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### Style and structure of the Historia Augusta

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## Chapter 7      An Authentic Document: Hadrian's *Animula*

### 7.1 Introduction

In chapter 6, we have studied documents in DD, which turned out to be based on the author's imagination. It may be supposed that PL contains larger parts of reliable information when it comes to the historical content than IL and LL. Consequently, the verses in *H* 25.9, Hadrian's well-known nineteen-word propemptikon to his soul *Animula vagula blandula* (henceforth: *A*), need their own assessment, independent of the conclusions that have been drawn about the authenticity of the documents and verses (such as *OM* 11.4-6, 14.2, see § 5.3.1 and *Dd.* 7.3) in the part starting with *OM*.

The small size of *A* contrasts with the enormous amount of studies devoted to it. Still, unanimity about text and interpretation has not been reached yet. Its authenticity has been questioned in the past century, though nowadays a vast majority of scholars accept the poem as a product of Hadrian's own imagination.<sup>681</sup> When it comes to a literary assessment of the poem, opinions nowadays are mainly positive, as for example Von Albrecht's (1997, 1310), who sees the innovative qualities of Hadrian's poetry: 'We have a few poetic lines of Emperor Hadrian, in which he expresses his own restlessness and loneliness in almost modern terms; they give us an idea of the direction that Latin verse could have taken had it not subsided into a non-committal play on forms'.<sup>682</sup>

The point of departure in this chapter is that *A* is by Hadrian's own hand. An attempt will follow to show how Hadrian used classical models for his poetry and how Hadrian himself was followed by later poets. Comparison with the epigrammatic tradition to which the poem belongs proves to be a good way to approach the original text and establish a new interpretation. The study fills a gap in the numerous studies that have thus far appeared by placing the poem in the literary context of the second century AD<sup>683</sup> and in a literary tradition that goes back to Hellenistic poetry as practised in the Latin literature of republican times. The poem follows conventions of epigrammatic poetry in Latin literature, the recognition of which may shed a new light on its interpretation and text. Conclusion will be corroborated by the imitations of Hadrian that appeared in later times.

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<sup>681</sup> Hohl (1915, 41) posed the 'Echtheitsfrage' starting from the perceived ugliness of the verses and the unusual rhyme. Positions with regard to the authenticity diverge from rejection (Barnes 1968, 384-6) to acceptance (Baldwin 1970, 372-4; Birley 1994, 176-205), which last view strongly prevails nowadays. Still, if authentic, the question about the author's source is still valid. At the end of the nineteenth century Peter (1892, 30) thought, as well as Klebs (1892, 22n2), that Marius Maximus was the source, denied by Hohl (1915, 415), who thinks that the verses are the author's own fabrication.

<sup>682</sup> Compare this assessment with Norden's verdict of the poem as 'an schlaffer weichlichkeit und kindischer Tändelei ihres gleiches suchenden Verslein' (Norden 1909<sup>2</sup>, 840n1).

<sup>683</sup> Cameron 1980, Mattiacci 1982, Steinmetz 1982/9.

## 7.2 Textual Issues (vss. 3 and 4)

It is worth repeating the main questions to be answered with regard to the poem, for the purpose of which I quote the text without any interpunction, relying on the best branch of manuscripts (P), which provides a point of departure for interpretation and textual emendation:

*animula vagula blandula*  
*hospes comesque corporis*  
*quae nunc abibis in loca*  
*pallidula rigida nudula*  
5     *nec ut soles dabis iocos*

Reading the verses as they are transmitted in the main branch of manuscripts, the first two lines do not seem to give rise to textual questions. The third line is grammatically and logically correct, but has raised questions because of the reading in the  $\Sigma$ -manuscripts, which have *quo* instead of *quae*.<sup>684</sup> Moreover, when *quae* is interpreted as a relative pronoun, the sentence<sup>685</sup> seems to lack a main verb following the vocative *animula*. This latter point in particular has led to some conjectures, ingeniously defended with the *varia lectio* from  $\Sigma$  *quo* as source of inspiration. A brief overview of the alternatives will be given below. The text as quoted above, however, is a good point of departure for an interpretation that is based on an assessment of the structure of the entire poem.

Its analysis allows for a reading of the third line without any change, while a small but essential emendation in the fourth line will be made. This line requires more explanation than the preceding line, as it is still unclear whether the adjectives belong to the immediate foregoing *loca* or to the poem's first word *animula* (on the provisional assumption that the three words in the tricolon are a unit).

The problems encountered in lines 3 and 4 concern the interpretation of *quae* and the status of the adjectiva *pallidula rigida nudula*. For *quae*, there are three possibilities:

- *quae* is a pronomen relativum, referring to *animula* in v. 1.<sup>686</sup>
- *quae* is a pronomen interrogativum<sup>687</sup> connected to *loca*, with a question as a result: *quae nunc abibis in loca?* The answer may follow (but not necessarily so) in v. 4: *pallidula, rigida, nudula*.<sup>688</sup>
- *quae* is a pronomen exclamativum (*quae* ~ *qualia*), a possibility brought forward by Kraggerud (1993, 86): *quae... in loca...!*

<sup>684</sup>  $\Sigma$  denotes a class of manuscripts from the humanist era, which should be distinguished from the ninth century manuscripts the *Bambergensis* (B) and the *Palatinus* (P). For further information about the manuscript tradition, see Ballou 1914, Hohl 1965<sup>2</sup>, Callu 1985 and note 1 in this study.

<sup>685</sup> I use 'period' to mean 'a single sentence complete with headclause and subclauses'

<sup>686</sup> *Quae* as a relative pronoun: Birt 1913, 309.

<sup>687</sup> *Quae* as an interrogative pronoun: Ribbeck 1913, 317; Steinmetz 1989, 273; Courtney 1993, 382.

<sup>688</sup> This same idea, that v. 3 contains a question, led Hohl (1965<sup>2</sup>, 27) to follow the reading of manuscript  $\Sigma$  *quo* instead of *quae*. A result of this reading is that v. 3 should be interpreted as a question *abibis (quo nunc abibis?)*, the answer to which is given in vss. 3-4 (*in loca ... nudula*). *Quo* instead of *quae* was followed by Mariotti 1970, 249. Hohl (1915, 413) also changed *loca* at the end of v. 3 in *locos* (in his standard-edition of *HA* he proposes *quos... in locos* ( $\approx$  *quo locorum*)), see also Immisch 1915, 203 and 1915a, 416.

For the adjectives in line 4, the following options may be mentioned:

- In case of *quae* as interrogativum or as exclamativum, the three adjectives in v.4 are most probably attributive to *loca*.<sup>689</sup>
- in case of *quae* as relativum the adjectives in v. 4 may either depend on *animula*<sup>690</sup>, thus corresponding with and expanding the adjectives in v 1 (*vagula blandula*), or on *loca* in v.3.
- A third option is that some of the adjectives should be attributed to *animula*, and others to *loca* – or that the attribution is ambiguous.<sup>691</sup>

There are objections to all of these options. If *pallidula rigida nudula* is attributed to *animula*, this leaves a very weak *loca*, signifying the underworld, in v.3.<sup>692</sup> If the tricolon is dependent on *loca*, the adjective *nudula* is problematic on logical grounds (meaning a place where beings are naked, or something similar). These considerations open the way for one of the possibilities in the third option mentioned, to which we will return below, § 7.6.

### 7.3 Structure of the Poem (vss.1-5)

In the options given thus far, no attention has been paid to the structure of the poem as a whole. This is why a new reading will be proposed. When the text in its most neutral appearance, as given above, is considered, A can be seen as a poem consisting of a single period with a structure consisting of several different parts: (1) an apostrophe with attributes (*animula vagula blandula*), (2) apposition (*hospes comesque corporis*), (3a) a relative clause (*quae nunc abibis in loca*) with (3b) a second series of attributes (*pallidula rigida nudula*) and (4) a coordinate expansion of the subordinate clause (*nec ut soles dabis iocos*). The addressee is rendered in the vocative (*animula*), to which no verb is attached (apart from the verbs in the subordinate clause (*abibis, dabis*) that are dependent on *quae*), which gives the addressee a relatively independent position in the period. Such an address starting with a vocativus is not exceptional in verses of a higher style and formal tone and occurs normally in religious or hymnic poetry when a divine instance is

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<sup>689</sup> v.4 corresponding with *loca*: Immisch 1915, 202; Mariotti 1970, 249; Kraggerud 1993, 83-5.

<sup>690</sup> v.4 corresponding with *animula*: Gregorovius 1884, 341; Steinmetz 1989, 273; Courtney 1993, 382.

<sup>691</sup> Holzhausen (2003, 103) and Fündling (2006, 1057) suppose that the attribution is ambiguous.

<sup>692</sup> *Loca* for underworld is normal, see e.g. Verg. *A* 6.264, 434, 461 and Ovid *Met.* 4.432 about the way to the underworld; Ausonius *Par.* 27.4: *loca tacita Erebi*, but has been read as *loci* or (by Hohl, see above) as *locos*. There is no reason to doubt the manuscript transmission *loca*, which means the underworld, like Sajdak 1916 pointed out.

addressed.<sup>693</sup> The expansion of the subordinate clause (*nec... after quae...nudula*) is an example of ‘appositional syntax’, which is a characteristic of archaic literature.<sup>694</sup>

Courtney’s objection that in the reading defended here, the poem consists of ‘an apostrophe with dependent clauses but no main verb’ can be solved by a comparison with other poems by Hadrian. *Fr.4 Courtney*<sup>695</sup> is a poetic fragment on a horse’s gravestone which is ascribed to Hadrian. The subject is related to the hellenistic tradition of composing epitaphs on deceased animals - a type of poetry that is abundantly present in the *Anthologia Palatina*.<sup>696</sup> The first nine verses (out of sixteen) are quoted here, as they show structural similarities with A:

	<u><i>Borysthenes Alanus,</i></u>	<b>subject</b>
	<u><i>caesareus veredus,</i></u>	apposition
	<i>per aequor et paludes</i>	
	<i>et tumulos Etruscos</i>	
5	<i>volare <u>qui</u> solebat</i>	relative clause
	<u><i>Pannonicos in apros,</i></u>	
	<i>nec ullus insequentem</i>	
	<i>dente aper albicanti</i>	<i>superflux</i>
	<u><i>ausus fuit nocere</i></u>	
10	<i>vel...</i>	

The example not only shows that a structure with subject – apposition – relative clause – *superflux*, is perfectly possible.<sup>697</sup> If the structure of A is comparable to that of *Borysthenes Alanus* (henceforth BA) there are two elementary differences: whereas in BA a main verb follows the subordinate clauses (v.16: *hoc situs est in agro*), in A there is no verb to follow the clauses, at least in the A version that has come down to us. A second difference is that in BA the verbs appear in the third person singular, so that *Borysthenes Alanus* is a nominative. In A, the dying *Animula* is addressed in the vocative with matching second-person forms in the subordinate clauses, whereas no main verb follows. It is perfectly imaginable that the five verses of A were once the beginning of a longer poem, in which further subordinate clauses did follow. This would be in accordance with other poems of the same kind.

<sup>693</sup> A famous instance is the *invocatio* of Venus by Lucretius in his *De Rerum Natura* (1.1-4 *sqq*): *Aeneadum genetrix hominum divumque voluptas, / alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa / quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis / concelebras...*, in which *alma Venus* is preceded by apposition and followed by relative clauses, later to be continued with the address *te, dea* and the request for aid in creating poetry, 1.28: *da magis aeternum da dictis diva leporem*. From later times, the hymn by Tiberianus to Jupiter may serve as an example: *Omnipotens, annosa poli quem suspicit aetas, / quem sub millenis semper contutibus unum / nec numero quisquam poterit pensare nec aevo, / nunc esto affatus, si quo te nomine dignum est, ...* (Courtney 1993, 432) or Ausonius *Eph. 3: Omnipotens, solo mentis mihi cognite cultu, / ignorete malis et nulli ignote piorum, / ...* (Green 1991, 8).

<sup>694</sup> Quinn 1973, 92.

<sup>695</sup> Courtney 1993, 384 = *CIL* xii.1122 = *CLE* 1522.

<sup>696</sup> To mention just two examples: *AP* 7.195 en 7.196 (= *HE* Meleager XII 4058-65, I 219-20 en XIII 4066-73, I 220 – *edd.* Gow/Page 1965, 615-6).

<sup>697</sup> Quinn 1973, 93: *superflux* is the phenomenon that the period continues at a point where it could also have been concluded.

## 7.4 Models and Imitators

### 7.4.1 Catullus

To compare the structure of *A* with its textual antecedents, another Latin poem in the Hellenistic tradition of shorter poems on animals may be quoted, Catullus' *Carmen 2*:

Passer, deliciae meae puellae,  
quicum ludere, quem in sinu tenere,  
cui primum digitum dare appetenti  
et acris solet incitare morsus,  
5 cum desiderio meo nitenti  
carum nescio quid lubet iocari  
et solaciolum sui doloris,  
...

Catullus' poem, which consists of one sentence, can be divided as follows: (1) apostrophe (*passer*) with (2) apposition (*deliciae meae puellae*), after which (3) a passage with relative clauses (*quicum...morsus*) and a subordinate temporal clause (*cum...doloris*), after which the poem concludes with a final clause. *V.4 et acris solet incitare morsus* as a coordinate clause is striking in the structure of the period, in that a new relative (after *quicum, quem* and *cui*) is expected. This 'appositional syntax' is a feature of archaic literature, which sometimes takes the place of a second or even third relative clause. This is also an example of *superflux*. The main verb only follows in *v.9: tecum ludere sicut ipsa possem*, though it must be said that the text of this part of the poem is heavily contested.

In weighing the phenomena described here, it may be remarked that Hadrian's *A* and Catullus' *c. 2* show striking structural similarities: the apostrophe, the relative clauses and the appositional syntax show that Hadrian and Catullus were writing in the same tradition, that of shorter, epigrammatic, poems. One could even go further. The two subjects in question, the *passer* and the *animula*, are small creatures that are addressed as if they were deities and cherished as something that the poet expects a blessing from (*ludere* and *iocos* respectively), which is in accordance with the Hellenistic tradition as attested in the Greek anthology. The similarities make it interesting to compare the contents of the two poems. The addressees have another thing in common: they are about to die, while in Catullus' *carmen 3*, which was conceived as inseparably attached to poem 2 from antiquity onward<sup>698</sup>, the *passer* is already dead. His death is described as *qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum*, whereas Hadrian says to his *animula*: *quae nunc abibis*<sup>699</sup> *in loca*

<sup>698</sup> As appears from the poem on the pet dog *Myia*, quoted by Quinn (1973<sup>2</sup>, 96-7 = *AL* 2.2.1512), and Juvenalis *Sat.* 6.8 where elements of *Cat. cc. 2* and *3* are combined in *turbavit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos*.

<sup>699</sup> *Abire* is the normal verb for dying of the *anima* (see Ausonius *Parentalia* 27.1, Green 1991, 39) and Courtney: *Anima abit vel perit, obit homo vel bestia*. See Sept. Ser. *Fr.* 17 (Courtney 1993, 414): *animula miserula properiter abiit*, and below (§ 7.4.2).

/ *pallidula*...: two descriptions of the underworld, or the way leading to it (*iter* and *loca* respectively), expanded by related adjectives (*tenebricosum* versus *pallidula*...). Finally, the poets of both poems regard their lyrical object as something playful: *nec ut soles dabis iocos* (A 5) and *ludere...solet* (c.2.3-4) and *lubet iocari* (c.2.6). In brief, structure and contents of the two poems, Hadrian's *Animula* and Catullus' *carmen 2 annex 3*, show similarities which at least make clear that the two authors were writing in the same tradition. The following scheme sums up the similarities:

apostrophe+ apposition + rel. Clause	A 1 <i>Animula</i> (...) A 2 <i>hospes comesque corporis, / Quae...</i>	c. 2.1 <i>passer,</i> <i>deliciae meae puellae, / quicum...</i> <sup>700</sup>
underworld + adjective	A 3-4 <i>quae nunc abibis in loca pallidula...</i> <sup>701</sup>	c. 3.11-2 <i>qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum</i>
Play	A 5 <i>nec ut soles dabis iocos</i>	2.4 <i>ludere...solet / 2.6 lubet iocari</i>

Figure 7.1: Comparison between the structures of *Animula* (H 25.9) and Catullus c.2

The similarities in wording, structure and contents may indicate Hadrian's use of Catullus' *carmen* as a model. The enormous popularity of Catullus' shorter poems, which were especially promoted by Martialis at the end of the first century AD, makes it quite likely that Hadrian did have *carmen 2* and *3* in mind, just like many other poets before him when writing short poems about pets or other small creatures. Further evidence in support of this interpretation will be given below.<sup>702</sup>

#### 7.4.2 Laevius

An older poet should be mentioned to whose works the poets of Catullus' times are heavily indebted and in whose works lies the origin of Latin brief poetry: Laevius. This immigrant from the East, who must have been active in the nineties of the 1st c.BC, set the tone for a new kind of poetry in Rome, which was characterized by epigrammatic and lyrical forms.<sup>703</sup> Though certainly not the greatest in this type of literature, he certainly was the first and was intensively followed. Archaisms and neologisms were among his literary predilections, as were diminutives. The following hymn to Venus may serve as an example:<sup>704</sup>

<i>Venus o amoris altrix</i>	apostrophe + apposition
<i>genetrix cupiditatis</i>	apposition
<i>mihi quae diem serenum hila-</i>	relative clause
<i>rula praepandere cresti, op-</i>	

<sup>700</sup> Repeated in c. 3.4: *passer, deliciae meae puellae, / quem...*

<sup>701</sup> Forcellini 1868 (tomus IV, 318 ad 'nunc': 'nunc iungitur interdum cum verbis praeteriti et futuri temporis, et designat tempus, quod circa nos est') gives examples of *nunc* followed by a future tense, e.g. Catullus 8.16: *quis nunc te adibit?*, which comes close to Hadrian's v.3: *quae nunc abibis...*

<sup>702</sup> Catullus' cc. 2 and 3 have been (superficially) connected before by Immisch 1915, 201n1; see also Kraggerud 1993, 91n82.

<sup>703</sup> For Laevius's place in Latin literature, Courtney 1993, 118, Ross 1969, 155.

<sup>704</sup> fr. 22 Courtney 1993, 136.

*seculae tuae ac ministrae,  
etsi ne utiquam quid foret  
expavida gravis dura fera  
asperaque famultas potu-  
i dominio concipere  
<sub> superbo ...*

apposition  
coordinating clause

These diminutives are also present in *fr.* 4,<sup>705</sup> a small poem in a iambic dimeter, which contains Hector's address to a wreath for his head, made by his wife Andromache:

*Te andromacha per ludum manu  
lascivola ac tenellula  
capiti meo, trepidans libens,  
insolita plexit munera.*

Note the effect of tenderness by the use of the diminutives *lascivola ac tenellula* in enjambement with *manu*, and the renewed sequence in v.3 *trepidans libens*, which is comparable to Hadrian's use of diminutives in *Animula vagula blandula* and the tricolon *pallidula, rigida, nudula*. Though the assumption that Hadrian based his epigram on this specific fragment by Laevius is precarious, it should be noted that Laevius was one of the first poets to fully explore the possibilities of diminutives in short poems (iambic, in casu).

### 7.4.3 Septimius Serenus

Hadrian must have taken notice of Laevius' use of *deminutiva*,<sup>706</sup> as did the second century poet Septimius Serenus in *fr.* 2: Courtney convincingly assumes that Serenus' *fr.* 17 (1993, 414) *animula miserula properiter*<sup>707</sup> *abiit* is based on Laevius' *fr.* 19 (1993, 134) *cupidius miserulo obito*, as *miserulus* (a synonym for the common *misellus*) only occurs in these two fragments. Septimius evidently combined Laevius' hapax *miserulus* with Hadrian's hapax *animula*. There is another verse by Serenus, which may have preceded the verse quoted, to wit *fr.* 16 Courtney: *perit abit avipedis animula leporis*. Apart from the difference in tense between perfect and present in the two verses, there are strong arguments to link the two verses (Mattiacci 1982, 172). Whatever their origin and relation, it is remarkable that the hare (*lepus*) goes on bird's feet (*avipes*, which is an hapax analogous to *alipes* or *celeripes*).<sup>708</sup> Is it that the image of the personalized hare's *animula* is based on the idea of Catullus' deceased *passer*? It would be fitting to follow the first poet of Hellenistic epigrams on dead animals in Latin and

<sup>705</sup> Courtney 1993, 122.

<sup>706</sup> Laevius is quoted several times in the works of Aulus Gellius (see below, § 7.4.4), e.g. *NA* 19.7.2-16, where his tragedies are discussed, and 19.9.7, where Laevius' works are called '*implicata*'.

<sup>707</sup> *Properiter* is an archaic word, revived by Apuleius (Courtney 1993, 414), cf. Suetonius *fr.* 2 *aspriter* (1993, 114) and Laevius *fr.* 6 *lasciviter* (1993, 122) and Leumann 499-500 on the formation. Also Ausonius *Parentalia* 27.1 (Green 1991, 39-40) uses the word, probably in imitation of Septimius Serenus: *Et amita Veneria properiter abiit*.

<sup>708</sup> Courtney 1993, 413.

give the hare bird's feet. This would, at the same time, explain how Hadrian must have seen his *animula* passing away: as a bird that flies out of the body's cage.

#### 7.4.4 Aulus Gellius

The second century author Aulus Gellius quotes in his *Noctes Atticae* (19.11.1-3) a friend's translation of an epigram by Plato.<sup>709</sup> Here, the introduction, the original and the translation follow:

*Celebrantur duo isti Graeci versiculi multorumque doctorum hominum memoria dignantur, quod sint lepidissimi et venustissimae brevitatis. Neque adeo pauci sunt veteres scriptores, qui eos Platonis esse philosophi adfirmant, quibus ille adulescens luserit, cum tragoediis quoque eodem tempore faciendis praeluderet:*

Τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν ἔσχον·

ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὡς διαβησομένη.<sup>710</sup>

*Hoc distichon amicus meus, οὐκ ἄμυσοσος adulescens, in plures versiculos licentius liberiusque vertit. Qui quoniam mihi quidem visi sunt non esse memoratu indigni, subdidi:*

*Dum semihulco savio  
meum puellum savior  
dulcemque florem spiritus  
duco ex aperto tramite,  
5 †anima† et saucia  
cucurrit ad labeas mihi,  
rictumque in oris pervium  
et labra pueri mollia,  
rimata itineri transitus,  
10 ut transiliret, nititur.  
Tum si morae quid plusculae  
fuisset in coetu osculi,  
Amoris igni percita  
transisset et me linqueret,  
15 et mira prorsum res foret,  
ut fierem ad me mortuus,  
ad puerulum intus viverem.*

<sup>709</sup> According to Dahlmann (1979, 8), the poem should be attributed to Apuleius. For the Platonic spirit in Apuleius' poems, see Courtney 1993, 396-7: 'Apuleius wrote amatory verses *Platonis ipsius exemplo facti* and quotes epigrams of Plato (Apol. 10-13)'. The *HA* mentions Apuleius in *CIA* 12.12, where Clodius Albinus' literary works are characterized as *inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria* (see Graverini 2006, 88-9 for a treatment of this passage). Apuleius himself calls some of his works *ludicra* (Apol.6: *legerunt e Ludicris meis epistolium de dentifricio versibus scriptum ad quendam Calpurnianum*), which show a strong Catullus spirit (Hunink 1997 II, 28).

<sup>710</sup> = Beckby 1965-8, *Ep.* 5.78-80.

The idea of the poem, just like that of Plato's epigram, is that the *anima* is on the lips of the lover when he intends to kiss his love: the *anima* is about to jump to the boy, which will result in the poet's death, while his *anima* will live on in the boy (*intus*). In order to restore the corrupt v.5, editors have supplemented *anima* with: *aegra* (Julien 1998, 137; Marshall 1968, 579), *male* (Rolfe 1928, III, 392n1, after Hosius 1903, 279 *app. crit.*) and *mea* (Hertz). Now, there are some striking similarities with Hadrian's A: the Latin poem is based on a Greek original<sup>711</sup>; the metre is a iambic dimeter; the *anima* is about to leave the poet (admittedly, not to the underworld, but to another being); there are several diminutives (*puellum, plusculae, osculi, puerulum*). Given these aspects, it is not hazardous to suppose that Gellius (or his *amicus οὐκ ἄμωσος*), about the same time as Septimius Serenus did, imitated Hadrian with another diminutive, and wrote *animula* in v.5.<sup>712</sup> The *consensus codicum* determines the way that *aegra* is complemented: *animula aegra et saucia*. At the same time, we have another *testimonium* of imitation of Hadrian.

#### 7.4.5 Ausonius

In the later fourth century, Ausonius imitated Septimius' poem in his *Parentalia* 27<sup>713</sup> (the correspondences, treated above, are underlined):

*Et amita Veneria properiter abiit  
cui brevia melea modifica recino:  
cinis, uti placidulus ad opera vigeat,  
celeripes adeat loca tacita Erebi.*

Special attention should be paid to the last words: *adeat loca tacita Erebi*, which might well be an echo of *quae nunc abibis in loca / pallidula ridiga nudula*, this last tricolon being replaced by *tacita* (while *placidulus* is reminiscent of the diminutives, especially *pallidula*) and explained by *Erebi*. The verb *adeat*, a variation of *abiit* in v.1, parallels *abibis* in A 3, a euphemism for death. Ausonius describes death as a journey to the underworld also in *Prof.* 22.16 (*supremum...iter*) and *Epigr.* 7.8 (*et gradere Elysios praepes ad alipedes*).<sup>714</sup>

Schematically, the process of possible derivatons could be sketched thus:

<sup>711</sup> Cf. *H* 25.10: *tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et Graecos*, a common practice in shorter poetry.

<sup>712</sup> Carrio 1585 (*ed.* Herz 1886) was the first to propose *animula* in an emendation, followed in Forcellini's lexicon *sub* '*animula*' (1868, 282) and quoted in Marshall 1968, 579 (*app. crit.*) and Julien 1998, 137 (*app. crit.*). Hosius 1903, 279 neglects the emendation.

<sup>713</sup> Green 1991, 39-40 and comm. 325-7.

<sup>714</sup> Green 1991, 327.

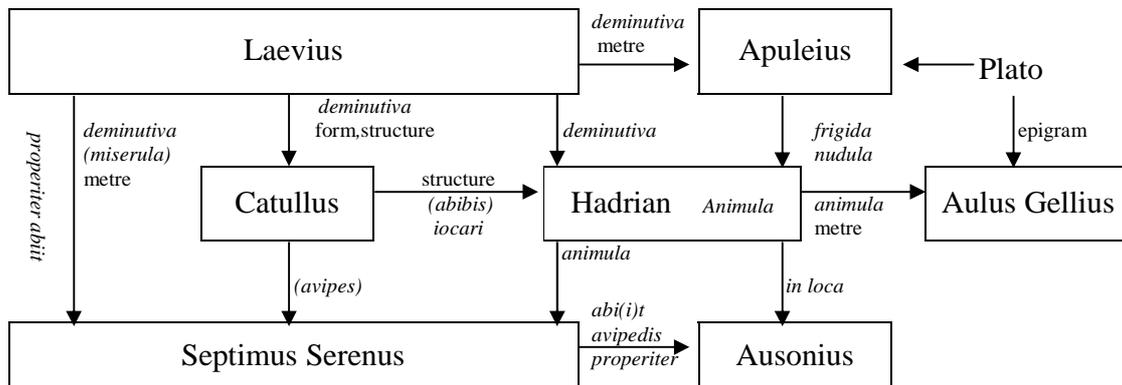


Figure 7.2: Relations between Laevius, Catullus, Apuleius, Hadrian, Aulus Gellius, Septimius Serenus and Ausonius as to use of words, themes and poetic forms.

The conclusion, based on the form and vocabulary of the epigrams, must be that in the second century, there was a revival of the light poetry introduced in Latin literature in the late republic – and imitations were produced as late as the fourth century, as the example of Ausonius attests<sup>715</sup>. Hadrian’s *A* played a central role in the imitations.

## 7.5 *Deminutiva* (vss. 1 and 4)

If Hadrian took *cc.* 2 and 3 as models for his *A*, which is not improbable with regard to structure, the most striking and innovative addition is the host of diminutives in *vss.* 1 and 4: the substantive *animula* and the adjectives *vagula*, *blandula*, *pallidula* and *nudula*. If in *v* 4 Catullus’ *iter / tenebricosum* was the model for *loca / pallidula...*, one may still question why Hadrian took three other adjectives (*pallidula*, *rigida*, *nudula*) to describe either the *animula* or the *loca*. It should first of all be remarked that in the poetry of Hadrian’s times diminutives as a stylistic device underwent a revival, which started with the shorter poems written by Martial. Martial was an admirer and follower of Catullus, as he himself states in several epigrams.<sup>716</sup> The idea that the use of *deminutiva* (as well as the form and structure of the poems), is an imitation of Catullus would support the preceding conclusion about Catullus’ poems as a model for *A*.

Gow (1932) studied the use of diminutives in Augustan poetry and could firmly conclude that the use of diminutives had greatly diminished, which also holds good for Flavian poetry. He ended his article with an intuition about the later use of diminutives, but didn’t sketch its development, though Hadrian’s *A* is referred to with the remark that ‘[I] do not even know whether the emperor Hadrian’s orgy of diminutives is a harbinger or an isolated outburst’ (1932, 157). The answer may be found when some larger collections of fragments of second-century poems are studied: both in Apuleius and Septimius Serenus, some twenty diminutives in ca. 120 verses can be counted, which is a

<sup>715</sup> In the same epoch, Ammianus Marcellinus (*RG* 28.1.4) uses the word *animula* for (evil) ghosts in the underworld: *dein quod nactus (sc. Maximinus) hominem Sardum (...) eliciendi animulas noxias et praesagia sollicitare larvarum perquam gnarum...*

<sup>716</sup> See Wiseman 1985, 246-59 for references to Catullus by Martialis.

relatively high amount.<sup>717</sup> Hadrian's diminutives (five in five verses) are striking as to their form and number, but are no 'isolated outburst' when seen in the light of the poetry of his times. Diminutiva as a stylistic feature regained the position they had in the poetry of Catullus's times. They had been used to create several effects, from a lighthearted and tender tone to dramatic and emotive effects. For example, in his firmly connected *carmina* 2 and 3, Catullus uses diminutives to express tenderness, pity and melodramatic effects (*solaciolum* 2.7, 3.6, *miselle* 3.16, *turgiduli... ocelli* 3.18).<sup>718</sup>

To judge by the extant fragments of the second-century poets, Hadrian's poetry fits in the poetic modes of its time in terms of a preference for epigrams and the use of diminutiva. Similarly, its use of iambic dimeter is far from unique (Gellius, Septimius Serenus, Apuleius). As we have seen in the preceding paragraph, the structure of two of Hadrian's poems has traits in common with archaic poetry, which are also traceable in other poems of the time. One last remark about the poets of the second century should be made. It is true that there are some remarkable similarities in their poetry that distinguish them from poets writing in the first century. This has led some scholars to style them as *poetae novelli*,<sup>719</sup> who sought to continue the poetry of the νεώτεροι of Catullus's times. To define the *poetae novelli* as a group is as hazardous as taking the late-republican poets around Catullus to be one group, and warnings about these attempts have not failed to come.<sup>720</sup> Still, from Martial's times onwards, Catullus underwent an enormous revival in the second century AD, which is expressed many times by the authors who followed him.<sup>721</sup> Perhaps the most famous author and poet of this era was Apuleius, whose works show a Catullan spirit in many passages.<sup>722</sup> The presence of a considerable amount of diminutives, both taken from the archaic period and in the form of neologisms, is a phenomenon that clearly indicates a return to pre-classical times. The same goes for Hadrian's works.

## 7.6 The Soul and the Underworld (v.4)

If Hadrian's poem is read as proposed above, as a small hymnic epigram with a carefully composed structure, the question arises what exactly is expressed in the poem. The poem

<sup>717</sup> The poetry of the second century AD, which has fragmentarily been transmitted, is brought together by Mattiacci in 1982 and Courtney 1993. In the more voluminous collections of fragments of the poets Apuleius and Septimius Serenus, I found the following diminutives: Apuleius *Apol.* 6: 4 *pulvisculum*, 5 *tumidulae gingivulae*, 8 *labellis*, fr. 6.12 *osculi*, 17 *puerulum*, fr. 7.10 *gemmulas*, 11 *lectulo*, 15 *voculas*, 18 *hortulo*, 20 *fessula* and Serenus fr. 1 *zonulam*, fr. 11 *canticulum*, fr. 15 *culicellus*, fr. 16 *animula*, fr. 17 *animula miserula*, fr. 19 *testula*, fr. 21 *navicula*, fr. 23.3 *stridula*, 5 *sacello*. For other diminutives, also in prose: Koziol 1988, 44-5. Hunink 1997, 30 links the use of the diminutive *pulvisculum* to the language of comedy (e.g. Plautus *Rud.* 845, *Truc.* 19). Apul. *Met.* 2.7 is quoted in Butler/Owen 1967, 19 to prove Apuleius' fondness of diminutives.

<sup>718</sup> See Hoffman-Szantyr (1965, 772-7) on stilistics of the *deminitiva*; Gow 1932, 150-8; Fordyce 1965, 95-6.

<sup>719</sup> Mattiacci 1982. The term is borrowed from the contemporary poet Terentianus (Courtney 1989, 302)

<sup>720</sup> Cameron 1980, 127 and Courtney 1993, 372-4.

<sup>721</sup> See, for example, the first verses of a gentle poem by Q. Gellius Sentius Augurinus, proconsul of Macedonia under Hadrian's reign *Canto carmina versibus minutis / hos olim quibus et meus Catullus / et Calvus veteresque, sed quid ad me? / unus Plinius est mihi priores / ...*: Steinmetz 1989, 270-1.

<sup>722</sup> McCreight 1990, 49-56.

has the tone of a lamento and feeling of a propemptikon, in which a dying person (*i.c.* Hadrian) bids farewell to his soul. About these aspects of the poem, especially the conception of the soul, much has been said by others.<sup>723</sup> The question should be linked to the interpretation of v.4, in which the *deminutiva* either belong to the soul (*animula*) or the underworld (*loca*). In both instances, the adjectives have a connotation with death. As I argued above, Catullus's *iter tenebricosum* may well have provided the model for *loca / pallidula*.... The question remains whether *rigida* and *nudula* can be conceived as adjectives applying to *loca* as well. Gallavotti 1971 made an attempt to separate the adjectives and connect *rigida* to *loca*, while consigning *pallidula* and *nudula* to *animula*, thereby neglecting Morawski and Sajdak's discovery<sup>724</sup> of an echo from Ennius' *Andromache*, in which the *loca* of the underworld are called *pallida* (see §6). The best option of all is proposed by Holzhausen that the adjectives are linked to *loca* grammatically, but that the words also refer to *animula*, in other words, that the ambiguous reference is intentional.<sup>725</sup>

The idea is supported by a close investigation of the lexicon. The parallel with Ennius' *Andromache* detected by Morawski (1883) and later confirmed by Sajdak 1916 seems adequate: *Acherunsia templa alta Orci, pallida leto, nubila tenebris loca*.<sup>726</sup> I would like to add to the observation that *pallidulum*, as a diminutive, only occurs twice in Latin literature, apart from the occurrence in A: Catullus c. 65.6 and Iuv. Sat.10.82.<sup>727</sup> The former concerns Catullus's shortly deceased brother, of whom the poet remarks: *namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fratris / pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem*. Quinn (1973, 353) in discussing *alluit unda pedem* takes special note of 'nuper – i.e. at the moment when his brother stepped into the waters of forgetfulness, to board Charon's boat', and further calls *pallidulum* a 'pathetic diminutive'. Note that *pallidulum* goes together with the brother's *pedem* and, though grammatically not with the underworld, the adjective is undeniably associated with death here. Also, Juvenal's use of *pallidulus* refers to someone in fear of death (10.82-6: ...*pallidulus mi / Bruttidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram; / quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Ajax / ut male defensus. curramus praecipites et, / dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem*). Note also the passage in Cat.c.81.1: *hospes ... pallidior statua*, in which the paleness corresponds to *moribunda*. It does not seem improbable that Hadrian should refer to his *anima* as *pallidula*, half-way to the underworld, even if grammatically the word seems to be linked with *loca*.

These associations with death are continued in the words that come next. The peculiarity of the combination of words following *pallidulum* has never been duly noted. For this, a slight but essential interpretational emendation of the text is required: we will emend *rigida* to *frigida*,<sup>728</sup> which opens new possibilities for the interpretation of the problematic verse. The combination of *frigida* and *nudula* has antecedents in earlier

<sup>723</sup> Fontecedro 1997, Holzhausen 2000, for religious aspects Steinmetz 1982, 306 and Gwyn Griffiths 1984, 263-6

<sup>724</sup> The parallel was put forward by Morawski in 1887, but only caught attention when Sajdak 1916 pointed out Morawski's discovery.

<sup>725</sup> Holzhausen 2000 (approved by Fündling 2006, 1057).

<sup>726</sup> It goes, however, too far to replace *nudula* in A4 by *nubila*, as Birley 1994 204 sq. wanted to have it.

<sup>727</sup> The first of which had been remarked by Hollstein 1916, later by Kuhlmann 2002.

<sup>728</sup> For which the metre is no objection, as the *muta* followed by *liquida* (in *frigida*) does not affect the length of the last *a* in *pallidula*.

poetry and contemporary literature, and is, like *pallidulus*, always connected with the brink of death. For example in Apuleius *Met.* 1.14.2: *At ego ut eram etiam nunc humi proiectus inanimis. Nudus et frigidus et lotio perlitus, quasi recens utero matris editus, immo vero semimortuus, verum etiam ipse mihi supervivens et postumus, vel certe destinatae iam cruci candidatus...* The person involved finds himself in a situation between life and death, as if he had just been born (*quasi...editus*) or is about to die (*semimortuus, mihi supervivens*) or even over the brink (*postumus*).<sup>729</sup> The person lies on the ground (*nunc humi proiectus inanimis*), an element which underscores the association with death and the underworld. These same elements are found in Hadrian's poem when the poet says goodbye to his soul (involving such matters as a state of semi-death, being en route to the underworld, and, more in general, the mutability of fortune). The use of the word *frigidus* combined with *nudus*, often used to describe corpses, seems important.<sup>730</sup>

In conclusion, we find that, though the tricolon *pallidula rigida nudula* seems to be linked to *loca* grammatically, the meaning of the words unambiguously indicate a connection with *animula*, which can be shown to be semantically true for all of the three adjectives as long as we are prepared to read *rigida* as *frigida*. On first reading the tricolon the reader is unaware of any ambiguity, as he might initially be led to think that the words belong to *loca* (see the parallel with Ennius' *Andromache*). Later on he will come to appreciate that all the words refer to *animula*, just as *vagula* and *blandula* do. This option solves a problem already put forward by Deubner 1915, for which Holzhausen proposed a compromise that has seemed the best fitting solution thus far. The three words (*pallidula* on the one hand and the combination *frigida* and *nudula* on the other) are, apart from their link with *animula*, strongly associated with death and underworld (*loca!*), which makes the triplet a wonder of ambiguity. To this it may be added that the three adjectives combine the *animula*-theme as voiced in vss.1-2 and the *loca*-theme in v.3 in a most elegant fashion.

## 7.7 A Poetical volta (v.5)

After the *animula* (vss.1-2) and *loca* (v.3) and their ambiguous continuation (v.4), what could be on the poet's mind in the final verse? This verse seems to contain an assessment of the entire poem. The verse has often been seen as a sort of anti-climax after a wonderfully written miniature about the *animula*. This, however, is based on a wrong understanding of the word *iocos*, that often has been connected with humour, which would lead to a contrast with the most serious and melancholic tone of the first four verses. *Iocos*, however, refers to the poem itself as representant of the type of smaller poems, or epigrams, in general.

<sup>729</sup> Keulen (2003, 258) comments on the passage by saying that the description is 'highly rhetorical (...) in the use of commonplace declamatory motifs of the mutability of fortune and frailty of men.'

<sup>730</sup> There are other instances in which the combination *frigidus / nudus* appear, always with death-associations (see also Keulen 2003, 260). Ovidius *Ars. Am.* 2.238: *Saepe feres imbrem caelesti nube solutum / frigidus et nuda saepe iacebis humo* or Statius *Theb.* 9.895 (Dryas to his mother, before he offers his head to be cut off): *Frigidus et nuda iaceo tellure, nec usquam / tu prope, quae voltus efflantiaque ora teneres*. Cf. also Sen. *Suas.* 6.6; Lucr. 5.222 sqq.; Ov. *Pont.* 2.2.45: *iam prope depositus, certe iam frigidus, aeger*).

In Catullan verse, *ludere* or *iocari* can denote ‘to write poetry’, which becomes most apparent in c.50.1-5: *Hesterno, Licini, die otiosi / multum lusimus in meis tabellis / (...)/ scribens versiculos uterque nostrum / ludebat numero modo hoc modo illoc ...*<sup>731</sup> A similar interpretation of the *passer*-poem makes perfectly sense, when the wordings *ludere...solet* (c.2.4) and *lubet iocari* (c.2.6) are conceived as the writing or reading of poetry (Holzberg 2002, 66-7). As we have seen above, there is a correspondence in structure with *nec, ut soles, dabis iocos* in A 5. A prime sample of hendecasyllabic verse is provided by Pliny, who wrote two books of hendecasyllabi, and who comes up with this description (Ep.4.14.3): *his iocamur, ludimus, amamus, dolemus, querimur, irascimur, describimus aliquid modo pressius modo elatius, ...* It thus appears that *iocari* and *ludere* are normal terms to describe ‘writing poetry’, be it in a lighter form.<sup>732</sup> The same applies for *ioci*, which have the same connotation as Catullus’s *nugae* (c.1). Pliny, again, distinguishes serious literature from light verse: *graviora opera lusibus iocisque distingo* (Ep. 8.21.2). A revealing passage is a description by Suetonius in his *De gramm. et rhet.* (21.1), about C. Melissus: *...libellos Ineptiarum, qui nunc Iocorum inscribuntur*.<sup>733</sup> Suetonius, as Hadrian’s contemporary and even one of his closer assistants (H 11.3: *epistularum magister*), mentions a book that is called *Ioci* in his own times (*nunc!*). With a view to this remark by Suetonius it can be imagined that Hadrian also styled his own poems *Ioci*, which makes that the fifth verse of the poem with *iocos* relates to Hadrian’s own poetry. *Iocos dare* would, in this conception, denote ‘to make shorter poems/epigrams’ and *nec, ut soles, dabis iocos*: ‘you will not, as you like to do, produce *ioci* (like this one)’.<sup>734</sup>

One question has, as far as I know, never been posed: this is whether the five verses constitute the entire poem or are only the beginning of a longer piece. This last possibility must be taken seriously. As we have seen in a handful of examples in sections 3 and 4 (e.g. Laevius, Catullus, Hadrian’s BA, A. Gellius, Q. Gellius), the taste of the time was to spread long periods over a number of (short) verses, so that *...nec ut soles dabis iocos...* need not be the end of the poem: there was a tendency to join more clauses together by means of relative pronouns and other connectives.<sup>735</sup> A is introduced by *et*

<sup>731</sup> The use of *ludere* and *iocari* for ‘writing poetry’ has become normal in the sec. c. AD, as appears from the text from Aulus Gellius, NA 19.11.2: *luserit, praeluderet*, quoted above, § 7.4.4.TLL ?

<sup>732</sup> OLD *lūdō* 8a (often with abl.): to spend one’s time idly or frivolously, amuse oneself, trifle (esp. w. ref. to the writing of lover poems and other of the lighter forms of literary composition) and b. (w. acc.) to write, produce, etc. (poems or sim.) for mere amusement. For *iocor* the OLD has no apart category for ‘writing’.

<sup>733</sup> Bower 1974, 528 who traces the occurrences of *iocus, lusus, nugae* and *ineptiae*, concludes that the cited passage has to be interpreted as ‘books of *Ineptiae* (such as are) now called books of *Ioci*’, thus, the book written by Melissus formerly called *Ineptiae*, would in Suetonius’ times have been styled *Ioci*. Vacher (1993, 22 and 163), who agrees with Bower’s conclusion, remarks that *ineptiae, ioci, nugae* and *lusus* ‘semblent toujours s’appliquer à des vers’.

<sup>734</sup> More examples in e.g. Martialis 7.8.9: *fas audire iocos levioraque carmina, Caesar / et tibi, si lusus ipse triumphus amat*.

<sup>735</sup> For example Q. Tullius Maximus (Steinmetz 1989, 287), who, in one poem, uses the connectors *–que, ut, ut, ut, ut, ut, et, et*. Mattiacci 1982, 73sq. changed *nec* into *non* in order to restore the link with the main syntactical structure. Also Fündling 2006, 1058 is not happy with the connection of v.5 to the preceding lines: he calls it an ‘anspruchlose Parataxe durch *nec*’ and a ‘Komplement von v.1-4, nicht Hohepunkt des ganzen’. Shackleton Bailey (1985, 374), however, defends the normal *nec*: ‘...the connective *nec* has been a stumbling block (M. regards it as an equivalent of *non*). Is the difficulty real? ... (the adjectives) lead to and link up with the further statement in the last verse. *Datura* would have been syntactically smoother than *dabis*, but less forcible.’

*moriens quidem hos versus fecisse dicitur (H 25.9)* and followed by *tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et Graecos*. Nothing is said about an eventual fragmentary state of the verses. However, Yourcenar at the very end of her *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (1950) adds a proportional second half to a prose version of the poem, making A the first couplet of a poem consisting of two strophes.<sup>736</sup> However ingenious the thought and beautiful the poem, I would rather plead for an extension that strongly fits the preceding lines, making the archaising apostrophe with appositions and *superflux* the beginning of a hymn to the departing soul.

## 7.8 *Animula* and the Poetry of its Time

Does this new interpretation of the poem, or rather the fragment, as a small hymn to the soul in Catullan style and with a poetical continuation, fit what we know about Hadrian's poetry in general? His biography in the *HA* notes his poetical activity: *Fuit enim poematum et litterarum nimium studiosissimus. (...) Iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se ferebat. In voluptatibus nimius. Nam et de suis dilectis multa versibus composuit [amatoria carmina scripsit].*<sup>737</sup> Not much is known about his poems, as only three poems (of contested authenticity) have been transmitted.<sup>738</sup> These three are characterised by a poignant and direct tone without much display of *doctrina*. Courtney (1993, 373) reckons Hadrian among the *poetae novelli*, whose poems are characterised by 'a strong tendency to affected simplicity, to a mingling of colloquialism, even vulgarism, with archaism (these two cannot always be kept apart)'. The *poetae novelli* are no well-defined group of poets, but are united by 'a lasting change of taste'. To these *poetae novelli* belong some poets of several generations, as Florus, Serenus and Apuleius. They agree in their rejection of Flavian mannerism and fall back on older forms and taste of poetry of the pre-classical era, though not shrinking from neologisms. Traces from Catullus are, among other poets, to be found in Apuleius.<sup>739</sup>

Ancient descriptions of Hadrian's poetry are not always in concordance with contemporaneous taste and usage. Hadrian with his *Catachannae (H 16.2)* has been interpreted as a follower of Antimachus of Colophon (active around 400 BC), who was well-known for his extreme obscurity and his ostentation of *doctrina*. The three transmitted poems ascribed to Hadrian are not of this type. According to Cassius Dio (69.4) Hadrian preferred Antimachus to Homer (a preference that is confirmed in *H 16.6*).<sup>740</sup> According to his biographer, the author of *H*, Hadrian also preferred Ennius to Virgil (*H 16.6*), which is interesting in view of the aforementioned parallel with Ennius' *Andromache*. Hadrian, who is called *oratione et versus promptissimus et in omnibus artis*

<sup>736</sup> Cf. Syme's assessment of Yourcenar's novel (1984) and Brugisser 1997. It is striking that many readers suppose that Hadrian wrote the poem on his deathbed or while dying, which, of course, is not necessary at all. Barnes (1968, 384) even took it as an argument against its authenticity: '...and what is said [viz. in Dio 69.22.4, DB] of Hadrian's demeanour as he lay dying hardly suggests that he was capable of composing such verses'.

<sup>737</sup> *HA* 14.9: The words between brackets may be a gloss: *glossema esse videtur omnibus codicibus inculcatum* (Hohl 1965, 16 ad *H* 14.4/5)

<sup>738</sup> Zie Courtney 1993, 372-86 for introduction, text and commentary.

<sup>739</sup> Courtney 1993, 373; Mc Creight 1990, 49-56.

<sup>740</sup> *H* 16.6: *...eademque iactatione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit.*

*peritissimus* (H 14.4), is understood to have quarrelled with wise men: *libris vel carminibus invicem editis* (H 15.10-11). The poem *Ego nolo Florus esse* (H 16.3) is an example of polemic verse, the tone of which could well be based on Catullus's polemic poetry.

One important testimony of the judgment of Hadrian's contemporaries about his poetry is found in Apuleius' *Apologia* 11, written in 158 or 159 AD,<sup>741</sup> which is twenty years after Hadrian's death. In this work, Apuleius defends himself against a charge of *magia*. His plea begins with a literary topic: can the poet be identified with the contents of his poetry? As an example, Apuleius quotes three elegiac poems by the philosopher Plato, then two hendecasyllabic lines by Catullus and finally a one-line verse by Hadrian. The last two quotations are intended to indicate that an author's character cannot simply be assessed on the base of his poetry. Apuleius quotes Catullus 16.5-6: *Nam castum esse decet pium poetam / ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est*. Hadrian's verse is an epitaph on his colleague the poet Voconius and runs thus: *lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras*. Apuleius adds: *quod numquam ita dixisset, si forent lepidiora carmina argumentum impudicitiae habenda. Ipsius etiam divi Hadriani multa id genus legere me memini*.<sup>742</sup> Certainly, *multa id genus* refers to the *lepidiora carmina*, which is Hadrian's love poetry. Apuleius quotes Hadrian as an authority with regard to the experience that a poet of erotic verse is capable of leading a decent life,<sup>743</sup> which characteristic, in this case, is applied to Voconius. This theme, both used by Catullus and Hadrian, suggests a link between the two poets, as witness Apuleius. Note that Catullus characterised his book of poems as a *lepidum novum libellum* (1.1), while Hadrian is taken to have written a work called *lepidiora carmina*.<sup>744</sup> Tone, substance and technique of Catullus's poems must have appealed to Hadrian's temperament.

Returning to our initial question whether the author of the *HA* made use of an authentic document, it may be concluded that the poem fits remarkably well in the literature of the first half of the second century AD: idiom, structure and poetic forms are also encountered in contemporaneous poets and in preceding poetic traditions, while echoes of Hadrian's poem are found in later authors from the same century, Septimius Serenus and Aulus Gellius. The reconstruction of a dense web of relationships adds to the idea that the poem is authentic. It should rather be supposed that the author of the *HA* inserted an authentic poem in his biography of Hadrian than that he made up the poem himself, in imitation of the literary tastes of Hadrian's time<sup>745</sup> - if only because that same author did not manage to produce anything of the same quality in his later biographies. Hadrian's poem inspired the author to add other imperial verses in his biographies, not unlike Suetonius' practice<sup>746</sup> and that of Marius Maximus, who is said to have inserted much verse in his works, *C* 13.2: *versus ideo multi scripti sunt, de quibus etiam in opere suo*

<sup>741</sup> Hijmans 1994, 1713.

<sup>742</sup> The verses are introduced by the following sentence: *Divus Hadrianus, cum Voconi amici sui poetae tumulum versibus muneraretur ita scripsit:...*

<sup>743</sup> The theme is also used by Pliny *Ep.* 4.14, who quotes the same lines by Catullus, Ovid *Tr.* 2.345 and Mart. 1.4.8. See Courtney 1993, 382 for further comments.

<sup>744</sup> It is worthwhile to compare Aelius Caesar's predilections in poetry (Ovidius, Martialis), as attested in *Ael.* 5.9: *atque idem Apicii (ab aliis relata), idem Ovidii libros amorum in lecto semper habuisse, idem Martialem, epigrammaticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse*.

<sup>745</sup> As Barnes (1968, 384-5) supposed.

<sup>746</sup> Baldwin 1978, 57 (remark no.8); White 1967, 117n16.

*Marius Maximus gloriatur.* It is well possible that Marius Maximus is the one who is ultimately responsible for the transmission of Hadrian's propemptikon.<sup>747</sup>

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<sup>747</sup> Looking beyond the borders of *HA*, the idea of bilingual verses including formulas of modesty have been derived, as Den Hengst well observed (1995, 144) from Cic. *De Off.* 3.82, where Caesar quotes from Euripides' *Phoenissa* 3.82, translated by Cicero (disclaimer included): *incondite fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intellegi.* The formula of modesty may have been derived from the quoted passage.