who deemed himself the equal of the gods yet raised his gladiators to be his equal.

34. But what a splendid spectacle *you* showed us, Caesar, by contrast with that hateful scene! There we saw the informers marched in, like a band of robbers or brigands—only their haunts had not been at the roadside or in lonely spots, but in temple² and forum. No will was safe from them, no position secure; to be childless or a parent was equally of no avail. It had been a growing evil, partly through . . .³ partly through greed. Then you turned your attention to it, and peace was restored

² Possibly the Temple of Saturn is meant, *i.e.* the treasury. Cf. 36. 1.

³ Some word is needed to express Domitian's fear or suspicion.

PANEGRYICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

pacem foro reddidisti; excidisti intestinum malum
et provida severitate cavisti, ne fundata legibus
3 civitas eversa legibus videretur. Licet ergo cum
fortuna tum liberalitas tua visenda nobis praeberit,
ut praebuilt, nunc ingentia robora virorum et pares
animos, nunc immanitatem ferarum, nunc mansue-
tudinem incognitam, nunc secretas illas et arcanas
ac sub te primum communes opes, nihil tamen
gratius, nihil saeculo dignius, quam quod contigit
desuper intueri delatorum supina ora retortasque
4 cervices. Agnoscebamus et fruebamus, cum velut
piaculares publicae sollicitudinis victimae supra
sanguinem noxiorum ad lenta supplicia gravioresque
5 poenas ducerentur. Congesti sunt in navigia raptim
conquisita ac tempestatibus dediti: abirent fugerent
vastatas delationibus terras, ac si quem fluctus ac
procellae scopulis reservassent, hic nuda saxa et
inhospitale litus incoleret, ageret duram et anxiam
vitam, relictaque post tergum totius generis humani
securitate maereret.

35. Memoranda facies, delatorum classis per-
missa omnibus ventis, coactaque vela tempestatibus
pandere iratosque fluctus sequi, quoscumque in scopu-
los detulissent. Iuvabat prospectare statim a portu
sparsa navigia, et apud illud ipsum mare agere principi

PANEGYRICUS, 34. 2-35. 1

to the forum as it had been to the army-camps. You cut out the canker in our midst; your stern providence ensured that a state founded on laws should not appear to perish through the laws' abuse. So although your high estate and generosity enabled you to present the spectacle we saw, first men whose spirit matched their mighty physique, then animals in their natural state of savagery and also tamed in unexpected degree, then the riches hitherto kept hidden in secret and now, in your reign, to be shared by all; yet nothing was so popular, nothing so fitting for our times as the opportunity we enjoyed of looking down at the informers at our feet, their heads forced back and faces upturned to meet our gaze. We knew them and rejoiced; like victims chosen to atone for the sufferings of their country, treading in the blood of the criminals before them, they were led to long-lasting punishment and more fearful retribution. Ships were hastily produced, and they were crowded on board and abandoned to the hazard of wind and weather. Well, let them go, and flee from the lands their informing had left desolate; and if the stormy sea casts anyone alive on the rocks, let him eke out a wretched existence on the bare crags of a hostile shore, and suffer in the knowledge that by his departure the entire human race is relieved of its cares.

35. The sight was unforgettable: a whole fleet of informers thrown on the mercy of every wind, forced to spread sail before the tempests, driven by the fury of the waves on to the rocks in their course. What joy for us to watch the ships scattered as soon as they left harbour, and on the very water's edge to render

gratias, qui clementia sua salva ultionem hominum
 2 terrarumque dis maris commendasset. Quantum
 diversitas temporum posset, tum maxime cognitum
 est, cum isdem quibus antea cautibus innocentissimus
 quisque, tunc nocentissimus adfigeretur, cumque
 insulas omnes, quas modo senatorum, iam delatorum
 turba completeret; quos quidem non in praesens tantum,
 sed in aeternum repressisti, mille poenarum indagine
 3 inclusos. Ereptum alienas pecunias eunt; perdant,
 quas habent. Expellere penatibus gestiunt: suis
 exturbentur neque ut antea exsanguem illam et
 ferream frontem neququam convulnerandam prae-
 beant punctis, et notas suas rideant, sed expectent
 paria praemio damna, nec maiores spes quam metus
 habeant, timeantque quantum timebantur.

4 Ingenti quidem animo divus Titus securitati
 nostrae ultionique prospexerat, ideoque numinibus
 aequatus est: sed quanto tu quandoque dignior
 caelo, qui tot res illis adiecisti, propter quas illum
 deum fecimus! Id hoc magis arduum fuit, quod
 imperator Nerva te filio, te successore dignissimus
 perquam magna quaedam edicto Titi adstruxerat,
 nihilque reliquisse nisi tibi videbatur, qui tam multa
 excogitasti, ut si ante te nihil esset inventum.
 Quae singula quantum tibi gratiae dispensata

¹ Pliny has forgotten that many of the *delatores* were
 senators; e.g. Messalinus, Regulus, and Veiento.

thanks to our ruler who in his unflinching mercy had
 preferred to entrust vengeance over men on earth
 to the gods of the sea! Then indeed we knew how
 times had changed; the real criminals were nailed
 to the very rocks which had been the cross of many
 an innocent man; the islands where senators were
 exiled were crowded with the informers¹ whose
 power you had broken for all time, not merely for a
 day, held fast as they were in the meshes of punish-
 ments untold. They set out to rob other men of
 money: now let them lose their own. They sought
 to evict men from their homes: let them be homeless
 too. Let them stop presenting a brazen and un-
 blushing front, unmarked by any disgrace, stop
 laughing off all reproaches. Now they can expect
 losses in proportion to their rewards, and know appre-
 hension to match their former hopes; and now they can
 feel the fear they once inspired.

It is true that the divine Titus² in the nobility of
 his spirit had taken measures for our security and
 need for vengeance, and because of this was placed
 among the gods; but how much more will you one
 day deserve your seat in heaven, for all your addi-
 tions to those measures for which we recognized his
 godhead! And your achievement was the more
 difficult because the Emperor Nerva,³ worthy as he
 was of you as his son and successor, had himself made
 notable additions to Titus's edict, so that it seemed
 that nothing was left—except for you, whose ideas
 were so many that nothing might have been thought
 of before. Had you dispensed these favours singly

² Suetonius, *Titus* 8. 5.

³ Dio, LXVIII. 1. 2.

5 adiecissent! At tu simul omnia profudisti,¹ ut sol et dies non parte aliqua sed statim totus, nec uni aut alteri sed omnibus in commune profertur.

36. Quam iuvat cernere aerarium silens et quietum, et quale ante delatores erat! Nunc templum illud nunc vere dei (sedes),² non spoliarium civium cruentarumque praedarum saevum receptaculum, ac toto in orbe terrarum adhuc locus unus in quo 2 optimo principe boni malis impares essent. Manet tamen honor legum, nihilque ex publica utilitate convulsam, nec poena cuiquam remissa, sed addita est ultio, solumque mutatum, quod iam non delatores 3 sed leges timentur. At fortasse non eadem severitate fiscum qua aerarium cohibes: immo tanto maiore quanto plus tibi licere de tuo quam de publico credis. Dicitur actori atque etiam procuratori tuo: 4 "In ius veni, sequere ad tribunal." Nam tribunal quoque excogitatum principatui³ est par ceteris, nisi illud litigatoris amplitudine metiaris. Sors et urna fisco iudicem adsignat; licet reicere, licet exclaimare: "Hunc nolo, timidus est et bona saeculi parum intellegit; illum volo, qui Caesarem fortiter amat." Eodem foro utuntur principatus et libertas; quae praecipua tua gloria est, saepius vincitur fiscus, cuius mala causa numquam est nisi sub bono principe.

¹ profudisti *Catanaeus*: profudisti *M.*

² dei sedes *Schwarz*: deus *M.*

³ principatui *Lipsius*: cruciatum *M.*

¹ The *Digest* (I. 2. 2. 32) says that Nerva set up a special praetor's court to judge cases between individuals and the *fiscus*. (Under Hadrian the creation of equestrian *advocati fisci* made this court superfluous. *S.H.A. Hadr.* 20. 6.) It is implied here that litigants were free to use which court they preferred.

our gratitude would be immense; instead, you chose to pour them out together, like the light of day or the sun, shining not partially on one man or another, but instantly as a bright whole over all alike.

36. It is a pleasure to see peace and quiet restored to the treasury, to see it as it was before the days of informers. Now it is a real temple and sanctuary of a god, not a mortuary of citizens and a grim depository for blood-soaked spoils, no longer the one place left in the world where even under an excellent ruler the good were still at the mercy of the wicked. The laws still command respect, and public utility is in no way diminished; but a new vengeance is added to existing penalties, and the sole innovation lies in the fact that men no longer go in fear of informers: instead, they fear the law. It may be thought that you are less strict in your control of the imperial exchequer than of the treasury, but in fact you are all the stricter through believing that you have a freer hand to deal with your own money than with the public's. Anyone may call your procurator or his agent to justice, to appear in court—for an emperor's court¹ is set up which differs from the rest only in the eminence of the person concerned in its workings. Lots drawn from the urn assign the exchequer its magistrate, who can be rejected at any one's protest: "Not him, he's weak and out of touch with the spirit of the age—that's the man, independent and loyal subject of Caesar!" The same court serves the principate and the cause of liberty; and nothing brings you greater honour than the fact that it is the exchequer which often loses its case—for only under an honest ruler is defeat possible.

genio, si natura pateretur, quam libenter tot spoliatis
 5 tot trucidatis bona et sanguinem refudisses! Vetuisti
 exigi quod deberi non tuo saeculo coeperat. Alius
 ut contumacibus irasceret, tarditatemque solvendi
 dupli vel etiam quadrupli irrogatione multaret; tu
 nihil referre iniquitatis existimas, exigas quod deberi
 non oportuerit, an constituas ut debeatur.

41. Feres, Caesar, curam et sollicitudinem con-
 sularem. Nam mihi cogitanti eundem te collationes
 remisisse, donativum reddidisse, congiarium obtulisse,
 delatores abegisse, vectigalia temperasse, interro-
 gandus videris, satisne computaveris imperi redditus.
 An tantas vires habet frugalitas principis, ut tot
 2 impendiis tot erogationibus sola sufficiat? Nam quid
 est causae cur aliis quidem, cum omnia raperent et
 rapta retinerent, ut si nihil rapuissent nihil retinuis-
 sent, defuerint omnia; tibi cum tam multa largiaris
 et nihil auferas, ut si nihil largiaris et auferas omnia,
 3 <omnia>¹ supersint? Numquam principibus de-
 fuerunt, qui fronte tristi et gravi supercilio utilitati-
 bus fisci contumaciter adessent. Et erant principes
 ipsi sua sponte avidi et rapaces et qui magistris non
 egerent; plura tamen semper a nobis contra nos
 didicerunt. Sed ad tuas aures cum ceteris omnibus

¹ omnia *add. Schwarz: om. M.*

the evil emperors before you. In this spirit, had it
 been possible, how gladly would you have restored
 their life-blood and their fortunes to so many victims
 of butchery and spoilation! You forbade the col-
 lection of debts contracted before your reign; but
 another would have suspected a refusal to submit,
 vented his anger accordingly, and punished delay in
 payment by exacting twice or four times the amount.
 You find nothing to choose between the unfair
 exaction of debts which should never have been
 contracted and their unjust imposition.

41. You will bear with my anxieties, Caesar, my
 concern as consul. Your refusal to accept gifts of
 money, your distribution of the military bonus and
 civilian largess, dismissal of informers and reduction
 of taxes—the thought of all this makes me feel I
 should ask you whether you have given due thought
 to the Empire's revenues. Are there sufficient
 resources to support the Emperor's economy and
 enable it to bear unaided the cost of paying out
 such sums? Others were robbers on a large scale
 and kept their ill-gotten gains, yet they might have
 taken and kept nothing, for they were always penni-
 less; whereas you have given so much and taken
 nothing; but always have enough and to spare as if
 you had given nothing and taken all. What is the
 explanation? Our rulers have always had people
 at their side who were all too ready to keep a stern
 and unremitting eye on the needs of the exchequer.
 There were even emperors whose personal cupidity
 and greed for gain needed no teaching, though in
 most cases instruction—to our own detriment—has
 come from us. But to your ears the approach is

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

tum vel maxime avaris adulationibus obstructus est
4 aditus. Silent ergo et quiescunt, et postquam non
est cui suadeatur, qui suadeant non sunt. Quo
evenit ut, cum plurimum tibi pro tuis, plus tamen
pro nostris moribus debeamus.

42. Locupletabant et fiscum et aerarium non tam
Voconiae et Iuliae leges, quam maiestatis singulare
et unicum crimen, eorum qui crimine vacarent.
Huius tu metum penitus sustulisti, contentus magni-
tudine qua nulli magis caruerunt, quam qui sibi
2 maiestatem vindicabant. Reddita est amicis fides,
liberis pietas, obsequium servis: verentur et parent
3 et dominos habent. Non enim iam servi nostri
principis amici sed nos sumus, nec pater patriae
alienis se mancipiis cariozem quam civibus suis credit.
Omnes accusatore domestico liberasti, unoque salutis
publicae signo illud, ut sic dixerim, servile bellum
sustulisti. In quo non minus servis quam dominis
praestitisti: nos enim securos, illos bonos fecisti.
4 Non vis in te ea laudari, nec fortasse laudanda sint;
grata sunt tamen recordantibus principem illum in
capita minorum servos subornantem, monstran-
temque crimina quae tamquam delata puniret,
magnum et inevitabile ac totiens cuique experiendum

¹ The law of the tribune Titus Voconius of 169 B.C. restrict-
ing the rights of inheritance of daughters; for the *Lex Iulia*
cf. ch. 26. 5, and note.

PANEGYRICUS, 41. 3-42. 4

closed for insinuating counsel of every kind, and
especially that of avarice. It dries up and falls silent,
for where there is no one to hear advice, soon there
is none to proffer it. Consequently we are deeply in
your debt, and doubly so—for your own character,
and even more for the improvement it has made in
our own.

42. Both exchequer and treasury used to be en-
riched not so much by the Voconian¹ and Julian
laws as from the charges of high treason, the unique
and only way of incriminating men who had com-
mitted no crime. You completely removed our
dread of this, content to show the nobility which
none had lacked so much as those who used to pre-
tend to majesty. Loyalty is restored among friends,
a sense of duty to freedmen and obedience to slaves—
who can now respect and obey and keep their
masters. Henceforth it is we who are the Emperor's
friends, not our slaves, and the Father of our country
puts his own subjects' affection above that of persons
held in bondage to other men. You have freed us
all from the accuser in our homes, and by raising the
standard of public safety have effectively suppressed
what might be called a servile war—thereby doing a
service to slaves by making them better men as well
as to their masters in ridding us of our fears. You
seek no praise for this, and perhaps it should not be
offered, but how welcome it is for those of us who
remember that emperor who suborned slaves against
the very lives of their masters² and told them the
charges he proposed to punish before their informa-
tion was laid—an evil as fearful as it was unavoidable.

² Cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* I. 2. 6.

ut alii contundis ac deprimis, sed foves et attollis.
 7 Prodest bonos esse, cum sit satis abundeque, si non nocet; his honores his sacerdotia, his provincias offers, hi amicitia tua hi iudicio florent. Acuantur isto integritatis et industriae pretio similes, dissimiles adiciuntur; nam praemia bonorum malorumque 8 bonos ac malos faciunt. Pauci adeo ingenio valent ut non turpe honestumque, prout bene ac secus cessit, expetant fugiantve; ceteri, ubi laboris inertiae vigilantiae somno, frugalitatis luxuriae merces datur, eadem ista quibus alios artibus adsecutos vident consecretantur, qualesque sunt illi, tales esse et videri volunt, et dum volunt fiunt.

45. Et priores quidem principes, excepto patre tuo, praeterea uno aut altero (et nimis dixi), vitiis potius civium quam virtutibus laetabantur, primum quod in alio sua quemque natura delectat, deinde quod patientiores servitutis arbitrabantur, quos non 2 deceret esse nisi servos. Horum in sinum omnia congeriebant, bonos autem otio aut situ abstrusos et quasi sepultos non nisi delationibus et periculis in 3 lucem ac diem proferebant. Tu amicos ex optimis <sumis>,¹ et hercule aequum est esse eos carissimos bono principi, qui invisissimi malo fuerint. Scis, ut

¹ sumis *add.* Keil: *om.* M.

foster and encourage signs of character and spirit, instead of forcing them into subjection as your predecessors did. People find that honesty pays, now that they are convinced that it does them no harm—indeed, it brings them honours, priesthoods, provinces from your hands, and they flourish in your friendship and favour. This payment for application and integrity spurs on others like them, while encouraging men of different character to mend their ways; for it is the rewards for vice and virtue which make men bad or good. Not many people have a strong enough character to pursue or shun good or evil with no thought of advantage; for the rest, when they see the reward for effort, activity and thrift going to idleness, torpor and extravagance, set about gaining similar advantages by the same devices as they see others use. Their one wish is to resemble such men, be one of them, until their wishing makes them so.

45. Previous emperors, with the exception of your father and one or two more (and that is saying too much), did in fact take more pleasure in the vices of their subjects than in their virtues, first because everyone likes a man after his own heart, then because they supposed that slavery would be more acceptable to people unfitted to be anything but slaves. Such men gathered up all the favours, open-armed; while honest citizens who were forced to bury themselves in retirement were neglected and only saw the light of day at their trials for treason. By contrast, you choose your friends from the best of your subjects, and quite rightly, the affection of a good prince lit on the very men most hated by a bad

sint diversa natura dominatio et principatus, ita non aliis esse principem gratiores, quam qui maxime dominum graventur. Hos ergo provehis et ostentas quasi specimen et exemplar, quae tibi secta vitae, quod hominum genus placeat; et ideo non censuram adhuc, non praefecturam morum recepisti, quia tibi beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenia nostra experiri placet. Et alioqui nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos esse patitur quam qui cogit. Flexibiles quamcumque in partem ducimur a principe atque (ut ita dicam) sequaces sumus. Huic enim cari, huic probati esse cupimus, quod frustra speraverint dissimiles, eoque obsequii continuatione pervenimus, ut prope omnes homines unius moribus vivamus. Porro non tam sinistre constitutum est, ut qui malum principem possumus, bonum non possimus imitari. Perge modo, Caesar, et vim effectumque censurae tuum propositum tui actus obtinebunt. Nam vita principis censura est eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur, nec tam imperio nobis opus est quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magister est metus. Melius homines exemplis docentur, quae in primis hoc in se boni habent, quod adprobant quae praecipiant fieri posse.

46. Et quis terror valisset efficere, quod reverentia tui effecit? Obtinuit aliquis ut spectaculum panto-

one. Tyranny and the principate are diametrically opposed; knowing this, you realize how a true prince is most welcome to those who can least endure a tyrant. These then are the men you promote and show as a typical example of the way of life and kind of man you prefer; and if you have not yet assumed the censorship and superintendence of our morals, it is because you would rather test our character by benefits than correctives. Besides, I fancy that a ruler may do more for the morals of his country by permitting good conduct than by compelling it. We are easily led wherever he takes us, following (as it were) in his steps; now we see before us one whose affection and approval we all seek to win, in a way those unlike him can never hope to do; so that by the firmness of our allegiance we are reaching the point when we shall all conform with the ways of a single man. (We are surely not so wrong-headed that we can only copy a bad ruler and not a good one.) You need only continue as you are, Caesar, and the principles of your conduct will have the same effective power as a censorship. Indeed, an emperor's life is a censorship, and a true perpetual one;¹ this is what guides and directs us, for example is what we need more than command. Fear is unreliable as a teacher of morals. Men learn better from examples, which have the great merit of proving that their advice is practicable.

46. Could any terror have had the power to effect what has been accomplished through our regard for you? Someone did indeed succeed in suppressing

¹ Domitian was censor *perpetuus* from the end of 85.

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

- mimorum populus Romanus tolli pateretur, sed non obtinuit ut vellet: rogatus es tu quod cogebat alius, coepitque esse beneficium quod necessitas fuerat. Neque enim a te minore concentu ut tolleres pantomimos, quam a patre tuo ut restitueret exactum est.
- 3 Utrumque recte: nam et restitui oportebat, quos sustulerat malus princeps, et tolli restitutos. In his enim, quae a malis bene fiunt, hic tenendus est modus, ut appareat auctorem displicuisse non factum.
- 4 Idem ergo populus ille, aliquando scaenici imperatoris spectator et plausor, nunc in pantomimis quoque aversatur et damnat effeminatas artes et indecora saeculo studia. Ex quo manifestum est principum disciplinam capere etiam vulgus, cum rem si ab uno fiat severissimam fecerint omnes. Macte hac gravitatis gloria, Caesar, qua consecutus es ut, quod antea vis et imperium, nunc mores vocarentur.
- 6 Castigaverunt vitia sua ipsi qui castigari merebantur, idemque emendatores qui emendandi fuerunt. Itaque nemo de severitate tua queritur, et liberum est queri. Sed cum ita comparatum sit, ut de nullo minus principe querantur homines quam de quo maxime licet, tuo in saeculo nihil est quo non omne

¹ Suetonius, *Dom.* 7. 1. The miming actors and dancers (*pantomimi*) introduced into Rome in 22 B.C. were repeatedly banished by the emperors, but always reappeared. Trajan banished them in 99-100, but they were back for the triumph of the Second Dacian War in 107, and the death of one *maximus pantomimorum* is recorded in S. 173 (ILS 5184).

PANEGYRICUS, 46. 1-7

the mimes¹ and persuading the Roman people to put up with this, though he did not succeed in making them willing to do so. But in your case, the people asked you to take the measures which the other had imposed, seeing them now as a public benefit and not an enforced necessity, as unanimous in their demand for you to do away with the mimes as they had been for your father to restore them. They were right in both cases—it was necessary to restore what a bad emperor had suppressed, and once restored, equally necessary to suppress it, for the rule to follow when good deeds are done by bad men is to make it clear that the agent deserves censure, not the act. And so the same populace which once watched and applauded the performances of an actor-emperor² has now even turned against the professional mimes, and damns their perverted art as a taste unworthy of our age. This shows that even the vulgar crowd can take a lesson from its rulers, since a reform so sweeping, if once started by an individual, can spread to all. All honour to your noble wisdom, Caesar, for this has enabled you to see an accepted custom take the place of what used to be an arbitrary decree! Of their own accord men who deserved correction have corrected their own faults and proved themselves reformers though previously needing reform. Consequently no one complains of your severity though complaint is open to all. It is always the way that fewest complaints are made about a ruler who allows most freedom to make them, and under your regime there is nothing which can fail to give joy and happiness

² Nero. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI. 4.