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Title Style and structure of the Historia Augusta
Author D.W.P. Burgersdijk
Faculty Faculty of Humanities
Year 2010
Pages 301

FULL BIBLIOGRAPHIC DETAILS:
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Chapter 6 Documents and Biographical *Inventio*

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5, it was shown how an analysis of structural devices in EL and IL of the *HA*, regarding the *NA* theme, contributes to a better insight in the sources, as well as the genesis of the *HA*. The *NA* theme covers almost 10 per cent of NS in the analysed books (see figure 5.7 and 5.9), and represents 3 per cent of the total NS of the *HA*.[621] This makes the NA theme an important factor in the narrative structure of the *HA*. The same holds for the prefaces, analysed in chapter 4, which occupy 3 per cent of NS.[622] The *NA* theme and the prefaces have in common that they supplement the historical narration, while there is no TS present in these particular parts. The author tries to add more weight to the historical narration by affixing these passages to his report of the course of events, thus expanding NS, and reflecting on the content of the narrative. For this same purpose, 'documents' are inserted in the narration as well. These documents, rendered in DD,[623] cause breaks in structure by the fact that TN and TS are equal (in fact, TS is only present insofar as the text is said to have been read out or spoken by a character).[624] The documents are often woven into the fabric of an historical account, which results in a lower narrative speed. These parts in DD are suggested to have come from documents that were at the author's disposal. We will first try to establish the way in which the author makes use of documents and the way he works them into his narration. Then, the extent will be mapped to which the three kinds of passages, the *NA* theme, prefaces and documents, are present in the three parts of the *HA*. The chapter ends with a case study of a document in *OM*, chapter 6, which reveals much about the author's working method.

6.2 Documents

Apart from the *NA* theme and prefaces, the prevalence of documents in DD is an important structural device of the *HA*.[625] Nowadays, none of the documents is considered

[621] 3 214 words of the *NA theme* divided by 108 281 words of the entire *HA* = 2.97 percent.
[622] 3 250 words of the prefaces divided by 108 281 words of the entire *HA* = 3.0 percent.
[623] I use the term direct discourse
[624] From a narratological point of view, documents can be described as 'scene', in which the TN = TS (Genette 1980, 94-5 and 109-12). For theoretical problems regarding this viewpoint, see § 1.3.5 (these kind of reflective passages can also be regarded as a 'fifth movement'). Laird, who analyses speeches in direct discourse in classical historiography, states that 'When direct discourse is used, the time it takes to recount that speech on the narrative plane appears to become synchronized with the actual time it would take for that speech to be uttered in the world of the story. If 'narrative time' were ever equivalent to 'story time', it would have to be when direct discourse is presented' (1999, 90).
[625] Studies have been devoted to the documents by Peter (1892, 153-231); Lécrivain (1904, 45-99); Homo 1926-1927; Szelest 1971; Mouchovà 1975, 39-47, Carlozzo 1977, Baldwin 1981 (acclamations), Den Hengst 1987. Lécrivain sums up 68 letters, 31 speeches to the people, soldiers and others, 30 *orationes* and letters to the senate, 20 *senatus consulta*, *acclamationes* and letters from the senate, 2 acclamations of the people, 2 *edicta*, 1 *brevis* (total 154). One decade before Lécrivain, Peter (1892, 154-5) made another, less

as authentic, which indicates that they all belong to the domain of literary invention.[626] In the following analysis, the narrative space occupied by the speeches and their distribution will be mapped out on the basis of Lécrivain's inventory, and compared with the NS of prefaces and the *NA* theme. Documents are defined as those parts of the text in which a report in DD is given.[627] This can either be an address or a letter from the emperor to family members, soldiers, people or the senate, or the other way round, sometimes in form of acclamations. Also other official-looking reports are also encountered:

exhaustive counting, though he included inscriptions: 77 *epistulae*, 31 *orationes*, 10 *contiones*, 3 other speeches, 7 inscriptions, 2 edicts (130 total, corresponding with Szelest's number: 1971, 325). Paschoud (2002, XXIX) has almost the same number of speeches as Lécrivain, though there are three slight differences: in *A* Paschoud counts 21, while Lécrivain gives the number of 23, in *Pr*. 14 instead of 13 and in *Q* 6 instead of 7. I adhere to the list as provided Lécrivain for the reason that i) he lists and cites the speeches, which makes the counting verifiable; ii) differences in interpretation can cause deviations, e.g.: a reaction of a responding party to a speech can be either be counted as a separate speech or as part of the same document and iii) small deviations do not really matter for the narrative space or for the overall impression of the narrative, viz. the reader's experience.

[626] This view has been shared in the last decades, though in the years following Dessau's revolutionary article some scholars still held that they might be authentic. For example, the acclamations in *AS* treated in § 5.5.2 were considered authentic by Lécrivain (1904, 77-9)), while Alexander's responses were not. Hönn (1911, 158-9) rejected their authenticity altogether ('völlige Inhaltslosigkeit', 'willkürige Erfindung', 'offenkundige Wertlosigkeit'). An exceptional position in the discussion is taken by *C* 18.1-20.1, see § 6.4.1.

[627] There are also pieces in direct discourse which are traditionally not reckoned among the documents, especially verses (Baldwin 1978, Den Hengst 1995b, 1997), in epigraphic form (*T* 11.5, see Chastagnol 1994, CXXIII and below) or as oracles (*PN* 8, see below).

Acclamations	
by the senate	***C*** 18.3-16; ***AC*** 13.1-5; ***OM*** 2.4-5; ***Max***. 16.3-7; 26.1-4 ; ***Gd***. 5.7; 11.9-10; ***MB*** 2.9-12; 13.2; ***AS*** 6.1-5; 7.1-5; 9.5-6; 10.3, 6-8; 11.2; 12.1; 56.9-10; ***Val***. 5.5-8 ; ***Cl***. 4.3-4 ; 18.2-3; ***Tac***. 4.2-4; 5.1-3; 7.4; ***Pr***.11.6-9, 12.8
by soldiers and the people	***Dd***. 1.6-8 (soldiers); ***MB*** 3.3; ***AS*** 57.5; ***Q*** 9.1 (people),
Speeches	
by the emperor to the senate	***AC*** 12.1-10; ***OM*** 6.2-9; ***Max***. 5.4; ***AS*** 8.1-5; 9.1-3, 4; 9.1-3; 9.7; 10.1; 10.3-5; 11.1, 3-4; 56.2-9; ***T*** 12.16-8; ***Aur***. 30.4; ***Tac***.4.5-8; 9.1; ***Pr***. 11.2-4
others to the senate	***C*** 20.2-5; ***Max***. 16.3-5; 26.5; ***MB*** 1.3-5; 2.2-8; 17.2; ***Aur***. 19.1-2; 19.3-6; 41.3-14; ***Tac***. 3.3-7; ***Pr***. 12.1-8
by the emperor to soldiers	***ClA*** 3.3-4; 13.5-10; ***Dd***. 1.4-5; 2.1; 2.2-4; ***Max***. 18.1-3; ***Gd***. 14.1-4; ***AS*** 53.5-54.1-3; ***Tac***. 8.5; ***Pr***. 5.3
others to soldiers or people	***AC*** 4.7; ***Gd***. 8.1-3; ***T*** 8.7-13; ***Tac***. 7.3; 8.4
the emperors to others	***Max***. 5.6-7; ***AS*** 17.4; 49.1; 57.1;6.2-6; ***Aur***. 13.2-4; 14.2-3
other	***Val***. 1.1-6; ***T*** 12.4-6; 12.7-8; 12.10; 12.11; 30.23; 30.23; ***Aur***. 1.5-8; 14.5-7; ***Tac***. 6.1-9; ***Q*** 10.2-3
Letters	
letters by the emperor to a family member and *vice versa*	***AC*** 2.1-8; 9.7-8; 11.2-8; ***PN*** 3.9; ***Dd***. 7.5-7; 8.5-8; 9.1; ***Max***. 29.2-4; ***Gd***. 14.7-8; 25.1-4; v.v: ***AC*** 1.6-9; 9.11-12; 10.1-10; ***Gd***. 24.2-5
other letters by the emperor	***AC*** 5.5-9; ***PN*** 4.1-3; 4.4; ***ClA*** 2.2-5; 7.3-6; 10.9-12; 10.6-8; 14.4-5; ***Max***. 29.7; ***Gd***. 13.2; ***T*** 3.9-11; 9.6-9; 10.10-2; 18.5-10; ***Cl***. 4.6-9.2; 14.2-15; 15.1-4; 17.2-7; ***Aur***. 7.5-8; 8.2-4; 9.2-7; 11.1-9; 12.1-2; 17.2-4; 23.4-5; 26.3-5; 26.7-9; 31.5-9; 38.3-4; 47.2-4; ***Pr***. 4.1-2; 4.3-7; 5.5-8; 6.2-3; 6.6; 7.3-4; 10.6-7; 17.5; ***Q*** 8.1-10; 15.6, 7; ***Car***. 4.6-7
letters by the emperor to the senate	***ClA*** 12.6-13; ***Max***. 12.6-10; 13.2; ***Gd***. 5.3; 27.4-8; ***T*** 30.11; ***Cl***. 7.2-5; ***Aur***. 20.5-8; ***Pr***. 15.1-7; ***Car***. 5.2; 6.2-3
others	***PN*** 11.5-6; ***ClA*** 4.6-7; ***Val***. 1.1-6; 2.1-3; 3.1-3; ***Cl***. 16.1-3; ***Aur***. 41.1-2; ***Tac***. 19.1-2; 19.3-5; ***Q*** 12.7; ***Car***. 8.5-7;
letters from the senate	***Max***. 15.6-9; ***Tac***. 18.2-6
Other	***Dd.*** 2.10; ***Q*** 5.3-6 (*edicta*); ***Max***. 16.1-2; ***Gd***. 11.4-7; ***T*** 21.4; ***Pr***. 11.5-9 (*senatus consulta*); ***Q*** 15.8 (*brevis*)

Figure 6.1*: Documents in DD in the* HA

The enumeration of documents is based on the listing by Lécrivain (1904, 45-99), who presents the pieces in the order in which they occur in the *HA*. In the following paragraphs, we will explore how the documents are woven into the fabric of the historical narration, first by analysing words in the introductory remarks, then by tracing the (alleged) origin of the documents.

1) *Introductory remarks*
Most of the times, the author simply states *extat epistula…*, *extant litterae…*, *extat oratio…*, *extat adclamatio…*, after which the words are quoted.[628] The author frequently uses verbs as *indo*,[629] *insero*,[630] *intexo* and *interpono*[631] to suggest that he quotes the documents *verbatim*.[632] A frequently used alternative is the verb *esse* or an elliptic formula,[633] often combined with the anaphoric pronomina *haec* and *talia*.[634] For the same purpose, (parts of) documents are often denoted with the word *exemplum* or *capita*.[635] In view of these introductions, there is no reason to suppose that the suggestion of literal quotation is absent in cases when the author only uses the word *verba* to present the content of a speech.[636]

2) *The source of a document is explicitly mentioned*

Marius Maximus is said to have quoted documents in his biographies, one of which the author uses for his own narration, the acclamations against Commodus in *C* 18.[637] In *Gd*. 12.1, the author states to have borrowed acclamations from Iunius Cordus. At times, however, the author pretends to have direct access to public reports and senatorial archives himself, as appears from the passages treated in § 5.5.2: the *acta senatus* (*AS*

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[628] Lessing (1901-1906, 192) provides the instances: *extat epistula*: *AC* 5.4, 9.10, 14.1; *PN* 3.9; *ClA* 12.5; *Dd*. 7.1, 9.1; *Gd*. 5.2; 13.2; 24.1; *T* 9.5, 10.9; 30.4; *Cl*. 7.1; *A* 17.1; 26.2; *Pr*. 3.6; *extant epistulae*: *ClA* 10.4; *extant litterae*: *Q* 15.5, *Car*. 7.3; *extat contio*: *ClA* 3.2; *extat oratio*: *P* 2.8; *Max*. 13.2; *Gd*. 27.4; *extat adclamatio*: *Gd*. 5.6. The same holds for *extant dicta*: *Gd*. 20.6; *extant ioca*: *H* 20.8; *V* 7.4; *extant libri*: *Cc*. 4.4; *extant poemata*: *Max*. 27.6; *Gd*. 3.2; *extant versus, epigrammata, iambi*: *PN* 12.5; *OM* 7.7, 14.2, 14.4, 11.3; *Max*. 27.3; *T* 11.5. The quotation of *dicta*, *ioca*, *libri*, *poemata*, *versus*, *epigrammata* and *iambi* are interesting as they attest the same (alleged) activity in retrieving biographical facts and 'documents' as the longer *epistulae*, *litterae*, *contiones*, *orationes*, *acclamationes*, *etc*.: it just belongs to the biographer's task to uncover all these 'documents' (see the summary of the preface to *OM* in § 3.2.1).
[629] *indo adclamationes*: *C* 18.2; *contionem*: *AS* 53.1; (*dictum*): *Max*.28.10; *epistulam*: *ClA* 2.1; *Max*. 29.6; *Car*. 9.1; *A* 20.4; 27.1; *orationem*: *Gd*. 27.4.
[630] *insero rem*: *H* 11.5, *A* 12. 4; *litteras*: *Dd*. 8.5; *A* 41.1, *Q* 15.5; *epistulam*: *AC* 1.6; *ClA* 10.5; 14.3; *P* 15.8; *T* 10.9; *A* 8.1; *verba*: *A* 43.5; *versus*: *Dd*. 7.4.
[631] *intexo epistulam*: *Dd*. 7.2; *interpono epistulam*: *T* 9.5; see Szelest (1971, 336-7) for other expressions of the same kind.
[632] Cf. the author's explicit statement in *A* 8.1: *Inveni nuper (…) epistolam divi Valeriani de Aureliano principe scriptam. Ad verbum, ut decebat, inserui*. The author guarantees the authenticity of a letter in *T* 10.9: *quam* (sc. *epistula divi Claudi*) *ego repertam in authenticis inserendam putavi, fuit enim publica*. Other examples of *fides historica* in Burian 1977, 288.
[633] Of the type: *item alia epistula*, see Szelest 1971, 337 and n57. If spoken words are the base of the written document, the word *dico* or *dissero* etc. are used.
[634] Of the type: *haec verba habuit*, Szelest 1971, 336 and n43-4; *epistula talis fuit*, see Szelest 1971, 337 and n54.
[635] E.g. *cuius epistulam hoc exemplum est: …*; cf. *AC* 9.11, *ClA* 2.1, 3.3, 7.2, 10.9, 12.5, *Dd*. 8.4, *Max*. 13.2, 15.6, 18.1, *Gd*. 5.3, 12.2, 13.1, 13.2, 14.7, 24.1,31.4, *A* 26.6, 27.1; *capita*: only in *OM* 6.1 and *T* 4.2 (the latter not followed by a quotation).
[636] *P* 6.4 (*senatus consultum*), *Dd*. 2.10 (*edictum*), *AS* 56.1, *Max*. 5.4-5 (Alexander to the senate), 26.5 (Cuspidius Celerinus to the senate), 29.1 (Alexander's letter to his mother), *T* 12.3 (Ballista to the soldiers), *Cl*. 7.2 (Claudius to the senate), *A* 1.4 (Vopiscus to Iunius Tiberianus), *Tac*. 5.3 (Maecius Faltonius Nicomachus to the senate), 8.3 (Moesius Gallicanus to the soldiers), *Pr*. 5.3 (Valerianus' *contio*), *Q* 10.1 (Saturninus to his friends).
[637] The acclamations are introduced by the words in *C* 18.1: *ipsas adclamationes de Mario Maximo indidi et sententiam senatus consulti: …* . In H 12.4 Marius Maximus is said to have quoted *verba ipsa* by Hadrian.

56.2) and the *acta urbis* (*AS* 6.1).[638] The indication of sources (*acta senatus* or *urbis*) with or without intervention of a biographical source (Marius Maximus, Iunius Cordus) are elements subject to *variatio* without much value as to actual origin. We may suppose that the author pretends to have taken all the documents concerning senatorial meetings either from the mentioned *acta* or, otherwise, from another official or historiographer.[639]

This leads us to the question whether non-senatorial speeches and letters, which cannot have been found in official documents (such as the speeches in the book of the *Triginta Tyranni*) also purport to be based on written sources. Two examples. Ballista's words to the soldiers in *T* 24.1 are quoted on the authority of the evidently fictitious Maeonius Astyanax: *verba igitur Ballistae (quantum Maeonius Astyanax, qui consilio interfuit, adserit) haec fuerunt:* …. Maeonius Astyanax was present when the general Ballista addressed his soldiers, like Ammianus was at Julian's expedition. The same holds for Saturninus' words to his companions in *Q* 10.1 (*in haec verba disseruit*), the authenticity of which is 'confirmed' in 10.4: *Marcus Salvidienus hanc ipsius orationem vere fuisse dicit, et fuit re vera non parum litteratus. nam et in Africa rhetori operam dederat, Romae frequentaverat pergulas magistrales*. The conclusion is that also in case of speeches that were not officially reported, the author pretends to have used written documents at his disposal.[640]

3) *The source of a document is not mentioned*

Mostly, however, the author does not mention his sources. The reader is nevertheless invited to believe that he bases himself on written sources. When, for example, in *Gd*. 11.1 the author gives the text of a *senatus consultum*, this suggests that the document is literally quoted from senatorial proceedings found in an archive.[641] Interesting is the case of Zenobia's letter to Aurelian, that was translated by Nicomachus, *A* 27.6: *Hanc epistulam Nicomachus se transtulisse in Graecum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam. nam illa superior Aureliani Graeca missa est*. Obviously, the author likes to shift responsibility for the content of documents to invented intermediaries, which resembles the author's tactics when quoting poetry (see § 5.3.1).

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[638] The sources used for the discovery of documents are sometimes indicated: apart from the *acta senatus*, the *urbis* and the *acta senatus ac populi* (*Pr*. 2.1) and the biographers Maximus and Cordus (treated above), the author in the preface to *A* states to have made use of the *libri lintei* in the *Ulpia Bibliotheca* (*A* 1.8-10, cf. Paschoud (1996, 66-7), who calls it 'pure affabulation') This library also occurs in *A* 8.1, 24.7; *Tac*. 8.1, *Pr*. 2.1, *Car*. 11.3.). Peter (1892, 164-6) was already distrustful with regard to the authenticity of the author's sources, just as the great majority of scholars in the twentieth century (see especially Homo 1926, 195: 'nécessité est de conclure que ces pseudo-documents ont jamais existé comme tels et que les biographes de l'Histoire Auguste les ont fabriqués de toutes pièces').

[639] Other documents originating from Cordus: *ClA* 7.2; *Dd*. 9.2; *Max*. 12.5-8; *Gd*. 14.6-7. Other pseudo-authorities: Lollius Urbicus in *Dd*. 9.2, Acholius (*magister admissionum*) in *A* 12.4, Nicomachus in *A* 27.6 (see below). Much debate has been devoted to Hadrian's letter to Servianus in *Q* 8, quoted on the authority of Phlegon, who is an historical person, whereas the works the author states to quote from most probably never existed (see comm. Paschoud 2001, 242-7). Peter (1892, 188-9) already doubted the letter's authenticity.

[640] Homo (1926, 192-6) divides the documents into two categories (documents based on other historiographers, documents based on archives) and concludes that 'Les documents de l'Histoire Auguste sont donc apocryphes et ont été composés par les auteurs des biographies eux-mêmes'.

[641] *Gd*. 11.1: *Interest, ut senatus consultum (…) litteris propagetur.*

The author seems to challenge his own claim of using written sources in *Cl.* 7.1: *extat ipsius epistola missa ad senatum legenda ad populum, qua indicat de numero barbarorum, quae talis est: 'senatui populoque Romano Claudius princeps.' (hanc autem ipse dictasse perhibetur, ego verba magistri memoriae non requiro),* etc. Contrary to the reader's expectations, the author states that he has *not* made use of a written document, even though there was one by the hand of the *magister memoriae.* This is a special kind of *variatio* which is in line with the author's tricks and can be styled *inversio*. After the introduction, the emperor Claudius makes an appeal on *veritas* when he mentions the number of 320.000 barbarians invading the Roman territory. The combination of themes (the insertion of documents and the historiographer's claim to *veritas*) are wittily combined here.

4) *A document is mentioned but not quoted*

The author likes to suggest that he only uses a small part of all the documents he knows. In the case of Marius Maximus, he only quotes the taunts against Commodus in *C* 18, but there are more documents to be found in this source. Three of them the author of the *HA* omits, two imperial speeches in *MA* 25.10 and *P* 2.8, and a letter in *P* 15.8.[642] The last one of these is not quoted for reasons of length: *quam ego inseri ob nimiam longitudinem nolui.* In *Tac*. 19.6, the author heaves a sigh about the host of documents he has: *Longum est omnes epistulas conectere, quas repperi, quas legi*. If verses may be brought under the same heading as written documents, there is also the case of a lost document in *OM* 14, where the author states that the verses were lost in the rebellion that made and end to Macrinus' life.[643] There are more references to Greek originals of verses quoted in Latin: *PN* 8.1, 8.4, 8.6, 12.5, *OM* 11.3, *Dd*. 7.4, *T* 11.5.[644] The commentary after the last passages is illuminating: *hos ego versus a quodam grammatico translatos ita posui, ut fidem servarem, non quo non melius potuerint transferri, sed ut fidelitas historica servaretur, quam ego prae ceteris custodiendam putavi, qui quod ad eloquentiam pertinet nihil curo.* Here, the principle of *fidelitas historica* is applied to verses, which puts them on a par with other documents. Apart from *fidelitas historica*, the quotation of verses (based on an inscription), a combination of an intermediate person (*quidam grammaticus*) and the theme of *eloquentia* crops up. The cumulation of recurring literary forms and figures takes a great flight in LL. Finally, attention should be drawn to the lost Greek verses by Hadrian, *H* 25.9: *tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et Graecos*. There is no reason to doubt that Hadrian wrote verses in Greek that are not quoted in the *HA*. To the question of the authenticity of the Latin version *Animula vagula blandula*, a separate chapter will be devoted (chapter 7). It is a safe guess that the quotation of this poem, including its accompanying remarks, provided the idea of inserting more verses in the biographies.

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[642] *MA* 25.10: *seditiosos autem eos et oratio Marci indicat indita a Mario Maximo, qua ille usus est apud amicos*; *P* 2.8: *extat oratio apud Marium Maximum laudes eius continens et omnia, vel quae fecit vel quae perpessus est*; *P* 15.8: *horruisse autem illum imperium epistula docet, quae vitae illius a Mario Maximo apposita est.*

[643] *P* 15.8: *horruisse autem illum imperium epistula docet, quae vitae illius a Mario Maximo apposita est. Quam ego inseri ob nimiam longitudinem nolui*; *OM* 14.4-5: *quod cum Macrinus audisset, fecit iambos, qui non extant; […]. Qui quidem perierunt in eo tumultu, in quo ipse occisus est, ...*

[644] A variation on the theme is *Max*. 27.4, in which the Latin original is quoted, unlike the Greek translation.

5) *Other variations*

5a) *The inversion of a document*

An interesting case is the so-called *senatus consultum tacitum* in *Gd*. 12.1-4.[645] On a stylistic level, such a meeting seems a case of *inversio* of the *senatus consultum* in the first place: while normally the author is quite prepared to cite senatorial documents (such as the *senatus consultum* in *Gd*. 12.1-10 and the one in *Max*. 26.2-4), this time he is deliberately enigmatic. It is not surprising that Iunius Cordus is invoked as a source, whose presence should always make the reader attentive (§ 3.2.2). The author gives a lengthy description of the phenomenon (although he says '*brevi exponam*'), which ends with the words: *senatus consultum tacitum fieret, ita ut non scribae, non servi publici, non censuales illis actibus interessent, senatores exciperent, senatores omnium officia censualium scribarumque conplerent, ne quid forte proderetur*. By using this description, the author wishes to confirm that he normally extracts his information on senate's meetings from the official reports, with or without an intermediate person, but that in this specific case, this procedure is not possible.

5b) *A document in Indirect Discourse*

The only speech in ID, by a senator called Aurelius Victor, is introduced with the words *verba denique Aurelii Victoris (…) haec fuerunt:* …. These words, too, are purportedly taken from the *acta senatus*, as the speech is situated during a meeting of the senate after Elagabalus' death. The words that follow are utterly confusing, *OM* 4.5: *sed et haec dubia ponuntur, et alia dicuntur ab aliis, quae ipsa quoque non tacebimus*, as the author silently passes from the senate's meeting to a discussion about sources. That the senator at issue bears the name of a fourth century historian, immediately followed by a certain Festus (*OM* 4.4) who bears the name of another fourth-century author, makes the case even more disturbing.[646]

It is clear that in all the instances of DD, the author of the *HA* seeks to provide documentary evidence for his biographies. In this respect, no difference needs to be made between documents such as abstracts from the *acta senatus* or *acta urbis*, and letters, *contiones* or other official documents.[647] This practice is meant to enhance the *fides historica* of his narration,[648] and pretends, in contrast with normal historiographical

[645] Kolb (1972, 21-2) supposes that a *s.c. tacitum* is a transposition of a *s.c. ultimum*, for which Herodian 7.10.3 served as a source. Chastagnol (1994, 716n2) calls on the phenomenon of meetings of the senate with closed doors (like those in Cic. *Phil*. 2.44.112 and 5.7.18), and mentions such a meeting after Maximinus' death (Herod. 7.10.5). See also Béranger 1986, 38-42.
[646] See Turcan 1993, 122-3 and Chastagnol 1994, 454 and n1.
[647] The use of *acta urbis* and *acta senatus* in the *HA* is explained in § 5.5.2.
[648] Cf. *A* 20.4: *nam ipsam* (i.e. *epistula Aureliani*) *quoque indidi* <u>*ad fidem rerum*</u>; *A* 13.1: *quam* (sc. *rem*) <u>*fidei causa*</u> *inserendam credidi ex libris Acholi* and *A* 17.1: *extat epistula, quam ego, ut soleo,* <u>*fidei causa*</u>*, immo ut alios annalium scriptores fecisse video, inserendam putavi*. The emphasis on *fides* especially (though not exclusively, e.g. *T* 33.8: *da nunc cuivis libellum non tam diserte quam fideliter scriptum*) occurs in Aurelianus' biography, with its programmatic preface; see Burian (1977, 296) for a list of documents and their introductions.

practice, that the words of which the speeches consist have been literally uttered (either written or spoken).[649] An emperor's letter, an *oratio* in the senate or a *contio* to the troops: we are asked to believe that they all have been retrieved from the *arcana historiae* (as the author puts it in *T* 31.11) in the way they are presented.[650] This biographical practice is in the tradition of Suetonius, who cites *verbatim*, e.g. Caesar's speech about his aunt Julia in Suetonius' *Div. Iul.* 6.1,[651] or letters to the emperor or by the emperor, or other persons.[652] It is interesting to compare Suetonius' introduction to Caesar's letters (*Div. Iul.* 56.6): *Epistulae quoque eius ad senatum extant (…). Exstant et ad Ciceronem…* Suetonius suggests that he had access to private, though published letters, from which he cites *exempla* and *capita*.[653] Suetonius' predecessor in biography Nepos already emphasised the importanc of letters for the biographer, cf. *Att.* 16.3-4 about Cicero's letters, in which Cicero attests of his love for Atticus: *ei rei sunt indicio praeter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, undecim volumina epistularum, ab consulatu eius usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum: quae qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum. sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, mutationibus rei publicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in eis non appareat et facile existimari possit, prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem.* The lesson comprised in the passage (especially *omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, mutationibus rei publicae*) seems particularly applicable to the *HA*. Nepos himself, however, does not quote documents in the same extent as his successors, and is not as outspoken in adhering to literal quotation.[654]

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[649] In recent theory, the idea has been left that *oratio recta* renders the words with a maximum of authenticity or reliability, as if they have been uttered *verbatim*. Laird (1999, 110-1) differs on this point from Genette (1980, 170-1), who states that imitated discourse (the equivalent of direct discourse) suggests 'literary fidelity' and 'documentary autonomy' more than utterances in indirect style. In fact, this is only the case when written texts are '*excerpted* and recontextualized' (to use Laird's words: 1999, 112), which is what the author of the *HA* pretends to do. This is not the place to elaborate on the relation between quotation and literal representation of *ipsa verba*; for a discussion of this field of research Beck's bibliographical references in her article about direct speech in the Iliad (2008, 162-5) may be consulted.

[650] Zecchini's definition (1997, 266) is as adequate as it is useful: 'questi *arcana historiae* vogliono significare una tradizione storiografica consolidata e stereotipa, ma ormai abbastanze misteriosa nelle sue origini, come appunto si è appena osservato'.

[651] It is clear that from this speech Suetonius only quotes the relevant part concerning the origin of Caesar's family, in which Caesar emphasises his divine ancestry. This speech, therefore, is not inserted in the narration *suo iure*, but serves to support the research after Caesar's family, especially with a view to Caesar's future position as a dictator (Gascou 1984, 548 and 583). Other letters, like those by Augustus in *Aug.* 71.2-4, are meant to illustrate remarks made in the narration, and because they are written by the emperor's own hand (*autographa quadam epistula*, 71.2).

[652] Cf. Gascou (1984, 498-505) about Suetonius' use of documents.

[653] Also Aulus Gellius quotes from letters by and to Augustus, one of which is introduced as follows (*NA* 15.7): *…exemplum adpositum epistulae divi Augusti ad Gaium filium*. Gascou (1984, 501) states that these letters are probably taken from a collection of *epistulae ad Gaium*. Other introductions in Suetonius are *Tib.* 21.6: *ex quibus* (sc. *epistulis*) *in exemplum pauca hinc inde subieci* and *Div. Claud.* 3.6: *…capita ex ipsius* (sc. *Augusti*) *epistulis posui…* ; *Tib.* 67.3: *quod sane ex oratione eius, quam de utraque re habuit, colligi potest*.

[654] Quotations by Nepos are encountered in *Paus.* 2.3-4, introduced with the words: *litteras regi…in quibus haec fuisse scripta Thucydides memoriae prodidit: …* ; and *Them.* 9.2-4: *Is autem ait ad Artaxerxen eum venisse et his verbis epistulam mississe: …* . These letters concern adaptations from Thuc. 1.137 and 1.128 (Horsfall 1987, 233); Nepos, of course, did not have the originals at his disposal. Nepos' version of the letter by Cornelia, mother to the Gracchi, is probably slightly adapted from a model (see Horsfall 1989, 41-

The convention in historiography is that speeches in DD render words as they might have been spoken, whereas the author of the *HA* leaves no room to the reader who might think that the author constructed the speech himself on the basis of either an existing speech[655] or when the narrative provides the occasion for the addition of a speech (e.g. the adhortative speech at the beginning of a battle).[656] In the meantime, the author adds the speeches to his narration for specific reasons: the content of the speeches most often corresponds with the content of the historical narration, thus serving to enhance the claims made in the narration.[657] Often, the author introduces a speech with a suggestion to the reader what the essential point of his document is, for which the verb *indico* is often used.[658] Examples of supporting documents are the letters written by emperors in order to recommend their successors, which particularly happens in LL. These documents can be considered as 'references' about the quality of the next emperor in the time that he was still *privatus*.[659] The letters support the idea expressed in *Hel.* 34.4, as voiced by Diocletian: *Imperatorem esse fortunae est*, an idea that was also elaborated by Pliny in his *Panegyricus* in the case of Trajan as *privatus* under Nerva.[660] Before analysing one particular speech in detail, from which a conclusion about the author's use of passages in DD will be drawn, first the NS that the speeches occupy, in comparison with prefaces and the *NA* theme, will be mapped.

6.3 Narrative Space of Prefaces, Documents and the *NA* Theme

In the following scheme, the documents in the *HA* are listed in combination with the NS that they take up, their frequency in the individual lives, their average length in words

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2: 'If Nepos' ultimate originals were by Cornelia, they have been altered very discreetly; if they were not, then the author was very nearly a contemporary'). With regard to quoting literally, Horsfall (1987, 232) further remarks that 'for the antiquarian or grammarian, Varro or Asconius, exact citation was essential and perfectly normal and the humble biographer may always have felt less stylistic disdain for quoted material than the lofty historian'.

[655] A famous example is Tacitus' report of Claudius' decree concerning the admission of Gallic senators in *Ann.* 11.24, the content of which can be compared with the bronze tablet from Lyons (*ILS* 212): Leeman 1963, 353-5; Fornara 1983, 153; Horsfall 1989, 41; Marincola 2007, 129.

[656] Marincola 2007, 128. Marincola (2007, 120) gives several examples of speeches written by the historiographer on the eventual basis of small historiographical evidence. 'He is said to have spoken in this manner: …' is a stereotype introduction in such instances. Marincola observes that only in the case of short expressions or *dicta* words are said to be quoted *verbatim*.

[657] See Szelest 1971, 326 ('Zweckmässigkeit'); Den Hengst 1987.

[658] *oratio indicat*: *MA* 25.10, *T* 30.12, *Car*. 5.1; *epistula(e) indica(n)t*: *AC* 1.6, 14.8, *ClA* 11.1, *Dd*. 8.1, *Cl*. 7.1, *A* 8.5, *Car*. 4.5, 6.2; *litterae indicant*: *A* 31.10, 11.10, *edictum indicat*: *Dd*. 2.9. The verb *appareo* is often used after an anecdote has been reported or after a *dictum* is quoted (e.g. *Ael*. 4.6, *PN* 4.8, *ClA* 12.13, *Gd*. 5.4, *S* 12.8 e.a.), only related to an *epistula* in *Dd*. 8.9.

[659] E.g. *Cl*. 17.2-7 (Gallienus about Claudius), *A* 8.2-4, 9.2-7, 13.2-4 (Valerianus about Aurelian), 11.1-9 (Valerian to Aurelian), 17.2-4 (Claudius to Aurelian), *Pr*. 5.3 (Valerian about Probus), 5.5-8 (Valerian to Probus), 6.6 (Aurelian to Probus), 7.3-4 (Tacitus to Probus); *Car*. 6.2-3 (Probus about Carus). Cf. *PN* 4.8: Septimius' judgement about Pescennius (*unde* (sc. Severus' autobiography) *apparet, quod etiam Severi de Pescennio iudicium fuerit*) and *Ael*. 4.6 for Hadrian's judgment about his destined successor *Aelius*.

[660] Plin. *Pan*. 7.1: *sub bono principe privatus esse desiisti. Iam Caesar, iam imperator, iam Germanicus, absens et ignarus, et post tanta nomina, quantum ad te pertinet, privatus* and 9.4: *Magnum videretur, si dicerem: 'Nescisti te imperatorem futurum': eras imperator, et esse te nesciebas*. See Béranger 1985 on the future emperor's role of *privatus*.

and the space that they occupy in relation to the book as a whole, in accordance with the three different parts in which the *HA* can be divided, in absolute and relative numbers (on the basis of figure 6.1):

Primary Lives

Books	*Words*	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
H	5.124				
AP	2.245				
MA	5.500				
V	2.057	42			42
C	3.466		342		342
P	2.596				
DI	1.594				
S	4.215			131	131
Cc.	2.033			48	48
Total	28.830	42	342	179	563

Books	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
H				
AP				
MA				
V	2,0%			2,0%
C		9,9%		9,9%
P				
DI				
S			3,1%	3,1%
Cc.			2,4%	2,4%
Total	0,1%	1,2%	0,6%	2,0%

Secondary Lives

Books	*Words*	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
Ael.	1.433	92			92
AC	2.620		1.114		1.114
PN	2.274	64	201		265
ClA	2.706		855		855
G	1.231	56		213	269
Total	10.264	212	2.170	213	2.595

Books	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
Ael.	6,4%			6,4%
AC		42,5%		42,5%
PN	2,8%	8,8%		11,7%
ClA		31,6%		31,6%
G	4,5%		17,3%	21,9%
Total	2,1%	21,1%	2,1%	25,3%

Intermediate Lives

Books	*Words*	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
OM	2.495	177	234	584	995
Dd.	1.679	36	443	999	1.478
Hel.	5.782	89		287	376
AS	10.701		1.327	799	2.126
Max.	5.431	73	715		788
Gd.	5.563	87	759	153	999
MB	3.153		557		557
Total	34.804	462	4.035	2.822	7.319

Books	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
OM	7,1%	9,4%	23,4%	39,9%
Dd.	2,1%	26,4%	59,5%	88,0%
Hel.	1,5%		5,0%	6,5%
AS		12,4%	7,5%	19,9%
Max.	1,3%	13,2%		14,5%
Gd.	1,6%	13,6%	2,8%	18,0%
MB		17,7%		17,7%
Total	1,3%	11,6%	8,1%	21,0%

Later Lives

Books	*Words*	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
Val.	1.003		530		530
Gall.	3.647				
T	6.637	131	1.040		1.171
Cl.	2.979	494	984		1.478
A	7.803	352	2.246		2.598
Tac.	3.094	403	1.004		1.407
Pr.	4.136	401	1.053		1.454
Q	2.333	311	518		829
Car.	2.751	442	220		662
Total	34.383	2.534	7.595		10.129

Books	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
Val.		52,8%		52,8%
Gall.				
T	2,0%	15,7%		17,6%
Cl.	16,6%	33,0%		49,6%
A	4,5%	28,8%		33,3%
Tac.	13,0%	32,4%		45,5%
Pr.	9,7%	25,5%		35,2%
Q	13,3%	22,2%		35,5%
Car.	16,1%	8,0%		24,1%
Total	7,4%	22,1%		29,5%

Total

	Words	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
Σ	108.281	3.250	14.142	3.214	20.606

Books	*pref*	*doc.*	*NA.*	*Σ*
%	3,0%	13,1%	3,0%	19,0%

Figure 6.2*: NS of three kinds of passages (prefaces, the* NA *theme and documents) in PL, SL, IL and LL, in absolute and relative numbers.*

When we compare the three parts, we can observe the following characteristics with regard to NS and distribution of documents: in EL, only *C* contains two documents that belong to the longest of the entire *HA*: the *damnatio memoriae* of Commodus.[661] The Secondary Lives of *AC*, *PN* and *ClA* contain documents, in contrast with the Secondary Lives of the *filii imperatorum*, *Ael*. and *G*. In IL, only *Hel*. lacks documents, and in LL only *Gall*. has none. Comparing these three sections, we can say that the speeches conspicuously increase in number (27 – 41 – 86), while they do not really increase in length (93-98-88 words on average), and that SL corresponds with LL in terms of NS: in both cases, more than twenty percent of the total narrative.

In EL and IL, the presence of documents and the presence of the *NA* theme seems to exclude one another. By way of comparison, the lives with prefaces are also inventoried:

	AC	***C***	*PN*	*ClA*	***S***	*Cc.*	*OM*	*Dd.*	*Hel.*	*AS*	*Max.*	*Gd.*	*MB*
NA					x	x	x	x	x	X		x	x
doc.	x	x	x	x			x	x		X	x	x	x
pref.			x				x	x	x		x	x	

Figure 6.3*: The lives containing documents in EL and IL of the* HA *and the proliferation of the* NA *theme and prefaces (PL in bold face)*

It is striking that the Secondary Lives of usurpers (*AC*, *PN* and *ClA*) stand out by the presence of documents, while the *NA* theme is absent. If the *NA* theme was indeed added during the last redaction of the *HA*, this suggests that the documents belong to an earlier stage. Furthermore, the difference with the Primary Lives is striking. These seem to be treated differently by the author than the Secondary Lives when it comes to documents. In EL, prefaces turn out to be characteristic of the Secondary Lives of *fili imperatorum* (*Ael*., *G*), a procedure which is continued in those Intermediary Lives that contain all kinds of descriptions (prefaces, *NA* theme and documents).

As we can observe in table 6.2, the very low number words devoted to prefaces, *NA* theme and documents sets PL apart from SL, IL and LL. We will have a closer look to this important fact. The relative NS occupied by the three recurring passages are presented in the following table:

[661] The acclamations in this passages have long been considered authentic, see e.g. Nesselhauf (1966, 133 and n13), who keeps open the possibility that they have been altered in a process of copying from the *acta senatus* and compilation. Following Nesselhauf, Syme (1971, 117) and Barnes (1978, 102), just as Szelest (1971, 325), accept the accuracy of the author's remark that he took the acclamations from Marius Maximus, who is said to quote documents at length (cf. e.g. *P* 2.8, 15.8). Heer (1904, 198-201) attempts to prove the authenticity of the documents in *C* 18-20.

	Pref.	*Doc.*	NA	*Percentage*
PL	0,1%	1,2%	0,6%	2,0%
SL	2,1%	21,0%	2,0%	25,0%
IL	1,3%	12,0%	8,0%	21,0%
LL	7,4%	22,0%	0,0%	30,0%
T	3,0%	13,0%	3,0%	19,0%

Figure 6.4: *Relative NS of prefaces, documents and NA theme in PL, SL, IL and LL, related to the total of NS of PL, SL, IL and LL (based on figure* 6.2*).*

When we put these results in a bar diagram, the following picture occurs:

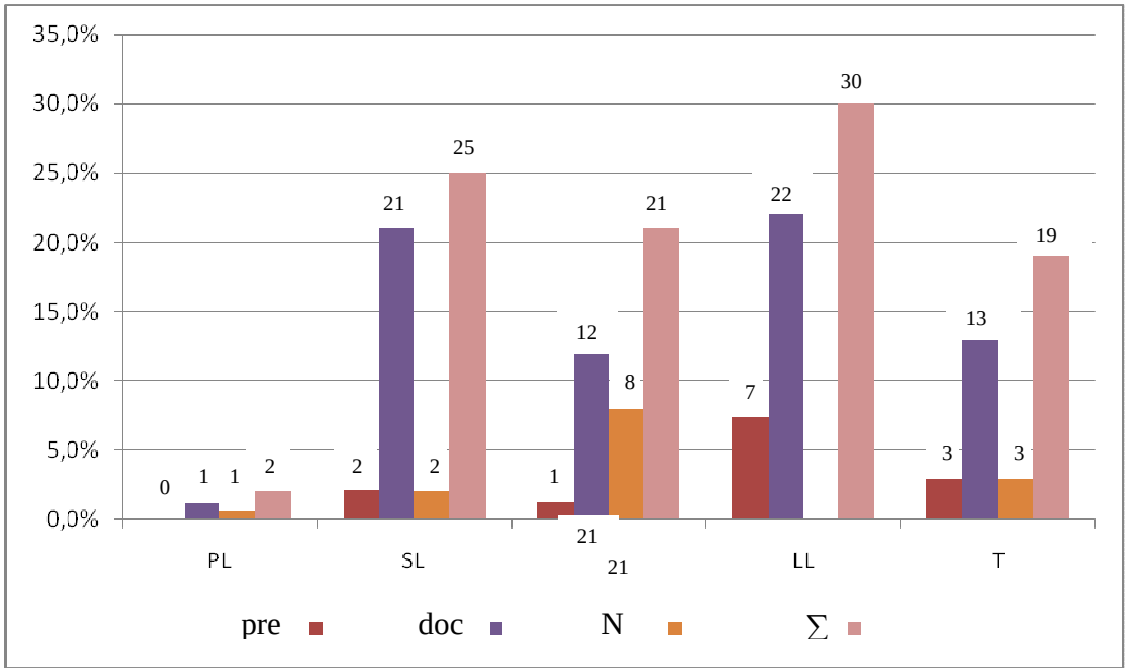

Figure 6.5*: Bar diagram of the relative NS of prefaces, documents and NA theme in PL, SL, IL and LL and the entire* HA *(T), related to the total of NS of PL, SL, IL and LL (based on figure* 10.1*).*

It appears that there is a correlation between SL and LL in terms of NS of documents (21 and 22 per cent respectively), while the *NA* theme is characteric for IL and prefaces are characteristic of LL, at least quantitively. PL stands alone viewed in terms of prefaces, documents and the *NA* theme.

In order to obtain a picture of the structure of the total HA when it comes to prefaces, documents and the *NA* theme, the presence of these items in the individual books may be measured. Firstly, we wil provide the relative size of the individual books in relation to the entire *HA* (based on the numbers in figure 3.4), which will enable us to show the size of the books in relation to one another, and to place the relative *NS* of the

three investigated passages in a diagram. The relative size of the books of the *HA* related to the entire NS of the *HA* are as follows:

	PL	***SL***	***IL***		***LL***	
Book	***Space***	***Space***	***Book***	***Space***	***Book***	***Space***
H	4.7 %		*OM*	2.3 %	*Val.*	0.9 %
Ael.		1.3 %	*Dd.*	1.6 %	*Gall.*	3.4 %
AP	2.1 %		*Hel.*	5.3 %	*T*	6.1 %
MA	5.1 %		*AS*	9.9 %	*Cl.*	2.8 %
V	1.9 %		*Max.*	5.0 %	*A*	7.2 %
AC		2.4 %	*Gd.*	5.1 %	*Tac.*	2.9 %
C	3.2 %		*MB*	2.9 %	*Pr.*	3.8 %
P	2.4 %				*Q*	2.2 %
DI	1.5 %				*Car.*	2.5 %
S	3.9 %					
PN		2.1 %				
ClA		2.5 %				
Cc.	1.9 %					
G		1.1 %				
Total	26.6 %	9.5 %				
Total	***EL*** 36.1 %		32.1 %		31.8 %	

Figure 6.6*: NS of the thirty books of the* HA *and of the parts of PL, SL, IL and LL in relative numbers (in proportion to the entire NS in the* HA*).*

The outcome of the measurement is that the parts of IL and LL are more or less equal in NS, while PL and above all SL stay behind. This leads us to an overview of all the treated kinds of passages in the *HA*, see the following diagram: [662]

[662] In *OM*, *Dd*. and especially *AS* there is an overlap between the category of *NA* passages and documents, because the *NA* theme appears in the guise of documents here. The upper light shade indicates the overlap.

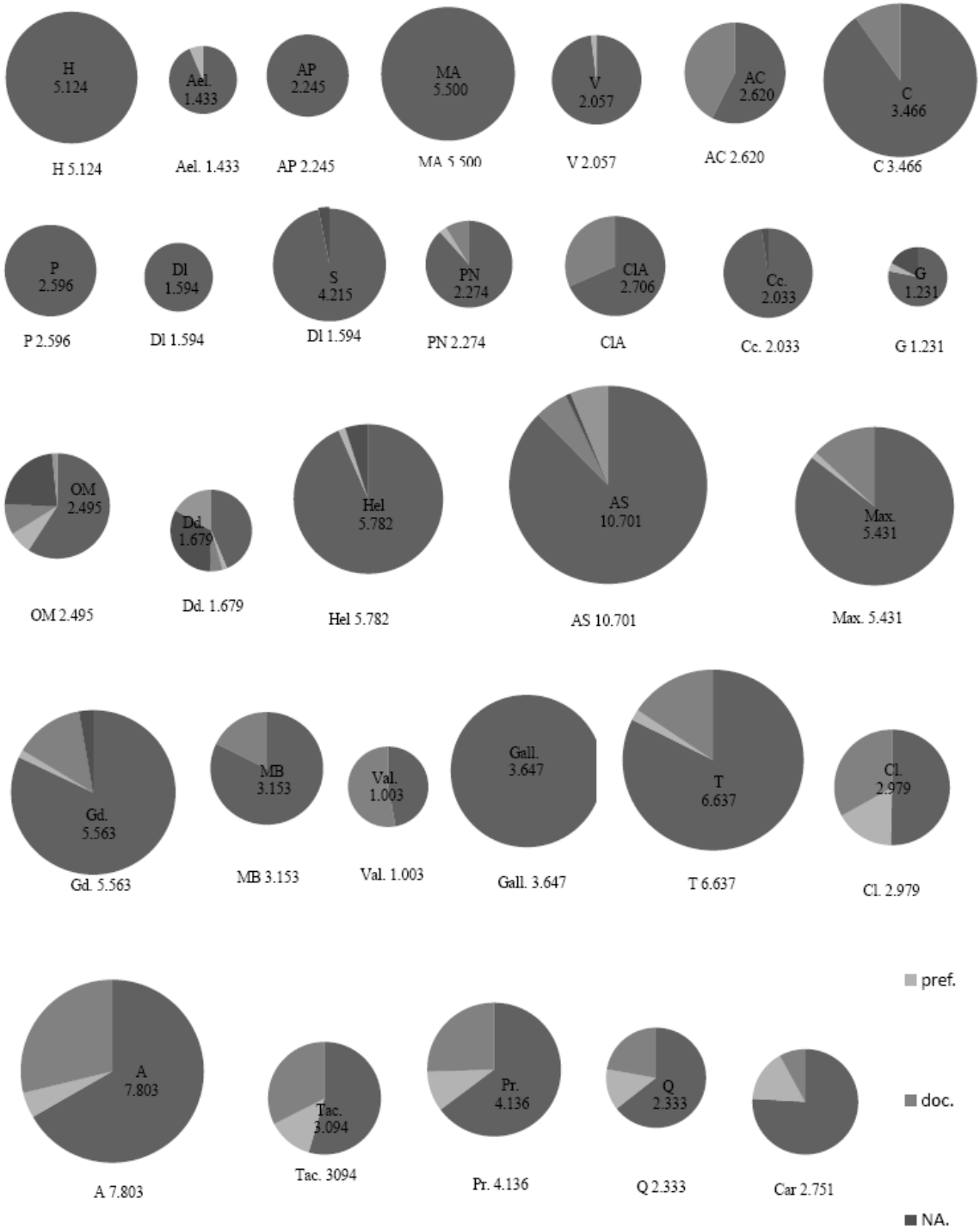

Figure 6.7*: Proportions of narrative space of prefaces,* NA *theme and documents in the* HA *in the individual books.*

6.4 A Document in Direct Discourse (*OM* 6)

6.4.1 Macrinus' Letter to the Senate

The next paragraphs will focus on the author's pretended use of sources in *OM*, which will reveal how the author claims to be working from several sources, even though there is an evident lack of material.[663] The passages that illustrate the author's modus operandi are taken from *OM* 6, which describes a session of the senate after Caracalla's death. The passage contains striking examples of *inventio*. Although Macrinus' and Diadumenian's lives are the first two of IL, they seem to continue the program that is found in EL: an emperor and his son treated in separate books. Facts about the life of Diadumenian as co-ruler with his father Macrinus, are largely taken from the preceding biography (see § 2.2), which in its turn borrows the more reliable part of its information from the preceding life of Caracalla. Not only historical facts, but also addresses in DD are strongly linked in *OM* and *Dd*, as will be shown. The first two chapters of *Dd*. contain a variety of such speeches: Macrinus' *contiones* (*Dd*. 2.4-5, 2.1) and Diadumenian's *contio* (*Dd*. 2.2-4), *acclamationes* by the soldiers (*Dd*. 2.6-8) and an *edictum* (2.10). *OM*, on the other hand, does not contain the same number of speeches, but has a far more elaborate speech or rather a letter by Macrinus that was read out to the senate in Rome after his acclamation as emperor by the soldiers in the east. We look more closely at the documents in these two biographies in order to describe the documents in their historiographical context and determine the mutual relationships of the documents. Such a close study enables us to see how the author proceeds when inventing sources to embellish his narration and to augment the *fides historica* of his biographies.

Macrinus's elaborate speech to the senate in *OM* 6 shows a clear structure. It begins with a *captatio benevolentiae* towards the addressees, which contains praise for the deceased emperor Caracalla. Next, the contents of the *oratio* are set out by the figure of *divisio*: *nuntiamus* <u>*primum*</u>*…*, <u>*dein*</u> *…decernimus…*(6.3-4), corresponding with 6.5-7 (*quid de nobis exercitus fecerit*) and 6.8-9 (*honores divinos…decernimus ei viro*)[664] respectively. While the introduction with its *divisio* seems to announce perfectly what the letter to the senate contains, there is an incongruency in the author's suggestion that the original letter had been much longer: the chapters 6.5, 6.6 and 6.8 are introduced by et *infra*, *item infra* and *item infra*. It is striking that the first few sentences are coordinated by clauses opening with words like *tunc demum* (6.2), *verum quia id* (6.2), *primum…dein* (6.3), (and *quae omnia* further on in 6.9), whereas such coordinators are absent from the sentences that are introduced by *infra*. This means that the author either left these coordinators out when citing from a longer speech, or that they were never present, which is the most probable interpretation: the fragments were invented by the author *as fragments*. The author suggests that the speech he quotes from is longer in reality, but

[663] *OM* 6: Hönn 1911, 106, 139, 161, 233, 237, 240; Callu 1992, XLI; Béranger 1976, 31n15, Den Hengst 1987.
[664] Mind the verbal repetition 6.4 *divinos honores* - 6.8 *honores divinos*. Another example of repetitio is 6.5 *imperatorio more* - 6.8 *imperatorio iure*.

that he only presents the main points. The *infra*-clauses serve to suggest that the author confines himself to the purpose of his writing, namely the rendering of *memoratu digna*, and that he presents a selection to the reader.[665] In other words, the author suggests that TS is longer than TN by pretending to apply the figure of 'ellipsis', or skipping parts of the story in the narrative.[666]

The first word of the speech, the irrealis *vellemus*, immediately takes the reader to a desirable situation which does not exist in reality, namely that the sender of the letter Macrinus should return to Rome with the triumphant emperor Caracalla. For reasons of time (the emperor is now dead) and place (Macrinus is in Antiochia), this is not possible: the author of the *oratio* is not present, but speaks to the senate by means of a letter. In speech theory, this kind of message is styled a 'delivery speech' (in which an intermediate figure delivers the speech to the addressee), a type of speech which is distinguished from an 'instruction speech' or 'dictation speech', in which the sender speaks to a intermediate figure.[667] These two kinds speeches agree with one another in that they are rendered without immediate physical proximity of their originator.[668] From Cassius Dio (79.16.4-5) we learn that a a letter from the emperor was read out by a *quaestor*, which is not expressed explicitly here (with the introduction *capita ex oratione Macrini et Diadumeni…* the author suggests that he quotes from a source at his disposal), but with the conclusion *lectis in senatu litteris*, (compare Cassius Dio's τῆς δ′ οὖν πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης …, 79.17.1-3) it is clear that the letter is supposed to be part of the historical narration. Herodian also mentions a letter in 5.1.1: γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὁ Μακρῖνος <u>ἐπιστέλλει τῷ τε δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ</u>, λέγων τοιάδε: …, be it that tone and contents are in clear contrast to the words as rendered by the author of the *HA*. In Herodian's version of the letter, Macrinus is very negative about his predecessor Caracalla. According to Cassius Dio, Macrinus is silent on his predecessor.[669] For the author of the *HA*, neither Herodian's negative view nor Dio's neutral position is opportune, because that would destroy the image of Macrinus' hypocrisy in attempting to hide his responsibility for Caracalla's death.

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[665] See for the same procedure *AS* 9.1, 9.4. Suetonius uses *item* in *Div. Iul*. 80.1; cf. *Div. Cl*. 3.2: *Capita ex ipsius epistulis posui*; 4.4: *rursus alteris litteris:…*; 4.5: *item tertiis litteris:…*

[666] 'Ellipsis': one of the four movements described by Genette 1980, 93-5, see § 1.3.5. The author also uses this figure in *Tac*. 8.4-5 (*post hoc… post hoc…*); 9.1-6 (*post hoc … in eadem oratione … in eadem oratione … in eadem oratione … addidit … in eadem oratione… fertur denique dixisse*). It is interesting to see that the ellipsis in not explicited in *post hoc* and *addidit*, but it is in *in eadem oratione*: the author is conscious that there is a discrepancy between the suggestion of ellipsis and historical reality.

[667] 'Instruction speech': De Jong 2004², 180-5; 'dictation speech': Laird 1999, 262.

[668] An example of an instruction-speech is *Aur*. 27, a letter dictated by Zenobia and translated by Nicomachus, see above. Another example of a delivery-speech is found in *Dd*.2.10 in the form of an edict: *vellem, Quirites, iam praesentes essemus…* , which is an echo of the current speech.

[669] (79.17.1-3): τῆς δ′ οὖν πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης (…). τοῦ μέντοι Ταραύτου οὐδεμίαν μνείαν οὔτ′ ἔντιμον τότε γε οὔτ′ ἄτιμον ποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ′ ὅσον αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἥρωα οὔτε πολέμιον ἀποδεῖξαι ἐτόλμησεν, <u>ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ</u>, <u>ὅτι τὸ μὲν</u> διά τε τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μῖσος, <u>τὸ δὲ</u> διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὤκνησε πρᾶξαι, <u>ὡς δέ τινες ὑπώπτευσαν</u>, ὅτι τῆς τε γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ ἔργον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὄντος, ἠθέλησε.

Before turning to the relation of the speech and its context, one striking feature should be noted: whereas all the elements in the speech are announced in the *divisio* beginning with *nuntiamus primum…* (6.3), only the paragraphs 6.6 and 6.7, in which the *nomen Antoninorum* is granted to Diadumenian by the soldiers, are not explicitly covered by this announcement.[670] We have already seen that the *NA* theme has only loose connections with its context, which is confirmed by the announcement in *OM* 6.3: the paragraphs 6.6-7 must have been added in second instance (see § 5.6.5).

6.4.2 Embedding in the Immediate Context

There is an elaborate introduction to the letter, in which repetition is a very prominent feature. Many of the essential elements of 5.9 recur in 6.1, which becomes clear from the following scheme (all clauses are in *OM* 5.9, unless differently indicated):

	Repetition in the introduction		***References to the* oratio**
1	*Litteras*	*oratio* (6.1) *capita ex oratione* (6.2)	
2	*ad senatum deinde litteras misit*	*cum ad senatum scriberet*	6.2 *p.c*, passim
3	*de morte antonini*	*de caede illius / sceleri suo*	6.2 *Antonino nostro*, passim
4	*excusansque se*	*qua se excusavit* (6.1)	6.4 *ultorem caedis Bassiani / Vindicandam factionem*
5	*Periurium*	*sacrilegium* (6.1)	6.4 *in cuius vera iuravimus*
6	*a quo incipere decuit*	*a quo initium sumpsit* (6.1)	
7	*more hominum perditorum*	*impudentia hominis* (6.1)	
8	*hominem improbum*	*improbus imperator* (6.1)	

Figure 6.4: *Comparison between the introduction to Macrinus'* oratio *to the senate (*OM *5.9-6.1) and the content of the* oratio *(*OM *6.2-9)*

One of the two items that are essential in the *oratio* itself, namely *divinos honores decernimus* and *OM* 6.8, here referred to as *divum illum appellans*, is not stated in the introduction, whereas far less important clauses as *a quo incipere decuit* is reformulated as *a quo initium sumpsit*. The other dominant theme, *quid de nobis exercitus fecerit* (*OM* 6.3) is introduced with no ground-work at all. Other themes are clearly attributable to the author of the *HA*, such as *periurium*, *sacrilegium*, *impudentia* and *improbitas*. The emphasis in the introduction is not on the content of the letter, but on the author's own prejudicial comments. What we can conclude from the comparison of the letter and its immediate context is that there is a high degree of coherence between the two in terms of content as well as style (verbal repetition). In his introduction the author refers to the content of the letter, which is something that he consistently does, both here and in other parts of the *HA*.[671] Besides referring to its contents, the author also intimates how the

[670] In this respect, the announcement parallels the summary in *OM* 2.1, in which the theme in *OM* is not announced either.
[671] Den Hengst 1987 for the passages *AS* 55-6, *OM* 5.9-6, *Dd*. 7.1-7, *Gd*. 26-7, *A* 10.

letter should be read. The reason for the insertion of the speech is explicitly mentioned with *ut et inpudentia hominis noscatur et sacrilegium*.

There are not only correspondences between the introduction and the speech, but also between the speech and the historical narration that precedes it, as may be seen in the following scheme:

	***Oratio* (*OM* 6.2-9)**	***OM***
6.3	*per tumultum militarem*	4.8 *quasi militaribus insidiis*
6.3	*quid de nobis exercitus fecerit*	Ø*
6.4	*dein honores divinos … decernimus ei viro*	Ø*
	ultorem caedis Bassiani	2.5: *auctor necis Antoninianae*
	praefecto eius	2.1: *praefecto praetorii eius*
6.5	*quibus iam stipendium dedi et omnia imperatorio more iussi*	5.7: *…stipendium et legionariis et praetorianis dedit solito uberius.*
6.6	*Diadumenum… filium meum et imperio miles donavit et nomine, Antoninum videlicet appellans…*	5.1: *filio Diadumeno in participatum adscito, quem continuo…Antoninum appellari a militibus iussit.*

Figure 6.5: *Comparison between Macrinus'* oratio *to the senate (*OM *6.2-9) and the historiographical context (*OM *2-5)*

The correspondences between the content of the speech and the historical narration are in the phraseology, but especially by way of antonyms. These have been underlined in the scheme: the factual *per* in the speech parallels *quasi* in the narration; similarly, *auctor* in the narration appears as *ultorem* in the speech, while *solito uberius*[672] has been transformed in *imperatorio more*, as if this were a matter of normal procedure. The emperor tries to show his innocence, while the author has already stressed his guilt in the preceding chapter, in line with the aim of the letter: '*ut inpudentia hominis noscatur*'.

What we can conclude about its textual structure is that the *oratio* is closely linked with the preceding chapter 5 and the introductory chapter 2. It is doubtful whether *felices essemus* contains a reference to the name of Felix which the newly appointed emperor has acquired: this theme occurs in *OM* 7.5 and 11.[673] Notably, the two main elements of the letter, *quid de nobis exercitus fecerit* (6.3) and *honores divinos* (6.4) are not in *OM* 5, nor in any other part of *OM*. In *OM* 5 it is merely stated that Macrinus *imperium arripuit* and in 2.1 *arripuit imperium* (in 5.1 and 5.4 *suum…imperium, quod raptum ierat*.). From what source the author derives this part of the speech will be explained below.

[672] *solito uberius*: cf. Suet. *Galba* 16.2 en Gascou 1984, 752.

[673] Den Hengst (1987, 161) and Turcan (1993, 129) suppose that the clause contains a reference to the imperial name of *Felix*, as attested in *OM* 7.5: *cum ipse Felicis nomen recepisset*. The formula *felix essem*, however, is of a rather general nature, witness Suet. *Tib*. 21.4.
11.2: *Felicis nomen recepit…*; 11.3-4: *unde in eum epigramma…Graeci cuiusdam poetae videtur extare:….*

6.4.3 Relation to *Dd.*

In ch. 2.2 and 5.4 it was shown that the factual content of *Dd*. is mainly derived from *OM*. The documents also seem to be closely related to each other. Not only is Macrinus' letter firmly embedded in its immediate context, but echoes of the letter are to be found in other biographies as well, *Dd*. in the first place:

	***Oratio* (OM 6.2-9)**	***Dd.***
6.2	Vellemus…vestram clementiam videre	**2.10**: *verba edicti: 'vellem, Quirites, iam praesentes essemus…'*
	Quem nobis Antoninorum loco di dederant	**1.8**: *Antoninum nobis di dederunt.*
6.4	*quid de nobis exercitus fecerit* (cf. 6.5 *detulerunt ad me imperium, cuius ego, p.c., interim tutelam recepi, tenebo regimen…*)	1.1: *Antonini Diadumeni pueri, quem cum patre Opilio Macrino imperatorem dixit exercitus…* **1.5**: *adclamatum: 'Macrine imperator…'* **1.2**: *et me et patrem meum…, quos imperatores Romanos decernetis et quibus committeretis rem publicam*
	vindicandam factionem	1.1 *factione Macriniana*[674]
6.5	*quibus iam stipendium dedi*	**2.1** *Macrinus imperator dixit: 'habete igitur, commilitones, pro imperio aureos ternos, pro Antonini nomine aureos quinos et solitas promotiones sed geminatas.'*
6.6	*Diadumenum… filium meum et imperio miles donavit et nomine (…)* ut cohonestetur prius nomine, sic etiam regni honore*	**1.8**: *'puer Antoninus dignus imperio.'* **2.2**: *…Diadumenus Antoninus imperator dixit: gratias vobis, commilitones, quod me et imperio donastis et nomine…* **2.3** *et pater quidem meus curabit, ne desit imperio, ego autem elaborabo, ne desim nomini Antoninorum.* **2.4** *causa imperii, causa nominis* **7.1** *extat epistula Opili Macrini, patris Diadumeni, qua gloriatur non tam se ad imperium pervenisse, qui esset secundus imperii, quam quod Antoniniani nominis esset pater factus, …* (→ *Dd*. 7.5-6)
	** Antoninum videlicet appellans*	**1.3**: *statim contionem parari iussit filiumque suum tunc puerum Antoninum appellavit.*[675] *Contio: …* 2.7 *Missae etiam ad senatum litterae, quibus nomen Antonini indicatum est…* (→ *OM* 6.2-9)
6.7	*bono faustoque omine adprobetis*[676]	2.7: *quare etiam senatus imperium id libenter*

[674] Again, verbal correspondance with contrasted content (see figure 6.5).
[675] *cf. OM* 5.2 *filio Diadumeno in participatum adscito, quem continuo,…, Antoninum appellari a militibus iussit.*

		dicitur recepisse, …
6.8	*Tamen rogamus dicantes ei duas statuas...civili habitu duas*	*Dd*.3.1 *fecitque Bassiani simulacra ex auro atque argento*

Figure 6.6: *Comparison of Macrinus'* oratio *to the senate (*OM *6.2-9) and Dd.*

Parallels with OM 6.2-9 are abundant in *Dd*., almost all of them in documents in DD: *edictum Macrini* (2.10), *acclamatio militum* (1.5, 1.8), *contio Diadumeni* (1.2, 2.2-4), *contio Macrini* (2.1), *epistula Macrini* (7.1, 7.5-6). One of the few instances in *Dd*. in which a document is reported is in *missae…ad senatum litterae* in *Dd*. 2.7 but, curiously enough, this speech was already aired extensively in *OM* 6.2-9, Macrinus's speech to the senate. Conversely, the themes in the letter in *OM* (6.2-9) are elaborated in *Dd*. (esp. 1, 2 and 7) and generally so in documents in DD, which may be considered an *amplificatio* of the document in *OM*.[677]

6.4.4 Relation to the *HA*

The contrast between the author's commentary in his historical narration and Macrinus's words in his speech, shows that Macrinus tries to disclaim responsibility for Caracalla's murder. Historically, however, Macrinus's participation in the murder is far from certain. The stress on Macrinus's guilt is unparalleled in other sources. That is why the author puts a different emphasis on the events than his source for *Cc*. in a fashion that serves his purpose best. Compare the following fragments:

Cc. 6.6-7: *Deinde cum iterum vellet Parthis bellum inferre atque hibernaret Edessae (…) cum ad requisita naturae discessisset,* (*insidiis a Macrino praef. praet. positis, qui post eum invasit imperium*), *interemptus est. Conscii caedis fuerunt… inpulsu Martialis.*

Cc. 7.1: *occisus est autem in medio itinere inter Carras et Edessam, cum levandae vessicae gratia ex equo descendisset (…). Denique cum illum in equum strator eius levaret, pugione latus eius confodit, conclamatumque ab omnibus est* ***id Martialem fecisse.***

In line with a technique that is now becoming familiar, the author tells about Caracalla's murder twice with slight variations (see texts in bold). It is to be noted that in the former account, Macrinus is explicitly mentioned as a participant in the plot, whereas he is absent from the latter. All the elements occurring in *Cc*. 7.1 are present in 6.6, apart from the ablativus absolutus *insidiis…imperium*. The formula *qui post eum invasit imperium* is echoed in *OM* 2.1 as *imperium arripuit*. Two different versions, which are clearly recognizable in the structure of the text, seem to have been combined in these passages in *Cc*.

[676] *Faustoque omine adprobetis* in *OM* 6.7 refers to an *acclamatio* (cf. Baldwin 1981, 144). That the senate welcomes the appointments, is confirmed in *OM* 2.4 *quamvis senatus eum imperatorem… libenter acceperit, …*; in *Dd*. 2.7 *quare etiam senatus imperium id libenter recepisse…* (cf. *OM* 7.1).
[677] For the figure of *amplificatio*, see Paschoud 1997, 119 and Peter 1892, 72-5 ('Erweiterungen', in the author's use of Herodian). Turcan (1993, 130) also relates *OM* 6.8 to *Dd*. 3.1; though it should be doubted if the *statuae* mentioned in these passages are the same.

We also find several hints at his motives in the letter '*quid de nobis exercitus fecerit*' and '*divum illum appellans*' (in bold):

Cc. 8.9-10: …*nam* <u>*Macrinus Antoninum occidit, ut supra exposuimus*</u>. ***Qui cum filio factus in castris imperator*** *filium suum, qui Diadumenus vocabatur, Antoninum vocavit, idcirco quod a praetorianis multum Antoninus desideratus est.*

Cc. 11.4 *hic (sc.* Caracalla*) tamen omnium durissimus et, ut uno complectamur verbo, parricida et incestus (…),* ***<u>a Macrino, qui eum occiderat</u>, timore militum et maxime praetorianorum inter deos relatus est.***

As we have seen, the element of the murder is not repeated in *OM*. Underlined are the words that prove Macrinus's guilt. In the first quote, ut *supra exposuimus* must refer to *Cc*. 6.6-7. This is confirmed by the immediate sequel, a straight instance of the *nomen Antoninorum* theme, which, needless to repeat, is based on a different source. It is likely that with his story of Caracalla's murder the author deviates here from his source, in an attempt to blame Macrinus and picture him as a usurper.

Finally, the element *timore militum et maxime praetorianorum inter deos relatus est* is also unparalleled in other historiographical and material sources and serves to emphasize Macrinus's *inpudentia*. In Herodian, Macrinus is very negative about Caracalla, in Cassius Dio 19.17 there is no mention at all: τοῦ μέντοι Ταραύτου οὐδεμίαν μνείαν οὔτ᾽ ἔντιμον τότε γε οὔτ᾽ ἄτιμον ἐποιήσατο… Therefore, it may be that the author overemphasizes Macrinus's hypocrisy by mentioning that he deified his predecessor Caracalla.

The content of Macrinus' letter can be characterized as stereotyped. The newly appointed emperor asks the senate to confirm his accession, just as Hadrian had done according to *H* 6.2: <u>*Cum ad senatum scriberet*</u>*, veniam petit, quod de imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset, salutatus scilicet praepropere a militibus imperator, quod esse res publica sine imperatore non posset.* The formula *cum ad senatum scriberet* only occurs in *H* 6.1 and *OM* 5.9. It is striking that the sending of the letter is mentioned twice in both passages: *H* 6.1 had <u>*datis ad senatum*</u> *et quidem accuratissimis* <u>*litteris*</u> and *OM* 5.9: *ad senatum dein litteras misit*.[678] When we compare *H* 6.1-2 and *OM* 5.9-6.1 on other points, it can be observed that Hadrian's request for *venia* for not having consulted the senate before his accession[679] has been replaced by Macrinus' excuse for Caracalla's murder (assuming that *excusansque se* refers to that event), which may be considered an

[678] Cf. *AC* 12.1-3: *Ad senatum autem qualem orationem miserit, interest scire* about Marcus' letter to the senate.

[679] Cf. the speech of the 'good emperor' Tacitus in *Tac.* 8.5: '*(…) sanctissimi commilitones, primum vos, qui scitis principes adprobare, deinde amplissimus senatus dignum hoc nomine iudicavit: curabo, enitar, efficiam, ne vobis desint, si non fortia facta, at saltem vobis atque imperatore digna consilia.*' The old emperor explains that the soldiers choose the emperor, whereafter the senate confirms (the scene is in AD 275), but he also pleases the senate, *Tac*. 9.1: *ita mihi liceat, p.c., sic imperium regere, ut a vobis me constet electum, ut ego cuncta ex vestra facere sententia et potestate decrevi. Vestrum est igitur ea iubere atque sancire, quae digna vobis, digna modesto exercitu, digna populo Romano esse videantur*. Note the parallel of the former speech with speeches in *Dd*.: The soldiers are adressed with the title *commilitones* by Macrinus (*Dd*. 2.1) and Diadumenus (*Dd*.2.2), who also says, also on behalf of his fater, to fulfil the expectations related with their status (*Dd*. 2.3: *et pater quidem meus* <u>*curabit*</u>*, ne* <u>*desit*</u> *imperio, ego autem* <u>*elaborabo*</u>*, ne* <u>*desim*</u> *nomini Antoninorum*).

act of *inpudentia*. In Hadrian's biography no document is quoted after *cum ad senatum scriberet* to prove the historical reliability of the remark. Furthermore, *honores divinos* are granted to their direct predecessors, Trajan resp. Caracalla:

H 6.1-2: *Traiano divinos honores (…) postulavit et cunctis volentibus meruit, ita ut senatus multa, quae Hadrianus non postulaverat, in honorem Traiani sponte decerneret.*	*OM* 6.4: *Antonino autem divinos honores et miles decrevit, et nos decernimus, et vos, p.c., ut decernatis, cum possimus imperatorio more praecipere, rogamus.*

Apart from the correspondences (underlined), there is a subtle difference in the clause *sponte* and *cum possimus imperatorio more praecipere*: whereas Macrinus leaves the senate no room for deciding about or even opposing to the *divini honores*, the effect of Hadrian's moderate attitude is that the senate grants Trajan much more than was requested. Now that we are inventorying the differences in the light of the similarities, another parallel crops up, concerning the posthumous triumph that was granted to Trajan:

H 6.3 *Cum triumphum ei senatus, qui Traiano debitus erat, detulisset, recusavit ipse atque imaginem Traiani curru triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem quidem triumphi amitteret dignitatem.*	*OM* 6.2 *Vellemus, p.c., et incolumi Antonino nostro et revecti cum triumpho vestram clementiam*[680] *videre.*

Macrinus is said to have wished a triumph for Caracalla, were he still alive, while Hadrian rejects any triumph for himself and has an *imago* of the deceased emperor Trajan driven around in the triumphal car. Such granting of due honours to his predecessor is another point on which Hadrian scores positively. Assuming that the parallel is valid, the correspondences are *curru triumphali vexit* (*triumphum*, *triumphi*) → *revecti cum triumpho*; *optimus imperator* → *Antonino nostro*; *post mortem* → *incolumi*.

We may assume that the author took at least part of his information about the inaugural procedures from the source he used for the Primary Lives. Obviously, he imitated descriptions in EL in order to describe the procedures in IL and LL. Whether the parallels between *H* 6.1 and *OM* 5.9-6.9 are deliberate or not is hard to say, but the author may have looked at EL in order to describe Macrinus' accession. When we compare his accession with, say, that of the emperor Tacitus, other parallels are found, cf. *Tac*. 9.1: *Post hoc stipendium et donativum ex more promisit* … with OM 6.5, the address to the senate: (*militibus*) *quibus iam et stipendium dedi et omnia imperatorio more iussi*. More parallels were quoted in the previous notes (*Dd.* 1-2 ~ *Tac*. 8.5 on the speech to the *commilitones*; *OM* 6.5-8 ~ *Tac*.8.4-5; 9.1-6 on the structure of the speech), which reveals a strong relationship between the speeches in *OM* 6 and *Dd*. 1-2.

[680] The term of *vestra clementia* applied to the senate also occurs in *AC* 12.3: *vos oro atque obsecro, p.c., ut censura vestra deposita meam pietatem clementiamque servetis, immo vestram neque quemquam ullum senatus occidat* and the intermediary life of *AS* 9.1: *Item imperator dixit: 'Antoninorum nomen vel iam numen potius quantum fuerit, meminit vestra clementia*. Den Hengst (1987, 161) calls this a case of 'Senatsverherrlichung'.

The chief conclusion to be drawn from our analysis of *OM* 6 is that the literary techniques of the speech reveal its entirely fictitious nature. Its structure suggests that the fragments are taken from a longer letter, though the announcements about their contents contradicts this. All the elements could easily have been borrowed from other parts of the *HA*, either from their immediate context or other parts of the work. The content of the letter and the historical narrative cohere firmly. The example may be valid for most of the pieces in DD in the *HA*. Although the author pretends to quote a great many documents *verbatim*, it is certain that he made up practically all of them himself.