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Chapter 1 General Introduction

1.1 The Nature of the *Historia Augusta*

It may come as a surprise to many students of classical literature that the *Historia Augusta* (henceforth: *HA*)[1] belongs to the most intensively studied works of classical historiography. The obvious explanation for this happy fact is that the *HA* is by far the most voluminous historiographical source still surviving for the imperial history of the third century and, in addition to authors as Herodian and Cassius Dio, provides valuable information about the second and third centuries. Hence, the *HA* has generally been studied from an historical point of view, as an indispensable source for this period.

Unfortunately, the anonymous author of the *HA*, writing at the end of the fourth century AD or somewhat later, only had a superficial knowledge of the preceding centuries. In spite of poor material, he undertook the ambitious project of describing all the emperors, as well as their colleagues and rivals from Hadrian to Diocletian, leading to a patchwork of texts, based on sources of varying reliability, put together in the format of a series of imperial biographies. The way in which he composed his work forced him to pay some attention to its presentation: he constructed a series in the tradition of Suetonius, whom he greatly admired. In contrast with his model, he felt a need to add much authorial comment, through which he attempted to clarify the style and structure of his work. In order to enhance the unity of the heterogeneous fragments, he used recurring themes throughout the biographies. In addition, he introduced elements of a purely literary character: dedications to two emperors from the early fourth century (Diocletian and Constantine), epilogues, fictitious authors and sources, and fake documents. Given these aspects, which occupy a substantial part of the total text of the *HA*, any reader of the work will understand that, apart from being a problematical source of historical knowledge, the *HA* is partly a work of fiction with literary pretentions, however varying its appreciation may be by those who study the *HA*.

This aspect of the *HA* is one that has attracted less attention in its investigative history, although in recent commentaries the literary art of the *HA* has received increasing consideration.[2] The general concern has been to distinguish between fact and fiction in the text of the *HA*. This has been effected not only by comparing its data with material

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[1] Manuscript *P* (s.IX) labels the work, here referred to as the *HA*, as: *Vitae diversorum principum et tyrannorum*, which, according to Callu *e.a.* 1984/5, 97n4, was borrowed from the first words of the biography of Opilius Macrinus (*OM*). The catalogue of Murbach (s.IX) has *Vita cesaru(m) v(e)l tira(n)noru(m) ab helio adriano us(que) ad Car(u)m carinu(m) libri VII* (Callu 1985, 119, first described by Bloch 1901, 271n268). The name of *Historia Augusta* is given by Sylburg 1588 (followed by Casaubon 1603: Callu 1992, VII), who supposedly took it from the text of the emperor Tacitus' biography (*Tac*. 10.3). In title descriptions on frontispieces of the printed work or in bibliographies, the designation *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (or: *SHA*) came into use, a notation which passed out of use in the course of the twentieth century after the acceptation of Dessau's discovery in 1889 that the book is to be attributed to one author, instead of the six authors who were supposed to have composed the thirty books. Unfortunately, the authors' names are still in use in some bibliographies, catalogues and other systems of reference, a practice that should be discarded as it easily leads to mistakes.

[2] Particularly Paschoud 1996 and 2001; Fündling 2007.

sources (coins, papyri, inscriptions, artefacts, buildings) or by source criticism through comparison with other historiographical works, but also by studying important aspects such as authorship, date of composition, the author's social and intellectual circle, the aim of the work and, above all, sources.[3] As historical approaches greatly predominate, much less attention has been paid to the internal composition of the work, such as style, structure and language.

After Dessau's essential discovery that a single author at the end of the fourth century had been responsible for the composition of the *HA* as we know it (which Mommsen in 1890 partly accepted, while Klebs and others rejected the theory fiercely), the studies by Hohl (starting from 1911) marked the beginning of a new stage that was characterized by a clear-cut acceptance of Dessau's insight.[4] Hohl's advertisement of Dessau's view advanced further investigation of the treacherous parts of the *HA*. In the latter half of the twentieth century, Ronald Syme was the first to stress the importance of the more imaginative parts of the work, in an effort to obtain a clear picture of the author's conceptions of historiography and, following this, of the composition, structure and development of the work.[5] Though not all of Syme's ideas have withstood the rapid progress of scholarship, modern studies and commentaries show that literary aspects are finally receiving due attention. The inventive mind of the author can no longer be neglected for a proper assessment of the imbroglio which is the *HA*. Syme's main readjustment of Dessau's thesis that the *HA* had been written by a 'Fälscher'[6] is that the author can be characterized as a 'rogue scholar'. While Dessau declared at the end of his article that a mystery was involved,[7] Hohl saw the *HA* as 'ein Stück Unterhaltungs-lektur',[8] and Syme defined it as 'a garden of delights, with abundant refreshment', its author being a 'frivolous impostor' or a 'farceur'. Not so much forgery, then, but rather

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[3] A revival of this aspect of research has been seen in the past few decades, especially since Syme's and Barnes' important studies on the subject. In the nineteenth century, Enmann's theory about the *Kaisergeschichte* (*EKG*, Enmann 1884) provoked much discussion, and is still (though not entirely uncontested) a guiding principle in the discussions about sources today. The essence of his theory is, that the *HA* and the abbreviators Aurelius Victor and Eutropius all drew their information from the same source, now lost. For a recent overview of the discussion, see Burgess 2005.

[4] In 1911, Hohl published a study about the *vita Taciti*, followed by an article on the authors' names Pollio and Vopiscus the year after. In 1915, in *Bursians Jahresberichte*, Hohl stated that Dessau's thesis should be the basis for any further research of the *HA*, which is indeed generally accepted nowadays. The discussion about single or plural authorship has revived in the past few decades, especially since the computer-based research initiated by I. Marriott in 1979. For an assessment of this discipline see Den Hengst 2002, Paschoud 2003.

[5] Syme's studies and contributions to the *Historia Augusta Colloquia* have been collected in four volumes about the *Historia Augusta* that appeared in 1968 (*Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*), 1971 (*Emperors and Bibliography*), 1971 (*A Call of Clarity*) and 1983 (*Historia Augusta Papers*), the value of all of which can hardly be overestimated in today's research.

[6] It is interesting to note that only one year before Dessau's contribution his main adversary Klebs came up with a harsh verdict about the author's composition of the life of Avidius Cassius (*AC*) and explicitly called him a 'Fälscher' (1888, 342), without perceiving the full consequences of this statement.

[7] Dessau formulated the problem of the *HA* in his famous words at the end of his revolutionary contribution to the debate (1889, 392): 'Eine Mystifikation liegt vor; es ist nicht zu verwundern, wenn es uns nicht gelingt, die Persönlichkeit ihres Urhebers mit völliger Deutlichkeit zu erkennen'.

[8] Hohl 1937, 141: 'Die *HA* ist doch kein Geschichtswerk, sondern ein Stück Unterhaltungsliteratur'. Cf. Syme 1971, 282: 'The *Historia Augusta* is a literary product. The primary task is to investigate its structure and genesis' (with reference to Hohl 1958, 152).

'imposture' or 'impersonation'.[9] It is the design and the underlying ratio of that work which we will study in the coming chapters.

1.2 The Aim of This Study

The present study is an attempt to analyse aspects of the literary art of the *HA*. It is true that the *HA* contains a large amount of fiction, if the elements that are meant to delude the reader in his search for historical facts may be called so. Such artifice, however, is sometimes meant to be understood by the reader, however complicated its instances may seem and however deeply they may be concealed under the surface of the text. There is a system to the seemingly arbitrary ways of describing the emperors, and many contradictions in the authorial comments are part of a literary game that is intended to be ultimately understood, not to remain hidden from the reader. The clues to uncovering the deception are there for him to find and can be found by reading between the lines.[10] The *HA*'s 'garden of delights' is designed to be enjoyed, not to frustrate the reader in his quest for information about imperial history. Syme's attempt, after Dessau's example, was to unmask the impostor.[11] Here lies the point of departure of this study, and we shall try to show that examining the literary framework in which the historical content is enclosed will take us closer to an understanding of the *HA* as a whole. Our own lack of knowledge about the period in which the *HA* came into being often prevents us from fully realising where and when the author is weaving his illusions, on the added understanding that, at our great remove, we have far more difficulty in recognising the author's subtleties than his own contemporaries.

Meanwhile, the subject matter of the *HA* is made out of imperial history. By investigating the form in which the chapters on the history of the second and third centuries are presented, our understanding of the reliability of their historical content may improve. Sometimes, information about the history of the era in question has the character of a literary imitation of earlier periods in Roman history and literature, while elsewhere the author incorporates anachronistic elements in his work by borrowing from contemporary authors of the late fourth century.[12] Studying style and structure and, to a

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[9] The characterisations are taken from Syme 1968, 4; 1971, 10, 13 and 284. A literary approach was advocated by Hasebroek 1916, 5; Hohl 1920, 307-10 and 1958, 152; Syme 1971, 263: 'A rogue scholar saw the fun to be got from erudition. (…) An attempt might be made to put him [i.e. the author] in some literary genre, or at least in the vicinity'; Straub (1952, 7) states: 'Hier beginnt die zweite Aufgabe, die ihrerseits wieder zwischen der Ermittlung der persönlichen Äusserungen und Kunstgriffe des Verfassers und deren Einordnung in die zeitgenössischen bzw. bildungs- und literaturgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zu unterschieden hat'; Straub (1976, XXXVI) characterises the author as 'ein Literat, der (…) mit den Schätzen einer enzyklopedischen Gelehrsamkeit aufwartet, um (…) den Gebildeten zur anregenden Diskussion im launigen Ludus einzuladen und dem allgemeinen Leserpublikum die im Rahmen der historischen Erzählung willkommene Unterhaltung und Belehrung zu vermitteln'; Den Hengst 1981, 1-2; Scholtemeijer 1984, 4.

[10] Syme 1968, 2: 'And here and there, the deceiver lifts the veil, gently'. Also Dessau's remark about the plurality of authorial names points in the same direction (1889, 392): 'Der Gedanke, die Entdeckung der Fälschung dadurch schwieriger zu machen, dürfte ihm fern gelegen haben.'

[11] '…an attempt will be made to unmask that impostor. To stop short would be weak and miserable' (Syme 1968, 4).

[12] For example, when anecdotes about earlier emperors are transposed to the lives of later emperors, which frequently occurs when the author uses Suetonius (Chastagnol 1972). Such cases may be called temporal

lesser extent, language is the method which the present study seeks to apply in order to better evaluate the historical data and the author's sources, for both historical fact and literary models. The evaluation of the component elements and parts of the *HA*, recognizable by sudden switches or striking breaks in the narration, sometimes produces a better insight into the author's use of sources and his aims for the entire work. Such a combined historiographical and philological approach to the *HA* will prove to be fruitful for a greater understanding of this enigmatic work. This study, though primarily intended to discuss problems of style and structure, intends to show how an investigation of the formal aspects of a historiographical work can advance historical knowledge, and how the progress that has been made during the past decades with regard to historical issues can contribute to improving our understanding of the internal composition and the aims of the *HA*.

1.3 Lines of Approach

1.3.1 Style and Structure

In this study, terminology from the field of literary theory will be applied, as this is an indispensable tool in a study that involves the literary aspects of a historiographical work. Specialists in the field of late antique historiography may not always be acquainted with its terminology. Studies about literary theory, however, have steadily grown in volume, theories have been proposed, discussed and rejected, but some concepts have entered the realm of research to stay. Starting from these insights, I hope to advance the discussion about time as a narratological device in ancient narrative, especially with regard to the structure of ancient biography, which type of text is particularly suited to temporal analysis. The terms used will always be accompanied by a definition and some theory, when necessary.

Before turning to the constituent chapters of this study, let me sketch a general outline of the approach adopted in this study. The words in its title, style and structure, serve to describe the angle from which the parts of the *HA* to be discussed will be viewed. Defining these complex notions inevitably meets with theoretical problems, though for our present purposes, the following two descriptions will suffice. Style[13] is used with

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analepseis. Anachronisms (or temporal *prolepseis*) occur when names from the later fourth century are given to characters in the narration, such as Toxotius or Ragonius Celsus (Dessau 1889, 351-3) or when events from later times are referred to, such as the reference to the statue of Petronius Probus (*Pr*. 24.2 and Chastagnol 1994, XCVII) and the Probus oracle, a prophecy of future greatness for the descendants of the emperor Probus (*Pr*. 24.2-3, an important passage on which Dessau 1889, 355 based his thoughts about the dating of the *HA*). Paschoud 2001, 162-5 points out that in this passage the author refers to the consulate of Olybrius and Probinus in 395 AD, basing his words on Claudianus *Paneg. in Ol.* 11-14. Another anachronism is the reference to Zenobia's descendants, as attested in Eutropius 9.13.2.

[13] In the Penguin handbook by Cuddon (1998, 872) the term is defined as 'the characteristic manner of expression […], how a particular writer says things', with regard to choice of words, figures of speech, shape of the sentences and of paragraphs, in short 'of every conceivable aspect of his language and the way he uses it'. Genette (1993, 141), whose narrative theory will be an important basis for this study (see below, § 1.3.2) tries to define style in a semiotic sense, and concludes that style pertains to all the details of a narrative, and their relations: 'The "phenomenon of style" is discourse itself'. By this definition, style becomes more or less synonymous with structure, a term which does not figure in Genette's theory. For an

respect to language (words, idioms and expressions) and how the author uses it, while structure deals with relations between words, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, chapters, books as constituent parts of the *HA*.[14] The author himself repeatedly comments on the style of his narration (§ 3.5) and constantly draws the reader's attention to the design of his work (§ 4.3) through programmatical remarks. Of course, these comments only cover parts of the literary design, especially when the author thinks it opportune to direct the reader's perceptions and expectations.

Investigation of the structure and composition of separate books of the *HA* is important, as the division of the text into books offers better insights in the *HA* as a work of literature. The conventional use of the term 'structure' denotes the spread of the narrative material over the text and the dividing lines caused by transitions from one part to another.[15] Structure, in other words, normally relates to the formal framework in which the narrative content is presented, on the added understanding that structure is determined by its content. We shall use the term 'structure' for any level of the text, from its smallest appearances on word-level to the overall structure of the *HA*, when dealing with words, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, chapters and books. In the end, though this is not our primary purpose, investigating the structure may well reveal something about the genesis of the work (for this aspect, see especially § 5.6.5).

Apart from style and structure, the term 'theme' will be used, which pertains to passages which can cover parts of the text that range from a few words to entire paragraphs.[16] One of the characteristics of the *HA* is a high frequency of recurring themes, like that of the *boni malique imperatores*, considerations about biographical writing, heriditary emperorship, and, most of all, the *Nomen Antoninorum* (*NA*, chapter 5).[17] The latter theme constitutes a kind of continuous essay ranging all over the Earlier and Intermediary Lives in the *HA*, from *Ael*. to *Gd*., and has considerable consequences for the character of the entire *HA*.[18] This theme is elaborated to such an extent that several sub-themes are developed. For our investigation, the relation with literary

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impression of many different approaches towards style and the sheer impossibility to define it, see the volume edited by Chatman 1971 and its introduction (ix-xv).

[14] Cuddon (1999, 871) defines structure as 'the sum of relationships of the parts to each other; thus the whole', in which the parts can either be words, sentences, paragraphs, chapters, books, etc. It is worth considering the etymology of word 'structure': this is derived from the Latin *struō*, 'to compose', 'to build' or 'to construct', which was also used for literary composition (*OLD* 3 abc). In narratological treatises, structure is used in a different way than the traditional term derived from classical idiom: the term concerns the elements needed for mental reconstruction by the reader of the narrative, or the elements used to build the narrative, such as actors, events, time and place, cf. e.g. Bal 1994, 193-5.

[15] To mention an example, the treatment of structure by R. Syme, 'The Structure of Tacitus' *Annales*', in: *Tacitus*, Oxford 1958, 253-70. Many other examples of structure in prose works could be mentioned; in poetry, the term also includes technical matters such as metre.

[16] Sometimes, in remarks about the literary art of the *HA*, the notions 'Leitmotif' and 'motiv' are used instead of 'theme' and 'sub-theme'. Abrams (1981, 111) defines 'Leitmotif' (or 'guiding motif') as 'the frequent repetition of a significant phrase, or set description, or complex of images…' in either one or several works, while 'theme' is defined by Abrams (*ibid*.) as 'an abstract claim, or doctrine, whether implicit or asserted, which an imaginative work is designed to incorporate and make persuasive to the reader'.

[17] White (1967, 115-33) lists many themes with their occurrences in the *HA*.

[18] Several sub-themes are developed, such as the popularity of the name, its divinity, the use of *cognomen* and *praenomen*, etc., as shown in chapter 5.

tradition is essential, as it is this which has determined the design and structure of the *HA* to a high degree.

1.3.2 Textual Layers

The genesis or developmental history of the work, that is, the order in which the text was constructed out of several elements, can partly be traced by the author's use of sources and models. Such investigation involves the field of the author's *inventio* (Gr. εὕρεσις), a term taken from classical rhetoric. After *inventio* come the processes of *dispositio* (Gr. τάξις, the ordering of the component parts) and *elocutio* (Gr. λέξις, the wording).[19] In the majority of modern textual analyses, the development of the work is not of paramount importance but merely a facet, as narratology- as a discipline- is largely concerned with the text as it is, not with the processes that led to it as an end product. Although the points of departure between classical and modern approaches differ (classical rhetoric describes the way in which the text comes into being - the *officia oratoris* - while modern narratology theorises about the different layers of the text), the two approaches can be reconciled to some extent. In this study, the terminology as developed by Genette will be used.[20] In a narrative text, three different layers are discernible: the 'story', or the elements out of which the text is composed (such as time, place, actors and events in the chronological order in which they actually figured); the 'narrative', which is the way in which these elements are ordered and presented to the reader, and the layer of 'narrating', which consists of words, sentences and paragraphs. Thus, the 'story' is a hypothetical layer that can be reconstructed by reading the text. The categories in ancient and modern theories can be reconciled by considering the story as the result of the process of *inventio*, or the gathering of the narrative elements, while the narrative is the result of *dispositio* and the text itself, in its final format, one of *elocutio*. Thus, the text contains at least three different layers that can be analysed each in their own way.[21]

There is one further consideration that should be taken into account. Narratology is a discipline that has sprung from the analysis of narrative but non-historical texts, such as novels. This means that no distinction is made whether the component elements are fictional or based on fact. The elements of the sort of narrative that it deals with are not supposed to be historical fact. In recent times much work has been done on historical texts, as there is no reason why they should be considered unsuited to narratogical analysis.[22] The next few chapters will show that a literary approach may contribute to solving problems that thus far have been solely approached with the aid of historical

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[19] See for those central notions of classical rhetoric: Lausberg 1973[2] § 444-5 (p.244-5) and Leeman 1963, 27. The latter (following *Rhet. ad Her.* 1.3) defines *inventio* and *dispositio* as the *ratio rerum*, concerning subject matter, and *elocutio* as *ratio verborum*, which relates to form.

[20] In the present study, I have adopted Genette's terminology as a theoretical framework for two reasons: first, Genette provides an elaborate treatment of aspects of time, which will be the main concern of this study when it comes to narrative, and second, Genette's narrative system also encompasses the notion of paratext, which will be another important topic in my research.

[21] Genette (1980, 27) describes 'story' as the signified or narrated content, 'narrative' as the signifier, statement, discourse or narrative text itself and 'narrating' as the narrative action.

[22] Hayden White in his *The Content of the Form. Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, London 1987. The book has a motto from R. Barthes: 'Le fait n'a jamais qu'une existence linquistique'. Narratological analysis in classical historiography has been developed particularly by De Jong 2007.

methods (especially source criticism). These problems concern the irregular structure of the *HA* (from separate to combined lives), the heterogeneity of the constituent parts within the individual books, the change of historical method as found in the first part to that of the second and third parts, the underlying *ratio* of the author's contradictory remarks about content and scope of his own work, his play with invented authors, his use of literary models that go beyond the historical scope of the *HA*, his conception of Roman history, the insertion of fake documents, and more, all of which will be described in the next section (§ 1.4).

1.3.3 Source Texts

One of the most distinctive traits of the *HA* as a literary work is the deliberate blend of fiction and historically reliable information. Though it does not matter narratively whether elements of the story are genuine fact or not, it still remains true that they may have a basis in historical information and parts of the narration can thus be characterized as reliable or false. This holds good for both literary fiction and historiography, though the premises in both types of text are notably different: a historiographer at least pretends that the historical information given is reliable, that all the reported events have actually occurred and the persons mentioned have really existed. A work of fiction does not have the pretence of depicting reality: both author and reader *a priori* accept that the narrative is not necessarily based on historical information, and that the characters in it do not exist in reality. The distinction between fact and fiction is therefore more relevant in historical texts than in novels e.g., and will be important in the course of this study for the evaluation of certain parts. In this connection, fiction is understood to be the result of the insertion of elements of an unhistorical nature into the narration, unhistorical pertaining to those elements that are not derived from historical facts or sources but exclusively based on the author's imagination or on some literary model.[23]

Both the historical and fictional parts of the *HA* are often based on a source text that provided the material for the narration. These source texts can be texts from a predecessor, inscriptions, documents or any other kind of written text that found its way into the *HA*, either literally quoted, translated, adapted or distorted. Most of the time, the underlying texts are not made explicit, whether the author expects the reader to grasp the origin or not. In other cases, the author does mention a source, be it that these sources do not always exist in actual fact. We will encounter several types of references and allusions in the course of our research, which we will summarize and illustrate with examples in the concluding chapter.

More important for a theoretical approach is the question how the relation between the *HA* and other texts must be viewed. Naturally, the classical practice of citing and emulating predecessors, as well as alluding and referring to them (the concepts of

[23] This last addition to the definition (viz. fiction based on a model) particularly pertains to cases when information from a different context is transferred to the narration of certain (historical) events. Some examples were already given in § 1.2n12 (anachronisms), and we will encounter more cases in the course of our investigation. Genette (1993, viii) theorizes about the difference between 'fiction' and 'diction', the former pertaining to the imaginary nature of the content of a narration, the latter to the formal characteristics of the statement, or the text itself. On the basis of this distinction, he elaborates on the differences between fictional narrative and factual report, such as historiography.

imitatio and *aemulatio*) are crucial for the understanding of almost all classical texts. In literary theory, this practice has been baptised as 'intertextuality', the literal presence of one text within another.[24] For Genette, intertextuality is only one out of five manifestations of 'transtextuality', a system that he developed in his *Palimpsestes* (1982, tr. *Palimpsests* 1997b). One of the other four is 'paratextuality' (treated in the next section, § 1.3.4).[25] In studies of Latin literature, the notion of intertextuality has been paid much attention to, especially with respect to poetry, while Genette concentrates on his other four categories, for the very reason that 'intertextuality' has been treated quite extensively.[26]

As remarked above, in the *HA*-studies much attention has been paid to source criticism, which in fact is a kind of study of intertextuality that is confined to the question from what texts the author derived his historical information. As the historical information features side by side with elements of a fictitious nature, it is important to pay attention to the relation between factual and fictitious parts within it. The elements (or *materia*) out of which the historiographical narrator moulds the story can be based on sources that treat the era described (either from a contemporary view or from a later era) or can be derived from models that do not treat or even belong to the period covered by the story. In the former case, we will speak of the source texts as 'sources', in the latter as 'models'. The distinction between models and sources must be understood as an approximation of a problem that is actually more complex. What to make oft a deliberate mistake by the author, derived from a source which he knew was wrong, or when historical information about an emperor is transposed and applied to the life of another? In the case of the *HA*, sources and models are often closely interwoven. When sources turn out to have been distorted deliberately, the distinction becomes somewhat tenuous, so that it will be necessary to evaluate such instances from case to case. In some instances, the author re-uses information that occurred earlier in the text of the *HA* in a different context. Here, when no exterior text can be indicated as the origin of a certain piece of information, earlier books serve as source texts for later books, a phenomenon which we can head under the label of 'intra-textuality'. Finally, it is worth noting that the use of a certain source text can both be deduced from very short passages (consisting of only a

[24] The 'literal presence' manifests itself in several ways and in several degrees of similarity between the text and the source text, which varies from quotation (the unaltered rendering of words from another text) to superficial allusion (e.g., when using a similar theme) with a minimum of corresponding words. In the latter case, it is of course questionable whether or not vague references indicate direct textual relationships. Between these extremes, there are many variations, such as echoes (when words or clauses are used in more or less altered forms), translations (words or clauses that render the content of a text from another language, such as Greek), paraphases (when words or clauses are meant to render the original meaning in a slightly altered form), summaries (when passages from another text appear in a much condensed form), imitations (when thematic or stylistic devices from an older text are employed to create a new text), parodies (imitation of a playful character), distortions (a deliberately false rendering of words from another text), *etc.*

[25] The other three manifestations are not taken into account in this study, but are worth mentioning in order to provide the full picture: 'metatextuality' (or the link between a commentary and the text it comments upon), 'hypertextuality' (or the superimposition of a later text on an earlier one) and 'architextuality' (which is a matter of genre, or the type of discourse to which a particular text belongs). A summary of Genette's categories is provided by R. Macksey in Genette 1997, XVIII-XIX.

[26] An important contribution to the central notion of intertextuality and its manifestations in Latin poetry is Hinds 1998. Kelly (2008, 161-221) provides a useful treatment of allusion and intertextuality as encountered in the work of Ammianus.

few words) and, alternatively, whole sections. Shifts between different source texts, and the transitions and breaks that are caused by these shifts, determine the structure of the text. Thus, breaks in the textual structure may often indicate the use of different sources, as we will observe in the course of this study.

The *materia* out of which the historiographical narrator moulds his story is based on a historical source or a model for literary imitation. Besides these two categories, there is fiction – either derived from a model or entirely based on the author's imagination. It should be remarked that fiction remains an extremely difficult concept (not least because there are considerable differences between modern and ancient views on the phenomenon), to which several studies have been devoted.[27]

Examples of these categories in the *HA* will be provided in the concluding chapter. Apart from the relationships with other texts, there is another important factor that leaves its marks on the text, namely common knowledge, or the *materia* which is provided by contemporary events or persons. The influences of the author's *Umwelt* on the text of the *HA* are no part of this investigation, as we will focus on the textual relationships with literature of the late republican and early imperial period, but there certainly are contemporary persons and events that found their way into the narrative.

1.3.4 Time and Historiography

An important characteristic of historiographical texts, or rather narrative in general, is the ordering of the material along chronological lines. The elements of the story which recount historical events are defined by certain historical markers and are therefore linked by temporal relationships. Before determining the exact relation between historical time and the time inherent in the story, a first requirement is for time on the level of the narrative and time on the level of the story to be specified. In an absolute sense, the time of the narrative can either be defined as the span of time that a narrator needs to tell his story (which can be expressed in number of words, verses, sentences, pages etc.) or the span of time that the reader needs to reconstruct the story by reading (expressed in such units of time as seconds, minutes and hours). The notion of 'Time of the Narrative' (the terminology developed by Genette in his *Narrative Discourse*, 1980) is derived from what Günter Müller in 1948 described as 'Erzählzeit', though the notion is often considered of limited use for narratological analysis.[28] The examples provided in this study, are meant to make clear that this view does not do justice to the insights that

[27] See e.g. Wiseman (1993, 122-46), who also treats the preface of *A* in the *HA* (pp.124-6) and Feeney (1993, 230-44). Fiction can be considered the counterpart of *veritas*, which also comprises 'factual correctness' (Den Hengst 2009, 3). A crucial passage regarding *veritas* in historiography is Cic. *De Or*. 2.62-4. Woodman 1988 (followed by Pekary 1990, Wiseman 1993 and Cape 1997) states that Cicero allows the historiographer, just like the orator, to add any kind of information, true or false, to embellish his narration, which has been contested by Leeman (1989, 235-41, see also 1985, 266-7). Another key-text is Quintilian *IO* 2.4.2, who discerns between myth (not containing truth), fictitious stories (*argumentum*, chracterized by verisimilitude) and history (which reports facts), see Feeney 1993, 232. A discussion of the *veritas* problem is provided by Paschoud 1995b. For the notion of truth in Tacitus: Perkins 2003 and in Ammianus: Paschoud 1989 and Blockley 2001.

[28] The term was subject to critical considerations in the decades that followed Müller's article. As written narrative has, in contrast with oral narrative, no measurable duration, Genette calls Erzählzeit a matter of *pseudo*-temporality, as, depending on specific circumstances, its duration differs.

further analysis of temporal structures in the narrative will produce. Research on temporal distribution within narrative Roman literature has hardly been done, though Greek literature, including Herodian and Plutarch, has been researched extensively in the volume *Time in Ancient Greek Literature* (*Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* vol. II). For Roman literature, there is a world to be gained. The annalistic structure of Roman historiography, for example, raises numerous questions with regard to time distribution, and interesting conclusions may yet be drawn from its analysis, also in comparison with Greek literature.

In actual fact, Time of the Narrative (or: TN) mainly proves its value in relation to Time of the Story (or: TS), or so it is usually regarded.[29] Now the narrative, the length of which can be measured in words, moves forward in time (irrespective of the differences in pace, of which we shall come to speak later). In historiography, TS is closely connected with historical time, which can be expressed in years. The text in which historical events are described, can be measured in numbers of words (or eventually pages), and thus represents a quantity of space. This is why we can define a certain amount of text on the level of the narrative as Narrative Space (abbreviated as: NS). The relationship between text and the historical events described in it, and correspondingly the levels of the narrative and that of the story, is a relationship between spacial and temporal quantities, which practically always shows variations in the course of the narrating (or differences in 'narrative speed'). As for the macro-level of the narrative, there can be quite a regular pattern when it comes to the relationship between TN and TS. See the following example, in which the relationship between TN and TS is elucidated at the hand of Caesar's *De Bello Galllico* book 1, and then, of the whole of *BG*:

	TN (space: words)	TS (time: years)	TN / TS (space / time)
(1) Caesar *BG* 1	8180	1	8180 words a year
(2) Caesar *BG* 1-8	64158	8	8020 words a year

Figure 1.1*: TN (in words) and TS (in years) in Caesar's* BG *1 and of the entire* BG.

The example makes clear that in *BG* the narrator devotes just over 8000 words on average to each year of historical time. The annalistic structure of *BG* makes the example easily understandable for anyone seeking to analyse the relationship between TN and TS (as a year corresponds with a book) and at the same time shows how narrative analysis adds to our understanding of temporal structures in historiography.

[29] Genette 1980, 87: 'By speed we mean the relationship between a temporal dimension and a spatial dimension […]: the speed of a narrative will be defined by the relationship between a duration […] and a length (that of the text, measured in lines and in pages)'. Paul Ricoeur (1985, 78, 83-4) defined 'Erzählzeit' as 'a matter of convention, a chronological time, equivalent to the number of pages and lines in the published work' or 'the equivalent of and the substitute for the time of reading, that is, the time it takes to cover or traverse the space of the text'. 'Let us admit with Genette that we can only compare the respective speeds of the narrative and of the story, the speed always being defined by a relation between a temporal measure and a spatial one'.

The example requires further elaboration, and a table may clear the temporal structures of historiography. The NS devoted to pieces of historical time and its distribution over the books of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* is as follows:[30]

Bk	year	TN
1	58	8180
2	57	4161
3	56	3593

Bk	year	TN
4	55	4574
5	54	7358
6	53	5477

Bk	year	TN
7	52	11487
8	51	6491
Total		64 158

Figure 1.2*: TN (in words) in eight books of Caesar's* BG

It should be noted that in the first column, TN is indicated by the numbers 1-8, which correspond with the books of *BG*. The second column shows the corresponding years of the Gallic War. These quantities of historical time provided the annalistic structure for the books: this is how historical time is turned into TN. In Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, TS consists of 8 years (namely, the era of 58-51 BC). The narrative is broadly speaking chronological and perfectly linear, though some years are more elaborately described than others. One can illustrate the results of the analysis in the following diagram (words on the x-axis, years on the y-axis):

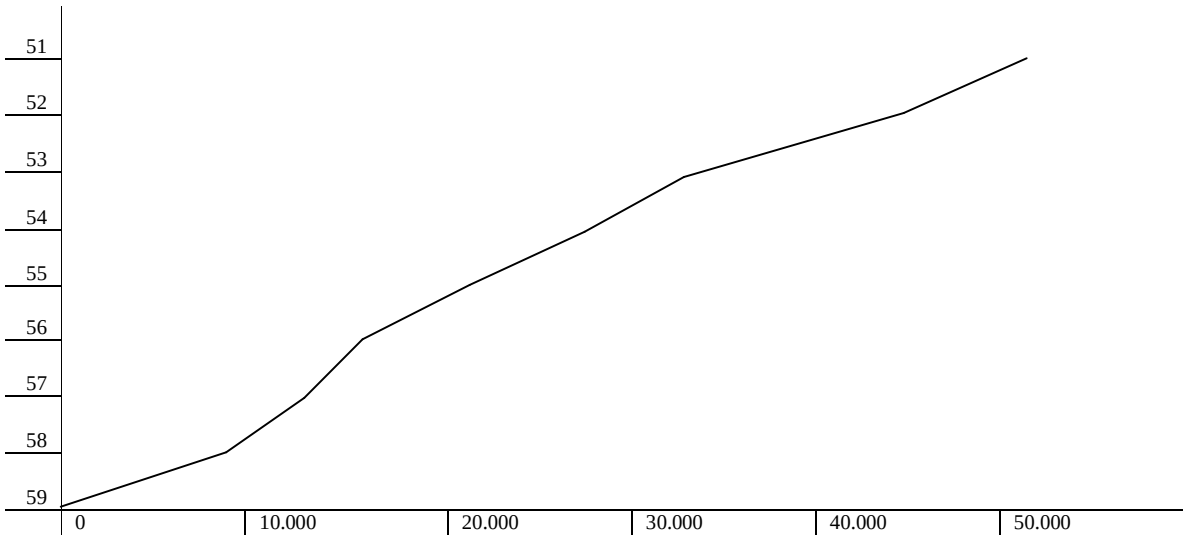

Figure 1.3*: TN related to TS in eight books of Caesar's* BG

The example of Caesar's works is given here as an introductory exercise for the more complicated distribution of time in the *HA*, to which we will return in § 4.4.

So far, we have studied the relation between narrative space and time (the narrative in words per year, in which time figures as the constant factor). The opposite

[30] It should be noted that the final book is by Aulus Hirtius but there is no compelling reason to exclude it from the series. For the rest, there are descriptive pauses caused by the winter break in Caesar's campaigns but this does not affect the overall design of the series.

effect occurs when varying amounts of time are treated in fixed spacial quantities.[31] This idea can be expressed by dividing time in terms of space, which leads to conclusions of the following kind: 'the narrator treats *x* unities of historical time in *y* words', in which *x* denotes, e.g. years, and *y* a number of words, or books. This approach becomes significant when there are conspicuous breaks in the narrative speed, for which Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae* may serve as an example. Ammianus treats 258 years (AD 96-353) in his first thirteen books (now lost), while 25 years (AD 353-78) are treated in eighteen books. So, in the earlier part, the author treats 20 years per book, while in the later part, the average is 1,4 years per book. This means a considerable retardation, or break in structure in the temporal relationship between TN and TS, in the middle of the collection. The break can be explained by the description of contemporary history in the later part, while the first part aims at summarizing the history between the end of Tacitus' *Annales* and the beginning point of the narration about contemporary history. A comparable break can be observed in the case of the *HA*, to which we will return in § 3.7.

The examples concern the structure of books (Caesar's *BG*, Ammianus' *RG*) on a macro-level, without considering the internal *divisio* of the narrative content within the books. In Narrative Discourse, however, the scope is normally on a micro-level, especially in those instances when changes in the relation between TN and TS occur. Here we had best take a brief, closer look at the different forms in which the relationships manifest themselves. The effects of the change in relation between the TN and TS have been categorised as 'summary' (a large measure of TS told in a short span of TN, or TN < TS)[32], 'scene' (TN and TS more or less correspond, the narration is produced in the same amount of time in which the elements actually must have occurred, or TN = TS)[33], 'ellipsis' (an amount of TS is not rendered in the narrative, or TS=x / TN=0)[34], 'pause' (TN does not render TS, or TS = 0; TN = x)[35]. Genette (1980, 93-112) calls the four temporal relationships 'movements' and treats them under the head of 'duration', though in his retrospective book *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, he prefers the term 'speed', or rather 'speeds' (1988, 34).

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[31] Genette (1988, 33) in his 'Narrative Discourse Revisited' calculates the average narrative speed of Balzac's *Eugénie Grandet* (ninety days per page) and Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* (5,5 days per page), but does not attach much value to the outcome ('I make no claim of great significance for this external comparison'). Genette takes lines and pages as spatial unities, which are, however, subject to editor's conventions. A first edition from a novel of the nineteenth century can take a totally different shape when it is reprinted a hundred years later in paperback, so that variations in narrative speed can only be measured within a book, while different books can hardly be compared to one another. The comparison between books is only possible when narrative space is measured in words (ultimately in letters and blank spaces), but not sentences, as they can vary in length without change of narrative space. Narrative space expressed in numbers of words represents an objective characteristic of texts that has been neglected in narratological theory, as it is generally held that TN only proves its value in relation with TS. The study of Narrative Space, therefore, offers opportunities for further research, such as an inventory of the lengths of books in ancient historiography, to mention just one instance.

[32] Instances of 'summary' (Genette 1980, 95-9) in the *HA* are treated below, sub § 3.3.2: *Hel*. 35.2; *AS* 64.1-2, cf. Tac. *Ann*. 1.1.

[33] Instances of 'scene' (Genette 1980, 109-10) in the *HA* are acclamations (as in *C* 18.3-19.9) or the reading of the letter by Macrinus in the senate, *OM* 6 (see § 6.4), *etc*. See § 6.1.

[34] The most striking example of 'ellipsis' (Genette 1980, 106-9) in the *HA* is the *lacuna*: TS = 16 years; TN = 0. See § 3.8.

[35] Instances of 'pause' (Genette 1980, 99-106) in the *HA* are prefaces, in which no historical time is described. See §§ 4.1 and 6.1.

The difference between Genette's approach and the one adopted in this study is that Genette's theory is based on the practice in novels, while the *HA* in principle consists of historical material. With regard to TN there is no real difference in this respect. We have made a readjustment of Genette's view by assuming that TN can be measured in an absolute sense (namely, in number of words).[36] In § 3.7 it will be shown that it does make sense to measure TN by itself, as some interesting conclusions can be drawn from these measurements in absolute numbers. With regard to TS, however, an important extra factor plays a part. TS can be reconstructed by reading the text. Historical time, however, concerns the time in history in which events actually occurred and persons (who may make their appearance as characters in the narrative) actually lived. The *materia* out of which the story is constructed consists of historical events or persons; this is, at least, what the author pretends. So, TS in historiography is connected with historical time (and not, as in the novel, to time that only exists virtually), which adds an important extra factor to the analysis of TS in historiography. The layer of the story as historiography has a complicated nature, and so has TS.

1.3.5 Speeches and Documents

An important factor of temporal discontinuity in the *HA* is the presence of documents in direct discourse (or: DD).[37] The historical narration is often interrupted by speeches (such as the emperor's addresses to the senate or senators' speeches), acclamations, letters and abstracts from the the *gesta senatus* or *acta urbis*. These parts of the narration, consistently rendered in DD, are far from unusual in historiography, while in biography they are less common but certainly not absent from the corpus (see § 6.2).[38] In terms of temporal structure, these parts in DS lead to a slow-down, as they interrupt the historical narration (TN<TS) with a verbal report of the spoken or written words (TN=TS). Apart from that, the responsibility for the content of the words is shifted to someone other than the author (or to a written record by another person). This latter aspect of narratological structure, which is the introduction of another narrator is not part of our analysis, as we will focus on temporal aspects and the embedding of the content of the document in the narrative context. The way in which the author composes the documents reveals a lot about his methods of historiographic *inventio* in general. Since the number of documents and speeches in DD is high, and the NS they occupy in proportion to the total length of the text is large, they determine the character of the *HA* to a great extent. There are, however, considerable differences between the individual books when it comes to DD, which reveal something about the structure of the entire *HA*.

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[36] Genette (1980, 86) states that the duration of a narrative 'can be nothing more […] than the time needed for reading'. Yet, from the examples on p. 92, it appears that Genette deems it possible to measure TN in absolute quantities, namely pages (the objections to which are formulated above).

[37] I use the term 'direct discourse' following the theory as developed by Laird (1999, 87-101), who distinghuishes between three different speech modes. In the case of the *HA*, DD is by far the most important speech mode, so that my treatment of speeches will be confined to the parts in DD (corresponding with the term *oratio recta* in traditional grammars).

[38] There is only one speech in indirect discourse (abbreviated as ID): Aurelius Victor Pinius' speech to the senate in *OM* 4.1-4.

In terms of temporal structure, documents show similarities with another conspicuous feature present in most of the books of the *HA*: prefaces. These, too, occupy a considerable part of TN, while also an internal development in the course of the narrative can be observed. The length and nature of the prefaces will be described in § 4.2, as well as the structural breaks when transitions to the historical narration occur, while in § 6.2 the NS they occupy will be compared with parts in DD. Though prefaces and documents are of a seemingly different character, they have in common that they can both be considered descriptions to substantiate the narrative, the former by reflection, the latter by the provision of evidence. As for temporal structure, prefaces, which mainly contain reflection on the narration itself, had best be regarded as 'scenes'. Strictly speaking, there is only TN and no TS, as the content of the prefaces does in principle not consist of events. Genette (1980, 109-12) treats descriptions of this kind under the head of 'scene', considering that disquisitions as encountered in prefaces bring TS to a standstill while TN continues, while later (1988, 36-7) he revokes the idea: he states that the narrative in such cases 'interrupts itself to give up its place to another type of discourse', 'in the manner more of a *fermata* [a full stop, DB] than a *rallentendo* [a slow-down, DB]', and introduces a fifth type of movement, that of 'reflexive digression'. This idea comes close to the notion of paratext, which Genette introduced few years later.

1.3.6 Paratext

The author frequently comments upon the writing of his own work. In his programmatic remarks, the author deals with matters as content, structure and style. In the process, he frequently refers to predecessors in biography, historiography and other types of writing (§§ 2.3-4), through which he seeks to anchor the series in the history of Latin literature. To unite his somewhat diffuse collection, he uses cross references – a procedure which will also be illustrated in § 2.4. These elements occur in prefaces, intermediary remarks and epilogues and belong to the most fanciful parts of the *HA*. His comments mostly concern style and structure, the latter item of which has our special attention: a book or series of books is dedicated to a person or dedicatee, structure and contents of a book or series of books are explained in prefaces, intermediary remarks and epilogues, or he refers to other authors in order to clarify the contents and structure of his own books. All of these aspects can be headed under the term of 'paratext'. Apart from programmatic remarks about the scope, content, style and order of treatment of the narrative, those elements must also be included which do not belong to the narration itself, but which are its 'liminal devices' between text and reader, such as titles, names of authors, dedications, prefaces and epilogues. Genette (1997, 1) coined the term and defined the function of paratext as 'what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public'.[39]

Apart from comments on the work itself, other devices of the book as a work of literary art also belong to the field of 'paratext'. Book titles, authors' names and dedicatees are part of what Genette (1997, 13) called the 'peritext' (the liminal devices

[39] Genette uses the term for the first time in *Palimpsestes* (1981, transl.1997b) and devoted a study to it, *Seuils*, in 1987 (tr. 1997). For the purpose of this study, I use the English translations of Genette's studies, in order to avoid terminological problems.

between author and reader within the book or its text, or appended to it). Peritext must be distinguished from 'epitext', which encompasses those elements that only have a slight relationship with the narrative text itself, but are still a guiding element in the interpretation of the *HA*. Both 'peritext' and 'epitext' are part of 'paratext'. Epitextual elements are the devices between author and reader outside the text or narrative, yet still related to it, such as glosses in the manuscripts (originating from the first centuries of the *HA*'s existence), or the division into chapters (from the sixteenth century) or the indication of book chapters by abbreviations (twentieth century). Epitextual elements can be admitted to the peritext, when it becomes part of the text proper. Two examples: i) the catalogue of Murbach (s.IX) refers to the *HA* as: *Vita cesaru(m) v(e)l tira(n)noru(m) ab helio adriano us(que) ad Car(u)m carinu(m) libri*, which is an epitextual device outside and independent of the text of the *HA*, while still referring to it, and ii) the designation of Tacitus and his works in *Tac*. 10.3 (*scriptorem historiae augustae*), which is an epitextual paraphrase of Tacitus' works, has become part of the peritext of the *HA* through Sylburg's designation of these works (see § 1.1n1). These examples are not only meant to elucidate Genette's terminology or, reversely, to apply narratological terms to the *HA*, but are also meant to clarify how elements from outside a text can affect the interpretation of the text proper. To give just one further example: Casaubon's division of the *HA* into chapters directs and influences the reader's interpretations to a certain degree, as appears from summaries of books by commentators. It is important for this investigation that the the text be studied free from Casaubon's division, as sometimes his system may hinder a clear analysis of textual structure.

The study of paratext developed from the study of narratology: whereas narratology regards the text proper, the study of paratext concerns the aspects that are complementary to the text.[40] Before the term was introduced, Den Hengst (1981) was the first to study the prefaces in the *HA*, certainly the most elaborate part of the paratext. As he makes many observations in his discussion of these prefaces about the style and structure of the *HA*, his study has proven to be important for the study of the literary aspects of the *HA*. It was shown that a philological approach, as called for by Mommsen in 1890 and stressed by Hohl in 1958,[41] is especially fruitful when applied to the paratext, as the *HA* is quite unique on the point of volume as well as the nature of its self-reflection. The problem is that the comments which underly this self-reflection are often ambiguous, as will be obvious to any reader of the *HA*. This is why in the present study the programmatic remarks will be reviewed thus: first, in their own right, as products of the author's literary art, and second, as referring to the content, style and structure of the *HA*.

[40] Apart from the items mentioned, editor, mottos, colophons, marginalia, etc. also belong to this field of study. In classical texts, *subscriptiones* are important as paratextual devices, just as the titles given to a book in manuscripts (see § 1.1n1)

[41] Mommsen (1890, 281): 'Wir brauchen einen Commentar, welcher für jede einzelne Notiz die in der Sammlung selbst so wie ausserhalb derselben auftretenden Paralellstellen vor die Augen führt oder auch deren Mangel constatirt, …'; and Hohl 1958, 152.

1.4 Contents of this Study

Models and sources partly determine the structure of the *HA* or, alternatively, the structure of the *HA* allows us to perceive models and sources. Investigating its atypical structure with respect to the books, as well as the internal structure of the individual lives, will allow us to examine aspects of the author's aims in writing his series and the relation which the text of the *HA* has with other works dating from the classical era.

The next chapter will open with an introduction as to structure and content of the *HA* in general (§ 2.2), with reference to models (§ 2.3) and sources (§ 2.4). Also, the investigative history which has led to the current ideas about the internal structure and book division of the *HA* will be briefly described. It will appear that a division in three parts (Earlier, Intermediary and Later Lives, the first category consisting of Primary and Secondary Lives) provides a good point of departure for a structural analysis of the *HA*.

Next, in chapter 3, we will inspect the author's own remarks about the structure of the *HA*. The *HA* contains a considerable amount of paratext that not only reveals the author's aims, however difficult to demonstrate this may seem, but also directs the reader as to how to interpret the work. The type of text (§ 3.2), content (§ 3.3) and scope (§ 3.4) of the *HA* will be studied in the light of his own statements about these issues. Two models will be proposed for the use of paratext: Nepos and Tacitus (§ 3.1-3). His statements about his sources will be investigated (§ 3.5) and the way in which he presents the final results of his works to his dedicatees (§ 3.6). A narratological approach will be applied to the paragraphs §§ 3.7 and 3.8: the distribution of time (TS and TN) in the *HA* is investigated, and the question is posed to what extent the author used this time division deliberately. This has also consequences for our interpretation of the much discussed *lacuna* between the lives of Maximus and Balbinus (*MB*) and of the two Valeriani (*Val.*). In 3.9 a description will be given of the author's ideas about Roman history in general, which provided the main elements for his narration. The chapter ends with an overview of good and bad emperors in the *HA*, or the theme of the *boni malique imperatores* (§ 3.10).

Whereas in chapter 3 the *HA* as a whole will be taken as point of departure, in chapter 4 the internal structure of the books is studied: first, the link of one of the most remarkable features of *HA*, the prefaces, with the biographical account, is mapped in the three parts that constitute the *HA* (§ 4.2). This goes to show that the internal division of the books attests to different programs: whereas in the first part of the *HA* the author separates co-emperors from emperors and tyrants, in the second part he begins to combine two or more emperors in single books, a structure which is further developed in the third part: the reasons for this irregular division of the material will be looked into (§ 4.3). This leads us to the internal time division of the books, particularly the space the author devotes to the youth and early career of the emperors compared with that of their reign (§ 4.4).

The structure of the Intermediary Lives in particular is largely determined by the presence of the major theme in the *HA*: the *nomen Antoninorum* (henceforth: *NA* theme). The space devoted to this theme and the way that this theme enters into the text will be studied in detail. Such a close study of the *NA* theme will provide a better insight into the author's inventions and his reasons for using the theme, and will also prove to be revealing with respect to the developmental history of the *HA* in general. The study is

ordered along the same lines as the eight books in which the theme occurs: the *NA* theme in the earlier lives (§ 5.2), in the Intermediary Lives (§§ 5.3 and 5), while halfway an analysis of the link joining these parts is necessary (§ 5.4). Then, a conclusion about the *NA* theme with all its aspects will follow: frequency, motifs and models, the development of the *NA* theme and its origin, with due attention to the question what the *NA* theme tells about the *HA* in general (§ 5.6).

An even more notable aspect that marks the structure of the *HA* is the use of documents, such as speeches, letters and abstracts from the *gesta senatus* and *acta urbis*, which all have to be considered as documentary evidence (§ 6.2). First, the NS devoted to this element is outlined and compared with the NS of prefaces and the *NA* theme, as measured in chapters 4 and 5 (§ 6.3). Then, an example of a speech in DD will be treated in detail: the embedding of the *oratio* in *OM* 6 (Macrinus' letter to the senate after his acclamation as emperor by the soldiers) will be explored, in order to find out whence the author got his information – or how the process of *inventio* works in the case of this fanciful part of the *HA* (§ 6.4).

Another kind of document is provided by the poetic fragment in *H* 25.9, the well-known and much-debated address by the emperor Hadrian to his soul. Its investigative history and textual issues will be elucidated (§ 7.2 and 3), after which literary matters will be looked into: literary models (§ 7.4), language (§ 7.5), structure (§ 7.7) and the literary culture and tastes of Hadrian's times (§ 7.8). The conclusion will focus on the question whether Hadrian's poem can be accepted as authentic (§ 7.9).

In chapter 8, an overview will be given of the conclusions reached in the present research, per chapter as well as on the whole. Suggestions for further research will be made.

1.5 Bibliographical Note

The basis of modern scholarship on the *HA* was laid down in five epochal years 1888-1894, in which heated discussions took place between Klebs (1888, 1890, 1892), Dessau (1889, 1892), Mommsen (1890), Seeck (1890, 1894) and Wölfflin (1894), who all had their own share in a discussion whose intensity can only be compared with the *Homerische Frage*.[42] New questions kept scholars debating during half a century, be it that in the second part of the twentieth century these *grundlegende Studien* were no longer always regarded as a basis for discussion.

The output of scholarship has grown enormously. In 1994, André Chastagnol's monumental and accessible *Histoire Auguste. Les empereurs romains des II et IIIe siècles* appeared in the Bouquin edition. This book, with its comprehensive introductions, translations, annotations, schemes, maps and indices in 1244 densely printed pages, provides a perfect introduction to the *HA* and its intricate problems. For a more extensive survey of sources, documents, authors' names, etc. I have made use of Lécrivain's still very useful book *Études sur l'*Histoire Auguste (1904). In recent times, another monumental work has joined the *HA* library: Jörg Fündling's *Kommentar zur Vita*

[42] Hohl (1958, 133) draws the same parallel when he calls Dessau, whom he supports without reserve, 'einem Friedrich August Wolf *mutatis mutandis* vergleichbar'.

Hadriani der Historia Augusta (Bonn 2006), in which both its history and investigatory progress are laid out in a vast introduction and accurate notes on individual passages.

Three series facilitate any scholar's work on the *HA* considerably: the commentaries in the French Budé series, notably the last two volumes by Paschoud (1996 and 2001), the commentaries in the German *Antiquitas*-series and the ever expanding series of the *Historia Augusta Colloquia* (*HAC*), from 1962 issued as the *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquia* (*BHAC*) in Bonn, and from 1990 onwards in Bari. Apart from the already mentioned works by Syme and the numerous articles dispersed in books and journals mentioned in the bibliography, it is these works especially that have provided invaluable information. Whenever I quote from the *HA*, this is based on Hohl's edition of the text of the *HA* (1927, 1965[2]) in the Teubner series, my sole departure being some text-critical symbols when they do not effect a good understanding otherwise. All other deviations from the text will be accounted for in notes. In individual chapters use is made of other publications not mentioned here, but they will get full attention and acknowledgement where and when needed.[43]

One of the few studies exclusively devoted to the literary aspects of the *HA* is Den Hengst's dissertation *The Prefaces in the* Historia Augusta (1981). Successive contributions by his hand to the *Historia Augusta Colloquia* complement his thesis with studies on authorial comment, documents and other, mainly philological, subjects (recently gathered in the *Collected Essays*, Den Hengst 2009). The studies entitled '*Verba, non res*. Über die Inventio in den Reden und Schriftstücken in der Historia Augusta' (1987) and 'Selbstkommentare in der Historia Augusta' (1995) are particularly worthy of mention in the light of the present study. Paschoud devoted a study to several literary and rhetorical techniques in 'L'*inventio* dans l'*Histoire Auguste*' (1997).

Finally, I wish to draw attention to a series of important articles devoted to the study of the *HA*. Three prominent scholars have described the development of the *status quaestionis* from time to time in voluminous articles, which are precious documents in the study of late antiquity: Hermann Peter inventories the period 1865-82 (Peter 1884), 1883-1892 (Peter 1893), 1893-1905 (Peter 1906), continued by Hohl for the period 1906-1915 (Hohl 1915), 1916-1923 (Hohl 1924), 1924-1935 (Hohl 1937), continued by Chastagnol for the period up to 1963 (Chastagnol 1964) and 1969 (Chastagnol 1970): more than one hundred years of investigative history in eight articles, a series that came to an end after the introduction of the *Historia Augusta Colloquia*. The attention paid to this enigmatic work, despite its unreliable content, demonstrates the central position of the *HA* in the study of late antique prose.

[43] Some other studies with an exclusively literary point of departure are Reekmans 1997, Cascón 1996 (both about 'humour' in the *HA*); Picón (1996, 279-95) gives a narrative analysis of the lives attributed to Julius Capitolinus; Picón 1996, 217-28 for the *vita Avidii Casii*. Poignault 2001 treats the tyrants from the *Quadriga Tyrannorum* as characters from a novel; Pausch 2009 treats the preface to *A* and related passages in a narrative framework. Bertrand-Dagenbach (1990, 19-20 and 50-3) treats passages in *AS* in accordance with Genette's 'fonctions du narrateur'.