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FROM ALTERITY TO UNITY IN PACATUS DREPANIUS' *PANEGYRIC TO THEODOSIUS*

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In the course of his speech to Theodosius, delivered in Rome in 389, the Gallic orator Pacatus Drepanius manipulates impressions of cultural identities ultimately to heighten appreciation of Gallic political loyalty to the Emperor; this effect is achieved by movement from an opening posture of cultural alienation, anchored in Pacatus' protestations about his own rhetorical competence and uncivilised origins, to closing visions of the civic reception he will receive back in Gaul as a result of his current embassy.

Backing the losing side in a Roman civil war or uprising was a perilous business, for men of letters as for combatants. Famous victims of Nero's vicious reprisals after the Pisonian conspiracy of 65, for example, were Seneca and Lucan, each forced to commit suicide (Tac. *Ann.* 15.60, 70). Some fared better: Horace served under Marcus Brutus at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BC but was later pardoned and ultimately generously patronised under Octavian Augustus (Suet. *Vita Hor.* 1); Pliny's success in recasting himself, or rewriting his attitude towards Domitian after 96, can be seen in his appointment by Trajan as suffect consul in 100, and his later provincial governorship; and perhaps the best-known of this category was Cicero who had supported Pompey against Caesar, but was not silenced after the latter's victory but continued to write, albeit in a more claustrophobic climate than he would have wished. In his speeches for Marcellus, King Deiotarus, and Ligarius, all of whom had initially sided with Pompey, Cicero deploys his considerable powers of argument to help calm troubled political waters; by praising Caesar's clemency, Cicero urges it[1].

Echoes of these so-called Caesarian speeches resounded in Late Antiquity, where political orators occasionally found themselves in similarly delicate situations (Klotz 1911; MacCormack 2013, 263-264). Symmachus' is a notorious case in point. Symmachus spent several years in Gaul, under a succession of regimes,

[1] See the *Pro Marcello, Pro Rege Deiotaro* and *Pro Ligario.* For contrary readings of the *Pro Marcello*, see Dyer 1990 and Levene 1997; on aspects of the style of the Caesarian speeches: Gotoff 1993.

and substantial fragments of panegyrical speeches he addressed there to Valentinian I and Gratian survive (Pabst 1989). What has not survived is the speech he addressed to Magnus Maximus in Milan in 388, perhaps as part of a senatorial delegation (Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.14.6). Five years previously Maximus had defeated Gratian and seized power in Gaul, Britain, and Spain; in 387 he extended his rule to Italy when the juvenile emperor Valentinian II was forced to flee eastwards (Errington 2006, 34-35). A year later, at Aquileia, Maximus was in turn overwhelmed by the troops of the eastern emperor Theodosius, who now assumed effective authority over the West. The efforts Symmachus made after Maximus' death to explain his behaviour in 388 are documented in his letters; they include a speech he could refer to as his *panegyrici defensio,* and fleeting characterisation of Maximus as a *tyrannus* (Symmachus *Ep.* 2.31 postscript)[2]. Just as for Pliny and other predecessors, so too for Symmachus, condemnation of the previous regime as tyrannical served in part as self-defence for having praised it; however convenient or opportunistic the argument may appear on the printed page, in politics it seems it could enjoy success – in 391, Theodosius appointed Symmachus to the consulship[3].

Two years before that consulship, it is quite likely that Symmachus was present to hear another speech which, if modern reconstructions of the orator's subsequent career are correct, seems to have been a diplomatic success. It was delivered by Pacatus Drepanius to Theodosius in Rome, in the summer of 389. The orator, as we shall see, came from Gaul, and it has been widely accepted that he might in fact have been a professor of rhetoric at Bordeaux (Galletier 1955, 49; Nixon/Saylor Rodgers 1994, 437). As well as an orator, he was a poet[4]. Three letters by Symmachus are addressed to Pacatus, but it is not clear that any of them predates the speech, so it is possible that their acquaintance had not yet begun in the summer of 389[5]. However, they had in Ausonius a mutual friend, so Symmachus is likely to have been keeping an eye out for the man who had travelled from Gaul to address the emperor. The following year, it seems that Pacatus Drepanius was proconsul of Africa, and in 393 *comes rei privatae* in Constantinople[6].

But in the summer of 389, those promotions lay in Pacatus Drepanius' future; what faced him immediately was a difficult assignment. The journey from Gaul

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[2] Sogno 2006, 70-73, who dates the *defensio* to soon after January 23rd, 389; Rees 2010, 20-21.

[3] Sogno 2006, 71 characterises Symmachus as a 'social pariah' after Maximus' death, soon to experience a change in fortunes.

[4] Auson. *Praef. Var*. 4.10-14; Green 1991; Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. 8.11.1-2; Turcan-Verkerk 2003; Rees 2013a.

[5] Symmachus *Ep.* 8.12, 9.61, 64; Lippold 1968, 228; Matthews 1971, 1079; Turcan-Verkerk 2003, 10; Sogno 2006, 69 suggests that the two were not yet acquainted but that Ausonius had exerted some influence in Symmachus' favour in Pacatus Drepanius' speech.

[6] Hanslik 1942; Matthews 1971, 1078-1079; Rees 2012, 222; Lippold 1968, 228-229 has some reservations.

would have been arduous and expensive – a revealing index of the importance of the delegation and whatever the details of their personal acquaintance at the time, Symmachus would have had an acute sense of the pressure on the Gallic orator[7]. This pressure was much the same as that he had experienced himself, borne out of the fact that Gaul had been under the rule of Magnus Maximus from the assassination of Gratian 383 until Theodosius' final victory in battle in the summer of 388; suspicions, well founded or otherwise, would have lurked about the extent to which the Gallic aristocracy had been complicit in Maximus' reign, perhaps as much in the minds of senators in Rome as in Theodosius' itinerant court. And so although there is no record of any Gallic panegyric to Maximus, there is no credible evidence of any resistance to him either, and, as he himself acknowledges, it was with some trepidation that Pacatus Drepanius rose to deliver his speech to Theodosius[8].

The speech is preserved as second in the *Panegyrici Latini* collection, now generally agreed to have been put together by Pacatus Drepanius himself (Pichon 1906; Rees 2013a). This act of anthologising could itself have had political motivation, but it is the rhetorical strategy that Pacatus Drepanius took in his own speech which is explored here[9]. Specifically, I consider how Pacatus Drepanius sets up then resolves the tension inherent in being a spokesperson for Gaul, addressing an emperor in Rome, at a time when emperor and Roman senators alike had good reason to harbour profound suspicion about Gallic loyalty to the central Empire. I shall argue that he achieves this by beginning with a disarming confession of his cultural 'Otherness'; and moving from there, amid a display of literary panache which belies his opening gambit, to collapse the distinction between cultural and political identity, and end his speech with a powerful image of unity. In spinning this curious line of cultural politics, which moves discreetly from a pose of Alterity to one of inclusion, Pacatus Drepanius shows himself a canny operator.

The Alterity pose

Pacatus Drepanius begins by noting the welcome but intimidating circumstance whereby the emperor was in Rome (*Pan. Lat*. II(12) 1.1-2). He then goes on to cite the extra pressure he was under as orator because of the attendance at his speech of the Senate (ibid.1.3): *huc accedit auditor senatus, cui cum difficile sit pro amore quo in te praeditus est de te satis fieri, tum difficilius pro ingenita*

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[7] See *Pan. Lat.* II(12).47.5 *o mea felix peregrinatio! o bene suscepti et exhausti labores!* ("O my lucky journey! O labours well-taken and completed!"). For a detailed account of a journey from Rome to Gaul in 416, see Rut. Namat. *De reditu suo*; the poet prefers sea travel over roads, ll. 37-38.

[8] *Pan. Lat* II(12)1.1 *trepidaverit*; 2.1 *trepidatio*, although the orator does not ascribe his trepidation to his political situation.

[9] Rees 2012. For the purposes of this paper, I assume here that the speech was delivered as it is preserved.

atque hereditaria orandi facultate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum Transalpini sermonis horrorem, praesertim cum absurdae sinistraeque iactantiae possit videri his ostentare facundiam, quam de eorum fonte manantem in nostros usque usus derivatio sera traduxit ("In addition to this, my audience is the Senate, for whom it is difficult for enough to be made of you, because of the love for you with which they have been endowed; and for whom it is more difficult for the crude and uncultured roughness of my transalpine speech not to be the object of disdain, because of their inborn and hereditary ability to speak, especially since it could seem an absurd and weird boast to display to them my eloquence which a side-channel has lately directed up to our use, flowing from their wellspring").
That an expression of oratorical inadequacy was conventional is rightly noted by Nixon/Saylor Rodgers (1994, 448). We can also adduce Menander Rhetor's recommendation (368) that precisely such a gesture is useful in an imperial address. We can note too that Pacatus Drepanius' confession of inadequacy is itself his speech's most elaborate sentence up to that point (L'Huillier 1992, 436-437). Nixon/Saylor Rodgers also point out that Pacatus Drepanius' protestation of rhetorical inadequacy reprises the *lexis* found in the proemium of another speech in the *Panegyrici Latini*, addressed to Constantine in 313. There, that anonymous orator, himself Gallic and addressing Constantine in the Gallic capital Trier, alludes to Rome and says (*Pan. Lat*. XII(9) 1.2): *neque enim ignoro quanto inferiora nostra sint ingenia Romanis, siquidem latine et diserte loqui illis ingeneratum est, nobis elaboratum et, si quid forte commode dicimus, ex illo fonte et capite [et] facundiae imitatio nostra derivat* ("Nor am I ignorant of how much our skills are inferior to the Romans', since it is inborn for them to speak Latin and eloquently, but it comes to us through hard work; and if by chance we say something suitable, our imitation is channelled from that spring and wellhead of eloquence").

No doubt, both the anonymous orator to Constantine and Pacatus Drepanius were modestly and carefully indulging in *captatio benevolentiae*, but is of a markedly artificial type. The Gallic orators ignore the fact that fourth century Gallic oratory was highly considered, so much so that Symmachus – surely himself a *fons et caput facundiae* – wanted a Gallic rhetor to instruct Memmius, his son (*Ep.* 6.34, 9.88.3; Cameron 2011, 404 and Kelly 2013, 269). But it remains unclear what Pacatus Drepanius' *Transalpinus sermo* refers to precisely. The speech does not feature any Gaulish diction or departures from classical Latin syntax, beyond a few 'Late' Latin tendencies (Nixon/Saylor Rodgers 1994, 16); rather, his Latin is ostentiously impressive[10]. If it is not a question of a Gaulish

[10] Chruzander 1897, 30 cites Quint. *Inst.* 8.5: *horrorem dicendi*; Adams 2007, 122 on *sermo* as "regional form of Latin". On Pacatus Drepanius, Adams 2007, 192, 244 (on Gallic Latin in Late Antiquity: 259).

dialect, perhaps therefore we should better understand *Transalpinus sermo* to be his accent[11]. That is, perhaps his thought process is that Gallic oratory's inferiority to its Roman counterpart resides in its performance. Certainly, such a possibility reprises an aged, Ciceronian attitude (Cic. *Brut.* 171): *id tu, Brute, iam intelleges, cum in Galliam veneris; audies tu quidem etiam verba quaedam non trita Romae, sed haec mutari dediscique possunt; illud est maius, quod in vocibus nostrorum oratorum retinnit quiddam et resonat urbanius. Nec hoc in oratoribus modo apparet, sed etiam in ceteris* ("Brutus, you will understand it when you go to Gaul; there you will hear certain words which are not current in Rome, but these can be changed and corrected. But, what is of greater importance, is that something rings in our orators' voices, and it sounds more urbane. This, however, is not only the case with orators, but with everyone").

A similar prejudice can be seen in Quintilian (a devoted fan of Cicero, of course). In his discussion of *pronuntiatio* Quintilian turns to a distinction between town and country to articulate quality (Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.30-31): *vitio carebit si fuerit os facile, explanatum, iucundum, urbanum, id est in quo nulla neque rusticitas neque peregrinitas resonet. Non enim sine causa dicitur 'barbarum Graecumve'* ("Delivery will be fault free if it is fluent, clear, pleasant, urbane, that is, if no rustic or foreign traces resonate in it. For not without reason is it labelled 'barbarian or Greek'!").

This differentiation between pronunciation of Latin in Rome (*urbanius, urbanum*) and elsewhere (Gaul, the countryside, foreign places, Greece) may have been the root of Pacatus Drepanius' anxiety, or at least of his protestation of it. He continues (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 1.4): *quibus equidem cogitatis adeo sollicitor ut non eos tantum hodie arbitrer interesse quos cerno, sed adsistere obversarique dicturo Catones ipsos et Tullios et Hortensios omnesque illos oratores putem qui me in posteris suis audiunt* ("In fact, I am so concerned by these reflections that I think that not only are they present today whom I behold, but I think standing in attendance before me as I am about to speak are the very Catos and Ciceros and Hortensiuses, and all those orators who listen to me amongst their descendants").

This then is Pacatus Drepanius' opening salvo in his mission; to inflect the *topos* of confessing rhetorical inadequacy by giving it regional application. This is a bold strategy in a political context where it was precisely his Gallic identity, with its recent association with Magnus Maximus, which rendered delicate his delegation. We can be confident from the same reference in Sidonius (Sid. Apoll. *Epist*. 8.11.1-2) that characterises him as a poet, that Pacatus Drepanius' origins were among the Nitiobroges, whose capital was Aginium (modern Agen). Perhaps he

[11] Adams 2007, 192 suggests an Aquitanian accent.

moved from there to pursue his career in Bordeaux, but he does not say so. In fact he gives away very little of an autobiographical nature, and nothing of his urban identity. This silence about Agen and Bordeaux might be considered surprising: in the *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* of his friend Ausonius, Pacatus Drepanius had a template for literary amplification of regional pride, and in fact, the collection culminates with a poem about Bordeaux, in which Ausonius commends its climate, the fertility of its fields, and its civic architecture (Aus. *Ordo nob. urb.* XX. 128-168; Etienne 1962, 203-294; Green 1991, 581-583)[12]. Rhetorical praise of cities was a familiar type in Late Antiquity, at least according to the advice for epideictic oratory in the treatises of Menander Rhetor. In the first treatise, Menander compartmentalises praise of cities in enormous detail, including sections on a city's location, position, climate, amenities, trade connections, its harbour, bays, citadel, foundation and achievements (Men. Rhet. 346-367). Some orators whose panegyrics were anthologised along with Pacatus Drepanius' (and probably by him, according to scholarly orthodoxy) included favourable references to their cities in their work: for example, Eumenius' speech of 298 is infused with civic pride for his hometown of Autun (*Pan. Lat.* IX(5); Rees 2002, 130-152; Hostein 2012, 59-80, 177-217) and the author of *Panegyrici Latini* V(8) is fulsome in his description of the city of Autun, including its distant and recent history (3-5), its neglect under previous emperors and incipient recovery under Constantine (7-14). In this context of elaborately written civic pride, Pacatus Drepanius' silence is instructive, especially given, as we will see later, that he commends Spain for (among other qualities) its cities (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 4.4).

But Pacatus Drepanius is not entirely silent about his homeland. Soon after his expression of his rhetorical inadequacy, he provides a short description of the starting-point for his journey to Rome (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 2.1): *ab ultimo Galliarum recessu, qua litus Oceani cadentem excipit solem et deficientibus terris sociale miscetur elementum* ("from the furthest recess of Gaul, where the shore of the Ocean receives the setting sun, and the common element is mixed with the land as it falls away").

The description quite plausibly captures the alluvial plateau to the west of Bordeaux, and it is notable how clear the emphasis here is on the natural landscape. But there is no reference to qualities such as the land's fertility or suitability for trade; and Pacatus Drepanius makes no attempt to accommodate his homeland within a Romanised world view of an urbanised landscape harnessing rural productivity – nothing, for example, to match Ausonius' honeyed words (Aus. *Ordo nob. urb.* XX.135-139): *clementia caeli/mitis ubi et riguae larga indulgentia terrae/ver longum brumaeque novo cum sole tepentes/aestifluique amnes, quorum iuga vitea subter/fervent aequoreos imitata fluenta meatus*

[12] Reference to the end of Maximus' reign (Aus. *Ordo urb. nob.* IX.6-7) gives a *terminus post quem* for the *Ordo,* Green 1991, 569-571; it may be that it postdates Pacatus Drepanius' trip to Rome.

("where the sky is clement and mild and the generosity of the watered land is full. Spring is long and winters are warm with the new sun; and beneath the vine-covered heights of the tidal rivers, the currents seethe in imitation of the sea's movements").

Pacatus Drepanius deploys language of geographical separation and decline (*ultimo… recessu, cadentem…solem, deficientibus terris*); against the dynamism and colour of Ausonius' version (*riguae…terrae, novo…sole*), the orator's description looks bleak and inhospitable. With the "crude and uncultivated roughness of his Transalpine *sermo*" and the description of his distant and uninviting homeland, Pacatus Drepanius accentuates his own Alterity. Rather than trying to ingratiate himself with an imperial and capital-city audience by casting himself as quintessentially Roman in culture and sophistication, Pacatus Drepanius sets out his stall as an alien.

Gaul's Alterity is further pronounced when, in chapter four, Pacatus expatiates in good panegyrical fashion (cf. Men. Rhet. 369-370) on the homeland of his addressee, Theodosius (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 4.2-5): [2] *nam primum tibi mater Hispania est, terris omnibus terra felicior, cui excolendae atque adeo ditandae impensius quam ceteris gentibus supremus ille rerum fabricator indulsit;* [3] *quae nec austrinis obnoxia aestibus nec arctois subiecta frigoribus media fovetur axis utriusque temperie; quae hinc Pyrenaei montibus, illinc Oceani aestibus, inde Tyrrheni maris litoribus coronata naturae sollertis ingenio velut alter orbis includitur.* [4] *adde tot egregias ciuitates, adde culta incultaque omnia vel fructibus plena vel gregibus, adde auriferorum opes fluminum, adde radiantium metalla gemmarum. Scio fabulas poetarum auribus mulcendis repertas aliqua nonnullis gentibus attribuisse miracula; quae, ut sint vera, sunt singula, – nec iam excutio veritatem: sint, ut scribitur, Gargara proventu laeta triticeo, Meuania memoretur armento, Campania censeatur monte Gaurano, Lydia praedicetur amne Pactolo –, dum Hispaniae uni quidquid ubique laudatur adsurgat.* [5] *haec durissimos milites, haec experientissimos duces, haec facundissimos oratores, haec clarissimos vates parit, haec iudicum mater haec principum est. Haec Traianum illum, haec deinceps Hadrianum misit imperio; huic te debet imperium. Cedat his terris terra Cretensis parvi Iouis gloriata cunabulis et geminis Delos reptata numinibus et alumno Hercule nobiles Thebae. fidem constare nescimus auditis; deum dedit Hispania quem videmus* ([2] "For first, Spain is your motherland, a land more blessed than all lands, which in so adorning and enriching it, that supreme maker of things has indulged more eagerly than other peoples; [3] neither exposed to the southern heat-waves nor subject to arctic cold, it is caressed by the moderate temperature of both skies; crowned here by the Pyrenean Mountains, there by the tides of the [Atlantic] Ocean, here by the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, it is shut off by the genius of clever nature as if some other world. [4] Add so many outstanding cities, add all the cultivated and uncultivated fields, full of crops and flocks, add the wealth of gold-bearing rivers, add the mines of radiant jewels. I know that

tales of poets, made up to delight the ear, have attributed some miracles to some peoples; even supposing these miracles are true, they are isolated – nor do I now shake the truth out: as it is written, let Gargara rejoice in its wheat yield, let Mevania be celebrated for its cattle, let Campania be renowned for Mt. Gaurus, let Lydia be praised for the river Pactolus – provided that whatever is everywhere praised concedes to Spain alone. [5] She bears the hardest soldiers, she the most experienced generals, she the most eloquent orators, she the most famous poets; she is the mother of judges, she the mother of leaders. She sent that Trajan, then she sent Hadrian for the Empire; the Empire owes you to her. Let the land of Crete, glorified by the cradle of the infant Jupiter, and Delos where the twin gods crawled, and Thebes, ennobled by its pupil Hercules, yield to these lands. We do not know if what we have heard is trustworthy; Spain has given us a god we can see").

Leaving aside most (but not all) of the detail of the passage's conspicuously poetic colour, I wish to draw attention to some of its ideological leverage (Rees 2013a, 246-249): delightfully temperate, rich in crops, livestock, mineral resources, and cities, Spain is described as the supreme *locus* of *Romanitas*, duly distinguished by a relocation of echoes of Vergil's *laudes Italiae*, now redeployed in a *laudes Hispaniae* (Galletier 1930). Accordingly, Spain was homeland to representatives of Roman cultural achievement – emperors, soldiers, generals, judges, poets, and, of course, orators. In the wider performance and political context, presentation of Spain as the very antithesis of Gaul, as the heartland of Roman cultural identity, was surely a calculated risk. Assuming Pacatus Drepanius intended nobody to call to mind the Spanish origins of Magnus Maximus, nonetheless, relocation to Spain of Vergil's *laudes Italiae* would detract from Italy's claim to cultural supremacy[13]. And to touch on a previous point, in making this move, I think it very likely that Pacatus Drepanius was well aware that he was appropriating for Spain what Ausonius had appropriated for Gaul from Vergil's Italy: for Pacatus Drepanius' (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 4.4) *adde tot egregias civitates, adde culta incultaque omnia vel fructibus plena vel gregibus, adde auriferorum opes fluminum, adde radiantium metalla gemmarum* moves to Spain Ausonius' Gallic (Aus. *Mos.* 454-455) *addam urbes, tacito quas subter laberis alveo, /moeniaque antiquis te prospectantia muris* ("I shall add cities, underneath which you slip in your silent channel,/and ramparts looking down on you from ancient walls"), itself a relocation from Vergil's Italy (Verg. *G.* 2.155), *adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem* ("Add so many outstanding cities and the product of labour"; Rees 2013a, 248-250). As a friend to Ausonius, no doubt Pacatus Drepanius knew the *Moselle* poem, and perhaps Theodosius did too (see e.g. his letter to Ausonius, *Praef.* 3), but it is quite likely that his wider

[13] At *Pan. Lat.* II(12) 23.3 Pacatus Drepanius disingenuously suggests that Maximus came from the islands (of Britain) *pauci homines et insulani* ("a few men and islanders"); Maximus had served in Britain, but was not of British descent.

senatorial audience did not, and so would have been unaware of the intermediary step of the Gallic appropriation of the *laudes Italiae.* Nonetheless, Pacatus Drepanius' 'Hispanisation' of Vergil's *laudes* would probably not meet with the approval of most of the Roman senators in his audience; on the other hand, no senatorial objection could sensibly be raised in the company of the Spanish emperor, and so the argument would have to stand unchallenged. Thus Pacatus Drepanius' characterisation of Spain exploits the mixed constituency of his audience to advance a model of *Romanitas* that finds its definition far away from the ancient capital. This is a vital step in his speech's petition for the unreserved acceptance of Gaul in a post-Maximus political landscape; praise of Spain in Roman terms establishes the principle that dominant cultural-political identity can be forged elsewhere in the *orbis* than the *urbs antiqua*.

Alterity undermined and Gaul pitied

From this point of principle, Pacatus Drepanius could begin to venture a more assertive characterisation of Gaul: his narrative of Theodosius' early career and rise to power has little to bear on this, although it should be noted that in relating aspects of the emperor's career to Roman luminaries such as Scipio Africanus (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 8.4), Curius, Coruncanus, and Fabricius (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 9.5) or Nerva, Hadrian, and Trajan (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 11.6), in consistently tidy and occasionally more ambitious style, the orator parades his own capacity to behave as a cultured Roman. For example, in his commendation of Theodosius' tendency towards friendship (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 16-17), Pacatus Drepanius alludes to Greek literary comparanda for *amicitia* only to conclude (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 17.2): *ut haec esse vera credamus quae mendaciis vatum in plausus aptata cavearum fidem tempori debent, num praestare credendo plus possumus quam ut istos qui amicitiae laude censentur amicorum fuisse quam sui diligentiores putemus?* ("Even supposing we believe to be true the things which, designed for the applause of theatres by the lies of poets, owe their trustworthiness to time, can we show more in our credence than that we think those who are reckoned for their praise of friendship cared more for their friends than they did for themselves?)".

On display here is a comfortable familiarity with high culture, subtly expressed in the first-person plural to suggest unity with – rather than Alterity from – his Roman audience. Similarly coercive is a reference to early Roman kings (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 20.3): *cuius quidem ita maiores nostros pertaesum est, ut graviorem semper putaverint servitute contemptum, eiusque impatientia sint coacti post bellatores Tullos Numasque sacrificos et Romulos conditores regnum usque ad nomen odisse* ("Indeed our ancestors were so tired of this [arrogance in leaders] that they held it in greater contempt than slavery, and after the Tulli warriors, the Numas who performed sacrifices and the founding Romuluses, they were forced by their impatience with it to hate 'kingship' right up to its name").

The names dropped here are hardly recherché and the political sentiment is entirely orthodox too; in fact, it is by dint of its conventional nature that Pacatus

Drepanius can persuasively affiliate himself with the attitude, most conspicuously in the phrase *maiores nostros* ("our ancestors"), asserting his membership of a common identity. The argument's primary leverage is, to be sure, political, since from the principle of his condemnation of tyranny, Pacatus Drepanius can both praise Theodosius' leadership and, at the same time, distance himself from the alleged despotism of Magnus Maximus; but for the argument to work, the assumption of a shared culture is fundamental.
But if by this stage, Pacatus Drepanius seems to have ironed out the cultural differences his speech's opening conceded, it is perhaps surprising that he affects to abandon his conciliatory pose. When his narrative reaches 383 and the difficult issue of Maximus' usurpation in Gaul, Pacatus Drepanius is bold enough to be outspoken (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 23.1): *nec tamen, imperator, existimes cuncta me ad aurium gratiam locuturum: triumphis tuis Galli (stupeas licebit) irascimur* ("But don't think, Emperor, that everything I shall say will please your ears. You may be surprised – we Gauls were angered by your triumphs").

The protestation is not unparalleled but certainly the sentence is brazen in isolation[14]; the delay of the verb *irascimur* suggests that the orator knew what he was doing and is playing the audience here, perhaps with a tone of mock-indignation. What the charge enables him to do is to develop an argument by which Gaul is seen to be victim of and not accomplice in Maximus' reign. From this vantage, self-pity rather than self-defence can underwrite the narrative of the years 383-388. Pacatus Drepanius continues (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 24.4-6): [4] *unde igitur ordiar, nisi de tuis, mea Gallia, malis? Quae ex omnibus terris quas illa pestis insederat haud iniuria tibi vindicas privilegium miseriarum, non auribus modo, quarum sensus est levior, sed coram oculis ferre compulsa victoriam Maximi, interitum Gratiani*. [5] *Alta licet vulnera, quod fatendum est, proximus nobis Italus et contiguus ostendat Hispanus; sed in dolore summo habet suum uterque solacium. Tyrannidem ille non vidit; hic tyrannicidium vidit*. [6] *Nos primi impetum beluae furentis excepimus, nos saevitiam eius innocentium sanguine, nos cupiditatem publica paupertate satiauimus. Apud nos semet exercuit crudelitas iam secura et adhuc inops avaritia. Alibi malum publicum aut coepit aut destitit: in Gallia sedit* ([4] "So where should I begin, unless with your problems, my Gaul? Not without reason, you alone of all those countries which that scourge had oppressed have first claim on miseries, forced to endure not only by word of mouth (which is a lighter sense), but by immediate visual experience, the victory of Maximus (and) the death of Gratian. [5] I must concede that Italy, close to us, and our neighbour Spain show deep wounds; but both take comfort amid

[14] Cf. *Pan. Lat.* XII(9) 9.2 on Constantine: *laudare me existimas, imperator, cuncta quae in illo proelio feceris?* ("Emperor, do you think I praise everything which you did in that battle?"); Symmachus *Or.* 1.10: *vellem nunc tecum civica expostulare pietate…* ("Out of civic duty, I would like now to demand answers of you …").

extreme pain. Spain did not see the tyranny; Italy saw the tyrant slain. [6] We first took the impact of the furious beast, we sated his savagery with the blood of innocents, his greed with our general impoverishment. Amongst us he practised a cruelty now without fear, and a greed still unfulfilled. The public curse began or finished in other places; it settled in Gaul").

The characterisation of Maximus as a textbook tyrant needs little elaboration here – it reprises the moral sketch of Tarquinius Superbus (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 20.4; see also Lassandro 1981, 247-248); what is equally clear is the emphasis on his oppression of Gaul rather than other regions. To engineer this, Pacatus Drepanius insists on direct visual experience of Maximus[15]. It might be argued that *tyrannidem ille non vidit* of Spain does not square precisely with other evidence for the extent and effects of Maximus' rule over Spain, but in Rome Pacatus Drepanius must have been confident that his downplaying of Spain's experience of Maximus' reign would be unchallenged[16]. Meantime, *Italus* and *Hispanus* would clearly register stridently in the minds of Pacatus Drepanius' Roman and Spanish audience, perhaps even more so for the silence about other *gentes* to experience Maximus' reign, such as *Britannus*. The orator selects cultural references according to his diplomatic need, not according to history's record.
Before his account of Theodosius' military campaign against Maximus (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) chaps. 30-38) and reflections on his capture and execution of the "tyrant" (chaps. 39-45), Pacatus Drepanius paints a detailed picture of the miseries of occupied Gaul (chaps. 25-29). The literary demonization of Maximus follows conventional lines – he is a *pirata*, of insatiable greed, careless of law and morality (Lassandro 1981) – but gradually Gaul itself is presented as a civilised state only denied participation in Romanised practices by this inhuman bandit (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 25.1): *quis se nobis calamitate contulerit? Tyrannum et cum aliis tulimus et soli. Quid ego referam vacuatas municipibus suis civitates, impletas fugitiuis nobilibus solitudines? Quid perfunctorum honoribus summis virorum bona publicata, capita diminuta, vitam aere taxatam?* ("Who could compare himself to us when it comes to calamity? We endured the tyrant both with others and alone. Why should I recall the towns emptied of their citizens, the wildernesses filled with fugitive nobles? Why should I recall the confiscated goods of men who had fulfilled the highest honours, their legal rights diminished, their life valued at small change?").
The orator shows himself in full command of a range of rhetorical conceits here: the drama of rhetorical questions and *praeteritio*, short catalogues in asyndeton,

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[15] On visuality in panegyric, see Rees 2013b.

[16] E.g. Gildas *De exc. Brit.* 13. That Maximus could summon Priscillian, Bishop of Avila, and his followers, as well as his opponents, such as Ithacius and Hydatius, Bishop of Merida, to Gaul is an index of his authority in Spain (on the persecution of Priscillian and his followers, see *Pan. Lat.* II(12) 29.).

and chiastic embellishment. This elegant rhetoric constitutes an appropriate vehicle for the cultural credentials to which the Gauls are said to have aspired, only to be denied by the tyrant Maximus. Pacatus Drepanius urges a picture here of Gaul Romanised in societal structure – urbanised, monetised, stratified by class, regulated by law. He then elaborates to claim that under Maximus the rich of Gaul were rendered poor, and consulars and even women suffered summary 'justice' (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 25.2-7, 29). First person plural references underline the sense of the solidarity of Gallic experience under Maximus (*nobis ... tulimus ... vidimus ... vetabamur ... credidissemus ... procedebamus ... nostrae ... fortunae ... induebamus ... imitabamur*), giving priority to the orator's Gallic identity at this crucial juncture in the speech. This is not by any measure a pose of extreme Alterity, but one carefully designed to win pity rather than suspicion.

By this point in his speech, the orator's image of Gaul has modified considerably from the opening chapters' description of a marginal wilderness, where the land slips away into the sea, to a civilised state; that is, by the mid-point of the speech and the narrative of Maximus' reign, Gaul has gained in stature.

Alterity denied

The culmination of this argument comes at the speech's close when Pacatus Drepanius expresses his delight at having addressed the emperor (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 47.5-6): *quae reversus urbibus Galliarum dispensabo miracula! Quantis stupentium populis, quam multo circumdabor auditore, cum dixero: 'Romam vidi, Theodosium vidi, et utrumque simul vidi; vuidi illum principis patrem, vidi illum principis vindicem,vidi illum principis restitutorem!' Ad me longinquae convenient civitates*... ("what wonders I will dispense to the cities of Gaul when I get back! What crowds of admirers, what huge audiences will surround me when I say 'I have seen Rome, I have seen Theodosius and I have seen both of them together; I have seen that father of an emperor, I have seen the avenger of an emperor, I have seen that restorer of an emperor!' To me distant cities will come..").

There is clearly personal ambition here, as Pacatus Drepanius foresees himself as something of a celebrity back in Gaul; but a united Gallic loyalty to Theodosius animates this vision, and underlying its pointed political agenda is the cultural practice of communal gathering at rhetorical performance in an urban context. The speech thus draws to its conclusion on an emphatically self-referential note, whereby Gaul will replicate in unanimous wonderment the very practice Pacatus Drepanius is undertaking. Again, and with more intensity, Gaul is seen to enact and parade its *Romanitas* through a combination of political loyalty and cultural display. This closing image of an urbanised, coordinated, *Romanised* Gaul, is much more compatible with the Trier, Arles, Toulouse, Narbonne, and Bordeaux of Ausonius' *Ordo Urbium Nobilium* than Pacatus Drepanius' opening (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 2.1): *qua litus Oceani cadentem excipit solem et deficientibus terris sociale miscetur elementum* ("shore of the Ocean which receives the setting sun [where] the common element is mixed with the land as it falls away"). The trans-

formation from an awkward provincial Alterity to a more self-assured enactment of *Romanitas* in Gaul has not been linear, but is complete; nor, of course, is it rational, but in its pace and trajectory, the movement from an affectation of Alterity to an assertion of Unity is rhetorically masterful.

I have recently argued for a political motivation for the selection and sequence of speeches in the *Panegyrici Latini* collection (Rees 2012). If that argument has any conviction, those editorial decisions might be seen to have been a sensible 'next step' for Pacatus Drepanius after the delivery of his speech to Theodosius, the collection a reprisal and expansion of aspects of the agenda he pursued in his speech. Over the course of the speech, the contemporary politics and cultural practices of Gaul, Spain, and Rome are cleverly aligned. Cultural Alterity in the guise of his *Transalpinus sermo* is an introductory rhetorical pose by which Pacatus Drepanius could disarm his potentially sceptical or even hostile audience, before working to resolve the tension of cultural and political difference by constructing an inclusive model of *Romanitas* that encompasses – and even depends upon – the provinces. This strategy of rhetorical resolution finesses the awkward issue of Gaul's loyalty in the years 383-388.

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