

8 hominum genus laetetur et gaudeat. Boni prove-
hantur; mali, qui est tranquillissimus status civitatis,
nec timent nec timentur. Vitiorum paenitentiam
expectas, mederis erroribus sed implorantium,¹
omnibusque quos bonos facis hanc adstruis laudem,
ne coegisse videaris.

47. Quid? vitam, quid? mores iuventutis quam
principaliter formas! quem honorem dicendi magis-
tris, quam dignationem sapientiae doctoribus habes!
ut sub te spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt
studia! quae priorum temporum immanitas exsilis
puniebat, cum sibi vitiorum omnium conscius princeps
inimicas vitii artes non odio magis quam reverentia
2 relegaret. At tu easdem artes in complexu oculis
auribus habes. Praestas enim quaecumque prae-
cipiunt, tantumque eas diligis quantum ab illis
3 probaris. An quisquam studia humanitatis professus
non cum omnia tua tum vel in primis laudibus ferat
4 admissionum tuarum facilitatem? Magno quidem
animo parens tuus hanc ante vos principes arcem
publicarum aedium nomine inscripserat; frustra
tamen, nisi adoptasset qui habitare ut in publicis
5 posset. Quam bene cum titulo isto moribus tuis
convenit, quamque omnia sic facis tamquam non
alius inscripserit! Quod enim forum, quae templa
tam reserata? Non Capitolium ipsaque illa adop-
tionis tuae sedes magis publica magis omnium.

¹ implorantium Schwarz: implorantibus M.

² Cf. *Ep.* III. 11; *Tac. Ag.* 2. 1-2; *Suet. Dom.* 10. 3. Domitian banished the philosophers from Rome and Italy in 93.

³ The *domus Flavia* on the Palatine; the title is confirmed by ILS 9358.

to every kind of man. The honest find advancement, while the dishonest are neither feared nor unduly fearful, sure proof of the peace and stability of the realm. You wait for repentance of vice, you remedy faults only at the plea of transgressors, and all whom you have made better men are granted the additional merit of not appearing to owe anything to enforced guidance from you.

47. As for the lives and characters of the young—how you are forming them in true princely fashion! And the teachers of rhetoric and professors of philosophy—how you hold them in honour! Under you the liberal arts are restored, to breathe and live in their own country—the learning which the barbarity of the past punished with exile, when an emperor acquainted with all the vices sought to banish everything hostile to vice, motivated less by hatred for learning as by fear for its authority.¹ But you embrace these very arts, opening arms, eyes and ears to them, a living example of their precepts, as much their lover as the subject of their regard. Every lover of culture must applaud all your actions, while reserving his highest praise for your readiness to give audiences. Your father had shown his magnanimity by giving the title of “open house” to what (before your time or his) had been a stronghold of tyranny²—yet this would have been an empty formula had he not adopted a son capable of living in the public eye. Between your habits and that inscription there is perfect accord; every action of yours suggests you might have set it there yourself. No forum, no temple is so free of access: not even the Capitol and the very site of your adoption are more public and

Nullae obices nulli contumeliarum gradus superatque iam mille liminibus ultra semper aliqua dura et obstantia. Magna ante te, magna post te, iuxta te tamen maxima quies: tantum ubique silentium, tam altus pudor, ut ad parvos penates et larem angustum ex domo principis modestiae et tranquillitatis exempla referantur.

48. Ipse autem ut excipis omnes, ut exspectas! ut magnam partem dierum, inter tot imperii curas, quasi per otium transigis! Itaque non albi¹ et attoniti, nec ut periculum capitis adituri tarditate, sed securi et hilares cum commodum est convenimus.

2 Et admittente principe interdum est aliquid quod nos domi quasi magis necessarium teneat: excusati semper tibi nec umquam excusandi sumus. Scis enim sibi quemque praestare, quod te videat quod frequentet, ac tanto liberalius ac diutius voluptatis huius copiam praebes. Nec salutationes tuas fuga et vastitas sequitur: remoramur resistimus ut in communi domo, quam nuper illa immanissima belua plurimo terrore munierat, cum velut quodam specu inclusa nunc propinquorum sanguinem lamberet, nunc se ad clarissimorum civium strages caedesque proferret. Obversabantur foribus horror et minae et par metus admissis et exclusis; ad hoc ipse occurso

¹ albi *Madvig*: anxii, balbi, pallidi *alii*: alii *M.*

¹ Cf. Seneca, *de Ben.* VI. 33. 4; 34. 2.

² Suetonius, *Dom.* 10. 2 and 15. 1. Domitian had put to death the two sons (Flavius Sabinus and Flavius Clemens) of his father's brother, Sabinus.

open to all. There are no obstacles, no grades of entry to cause humiliation,¹ nor a thousand doors to be opened only to find still more obstacles barring the way. No, everything is peaceful before reaching you and on leaving you and above all, in your presence; such deep silence, such great reverence, that from the prince's house an example of calm and moderation returns to every humble hearth and modest home.

48. And you yourself—awaiting and receiving everyone in person—devote a large part of every day to so many cares of State, while preserving the unhurried atmosphere of a life of leisure. So we gather round you, no longer pale and terrified, slow of step as if in peril of our lives, but carefree and happy, coming when it suits us. And having gained audience, we may at times have something which seems urgent to keep us at home; we are always excused by you, without having to find excuses. Knowing as you do how eager we all are to see and frequent you, you are all the readier to make easy opportunities in advance for this pleasure. Moreover, when our respects are paid, there is no immediate flight to leave the hall empty—we stay behind to linger on as if in a home we share, though this is the place where recently that fearful monster built his defences with untold terrors, where lurking in his den he licked up the blood of his murdered relatives² or emerged to plot the massacre and destruction of his most distinguished subjects.³ Menaces and horror were the sentinels at his doors, and the fears alike

³ Suet. *Dom.* 10. 2; Tac. *Ag.* 45; Dio LXVII. 13; Pliny, *Ep.* I. 5. 3, III. 11. 3.

quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia
 5 multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam non adloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem, nec umquam ex solitudine sua deuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret.

49. Ille tamen, quibus sibi parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur, dolum secum et insidias et ultorem scelerum deum inclusit. Dimovit perfregitque custodias Poena, angustosque per aditus et obstructos non secus ac per apertas fores et inquantia limina irrupit: longe tunc illi divinitas sua, longe arcana illa cubilia saevique secessus, in quos timore et superbia et odio hominum agebatur.
 2 Quanto nunc tutior, quanto securior eadem domus, postquam erus¹ non crudelitatis sed amoris excubiis, non solitudine et claustris, sed civium celebritate
 3 defenditur! Ecquid ergo? Discimus experimento fidissimam esse custodiam principis innocentiam ipsius. Haec arx inaccessa, hoc inexpugnabile munimentum, munimento non egere. Frustra se terrore succinxerit, qui saeptus caritate non fuerit; armis
 4 enim arma irritantur. Num autem serias tantum partes dierum in oculis nostris coetuque consumis? non remissionibus tuis eadem frequentia eademque
 5 illa socialitas interest? non tibi semper in medio

¹ erus *Baebrens*: eius *M*.

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Dom.* 18. 1; Tacitus, *Ag.* 45. 3.

² Domitian was assassinated in his palace; Suet. *Dom.* 17.

of admission and rejection; then himself in person, dreadful to see and to meet, with arrogance on his brow and fury in his eye, a womanish pallor spread over his body but a deep flush to match the shameless expression on his face.¹ None dared approach him, none dared speak; always he sought darkness and mystery, and only emerged from the desert of his solitude to create another.

49. Yet though he thought to protect his life behind walls and masonry, locked in with him were treachery, conspiracy, and the god of retribution for his crimes. Vengeance pushed aside his guards, broke through and burst in by the narrow passages and their barriers, as if the doors stood open and thresholds called her in.² Nothing availed him then—not his divinity, nor those secret chambers, those cruel haunts whither he was driven by his fear and pride and hatred of mankind. How much safer is that same dwelling today, and how much happier, now that its master finds protection in popularity instead of cruelty, and seeks the thronging crowds of his subjects instead of solitude behind locked doors! What is the lesson for us? Experience shows that the one guard which a prince can wholly trust is his own innocence. The sole citadel without access, the only defences which can never be breached are—never to need them. It is useless for a man to be armed with terror if he lacks the protection of love; for arms only call out more arms.

Nor is it only the working hours of your day which you spend in our midst for all to see; your leisure hours are marked by the same numbers and friendliness. Your meals are always taken in public and

cibus semperque mensa communis? non ex convictu nostro mutua voluptas? non provocas reddisque sermones? non ipsum tempus epularum tuarum, cum frugalitas contrahat, extendit humanitas? Non enim ante medium diem distentus solitaria cena, spectator adnotatorque convivis tuis immines, nec ieiunīs et inanibus plenus ipse <et> eructans¹ non tam adponis quam obicis cibos quos dedigneris attingere, aegreque perpessus superbam illam convictus simulationem, rursus te ad clandestinam ganeam occultumque luxum refers. Ergo non aurum nec argentum, nec exquisita ingenia cenarum, sed suavitatem tuam iucunditatemque miramur, quibus nulla satietas adest, quando sincera omnia et vera et ornata gravitate. Neque enim aut peregrinae superstitionis ministeria aut obscaena petulantia mensis principis oberrat, sed benigna invitatio et liberales ioci et studiorum honor. Inde tibi parcus et brevis somnus, nullumque amore nostri tempus angustius, quam quod sine nobis agis.

50. Sed cum rebus tuis ut participes perfruamur, quae habemus ipsi, quam propria quam nostra sunt! Non enim exturbatis prioribus dominis omne stagnum, omnem lacum, omnem etiam saltum immensa possessione circumvenis, nec unius oculis flumina

¹ et eructans *Mymors*: ructans *Livineius*: eructans *M.*

¹ In fact, Trajan drank rather heavily. Cf. *SHA Hadr.* 3. 3; *Alex. Sev.* 39. 1.

² Domitian favoured strange cults, and coins of c. 95 show

your table open to all, the repast and its pleasures are there for us to share, while you encourage our conversation and join in it. As for the length of your banquets, polite manners prolong what frugality¹ might cut short. You do not arrive already gorged with a solitary feast before midday, to sit menacingly over your guests, watching and marking all they do, nor when they are fasting and marking do you belch from a full stomach and present or rather throw at them the food you disdain to touch, and after a pretence at enduring this insulting mockery of a banquet take yourself back to secret gluttony and private excesses. And so it is not the plate of gold and silver, nor the ingenuity of the dishes served which command our admiration so much as your own courtesy and charm, of which we can never have too much, for all is genuine and sincere and conducted with true dignity. The Emperor has rid his tables of the ministrants of an oriental superstition² and the indecent antics of impudent buffoons; in their place is warm hospitality, love of culture and civilized wit. Then afterwards your sleep is short and sparing, for in your love of us there is no period of your time so short as that you spend alone.

50. Yet while we enjoy your possessions as if we had a share in them, our personal property is truly our own. You do not dispossess existing owners in order to add to your vast domains every marsh and lake, and even pasture-land; rivers, mountains and seas are no longer reserved for the eyes of one man

temples of Cybele and Serapis; cf. *Dio LXXVII.* 9. For Pliny's dislike of such entertainment, cf. *Ep.* IX. 17.

2 montes maria deserviunt. Est quod Caesar non suum videat, tandemque imperium principis quam patrimonium maius est. Multa enim ex patrimonio refert in imperium, quae priores principes occupabant, non ut ipsi fruarentur, sed ne quis alius. Ergo in vestigia sedesque nobilium immigrant pares domini, nec iam clarissimorum virorum receptacula habitatore servo teruntur, aut foeda vastitate pro-cumbant. Datur intueri pulcherrimas aedes deterso situ auctas ac vigentes. Magnum hoc tuum non erga homines modo sed erga tecta ipsa meritum, sistere ruinas solitudinem pellere, ingentia opera eodem quo exstructa sunt animo ab interitu vindicare. Muta quidem illa et anima carentia sentire tamen et laetari videntur, quod niteant quod frequententur, quod aliquando coeperint esse domini scientis.

5 Circumfertur sub nomine Caesaris tabula ingens rerum venalium, quo fit¹ detestanda avaritia illius, qui tam multa concupiscebat, cum haberet supervacua tam multa. Tum exitialis erat apud principem huic laxior domus, illi amoenior villa: nunc princeps in haec eadem dominos quaerit, ipse inducit; ipsos illos magni aliquando imperatoris hortos, illud numquam

¹ quo fit *Perizonius*: quod sit *M*.

¹ The distinction is drawn between the emperor's *patri-monium* and what was subject to his *imperium*. Cf. Seneca, *de Ben.* VII. 6. 2.

² The property of the *fiscus* was sometimes sold off to

alone. The Emperor no longer feels the need to own whatever he sees, and at long last the land subject to his sovereign rights extends farther than his personal property;¹ many of his inherited estates (which his predecessors held not for their own pleasure so much as to deny them to anyone else) are being restored to the State. Thus into the seats and homes of the nobility step new masters equal to the old, and the houses of the great no longer fall to pieces in the hands of a slave for occupant, collapsing in hideous decay. Instead, we may see splendid mansions, extended and flourishing, the dust all swept away: a noble service you render, Caesar, not only to man but to the very buildings, for in checking ruin, banishing neglect, and saving great edifices from destruction, you show the same imaginative spirit as those who built them. And indeed, those dumb inanimate stones seem to sense the happiness of being restored to splendour and frequented once again, now that at last they have a master who appreciates their worth. Under the name of Caesar is published a long list of possessions for sale,² which shows up as the more abominable the cupidity of that emperor who possessed far more than he needed, but always wanted more.³ In those days it was fatal for anyone about him to own a spacious house or attractive property; today our prince looks for owners for those very places, and introduces them

augment the treasury; cf. Suetonius, *Cal.* 38-9; Dio LXVIII. 2 (*Nerva*).

³ Suetonius, *Dom.* 12. 1 ascribes this to his need for money. But Syme (*JRS* XX) points out that Domitian's motive in attacking senators was political, not financial.

nisi Caesaris suburbanum licemur emimus implemus.
 7 Tanta benignitas principis, tanta securitas temporum est, ut ille nos principalibus rebus existimet dignos, nos non timeamus quod esse digni videmur. Nec vero emendi tantum civibus tuis copiam praebes, sed amoenissima quaeque largiris et donas; ista inquam donas in quae electus, in quae adoptatus es; transfers quod iudicio accepisti, ac nihil magis tuum credis, quam quod per amicos habes.

51. Idem tam parvus in aedificando quam diligens in tuendo. Itaque non ut ante immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatiantur; stant securae domus nec iam templa nutantia. Satis est tibi nimumque, cum successeris frugalissimo principi; magnum reicere aliquid et amputare ex his, quae princeps tamquam necessaria relinquit. Praeterea pater tuus usibus suis detrahebat quae fortuna imperi dederat, tu tuis quae pater. At quam magnificus in publicum es! Hinc porticus, inde delubra occulta celeritate properantur, ut non commutata sed tantum commutata videantur. Hinc immensum latus circi templorum pulchritudinem

¹ *e.g.* Lucullus or Pompey. Cf. 63. 4.

² The Circus Maximus, badly damaged in the fire of 64 and not yet wholly restored. Cf. Dio LXVIII. 7. 2. The façade along the road between the Circus and the Palatine was 600 metres long.

himself. Even the gardens outside Rome which had once been owned by a famous general¹ and had always been in the imperial family are ours; we can make an offer, buy and occupy them. Such is our prince's goodness of heart, such the security of our times, that he believes us worthy of princely possessions and we have no fears about seeming so. Nor do you give your subjects the opportunity only to purchase—you have bestowed on us as a gift some of the loveliest properties, making over to us the very inheritance for which you were chosen and adopted, which was made yours by a reasoned decision; for you hold that ownership is best enjoyed through the persons of your friends.

51. Your interest in preserving what exists is matched by your restraint over further building. The walls and roofs in the city have stopped shuddering as they did at the passage of huge blocks of stone; our houses stand safe and secure, and the temples are no longer threatened with collapse. There is enough, and more, for you, although your predecessor was so careful in his expenditure, and it is splendid too to have cut down and retrenched even on what he thought was necessary; especially as in his case he was denying himself personal enjoyment of what the hazards of empire had brought him, whereas your self-denial is applied to what came from him. But when it comes to public building, you do it on the grand scale. Here stands a colonnade, there a shrine, rising as if by magic, so rapidly as to seem remodelled rather than fresh-built. Elsewhere the vast façade of the Circus² rivals the beauty of the temples, a fitting place for a nation which has

provocat, digna populo victore gentium sedes, nec
 4 minus ipsa visenda, quam quae ex illa spectabuntur,
 visenda autem cum cetera specie, tum quod aequatus
 plebis ac principis locus, siquidem per omne spatium
 una facies, omnia continua et paria, nec magis
 propius spectanti Caesari suggestus quam propria
 5 quae spectet. Licebit ergo te civibus tuis invicem
 contueri; dabitur non cubiculum principis sed ipsum
 principem cernere in publico, in populo sedentem,
 populo cui locorum quinque milia adiecisti. Auxeras
 enim numerum eius congiarii facilitate maioremque
 in posterum suscipi liberalitatis tuae fide iusseras.

52. Horum unum si praestitisset alius, iam dudum
 illi radiatum caput et media inter deos sedes auro
 staret aut ebore, augustioribusque aris et grandiori-
 2 bus victimis invocaretur. Tu delubra non nisi
 adoraturus intras, tibi maximus honor excubare pro
 templis postibusque praetexi. Sic fit, ut di <tibi>¹
 summum inter homines fastigium servant, cum
 3 deorum ipse non adpetas.² Itaque tuam statuam in
 vestibulo Iovis optimi maximi unam alteramve et
 hanc aeream cernimus. At paulo ante aditus omnes
 gradus totaque area hinc auro hinc argento relucebat,
 seu potius polluebatur, cum incesti principis statu

¹ tibi *add.* Keil: *om.* M.

² *appetas* Lévinus: *adeptus* M.

¹ Confirmed by ILS 286 (S. 374 (a)).

conquered the world, a sight to be seen on its own
 account as well as for the spectacles there to be dis-
 played: to be seen indeed for its beauty, and still
 more for the way in which prince and people alike
 are seated on the same level. From one end to the
 other is a uniform plan, a continuous line, and Caesar
 as spectator shares the public seats as he does the
 spectacle. Thus your subjects will be able to look
 on you in their turn; they will be permitted to see
 not just the Emperor's box, but their emperor him-
 self, seated among his people—the people to whom
 you have given an additional five thousand seats.¹
 For you had already increased their number by the
 liberality of your largess, and had encouraged it to be
 further increased in future on the guarantee of your
 generosity.

52. If another had boasted a single one of these
 achievements he would long since have worn a nim-
 bus round his head; a seat of honour wrought in gold
 or ivory would have been placed for him among the
 gods, and prayers offered in his name with major
 victims on the holiest of altars. But you enter the
 sanctuaries only to offer your own prayers—for you
 the highest honour is to have your statues placed
 outside the temples, on guard before the doors.
 This is why the gods have set you on the pinnacle of
 human power: they know that you do not covet
 their own. Of your statues, only one or two are to
 be seen in the vestibule of the temple of Jupiter
 Best and Highest, and these are made of bronze;
 whereas only recently every approach and step, every
 inch of the precinct was gleaming with silver and
 gold, or rather, was casting pollution, since the

4 permixta deorum simulacra sorderent. Ergo istae quidem aerae et paucae manent manebuntque quam diu templum ipsum, illae autem <aureae>¹ et innumerabiles strage ac ruina publico gaudio litaverunt. Iuvabat illidere solo superbissimos vultus, instare ferro, saevire securibus, ut si singulos 5 ictus sanguis dolorque sequeretur. Nemo tam temperans gaudii seraeque laetitiae, quin instar ultionis videretur cernere laceros artus truncata membra, postremo truces horrendasque imagines obiectas excoctasque flammis, ut ex illo terrore et 6 mutarentur. Simili reverentia, Caesar, non apud genium tuum bonitati tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen Iovis optimi maximi pateris: illi debere nos quidquid tibi debeamus, illius quod bene facias, 7 muneris esse qui te dedit. Ante quidem ingentes hostiarum greges per Capitolinum iter magna sui parte velut intercepti devertere via cogeantur, cum saevissimi domini atrocissima effigies tanto victimarum cruore coleretur, quantum ipse humani sanguinis profundebat.

53. Omnia, patres conscripti, quae de aliis principibus a me aut dicuntur aut dicta sunt, eo pertinent

¹ aureae *add. Catanaeus: om. M.*

¹ *Ep.* IV. 11; *Suet. Dom.* 22. Domitian's mistress, Julia, was the daughter of Titus. (In fact, the *Lex Claudia* had

figures of the gods were defiled by having statues of an incestuous emperor in their midst.¹ And so your few statues of bronze stand and will stand as long as the temple itself, whereas those innumerable golden images, as a sacrifice to public rejoicing, lie broken and destroyed. It was our delight to dash those proud faces to the ground, to smite them with the sword and savage them with the axe, as if blood and agony could follow from every blow. Our transports of joy—so long deferred—were unrestrained; all sought a form of vengeance in beholding those bodies mutilated, limbs hacked in pieces, and finally that baleful, fearsome visage cast into fire, to be melted down, so that from such menacing terror something for man's use and enjoyment should rise out of the flames.

With the same reverence for the gods, Caesar, you will not allow public thanks for your benevolence to be addressed to your genius, but direct them to the godhead of Jupiter Best and Highest; to him, you say, we owe whatever we owe you, and your benefactions are the gift of him who gave you to us. Yet previously the vast herds of victims were often stopped on the Capitoline Way and large numbers forced to turn aside, for in honour of that grim statue of a brutal tyrant² the blood of victims had to flow as freely as the human blood he shed.

53. All that I say and have said, Conscript Fathers, about previous emperors is intended to show how

authorized marriage between uncle and niece: *Suet. Claud.* 26. 3; *Tac. Ann.* XII. 5.)

² The equestrian statue set up in 89 at the west end of the Forum; cf. *Statius, Silvae* I. 1.

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

ut ostendam, quam longa consuetudine corruptos depravatosque mores principatus parens noster reformet et corrigat. Alioqui nihil non parum grate sine comparatione laudatur. Praeterea hoc primum erga optimum imperatorem piorum civium officium est, insequi dissimiles; neque enim satis amarit bonos principes, qui malos satis non oderit. Adice quod imperatoris nostri non aliud amplius ac diffusius meritum est, quam quod insectari malos principes tutum est. An excidit dolori nostro modo vindicatus Nero? Permitteret, credo, famam vitamque eius carpi qui mortem ulcisceretur, nec ut in se dicta interpretaretur, quae de simillimo dicerentur. Quare erga¹ te, Caesar, muneribus [omnibus²] tuis omnibus comparo, multis antepono, quod licet nobis et in praeteritum de malis imperatoribus cotidie vindicari et futuros sub exemplo praemonere, nullum locum nullum esse tempus, quo funestorum principum manes a posterorum execrationibus conquiescant. 6 Quo constantius, patres conscripti, et dolores nostros et gaudia proferamus; laetemur his quibus fruimur, ingemiscamus illis quae patiebamur; simul utrumque faciendum est sub bono principe. Hoc secreta nostra hoc sermones hoc ipsae gratiarum actiones agant,

¹ erga H: ergo X: ego Keil.

² omnibus M: del corrector cod. Vat.

PANEGYRICUS, 53. 1-6

our Father is amending and reforming the character of the principate which had become debased by a long period of corruption. Indeed, eulogy is best expressed through comparison, and, moreover, the first duty of grateful subjects towards a perfect emperor is to attack those who are least like him: for no one can properly appreciate a good prince who does not sufficiently hate a bad one. Furthermore, no service of our emperor's has spread so far in its effects as the freedom he allows us to criticize bad rulers with impunity. Have we already forgotten in our troubles how Nero was but lately avenged?¹ Can you imagine that *he* would have allowed the breath of criticism to fall on Nero's life and reputation, when he avenged his death? Would he not guess that anything said against one so like himself could be applied to him? And so in your case, Caesar, alongside all your other benefits and above many of them, I set our freedom to avenge ourselves daily on the evil emperors of the past, and to warn by example all future ones that there will be neither time nor place for the shades of disastrous rulers to rest in peace from the execrations of posterity. With all the more assurance, Conscript Fathers, can we therefore reveal our griefs and joys, happy in our present good fortune and sighing over our sufferings of the past, for both are equally our duty under the rule of a good prince. This then must we make the subject of our private talk, our public conversation

¹ In 95 Domitian condemned to death Epaphroditus, who had helped his master Nero to commit suicide (Suet. *Dom.* 14. 4). For an echo of these words cf. Tac. *Hist.* II. 76. 7: "An excidit trucidatus Corbulo?"

meminerintque sic maxime laudari incolumem imperatorem, si priores secus meriti reprehendantur. Nam cum <de>¹ malo principe posterius tacent, manifestum est eadem facere praesentem.

54. Et quis iam locus miserae adulationis manebat ignarus, cum laudes imperatorum ludis etiam et commissionibus² celebrarentur, saltarentur atque in omne ludibrium effeminatis vocibus modis gestibus frangerentur? Sed illud indignum, quod eodem tempore in senatu et in scaena, ab histrione et a consule laudabantur. Tu procul a tui cultu ludicras artes removisti. Seria ergo te carmina honorque aeternus annalium, non haec brevis et pudenda praedicatio colit; quin etiam tanto maiore consensu in venerationem tui theatra ipsa consurgunt, quanto magis de te scaenae silebunt. Sed quid ego istud admiror, cum eos quoque honores qui tibi a nobis offeruntur aut delibare parcissime aut omnino soleas recusare? Nihil ante tam vulgare tam parvum in senatu agebatur, ut non laudibus principum imorarentur, quibuscumque censendi necessitas accidisset. De ampliando numero gladiatorum aut de instituendo collegio fabrorum consulebamur, et quasi prolatis imperii finibus nunc ingentes arcus excessurosque templorum fastigium titulos, nunc menses

¹ de *add. corrector cod. Vat.*: *om. M.*

² *commissionibus Lipsius*: *commissacionibus M.*

and our speeches of thanks, never forgetting that an emperor is best praised in his lifetime through criticism of his predecessors according to their deserts. For when an evil ruler's survivors hold their peace, it is clear that his successor is no better.

54. Could any spot remain ignorant of the lamentable spirit of adulation in the country, when tribute to the emperors was paid in the form of shows and riotous entertainment,¹ where dancing and wailing ran through every kind of buffoonery and effeminacy, expressed in rhythmic antics and shrieks? But the scandal was that everything was approved in the Senate as well as on the stage, through consul and actor alike. You cut out all these stage performances from honours paid to you. Thus serious poetry and the everlasting glory of our historic past pay you tribute in place of a moment's disgraceful publicity; furthermore, the whole theatre-audience will rise to show its respect with all the more unanimity now that the stage is to say less of you. But why confine my admiration to this, when the other honours we offer you are always so sparingly accepted or else refused?² Hitherto, anyone called on to speak in the Senate, on any subject however slight and trivial, had to prolong his speech with adulation of the emperor. We debated the increase in number of gladiators or the founding of a workers' union; the boundaries of empire might have been extended as we discussed colossal arches and inscriptions too long for temple architraves, or else the months, when more than one were to take the

¹ Described in Suetonius, *Dom.* 4.

² Confirmed by *Ep.* X. 9. 2.

etiam nec hos singulos nomini Caesarum dicabamus. Patiebantur illi, et quasi meruissent laetabantur. 5 At nunc quis nostrum tamquam oblitus eius de quo refertur censendi officium principis honore consumit? Tuae moderationis haec laus, <non>¹ constantiae nostrae, et tibi obsequimur quod in curiam non ad certamen adulationum sed ad usum munusque iustitiae convenimus, hanc simplicitati tuae veritate gratiam relaturi, ut te quae vis velle, quae non 6 vis nolle credamus. Incipimus inde desinimus ibi, a quo incipi in quo desini sub alio principe non posset. Nam plerosque ex decretis honoribus et alii non receperunt, nemo ante tantus fuit ut crederetur 7 noluisse decerni; quod ego titulis omnibus speciosius reor, quando non trabibus aut saxis nomen tuum sed monumentis aeternae laudis inciditur.

55. Ibit in saecula fuisse principem cui florenti et incolumi numquam nisi modici honores, saepius nulli 2 decernerentur. Et sane si velimus cum priorum temporum necessitate certare, vincemur; ingeniosior est enim ad excogitandum simulatio veritate, servitus 3 libertate, metus amore. Simul cum iam pridem novitas omnis adulatione consumpta sit, non alius erga te novus honor superest, quam si aliquando de 4 te tacere audeamus. Age, si quando pietas nostra

¹ non *add. Lipsius: om. M.*

¹ Nero gave his name to April, and that of Claudius and Germanicus to May and June (*Tac. Ann. XV. 74. 1 and XVI.*)

names of the Caesars.¹ For their part, the emperors suffered this and even enjoyed it, believing it their due. But which of us today spends the proper time for his speech on praising the emperor as if forgetful of the subject of debate? The credit here is due to moderation on your part, not self-restraint on ours; it is in obedience to your wishes that we assemble in the House not to compete in flattery but to practise and render justice, and to pay tribute to your open-hearted sincerity through our confidence that your likes and dislikes are genuinely what you say they are. We start and finish at a point where neither was possible when another was in power; for though there have been others who refused most of the honours offered them, no one was great enough before for us to believe that he did not want them offered. This, I think, is more splendid than any inscription, since your name is engraved not on beams of wood or blocks of stone but in the records of imperishable glory.

55. It will go down through the ages that there has been a prince to whom, in the full vigour of his lifetime, only modest honours were decreed, and, more often, none at all. Of course we cannot hope to compete with the compulsion of former times, for novelty is more readily devised by simulated than by genuine feeling, less successfully by freedom and affection than by servitude and fear. Since, therefore, adulation has exhausted any possibility of innovation, the only new way left for us to do you honour is to venture sometimes to say nothing. Ah,

12. 2). Domitian gave his title of "Germanicus" to September, and his own name to October (*Suet. Dom. 13. 3*).

propositi, talesque nos crede, qualis fama cuiusque est. Huic aures huic oculos intende: ne respexeris clandestinas existimationes nullisque magis quam audientibus insidiantes susurros. Melius omnibus quam singulis creditur: singuli enim decipere et decipi possunt, nemo omnes neminem omnes fefellerunt.

63. Praevertor iam ad consulatum tuum, etsi sunt quaedam ad consulatum quidem pertinentia, ante consulatum tamen: in primis quod comitiis tuis interfuisti candidatus, non consulatus tantum sed immortalitatis et gloria et exempli quod sequerentur

2 boni principes, mali mirarentur. Vidit te populus Romanus in illa vetere potestatis suae sede; perpressus es longum illud carmen comitorum nec iam irindendam moram consulque sic factus es ut unus

3 ex nobis, quos facis consules. Quotus quisque principum antecessentium honorem istum aut consulatui habuit aut populo? Non alii marci somno, hesternaque cena redundantantes, comitorum suorum nuntios opperiebantur; alii sane pervigiles et insomnes, sed intra cubilia sua illis ipsis consulibus a quibus consules renuntiabantur, exsilia et caedem 4 machinabantur? O prava et inscia verae maiestatis ambitio, concupiscere honorem quem dedigneris, dedignari quem concupieris, cumque ex proximis hortis campum et comitia prospectes, sic ab illis

¹ The *renuntiatio*, the proclamation of the newly-elected consuls before the *comitia centuriata* assembled in the Campus Martius.

planned, and believe each one of us to be the equal of his public reputation; have eyes and ears for that alone, and pay no attention to furtive suggestions and whispers which do most damage to those who heed them. General opinion is more to be trusted than individual—it is quite possible for individuals to deceive and be deceived, but no one can dupe everybody, nor can everyone combine to dupe him.

63. I pass now to your consulship, though there are certain events relating to it which did in fact precede it: first of all, you were present in person at your election, as a candidate not only for the consulate but for immortality and the fame of setting an example for good rulers to follow and bad ones to look on with surprise. The people of Rome saw you in the ancient seat of their former power, while you bore patiently with the long ceremonial of the electoral assembly,¹ the slow ritual which this time was not a farce; and so you were made consul as if one of us, us who are made consuls by your word. How many of your predecessors did honour in this way either to the consulate or to the people? Some of them, we know, awaited the news of their election heavy-eyed with sleep, gorged with the banquet of the day before; others who were certainly alert and awake in their own rooms were plotting exile and death for the very consuls who proclaimed their election. Vile ambition, blind to the meaning of true majesty, for a man to covet honours which at heart he despised, to despise what he coveted, and although his gardens overlooked the election-field,² to keep away

² Perhaps the gardens of Lucullus, imperial property since 47, which overlooked the Campus Martius. Cf. 50. 6.

5 abesse, tamquam Danubio Rhequo dirimare!
 Averseris tu honori tuo sperata suffragia, renunti-
 arique te consulem iussisse contentus, liberae civitatis
 ne simulationem quidem serves; abstineas denique
 comitiis abstrusus atque abditus, quasi illic tibi non
 6 consulatus detur sed abrogetur imperium? Haec
 persuasio superbissimis dominis erat, ut sibi vide-
 rentur principes esse desinere, si quid facerent
 tamquam senatores. Plerique tamen non tam super-
 7 bia quam metu quodam submovebantur. An stupro-
 rum sibi incestarumque noctium conscii, auspicia
 polluere sacratumque campum nefario auderent
 8 contaminare vestigio? Non adeo deos hominesque
 contempserant, ut in illa spaciosissima sede hominum
 deorumque coniectos in se oculos ferre ac petiti
 possent. Tibi contra et moderatio tua suasit et
 sanctitas, ut te et religioni deorum et iudiciis
 hominum exhiberes.

64. Alii consulatum ante quam acciperent, tu et
 dum accipis meruisti. Peracta erant sollemnia
 comitiorum, si principem cogitares, iamque se omnis
 turba commoverat, cum tu mirantibus cunctis accedis
 ad consulis sellam, adigendum te praebes in verba
 principibus ignota, nisi cum iurare cogeres alios.
 Vides quam necessarium fuerit consulatum non recu-

¹ Sworn by the elected consuls before the consul presiding
 over the *comitia*.

as though the Rhine and Danube flowed between!
 Would you scorn the votes you hoped would confirm
 your election, and think it sufficient to be proclaimed
 consul by your own order, without preserving any
 semblance of a free state? Would you stand aloof
 from the elections, cowering in some hiding-place,
 as if they were not there to confer a consulship on
 you but to abrogate your supreme power? Earlier
 despots, in their overweening pride, held to their
 conviction that if ever they acted as senators, they
 would cease to be emperors in their own eyes. Most,
 however, were influenced not so much by pride as by
 a kind of fear; conscious of their vices and their in-
 cestuous nights, how could they have dared to defile
 the auspices and pollute the sacred field with their
 guilty tread? Their contempt for everything human
 and divine had not reached the point of steeling them
 to stand up in that great open space and face the eyes
 of gods and men directed on them. In striking con-
 trast, it was your moderation and your purity of heart
 which persuaded you to offer yourself to men's
 judgement and the divine presence of the gods.

64. There have been others who merited the con-
 sulate before receiving it, but in addition, you proved
 your worth at the very moment of doing so. The
 election ceremonies were over (for, remember, this
 candidate was already emperor) and the entire crowd
 was already on the move, when you surprised every-
 one by going up to the consul's chair and present-
 ing yourself to take the oath,¹ in the words no
 emperor had ever used except when compelling
 others to swear. Now you see how essential it was
 for you not to have refused the consulate; we should

leges sed leges super principem idemque Caesari
 2 consuli quod ceteris non licet. Iurat in leges
 attendentibus dis (nam cui magis quam Caesari
 attendant?), iurat observantibus his quibus idem
 iurandum est, non ignarus alioqui nemini religiosius
 quod iuraverit custodiendum, quam cuius maxime
 interest non peierari. Itaque et abiturus consulatu
 iurasti te nihil contra leges fecisse. Magnum hoc
 erat cum promitteres, maius postquam praestitisti.
 3 Iam totiens procedere in rostra, inascensumque illum
 superbiae principum locum terere, hic suscipere hic
 ponere magistratus, quam dignum te quamque
 diversum consuetudini illorum, qui pauculis diebus
 gestum consulatum, immo non gestum abiciebant
 per edictum! Hoc pro contione pro rostris, pro iure
 iurando, scilicet, ut primis extrema congruerent,
 utque hoc solo intellegerentur ipsi consules fuisse,
 quod alii non fuissent.

66. Non transilui, patres conscripti, principis nostri
 consulatum, sed eundem in locum contuli, quidquid
 de iure iurando dicendum erat. Neque enim ut in
 sterili ieiunaque materia eandem speciem laudis
 deducere ac spargere atque identidem tractare
 2 debemus. Inluxerat primus consulatus tui dies,
 quo tu curiam ingressus nunc singulos, nunc universos
 adhortatus es resumere libertatem, capessere quasi

law is above the prince"; Caesar bows to the same
 restrictions as any other consul. He takes the oath
 of obedience to the law with the gods as witness (for
 who if not Caesar can command their attention?)—
 he takes it under the watchful eye of those who must
 take it too, well aware that no one must be more
 scrupulous about keeping to his oath than the man
 most concerned that there should be no perjury.

Then, at the moment of laying down your consul-
 ship, you swore a similar oath that you had done
 nothing contrary to the law; and this, as a statement
 of achievement, was even finer than your earlier
 promise. To appear on the platform so often, to
 frequent a place shunned by the pride of princes,
 there to assume and there to lay down your offices:
 how this conduct becomes you, and how it contrasts
 with the conduct of those who took up a consulship
 for a day or two—or, rather, failed to take it up—
 only to issue a proclamation that they had flung it
 aside! That was what took the place of the assem-
 bly, the platform and their oath, doubtless to make
 their consulship end as it had begun, and to provide
 the only indication that they had been elected at all:
 namely, the absence of any other consul.

66. I have not left out our prince's consulship,
 Conscript Fathers, but I wanted all I had to say
 about oaths to be dealt with at once, for this is no
 barren, empty subject in which a single facet of his
 glory must be broken up into fragments and handled
 several times. The first day of your consulship had
 hardly dawned before you entered the Senate-house
 and exhorted us, individually and collectively, to
 resume our freedom, to take up the responsibilities

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

communis imperi curas, invigilare publicis utilitati-
 3 bus et insurgere. Omnes ante te eadem ista
 dixerunt, nemini tamen ante te creditum est. Erant
 sub oculis naufragia multorum, quos insidiosa tran-
 quillitate provectos improvisus turbo perculerat.
 Quod enim tam infidum mare quam blanditiæ
 principum illorum, quibus tanta levitas tanta fraus,
 ut facilius esset iratos quam propitios cavere? Te
 4 vero securi et alacres quo vocas sequimur. Iubes
 esse liberos: erimus; iubes quæ sentimus promere
 in medium: proferemus. Neque enim adhuc ignavia
 quadam et insito torpore cessavimus: terror et
 metus et misera illa ex periculis facta prudentia
 monebat, ut a re publica (<ubi>¹ erat autem omnino
 res publica?) oculos aures animos averteremus. At
 5 nunc tua dextera tuisque promissis freti et innixi,
 obsæpta diutina servitute ora reseramus, frena-
 tamque tot malis linguam resolvimus. Vis enim
 tales esse nos quales iubes, nihilque exhortationibus
 tuis fucatum, nihil subdolum, <nihil>² denique quod
 credentem fallere paret non sine periculo fallentis.
 Neque enim umquam deceptus est princeps, nisi qui
 prius ipse deceptus.

67. Equidem hunc parentis publici sensum cum
 ex oratione eius tum pronuntiatione ipsa perspexisse

¹ ubi *add.* *Mynors*: nulla *Kukula*: *om. M.*

² nihil *add. Burnouf*: *om. M.*

PANEGYRICUS, 66. 2-67. I

of the power we might be thought to share,¹ to watch
 over the interests of the people, and to take action.
 All your predecessors had said the same, but none
 had been believed. In our mind's eye were the
 shipwrecks of the many who had advanced in a
 hazardous period of calm, only to be sunk by an
 unforeseen storm; for no sea could be more treacher-
 ous than the flattery of those emperors whose in-
 stability and guile made it more difficult to be on
 guard against their favour than their wrath. But in
 your case, we have no fears, and are all eagerness to
 follow your lead. You bid us be free, and we shall
 be free; you tell us to express ourselves openly, and
 we shall do so, for our previous hesitation was due to
 no cowardice or natural inertia, but to fear and
 apprehension, and the lamentable caution born of
 our perils which bade us turn eyes and ears and minds
 from our country, from that republic which was
 utterly destroyed. Today we can place our trust
 and reliance on your promises and sworn oath, and
 open our lips long sealed by servitude, loosen our
 tongues which were bound to silence by so many
 evils; for you truly wish us to be what you bid us, and
 your exhortations are free from all overtones of de-
 ception. In short, no traps are laid today for the
 trustful, bringing their own dangers for those who
 set them—for no prince has ever been deceived unless
 he led the way in deception.

67. For my part, I believe I have formed this im-
 pression of the Father of us all as much from the

¹ Durry compares *Ep. IX. 2. 3*, and thinks the "quasi" a
 Tacitean comment on the Senate's diminished powers. Cf.
 63. 5 (*liberae civitatis simulatio*).

3 tamen tui diximus. Alius enim fortasse alium, ipsum se nemo deceperit, introspiciat modo vitam sequere quid mereatur interroget. Proinde dabat vocibus nostris fidem apud optimum principem, quod apud malos detrahebat. Quamvis enim faceremus quae amantes solent, illi tamen non amari se credebant 4 sibi. Super haec precati sumus, ut sic te amarent di quemadmodum tu nos. Quis hoc aut de se aut principi diceret mediocriter amanti? Pro nobis ipsis quidem haec fuit summa votorum, ut nos sic amarent di quomodo tu. Estne verum, quod inter ista clamavimus: "O nos felices"? Quid enim felicius nobis, quibus non iam illud optandum est, ut nos diligat princeps, sed di quemadmodum princeps? 5 Civitas religionibus dedita, semperque deorum indulgentiam pie merita, nihil felicitati suae putat adstrui posse, nisi ut di Caesarem imitentur.

75. Sed quid singula consector et colligo? quasi vero aut oratione complexi aut memoria consequi possim, quae vos, patres conscripti, ne qua inciperet oblivio, et in publica acta mittenda et 2 incidenda in aere censuistis. Ante orationes principum tantum eius modi genere monimentorum mandari aeternitati solebant, acclamationes quidem nostrae parietibus curiae clauderantur. Erant enim quibus nec senatus gloriari nec principes possent.

¹ The *acta diurna*; cf. *Ep.* V. 13. 8. Inscribing on bronze, Dio LX. 10. 2.; LXL. 3. 1.

confidence in ourselves, but greater still in you; for a man may deceive another, but no one can deceive himself, so long as he looks closely at his life and asks himself what are his true deserts. Moreover, our words carried conviction in the ears of the best of princes through the very factor which made them unconvincing to his evil predecessors; for though we went through the motions of affection before them, they could never believe that they were genuinely liked. Furthermore, we prayed that the gods should love you as you do ourselves, and who would say this of himself or to his prince if either were only moderately loved? On our own account, the sum of our prayers was simply that the gods should love us as you do. Amidst our acclamation of yourself we declared ourselves happy too: has this not the ring of truth? How could we be happier? Secure in our prince's love, we have only to hope that the gods will love us in the same way. And so this city which has always shown its devotion to religion and earned through piety the gracious favour of the gods has only one thought for the completion of its happiness: the gods must follow where Caesar shows the way.

75. But why trouble to assemble all these details? I could hardly hope to keep in mind or cover in a speech all that you, Conscript Fathers, decided to save from oblivion by publishing in the official records and inscribing on bronze.¹ Hitherto, only the speeches of the emperors were made safe for all time by records of this kind, while our acclamations went no farther than the walls of the senate-house; and indeed, these were such that neither Senate nor prince could take pride in them. Today these have

3 Has vero et in vulgus exire et posteris prodi cum ex utilitate tum ex dignitate publica fuit, primum ut orbis terrarum pietatis nostrae adhiberetur testis et conscius; deinde ut manifestum esset audere nos de bonis malisque principibus non tantum post ipsos iudicare; postremo ut experimento cognosceretur et ante nos gratos, sed miseros fuisse, quibus esse nos 4 gratos probare antea non licuit. At qua contentione, quo nisu, quibus clamoribus expostulatum est, ne adfectus nostros ne tua merita supprimeres, denique 5 ut in posterum exemplo provideres! Discant et principes acclamationes veras falsasque discernere, habeantque muneris tui quod iam decipi non poterunt. Non instruendum illis iter ad bonam famam, sed non deserendum; non submovenda adulatio sed non 6 reducenda est. Certum est et quae facere et quae debeant audire si faciant. Quid nunc ego super ea, quae sum cum toto senatu precatus, pro senatu precer, nisi ut haereat animo tuo gaudium, quod tunc oculis protulisti; ames illum diem et tamen vincas, nova merearis, nova audias? eadem enim dici nisi <ob eadem>¹ facta non possunt.

76. Iam quam antiquum quam consulare, quod triduum totum senatus sub exemplo patientiae tuae sedit, cum interea nihil praeter consulem ageres! 2 Interrogatus censuit² quisque quod placuit; <licuit>³

¹ ob eadem *add.* *Catanaeus, om. M. lacunam post nisi statuit Keil, Mynors.*

² interrogatus censuit *Mueller: interrogavit M.*

³ licuit *add. Haupt, om. M.*

¹ The final summing-up at the trial of Marius Priscus (cf. *Ep.* II. 11).

been sent out into the world and passed on to posterity both in the general interest and to do honour to us all; firstly, so that the world could be summoned as an active witness to our loyalty, secondly to demonstrate that we were not afraid to pass judgement on good and bad rulers even in their lifetime, finally to give proof that though previously we were not ungrateful, we were unhappy so long as we were denied the opportunity of making our gratitude known. Now we are all eagerness and determination, clamouring for you not to set limits to our feelings or your own merits, in a word, to remember the example you owe to posterity! Let future princes too learn to distinguish between true acclamation and false, and owe it to you that they can no longer be deceived. The road to good repute need not be made for them, they have only to follow it; they have not to clear their path of adulation, only to guard against its return. There is no uncertainty about how they must act nor how their actions will be received. What then can I add, in the name of the Senate, to the prayers I shared with the whole Senate, except this? May your heart never lose the joy which showed in your eyes on that occasion, may you always think of that day with affection, and yet go on to greater things, to win fresh rewards and hear new acclamation; for the same words can only be repeated about the same deeds.

76. It was in accordance with the best traditions of the consulate that the Senate should continue in a three-day sitting,¹ following your own example of patience, and that during that time you acted solely in your capacity as presiding consul. Each senator

disentire discedere, et copiam iudicii sui rei publicae
 3 facere; consulti omnes atque etiam dimumerati
 sumus, vicitque sententia non prima sed melior. At
 4 quis antea loqui, quis hiscere audebat, praeter
 miseros illos qui primi interrogabantur? Ceteri
 quidem defixi et attoniti ipsam illam mutam ac
 5 sedentariam adsentiendi necessitatem quo cum
 dolore animi, quo cum totius corporis horrore per-
 6 petiebantur! Unus solusque censebat, quod seque-
 rentur omnes et omnes improbarent, in primis ipse
 qui censuerat. Adeo nulla magis omnibus displicent,
 quam quae sic fiunt tamquam omnibus placeant.
 7 Fortasse imperator in senatu ad reverentiam eius
 componebatur; ceterum egressus statim se recipiebat
 in principem, omniaque consularia officia abicere
 8 neglegere contemnere solebat. Ille vero ita consul,
 ut si tantum consul foret, nihil infra se putabat, nisi
 9 quod infra consulem esset. Ac primum ita domo
 progrediebatur, ut illum nullus adparatus adrogantiae
 principalis, nullus praecursorum tumultus detineret.
 Una erat in limine mora consultare aves revererique
 8 numinum monitus. Nemo proturbabatur, nemo
 submovebatur; tanta viatoribus quies, tantus pudor
 fascibus, ut plerumque aliena turba subsistere et
 9 consulem et principem cogeret. Ipsius quidem

¹ It was in fact the first (that of Cornutus Tertullus, *Ep.* II. 11. 19-22), and Pliny must mean that the voting showed it was also the best.

² Cf. *Ep.* VIII. 14. 8. This account is one of the most

when called on for his opinion spoke as he thought fit; he was free to disagree, to vote in opposition, and to give the State the benefit of his views. We were all consulted and even reckoned with, and the sentence which carried the day was the better one, and not merely the first proposed.¹ Contrast the previous reign: who dared then to open his mouth or say a word except the poor wretches called on for the first speech? The rest, too terrified to move, endured the forced necessity of giving assent in silence, without rising from their seats, their mental anguish as painful as their physical fears.² A solitary senator expressed a single view for all to follow, though none approved, and least of all the speaker. (People detest nothing so much as measures which pretend to be the general will.) Maybe the Emperor put on an attitude of respect for the Senate in its presence, but once out of the House he was emperor again, throwing off all his consular obligations with careless contempt. But Caesar has conducted himself as if he were *only* consul, thinking nothing beneath him unless it were beneath a consul too. In the first place, he would leave his home without the delays caused by the pomp which accompanies imperial pride, or by the commotion of attendants who must clear his path; he paused only once on his threshold to take the auspices and receive with proper reverence the directions of the gods. No one was jostled or pushed aside, and his official escort was so unobtrusive and his lictors so restrained that several times the prince

"Tacitean" in the speech, ending with an apt *sententia*. The phrase *adsentiendi necessitas* was used by Tacitus in *Ann.* III. 22. 4 for the senate of Tiberius.

officium tam modicum temperatum, ut antiquus aliquis magnusque consul sub bono principe incedere videretur.

Iter illi saepius in forum, frequenter tamen et in campum. 77. Nam comitia consulum obibat ipse; tantum ex renuntiatione eorum voluptatis, quantum 2 prius ex destinatione capiebat. Stabant candidati ante curulem principis ut ipse ante consulis steterat, adigebanturque in verba in quae paulo ante ipse iuraverat princeps, qui tantum putat esse in iure iurando, ut illud et ab aliis exigat. Reliqua pars diei 3 tribunali dabatur. Ibi vero quanta religio aequitatis, quanta legum reverentia! Adibat aliquis ut principem: 4 pem: respondebat se consulem esse. Nullius ab eo magistratus ius, nullius auctoritas imminuta est, aucta etiam: siquidem pleraque ad praetores remittebat, atque ita ut collegas vocaret, non quia 5 populare gratumque audientibus, sed quia ita ponebat, ut non amplius esse censeret, quod aliquis collega appellaretur a principe, quam quod praetor esset. Ad hoc tam adsiduus in tribunali, ut labore 6 refici ac reparari videretur. Quis nostrum idem curae, idem sudoris insumit? quis adeo expetitis

¹ Cf. 63. 2 and note. This is the *renuntiatio* of the suffect consuls for 100. As Tertullus is referred to as *consul designatus* at the trial of Priscus, the ceremony probably took place before the trial.

and consul was forced to wait for another passing crowd. As for his own *entourage*, it was so modest and disciplined that it might have been accompanying the progress of some great consul of the past in the service of an honest ruler.

Usually he proceeded to the forum, but quite often to the Field of Mars. 77. There he was present in person at the consular elections,¹ and took as much pleasure in hearing the consuls proclaimed as he did in their designation. The candidates stood before the prince's chair, as he had previously stood himself before the consuls, and were directed to take the oath in the same words as their prince had recently used—for he believes the act of swearing so important that he expects everyone to do as he did. The rest of the day was devoted to the administration of justice, and there he gave proof of his scrupulous attitude towards equity and his deep reverence for the letter of the law. If approached as emperor, he simply replied that he was consul. No magistrate had his rights or authority diminished; indeed, he took pains to increase these, by delegating the majority of the cases to the praetors and addressing them as his colleagues, not with any idea of courting popularity among his audience, but because these were his genuine sentiments—for such was the value he put upon the praetor's office that in his estimation to be called the Emperor's colleague added nothing to its status. In addition, his application to the task of administering justice made it appear that he was refreshed and restored by hard work. Which of us takes the same trouble or makes so much effort? Who devotes himself to the duties of the offices he

diligat, cum leges amandi non det sed accipiat?
 Hic praesens ille mavult absens amari; uterque
 ametur, ut mavult; nemo in taedium praesentia,
 5 nemo in oblivionem absentia veniat. Tenet quisque
 locum quem semel meruit, faciliusque est ut oculis
 eius vultus absentis, quam ut animo caritas excidat.

88. Plerique principes, cum essent civium do-
 mini, libertorum erant servi: horum consiliis horum
 nutu regebantur; per hos audiebant per hos loque-
 bantur, per hos praeturae etiam et sacerdotia et
 2 consulatus, immo ab his petebantur. Tu libertis
 tuis summum quidem honorem, sed tamquam
 libertis habes abundeque sufficere his credis, si probi
 et frugii existimentur. Scis enim praecipuum esse
 3 indicium non magni principis magnos libertos. Ac
 primum neminem in usu habes nisi aut tibi aut patri
 tuo aut optimo cuique principum dilectum aesti-
 matumque;¹ hos ipsos cotidie deinde ita formas,
 ut se non tua fortuna sed sua metiantur, et tanto
 magis digni, quibus honor omnis praestetur a nobis,
 4 quia non est necesse. Iustisne de causis senatus
 populusque Romanus Optimi tibi cognomen adiecit?
 Paratum id quidem et in medio positum, novum
 tamen. Scias neminem ante meruisse, quod non

¹ aestimatumque *Gruter*: statimque *M*.

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Claud.* 28-9, *Galba* 15; Pliny, *Ep.* VII. 29, VIII. 6. There is little evidence for Trajan's attitude to the imperial freedmen. Vitellius' policy of reserving administrative posts for knights (*Tac. Hist.* 1. 58) had been continued by Domitian (Suetonius, *Dom.* 7. 3) and was firmly established by Hadrian (*SHA Hadr.* 22. 8.). For freedmen who are procurators under Trajan, cf. *Ep.* VI. 31. 8, X. 27 and 86.

² Cf. 2. 7 and note.

of you could be lukewarm in his feelings towards one who accepts the rules of friendship instead of imposing his own? One man may seek Caesar's affection in person, another when he is away; let both receive it according to his preference. No one becomes irksome by his presence, no one is forgotten in absence; everyone retains his position once he has won it, and Caesar can more easily forget the face of an absent friend than let the love he bears him fade from his heart.

88. Most of the emperors, though masters of their subjects, were the slaves of their freedmen, at the mercy of their counsels and their whims.¹ Through them they spoke and were spoken to; through them priesthoods, prefectures and consulships were sought—through them, or rather, from them. By contrast, you hold your freedmen in high honour, but as freedmen only, and believe that a reputation for honesty and good character is all they should expect, for you know that the chief indication of weakness in a ruler is the power of his freedmen. In the first place, you employ no one unless he was considered and chosen for you or your father or for one of the better emperors; then you train these men daily in such a way that they measure themselves against their own position, not yours: with the result that they prove all the more worthy of our high regard because it is not forced on us.

Is there not just reason for the title bestowed on you by the Senate and people of Rome—the title of *Optimus*, Best?² It may seem ready-made and commonplace, but in fact it is something new. No one is known to have merited it before, though it was

5 erat excogitandum si quis meruisset. An satius fuit
 Felicem vocare? quod non moribus sed fortunae
 datum est. Satius Magnum? cui plus invidiae
 quam pulchritudinis inest. Adoptavit te optimus
 6 princeps in suum, senatus in Optimi nomen. Hoc
 tibi tam proprium quam paternum; nec magis dis-
 tincte definiteque designat, qui Traianum quam qui
 Optimum appellat, ut olim frugalitate Pisones,
 sapientia Laelii, pietate Metelli monstrabantur;
 quae simul omnia uno isto nomine continentur. Nec
 videri potest optimus, nisi qui est optimis omnibus
 7 in sua cuiusque laude praestantior. Merito tibi ergo
 post ceteras adpellationes haec est addita ut maior.
 Minus est enim imperatorem et Caesarem et Augus-
 tum quam omnibus imperatoribus et Caesaribus et
 8 Augustis esse meliorem. Ideoque ille parens
 hominum deorumque Optimi prius nomine, deinde
 Maximi colitur. Quo praeclarior laus tua, quem
 non minus constat optimum esse quam maximum.
 9 Adsecutus es nomen, quod ad alium transire non
 possit, nisi ut adpareat in bono principe alienum, in
 malo falsum, quod licet omnes postea usurpent,
 10 semper tamen agnosceatur ut tuum. Etenim ut

¹ Sulla and Pompey were given the names Felix and Magnus.

² Since the time of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who as tribune in 149 B.C. introduced the *Lex de pecuniis repetundis*.

³ C. Laelius, a member of the Scipionic circle and the leading figure in Cicero's *De Amicitia*, called *Sepiens* for his Stoic inclinations; Q. Metellus (cos. 80 B.C.) called *Pius* for his efforts to recall his father from exile.

there to be used if someone proved worthy. Would it have been better to call him "Fortunate"? This is a tribute to his luck, not his character. What about "the Great"?¹ This has a ring of envy rather than renown. In adopting you, the best of emperors gave you his own name, to which the Senate added that of *Optimus*, to be as much your personal name as the one your father gave. Thus you are as clearly designated and defined by the name of *Optimus* as by that of Trajan; just as formerly the house of Piso was known for frugality,² and those of Laelius and Metellus for wisdom and filial piety.³ All these virtues are contained in the single name which is yours, for "the Best" can only refer to the man who outstrips all others who are best in their own distinctive ways. And so it was only proper to place this at the end of your other titles,⁴ as being the greater one, for it means less to be Emperor and Caesar and Augustus than to be better than all those who have borne those titles before you. For the same reason, the Father of gods and men is worshipped under the title *Optimus* followed by *Maximus*, Best and Highest, and the more honour is due to you, who in the eyes of all are equally Highest and Best. You have won a title which cannot pass to another without seeming borrowed, in the case of a good prince, and false, in the case of a bad one; and though all in future may claim it, it will always be recognized as yours. Just as the

⁴ At this time Trajan was still officially called *Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, pontifex maximus, pater patriae*. *Optimus* appears after *Traianus* in inscriptions of 113/14. (S. 99-101.)

nomine Augusti admonemur eius cui primum dictum est, ita haec Optimi adpellatio numquam memoriae hominum sine te recurret, quotiensque posterī nostri Optimum aliquem vocare cogentur, totiens recordabuntur quis meruerit vocari.

89. Quanto nunc, dive Nerva, gaudio frueris, cum vides et esse optimum et dici, quem tamquam optimum elegisti! quam laetum tibi, quod comparatus filio tuo vinceris! Neque enim alio magis adprobatur animi tui magnitudo, quam quod optimum² ipse non timuisti elegere meliorem. Sed et tu, pater Traiane, (nam tu quoque, si non sidera, proximam tamen sideribus obtines sedem) quantum percipis voluptatem, cum illum tribunum, illum militem tuum tantum imperatorem, tantum principem cernis, cumque eo qui adoptavit amicissime contendis, pulchrius fuerit genuisse talem an elegisse! Macte uterque ingenti in rem publicam merito, cui hoc tantum boni contulisti! Licet alteri vestrum filii virtus triumphalia, caelum alteri dederit, non minor tamen vestra laus, quod ista per filium, quam si ipsi meruissetis.

90. Scio, patres conscripti, cum ceteros cives, tum praecipue consules oportere sic adfici, ut se publice² magis quam privatim obligatos putent. Ut enim

¹ On 16 January 27 B.C.

² Cf. 15. Evidently Trajan's father is dead.

³ Cf. 14. 1 and note.

name of Augustus reminds us of the man to whom it was first decreed,¹ so this title of *Optimus* will never return to the memory of man without recalling you, and whenever our descendants are called on to bestow it, they will always remember who it was whose merits won it as his due.

89. What happiness you must feel today, divine Nerva, on beholding him whom you judged the best candidate for your choice proving that he is best, and being addressed as such! What joy for you to stand second in comparison with your son! There can be no better indication of your greatness of soul than the fact that though so good yourself you did not hesitate to choose a better man. You also, father Trajan (for you too, though not raised to the stars, must surely occupy the nearest place), must know such delight when you see your son who was tribune and soldier under you² now risen to be supreme commander and emperor, when you enter into friendly rivalry with his adopter so as to determine where the greater glory must be assigned—to his begetter or to the one who made him his choice. All honour to you both for the immense service you have done your country and the great benefit you have conferred on it. Though it was your son's merits which brought one of you triumphal ornaments³ and the other his place in heaven, your glory for owing these to him is what it would be had you won them yourselves.

90. I am well aware, Conscript Fathers, that the consuls should feel a sense of obligation (in their public rather than their private capacity) which goes beyond that of any other citizen. For just as the

malos principes rectius pulchriusque est ex communibus iniuriis odisse quam ex propriis, ita boni speciosius amantur ob ea quae generi humano quam quae hominibus praestant. Quia tamen in consuetudinem vertit, ut consules publica gratiarum actione perlata, suo quoque nomine quantum debeant principi profiteantur, concedite me non pro me magis munere isto quam pro collega meo Cornuto Tertullo clarissimo viro fungi. Cur enim non pro illo quoque gratias agam, pro quo non minus debeo? praesertim cum indulgentissimus imperator in concordia nostra ea praestiterit ambobus, quae si tantum in alterum contulisset, ambos tamen aequaliter obligasset.

5 Utrumque nostrum ille optimi cuiusque spoliator et carnifex stragibus amicorum et in proximum iacto fulmine adflaverat. Isdem enim amicis gloriabamur, eosdem amissos lugebamus, ac sicut <nunc>¹ spes gaudiumque, ita tunc communis nobis dolor et metus erat. Habuerat hunc honorem periculis nostris divus Nerva, ut nos, etsi minus <notos>,² ut bonos promovere vellet, quia mutati saeculi signum et hoc esset, quod florerent quorum praecipuum votum ante fuerat, ut memoriae principis elaberentur.

91. Nondum biennium compleveramus in officio

¹ nunc *add. cod. Londiniensis: om. M.*

² *notos add. Lipsius: om. M.*

hatred roused by the evil emperors was more right and honourable if prompted by general rather than personal injustices, so it is nobler to love the good ones for their services to the human race and not to any particular men. But it has become customary for the consuls, once their official speech of thanks is finished, to go on to express their personal debt to their prince. Allow me then to perform this duty, as much on behalf of my distinguished colleague, Cornutus Tertullus,¹ as for myself. I should surely speak for us both when my debt of thanks is due as much on his account as on my own, especially when the supreme generosity of the Emperor took note of our intimacy and conferred on us jointly what would have won the gratitude of us both had it been assigned only to one. Both of us had suffered from that robber and assassin of every honest man through the massacre of our friends, as the hot breath of his falling thunderbolt passed close by our heads;² for we took pride in having the same friends and mourned their loss together, and just as today we share the same hopes and joys, at that time we were one in grief and terror. The divine Nerva had recompensed us for our times of peril in expressing his wish to promote us as being honest citizens, though as yet unknown; for the advancement of those whose only prayer hitherto had been to remain forgotten by the Emperor was a further indication that times had changed.

91. We had not yet completed our second year in

¹ Cf. *Ep.* V. 14 and Index.

² Cf. *Ep.* III. 11. 3 and VII. 27. 14: the "reign of terror" under Domitian in 93.

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

laboriosissimo et maximo, cum tu nobis, optime principum fortissime imperatorum, consulatum obtulisti, 2 ut ad summum honorem gloria celeritatis accederet: tantum inter te et illos principes interest, qui beneficiis suis commendationem ex difficultate captabant, gratioresque accipientibus honores arbitrabantur, si prius illos desperatio et taedium et similis repulsae mora in notam quandam pudoremque 3 vertissent. Obstat verecundia quo minus percenseamus, quo utrumque nostrum testimonio ornaris, ut amore recti amore rei publicae priscis illis consulibus aequaveris. Merito necne, neutram in partem decernere audeamus, quia nec fas est adfirmationi tuae derogare, et onerosum confiteri verum esse quae de nobis praesertim tam magnifica dixisti. 5 Tu tamen dignus es, qui eos consules facias, de quibus ista possis praedicare. Tribuas veniam quod inter haec beneficia tua gratissimum est nobis, quod 6 nos rursus collegas esse voluisti. Ita caritas mutua, ita congruens tenor vitae, ita una eademque ratio propositi postulabat, cuius ea vis ut morum similitudo concordiae nostrae gloriam minuatur, ac perinde sit mirum, si alter nostrum a collega ac si a se ipse 7 dissentiat. Non ergo temporarium et subitum est, quod uterque collegae consulatu tamquam iterum

¹ The *praefectura aerarii Saturni* (*Ep.* V. 14, X. 3a) to which Pliny and Tertullus were nominated in January 98, before Nerva's death on the 27th. In *Ep.* X. 3a and X. 8.3. Pliny says that the appointment was made jointly by Nerva and Trajan.

PANEGYRICUS, 91. 1-7

an exacting and important office¹ when you offered us the consulate, and this you did, noblest of princes and most valorous of emperors in the field, so that to its supreme honour might be added the further distinction of rapid promotion. This marks the gulf between you and those among your predecessors who sought to recommend their benefits by hedging them with difficulties, and believed that honours would be more acceptable to their recipients if hope long deferred, exasperation and endless delays tantamount to a rebuff, had first turned them into a mark of ignominy. Modesty prevents us from quoting in detail your recommendation whereby you did honour to our love of virtue and the State by comparing us with the great consuls of the past—whether justly or not we cannot venture to decide, for it would be improper for us to disparage your expressed opinion, and an embarrassment to admit to any truth in such a splendid tribute to ourselves. You, on the other hand, are fully worthy to bestow the consulate on such men as you can extol in terms like these. Forgive me for saying that the most welcome feature to us of the favours you bestow is your intention that we should be colleagues once again. That was demanded by our mutual affection, the harmony of our way of life, and the uniformity of our principles, which is so marked that the similarity of our habits detracts from the merit of our close agreement; for either of us to disagree with his colleague would be as surprising as if he were at odds with himself. Thus there is nothing incidental or transitory in the pleasure which each of us feels in the consulship of his colleague; it might be a second one of his own,

suo gaudet, nisi quod tamen qui rursus consules fiunt, bis quidem sed temporibus diversis obligantur, nos duos consulatus simul accepimus, simul gerimus alterque in altero consules et¹ iterum et pariter sumus.

92. Illud vero quam insigne, quod nobis praefectis aerario consulatum ante quam successorem dedisti! Aucta est dignitas dignitate, nec continuatus tantum sed geminatus est honor, finemque potestatis <altera²> alterius tamquam parum esset excipere³ praevenit. Tanta tibi integritatis nostrae fiducia fuit, ut non dubitares te salva diligentiae tuae ratione facturum, si nos post maximum officium privatos esse non sineres. Quid quod eundem in annum consulatum nostrum <in quem tuum³> contulisti? Ergo non alia nos pagina quam te consulem accipiet, et nostra quoque nomina addentur³ fastis, quibus ipse praescriberis. Tu comitiis nostris praesidere, tu nobis sanctissimum illud carmen praecire dignatus es; tuo iudicio consules facti, tua voce renuntiatum sumus, ut idem honoribus nostris suffragator in curia, in campo declarator exsisteres.

4 Iam, quod ei nos⁴ potissimum mensi attribuisti quem tuus natalis exornat, quam pulchrum nobis! quibus edicto, quibus spectaculo celebrare continget diem

¹ consules et *Baehrens*: consul sed *M.*

² altera *ante* alterius *add.* *Mynors*: *post* alterius *Keil*: *om. M.*

³ in quem tuum (*sed ante* consulatum) *add.* *Schnelle*: *ita Mynors*: *om. M.*

⁴ ei nos *Schwarz*: eos *M.*

¹ *i.e.* they continued in office until the end of August and immediately entered on their consulship.

only with this difference: those who hold office twice are indeed honoured twice, but on different occasions, whereas we have received our two consulships together and hold them together, and through the person of the other each feels that we are consuls at the same moment and for a second time.

92. It is no less remarkable that you bestowed the consulate on us while we were prefects of the treasury before you appointed a successor there. Honour has been heaped on honour, and our responsibilities not only prolonged without a break but doubled, now that a second office has anticipated the end of the first as if it were not enough for it to follow in succession. Such was your faith in our integrity that you were confident that it would do no damage to your principles of close surveillance if you did not permit us to retire into private life when we laid down an office of such importance.¹ Nor must I neglect to mention that you conferred a consulship on us in the same year as you held your own,² and so our consulship will be recorded on the same page as yours, and our names will appear on the calendar headed by your own. It was not beneath your dignity to preside in person at our election and to pronounce the sacred formula of the oath; it was your decision to make us consuls, and your voice which proclaimed us; you sponsored our candidature in the senate-house and announced its success on the election-field. Moreover, what an honour it is for us of all men to be assigned to the month which is distinguished by your birthday! It will be our good fortune to celebrate by public games and official

² Cf. 60. 4 and note.

illum triplici gaudio laetum, qui principem abstulit
 pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit.
 5 Nos sub oculis tuis augustior solito currus accipiet.
 nos inter secunda omina et vota certantia, quae
 praesenti tibi conferentur, vehemur alacres et incerti,
 ex ultra parte maior auribus nostris accidat clamor.

93. Super omnia tamen praedicandum videtur,
 quod pateris consules esse quos fecisti; quippe
 nullum periculum, nullus ex principe metus consu-
 lares animos debilitat et frangit, nihil invitis audien-
 dum, nihil coactis decernendum erit. Manet mane-
 bitque honori veneratio sua nec securitatem auctori-
 2 tate perdemus. Ac, si quid forte ex consulatus
 fastigio fuerit deminutum, nostra haec erit culpa
 non saeculi. Licet enim quantum ad principem,
 licet tales consules agere, quales ante principes erant.
 3 Ullamne tibi pro beneficiis referre gratiam parem
 possumus? nisi tamen illam, ut semper nos memi-
 nerimus consules fuisse et consules tuos; ea sentia-
 mus, ea censeamus quae consularibus digna sunt;
 ita versemur in re publica ut credamus esse rem
 publicam; non consilium nostrum, non operam sub-
 trahamus, nec defunctos nos et quasi dimissos con-

¹ Trajan was born on 18 September (?) 53; Domitian was
 assassinated on 18 September 96 and Nerva proclaimed
 emperor the same day. (S. 148d.)

² In the second half of October; on the *dies imperii* of Trajan
 (cf. 8).

announcement that day of triple rejoicing which saw
 the removal of the worst emperors, the accession of
 the best, and the birth of one even better than the
 best.¹ It will be our lot to mount (beneath your own
 eyes) a chariot even nobler than usual, and amid the
 cries of good omen and clamour of competing vows
 offered in your presence,² we shall be carried gladly
 along, unable to judge from which quarter the louder
 cheering strikes our ears.

93. There is still something which demands praise
 beyond all else: the fact that when you have made
 consuls you allow them to act without interference,
 by which I mean that there are no fears nor perils as
 regards the Emperor to weaken and destroy their
 spirit; the consuls will not have to listen to anything
 against their will nor have decisions forced on them.
 Our office retains and will retain the respect due to
 it, and in exercising our authority we need lose none
 of our peace of mind. Moreover, if the high dignity
 of the consulate should chance to be diminished, the
 fault will not be found in the times we live in but in
 ourselves. So far as rests with our prince, the con-
 suls are free to fill their rôle as they did before the
 days of emperors. Is there any proper return we
 can make you, to match all you have done for us?
 Only perhaps by remembering all our lives that we
 have been consuls, your consuls: by ensuring that
 our opinions and pronouncements are worthy of the
 office we once held: by playing an active part in
 public affairs to show we believe that the republic
 still exists: by not withholding our aid and counsel,
 and by not imagining ourselves rid of the consulate
 and dismissed from office, but believing ourselves

sulatu sed quasi adstrictos et devinctos putemus, eundemque locum laboris et curae quem reverentiae dignitatisque teneamus.

94. In fine orationis praesides custodesque imperi divos ego consul pro rebus humanis, ac te praecipue, Capitoline Iuppiter, precor, ut beneficiis tuis faveas, tantisque muneribus addas perpetuitatem. Audisti quae malo principi precabamur: exaudi quae pro dissimillimo optamus. Non te distingimus votis; non enim pacem, non concordiam, non securitatem, non opes oramus, non honores: simplex cunctaque ista complexum omnium votum est, salus principis.

3 Nec vero novam tibi iniungimus curam. Tu enim iam tunc illum in tutelam recepisti, cum praedonibus avidissimi faucibus eripuisti; neque enim sine auxilio tuo, cum altissima quaeque quaterentur, hic, qui omnibus excelsior erat, inconcussus stetit: praeteritus est a pessimo principe, qui praeteriri ab optimo non poterat. Tu clara iudicii tui signa misisti, cum proficiscenti ad exercitum tuo nomine tuo honore cessisti. Tu voce imperatoris quid sentires locutus, filium illi nobis parentem tibi pontificem maximum elegisti. Quo maiore fiducia isdem illis votis, quae ipse pro se nuncupari iubet, oro et obtestor, " si

¹ Cf. *Ep.* X. 52.

always closely bound up with it in some way, so that we continue to uphold by our efforts and devotion the position which brought us so much honour and respect.

94. To end my speech, I call on the gods, the guardians and defenders of our empire, speaking as consul on behalf of all humanity: and to you in particular, Capitoline Jupiter, I address my prayer that you shall continue your benefits, and augment the great gifts you have bestowed by making them perpetual. You heard our prayers under a bad prince; now give ear to our wishes on behalf of his opposite. We are not burdening you with vows—we do not pray for peace, concord, and serenity, nor for wealth and honours: our desire is simple, all-embracing, and unanimous: the safety of our prince.¹ This is no new concern we ask of you, for it was you who took him under your protection when you snatched him from the jaws of that monster of rapacity; for at the time when all the peaks were tottering to their fall, no one could have stood high above them all and remained untouched except by your intervention. So he escaped the notice of the worst of emperors, though he could not remain unnoticed by the best. It was you too who gave him clear signs of your interest as he set out to join his army,² when you yielded to him your own name and glory; and you who spoke your opinion through the voice of the Emperor, when you chose a son for him, a father for us, a Chief Pontiff for yourself. It is therefore with increased confidence, using the same form of vow that he asked to be made on his behalf, that I make

² Cf. 5. 2-4 and notes.

bene rem publicam, si ex utilitate omnium regit," primum ut illum nepotibus nostris ac pronepotibus serves, deinde ut quandoque successorem ei tribuas, quem genuerit quem formaverit similemque fecerit adoptato, aut si hoc fato negatur, in consilio sis eligenti monstresque aliquem, quem adoptari in Capitolio deceat.

95. Vobis, patres conscripti, quantum debeam, publicis etiam monumentis continetur. Vos mihi in tribunatu quietis, in praetura modestiae, vos in istis etiam officiis, quae studiis nostris circa tuendos socios iniunxeratis, cum <fidei>¹ tum constantiae² antiquissimum testimonium perhibuistis. Vos proxime destinationem consulatus mei his acclamationibus adprobavistis, ut intellegam etiam atque etiam enitendum mihi, ut hunc consensum vestrum compectar et teneam, et in dies augeam. Etenim memini tunc verissime iudicari, meruerit quis honorem necne, cum adeptus est. Vos modo favete huic proposito et credite, si cursu quodam provectus ab illo insidiosissimo principe, ante quam profiteretur odium bonorum, postquam professus est substiti, cum viderem quae ad honores compendia paterent longius iter malui; si malis temporibus inter maestos

¹ fidei *add.* Keil: *om.* M.

¹ Cf. 8. 1.

² The *acta diurna* or the *acta senatus*; cf. 75. 1.

³ Cf. *Ep.* I. 23.

⁴ Cf. *Ep.* VII. 16.

this my earnest prayer: "If he rules the State well and in the interests of all," first preserve him for our grandsons and great-grandsons, then grant him one day a successor born of him and formed by him in the image of the adopted son he is, or if fate denies him this, guide and direct his choice to someone worthy to be adopted in your temple on the Capitol.¹

95. To you, Conscript Fathers, my debt is great, and this is published in the official records.² You it was who paid me tribute according to the best traditions, for my orderly conduct as tribune,³ my moderation as praetor,⁴ my integrity and determination in carrying out the requests you made of my professional services for the protection of our allies.⁵ More recently, you hailed my designation as future consul with such acclamation that I am well aware that I must redouble my efforts if I am to receive your continued approval, and retain and increase it day by day; I do not forget that the truest judgement on whether a man merits an office or not is passed at the moment of his assuming it. All I ask is your support in my present undertaking and your belief in what I say. If then it is true that I advanced in my career under that most treacherous of emperors before he admitted his hatred for honest men, but was halted in it once he did so,⁶ preferring a longer route when I saw what the short cuts were which opened the way to office; that in

⁵ Cf. *Ep.* X. 3a and VI. 29.

⁶ Pliny held his quaestorship, tribunate, and praetorship under Domitian, and also the *praefectura aerarii militaris*; the check in his career must therefore refer to his consulship, if indeed there was one. See Introduction, p. xi.

PANEGYRICUS OF PLINIUS SECUNDUS

et paventes, bonis inter securos gaudentesque
numeros; si denique in tantum diligo optimum
principem, in quantum invisus pessimo fui. Ego
5 reverentiae vestrae sic semper inserviam, non ut me
consulem et mox consularem, sed ut candidatum
consulatus putem.

PANEGYRICUS, 95. 4-5

bad times I was one of those who lived with grief and
fear, and can be counted among the serene and happy
now that better days have come; that, finally, I love
the best of princes as much as I was hated by the
worst: then I shall act not as if I consider myself
consul to day and ex-consul tomorrow, but as if I
were still a candidate for the consulate, and in this
way shall minister at all times to the reverence which
is due to you all.

Translator's note. Where *princeps* is translated as
'prince' it is because no other English word seems
to combine the emphasis of a monosyllable with the
patriotic feeling which inspires the speech.