



**Roma Tre**

DIPARTIMENTO DI  
STUDI UMANISTICI

**RES PUBLICA LITTERARUM**  
STUDIES IN THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

QUADERNI

6

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*In re publica litterarum liberi nos sumus*

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Roma Tre-Press

2025

## RES PUBLICA LITTERARUM • QUADERNI

La terza serie di «Res publica litterarum - Studies in Classical Tradition», edita dalla Roma TrE-Press sotto gli auspici del Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici del medesimo Ateneo, torna a essere affiancata da una collana di studi e ricerche, come l'aveva concepita il suo fondatore Sesto Prete quando insegnava all'Università del Kansas.

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# PPRET INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONS PERTAINING TO THE PRAETORIAN  
PREFECTS FROM 284 TO 395 AD.

PAPER EDITION

PIERFRANCESCO PORENA,  
ELEONORA ANGIUS, ANDREA BERNIER,  
GIORDANA FRANCESCHINI, IRENE VAGIONAKIS

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IN RE PUBLICA LITTERARUM  
LIBERI NOS SUMUS

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SPEECH OF CONSTANTIUS II AUG. TO THE SENATE  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE CONTAINING A REQUEST  
TO ERECT A SERIES OF GILDED STATUES  
IN HONOUR OF THE PRAET. PREFECT FL. PHILIPPUS  
(FRR. FROM PERGE)

EDITIONS: Feissel 2024

PLRE: NEW - inscription unknown to the *PLRE*

PRAETORIAN PREFECTS: Flavius Philippus

DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION: 352 AD

PROVENANCE AND LOCATION

Ancient city: Perge. Modern city: Antalya (Turkey). Province: Pamphylia. Diocese: Asiana. Regional prefecture: Oriens.

Provenance: archaeological site of Perge, near Aksu, 15 km. North-East of Antalya (Turkey), found in the excavation of Hadrian's Arch directed by A.M. Mansel in 1954-1955. Current location: archaeological site of Perge, North-West pillar of Hadrian's Arch, North side facing the city centre. Ancient location: public space.

TYPE AND MATERIAL OF THE SUPPORT AND TEXT LAYOUT

Type of support: two orthostats of the same pillar. Material: marble.

Reuse of the inscribed field: no. Reuse of the monument: no. Epistographic: no.

Dimensions of support: Height: 150 cm. Width: 78 cm. Breadth: 74 cm.  
Dimensions of letters: about 1,5/2 cm.

Inscribed field: Two inscribed fields (*frons + frons*). Damaged.

Writing technique: chiselled. Language: Latin. Rhythm: prose. Palaeography: mixed, late Roman capital and semi-uncial writing.

TEXT CATEGORY: Legislative inscription

## LATIN TEXT

Ed. Feissel 2024, pp. 79 and 81.

The double slash indicates the limit of the right edge of the left orthostat (col. I) and the limit of the left edge of the right orthostat (col. II).

col. I<sup>a</sup>

[- 17 lines -]  
 1 [---]GA[---]MH[...]/[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---] ciuitati[- ca. 10 -]MA[...]/[- ca. 12 -]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 5 [-----]  
 [---]B[.]USUAD//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---]E[.g]loriae r[.]//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 10 [-----]  
 [-----]  
 [---]ur expo//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---] de aliis iudicare qui h//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---] sed facere lauda//[- ca. 12 -]  
 15 [---]MO[.]E[....]S[.]O//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---]NO[- ca. 12 -]//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---]CUE[.]IS[.]AENDAI//[- ca. 12 -]  
 [---]AMUTUŁOLUSOS//[- ca. 12 -]

(vac.)

col. I<sup>b</sup>

[- ca. 25 -] eruditus enituit ut iubentis (*sic*) eiꝰ//[s - ca. 11 -]  
 [- ca. 25 -] quaereꝰ idoneu[s] haberetur. Cum // [augustus]  
 [pater - ca. 20 -] obtinuisse quod filio uouerat caes//[ari - ca. 9 -]  
 [- ca. 20 -]NO[.]ERE fortunam in eo proli{i}s suae co//[- ca. 12 -]  
 5 [- ca. 25 -]p[ositiones]que praep[on]ere simulq//[ue - ca. 10 -]  
 [---]A[.]A[....]S[.] quaesit[ur]um, si cui Orientis designau//[erit regendas]  
 [partes, - ca. 20 -] uiri auctoritate fundaret. Duo//[- ca. 12 -]  
 erga [- ca. 13 -] adf[ect]um meum rep[en]dere, seruauit conm//[issum (*sic*) sibi]  
 uotum imperatoris patris. Atque adtestantibus cunctis non se da//[re sed reci]=  
 10 pere bene[ficiu]m, pr[o]fitetur religiosus pater, consultissimus princ//[eps - ca. 9 -]  
 ORSIS[.]M[....]SESO proueh[e]ndo curam suam ui[de]ri quae tractabat tant//[a  
 beneficia ei]  
 quem A[....]S educauerat praes[er]t[er]i[ss]e. (vac.) Suscepit curas palatii (*sic*) mei  
 magis//[tri quidem]

nomine s[e]d parentis adfectu. Hic quemadmodum se, quemadmodum rem-  
 pu//[b]licam nostr[um]=  
 am gess[it ! qu]a probitate atqu[e] censura ! quibus praeceptis institutus ! cuius  
 t//[ca. 12 -]  
 15 mo[r]d[er]amine in[t]er opimas Orientis inlecebras circumspecta sincerit//[as !  
 quantum in a]=  
 nimo ist[iu]s prudentiae sagacis, quasi quaedam praescia futuri cognit//[io ! Lib-  
 eram]  
 quidem ad[e]untibus facultatem sed nulli[us] ambitionis uiam p[er]a[nd]ere m//[e]  
 docuit, ut elu]=  
 ceat ubique me patremque co[.]i[.]are. Atque ut cunctis mirabilis magis//[ter  
 instituit]  
 h[oc] sibi prius magisterium suisque praebere, nolle ips[um] quod nulli conced-  
 er//[e] deceret],  
 20 uelle quod suis moribus conueniret, non quid posset sed quid deberet se//[ca.  
 12 -]=  
 gando tractare. Huma[n]us seuerus, seuerus humaniter, auctoritate cons//[ider-  
 atus, com]=  
 munitate [re]u[e]rendus, induxerat quandam (sic) institutionis mirabilis sa//[ca. - -  
 ut impas]=  
 sibilis cuncti[s] simul uide[re]tu[m] e[st] amabilis. Nimirum quando inter augusti  
 pa//[tris - ca. 8 -]  
 et caesaris filii ita [s]eruantem mensuram constituit ut et Constantino // [ipsi  
 placeret]  
 25 nec mihi serius displi[cer]et p[ro]rsus qui inter adfectus regios et maiesta[tum]  
 apices talis]  
 enitesceret ut aput (sic) alterum ei commodaret quod alteri plus plus pl[us]  
 acere  
 uideretur].  
 Quid ubi augustus pater naturae concessit et quasi pupill[us] re[re] // [publi-  
 cae nostrae]  
 habentiae fluitarent, cum subita confusio mentes hominu[m] // [inuasisset et]  
 [a]nimos occu[p]ass[et], cum terrarum orbis imperium inter cohe//[redes - ca. 7 -]

## col. II

- [- ca. 28 lines -]
- 1 [- ca. 15 -]//ntianum animis ins[t]i[st]iuit ut a[- - -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//[.]uam [.] arduas difficultates ea[.]a[- - -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//mo[.]a[.]ete[.]t munus uocin[- - -]  
 [- ca. 14 - o]//fficia cui[.]O[.]A[.].....]AMA[- - -]
- 5 [- ca. 15 -]//PEDUSDIC[.]T[.]UODITERIM se potiorib[us] praes[- ca. 8 -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//[.]m[.] consulatu[.] non quod in manibus tra[- ca. 8 -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//[.]o [de] consiliis sella euel[le]re quin ambi[t]io[s]a [- ca. 12 -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//[.]umo[.]tae qualitatis ERC[.]ENAXA[.]N[- ca. 15 -]

- [- ca. 13 - ho]//noribus SA[.]DATREDOT[....]EŞ SE[....]ANCIUS[- ca. 7 -]  
 10 [- ca. 15 -]//[.]MA[.]CEDOREX[.]A[.]NITIDAD[.]A[- - -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//[.....]PAGA[.....]ANT[.]DE vobis [- - -]  
 [- ca. 8 - summaru]//m di[g]nitatum apices ornabit (sic) uet[er]a c[- - -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//[....]ano[....]ac[....] consule ne[- ca. 10 -]con[- - -]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//cti {p} praefecturam consulatu[.] ID[....]PERE[- - -]  
 15 [- ca. 15 -]//tim re[.]ciis rebus uideo pugnasse non uerbis [sed ...]U[.]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//AN[....]A[.]M quae [p<sup>1</sup>raecel]lit tyranni gladio [...]A[...]  
 [- ca. 13 - co]//ntempsit, la[tro]ni[s] custodiam pertulit, ita con[- ca. 8 -]  
 [- ca. 13 - ut] // [ni]hil in se arbitraretur licere UEBEAN[...]NON[- ca. 8 -]  
 [inter acies ho]//[s]tiles intentis mucronibus quasi propugnaculum praet[er]endit,  
 20 [insidias latro]//nis contemnendo non placando superauit. Nec dignum se ta[m  
 indi]=  
 [gna uoluit liber]//atione iudicari qui non aliter nisi uictoriis meis uellet euade[re  
 peri]=  
 [culum. Fecit praef]//[e]cti mei {c} consulisque fortuna ut liberaretur Philippus  
 hoste u[ict]o,  
 [- ca. 15 -]//us quia liberari meruit ut hostem publicum uinceremus. Ob ha[s  
 igitur]  
 [causas, patres con]//scribti (sic), quae aeternae memoriae mandanda sunt mem-  
 orabili s[ignan]=  
 25 [tes honore, tam deu]//otam fidem inauratae statuae praemiis muneramur.  
 Quam cele[berri]=  
 [mis locis colloca]//ndam constituendamque decernimus, uti eius nomen in-  
 scriptu[m] titu]=  
 [lis, non minus qu]//am ipsius merita, dignationis nostrae gratum fauorem, uest-  
 tri d[omi]n[us]=  
 [..... coetu]//s illustre studium perenni commemoratione designet, ut ha[c  
 pri]=  
 [mum in urbe dignis] // uirtutis praemiis donatus merito i[ur]u[er]dicetur in qua,  
 familiae suae fundata [sede],  
 30 [- ca. 14 - a]//dfectu nostri nominis consecrauit. Et quia non minus eius laboribus  
 o[mnium]  
 [fere ciuitatum] // commodis populisq(ue) prospectum e(st) quam patriae no-  
 minis nostri, in sing[ulis ur]=  
 [bibus - ca. 10 -]//NSUI cura obsequioq(ue) rectorum statuas mirabili uiro erigi  
 atq[ue] locari]  
 [iussimus, ut eius] // effigies omnium semper oculis occurrat, cuius deuota offi-  
 cia cunctoru[m]  
 [semper mentibus] // reuolbuntur (sic). Ita enim et praesentibus reip(ublicae)  
 nostrae uiris incitamenta uir=

- 35 [tutis erunt et fu]//turis exempla proposita permanebunt. Quibus principem  
 suum, remp(ublicam), patri=  
 [ae nostrae -- -]//tus et gloriam cogitantes et nihil antiquius nihilque sublimius  
 esse on=  
 [- ca. 13 - qu]//am deuotionem fidem iustitiam custodire, quibus omnibus innatis  
 [enitet ille, haec]//c praemia Philippum et meruisse libente r[ ] repetant et poscere  
 s[.]  
 [- ca. 15 -]//asse mirentur. (vac.)

CRITICAL EDITION (Feissel 2024, p. 83)

Orthographic peculiarities

Col. I<sup>b</sup>

- 1: *iubentas = iuuentas*  
 8: *comm[isso] = commisso*  
 9: *adtestantibus = attestantibus*  
 12: *palacii = palatii*  
 22: *quandam = quamdam*  
 26: *aput = apud*

Col. II

- 12: *ornabit = ornauit*  
 24: *conscribti = conscripti*  
 34: *reuolbuntur = reuoluuntur*

Engraving mistakes

Col. I<sup>b</sup>

- 4: *proliis = prolis*  
 12: *praescicisse = praestitisse*  
 14: *atquc = atque*  
 15: *moueram[.]e = moderam[in]e*  
 17: *nullambitionis = null<i>a</i> ambitionis* or *nullam <am>bitioinis; pendere = pandere*  
 19: *hec = hoc; ipse = ipsi*  
 23: *uidetus = uideretur*  
 27: *pupillere = pupillares; res = rei*

Col. II

- 14: *ppraefecturam = praefecturam*  
 16: *raecellit = praecellit*  
 17: *la[trō]ni = la[trō]nis*  
 22: *cconsulisque = consulisque*  
 29: *iodicetur = iudicetur*  
 38: *libentep = libenter*

## Previous partial editions

Col. I<sup>b</sup>

27: *res[publicae]*, Feissel 2016, p. 1225, n. 21 (lapsus); *rei[p(ublicae) nostrae]* Zuddas 2023, p. 224

29: *mentes hominu[m turbaret]*, Feissel 2016, p. 1225, n. 21

30: *[to]tius terrarum orbis*, Feissel 2016, p. 1225, n. 21

## Col. II

24-25: *s[udio ce/lebrantes tam proba]tam*, Moser 2018, p. 190; *s[igno ce/lebramus atque proba]tam*, Angius PPRET 31 online (crit. ed.)

25-26: *[ei dica]/ndam constituendamque*, Moser 2018, p. 190

26-27: *nomen inscrib[um monu/mentis non minus qu]am ipsiu[s for]ma*, Moser 2018, p. 190

27-28: *uestri[que / amplissimi coetus]*, Moser 2018, p. 190

29-30: *fundata [--- / --- a]dfectu*, Moser 2018, p. 190; *fundata [domu, --- / --- Laribus suis sedem --- a]dfectu*, Angius PPRET 31 online (crit. ed.) (the letters exceed the lacuna space)

31-32: *in sing[ulis ur/bibus --- nome]n sui*, Angius PPRET 31 online (crit. ed.)

32-33: *erigi a[--- / placuit, ut huius]*, Moser 2018, p. 190

## TRANSLATIONS

– English: Col. I<sup>a</sup> (lacuna, not translated fragments); Col. I<sup>b</sup>: «(1) [...] he was outstanding in knowledge, so that his (Philippus’) youth [...] (2) [...] to detect, he was deemed suitable. When [our August (3) father [...] had accomplished the vow he had made for his son Caesar [...] (4) [...] the fortune of his lineage consisted in this [...] (5) [...] put at the head of [...] and positions, and at the same time [...] (6) [...] he would have asked, if for him to whom he had assigned [the government of the regions] of the East, [...] (7) [...] it was founded on the authority of a man. Two (?) [...] (8) in favour of [...] to repay my affection, he respected (9) the vow entrusted to him by my father the emperor. And since all testified that it was not from them to give, [but to receive] (10) a benefit, my religious father, an extremely wise prince, proclaimed that [...] (11) [...] expanding his care, it seemed to him that what he (Philippus) managed (12) had brought great [benefit] to the person whom he had [...] educated. (*vac.*) He took on the duties of managing my palace under the name of master (13), but with the affection of a father. And in what manner did he govern himself, in what manner did he govern [our] State! (14) with what honesty and with what self-control! educated by what precepts! by virtue of his [...] (15) continence, what shrewd integrity amidst the pompous seductions of the East! [how much] wise prudence (16) in the mind of this man, (who had) almost a sort of precognition of the future! [He taught me] (17) to give free access to those who approached me, but not to open to anyone the way of flattery, (18) [so that it would be] clear that everywhere my father and I [acted] together. And in order to [be] the master admired by all, he first

imposed (19) this ‘magisterium’ on himself and his own (men?): not to desire for oneself what [it would be proper] not to grant to anyone else; (20) to desire what accords with one’s own morality; to deal (with matters?) [... (considering? wondering?)] not what one could do, but what one should do. (21) Humane with severity, severe with humanity, thoughtful in his authority, (22) full of power though friendly, he had introduced a kind of [...] of the admirable institution, [so that] (23) he appeared to all at once [cold-hearted] and benevolent. It is not surprising, because between the [...] of our August father (24) and of the Caesar his son, he established such a balance as to [please] Constantinus [himself] (25) and not to be disagreeable in time (?) to me, the very one who between sovereign affections and [the height of] majesty (26) excelled in such a way as to bring to one what [seemed] to please the other more and more.

(27) What should I say, when the August father surrendered to nature and, almost orphaned, the reins of [our] state (28) began to float, when a sudden confusion [seized] the minds of men and (29) took possession of their souls, when the empire of the earthly globe [...] between the co-heirs [...].

Col. II: (lacuna, not translated fragments) «[...] (12) he has adorned the summits of [the highest] dignities [... (13) ...] consul [... (14) ...] prefecture, consulship [... (15) ...], by actions I see having fought not by words [... (16) ...] which prevailed over the sword of the tyrant [... (17) ...] he treated him with contempt; he endured the bandit’s captivity; so he has [... (18) ...] that he judged that nothing was permitted against him [... (19) ... In the midst of hostile troops] he opposed the swords wielded as a rampart; (20) he overcame [the pitfalls] of the bandit with contempt and without submitting. And he did not [want] (21) to be judged worthy of [such an unworthy release], he who would not have wanted to escape [danger] otherwise than through my victories. (22) The good fortune of my prefect and consul [caused] Philippus to be freed after the enemy [had been defeated], (23) [...] because he deserved to be freed so that we could defeat the public enemy. It is [therefore for] these (24) [reasons, con]script fathers, that, [celebrating ?] by an [honour] that will be engraved in the memory, the things that are to be handed down in eternity, (25) we reward [such de]vout loyalty with the prize of the gilded statue. (26) We decree that it shall be [set up] and placed [in the most] frequented places, so that his name engraved [in the inscriptions, (27-28) no less] than his own merits, shall show, as a perpetual memorial, the grateful favour with which we deign to honour him, (as well as) the illustrious esteem of your [... assembly], so that (29) it may be evident that [worthy] prizes have been rightfully offered to his virtue [first of all in this city], in which, after having founded his family’s [abode], (30) [...] he consecrated through affection for our name. And since [almost all cities] and peoples have benefited from his labours (31), no less than the homeland that bears our name, (32) [we have given order] that in each [of these cities ...], through the obedient zeal of the governors, statues be raised and [placed] for this admirable man, (33) so that the eyes of all people may always see the portrait of him whose loyal services (34) are [constantly] recalled [in the minds] of each one. In this way the

men who are presently serving our State [will be] encouraged to engage in virtuous conduct, (35) and the examples that are offered will remain in perpetuity for men to come. Thanks to them (to such examples), when they think of their prince, their State, (36) the [...] and the glory of [our] homeland, and [...] that nothing more precious or sublime (37) [...] than to cherish loyalty, fidelity and justice – all the innate virtues (38) [for which this great man shines] – they may immediately remember that Philippus deserved these prizes, and (39) admire him for [...] having asked for them».

– French (Feissel 2024, pp. 84 f.): Col. I<sup>a</sup> (lacune, fragments non traduits); Col. I<sup>b</sup>: «(1) [...] il excella par son savoir en sorte que sa jeunesse [...] (2) [...] qu'il fût considéré comme apte. Alors que [notre auguste (3) père ...] le voeu qu'il avait fait pour le César son fils [...] (4) [...] la fortune de sa descendance consistait en cela [...] (5) [...] mettre à la tête des [...] et des positions, et en même temps (6) [...] demanderait, pour celui à qui il aurait assigné [le gouvernement des régions] d'Orient, (7) que [...] soit fondé sur l'autorité d'un homme [...]. (8) [...] payer de retour mon affection, il respecta (9) le voeu confié [à lui] par l'empereur mon père. Et comme tous portaient témoignage que ce n'était pas de leur part donner, [mais recevoir] (10) un bienfait, mon religieux père, prince très avisé, proclame que (11) [...] en poussant plus avant la charge qui était la sienne, il lui semblait que son activité (celle de Philippe) (12) avait procuré de si grands [bienfaits] à celui qu'il avait [...] éduqué. (*vac*) Il assumait l'intendance de mon palais, certes avec le nom de maître (13) mais avec l'affection d'un père. De quelle façon se conduisit-il, de quelle façon conduisit-il [notre] État ! (14) avec quelle probité et quelle austérité ! instruit de quels préceptes ! quel [...] (15) dirigeait, au milieu des opulentes séductions de l'Orient, son attentive intégrité ! [combien] (16) de prudence sagace dans l'esprit de cet homme, comme une sorte de connaissance prémonitoire de l'avenir ! (17) [Il m'enseigna] certes à [laisser libre] accès à ceux qui venaient à moi, mais à n'ouvrir à personne la voie de l'intrigue, (18) [pour qu'il soit] bien clair que partout moi et mon père [agissions] de concert. Et en maître qui faisait l'admiration de tous, [il eut pour principe] (19) d'enseigner d'abord à soi et aux siens ceci: ne pas vouloir pour soi-même ce qu'il ne [serait convenable] de concéder à personne; (20) vouloir ce qui s'accorderait avec ses moeurs; mener ses affaires [...] (en considérant) non pas ce qu'on pourrait mais ce qu'on devrait faire. (21) Humain avec sévérité, sévère avec humanité, réfléchi tout en montrant son autorité, (22) inspirant le respect tout en se montrant affable, il avait introduit une sorte de [...] dont le principe était admirable, (23) qui était de se montrer envers tous à la fois [impas]sible et aimable. Rien d'étonnant, quand, entre les [...] de notre auguste père (24) et du César son fils, il fixa l'équilibre à respecter de façon à [plaire] à Constantin [lui-même] (25) et à n'être pas non plus (?) déplaisant à mon égard, lui qui entre les affections souveraines et [le comble des] majestés (26) excellait de telle sorte qu'auprès de l'un des deux il apportait à celui-ci ce qui [paraîtrait] plaire à l'autre toujours plus.

(27) Que dire, quand notre auguste père céda à la nature et que les rênes de

[notre] État, pour ainsi dire orphelines, (28) se mirent à flotter, lorsqu'une confusion subite [eut envahi] l'esprit des hommes et (29) se fut emparé de leurs âmes, lorsque l'empire du monde entier [...] entre les cohéritiers [...].»

Col. II: (lacune, fragments non traduits) «[...] (12) il orna le comble des [plus hautes] dignités [...], (13) [...] consul [...], (14) [...] préfecture, consulat [...], (15) [...], (16) [...] qui l'emporte sur le glaive du tyran [...], (17) le traita par le mépris; il supporta jusqu'au bout d'être prisonnier du brigand; il [...] de telle sorte que (18) [...] il jugeât qu'il n'était permis à son égard de rien [...]. (19) [Au milieu de troupes hostiles, aux épées brandies il opposa [...] comme un rempart; (20) il surmonta [les pièges] du brigand par le mépris et non par l'apaisement. Et il ne [voulut pas] (21) être jugé digne d'une libération [si indigne], lui qui n'aurait pas voulu échapper [au péril] autrement que par mes victoires. (22) La fortune de mon préfet et consul [fit] que Philippe fût libéré après que l'ennemi [fut vaincu], (23) [...] parce qu'il aurait (plutôt) mérité d'être libéré afin que nous vainquions l'ennemi public. C'est donc pour ces (24) [raisons, pères] conscrits, qu'en [marquant par un honneur] mémorable des faits qu'il faut transmettre à une éternelle mémoire, (25) nous rémunérons [une si] loyale fidélité (en lui discernant) en récompense une statue dorée. (26) Nous décrétons qu'elle soit [mise en place] et installée [aux endroits les plus] fréquentés, afin que son nom gravé sur [les inscriptions], (27-28) [non moins] que ses propres mérites, donne à voir en les commémorant de façon pérenne la faveur reconnaissante dont nous daignons l'honorer, (ainsi que) l'illustre estime de votre [... assemblée]; (29) afin que l'on juge qu'il s'est vu offrir à bon droit de [dignes] récompenses de sa vertu, [en premier lieu dans cette ville] où, après avoir fondé [le siège] de sa famille, (30) il a consacré [...] par affection pour notre nom. Et puisque ses travaux (31) ont visé aux avantages [de presque toutes les cités] et de (leurs) peuples, non moins que de la patrie qui porte notre nom, (32) [nous avons donné l'ordre] que dans chacune [de ces villes ...], par les soins obéissants des gouverneurs, des statues soient érigées et [mises en place] pour cet homme admirable, (33) afin que soit toujours présente aux yeux de tous l'effigie de celui dont les loyaux services (34) reviennent [toujours à l'esprit] de tout le monde. De cette façon, en effet, ce seront là pour les hommes (qui servent) à présent notre État des encouragements à la vertu, (35) et aux hommes à venir ces exemples resteront proposés en permanence. (Exemples) grâce auxquels, pensant à leur prince, à l'État, (36) aux [...] et à la gloire de [notre] patrie, et [...] qu'il n'est rien de plus précieux ni rien de plus sublime (37) que de garder loyauté, fidélité et justice – autant de vertus innées (38) [en quoi cet homme excelle] – puissent-ils volontiers se rappeler que Philippe a mérité ces récompenses, et (39) l'admirer de [...] à en faire la demande».

– Italian: Col. I<sup>a</sup> (lacuna, frammenti non tradotti); Col. I<sup>b</sup>: «(1) [...] eccelleva nella conoscenza, così che la sua giovinezza (di Philippus) [...] (2) [...] individuare, fosse ritenuto adatto. Quando [il nostro Augusto (3) padre ...] ebbe ottenuto il voto che aveva fatto per il Cesare suo figlio [...] (4) [...] la fortuna della sua discendenza consi-

steva in questo [...] (5) [...] mettere a capo delle [...] e posizioni, e allo stesso tempo [...] (6) [...] avrebbe chiesto, se per colui al quale aveva assegnato [il governo delle regioni] d'Oriente, [...] (7) [...] fosse fondato sull'autorità di un uomo. Due (?) [...] (8) verso [...] ripagare il mio affetto, ha rispettato (9) il voto affidatogli dall'imperatore mio padre. E poiché tutti testimoniavano che non era da parte loro dare, [ma ricevere] (10) un beneficio, il religioso padre mio, principe estremamente saggio, proclama che [...] (11) [...] dilatando la sua sollecitudine, gli sembrò che quanto (Philippus) gestiva (12) avesse portato grandi [benefici] alla persona che aveva [...] educato. (*vac.*) Ha assunto le incombenze di gestione del mio palazzo con il nome di maestro (13), ma con l'affetto di un padre. E in che modo costui ha governato se stesso, in che modo il [nostro] Stato! (14) con quale onestà e con quale autocontrollo! educato da quali precetti in virtù della sua [...] (15) continenza, quale accorta integrità in mezzo alle fastose seduzioni dell'Oriente! [quanta] sagace prudenza (16) nella mente di quest'uomo, quasi una sorta di precognizione del futuro! [Mi insegnò] (17) a dare libero accesso a coloro che si avvicinavano a me, ma a non aprire a nessuno la via della sobillazione, (18) [affinché fosse] chiaro che ovunque io e mio padre [agivamo] insieme. E per [essere] il maestro ammirato da tutti, innanzi tutto impose (19) questo 'magistero' a sé e ai suoi: non desiderare per se stessi quanto non [sarebbe corretto] concedere a nessun altro; (20) desiderare ciò che si accorda con la propria morale; trattare (le pratiche ?) [...] (considerando ? chiedendosi ?) non ciò che si potrebbe fare, ma ciò che si dovrebbe fare. (21) Umano con severità, severo con umanità, riflessivo nella sua autorità, (22) degno di rispetto benché affabile, aveva introdotto una sorta di [...] dell'ammirevole istituzione, [sí che] (23) egli appariva a tutti allo stesso tempo [imperturba]bile e amabile. Non sorprende, perché tra il [...] del nostro Augusto padre (24) e del Cesare suo figlio, stabili di mantenere un equilibrio tale da [compiacere] Constantinus [stesso] (25) e da non essere sgradevole col tempo (?) a me, proprio lui che tra gli affetti sovrani e [l'altezza della] maestà (26) eccelleva in modo tale da portare a uno dei due ciò che [sembrava] piacere sempre di più all'altro.

(27) Che dire, quando l'Augusto padre si arrese alla natura e, quasi orfane, le redini del [nostro] Stato (28) cominciarono a fluttuare, allorché un'improvvisa confusione [catturò] le menti degli uomini e (29) si impadronì delle loro anime, quando l'impero dell'orbe terrestre [...] tra i co-eredi [...].

Col. II: (lacuna, frammenti non tradotti) «[...] (12) ha adornato le vette delle [massime] dignità [...] (13) [...] console [...] (14) [...] prefettura, consolato [...] (15) [...], con le azioni vedo aver combattuto non con le parole [...] (16) [...] la quale prevalse sulla spada del tiranno [...] (17) [...] lo ha trattato con disprezzo; sopportò la prigionia del bandito; così ha [...] (18) [...] che giudicò che nulla era permesso nei suoi confronti [...] (19) [...] In mezzo a truppe] ostili si oppose alle spade brandite come un baluardo; (20) superò [le insidie] del bandito con il disprezzo e non con la sottomissione. E non [volle] (21) essere giudicato degno di [una liberazione così indegna], lui che non avrebbe voluto sfuggire [al pericolo] altrimenti che attraverso le mie vittorie.

(22) La fortuna del mio prefetto e console [fece sí] che Philippus fosse liberato dopo che il nemico [era stato sconfitto], (23) [...] perché meritò di essere liberato affinché potessimo sconfiggere il nemico pubblico. È [dunque per] queste (24) [ragioni, padri co]scritti, che, [celebrando ?] con un [onore] che si imprime nella memoria le cose che devono essere tramandate in eterno, (25) ricompensiamo [tanta de]vota lealtà con il premio della statua dorata. (26) Stabiliamo che essa sia [elevata] e collocata [nei luoghi piú] frequentati, in modo che il suo nome inciso [nelle iscrizioni, (27-28) non meno] dei suoi stessi meriti, mostri, a perpetuo ammonimento, il favore colmo di gratitudine con il quale ci degniamo di onorarlo, (cosí come) l'illustre stima della vostra [...] assembl]ea, in modo che (29) si prenda atto che giustamente sono stati offerti [degni] premi alla sua virtú [in primo luogo in questa città], nella quale, dopo aver fondato [la sede] della sua famiglia, (30) [...] ha consacrato per affetto verso il nostro nome. E poiché dalle sue fatiche (31) hanno tratto beneficio [quasi tutte le città] e le popolazioni, non meno che la patria che porta il nostro nome, (32) [abbiamo dato ordine] che in ognuna [di queste città ...], attraverso lo zelo obbediente dei governatori, siano innalzate e [posizionate] statue per quest'uomo ammirevole, (33) affinché incontri sempre gli occhi di tutti il ritratto di colui i cui leali servizi (34) sono [costantemente] rievocati [nella mente] di ciascuno. In questo modo gli uomini attualmente (al servizio) del nostro Stato [saranno] incoraggiati alla virtú, (35) e gli esempi offerti resteranno in perpetuo per gli uomini che verranno. Grazie ad essi (esempi), pensando al loro principe, allo Stato, (36) alla [...] e alla gloria della [nostra] patria, e [...] al fatto che non c'è nulla di piú prezioso o di piú sublime (37) [...] che custodire la lealtà, la fedeltà e la giustizia – tutte innate virtú (38) [per le quali questo grande uomo splende] – possano ricordare immediatamente che Philippus ha meritato questi premi, e (39) ammirarlo per [...] averle chieste».

#### THE INSCRIPTION AND ITS PREFECTS: CRITICAL COMMENTARY, UPDATING, OVERVIEWS

The lengthy and fragmentary Latin inscription from Perge bears a copy of an imperial communication (*oratio ad senatum*), composed by the emperor Constantius II himself, which was delivered to the Senate of Constantinople probably in 352 AD (on the chronology see below). The speech deals with the setting up of gilded statues in honour of the (former?) praetorian prefect Flavius Philippus. The references to the senators and the assembly in the city (col. II, ll. 24, 28, 31) ensure that the speech was addressed to the Senate of the eastern capital. This long Latin inscription bears the oldest surviving document addressed to the eastern Senate. Its fragmentary text has now been edited by Prof. D. Feissel (Feissel 2024) with all of his customary expertise. For a similar document – a Latin speech

– sent by the emperor Valentinian III to the Senate of Rome in 431 AD, concerning the praetorian prefect Virius Nicomachus Flavianus senior, see PPRET 93.

The inscription was engraved on the two orthostats of the single North-West pillar of Hadrian's triple monumental arch in the South quarter of the city of Perge (Mansel 1956; for the circumstances surrounding the find and the various phases of study of this inscription, see Feissel 2024, pp. 73 f.). The arch was put up in 120 AD by Plancia Magna (cf. *I. Perge* I, pp. 118-134, nr. 86-99) to complete the northern oval square of the ancient Hellenistic gateway to the city from the South. On the North side of the arch, which faces the city, the North face of the North-West pillar – the face to the right of the observer – the Latin text of Constantius II's speech was chiselled in the mid-4th Century AD.

Thanks to the excellent edition provided by prof. D. Feissel (2024, esp. pp. 74-78), we can see that the text was fully carved on two separate rectangular orthostats. The text begins on the left-hand orthostat and continues onto the right-hand one. The Latin text was, thus, chiselled onto two large parallel columns (coll. I and II). Between the two orthostats, a slab, several centimetres thick, was housed in a groove which is still visible above the plinth of the pillar. This central slab is now lost. Originally, the Latin inscription comprised about 65 lines of writing on each of the two columns (in sum about 130 lines). The writing of the first column was chiselled on the left orthostat and extended to the right on the lost central slab (containing the end of all its lines); the writing of the second column was chiselled on the right orthostat and extended to the left on the lost central slab (containing the beginning of all its lines). Thus, along the entire right-hand edge of the first column between 9 and 15 letters are lost at the end of each line; along the entire left-hand edge of the first column approximately 15 letters are lost at the beginning of each line. Furthermore, the surviving text is largely incomplete at the top of both columns. In the first column, the first 17 lines are entirely lost, the next 18 lines are highly incomplete, the next 8 lines are partially readable, and only the last 19 lines are readable (with a lacuna on the right edge). In the second column, the first 25/28 lines are entirely lost, while the next 18 lines are barely readable, with only the last 21 lines being readable (with a lacuna on the left edge). Currently, less than half of Constantius II's speech can be deciphered. Feissel (2024, p. 76) states that «taking into account the restorations required on the right of col. I and to the left of col. II, the total length of the lines should have been around 90 cm., and each line should have

contained an average of around 70 letters. The 130 or so lines of the original document can therefore be estimated at almost 9,000 letters, of which 3,500 are currently legible» (transl. by Porena). Concerning palaeography, the inscription was engraved in mixed writing: late Roman capital and cursive letters (see the diplomatic transcription by Feissel 2024, pp. 78 and 80; paleographical analysis, p. 77; orthography, p. 83), which is a predominantly semi-uncial writing. At Perge, the use of Latin and the engraving of a long and highly elaborate text in small letters along lines that reached down to the ground must have made deciphering the inscription very difficult.

According to Şahin (2015, pp. 178 f.; cf. Feissel 2024, pp. 75 f., 108 s.), the slab bearing the smaller Greek inscription in honour of Flavius Philippus by the council of Perge (PPRET 29) was originally placed between the two rectangular orthostats of the North-West pillar of Hadrian's arch. Perhaps, the statue associated with this Greek text was placed above it in a niche in the pillar of the arch (cf. Feissel 2024, p. 76, n. 18 and p. 109 with n. 218; the middle and upper part of the arch are missing). Thus, the North face of the North-West pillar housed a bilingual monument, that is to say, two flanking Latin inscriptions, preserving the emperor's speech (which had been disseminated in the provinces) in reply to which this monument in Perge was made, and the Greek central inscription made by the local Senate, on whose summit the statue of Philippus probably stood. This location on the North-West pillar of Hadrian's arch, that is to say on the inner side of Perge's main gate, fulfils Constantius II's requirement that the monument had to be visible (col. II, ll. 25-26: «[in the most] frequented places»). It is clear that the emperor's speech was part of the dossier accompanying the dedication of statues in honour of Philippus: presumably a copy of it was sent to the provinces in the East to be carved near the statue of the senator. At Ephesus, in the same *Asiana* diocese, instead of the speech to the Senate of Constantinople, the letter of Constantius II to the *vicarius* Marinus was engraved, perhaps near a monument, lost, in honour of Fl. Philippus (PPRET 28). Thus, the dossier of documents that was circulated in the provinces by the chancellery of Constantius II consisted of a copy of the speech (in Latin) to the Senate of Constantinople, a copy of the letter (in Latin) from Constantius II to the individual *vicarius* of the diocese, and, most likely, the original of the *vicarius*' letter to each provincial governor of his diocese, who then transmitted the dossier to the authorities of the cities. The latter had a gilded statue made «[in the most] frequented places» of their city with the inscription in honour of Philippus, in Greek (in the case

of Perge, *Asiana*, PPRET 29) or in Latin (in the case of Chytri, *Oriens*, PPRET 27).

Although the inscribed text from Perge is fragmentary and lacks both the beginning and the title, internal references (see Feissel 2024, p. 94) allow it to be identified as Constantius II's speech to the Senate of Constantinople.

The contents of emperor Constantius II's speech can be reconstructed as follows:

In the first lost section, at the beginning, the title was probably: *E(xemplum) s(acrarum) l(itterarum)*. The inscribed text of the imperial speech in Latin to the eastern Senate (*sacrae litterae*) was not addressed to the magistrates of Perge, who had got only a copy (*exemplum*, see PPRET 28, l. 1; Feissel 2024, p. 94 suggests a possible complete *intitulatio*, with onomastics and titles of Constantius II Augustus and Gallus Caesar and formal greetings to the assembly, but it seems less likely). Under the title, starting from the first column, the text in praise of Flavius Philippus was engraved: his biography was probably couched in apologetic tones and presumably ran in chronological order.

In the lacuna of the first half of the first column there must have been a preamble addressed to the senators of Constantinople; then a eulogy of Philippus' personality, similar to that preserved in the epistle to Marinus from Ephesus (PPRET 28). It is very probable that a biography of Philippus in chronological order followed: a few words on his (modest) social background, maybe his youthful education, his beginnings in the civil *militia* (as *notarius*, a shorthand writer) and his possible contribution to the education of the young Constantius II (some remains perhaps in the col. I<sup>a</sup>). In the now surviving lines of the col. I<sup>b</sup> the rise of Philippus in the service of Constantine, and his enhancement by the Augustus in the palatine administration of Constantius II Caesar after 324 AD were described (ll. 1-26). The surviving part of col. I<sup>b</sup> extolls Philippus' qualities, virtues, balance and confidence as a high palatine dignitary in the service of Constantius Caesar under Constantine Augustus, and his role in the bloody succession of the year 337 AD (unfortunately only a short reference at the end of the first column, ll. 27-29).

Because of a long lacuna of about 46 lines in the first lost section of the second column, we are missing the events that took place during the years 337-348 AD. It is very likely that Philippus' success in the service of Constantius II Augustus was narrated in a panegyric form in these lost lines. In the now surviving lines of the second column, the attainment of the highest

dignities was celebrated: his praetorian prefecture of the East in 346-351 AD (according to PPRET; 344-352 AD, according to Feissel); the ordinary consulship in 348 AD (frr. in ll. 1-13). The emperor then speaks of Philippus' key-role during the crisis of Magnentius' usurpation (350-353 AD), of the painful ambassadorship in 351 AD, before the battle of Mursa, for which Philippus was imprisoned and ill-treated by the usurper. Finally, Constantius II extolled the courage of Philippus, who resisted Magnentius, and his liberation after Constantius II's victory at Mursa (ll. 14-23). This lengthy biographical exposition ends (ll. 23-39) with the emperor's request to the senators of Constantinople to erect gilded statues in honour of Philippus in Constantinople (Constantius II states that the same request was addressed to the governors of all the provinces of his own *pars*). The public celebration through perennial monuments in honour of the senator is justified in the eyes of Constantius II by the loyalty and exceptional virtues of Philippus as a man and as a dignitary. He is and must remain a model for future generations (a statue of the praetorian prefect was still visible in Chalcedon in the mid-6th Century, see below).

Constantius II's speech to the Senate of Constantinople has no explicit date. As for its chronology, the last datable event mentioned in the text is Constantius II's victory over the usurper Magnentius, which must be identified with the battle of Mursa on September 28<sup>th</sup> 351 AD (*MGH AA IX, chron. min.* I, p. 244 = *Consul. Constant.* a. 351; on this battle see Bleckmann 1999; Drinkwater 2022). Immediately after Constantius II's victory, Philippus, his ambassador taken prisoner by the usurper, was freed (maybe in the Autumn of 351 AD). This important battle and the liberation appear close to the writing of the speech (col. II, l. 16-23, esp. 22-23). In addition, the inscription in honour of Philippus from Chytri (PPRET 27) was erected by Constantius II Augustus and Gallus Caesar after the victory of Mursa (late 351 AD) and before the fall of Gallus (mid-354 AD). The monumental inscription extolling the restoration of the theatre of Hierapolis in Phrygia (PPRET 30), in which Philippus is mentioned and which has been dated by a consular year of 352 AD, was engraved in 352 AD, that is to say in the months after Constantius II's speech was sent to the Senate of Constantinople: in both inscriptions, in Chytri and Hierapolis, the name of Constantius II Augustus and Gallus Caesar appear (since the latter was in office from March 351 to mid-354 AD, the pair of rulers were governing the Empire in 352 AD). Thus, D. Feissel (2024, pp. 95-96, 104-107, 119) states (p. 107): «[...] the drafting and distribution of Constantius II's speech and his letter to Marinus probably date back to the Spring of 352 AD. The statues of Philippus, with

their inscriptions, may have been made in the eastern provinces before the end of the same year» (transl. by Porena). Emperor Constantius II was in Sirmium during 352 AD (he arrived in Milan at the end of October; on his movements see Seeck 1919, pp. 198 f., cf. Feissel 2024, pp. 95-96 and 107). The emperor composed and sent his speech to the Senate of Constantinople from the Illyrian city.

D. Feissel (2024) provided an in-depth line-by-line analysis of the fragmentary text, proposing several possible integrations to its lacunae. He accompanied his erudite edition and French translation of Constantius II's speech carved on Hadrian's arch at Perge with an extensive study (2024, pp. 72-94), the conclusions of which we summarise. The inscription contains a copy of the speech addressed in 352 AD by emperor Constantius II to the Senate of Constantinople, in order to have statues of Philippus erected in this city and in the provinces. This text is the oldest constitution addressed to the eastern Senate, and in fact the first document to testify to its existence. Copies of the emperor's speech were attached by the palatine chancellery to the letters addressed to the diocesan *vicarii* (PPRET 28) and forwarded by them to the provincial governors. In turn, these officers forwarded them to the city magistrates who had to make the statues and could decide whether and which communication from the emperor – the speech or the letter – should be engraved (pp. 94-98). Feissel proceeds to re-examine Philippus' career in the light of the novelties revealed by the fragments of the imperial speech (pp. 98 ff.). After his recruitment as *notarius*, he probably pursued an unspecified palatine career. Philippus was a cultivated man and took part in the education of Constantius; he became his *cura palatii* during the stay of Constantius Caesar in the East (maybe at Antioch in 335-337 AD). He was an advisor to Constantius II during the dramatic period of Constantine's bloody succession (pp. 99-102). The lacuna in the first half of the second column of the Perge inscription prevents us from knowing the details of his career between 337 and 350 AD. In 351 AD Philippus was concluding his long praetorian prefecture of the East (a first prefecture in 344-351 AD according to Feissel). When the second column of the text becomes readable again (col. II, ll. 16 ff.), Philippus is already the ambassador who has been imprisoned by Magnentius: in addition to the known literary sources, the inscription provides new details of the courageous resistance of Philippus, when he was being held a prisoner of Magnentius, and his release after Constantius' victory at Mursa (pp. 103-104). The information provided by the inscription make it possible to solve the problem of Philippus' fate as a

prisoner, that is to say, whether he died as a prisoner of Magnentius, or fell into disgrace, to be later rehabilitated by Constantius II (here Feissel also refers to modern historiography). Neither of these fates proves to be the case: the Latin text clearly indicates that Philippus did not die in captivity, and did not fall from grace, but was freed by Constantius II, who never doubted his dignitary's loyalty and rewarded him, while alive, with the great honour of gilded statues in the illustrious squares of Constantinople and the provincial cities. Feissel finally re-examines a key-passage from Constantius II's letter to the *vicarius* Marinus (PPRET 28, ll. 8-10: *Philippum parentem amicumque nostrum eximium recte praedicaverim / virum, cuius in dies singulos vigiliae dispositionesque, quibus ipsius imperii / mei incrementa revirescunt*, p. 106: «jour après jour les veilles et les mesures prises par lui font que les accroissements de mon empire lui-même reprennent leur verdure»). The scholar emphasises the use of the present tense in indicating the ongoing revival of Constantius II's Empire. Feissel links this highly positive statement with the mention of Philippus as praetorian prefect in the 352 AD inscription of the theatre of Hierapolis in Phrygia (PPRET 30), and concludes that Philippus, after his dismissal from the office of praetorian prefect of the East in 351 AD, was appointed by Constantius II as praetorian prefect again, but of Illyricum alone in 352/353 AD. According to Feissel, the *incrementa imperii* to which Constantius refers after his victory over Magnentius are the western provinces that were once the domain of his brother Constans, now freed from the 'tyranny' of Magnentius. These provinces were now reborn thanks to Philippus: therefore, since the Autumn of 351 AD the senator must have had a new important role at the head of the administration of the liberated provinces: a new praetorian prefecture, no longer in the East but in Illyricum. Feissel dates this prestigious new appointment at the latest, it seems, to between the end of 351 and the beginning of 352 AD (in Sirmium); the writing of Constantius II's speech to the eastern Senate and the imperial letter to the *vicarius* Marinus in the Spring of 352 AD; the making of statues to Philippus in the (eastern) cities before the end of 352 AD (pp. 104-109).

We would like to put forward a few observations on the imperial speech and on some aspects of the reconstruction proposed by Feissel. We follow the order of the topics treated by Constantius II in the surviving parts of his speech to the eastern Senate (col. I<sup>b</sup>, then col. II).

In col. I<sup>b</sup>, l. 7, the numeral *duo*[- -] could indicate the twelve years (*duo*[-*decim*]) of Philippus' employment of the young Constantius II Caesar, first as tutor then as advisor and palatine dignitary. From the end of 324 AD,

when he became Caesar at Nicomedia (November 8<sup>th</sup>), to the death of Constantine (May 22<sup>nd</sup> 337 AD) is just over twelve years. But *duo* could be the two years spent in the palace of Antioch (335-337 AD).

The entire surviving text of the first column is marked by a sort of ‘paternal obsession’. As Feissel (2024, p. 86) notes, in ll. 9, 10, 18, 23, 26-27 the word *pater* occurs five times in reference to Constantine Augustus. This first part of the discourse clearly shows the total subordination of Constantine’s sons (his Caesars) to the will of their (elderly) father. The Caesars have no freedom to rule; they brought up and operate in the shadow of their Augustus: he appoints their tutors, their dignitaries, the military commanders of the sectors in which they fight (in turn Constantius II followed the same policy of control of his Caesars, as his father; see Porena 2023a, pp. 19-24, 36-46; 2023b, pp. 35-40, 49-58). Philippus also appears to be chosen by Constantine to manage the palace of Constantius II Caesar after 324 and certainly during his stay in Antioch (334/337 AD) (see ll. 4-5, 11-12, 16-18, 23-26). In ll. 23-26, the description of the relationship between Constantine Augustus and Constantius II Caesar reveals the young man’s terror when faced with the risk of the suspicion of conspiracy against his father: the experience of Crispus Caesar must have marked the young Constantius II’s sensitivity. The deep trust and affection that Constantius II had for Philippus are explicitly stated and emphasised, as the dignitary always enjoyed the trust and admiration of Constantine Augustus (*adfectum* is repeated three times in the surviving fragments, ll. 8, 11, 25). But Constantius II had had serious disagreements with his father’s most trusted man: the powerful praetorian prefect of the East, Flavius Ablabius. As is well known, once he became Augustus, Constantius II, had Ablabius killed, due to the hatred he had for his interference (see Porena 2023a, pp. 19-24). The bad relationship between Constantius II and Ablabius is in stark contrast to the excellent relationship between him and Philippus, as a trusted man, advisor and impeccable dignitary. The young Caesar had grown up under the careful guidance of Philippus, a protection that also served to allay Constantine’s suspicions.

In our opinion, at lines 12 and 18, the word *magister* and, at line 19, the word *magisterium* concerning Philippus’ role in the palace of Constantius II Caesar could refer to his position as *magister officiorum*, not as *cura palatii*. The verb *tractare* in lines 11 and 21, and the expression *quemadmodum rempu//[bllicam nostr]am gess[it]* in lines 13-14, seem to be technical verbs for the management of documentation addressed to and issued by the Caesar’s palatine chancelleries. The *magisterium* imposed by Philippus on himself and «on

himself and his own (men?)» (l. 19: *sibi ... suisque*) seems to refer to the correct management of the personnel dependent on the *magister* (maybe, not Philippus' family or relatives). The cited expression on lines 13-14 (*gerere rem publicam*) does not make sense for a simple *cura palatii*, who perhaps organised the logistics of the Caesar's residence in the first decades of the 4th Century, but it seems much more appropriate for the officer who was responsible for the civil and military administration that concerned Constantius Caesar in and even outside his palace. Therefore, it seems probable that the expression *suscepit curas palatii mei magis/[tri quidem] / nomine* (ll. 12-13) indicates Philippus' activity as chief supervisor of the central administration dependent on the Caesar (but appointed by Constantine Augustus) and refers to his official title of *magister (officiorum)*. Furthermore, a series of *magistri officiorum* of the 4th Century became praetorian prefects: the first was Eugenius in 340/344 AD, under Constans (see PPRET 48, ll. 2-3 and commentary), then (chronological order): Sibirius (375/379 AD, *PLRE I*, p. 839; Claus 1980, p. 189; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 382-385), Florus (380-381 AD, *PLRE I*, pp. 367 f.; Claus 1980, p. 157; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 205-208); Principius (383-385 AD, *PLRE I*, p. 726; Claus 1980, pp. 184-186; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 328-332; see PPRET 81), Eusignius (385 AD, *PLRE I*, pp. 309-310; Porena 2023a, pp. 91-96 and 108), Caesarius (386-387 AD, *PLRE I*, p. 171; Claus 1980, pp. 149 f.; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 85-88), Rufinus (388-392 AD, *PLRE I*, pp. 778-781; Claus 1980, pp. 187-189; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 342-356), Aurelianus (391 or 392-393 AD, *PLRE I*, pp. 128 f.; Claus 1980, pp. 148 f.; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 61-67). Gallus as Caesar had his own *magister officiorum* (Palladius in 351/354 AD, *PLRE I*, pp. 658 f.; Claus 1980, pp. 176 f.; Olszaniec 2013, pp. 308-310); on the rise of the *notarii* to high offices up to the praetorian prefecture in the 4th Century, see Tantillo 2023. Philippus may have been the first known *notarius*, then *magister officiorum* to be promoted to the praetorian prefecture (of the East).

Concerning col. II, the content and tenor of the surviving fragments of the speech show that the decision to honour Philippus was taken by Constantius immediately after he had retrieved him, that is to say shortly after his victory at Mursa (September 28<sup>th</sup> 351 AD). According to D. Feissel, at the end of 351 AD Constantius II appointed Philippus to a new praetorian prefecture – his second one – this time over the recently reconquered Illyricum. Feissel (p. 106, see above) re-examines a key-passage from Constantius II's letter to the *vicarius* Marinus (PPRET 28, ll. 8-10), written – as it seems – in late 351 or 352 AD, and states that the present tense *ipsius imperii / mei incrementa revirescunt* is proof that Philippus is carrying out an assignment as

praetorian prefect. We remain cautious about this hypothesis for the following reasons. The double relative clause ending with the present tens *revirescunt* is an anacoluth, since *cuius ... vigiliae dispositionesque* (l. 9) lacks the main verb. Probably the essence of the emperor's thought in this defective relative clause is that the prefect's wise day-to-day administrative efforts in the recent past have helped establish the Empire's financial solidity and vigour in the present time. The verb *reviresco* is defective in the past tense: in the Latin prose of the 1st/5th Century it lacks the remote past. On the other hand, in the letter to Marinus all the verbs that refer to the administrative activity and career of Philippus are in the past tense (see PPRET 28): l. 11: *posthabuit*, 14: *inluxit*, 17: *apparuit*, 18: *enituit*, 20: *studuit*, *invidit*, 21: *potuit*, 22: *ausus est*, 23: *fuertint*, 24: *potuit*, 28: *coepit*, 30: *probaverit*. If we turn to Constantius II's speech from Perge, even in a fragmentary context, in col. II, l. 12 we read that «[...] he has adorned the summits of [the highest] dignities [...]» (*[summaru]//m di[g]nitatum apices ornabit*). The emperor states that Philippus made the praetorian prefecture illustrious in the past; nowhere in the surviving text is there any allusion to a current praetorian prefecture (but Philippus' inscriptions from Chytri, Perge, and Hierapolis refer to him as «prefect» and not «former-prefect»). Constantius II could well have emphasised Philippus' new prefectural appointment between lines 23 and 25 of the second column, which are perfectly readable, but he did not. In both documents, the awarding of gilded statues in honour of Philippus in the cities is justified by merits acquired in his previous career, while there are no references to a new prestigious praetorian prefecture in progress (it is not by chance that many scholars have assumed that Philippus was already dead when Constantius II wrote the letter to the *vicarius* Marinus, PPRET 28). Immediately afterwards, in the final part of the second column (ll. 31-39), Constantius II expresses his gratitude to Philippus for his past career; Philippus' loyal services are «recalled in the memory» of those who see his statues in the cities; this memory of Philippus' past career – not his current assignment – would stimulate the devotion of dignitaries serving at that time. And Chytri inscription praises Philippus for his single praefecture, which had already been carried out (PPRET 27, ll. 5-7). This perspective weakens the hypothesis that Constantius II appointed Philippus again as praetorian prefect soon after the victory at Mursa.

In the inscriptions in honour of Philippus, made in Chytri (*Oriens*, PPRET 27) and in Perge (*Asiana*, PPRET 29) in accordance with the orders of Constantius II, as described in the speech to the Senate of Constantinople and in the epistle to the *vicarius* Marinus (PPRET 28), the iteration of Philippus'

praetorian prefecture is not mentioned. A possible praetorian prefecture (of Illyricum) held by Philippus in late 351-352/353 AD must be his second praetorian prefecture, separated from the first (of the East) by the ambassadorship and imprisonment under Magnentius (by which time Philippus had been dismissed from his praetorian prefecture of the East). If Philippus was once again praetorian prefect in 352 AD, the inscriptions carved below his gilded statues would indicate the iteration. It is therefore likely that Philippus held only one praetorian prefecture (346-351 AD) in the East. The surviving inscriptions to him in the East (Chytri PPRET 27; Perge PPRET 29; Hierapolis Phrygia PPRET 30, Chalcedon in Lyd., *Mag.* II 9, 6) and of the letters of Constantius II to the *vicarius* of *Asiana* (Ephesus; Alexandria Troas; Laodicea on the Lycus, see PPRET 28) suggest that in his speech (col. II, ll. 29-39) Constantius II had intended erecting monuments within the perimeter of the praetorian prefecture of the East held by Philippus. In this area the cities actually benefited from his generous and zealous administrative work when he was responsible for all the East. This geo-administrative boundary fits well with the fact that until the Autumn of 352 AD Magnentius governed Italy and the West: in 352 AD Constantius II therefore proceeded to glorify the faithful Philippus with monuments, when his *pars* was limited to the East and Illyricum. Only on November 3<sup>rd</sup> 352 AD did Constantius II arrive in Milan (*CTh* XV 14, 5). In other words, at the end of 351 AD Constantius II was euphoric for still having his faithful mentor and collaborator in one piece, after realising that he had made a mistake in exposing Philippus to mortal danger. Thus, the emperor hastened to organise the celebration of the career that Philippus had gloriously concluded, a career that, at this time, had probably all been conducted in the eastern provinces and dioceses.

A final thought concerning the hypothesized praetorian prefecture of Philippus in Illyricum in 352-353 AD. In our opinion, Vulcacius Rufinus was praetorian prefect of Illyricum during the war against Magnentius, that is to say, during a conflict that had been ongoing for three years and had not yet ended (January 350-end 352 AD; see PPRET 32). Vulcacius Rufinus defended Constantine's family in Illyricum and the legitimate throne of Constantius II. He was the maternal uncle of Gallus Caesar (*Amm.* XIV 11, 27): in 352-353 AD, while continuing the war against Magnentius, the praetorian prefect of Illyricum and the Caesar in the East were relatives of Constantius II Augustus. Maybe Rufinus was followed by Lollianus Mavortius in (late?) 354-355 AD (see PPRET 45) and during 354 AD Rufinus was praetorian prefect of Gauls: there does not seem to be room for an

appointment of Philippus at the head of the praetorian prefecture of Illyricum, except perhaps between 353 and 354 AD. Unfortunately all the surviving inscriptions celebrating Philippus seem to be engraved in 352 AD, and the years 350-354 are very poor in imperial constitutions. However, the constitution *CTh VIII 7, 2* must be taken into consideration. According to the manuscripts, it was issued in Arles on November 3<sup>rd</sup> 326 AD and addressed *ad Philippum p(raefectum) p(raetori)o*: neither the place or the year coincide, because on October 23<sup>rd</sup> 326 AD Constantine was in Milan (*CTh IV 22, 1*) and on November 22<sup>nd</sup> 326 AD he was in Aquileia (*CI II 19, 11*), on his way to Sirmium, after celebrating his *Vicennalia* in Rome. P.O. Cuneo (1997, p. 221) cautiously attributed the constitution to Philippus as *vicarius urbis* in 326 AD (see *PLRE I*, p. 695) and considers his office *p(raefectum) p(raetori)o* (but actually also the place of issue) to be wrong. Th. Mommsen (*CTh*, p. 395) suspected that there was an error concerning the (right) consular year 346 AD, while A.H.M. Jones (1955, pp. 232 f.) thought that there was an error concerning the (right) consular year 349 AD (but a constitution issued by the emperor Constans to a praetorian prefect of the East is anomalous). On the basis of Constantius II's residence in Arles in the Winter of 353/354 AD (*Amm. XIV 5, 1* and *10, 1*), O. Seeck (1919, pp. 38, 41, 199 f.) proposed that the constitution was sent to the praetorian prefect Philippus in 353 AD: this dating has been successful (see recently Bleckmann 1999, p. 82, n. 142; Moser 2018, pp. 203-205 revised in Moser 2024, p. 416, after appropriate criticism by Zuddas 2023, p. 439). In our opinion, the contents and the tenor of Constantius II's speech to the Senate of Constantinople and of his letter to the *vicarius* Marinus, as well as the absence of iteration of the office of praetorian prefect in the 352 AD inscriptions in honour of Philippus, lead us not to easily accept a second praetorian prefecture of Philippus after Mursa on the basis of our imperfect constitution (significant caution is shown by Feissel 2024, pp. 107 f. and n. 210). It is possible that *CTh VIII 7, 2* dates back to November 353 AD, and it may be the slender trace of a second praetorian prefecture held by Philippus between late 353 and 354 AD, perhaps in Illyricum, but this appointment would have occurred after the creation of the series of statues in his honour. It may have been held between the praetorian prefecture of Vulcacius Rufinus (last attested in Illyricum probably by *CTh V 2, 1*, of December 1<sup>st</sup> 352 AD, see *PPRET 32*) and that of Lollianus Mavortius (first attested *CTh VI 29, 1*, of July 22<sup>nd</sup> 355 AD, see *PPRET 45*; on the constitutions addressed in 352-354 AD by Constantius II *ad Rufinum p(raefectum) p(raetori)o* and *ad p(raefectos) p(raetori)o*, see Porena 2003, pp. 356-371).

For references to gilded bronze statues in honour of praetorian prefects, erected in prestigious public places in this period (*sub auro, inaurata, auro condecorata*), as mentioned in our imperial speech at l. 25, see of course PPRET 27, 28, and 46, 48, 51; for bronze statues see PPRET 24, 54, 57, 58.

Regarding the possibility of Philippus commissioning the funerary monument of the praetorian prefect Maiorinus, see PPRET 26.

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