SOCIETATEA DE STUDII CLASICE DIN ROMÂNIA

STUDII CLASICE

XLVIII

2012–2019

EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE

Bucureşti, 2019

COMITETUL DE REDACŢIE

Redactor responsabil

ALEXANDRU BARNEA
Univ. din Bucureşti,

Secretariat de redacţie

ALEXANDRA LIȚU
Univ. din Bucureşti

SIMONA NICOLAE
Univ. din Bucureşti

DIANA BARABOI
Univ. din Bucureşti

ALEXANDRU M. CĂLIN
Univ. din Bucureşti

Redactor: VIRGINIA PETRICĂ
Tehnoredactor: ANA-MARIA VELCEA

SOCIETATEA DE STUDII CLASICE
DIN ROMÂNIA

© 2019, EDITURA ACADEMIEI ROMÂNE
Calea 13 Septembrie nr. 13, sect. 5
050711, Bucureşti, România
Tel: 4021-318 81 46, 4021-318 81 06
Fax: 4021-318 24 44
E-mail: edacad@ear.ro
Adresa web: www.ear.ro

PRONOMINAL AND ADVERBIAL *-a*

IOANA COSTA
University of Bucharest

Abstract: The Romanian pronominal and adverbial forms are frequently doubled by -a forms, e.g: *acest* vs *acesta* ("this one"), *nimeni* ("no one") vs *nimenea*, *aici/aci* vs *aicea/acia* ("here"). The genitive-dative forms show the same alternatives, e.g.: *acestui* vs *acestuia*, *ăstor* vs *ăstora*; *nimănui* vs *nimănuia*. Some pronominal and adjectival forms exhibit variants with final *-a* only in genitive-dative cases (masculine, feminine and plural), e.g.: *unui* vs *unuia*, *unei* vs *uneia*, *unor* vs *unora*; *mult* ("much"): plural *multor* vs *multora*; *amânduror* vs *amândurora*.

These facts have no parallel in the Western Romance languages, but are to be found in those languages that share some traits with Romanian, as plausible heritage of a pre-Roman linguistic stratum. *E.g.*: parallel forms for *acel* ("that one"): Istro-Romanian: *ţel* vs *ţela*; Aromanian (or Macedo-Romanian) *aţel* vs Megleno-Romanian *ţelea*.

The final element *-a* is not registered independently in the dictionaries, except for the monumental *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, published by the end of the 19th century (1886, letter *A*). He considers *-a* a Dacian deictic, comparable to Ancient Greek *i* (long and accented) in οὑτοσ-ί vs οὗτος, τουτον-ί vs τοῦτον, τουτ-ί vs τοῦτο; the Greek element belongs to an Indo-European series, the pronominal reflected by Sanskrit *ya*(*s*), Avestan *ya*.

The reasonable origin of Romanian *-a* is **-ia*, as displayed in forms like *aia* < *a-ia* or *aceea* < *aceia* < *acea-ia*. The probability of correctly identifying final *-a* as is based on its strong occurrences and on the specificity of deictics (exophoric words), that have a propensity for eluding standard phonetic development.

Keywords: Indo-European, Dacian, pronouns, adverbs, postpositives, particles, inflexibilia.

MODERN TESTIMONIES

The dictionaries (both descriptive and etymological) of the Romanian language list alternative series of some pronominal (including pronominal adjectives) and adverbial forms that constantly display a final element *-a*, never accented; e.g. *acest* vs *acesta* ("this one"), *acel* vs *acela* ("that one"), *ăst* vs *ăsta* ("this one", colloquial speech), *ăşti* vs *ăştia* ("this ones", colloquial speech); *nimeni* ("no one") vs *nimenea*.

Some pronominal and adjectival forms exhibit variants with final *-a* only in genitive-dative cases (masculine, feminine and plural), e.g. *un* ("a/an"): *unui* vs *unuia*, *unei* vs *uneia*, *unor* vs *unora*; *alt* ("another"): *altui* vs *altuia*, *altei* vs *alteia*,

altor vs *altora*; *mult* ("much"): plural *multor* vs *multora*; *tot* ("all"): *tuturor* vs *tuturora*; *amândoi* ("both"): *amânduror* vs *amândurora.*

This conspicuous situation has no parallel in the Western Romance languages, but is to be found in those languages that share some traits with Romanian, as plausible heritage of a pre-Roman linguistic stratum (Istro-Romanian; Aromanian/ Macedo-Romanian; Megleno-Romanian).

The demonstratives, in all their hypostases (pronouns, pronominal adjectives, adverbs, articles) are represented in (modern) Romanian language, not unusually, by two distinctive series, corresponding to proximal and distal approach; *e.g.*:

– proximal demonstrative adjective: masculine *acest*, feminine *această*; plural: masculine *aceşti*, feminine *aceste* (the Romanian neutral is, formally equivalent to masculine in singular and feminine in plural, and consequently there is no "neutral form" to be registered);

– distal demonstrative adjectives: masculine *acel*, feminine *acea*; plural masculine *acei*, feminine *acele.*

The etymological explanation is transparent and commonly accepted: these are the Latin demonstratives (proximal *iste, ista istud*, distal *ille, illa, illud*, in accusative form), preceded, as in other Romance languages, by the particle *ecce.*

The pronominal paradigm is similar only to a certain degree to nominal paradigm. The specificity of pronominal paradigm is not totally assigned to assuming the grammatical category of person: there are certain endings for genitive and dative forms that are characteristic for pronouns and articles, such as: *-ui(a), -ei(a), -or(a).*

The demonstratives listed above coexist with synonymic series that exhibit a final vowel *-a*, in nominative forms and/or the rest of the paradigm, *e.g.*:

– proximal demonstrative adjective: masculine NOM-ACC *acest-acesta*, GEN-DAT *acestui-acestuia*, feminine NOM-ACC (slightly different from the series) *această-aceasta*, GEN-DAT *acestei-acesteia*; plural: masculine NOM-ACC *aceşti-aceştia*, GEN-DAT *acestor-acestora*, feminine NOM-ACC *aceste-acestea*, GEN-DAT *acestor-acestora* (similar to masculine forms);

– distal demonstrative adjectives: masculine NOM-ACC *acel-acela*, GEN-DAT *acelui-aceluia*, feminine NOM-ACC (slightly different from the series) *acea-aceea*, GEN-DAT *acelei-aceleia*; plural masculine NOM-ACC *acei-aceia*, GEN-DAT *acelor-acelora*, feminine NOM-ACC *acele-acelea*, GEN-DAT *acelor-acelora* (similar to masculine forms).

Explaining final *-a* is uncertain; the common opinion (mentioned by Ciorănescu) is that it represents the outcome of **eccum illum illac* (cf. French *celui-là*, Friulan *kel-la*), but it seems hardly probable, as it combines a presumed Romance development with a Late French phenomenon; nevertheless, it originates in a primitive pronunciation **acelá*, hardly admissible, as *-a* should have become *-ă*. Ciorănescu's assumption is that *-a* represents an extended use of the feminine postponed article *-a*, that in ancient language appeared both in noun and adjective (unlike modern language, where it is limited to only one element), e.g. *pădurea verdea* (modern language: *pădurea verde* or *verdea pădure*). Consequently, a perfectly normal form as *femeia*

aceia/aceea, with its double demonstrative value, conserved its double articulated form. Nevertheless, this explanation does not convincingly account for the extension of a feminine mark to a masculine form and to the oblique cases.

As a general rule, the demonstrative pronominal adjectives precede an unarticulated nominal form (*e.g.* sg. m. *acest băiat*, f. *această fată*, pl. m. *aceşti băieţi*, f. *aceste fete*); when postponed to an articulated nominal form, display a final, emphasizing, vowel *-a*: *e.g.* sg. m. *băiatul acesta*, f. *fata aceasta*, pl. m. *băieţii aceştia*, f. *fetele acestea*. This emphasis is the result of cumulating determinative marks (definite and demonstrative article) and is formally represented by the postponed particle *-a*. The group [articulated noun + demonstrative pronominal adjective] attest a surprising homonymy: demonstrative pronoun (*e.g. acela este frumos*) and demonstrative pronominal adjective (*e.g. băiatul acela este frumos*). This homonymy allows an alternative theoretical interpretation, from a semantic and grammatical standpoint: the postponed adjective acts like a pronoun adjoined to a nominal form.

Ciorănescu notes the equivalent occurences of pronominal adjective and pronoun: Romanian *acel*, Macedo-Romanian *aţel*, Megleno-Romanian *ţelea*, Istro-Romanian *ţel(a)*. The pronominal form and the postponed adjective, expanded with an enclitic *-a*, generates a distortion of the feminine form *aceia* (resulted from *aceaa* > *aceaia*): *aceea*. The presence of *-a* in these situations is not strictly observed in popular language and in poetry.

Given the parallel forms as *acest-acesta*, *acel-acela*, in this complex semantic and grammatical reality, the final *-a* that makes the difference might be interpreted either as an extension or, by contrary, as part of the original form that finally suffered a truncation, *id est*: *acest* being the truncated form of *acesta*.

COMPARATIVE TESTIMONIES

The deictic content of the words mentioned above is multiplied when etymologically analyzed. *Deixis* (*uide* Crystal 2008, *ad locum*), as a common term of linguistic theory, subsumes those features of language which refer directly to personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place, whose meaning is thus relative to the situation; *e.g.* now/there, here/there, I/you, this/that are deictics or exophoric words. The simple translation of the discussed words reveals their deictic meaning.

All the same, *deixis* is used for words which refer backwards or forwards in discourse, the following, the former (*id est*, anaphora or cataphora).

Latin and ancient Greek attest the presence of some wide-spread deictic particles:

– Greek -i, *iota demonstratiuum*, in familiar Attic; is attached to demonstrative pronouns in order to strengthen their meaning in a vivid manner, just as pointing out to a specific element, as in οὑτοσί, αὐτηί, τουτί, ἐκεινοσί, ὁδί, ταδί,

τοσουτονί, τοσονδί, τυννουτοσί, οὑτωσί, ὠδί, εἰκάδι, δευρί, νυνί. Not rarely, it is attested the intrusion of particles, such as γε, δέ, μέν: τουτογί, τουτοδί, ταυτηνδί, τουτουμενί, νυνδί.

– Latin *-ce*, deictic particle, usually enclitic (*cf* Oscan *iúk*, equivalent of Latin nom. sg. fem. *ea*); it is normally added to demonstratives and, in classical Latin, is reduced to *-c* (*hic, illic, hinc, tunc*); as proclitic, is attested in *cedo, cette*; it is the final part of *ecce*.

Ecce, on the other hand, is commonly considered an interjection used in a wide range of circumstances: calling attention to something visible or perceptible, or to something non-visual, a fact, idea; in an enumeration, calling attention to a new item, sometimes the climax of the series; introducing a new event or a significant item. Given its vivid content, it is frequently combined with various pronouns (*eccum, ecca, eccam, eccas, eccille, eccillam, eccillic, eccillud, eccillum, eccistam*) or even nouns (*eccere*, presumably from *ecce rem*). The strengthened forms of demonstratives finally replaced the simple forms, *vide*: *ecce ista* meaning *ista* in *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 14,2.3, *ecce hic* ibid. 15,1; these forms were highly valued in Romance languages, *vide* French *celui, cet, ici, -ci* etc. The origin of *ecce* is only partly comprehensible: the second element, *-ce*, is the enclitic particle discussed above; nonetheless, it is not obvious which element is strengthened by this particle, as a particle *ec-/et-* is not attested in Italic languages (the *et* meaning "also", as in *et, etiam*, Greek e[ti, is not suitable for this interpretation).

ROMANIAN VOCALISM

The Romanian vocalism conserved the Latin vowels, in their major type of pronunciation, mostly for the accented positions, *e.g.* Rom. *capră*/Lat. *capra*, *cred/credo*, *fir/filum*, *loc/locum*, *gură/gula*. More than that, the Latin diphthong *au*, that became a monophthong not late in the history of Latin language, was well preserved, even as heterosyllabic phonetic reality: *aur* from *aurum*, pronounced *a+ur*, *laud* from *laudo*, pronounced *la+ud*.

In unaccented position, the vowel *a* becomes a closed vowel: **cannepis* > *cânepă*; *cerasus* > *cireş*; *cithara* > *ceteră*; *balare/belare: exbelare* > *zbiera*; *grauis* > *greu*.

The pronominal forms *acest/acel*, originated in strengthened demonstratives, are strong testimonies for the presence of the vowel *a*, although in an unaccented position and from an unexpected Latin form: *ecce-iste, ecce-ille*. The Megleno-Romanian testimonies support forms without *a-*: *ţista, ţela, ţea*; they are not considered primary forms, given the general transformation of *e-* from *ecc-* in *a-*, in all the compound forms:

– *ecce hic*: Rom. *aci*; It., Fr., Old Sardinian, Romansh;

– *ecce hicce*: Rom. *acice*; It.;

– *eccum illoc*: Rom. *acolo*; It., Old Portuguese.

– *eccum modo*: Rom. *acum*; Sardinian, Romansh.

This metamorphosis of unaccented *e* to *a* is limited in Romanian to only two specific instances:

– all the compounds of *eccum* (that is: *eccum illum* > *acelu*, *eccum hic*>*aci*, *eccum illoc* > *acolo* < *eccum modo* > *acumu*)

– when followed by *-r-*, like in *ericium* > *arici* ("hedgehog"); the e- form *eramu* < *erabamus* is explained by the force of the paradigm: *era* (accented *e-*) from Latin *eram*.

The parallel series, *acesta/acela*, doubles the surprising preference for the vowel *a*. One possible explanation is truncation: *acest* from *acesta* etc. It is hardly acceptable, as there are not only pronominals attested with or without final *-a*: besides the forms discussed above, *e.g. acest* vs *acesta* ("this one"), *acel* vs *acela* ("that one"), *ăst* vs *ăsta* ("this one", colloquial speech), *ăşti* vs *ăştia* ("this ones", colloquial speech), there is the significant testimony of numerous adverbs, both negatives and spatial/temporal: *nimeni* ("no one") vs *nimenea*; *aici/aci* vs *aicea/acia* ("here"), *acum* vs *acuma* ("now"), *atunci* vs *atuncea* ("then"), *pretutindeni* vs *pretutindenea* ("everywhere"), *aieve* vs *aievea* ("really"); *nicăieri* vs *nicăierea, nicăirea* ("nowhere").

Some of the negatives that display the same final *-a* are interpreted by Ciorănescu only in connection to Macedo-Romanian and Megleno-Romanian, not as independent occurrences:

– adverb *nicăieri*, with variants (obsolete) *necăire(a)*, *nicăi(u)re(a)*; Macedo-Romanian *necal'urea*, Megleno-Romanian *nicăl'ura*. The plausible etymology is Latin *nec* followed by a form as **alibi uolet*, just as in *aiurea*; or, a different explanation: (Pușcariu 1178, Pascu, I, 33): *nec aliubi*.

– pronoun *nimeni*, with variants *nimene(a)*, *nime*, *nimenilea*, (Banat, Oltenia) *nima*. Megleno-Romanian *nimen*, *nimea*, *nimini*.

– adverb *nimic*, with variants *nimica*, *nemic(ă)*, obsolete. The etymology is perfectly clear, including the final *-a*: Latin *nemīca*; cf. Old Venetian *nemiga*, Italian *ne mica*, Old French *nemie*.

CONCLUSIONS

The final element *-a* is not registered independently in the dictionaries, except for the monumental *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae* of Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, published by the end of the 19th century (1886, letter A, and 1893, letter B, incompletely). He considers *-a* a deictic, comparable to Ancient Greek *i* (long and accented) in οὑτοσ-ί vs οὗτος, τουτον-ί vs τοῦτον, τουτ-ί vs τοῦτο; the Greek element belongs to an Indo-European series, the pronominal reflected by Sanskrit *ya*(*s*), Avestan *ya*. The reasonable origin of Romanian *-a* is **-ia*, as displayed in forms like *aia* < *a-ia* or *aceea* < *aceia* < *acea-ia*, where *-i* is not simply an euphonic extension, meant to avoid the hiatus: the similar hiatus-situations are

solved by inserting *o/u* (*e.g.*: *stea-u-a*, *stea-o-a*, "star"; *zi-u-a*, *zi-o-a* "day"; *basma-u-a* "headdress"). The presence of a final deictic particle *-a* is a peculiar feature of Romanian language (*id est*, Daco-Romanian), corroborated with Macedo-Romanian and Istro-Romanian testimonies.

The probability of correctly identifying final *-a* as Dacian is based on its strong occurrences and on the specificity of deictics (exophoric words), which have a propensity for eluding standard phonetic development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

*** *Dicţionarul limbii române literare contemporane* 1955-1957. 4 volumes. Bucharest.
*** *Dicţionarul limbii române moderne* 1958. Bucharest.
*** *Gramatica limbii române. I. Cuvântul* 2005. Bucharest.
*** *Istoria limbii române. II.* 1969. Bucharest.
Ciorănescu, A. 2001. *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române*. Bucharest.
Crystal, D. 2008[6]. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford.
Fischer, I. 1985. *Latina dunăreană*. Bucharest.
Fortson IV, B. W. 2010[2]. *Indo-European Language and Culture. An Introduction*. Oxford.
Hasdeu, B. P. 1886. *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae. Dicţionarul limbei istorice şi poporane a românilor*, vol. I. Bucharest.
Mihăescu, H. 1978. *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe*, Bucharest-Paris.1978.
Pârvan, V. 1982. *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, Radu Florescu (ed.). Bucharest (1926[1]).
Price, G. (ed.) 2001[2]. *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*. Oxford.
Sala, M. 2006. *De la latină la română*. Bucharest.

Φόβος AND *ἄπειρον* IN HESIOD'S *THEOGONY*

MIHAIL-GEORGE HÂNCU
University of Bucharest

Abstract: In order to understand Hesiod's *Theogony*, it is necessary to properly define Chaos, the primordial element. A closer analysis reveals that it is an ancient form of ἄπειρον. This trait is inherited, one way or another, by all of its descendants, whose limited counterparts are to be found in Gaia's line. The aim of this paper is to analyse the catalogue of abstract evils, which, despite its thoroughness, omits fear. *Φόβος* is not completely absent from the *Theogony*, as it is revealed to be the child of Ares, Gaia's great-grandson. This genealogical artifice can help shed some light on the message of Hesiod's two writings, the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, which might prove to be more optimistic than expected.

Keywords: cosmogony, fear, genealogy, Greek mythology, Hesiod, monsters, *Theogony*, *Works and Days*.

According to Herodotus[1], the Greeks had not known about the age and origin of the gods until around 400 years before his time – the ones who had taught them about theogonies had been Homer and Hesiod (*Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μέο πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι*). These two authors were also credited with naming the gods, establishing their functions and honours, as well as describing their shape. One can assume, then, that the Greeks considered that Homer and Hesiod hadn't simply written compilations, but had also organised whatever information had been revealed to them by the Muses. Hesiod's *Theogony* is an attempt to understand the cosmos, the final order of the universe, as the result of a genealogical evolution and of an individuation that reaches its *τέλος* under the tutelage of Zeus, lord of the ordered world, in which all powers are well balanced[2].

Since the purpose of Hesiod's poem is to describe the process that led to Zeus bringing order to the world, it is of the greatest importance to understand the primordial state of said universe. In the beginning, there is Chaos, which is described with only one epithet throughout the entire work, *ζοφερός* ("dark")[3]. Naturally, the main problem lies in defining this term, which is made more difficult by the very diverse ways it has been illustrated in later works. Ovid, for instance, considered

[1] Hdt., 2.53.
[2] Strauss Clay 1993, 105.
[3] Hes., *Th.* 814.

that Chaos was a kind of amorphous mass in which all the elements of the future universe are to be found in a mixed state[4]. Aristotle interpreted Chaos as being the necessary space of all things that were to be[5]. Other modern commentators and translators considered that it is, in fact, a chasm, based on a possible etymological link with *χάσμα*: M. L. West chooses "chasm", while Mazon translates the Hesiodic term as "abîme"[6].

Robert Mondi asks the following question: why *would* Hesiod have chosen a chasm as the very first element of the universe? If this chasm was, at first, alone, then what could possibly have surrounded it? The only contextual evidence (based on two nearly identical expressions, see Hes., *Th.* 736–739 and 807–810) for the association of Chaos and *χάσμα* is to be found during the battle between Zeus and the Titans, when Chaos is surrounded by the other elements of the subterranean world. This cosmic position is more likely due to Chaos being a remnant of the primary state of the universe[7]. It has been argued that Chaos is to be found between Heaven and Earth (which would also be the edges of the primordial chasm): this theory is based on the fact that Chaos is affected by a "prodigious conflagration" (*καῦμα θεσπέσιον*) when Zeus strikes the Titans (who are on mount Othrys) from the heavens with his lightning bolts. According to Kirk, heat could not be said to penetrate into the underworld, so "an objective judge would surely conclude that Χάος in line 700 describes the region between earth and sky"[8]. Mondi argues that the purpose of this episode was to show the far-reaching impact of divine combat on the four quarters of the universe[9]. He then concludes that *Χάος* described the concept of "formlessness", comparing it to Homer's *ἀήρ*, a positive term that would be translated as a negative "invisibleness"[10]. This interpretation of *Χάος* is similar to the one from the *Clouds*[11], where Aristophanes turns Chaos into one of the patron gods of the sophists, who were known for the emptiness and superficiality of their argumentation[12]. Such an abstract image would not have been too complex for those times: in Egypt, the primordial divinity Nun was described as being "invisible, formless, empty and timeless", while the *Genesis* mentions *tohu wa bohu*, which is traditionally translated as "formlessness and void"[13]. It could be argued that Hesiod's *Χάος* is an early form of *ἄπειρον*, since both lack temporal and spatial limits.

[4] Ov., *Met.* 5-9.
[5] Arist., *Ph.* 208b30.
[6] Mondi 1989, 3.
[7] *Ibid.*, 9-10.
[8] Kirk 1957, 38.
[9] Mondi 1989, 13.
[10] *Ibid.*, 26.
[11] Ar., *Nu.* 627.
[12] Mondi 1989, p. 20.
[13] V. Notter, *Biblischer Schöpfungsbericht und ägyptische Schöpfungsmythen*, p. 33, *ap.* Mondi 1989, 27 n.53.

If one accepts this interpretation of the Hesiodic term, then it is far easier to explain the presence of two parallel genealogical lines in the *Theogony*: that of Chaos's successors and that of Gaia's. Their most notable difference lies in the description of the procreative act: after Gaia creates her partner, Ouranos, every single successor is born from a couple. Conversely, there is only one couple in Chaos's line, that of Night and Erebus, who give birth to Day and Aither[14] – it should be noted, however, that each of their children is actually the luminous correspondent of each parent. This reflects the common idea that day is born from night and light is born from darkness. Since these two families are organised in such a distinct manner, it would seem unusual that Night and Day be separated from the Sun and the Moon (who are the children of Hyperion and Theia[15] and the grandchildren of Gaia and Ouranos[16]). Mondi's explanation proves to be satisfactory: the Sun and the Moon are limited by a definite form in appearance, in a way that the diffusive Aither and Day are not[17].

This parallel between limit and the lack thereof can also be found in another part of the *Theogony*. Hesiod also writes of the genealogy of negative elements[18]:

> Night bore loathsome Doom and black Fate and Death, and she bore Sleep, and she gave birth to the tribe of Dreams. Second then, gloomy Night bore Blame and painful Distress, although she had slept with none of the gods. […] Deadly Night gave birth to Nemesis too, a woe for mortal human beings; and after her she bore Deceit and Fondness and baneful Old Age, and she bore hard-hearted Strife. And loathsome Strife bore painful Toil and Forgetfulness and Hunger and tearful Pains, and Combats and Battles and Murders and Slaughters, and Strifes and Lies and Tales and Disputes, and Lawlessness and Recklessness, much like one another, and Oath, who indeed brings most woe upon human beings on the earth, whenever someone wilfully swears a false oath.

Upon reading that these negative concepts were born from Night, the reader might be tempted to dismiss Hesiod's genealogy as being dualist in that all that which is bad is born from Chaos, while all good things come from Gaia (including Zeus). Jenny Strauss Clay notes that the following part of the *Theogony* appears to be "an anomaly"[19], at first glance: Hesiod goes on to make a catalogue of monstrous beings, all born from Gaia's family. The simpler explanation would be that these monsters were too well-known to be omitted, which is why commentators have not paid much attention to this part of the *Theogony*. Jenny Strauss Clay argues that "the catalogue as a whole represents an important phase in the evolution of the cosmos and can teach us a great deal about the articulation of Hesiod's cosmogonic

[14] Hes., *Th.* 123-124.
[15] Hes., *Th.* 372-376.
[16] Hes., *Th.* 133-135.
[17] Mondi 1989, 29.
[18] Hes., *Th.* 211-232.
[19] Strauss Clay 1993, 105.

thought"[20]. By analysing the structure of the list, one can come closer to a proper interpretation: it is not based on a rigid, chronological order, but also on a teleological one. Upon describing the monster, Hesiod alludes to the way each of them is to be defeated, even though said heroes had not been born at that point of the cosmogony. Jenny Strauss Clay then goes on to analyse each element of that catalogue, so, for the purposes of this research, I will just make use of her conclusions. Thus, due to their unnatural aspect, these monsters are opposed – in a certain way – to the order that Zeus was going to establish, either by allying himself to some of them (such as the Cyclopes or the Hundred-handers) or by making sure that they are killed. One should note that heroes are a positive example of μίξις (namely that of divine and human), the kind that is controlled by the gods. Jenny Strauss Clay concludes that the counter-cosmos represented by the monsters is an aberration that explains the need for Zeus's hegemony in the ordered universe[21].

Since the catalogue of Gaia's malefic successors has a well-defined purpose in Hesiod's poem, which means that the proximity of the list of abstract evils couldn't be coincidental. The two are, in fact, complementary – on the one hand, there are concrete beings in clearly-defined places (*e.g.*: the Lernaean Hydra, *Ὕδρη Λερναίη*, vv. 313-314) who end up being slain by various city-founders, all of which were ancient even in Hesiod's time. On the other hand, one can note the perennial character of the abstract ones: they are everywhere and will go on to exist forever. One could, in fact, describe them with the etymologically transparent adjective *ἄπειρα*.

And yet, although all these elements will have frightened Hesiod's public, the modern reader will be amazed at the absence of Fear, *Φόβος*, from the detailed list of Night's children. Is it completely absent from the *Theogony*? No, but it's a descendent of the other family. Ares and Aphrodite are the parents of Phobos and Deimos, "who rout the compact battle-lines of men in chilling war together with city-sacking Ares"[22]. Why would something as well-known as Fear be born so late? It is, in fact, part of the fifth generation of gods, after Ouranos, Cronus, Zeus and Ares. As far as Phobos is concerned, his origins can be explained upon consulting both Liddell – Scott's lexicon[23] and Chantraine's etymological dictionary[24]. The first meaning of the word *φόβος*, the one used by Homer and other epic poets, was that of "running away" due to panic. Indeed, Chantraine's etymological study reveals that the corresponding terms from other Indo-European languages lean towards this same meaning, rather than that of "fear"[25]. *Δεῖμος* might be more problematic, as the word is only used to describe this mythological character (with

[20] Strauss Clay 1993, 107.
[21] Strauss Clay 1993, 115-116.
[22] Hes., *Th.*, 933-936.
[23] Liddell – Scott 1996, *s.u.*
[24] Chantraine 1968, *s.u.*
[25] Such as Lith. *bégas*, Latv. *bęga* or the OCS. *běžatĭ*.

a late exception, noted by Liddell – Scott). It is, however, from the same family as *δείδομαι* and *δέος*, both of which are related to fear. Chantraine actually mentions *φόβος* and *δέος* in the introduction of his etymological dictionary[26] while explaining the difference between the two:

> *Φόβος* se dit de la peur qui envahit l'homme et le pousse à fuir, δέος a un sens différent de *φόβος*. Ce mot exprime une crainte réfléchie, une appréhension, tandis que *φόβος* conserve quelque chose de son sens originel de « fuite » et s'applique à une peur subite qui donne envie de fuir. Cette distinction est ainsi marquée par Ammonios : δέος πολυχρόνιος κακοῦ *ὑπόνοια φόβος δὲ ἡ παραυτίκα*. Il n'empêche que, soit chez Homère, soit chez les écrivains attiques, les deux termes peuvent être associés ou s'employer l'un pour l'autre.

Since even Homer managed to use the two without there being a notable difference in meaning, it is equally possible for Hesiod to have done the same. The fact that Ares is the father of Phobos and Deimos should indicate that this is a particular kind of fear, the one caused by war. Since both have the same father, one could suppose that the two are very similar, thus lacking a radical distinction.

Ares's family is not the only part of the *Theogony* that describes war-related elements: as seen in the earlier quote, Combats, Battles and Murders are all born from Strife. In other words, the negative elements that have always described war have a common ancestor, Chaos, but the terror that they cause stems from Gaia. In my opinion, this is another example of the distinction Hesiod made between the limited and the unlimited – and in this system, Fear, even if only the one related to battle, is fairly recent. When discussing the evolution of the stable universe, Vernant notes that its parts are continuously being separated, limit each other and order themselves in such a way that the gods, formerly represented by vague cosmic forces, end up having particular forms and personalities, as well as possessing functions through which they would complete each other. The one who preserves the balance between these forces is, of course, Zeus[27]. Thus, Fear's place in Hesiod's *Theogony* is that of a very specific and limited element, one that was unnecessary at first (given its late appearance). Moreover, in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, one can find the following account[28]: the bronze race was formed of men who "did not eat bread, but had a strong-hearted spirit of adamant". I would like to note that Lodovico Magugliani translates *κρατερόφρονα* as "cuore senza paura"[29], unlike Glenn Most, who opts for a more literal version. Regardless, both indicate the same idea, namely that they were fearless fighters – thus, we could place the birth of Phobos and Deimos at least after the disappearance of the bronze race.

[26] Chantraine 1968, 7.
[27] Strauss Clay 1993, 106.
[28] Hes., *Op.* 146-147.
[29] Esiodo 2006, 103.

Thus, if Phobos had appeared so recently and played a specific role that had not been necessary for the greater part of the cosmogony, one should wonder what position fear (as we understand nowadays) held in Hesiod's thought. Its absence from the otherwise very detailed list of abstract evils is not without reason: it had been willingly separated from the others by the author. One could interpret it in the following way: man may be tormented by death, famine or old age, but fear itself is very recent, if not typical of Hesiod's race, the iron one (which is made likelier by the fact that it is separated from the bronze race by that of the fearless heroes who had slain the monsters). On the other hand, Hesiod makes it clear in v. 175 of *Works and Days* that time is cyclic in nature by stating his wish either to have died before the iron age or afterwards – this means that after his troubled times, mankind would witness the return of the golden age, when they were "with a spirit free from care, entirely apart from toil and distress" and "worthless old age did not oppress them"[30] and, better yet, "they died as if overpowered by sleep"[31]. One may recognise the very evils that had been born of Night and Strife. This proves that, while they are negative in nature, this does not mean that all men of all ages will be affected by them. In fact, not even the men of the iron race had been abandoned by the gods, since Hesiod mentions in the beginning of *Works and Days* that there are two kinds of Strife, one that man would praise, the other blameworthy[32].

In my opinion, Hesiod's view of fear is optimistic: while it does exist, it is of lower rank. Moreover, frightful things either are no more (such as the monsters) or lack any spatial or temporal limit. Although all these evils are similar in that they surpass the common man's understanding, Hesiod's poems also attempt to offer a satisfactory explanation of their role. Man would be saved from his fear of the unknown, since Zeus would always protect him from monsters as a guardian of the universe, while abstract evils could either take a benevolent form (such as death in the golden age) or could even avoid man. First and foremost among the latter is fear itself.

SOURCES

Aristofane, *Le Commedie*, edited and translated by Benedetto Marzullo, Rome: Grandi Tascabili Economici Newton, 2003.

Aristote, *Physique (I-IV)*, edited and translated by Henri Carteron, Paris: Société d'Édition „Les Belles Lettres", 1926.

Esiodo, *Le opere e i giorni*, edited and translated by Werner Jaeger, Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 2006.

Herodotus, *Books I and II*, edited and translated by G. P. Goold, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

[30] Hes., *Op.* 113-114.
[31] Hes., *Op.* 116.
[32] Hes., *Op.* 11-12.

Hesiod, *Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia*, edited and translated by Glenn W. Most, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.
Ovidio, *Metamorfosi*, edited and translated by Piero Bernardini Marzolla, Turin: Editura Giulio Einaudi, 1994.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chantraine, P., 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris.
Kirk, G. S., Raven, J.E. 1957. *The Presocratic Philosophers*. Cambridge.
Liddell, H.G., Scott, R. (eds.) 1996. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford.
Mondi, R. 1989. "*ΧΑΟΣ* and the Hesiodic Cosmogony", HSPh 92, p. 1-41.
Strauss Clay, J. 1993. "The Generation of Monsters in Hesiod", CPh 88.2, p. 105-116.

THE *προφήτης* IN GREEK TRAGEDY

CORNELIU CLOP
University of Bucharest

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to analyse the various nuances of the term προφήτης in the works of the Greek tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Depending upon context, this word may denote a god who speaks on behalf of another god, a person who speaks in the name of a god, or a minister of a god, among other uses. *Προφήτης* refers especially to the soothsayers who practice intuitive divination, but, in some cases, it may also be used for the practitioners of inductive divination. A second objective of this paper is to analyse how the term *προφήτης* has been variously translated into French and Romanian, sometimes with misleading results.

Keywords: Greek tragedy, inductive divination, intuitive divination, προφήτης, translation.

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ – ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING

Προφήτης is an agent noun of the verbal stem *φη-* (*φημί*) with the prefix *προ-*, and it refers to a person who speaks for a god and interprets his will to men[1]. Although this term is first attested in literary texts only in the sixth/fifth century *B.C.*[2] and less popular than μάντις (an older generic term)[3], as a result of its adoption within Christianity[4], "prophet" nowadays commonly describes "someone who foretells future events". This obscures somewhat its earlier meaning, as noted by Fraenkel:

"As is well known, *προφήτης* does not primarily denote one who prophesies, *i.e.* foretells future events. The word akin to *προειπεῖν edicere* and the like means literally pronouncer; in actual use however the general meaning was narrowed and so the word signifies in the main a person who makes pronouncements for or on behalf of a god, acting as his spokesman or mouthpiece"[5].

[1] Chantraine 1968-1980, *s.u. φημί*; Beekes 2009, *s.u. φημί*.

[2] The word itself might be much older. See McLeod 1961, 325.

[3] Bouché-Leclercq 1880, 10-11. Distribution by century: 8 *B.C.* **0**, 7 *B.C.* **0**, 6 *B.C.* **13**, 5 *B.C.* **27**, 4 *B.C.* **13**, 3 B.C. **339**, 2 *B.C.* **21**, 1 *B.C.* **101**, *A.D.*1 **749**, A.D.2 **2,449**, A.D.3 **657**, A.D.4 **15,211**, A.D.5 **3,293** (based on TLG data).

[4] Kittel 1993, *s.u. προφήτης*. This lemma is found in Joannes Chrysostomus 3,826 times (based on TLG data).

[5] Fraenkel 1978, 497.

Fraenkel's observation is supported by the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, a lexicon of the eleventh century: *Προφήτης, παρὰ τὸ φῶ, τὸ λέγω*, and the *Etymologicum magnum*, a lexicon of the twelfth century: *Προφήτης*: *φῶ*, *φήσω*. Such testimonies correctly connect its etymology with the root of the verb *φημί*.

I.2. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ AND THE CULT OF APOLLO AT DELPHI

The association of the term *προφήτης* with the cult of Apollo at Delphi added to its importance. The priesthood of Apollo's temple at Delphi, in addition to the Pythia and other servants[6], was composed of the so-called *προφήτες*[7] whose role was to reveal the hidden meaning of the words of Apollo as uttered through the Pythia[8] when she was in a state of prophetic enthusiasm[9].

The Greek tragedians, however, use this term for several characters: for Apollo in his oracular role in the name of Zeus, for other prophets[10], for religious servants of a god[11], and in the feminine (*προφῆτις*[12]) for priestesses such as the Pythia.

2. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ – A GOD WHO SPEAKS ON BEHALF OF ANOTHER GOD[13]

The Greek tragedians provide us with useful information about the hierarchy that existed among the gods. They point out that knowledge of future was mediated even in the divine world. One god was the source of oracles and another one was

[6] Maurizio 1995, 83: "There are three titles for the attendants at Delphi – *hosios*, *hiereus*, and *prophetes*. The title *hosios* appears in Plutarch, who reports that five *hosioi*, who were Delphians and elected to office for life, took part in preliminary rites and may have been present during the consultation. The title *hiereus* also appears in Plutarch (*Mor*. 437a). From inscriptional evidence, it appears that there were two *hiereis* appointed for life, at least after 200BC".

[7] McLeod 1961, 320: "Nevertheless there was a tradition that the temple had in its service versifiers who could impose a hexametric form on the Pythia's utterance. Modern scholars have identified them with various other functionaries. (...) Perhaps most likely is their equation with the *prophetai*; the best evidence is the very name, which seems to mean *interpreters* rather than *prophets*." But this point of view is not shared by everyone. Maurizio 1995, 86: "What did the male attendants at Delphi do? (...) In addition to formulating the clients' questions, before the consultation, perhaps by converting them, when appropriate, into the form 'is it better for us to...', after the consultation they may have tried to help the consultant *interpret* the Pythia's words. They did not reshape these words. They did not convert them into verses".

[8] Flower 2008, 217; Maurizio 1995, 86.

[9] Savignac 2002, 12.

[10] A., *Fr*. 117b, 9, *Th*. 611, *Eu*. 19, *A*. 409; E., *Or*. 364, *Ba*. 211. The abbreviations are from Liddell-Scott-Jones 1996[9].

[11] A., *A*. 1099; E., *Ba*. 551.

[12] A., *Fr*. 115, 2; E., *Ion*, 42, 1322, 321.

[13] See Appendices 1 and 2.

tasked with passing them on (*i.e.* a role of a mediator[14]). The latter is called *προφήτης*[15].

2.1. APOLLO

The sanctuary of Delphi exerted much political influence around the Greek world and beyond[16]. Apollo in his oracular guise was a messenger for his father Zeus, from whom he received his inspiration[17]. In the *Eumenides*, the Pythia, before entering the temple, utters an invocation to various oracular gods and acknowledges the connection between Phoebus and Zeus with the following words: *Διὸς προφήτης δ'ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός*[18]. The epithet Loxias, "the Ambiguous One", is apparently connected with the "ambiguous" language of the god[19]. We also see that Apollo alone does not invent his prophecies, but rather imparts the will of Zeus to the Pythia. Aeschylus even has Apollo directly state that all his oracles come from Zeus[20]. Thus, he appears as a *προφήτης* (a "spokesman" in the name of the supreme god). It appears that the real chain of command at Delphi runs thus:

↓ Zeus (the source of oracles)

↓ Apollo (spokesman for Zeus)[21]

↓ the Pythia (spokeswoman for Apollo)[22]

↓ the prophets (those who interpret the oracles passed on by the Pythia)[23]

the receiver

[14] Zeitlyn 2001, 238: "In all types of divination the diviner is placed between divinatory procedures and the clients, mediating each to the other; the forms of mediation differ, and therein lies the challenge to the anthropological analyst".

[15] Maurizio 1995, 83-84: "Only the title *prophetes* appears in earlier literature, although it never occurs in inscriptions. *Hiereus* and *prophetes* may be different titles for the same office. Plutarch applies both titles to Nicander. Both Fontenrose and Parke suggest that *hiereus* is a general term and that *prophetes* may be the title given to the same individual when he participated in a consultation"; Parke 1940, 87.

Maurizio 1995, 84, n. 86, provides some ancient references: "Hdt. 8.36; Eur. *Ion* 369-372, 413-16... The word *prophetes* also appears in Aelian, *NA* 10.26; Plut. *Mor*. 292d, 438b."

[16] Flacelière 2006, 232. See Bowden 2005; Defradas 1954; Fontenrose 1978; Kindt (2016); Lloyd-Jones 1976; Parke and Wormel 1956.

[17] A., *Eu.* 19.

[18] A., *Eu.* 19 : "Loxias, ici, parle pour Zeus son père." (trans. P. Mazon) ; "Loxias face profeții în numele tatălui Zeus." (trans. Al. Miran).

This idea also appears in A., *Fr*. 117b, 9: *πατρός προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διός* ("Loxias este profet al tatălui său Zeus." – trans. mine).

[19] Savignac 2002, 23. Chantraine 1968-1980, *s.u. λοξός*; Beekes 2009, *s.u. λοξός* ("*bent to the side, slanting, oblique*, metaph. *ambiguous*"): "DER. *Λοξίας*, epithet of Apollo as a prophesying god".

[20] A., *Eu.* 615 *sqq*.

[21] A., *Eu.* 19.

[22] E., *Ion*, 321, 1322.

[23] Maurizio 1995, 86.

2.2. GLAUCUS

Glaucus is a god who acts as a *προφήτης* (a "mouthpiece") for another god. One legend about his origins states that he was originally a mortal, but after eating a magical herb turned into a sea-god[24]. In Euripides' *Orestes*, Menelaus describes the mechanism of his prophetic art as follows: *Νηρέως προφήτης Γλαῦκος, ἀψευδὴς θεός*[25]. From this line we learn that he was a *προφήτης* for Nereus. But unlike Apollo, Glaucus had a limited oracular scope: his predictions were for fishermen[26].

Modern Translations. The French translator Louis Méridier used the word "interprète", in order to emphasize the idea that, in fact, Glaucus only interpreted the oracles of Nereus for mortals, having a role similar to that of the prophets at Delphi. The Romanian translator Al. Miran used the word "profet", underlining that he was a spokesman of Nereus. The French translation is more complex and nuanced[27].

3. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ – MINISTER AND SPOKESMAN OF A GOD[28]

When it is used for mortals the term *προφήτης* may have a twofold meaning. On the one hand, it refers to a messenger of divine will, and, on the other hand, it describes a functionary of a particular god (*i.e.* a person who fulfils a particular function in a temple, such as those discussed earlier at Delphi[29]).

3.1. THE PYTHIA

The Pythia was the prophetess of Apollo at Delphi[30] and acted as an intermediary between Apollo and mortals, just as Phoebus in turn was also a mediator. The Pythia had no direct connection with Zeus, but she uttered his messages forwarded by Phoebus when she was in a state of trance[31]. Her qualities are pointed out in

[24] Daremberg-Saglio, *s.u. Glaucus*.

[25] E., *Or*. 364: "L'interprète de Nérée, Glaucos, dieu, véridique" (trans. Louis Méridier); "Feciorul lui Nereus, profetul Glaukos, care nu ştie să mintă." (trans. Al. Miran).

[26] E., *Or*. 363.

[27] See Appendix 3.1.

[28] See Appendices 1 and 2.

[29] Maurizio 1995, 83; Parke 1940, 87.

[30] Latte 1940, *passim*; Robertson 1941, *passim*.

[31] Elderkin 1940, 51: "The divine raving of the priestess of Apollo was then Dionysiac..."; Holland 1933, 202. Maurizio 1995, 86: "The Pythia was possessed by Apollo; this did not keep her from speaking coherently. Rather, the concept of spirit possession enabled and authorized a Delphian woman to deliver her prophetic utterances orally and intelligibly to those who visited Delphi. Those utterances had varied forms, (sometimes they were in verse), and they pertained to a wide array of circumstances. All of them, I submit, ultimately issued from her." For an overview, see Hall 2014, 17 *sqq*.

Euripides' *Ion*, where the Delphic oracle plays a key role. In the beginning of the play, Hermes describes how the Pythia found an abandoned child at the temple and decided to raise him. When the messenger of the gods speaks of her he says *προφῆτις ἐσβαίνουσα μαντεῖον θεοῦ*[32].

Her status of *προφῆτις* ("mouthpiece" of Apollo's oracles) is highlighted by the words *Φοίβου προφῆτις*, repeated as a leitmotif throughout the play. They are spoken by the following characters:

– Ion describes her in this manner when he discusses with Creusa and refers to the fact that the Pythia was the one who raised him[33];

– she characterizes herself this way when she speaks to Ion[34].

Modern Translations. The French and Romanian translators (E., *Ion*, 42: "la prophétesse entrait justement dans le temple" – trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire –, "...când a intrat în templu prorociţa..." – trans. Al. Miran; E., *Ion*, 1322: "la prophétesse de Phoibos" – trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire –, "prorociţa lui Apollon" – trans. Al. Miran) were careful to render this meaning and to highlight that the Pythia was a representative of intuitive divination, by adopting the following translations: "la prophétesse" and "prorociţa"[35].

3.2. CASSANDRA

Priam's daughter is also a practitioner of intuitive divination. She belongs to the Apollonian manticism like the Pythia, but, unlike her, she was cursed by Apollo[36] so that no one would ever believe her prophecies. Regarding the mechanism of her prophetic art, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* she has visions[37], and, when she speaks, Cassandra sees the events as if they had already been fulfilled, as J. Bollack notes: "Elle regarde de l'avenir vers le passé de sa mort, comme si elle s' était déjà accomplie et qu' elle fût matière à commentaire"[38].

Modern Translations. In the *Agamemnon*, Cassandra recalls some scenes of Atreus' feast, but the coryphaeus warns her: *προφήτας δ'οὔτινας μαστεύομεν*[39]. Since this is a statement that refers to people who can predict the future in a general way, P. Mazon used the term "les devins", focusing on the idea of interpretation, while Al. Miran opted for the word "profeţi", insisting on the fact that Cassandra herself was an intuitive mantic practitioner[40].

[32] E., *Ion*, 42: "la prophétesse entrait justement dans le temple" (trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire); "...când a intrat în templu prorociţa..." (trans. Al. Miran).

[33] E., *Ion*, 42.

[34] E., *Ion*, 1322.

[35] See Appendix 3.2.

[36] Mitchell-Boyask 2006, 293-294.

[37] Schein 1982, 13-14.

[38] Bollack 1981, 8.

[39] A., *A.* 1099: "mais de devin ici nous n'avons nul besoin" (trans. P. Mazon); "dar nu avem aici nevoie de profeţi" (trans. Al. Miran).

[40] See Appendix 3.2.

3.3. MINISTER OF A GOD AND INTERPRETER OF HIS WILL

Προφήτης is used in a general sense for describing the minister of a god. An example is found in Euripides' *Bacchae*, when the ministers of Dionysus[41] complain that the impious king Pentheus persecutes them and ask the god of wine for help: *ἐσοραῖς τάδ', ὦ Διὸς παῖ / Διόνυσε, σούς προφήτας / ἐν ἀμίλλαισιν ἀνάγκας*[42].

Modern Translations. The same meaning appears in a fragment of Aeschylus: *ἱέρειαι, προφήτιδες καὶ / ... ἔργων μυστικῶν προφάντιδες*[43]. This text offers an enumeration of different positions that a woman could hold in the cult of a god. Regarding my translation, I chose the word "prorocițe", in order to point out that they were not mere ministers of a god, but they were some ministers with a special status. *Προφήτης* is used with the meaning of interpreter in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: *...δόμων προφῆται*[44]. These household prophets utter events from the future by interpreting the signs, as the French translator suggests using the word "les devins"[45].

4. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΝΤΙΣ[46]

A peculiar category of mantic performers are those characters who get both the name *μάντις* and *προφήτης*, thus emphasizing the idea that they fulfil a twofold function, "spokesman" and "seer". This twofold quality appears especially among the practitioners of enthusiastic divination. On the one hand, Apollo is a *προφήτης* at Delphi, a spokesman in the name of Zeus, and on the other hand, he is a *μάντις* when he carries out various mantic actions based on rational interpretation. He is a *ἰατρόμαντις*, when he combines his mantic quality with his healing power[47], and a *τερασκόπος*, when he interprets the future after studying the extraordinary signs sent by the gods[48]. In turn, Glaucus has this twofold function because he forwards messages in the name of Nereus (*προφήτης*)[49], but, at the same time, he can interpret his oracles (*μάντις*)[50].

[41] Shepard Kraemer 2004, 13-15.

[42] E., *Ba.* 550-552: "Sois témoin, ô, fils de Zeus! Dionysos vois tes prophètes, en lutte contre la fatalité!" (trans. Henri Grégoire); "O, Dionysos, copile fără seamăn al lui Zeus, vezi-ţi prorocițele..." (trans. Al. Miran).

[43] A., *Fr.* 115, 2: "Preotese, prorocițe şi ...prezicătoare de lucruri mistice" (trans. mine).

[44] A., *A.* 409: "les devins du palais" (trans. P. Mazon); "profeţii palatului" (trans. Al. Miran). On the identity of these *προφῆται* see Athanassaki 1994, 149-150; Mazon 1935, 35, footnote 1. Flower 2008, 182: "Aeschylus seems to imagine that *prophets* (*prophetai*) and *dream interpreters* were a regular component of a king's household (*Ag.* 409; *Cho.* 32-41), and a century later we still hear of the seers who served the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse (Plut. *Dion* 24)".

[45] See Appendix 3.2.

[46] See Appendices 1 and 2.

[47] A., *Eu.* 62.

[48] A., *Eu.* 62.

[49] E., *Or.* 364.

[50] E., *Or.* 363.

This attribute was not retained only by the divine beings. Cassandra is a *προφῆτις* when she receives mantic messages from Apollo and forwards them on his behalf, and a *μάντις* when she interprets mantic messages[51]. A peculiar case is that of Amphiaraus. He is a practitioner of inductive divination who is described as both a *προφήτης* and a *μάντις*. This situation occurs in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*. Eteocles talking about Amphiaraus calls him both a μάντις and a *προφήτης*[52]. Hence, we can see that these two terms belong to the same semantic field, but they do not have the exact same meaning[53], because *μάντις* refers to Amphiaraus[54] as a chief representative of *empyromancy*, and *προφήτης* has two possible interpretations. A strict etymological interpretation would indicate that he utters prophecies in public (not necessarily as a spokesman of a god, but as a person who proclaims in public what he knows), while he may also be considered a spokesman of a god under the protection of Apollo[55].

5. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ – IRONIC MEANING[56]

Euripides wrote the most violent tirades against soothsayers[57] and unsurprisingly uses the term προφήτης with a strong sense of irony. Thus, in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Cadmos tells Teiresias: *ἐπεὶ σὺ φέγγος, Τειρεσία, τόδ' οὐχ ὁρᾷς, / ἐγὼ προφήτης σοι λόγων γενήσομαι*[58]. In these lines, Cadmus assigns the role of a *προφήτης* for Teiresias, who was one of the greatest practitioners of inductive divination. This attitude can be interpreted in connection with the fact that Teiresias was blind[59] and Cadmus therefore his guide. But Euripides' intention is more subtle (if he wanted to refer to a simple guide, he could have used *ἡγεμών*). On the one hand, he wishes to suggest a change of roles because Cadmus assumes the function of a προφήτης, and, on the other hand, we see in this unusual use of the term an irony to the prophets who, according to Euripides, are blind like Teiresias and need someone to be a "prophet" for them[60].

[51] A., *A.* 1125-1130, 1223-1238 etc.

[52] A., *Th.* 611: "prophète" (trans. P. Mazon); "profet" (trans. Al. Miran).

[53] Maurizio 1995, 70, n. 14.

[54] For his oracular cult, see Schachter (1981), *s.u. Amphiaraos* (*Oropos*).

[55] In Homer's *Iliad*, 1.72, Apollo bestowed upon Calchas the gift to foretell the future (*μαντοσύνη*).

[56] See Appendices 1 and 2.

[57] E., *Hel.* 744-757, *IA* 956-958.

[58] E., *Ba.* 211-212: "Puisque tu ne vois pas le jour, Tirésias, ma parole y devra suppléer". (trans. Henri Grégoire); "Deoarece tu nu mai vezi lumina zilei, Teiresias, voi fi prorocul tău şi-ţi voi vesti ce se petrece-n jur" (trans. Al. Miran).

[59] S., *Ant.* 1014. The seer says that he needs a guide (*ἡγεμών*).

[60] Ieranò 1999, 118: "Dopo la solenne tirata retorica del cieco Tiresia, Cadmo ridimensiona, con involontaria ironia, le nobili parole dell'indovino".

6. THE WORD FAMILY

Προφήτης is a derivative of the *verbum dicendi φημί* with the prefix *προ-*. The denominative verb προφητεύω appears in Euripides' *Ion* and it describes the manner in which Loxias' oracles were transmitted in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this play, the eponymous hero speaks to Creusa and states that the god cannot be forced to say what he does not want to disclose: *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις σοι προφητεύσει τάδε*[61]. It also describes the action fulfilled by the people who speak on behalf of Apollo: *ἀλλὰ τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ*[62]. The verb is used for the utterance of oracles in verse: χρησμοῖς προφητεύουσι[63]. The lexeme *χρησμοῖς* refers to oracles in verse and, in particular, to the oracular response, being frequently used by the Greek tragedians[64].

Another term that belongs to the word family of *φημί* is *θέσ-φατος*. *Φάτις* refers to an "oracle", and, consequently, *θέσ-φατος* (*θεός*, *φημί*) is an oracle spoken by a god, uttered by a person in a state of enthusiasm or by a soothsayer whose power is widely recognized, being under the protection of a divine being. This word is attested as early as the Homeric epics[65] where *τὰ θέσφατα* are the divine commandments, oracles[66].

The noun *θέσφατον* is used by the Greek tragedians to describe both the messages disclosed by the practitioners of inductive divination, and the oracles uttered by the practitioners of intuitive divination. In Euripides' *The Phoenician Women*, Eteocles tells Creon that he wants Teiresias' advice: *εἴ τι θέσφατον / οἰωνόμαντις Τειρεσίας ἔχει φράσαι*[67]. Moreover, the soothsayer himself calls his oracles θέσφατα[68]. Agamemnon names Calchas' predictions *θέσφατα*[69], in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*. In addition, the oracles given to Heracles at Dodona receive this name[70] in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* because the purpose is to highlight the fact that they derive from Zeus. In the field of intuitive divination,

[61] E., *Ion*, 369: "Nul ne se trouvera pour te communiquer un oracle pareil" (trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire); "aici nu-i nimeni să dea glas unui asemenea oracol" (trans. Al. Miran).

[62] E., *Ion*, 413: "Mais qui parle ici pour le Dieu?" (trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire); "Dar cine cuvântează pentru zeu aici?" (trans. Al. Miran).

[63] E., *Fr.* 13, 10: "ei/ele trasmit voia zeului în oracole în versuri" (trans. mine).

[64] A., *Pers.* 739; *Pr.* 662, 873; *A.* 1178, 1252, 1568; *Ch.* 270, 297; *Eu.* 622, 713; *Fr.* 117a, 2. S., *OT* 711, 797, 1200; *El.* 38; *OC* 970; *Fr.* 573, 1. E., *Fr.* 482, 2; *Fragmenta papyracea*, 151b, 18.

[65] Hom., *Il.* 3.4; 5.64; 8.477; 10.6; Hom., *Od.* 4.561; 7.143, 273; 10.473; 11.61, 151, 297, 373; 13.244; 15.392; 20.211.

[66] Hom., *Od.* 11.151, 297.

[67] E., *Ph.* 766-767: "si l'augure Tirésias a quelque oracle à révéler..." (trans. Henri Grégoire et Louis Méridier); "dacă profetul Teiresias are pentru noi vreun oracol..." (trans. Al. Miran).

[68] E., *Ph.* 907: "oracles" (trans. Henri Grégoire et Louis Méridier); "oracole" (trans. Al. Miran). E., *Ph.* 911: "oracles" (trans. Henri Grégoire et Louis Méridier); "profeții" (trans. Al. Miran).

[69] E., *IA* 529: "l'oracle" (trans. François Jouan); "oracolul" (trans. Al. Miran).

[70] S., *Tr.* 86: "oracles" (trans. Paul Masqueray); "prevestiri" (trans. G. Fotino). S., *Tr.* 1150: "les oracles" (trans. Paul Masqueray); "oracolul" (trans. G. Fotino).

θέσφατα is used for the oracles issued by Loxias[71]. For example, in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, Eteocles makes this statement about the oracles uttered at Delphi: *εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται θεσφάτοισι Λοξίου*[72]. Also, the term is used for messages forwarded by Cassandra[73].

The noun *θεσφατήλογος* describes a person who utters divine messages. This word appears in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, where it is used to characterize Cassandra[74].

The term *πρόφαντον* refers to something that is said before, a decree, an ineluctable decision. It occurs in Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*, where Heracles mentions the predictions he received at Dodona[75].

Modern Translations. 1. *Θέσφατα.* In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, 1113, the chorus refers to the prophetess' pronouncements as follows: *ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις* – "des oracles obscurs" (trans. P. Mazon); "oracole ceţoase" (trans. Al. Miran). Regarding the translation, it is obvious that the modern languages have more limited resources to express, in a manner closer to the original, the meaning of this Greek term. Its role is to emphasize the divine origin of these oracles, and the French and Romanian translators used the following words: "oracles" and "oracole". 2. *Πρόφαντον*. Heracles uses this word[76] when he realizes that he cannot avoid what was predicted[77]. This is the reason why I consider that the best translation would be "decree, inevitable decision", because it refers to a *fatum*, a thing that was decided, said and cannot be changed.

7. CONCLUSION

The term *προφήτης* occurs in the tragedies written by Aeschylus and Euripides[78]. There is a consistency of terminology among these two tragedians. In the plays of both authors it denotes a god who speaks on behalf of another god, a minister and a mouthpiece of a god. Moreover, Aeschylus uses this term for a person who practices inductive divination (*i.e.* Amphiaraus), and Euripides uses it with an ironic meaning. Sophocles' avoidance of this word might be explained by the following hypothesis: a statistical analysis of the names of the mantic performers

[71] E., *IT* 121, 937 1255, 1283, 1438; *Or*. 276; *Supp.* 220. S., *OT* 907, 1175, 969.

[72] A., *Th.* 618: "si les oracles de Loxias ne sont pas stériles" (trans. P. Mazon); "dacă oracolele lui Loxias nu sunt sterpe" (trans. Al. Miran).

[73] A., *A.* 1113.

[74] A., *A.* 1441: "la voyante" (trans. P. Mazon); "prorociţa" (trans. Al. Miran).

[75] S., *Tr*. 1159: "un oracle" (trans. Paul Masqueray); "a prezis" (trans. G. Fotino). S., *Tr*. 1163: "l'oracle" (trans. Paul Masqueray); "cum a prezis" (trans. G. Fotino).

[76] S., *Tr*. 1159, 1163.

[77] Allègre 1905, 6; Bowra (1944), 153.

[78] See Appendix 2. *Προφήτης* – distribution by author (6-5 *B.C.*): Plato 11 times, Magica 1, Pindarus 5, Aeschylus 5, Euripides 4, Herodotus 4, Epimenides 3, Bacchylides 2, Democritus 2, Aristophanes 1, Corinna 1 (based on TLG data).

in his tragedies reveals that he has a propensity to use these names either for practitioners of inductive divination, or for a person who does not practice divination; hence, he does not use this term because it is mostly used for the practitioners of intuitive divination.

Another aim of this paper is to analyse how the term *προφήτης* was translated into French and Romanian, depending on the contexts in which it appears[79]. *Προφήτης* as a god who speaks on behalf of another god was translated into French: "parler pour", "prophète", "interprète", and into Romanian: "a face profeţii", "profet". *Προφήτης* as a minister and mouthpiece of a god was translated into French: "prophétesse", "devin", "prophètes", and into Romanian: "prorociţa", "profeţi". French translations are more accurate because they render different nuances depending on the context.

[79] See Appendix 1.

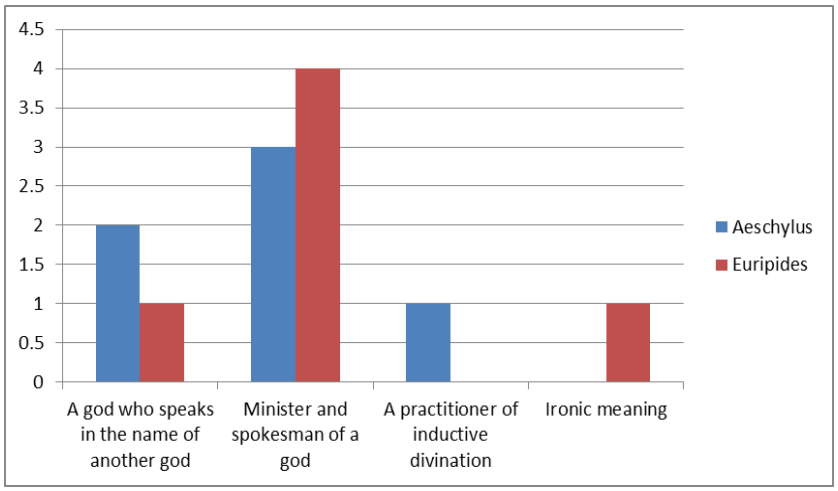
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
THE TERM *ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ* IN GREEK TRAGEDY AND ITS TRANSLATIONS

Greek term	**Mantic performer**	**The Greek tragedians**			**Greek text**	**French translation**	**Romanian translation**
		Aeschylus	**Sophocles**	**Euripides**			
προφήτης (a god who speaks on behalf of another god)	Apollo	*Eu*. 19			*Διὸς* ***προφήτης*** *δ'ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός*	"Loxias, ici, **parle pour** Zeus son père." (trans. P. Mazon)	"Loxias **face profeţii** în numele tatălui Zeus." (trans. Al. Miran)
		Fr. 117b, 9			*πατρός* ***προφήτης*** *ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διός*	"Loxias est le **prophète** de son père Zeus." (trans. mine)	"Loxias este **profet** al tatălui său Zeus." (trans. mine)
	Glaucus			*Or*. 364	*Νηρέως* ***προφήτης*** *Γλαῦκος, ἀψευδὴς θεός*	"**L'interprète** de Nérée, Glaucos, dieu, véridique." (trans. Louis Méridier)	"Feciorul lui Nereus, **profetu** Glaukos, care nu ştie să mintă." (trans. Al. Miran)
προφήτης / προφῆτις (minister and mouthpiece of a god)	the Pythia			*Ion*, 42	***προφῆτις*** *ἑσβαίνου-σα μαντεῖον θεοῦ*	"la **prophétesse** entrait justement dans le temple" (trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire)	„...când a intrat în templu **prorocița**..." (trans. Al. Miran)
				Ion, 321	Φοίβου ***προφῆτις***	„la **prophétesse** de Phoibos" (trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire)	„**prorocița** lui Apollon" (trans. de Al. Miran)
				Ion, 1322	Φοίβου ***προφῆτις***	„la **prophétesse** de Phoibos" (trans. Léon Parmentier et Henri Grégoire)	„**prorocița** lui Apollon" (trans. Al. Miran)
	Cassandra	*A*. 1099			***Προφήτας*** δ'οὔτινας μαντεύομ εν	"mais de **devin** ici nous n'avons nul besoin…." (trans. P. Mazon)	"dar nu avem aici nevoie de **profeți**." (trans. Al. Miran)

Greek term	Mantic performer	The Greek tragedians			Greek text	French translation	Romanian translation
		Aeschylus	Sophocles	Euripides			
	Dionysos' ministers			*Ba*. 551	ἐσοραῖς τάδ', ὦ Διὸς παῖ / Διόνυσε, σούς ***προφή-τας*** / ἐν ἀμίλλαισιν ἀνάγκας	"Sois témoin, ô fils de Zeus! Dionysos vois tes **prophètes**, en lutte contra la fatalité!" (trans. Henri Grégoire)	"O Dionysos, copile fără seamăn al lui Zeus, vezi-ţi **prorociţele**..." (trans. Al. Miran).
	ministers of a god	*Fr*. 115, 2			ἱέρειαι, ***προφήτιδες*** *καὶ / ... ἔργων μυστικῶν προφάντιδες*	„**prophétesses**" (trans. mine)	„Preotese, **prorociţe** şi ... prezicătoare de lucruri mistice." (trans. mine)
	interpreters	*A*. 409			*...δόμων* ***προφῆται***	"les **devins** du palais" (trans. P. Mazon)	"**profeţii** palatului" (trans. Al. Miran)
προφήτης καὶ μάντις	Amphiaraus	*Th*. 611			***Προφήτης***	"**prophète**" (trans. P. Mazon)	"**profet**" (trans. Al. Miran)
προφήτης – ironic meaning	Cadmus			*Ba*. 211-2	*ἐπεὶ σὺ φέγγος, Τειρεσία, τόδ' οὐχ ὁραῖς, / ἐγὼ* ***προφήτης*** *σοι λόγων γενήσομαι*	"Puisque tu ne vois pas le jour, Tirésias, **ma parole y devra suppléer"** (trans. Henri Grégoire)	„Deoarece tu nu mai vezi lumina zilei, Teiresias, voi fi **prorocul** tău şi-ţi voi vesti ce se petrece-n jur." (trans. Al. Miran)

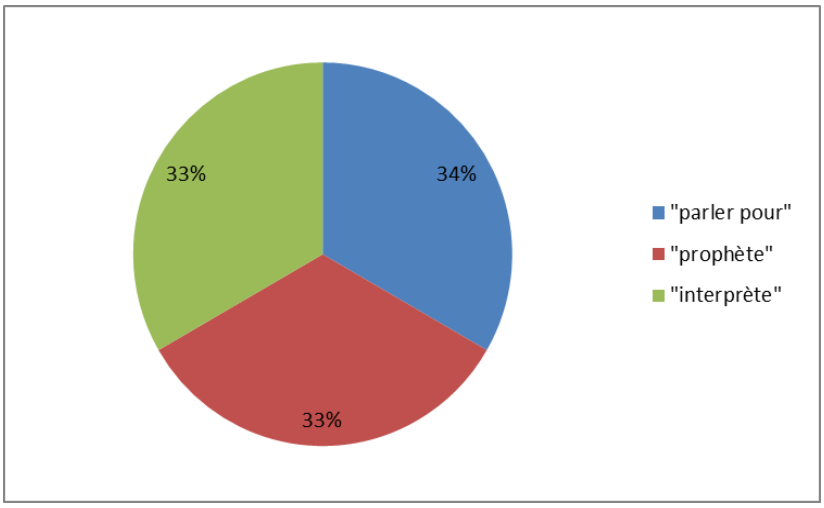
APPENDIX 2
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ – A TYPOLOGY



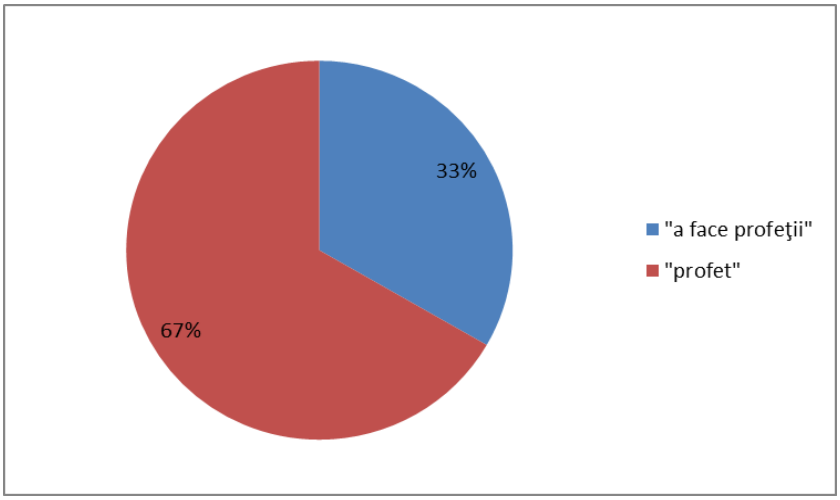
APPENDIX 3
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ – THE FREQUENCY OF VARIOUS FRENCH AND ROMANIAN TRANSLATIONS

3.1. *ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ* – A God Who Speaks On Behalf of Another God

a) French translations

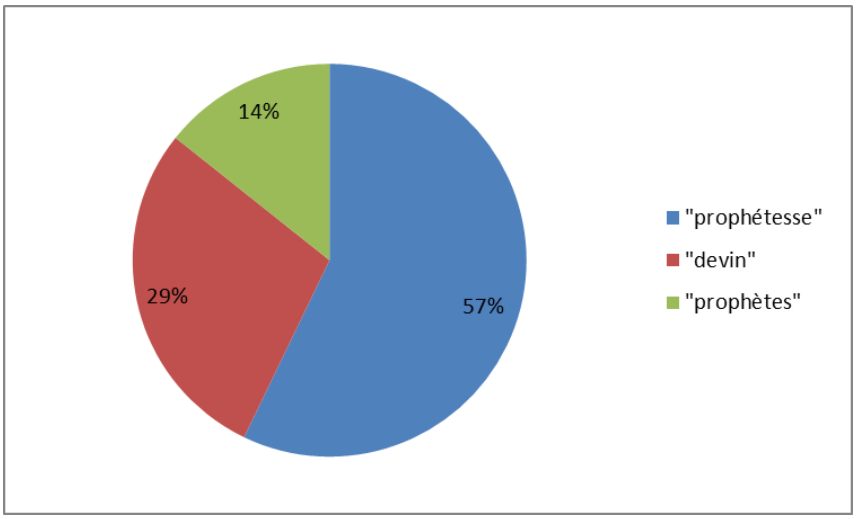


b) Romanian translations

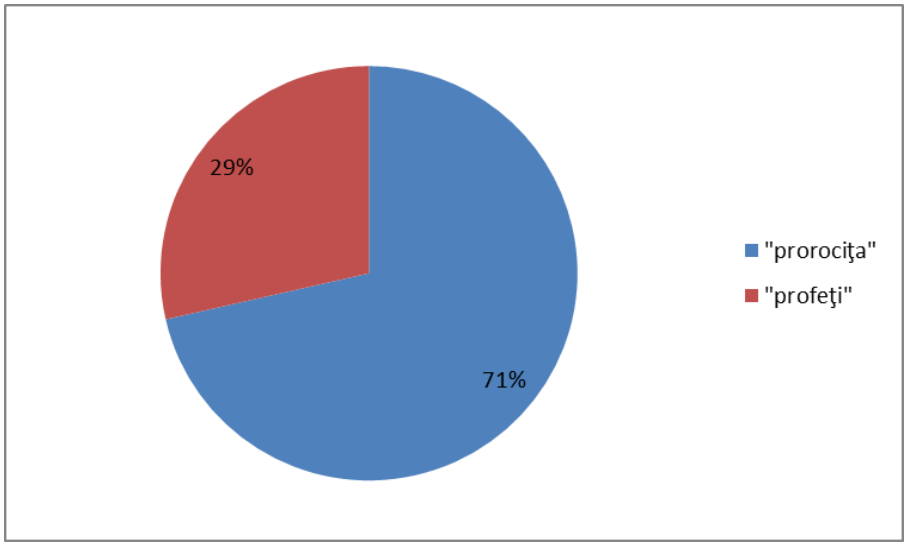


3.2. *ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ* – Minister and Spokesman of a God

a) French translations



b) Romanian translations



SOURCES

Chapouthier, Fernand (ed.) et Méridier, Louis (trans). 1973. *Euripide. Oreste*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Fotino, George (trans). 1965. *Sofocle. Teatru*. 2 vols. Ed. pentru Literatură.
Fraenkel, Eduard (ed). 1978. *Aeschylus. Agamemnon*. vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Grégoire, Henri (ed. et trans). 1993. *Euripide. Les Bacchantes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Idem et Méridier, Louis (eds. et trans). 1985. *Euripide. Héléne, Les Phéniciennes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Ieranò, Giorgio (ed. et trans). 1999. *Euripide. Baccanti*. Milano.
Jouan, François (ed. et trans). 1990. *Euripide. Iphigénie à Aulis*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Masqueray, Paul (ed. et trans). 1940. *Sophocle. Ajax, Antigone, Oedipe-Roi, Électre*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Idem. *1924. Sophocle. Les Trachiniennes, Philoctète, Oedipe à Colone, Les Limiers. Paris: Les Belles Lettres*.
Mazon, Paul (ed. et trans). 1920. *Eschyle. Les Suppliantes, Les Perses, Les Sept contre Thébes, Prométhée Enchainé*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Idem. 1935. *Eschyle. Agamemnon, Les Choéphores, Les Euménides*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Méridier, Louis (ed. et trans). 1976. *Euripide. Le Cyclope, Alceste, Médée, Les Héraklides*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Idem. 1989. *Euripide. Hippolyte, Andromaque, Hécube*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Miran, Alexandru (trans). 2000. *Eschil. Tragedii*. Bucureşti: Ed. Univers.
Idem. 2005. *Teatru complet*. Chişinău: Gunivas-Arc.
Parmentier, Léon et Grégoire, Henri (eds. et trans). 1976. *Euripide. Héraklès, Les Suppliantes, Ion*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Idem. 1990. *Euripide. Les Troyennes, Iphigénie en Tauride, Électre*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
*** *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Ed. Maria Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. URL: [http://www. tlg.uci.edu].

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dictionaries

Beekes, R. 2010. *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. Leiden, Boston.
Chantraine, P. 1968-1980. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Histoire des mots. Paris.
Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. URL: [http://dagr.univtlse2.fr] (25 May 2012).
Kittel, G. (ed). 1993. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Michigan.
Liddell, H.G. and Scott, R. 1996[9]. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford.

Books and Articles

Allègre, F. 1905. *Sophocle. Étude sur les ressorts dramatiques de son théâtre et la composition de ses tragédies*. Paris.
Athanassaki, L. 1994. "Choral and Prophetic Discourse in the First Stasimon of the Agamemnon", CJ 89.2, p. 149-162.
Bollack, J. 1981. „Le Thrène de Casandre (Agamemnon, 1322-1330)", *REG* 94.445-446, p. 1-13.
Bouché-Leclercq, A. 1880. *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*. tome II. Paris.
Bowden, H. 2005. *Classical Athens and the Delphic Oracle. Divination and Democracy*. Cambridge.
Bowra, C.M. 1944. *Sophoclean Tragedy*. Oxford.
Defradas, J. 1954. *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique*. Paris.
Elderkin, G. W. 1940. "The Sacred Doves of Delphi", *CPh* 35.1, p. 49-52.
Flacelière, R. 2006. *Viaţa de toate zilele în Grecia secolului lui Pericle*. Trad. rom. Bucureşti.
Flower, M. 2008. *The Seer in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley.
Fontenrose, Joseph. 1978. *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses*. Berkeley.
Hall, J. 2014. *Artifact and Artifice: Classical Archaeology and the Ancient Historian*. Chicago.
Holland, L. B. 1933. "The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi", *AJA* 37.2, p. 201-214.
Kindt, J. 2016. *Revisiting Delphi. Religion and Storytelling in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge University Press.
Latte, K.1940. "The Coming of the Pythia", *HThR* 33.1, p. 9-18.
Lloyd-Jones, H. 1976, "The Delphic Oracle", *Greece & Rome* 23.1, p. 60-73.
Maurizio, L. 1995. "Anthropology and Spirit Possession: A Reconsideration of the Pythia's Role at Delphi", *JHS* 115, p. 69-86.
McLeod, W. E. 1961, "Oral Bards at Delphi", *TAPhA* 92, p. 317-325.
Mitchell-Boyask, R. 2006, "The Marriage of Cassandra and the *Oresteia*: Text, Image, Performance", *TAPhA* 136.2, p. 269-297.
Parke, H.W. 1940. "A Note on the Delphic Priesthood", *CQ* 34.1/2, p. 85-89.
Parke, H.W, Wormell, D. E. W. 1956. *The Delphic Oracle*. 2 vols. Oxford.
Robertson, D. S. 1941, "The Delphian Succession in the Opening of the *Eumenides*", *CR* 55.2, p. 69-70.
Savignac, J.-P. 2002. *Oracles de Delphes*. Paris.
Schein, S. L.1982, "The Cassandra Scene in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*", *Greece & Rome* 29.1, p. 11-16.
Schachter, A. 1981. *Cults of Boiotia: 1. Acheloos to Hera*. London.
Shepard Kraemer, R. 2004. *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World*. Oxford.
Zeitlyn, D. 2001. "Finding Meaning in the Text: The Process of Interpretation in Text-Based Divination", *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7.2, p. 225-240.

THE RED CARPET AS A SYMBOL IN AESCHYLUS' *AGAMEMNON*

SORANA-CRISTINA MAN
University of Bucharest

Abstract: The red carpet scene is the only one in which the main character appears and it is the quintessence of this tragedy. It expresses Agamemnon's utter change-over, after the ten years he spent at Troy, from a Greek faithful to the traditional values of simplicity, moderation, poise and temperance, of balance and measure never to be exceeded, into a king influenced by the mores of the East, which he had so much time to get used to. These manners, brought to the land of Greece, but foreign to its spirit, overwhelm the one who carries them. Clytemnestra, seeking revenge, is but the one who exploits his new habits, in this dreadful and tense game of instigation and death.

After proposing a new interpretation of *hybris*, which partly springs from the significance of the color of the carpet, the paper aims to shed some light on the closely related issue of free will and determinism. Agamemnon's change takes place and reaches a crescendo along the chain of crimes he commits since leaving for Troy until returning home. We are dealing here with more types of *hybris*: Iphigenia's sacrifice, the savage destruction and plundering of Troy, which he moreover boasts of, the introduction of a concubine into the home where he lives with his wife, all culminating in walking on the red carpet that had been laid before him. Making him behave like a god, Clytemnestra closes the circle by coming back to the beginning of the chain, punishing him for his first crime: Iphigenia... She lures him into the last *hybris*, the worst – stepping on the red carpet –, in order to then revenge the first: the killing of their daughter. Deeming oneself equal to the gods is the fault they hate most and punish most severely, as shown by several examples I have come up with.

In the context of free will and determinism, the question has risen to what extent the heroes suffer and die because of a hereditary guilt or because of their own mistakes. This play is one of those in which free will seems to prevail. Free will is "inscribed" in the will of fate, subordinate to fate, but at the same time it is somewhat independent and it follows its own rules. In order to clarify this controversial issue, a comparison has been made with other tragic heroes, such as Medea, Heracles, Oedipus, and Orestes.

Keywords: hybris, free will, guilt, fate.

In the 21st century, after 2500 years from the age of the Greek tragedy, this symbol makes us think of the ceremonies organized for musical and cinema awards or the princely gala celebrations. At the time when Aeschylus wrote the tragedy *Agamemnon,* the significance of the red carpet was not very different: object of majestic pride at the royal courts of the East, manner of solemn reception of a king

at his return to his palace, the thing and the custom both came from Persia, the homeland of carpet weaving, where the ritual of greeting the king involved prosternation (*προσκύνησις*) in ovations of welcome and blessing. Therefore, the difference is not determined by time, as the red carpet has always been a great homage, associated with kingship, but by space: the gesture used to be made at the Eastern courts, not by the kings of Greece. For a Greek, even if he was a king, such a boldness was an act of impiety. An honor like this was reserved only to the gods. The mortal who dared to assume it doubtlessly attracted upon himself bitter punishment.

If at the end of the red carpet there has always been a prize, a trophy or another form of recognition of the value and importance of the one who stepped on it, in Aeschylus' play it carries a contrary significance. Coming back from Troy, which he conquered and plundered together with the rest of his army, king Agamemnon is awaited by his wife Clytemnestra with a red carpet that she spreads before him as a sign of welcome, starting from his war chariot up to the entrance into the palace, even if she is going to kill him in one of the following scenes. The red color of the carpet is here, through Clytemnestra's duplicity, a double symbol: on the one hand it is, like usually, the sign of majesty, on the other, the symbol of murder, of the blood that will be shed.

In fact we are not speaking about one carpet but about several carpets put together, *πετάσματα*, named in other places in the tragedy *εἵματα* (*εἷμα* = cover, rag),[1] *ὑφαί* (linen drapery, canvas),[2] *ποικίλα κάλλη* (colored adornments),[3] *ἁλουργῆ* (purple garments, *ad litteram*: the work of the sea),[4] *πορφύραι* (purple fabric),[5] but which make up only one "purple road", *πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος*. Agamemnon hesitates to step on this road. He does not want to be revered like a barbarian king, nor like the gods, whose rage he is afraid to stir. "[…] without touching the ground with your foot that destroyed the Ilion", *τὸν σὸν πόδα […] Ἰλίου πορθήτορα*,[6] tells him Clytemnestra when she orders that the purple road be unfolded at his feet the purple road. As Fraenkel points out,[7] in the art of the ancient Orient, of Egypt as well as Western Asia, the conqueror was often represented holding the conquered under his foot. This image was totally foreign to Greek art. It has been assumed that Aeschylus intentionally used this theme of the brutal gesture of victory typically Asian as a prelude to the acts of homage suggested in the following lines, whose barbarian character wants to emphasize. According to the same commentator, the three imperatives that begin with *μή*, going from general to particular, strongly express the hero's reticence to pursue the goad:

[1] 921, 960, 963.
[2] 949.
[3] 923.
[4] 946.
[5] 957.
[6] 907.
[7] Fraenkel 1978.

καὶ τἆλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ
ἄβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,
μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσας' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
τίθει.[8]

Then, do not adorn me with such glory, like women do. Do not greet me as you would a barbarian, with your forehead in the dust, shouting with a loud voice. Do not make for me a road of carpets that would arouse envy. (our translation)

What a man must concern himself about is only the good reputation, without signs of glory that do nothing else than generate envy, and with no will of greatness. He closes: *εἰ πάντα δ' ὡς πράσσοιμ' ἄν, εὐθαρσὴς ἐγώ*.[9] "What you want (me to do) I could not do undisturbed." (Fraenkel's translation)

At the level of the text, from an utterly human perspective, Agamemnon does not die to pay for a hereditary guilt. Only at an extratextual level and from the point of view of the mythical history, as an effect of the implacable *μοῖρα*, the cause of his death is the misdeed committed by his father Atreus, who killed the sons of his brother Thyestes and fed them to him at a feast. The text mentions, of course, the curse of the Atreides, but this is an inherited given, whose mark the heroes are doomed to bear, passing it on from father to son, through the blood, from one generation to another. It is something that does not depend on their will. But the reason why Clytemnestra kills him has nothing to do with his parents' sins. It is a reason for which Agamemnon makes himself guilty in a direct way, by his own choice: the killing at Aulis of their daughter Iphigenia as a sacrifice on Artemis' altar to tame the winds of Trace, as the Greeks used to call the winds from the North and as Clytemnestra reproaches him. These winds prevented the Greek ships from leaving to Troy.

Sommerstein[10] highlights that a century-old tradition at the time when Aeschylus was writing this tragedy, even older than *Kypria*, a lost epic poem that told of the origin and first years of the Trojan War, related that Artemis asked from Agamemnon to sacrifice the girl because the king had made a terrible fault against the goddess: he killed a wild boar in a sacred place or he bragged that he was a better hunter than her, both acts being obviously irresponsible. Nothing like this at Aeschylus, no mention of a mistake of the king. Nevertheless, Artemis requires from him either to abandon his expedition, which would have brought on dishonor, or to sacrifice his daughter. In both cases, whatever the choice, the hero would suffer, and Zeus' prestige would suffer along with him. Had Agamemnon abandoned the expedition, Paris would not have been punished and Zeus, the protector of the hospitality laws, would not have been paid back. Iphigenia's

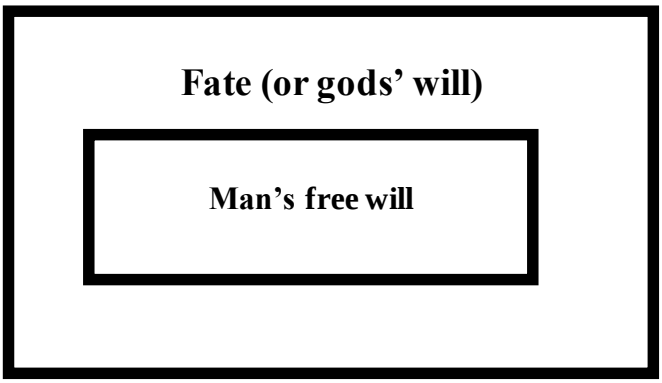
[8] 918-922.
[9] 930.
[10] Sommerstein 2010.

mother makes another sacrifice by killing the king, which also affects Zeus who is the king of the gods and the patron of the earthly kings. In an unforgettable monologue, Agamemnon weighs both variants and reaches the conclusion that he cannot leave his ships nor lose his allies. If he gives up the expedition, he will lose the trust of his allies, who include almost the entire Greece, and they will never follow him again. Instead of losing power and primacy he chooses to immolate the girl, under the pressure of the double constraint imposed to him as a necessity. The king seems entirely subject to divinity, who leaves him no room for freedom and excludes any personal reason. However, despite its fatal character, Iphigenia's immolation is not only accepted but, in the end, desired by her father, who therefore bears the responsibility for this fact. What he is constrained to do is at the same time what he wants, if this is the price of victory. The sacrifice demanded by the gods becomes, through the human decision that leads to its fulfillment, a monstrous murder whose price will have to be paid. What Agamemnon declares allowed from a religious point of view is not an action that he is forced to take against his will, but his deep desire to do everything that can open the way for his army. For condemnable, personal reasons, the protagonist precipitates by himself on the way that the gods chose for him, for other reasons. As the choir sing, he dares anything "making himself the accomplice of the mutable fate".[11] Vernant[12] suggests that this "complicity" of the hero with the destiny, which he supports with terms from the juridic vocabulary present in the tragedy, contributes to the ambiguity specific to the tragedies. He somewhat absolves the hero of his fault, which he attributes to the gods.

The theme of the determinism and free will in Greek tragedy is one of the most spiny and most debated upon by specialists.[13] We are told that there is individual guilt and responsibility, but we do not receive an answer to the question: how is it possible if everything is predestined or depends on the arbitrary will of the gods? I think that in the tragedy analyzed here this matter can be clarified. Here, too, we have the two ethic levels, of the determinism and free will. Like in the entire cycle of the Atreides, determinism seems to prevail: the children bear their parents' sins and pay for them. This is what the destiny wants or this is the will of the gods. Agamemnon's killing has both dimensions, but free will is the one that prevails, as Clytemnestra is not perceived in the economy of the play first of all as an agent of the destiny, doomed to revenge an ancestral crime.[14] As I have already mentioned, what she revenges in a conscious and assumed way, the reason of her gesture, is Iphigenia's immolation, that is, Agamemnon's deed that he fully

[11] 214-217.
[12] 2001, 64.
[13] Nussbaum 1986.
[14] She tries to get rid of the increasingly threatening accusations of the choir setting herself up, for a moment, as a tool of the fate that avenges on Atreus. Then she returns immediately to the so much invoked reason of her murder, when the choir answer that the murderer is herself, while the demon of revenge is only her accomplice.

consented to, a personal, individual guilt, which the perpetrator is responsible for. Looking at things from a distance, namely from an ampler perspective, we could say that the logic of free will is inscribed in that of determinism, is placed within it, like a plane within a bigger, larger plane. It is subordinated to it, but it functions according to its own laws.



Of course this is what the fate or the gods want, this is always true, but within this will of fate which is superordinate, of greater rank, the hero is responsible for his actions on a purely human level. He chooses without knowing that the result of his choice is predetermined. The same happens in other plays, like Euripides' *Medea*, where even if there is a destiny, the characters act freely, decide on their actions and bear the consequences, without knowing that the denouement had been decided beforehand. It is different in a tragedy like *Heracles*, where the hero has a fit of madness induced by the gods and kills, for no reason, his wife and children. There is no human justification here: there is nothing to avenge, nothing to gain, on the contrary, Heracles commits acts he will bitterly regret in a very short time, as soon as the fit is over. There is no logic in his deeds on a human level. There is no free will. We might say that in the case of madness we are dealing with the extreme form of determinism, as man is only a toy of the destiny. Heracles' case is, though, a somewhat artificial one, beyond the limits of normality. It can be explained only by the direct, uncanny intervention of the gods in the human order. One might also say that the subjects of the tragedies are sometimes presented on a « double level »: if we explain the plot causally on two levels, human and divine, psychological and metaphysical, we can state that queen Clytemnestra kills due to natural human emotions, but at the same time she is the simple tool of the divine vengeance and her crime is only an example of universal Justice. "The double plan universalizes the action. It shows that the action is not only a particular event. It is a manifestation of the Law. The double plan generalizes this event."[15]

[15] Kitto 1956.

It is interesting to notice that the songs of the choir in *Agamemnon* linger on the exits from the Atreides' palace. Nobody gets out alive, except Clytemnestra, who exits five times. She is "the watch dog" of the house, like a Cerberus who guards what Cassandra calls "the gates of Hades", letting in only whom she wants and letting nobody out.[16]

At the opposite pole from Agamemnon there is though the protagonist of the Theban cycle, king Oedipus, whose story, as opposed to the one of Heracles, is equal in complexity and deepness to the one of Aeschylus' hero. Oedipus, too, inherits from his father Laius a hereditary guilt which he passes on, in his turn, to his offspring, but all of his sufferings – the paricide, the incest, the blindness, the exile, the maltreating by his own sons – are due to this fault that is not his own. His only sin is, maybe, that he is quick-tempered when he hits Laius, about whom he has no idea that is his father and, moreover, who attacked him first. Oedipus is wholly subject to his destiny, he expiates his parents' sin, makes no crime for which he can be held accountable, therefore the second plane, the human one, of the free will, is missing entirely.[17]

According to C.F. Alford,[18] tragedy means, first of all, that man is responsible without being free. He is subject to a mixture of *moira, daimon, ethos* and *tyche*. The commentator wonders whether Oedipus and Ajax' fate is partly determined by their own choice. Are they the ones who want to be the way they are, or is their character, but also the gods' will, equally decisive? Agamemnon is bound to sacrifice his daughter, but this is also his will if only at this cost he can win the war. It has been said that an Oedipus who is not at all responsible for his fate would not be tragic, but only pathetic, piteous, a mere toy in the gods' hands. But we are wondering again: did he choose of his own volition to determine his *moira* and to be furious and excessive? Did Ajax choose to be so bat-eyed? Did Antigone want to be Oedipus' daughter and to inherit her father's toughness, which brought along her death but also her glory? They are real subjects, not mere toys of the gods, because they accept the consequences of their own temper, which might sometimes be exile or death. The heroes often reflect, think of the choice they have to make (for instance Heracles, Medea, Alcestis), without actually being free to choose, but being able to acknowledge that there is only one way to follow. Alford considers

[16] Taplin 1977, 307.

[17] Oedipus blinds himself of his own will, but his gesture is another consequence of the destiny he inherited and that had been allotted to him by the gods. Oedipus was not at all guilty according to the civil laws, either. We have no knowledge of an explicit law regarding homicide in such cases, but we know how they were dealt with in practice: someone called Boiotos got drunk at a party and hit another participant, Euaion, who killed him right away. He was accused of murder, but only with a majority of one vote, and Demosthenes, who tells the story, expects the jury to be on Euaion's side. All the more would they have been on the side of someone subject to the criminal assault came from the leader of a group of five people on a deserted country road. There existed a legal provision that allowed a traveler attacked by others to kill them without getting punished. In *Oedipus at Colonus* the hero repeats several times, relying on these laws, that he has not committed any crime (Alford 1992).

[18] 1992, 115.

that the terms "determinism" and "free will" are too modern. More appropriate would be the distinction between outer and inner constraint, which overlaps quite well the one between *moira* and *daimon*. From Aeschylus to Euripides, outer necessity becomes inner necessity. In *The Persians*, king Dareios says: *ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χὠ θεὸς συνάπτεται.*[19] "When a mortal hurries towards his own perdition, a god comes to help him." The same can be said about Agamemnon. Reflecting on the different variants and ways of action does not mean being free to choose between them. Medea thinks, reflects, but the way she will act was decided beforehand. She ponders on what she would have done had she been another woman, had she had another temper, another daimon. She is not another one though, she is the one we know. Therefore the choice can be only one. It is predetermined. Humans are responsible for their actions without being free, because they do not know beforehand what has been decided for them. Agamemnon becomes the accomplice of his destiny, which he embraces unflinchingly. He does not suffer and has no regrets. He forgets Iphigenia's sacrifice too easily. Orestes, however, repents of his crime and this contributes to his redemption.

Greek tragedy has been approached by Jacques Lacan in his psychoanalytic theory: if passions are our gods (Lacan), this is another way to say that we are their carriers, the place where they manifest themselves, but not their agents. It is they that dominate us, not we that dominate them. Lacan's thesis that there is no subject (in the sense of actant) in tragedy is denied by the heroic acceptance of their own destiny, with responsibility and courage, by some characters. The gods love Oedipus and take him into their world in the end, not because he is innocent, but because he lived his *μοίρα* and *δαίμων* with dignity and nobility, without embracing them or using them, but also without fighting against them. Assuming full responsibility for what he did under the influence of madness, which is the result of his violent temper, Euripides' Heracles implicitly admits that his nature is his daemon. Therefore we are not to wonder whether he had a choice, whether he could have acted differently, but how courageously and worthily he assumes his own actions.[20]

The same tendency towards rationality that we were speaking of above, very vaguely manifested in *Agamemnon* – in the sense that paying for one's own faults is a beginning of rationality compared to suffering just because this is the will of fate – is continued by Aeschylus in a more explicit and radical way in *The Eumenides*. Orestes' trial puts an end to the chain of revenge intended for renewing, fulfilling and continuing with each new atrocity the originary curse of the family: that of transmitting, from one generation to another, the excessive pride and the temptation to murder. The gods are present, too, in this last play of *Oresteia*, maybe more present than ever, but their will is made to finally overlap the human will, to agree with it, so that here the two planes become one.

[19] 742.
[20] Alford 1992.

In the first part of the tragedy *Agamemnon*, Aeschylus brings forth the state of mind of the Greek army on the shore of Aulis, before leaving to Troy. The prophet Calchas foresees that the only way to appease the head wind in order to be able to sail towards the Trojan land is the sacrifice of commander Agamemnon's daughter, as goddess Artemis demands. Aeschylus imagines a father with a broken heart facing the alternative of killing his child or disappointing his people. Before being a father, he is a king in the service of his people, devoted to them with everything that he owns or is: father, husband, warrior, leader. Not even an ordinary Greek could have refused to follow Calchas' prophesy, but least of all can the king choose anything else than what is best for all the Greeks (although it is rather what they think is their good, a disputable good and in fact contested in this play itself):

ἐπεὶ δ'ἀνάγκας ἔδυ λέπαδνον
φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν
ἄναγνον ἀνίερον, τόθεν
τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω.
βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις
τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων. ἔτλα δ'οὖν
θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρός,
γυναικοποίνων πολέμων ἀρωγὰν
καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.[21]

It has been noticed that Agamemnon commits more types of *hybris*: the above mentioned sacrifice, the destruction and savage plundering, of barbarian nature, of Troy, which he boasts of, the bringing of a concubine in the house where he lives with his wife, all culminating with getting over the red carpet laid before him. After this entire series of excesses which pile up, it is natural that the man who comes back to Argos is not the same with the one who once left to Troy. He has now the habits of a despot, of an almighty lord. His actions are not the same as his words.

In the case of Agamemnon one cannot speak of a cult of personality, but the tendency is the same, common to many Oriental leaders. Maybe we are dealing here with the general inclination of the people to let themselves carried up by the

[21] Subjecting his mind under the yoke of necessity
a change takes place inside of him,
a lawless, dirty and evil change:
he is ready to dare anything,
steadfast in his decision.
Thus, a source of many torments,
the terrible madness with its shameless thoughts
fill the mortals with courage.
He dared to turn himself
in the sacrificer of his daughter,
to help a war of punishment
waged for a woman,
to open the sea to the vessels. 218-227 (our translation)

wave of adulation, usually collective, and to indulge in the posture of the object of extolment and subservience of the crowd. The same will happen with Alexander the Great, who was adulated by the conquered populations of the Orient as a king, and in Egypt as The New Pharaon. He will require from his Greek and Macedonian soldiers the same attitude of servile subjection, which will arouse their protests and animosity. Julius Caesar will be assassinated because of his relationship with queen Cleopatra of Egypt, whom he received at Rome with a grand ceremony of Oriental inspiration, but also because he proclaimed himself lifelong dictator, *dictator perpetuus*, against Roman traditions, generating the suspicion that he was planning to become a king. Another detail that the Romans disliked was that Caesar added to his attire some objects that recalled of the ancient kings of Alba Longa, such as a pair of red boots up to the knees, doubtlessly associated with Oriental kingship, in the imagination of the Romans of those times.

The image of Agamemnon stepping on the purple carpet is the image of the lord who led his people to victory, but to whom victory was fatal: after it, he exceeded the measure of pride, which made him lose his mind, and despite the reserve he expresses in the beginning, before walking on the carpet, despite the scruples he formulates but which he finally leaves behind, he comes to behave like a god. Having its origin in a *hybris* that makes it possible, which is the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the victory won at Troy is in its turn a cause of *hybris*. Once perpetrated, a *hybris*, "the first evil" as the poet says, *πρωτοπήμων*, leads to another one, greater, more terrifying, and so on, endlessly, for the king cannot stop but makes the gesture that puts him next to the gods. It is Clytemnestra who stops him. She stops him by killing him, but only after she goads him to the final wrongdoing: she allures him to step on, like a ferocious and vengeful Eve, pretending to acknowledge his status of a king who led his people to victory, only to come back, closing the circle, to the beginning of the chain of *hybreis*, to punish the very first evil-doing: Iphigenia... She entices him towards the last *hybris*, the supreme one, the stepping on the red carpet, in order to later avenge the first: the killing of their daughter. We might say that the series of crimes is one in crescendo, as it starts with the most justifiable one, although not little, and ends up with the worst. Killing your own child is one of the greatest faults possible, but since it is at the same time a patriotic act, it can be explained. Instead, deeming yourself equal to the gods or trying to go beyond your mortal condition is the fault that they punish worst. We know what happened to Icarus when he defied the limit of his human condition. Even more illustrative is the story of the singing satyr Marsyas, who challenged the god of music and poetry. Defeated, he was flayed alive by Apollo. The same happens with the hero Pentheus in *The Bacchae*, who stands against Dionysus and his cult and ends up being torn into pieces by his own mother, who had turned into a maenad. When he leaves to fight against Troy, Ajax receives from his father the wish to win with the help of the gods, but answers that he does not need their help, because the gods can help even a weak man to win. Moreover,

when goddess Athena encourages him in battle, he rejects her and sends her to encourage his comrades, saying he does not need encouragement. His perdition will stem from this foolish pride. The angelic Hippolytus will be punished for ignoring and even despising Aphrodite. He rejects the entire women race with no exception and detests them, as well as the gifts of love. Phaedra is only the helpless and unfortunate tool of the goddess' revenge. In Aeschylus' *The Persians*, king Xerxes wanted to subdue the waters of the Bosporus, to bring the Hellespont under his power. A mere mortal, although a king, he thought he could dominate Poseidon.[22] The hero Capaneus, one of the Seven Against Thebes, defies Zeus himself, bragging that not even his fearful lightning could stop him from getting over the walls of the besieged Thebes. Zeus strikes him just when he is climbing the wall.[23] In Christianity as well, trying to be greater than God is Lucifer's sin. The word *hybris* itself sometimes means "pride", "vanity". Pride is therefore the greatest fault, it is *hybris* par excellence.

In his admirable study dedicated to this tragedy, Eduard Fraenkel writes about an Agamemnon who is calm, temperate, restrained. His answer to Clytemnestra's suggestion to step on the purple road is that of a gentleman. He does not like the exaggerated, insincere effusion with which she greets him. He refutes her proposal with the arguments and style of a gentleman, qualities which are crowned by the supreme gesture of modesty made when he takes off his sandals, as if to show that he remains a humble mortal. Maybe he yields to Clytemnestra's inducements out of the same delicacy, not out of weakness: overwhelmed by her insistence, he feels he cannot prolong the controversy. She constrains him to consent. Many of the features attributed to the heroes are deduced from the language they use. The way they speak reflects, of course, many aspects of their personality: education, breeding, social status.[24] The image of the king waking on the purple path can be seen, according to other commentators,[25] as a compromise between piety and pride.

The red carpet scene is the only one in which the protagonist appears and it is the gist of this tragedy. It expresses Agamemnon's utter change-over, after the ten years he spent at Troy, from a Greek faithful to the traditional values of simplicity, moderation, poise and temperance, of balance and measure never to be exceeded, into a king influenced by the mores of the East, which he had so much time to get used to. These manners, brought to the land of Greece, but foreign to its spirit, overwhelm the one who carries them. Clytemnestra, seeking revenge, is but the one who exploits his new habits, in this dreadful and tense game of instigation and death.

[22] As Aram Frenkian points out (1969), the earth itself becomes the ally of the Greeks and destroys by famine the Persian armies which were so numerous.

[23] The examples might go on, even if we abide by the Greek world. Turning our attention to the Latin literature, a work like Ovid's *Metamorphoses* offers us other similar examples.

[24] "The *gentilezza* of the utterances of king and queen should make the seriousness of their conflict all the more perceptible; but it is not surprising that an age deaf to the notes of true nobility read into their words assertiveness, contention and the scorn of the plebeian." (Fraenkel, 1978: II, 425)

[25] Paley 1844-1847.

SOURCES

Aeschylus. *Major Works*, URL: [http://www.ancient-literature.com/greece_aeschylus.html], (the 12th of August 2018).
Fraenkel, E. 1978. *Agamemnon*. Tomes 1-3. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.
Paley, F.A. (ed.) 1844-1847. *Aeschylus*, with Latin notes. Cambridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alford, C.F. 1992, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Greek Tragedy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Foley, H.P. 2001, *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
Frenkian, A. 1969, *Înţelesul suferinţei umane la Eschil, Sofocle, Euripide*. Bucureşti: Editura pentru literatură.
Kitto, H.D.F. 1956, *Form and Meaning in Drama*. London: Methuen.
Nussbaum, M.C. 1986, *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*. Cambridge University Press.
Sommerstein, A. 2010, *The Tangled Ways of Zeus*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Vernant, J.P., Vidal-Naquet, P. 2001, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, tomes I et II. Paris: La Découverte.

MITHRADATES' INFANTRY AT THE BATTLE OF CHAERONEA

EMILIAN GHIŢĂ
University of Bucharest

Abstract: The army represented one of the pillars of political power in the Hellenistic world and the Kingdom of Pontus under Mithradates IV Eupator was no exception. The present paper is an investigation into the structure and use of infantry, using the Second Battle of Chaeronea as a case study, in an attempt to determine not only to what extant the Pontic infantry may be said to be a typical example of Hellenistic infantry, but also how its composition and deployment may shed light on the social background of its members.[*]

Keywords: Mithradates VI Eupator, Archelaos, Second Battle of Chaeronea, military history.

PREAMBLE

On the plain of Chaeronea, in 86 BC, on what must have been a beautiful day of late spring, there stood, facing each other, two armies. The smaller one was led by Sulla. Most of them were Italians, Sulla's old and loyal soldiers, who stubbornly followed their general, although back home, in Rome, he had been declared an enemy of the state by his political enemies. To these were added some Macedonians and some Greeks who supported the cause of Rome. Opposite them was the army of the Pontic general Archelaos. And what an amazing sight it presented! Among them, Appian says, "there were Thracians, people from Pontus, Scythians, Cappadocians, Bithynians, Galatians and Phrygians, as well as others from the territories Mithridates had recently acquired, in all about one hundred and twenty thousand men".[1] Plutarch adds to the description: "The atmosphere could barely hold the cacophony of shouts issued by so many peoples ordered in a line of battle. At the same time the boastfulness and haughtiness of their extravagant

[*] The author's research was funded through the University of Bucharest's postdoctoral programme in the Humanities and Social Sciences, which is co-financed by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013 (POSDRU/89/1.5/S/62259).

[1] *Θρᾷκές τε ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Καππαδόκαι Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Φρύγες καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ νεόκτητα γένοιτο, πάντες ἐς δυώδεκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν,* App., *Mithr*. 158. All translations belong to the author, unless otherwise stated.

equipment was quite useful in causing fear: their sparkling weaponry, richly adorned with gold and silver, their colourful Median and Scythian tunics, mingled with shining bronze and iron offered a fiery and daunting spectacle, in their continuous motion."[2] Not since the days of the Median Wars had Asia sent such a vast force to invade Greece.

The question is, though – did Archelaos' army truly fit the description offered by the Greek writers? Was this Pontic general a latter-day Mardonios? And was his master a new, tyrannical and *hybris*-imbued Xerxes?

It is these questions that the present paper will try to address, while considering the aspect and actions of the Pontic infantry, as described in the accounts of the Battle of Chaeronea, a battle chosen specifically because the richness of details offered by the ancient authors would allow us as many glimpses into the workings of this intriguing machine that was the Pontic Army during the age of Mithradates VI Eupator, whose complexity was given not only by the different types of soldiers used, but also by its ability to integrate different ethnicities, among which the Thracians, from both South and North of the Danube, were an important element.

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Before dealing in more detail with the different segments of the infantry, their role and their origin, it would probably be useful to put the battle of Chaeronea within its historical context and describe its general development, in order to clarify their interaction.

The relations between Rome and the kingdom of Pontus had not always been inimical. Immediately after losing his war against Eumenes, the king of Pergamum and Rome's protégé in the area, the Pontic king Pharnakes I concluded a peace treaty, in the year 179,[3] a point which also marks the beginning of closer relations with Rome. Thus, in his treaty with the city of Chersonesos, Pharnakes is careful to mention the friendship that connected both him and the Chersonesitans to Rome.[4] His successors, Mithradates IV and Mithradates V, upheld the Roman *amicitia*, and

[2] *τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀὴρ ἐθνῶν τοσούτων ἄμακαθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν. ἦν δὲ ἅμα καὶ τὸ κομπῶδες καὶ σοβαρὸν αὐτῶν τῆς πολυτελείας οὐκ ἀργὸν οὐδὲ ἄχρηστον εἰς ἔκπληξιν, ἀλλ' αἵ τε μαρμαρυγαὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἠσκημένων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ διαπρεπῶς, αἵ τε βαφαὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Σκυθικῶν χιτώνων ἀναμεμιγμέναι χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ λάμποντι πυροειδῆ καὶ φοβερὰν ἐν τῷ σαλεύεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι προσέβαλον ὄψιν*, Plutarch, *Sulla* 16.2-3.

[3] The text of the treaty is recorded in Pol, 25.2. All dates in the text are BC, unless otherwise stated.

[4] IosPE I^2, 402. 4-6: *[τάν τε ποτὶ Ῥω]μαίους φιλίαν διαφυλά[σ|σοντος καὶ μηδὲ]ν ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς πράσ|[σοντος]*. The date of the inscription has been convincingly demonstrated by a number of scholars to be dated according to the Seleukid era, placing it in 155 BC. Cf. Højte 2004.

provided help to the Republic whenever required.[5] It was this cordial relation that Mithradates VI Eupator had inherited from his father, and for a long time he strived to maintain it. Since, however, Mithradates desired to expand his kingdom, while Rome insisted on preserving the balance of powers around the province of Asia, the Republic and the Pontic kingdom were on a collision course. The tension turned to conflict and the conflict flared into outright war in the year 89. Mithradates quickly overcame the ill-prepared Roman forces and became master of Asia Minor.[6] Desiring to push the battlefield upon which his forces and the forces of Rome would clash as far away from his possessions as possible, he sent one of his most trusted generals, Archelaos, to Athens. The general appointed by the Roman Senate to confront Mithradates' forces was Sulla. In spite of the fact that he had been declared a public enemy at home, the Roman general continued his campaign and the first major encounter with the Pontic forces was at Athens and Piraeus, which the Romans besieged and finally took in 86.

After losing Athens to Sulla and considering that his position at Piraeus is not tenable in the long run, Archelaos made full use of his maritime supremacy and retreated by sea to Euboea and thence to the pass of Thermopylae, where he made the junction with the troops brought from Macedon by Taxiles. At the same time, Sulla was compelled to follow him, for two main reasons. On the one hand, his troops could hardly find food in Attica – a region which had a hard time feeding its inhabitants even in times of peace and had, moreover, been devastated by the lengthy siege of Athens. On the other hand, in Greece had arrived the vanguard of another Roman army, led by Hortensius, and he feared that the legate and his troops would be annihilated by the Pontic troops if left to their fate.

Sulla succeeded in joining Hortensius, but his position continued to appear weak. After all, he found himself in Beotia, a region where wide valleys opened up between mountains, offering suitable terrain for Archelaos' numerous cavalry, and many miles away from Athens, which represented his power base in Greece. Archelaos therefore conceived a plan to cut off Sulla's communications, by occupying the main road. Since he failed to do so at Elateia, then at Parapotamoi, he pushed forward towards the next likely choke-point, the town of Chaeronea (Fig. 1).

[5] Mithradates V, for example, helps the Romans both against the Carthaginians in the Third Punic War and against Aristonikos: App., *Mithr.* 30 and App., *Mithr*. 39, respectively. A useful summary of the information available about Mithradates IV and Mithradates V may be found in McGing 1986, 34-42.

[6] To most ancient writers and modern scholars, this is a clear clue that Eupator had been preparing this conflict for a long time (thus, among others, Sulla's discourse as reported in App., *Mithr*. 57.230-58.239 and Plut., *Sull.* 24). Callataÿ notes that the minting of coins by the Pontic king accelerates greatly only in May-June 89 (Callataÿ 1997, 282-284), which may lead one to believe Mithradates did not prepare for the conflict well in advance, but this is unlikely, given that during this age kings were content to use any coins that were at their disposal, including coins issued by former kings of their own dynasty or even foreign coins that had reached them as a result of taxation of trade or in the form of booty. Besides, even Callataÿ agrees that Mithradates may have seen the conflict with Rome as inevitable as early as 95 (Callataÿ 1997, 274).

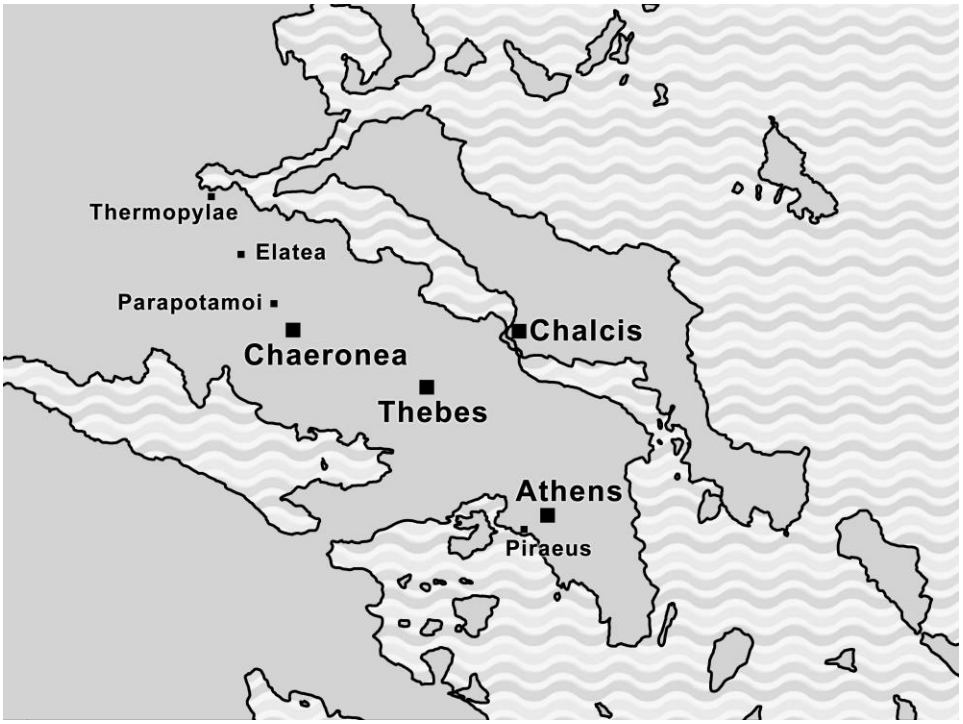


Fig.1. Campaign in Boeotia

The conflict that was about to begin, the battle of Chaeronea, has been described in a number of literary sources: in Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* (15-19), in Appian's *Mithridatika* (158-174), in Frontinus' *Stratagemata* (2.3.17), and in Photios' epitome of Memnon's *History of Heracleia* (22.13). The accounts are wildly different in terms of coverage, ranging from detailed descriptions to bare sketches, but also in terms of narrative content. The most trustworthy source is Plutarch, because he not only consulted Sulla's *Memoirs*, but also had access to local traditions, as he had been born precisely in the city of Chaeronea, some 120 years after the events he narrates. We are also lucky to be able to corroborate his version with the archaeological record.[7] Of the modern scholars who have paid attention to this encounter, the most influential was N.G.L. Hammond,[8] and he, too, gave preference to Plutarch. It is, therefore, the narrative sequence provided by the Chaeronean writer that I prefer to follow in the following description of the battle.

[7] Camp 1992.

[8] Hammond 1938. His version is faithfully followed by A. Keaveney (Keaveney 2005, 78-80) and also by J. Camp (Camp 1992), though the latter brings some topographical corrections, in the light of the trophy he has discovered.

Having established his camp at the foot of Mount Hedylion, Archelaos sent an advance party to occupy the acropolis of Chaeronea, only to be frustrated once more in his design by one Roman legion, led by Gabinius, which moved with such speed that it managed to enter the town first. The Pontic soldiers calculated correctly that they would need to take up a position that was easy to defend, while affording them at the same time the possibility to descend quickly into the valley, if a confrontation were to take place there. Looking from the plain, the eminence presented by the conical hill of Thourion appears to be the ideally suited for both and it was there that they decided to go. However, what they did not and probably could not foresee was that the Southern slope of the Thourion, rocky, but gentle, offered assailants easy access. And so it happened that in the morning they were dislodged with great ease by the Roman soldiers, who were shown the way by two inhabitants of Chaeronea, Homoloichos and Anaxidamos, the same men who would, at the end of the battle, be honoured in the dedication inscribed upon the triumphal monument erected by Sulla.

As these soldiers were expelled from their lightly fortified position, the main battle was about to be joined (Fig. 2). Sulla had advanced from his camp towards Chaeronea, leaving the command of the rearguard to Murena. Archelaos crossed the Kephisos and launched his attack, forcing Sulla to turn around and face him. Thus, his vanguard became the Roman right wing and Murena's rearguard became the Roman left. Hortensius and Galba were given command over the reserves on either side, which may imply that the Roman line of battle on that day comprised not of three, but of two lines. On the Pontic side, Archelaos took full advantage of his superiority in numbers and arranged his phalanx in the centre, with substantial contingents of cavalry and light infantry on the wings, whose purpose was to envelop the shorter Roman line. In the beginning, things seem to go well for the Pontic soldiers of the right wing, who, under Archelaos' direct command, manage to put great pressure on Hortensius' detachment, forcing Sulla to come personally to his aid, diverting at the same time some troops from his own wing to help him. Either following a premeditated plan or acting on the spur of the moment, Archelaos disengaged his cavalry, went behind his centre line and crossed the whole length of the field, attacking this time the Roman right, which had just been abandoned by Sulla, its commander. However, even without their general, the Romans held their own (possibly with the aid of reinforcements from Galba – on this detail Plutarch remains silent), and when Sulla did return, they were so emboldened that they managed to break the will of their attackers and chase them from the field. At much the same time, the phalanx in the centre gave way under the constant barrage of artillery, and the Pontic right could no longer hold. The battle, which had started so well for the Pontic army, ended in complete disaster.

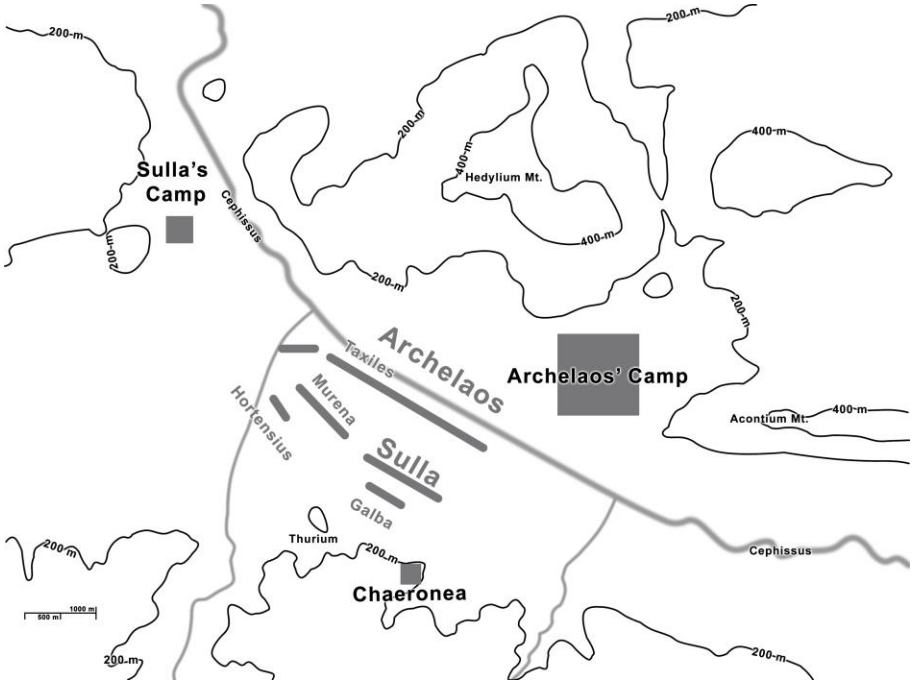


Fig.2. Battle of Chaeronea.

Having completed the description of the battle, it is time to proceed with the analysis of the two main components of the Pontic infantry, the lightly armed and the heavily armed, trying to discover as much as possible about their equipment, their origin and their traditions.

LIGHT INFANTRY

All ancient armies had contingents of lightly armed soldiers. During the Classical Age, for example, they were simply the poorest men in the community, those who did not possess the wealth to purchase more sophisticated weaponry, but by the time of the Hellenistic Era, they had become a professionalised corps in their own right, highly specialised and much appreciated for their mobility. In the context of the battle of Chaeronea, they were, for example, tasked with occupying this city for Archelaos.

Who were then these men, who were entrusted with a difficult task, showed considerable military acumen, only to fall short at the very moment of the confrontation? The only things we know about their equipment come from the description of their rout made by Plutarch – namely that their exposed bodies (*τὰ γυμνά*) were perfect targets for projectiles and that many were killed impaled by

their own spears (*τοῖς δόρασι*).[9] There existed in the Hellenistic Age a type of troops characterised at the same time by possession of spears and a lack of armour. Depending on the shape and size of their shield, they could be called *peltastaí*, *euzonoi* or *thyreophoroi*. The *peltastai* used the small, round buckler called *πέλτη* and the *thyreophoroi* the large, oval *θύρεος*, while the *euzonoi* represented, according to Polybios[10] a division in their own right. Perhaps they stood halfway between the two of the above, if we are to believe that Plutarch's description of the Achaean troops before Philopoemen's reforms.[11] In Plutarch's brief narrative of the incident on Mount Thourion there is absolutely no mention of shields – of either type –, and that is unfortunate, but by no means surprising: soldiers on the run have always found it expedient to leave it behind, content to buy another one, so long as that meant they would live to see another day, as Archilochos himself had advised with healthy humour.[12]

This is not the first moment when we hear of the presence of such troops in a battle waged by Mithradates' army. In the year 89, when the Pontic vanguard, formed exclusively of light infantry and some heavy cavalry, met with the entire Bithynian army on the banks of the river Amnias, these soldiers had covered themselves with glory. In fact, Archelaos and his brother Neoptolemos only won that day thanks to their capacity to perform delicate manoeuvres (such as a controlled retreat while engaged in combat) and to their extraordinary combat spirit.

While we may be sure they belonged, indeed, to the branch of light infantry, for Appian is sure to emphasize this, both in the opening passages and in his comments on the aftermath of the battle, the exact nature of their equipment eludes us. Appian does, in fact, label them *εὐζῶνοι*,[13] but one should be cautious and not consider it necessarily a technical term, as used by Polybios. In general, Appian is rather careless in his use of technical military terms. To him, the word *εὐζῶνοι* meant quite simply "light infantry" or even "heavy infantry without baggage" (the equivalent for the Latin *expediti*), as we can see the same term applied to some of Sulla's legionaries.[14]

Could it be that the same light infantrymen who had served Archelaos so well in Anatolia now perished ingloriously in a valley of Beotia? I believe it is unlikely,

[9] *θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ φόνος ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὁ πλεῖστος, οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρανοῦς φερόμενοι τοῖς τε δόρασι περιέπιπτον αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ κατεκρήμνιζον ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνωθεν ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ παιόντων, ὥστε τρισχιλίους πεσεῖν περὶ τὸ Θούριον* (Plut., *Sull.* 18).

[10] 5.79.3.

[11] *ἐχρῶντο μὲν γὰρ θυρεοῖς μὲν εὐπετέσι διὰ λεπτότητα καὶ στενωτέροις τοῦ περιστέλλειν τὰ σώματα, δόρασι δὲ μικροτέροις πολὺ τῶν σαρισῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλῆκται καὶ μάχιμοι πόρρωθεν ἦσαν ὑπὸ κουφότητος, προσμίξαντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔλαττον εἶχον* (Plut., *Philopoemen* 9.1).

[12] Fragment 6 in the Diehl edition, 5 in West's edition.

[13] *Mithr*. 64.

[14] *Σύλλας δέ […] ἀναπαύσας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον σὺν εὐζώνοις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἠπείγετο* (App., *Mithr*. 176).

for a number of reasons. When Archelaos first arrived in Greece, the number of troops he could ferry across the Aegean was limited, and of these, he assigned two thousand to the defence of Athens, and they were either killed or taken prisoner when the city fell to the Romans. Most of the troops under his command were, in fact, provided by his local allies – Athenians, Achaeans of Laconians.[15] After many of these were lost in the heavy fighting in and around the Piraeus, he withdrew to Thessaly, and here he was given command – according to Appian, at least – of three different armies: two of them coming from the North and the third in the form of reinforcements sent by Mithradates over the sea. Therefore, at the battle of Chaeronea it is very likely that the bulk of Pontic light infantry was not of Anatolian extraction, but had been recruited in Macedonia and in Thrace, taking advantage of the tradition present in these regions of producing such warriors, very well adapted to fight in the mountainous landscape of the Balkans.

The appearance of these troops may be guessed if one takes into account a very important detail: in Appian's account, the name of one of the generals bringing his army to join Archelaos in Thessaly is Dromichaetes.[16] This name is well attested for Thracian warriors, the most famous of them being the chieftain of the Getae who defeated Lysimachus.[17] If this Dromichaetes is – as seems likely – a tribal leader turned mercenary captain, then his men must be of Thracian stock[18] and their general appearance and equipment was probably typical of Thracians at the time: oval shield, high helmet of the Thracian type (sometimes referred to as Phrygian helmet), possibly greaves, colourful tunic, a pair of javelins and either a short, curved sword or the mighty *rhomphaia* as their side weapon (Fig. 3).[19]

The large number of light infantry present at the Battle of Chaeronea in the Pontic ranks has a number of explanations. On the one hand, one may invoke a certain preference for this segment of the infantry, a preference inherited from the Achaemenids, as was the idea of fielding scythed chariots, the awe-inspiring machines of war which nevertheless awed the Romans so little that they compared them sarcastically to the harmless chariots of the hippodrome. One the other hand, given that a good proportion of the troops had not, in fact, been recruited in Anatolia, one should also look at the conditions present in Macedonia and Thrace. Here, the intersection between the military traditions of the Thracians, Dardanians, Illyrians

[15] *Mithr*. 115.

[16] *Mithr*. 156.

[17] The story is narrated in Diodorus Siculus, 21.12, but is mentioned in briefer forms by many other authors, both Greek and Latin; another Dromichaetes may be found in Polyaenus' *Stratagemata* 4.16.1; an inscription from Athens (IG II² 1956), possibly a list of mercenaries, also contains this name. A philological discussion of the occurrences of this name may be found in Sorin Olteanu's on-line article, "Dromichaites. Aspecte filologice şi lingvistice", [http://soltdm.com/langtdm/thes/d/Dromichaites.htm] (retrieved 20.02.2011).

[18] This is rendered even more likely by the explicit mention of Thracians among Archelaos's soldiers at Chaeronea: Plut., *Sull.* 15 and App., *Mithr*. 158.

[19] Webber 2001, 19-34.

and Macedonians had produced excellent light infantry. Not surprisingly, it was this region that produced the *Agrianoi*, Alexander's famous javelin throwers. It is also worth remembering that it was in Northern Greece that the Athenian general and reformer Iphicrates first experimented with changes in the equipment of the hoplite, making him lighter and consequently more capable of responding to battlefield dynamics, paving the way for the later *peltastai*, *euzonoi* and *thyreophoroi*.



Fig.3. Thracian Warrior.

HEAVY INFANTRY

Great though the role of light infantry may have been, it never completely overshadowed that of the heavy infantry. At the battle of Chaeronea, the phalanx occupied the centre of the Pontic line, and this was no accident, as the phalanx represented indeed the most important segment of the infantry. That this was so is demonstrated by the fact that all narratives of battles delivered by Pontic armies describe these events as classical encounters, with heavy infantry placed in the centre and playing a major part in the fight. Moreover, the senior rank of the heavy infantry commander is attested epigraphically: Dorylaos, known to have been the

leader of the phalanx,[20] is named in ID 1572 *ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων*, one of the most important ranks in the Pontic administration.

What type of equipment did the heavy infantry carry, then? Sources invariably label them as phalangites. *'Φάλαγξ'*, however, is a deceiving term. While it may be applied to the hoplitic formation or to the Macedonian formation introduced by Philip II, it is also used in relation to any body of heavy infantry, like the Roman legionaries.[21] Therefore, it is necessary to find additional evidence for the character of Pontic heavy infantrymen.

Luckily, the evidence is available, and it points to their equipment being of standard Macedonian type. Archaeology has an important contribution in this respect, by the discovery of a shield of Macedonian type bearing the inscription "of king Pharnakes" (Fig. 4).[22] This discovery places the shield firmly within Pontic context, as Pharnakes was one of the royal names used by the Mithradatids.



Fig.4. Pharnakes Shield

The battle of Chaeronea affords further evidence. Thus, after describing the initial phases of the conflict, which involved manoeuvres by the chariots at the centre and by cavalry and light infantry on the flanks, Plutarch goes on to what he considers to be the heart of the battle – the clash of the heavy infantry. While the Romans were using their well-known equipment and formation, the Pontics behaved like typical

[20] *ἦγον [...] Δορύλαος ἐν φάλαγγι τατομένους* (App., *Mithr*. 63).

[21] Heavy infantry in general: App., *Bellum Hannibalicum* 87; Roman legions: App., *Bellum Celticum* 1.9 etc.

[22] Cf. Bernard 1993.

Macedonian phalangites. Thus, they used the long Macedonian pike, the *σάρισα*[23] and adopted one of the specific tactics: the *συνασπισμός*,[24] the formation in which soldiers stand almost shoulder to shoulder, striving to maintain at all cost a solid formation.

The Pontic army seems to have adopted not only the equipment specific to the Macedonians, but also the honorific names for at least part of their detachments. Thus, besides the regular phalangites, there existed a detachment of the "Brazen Shields", the *Χαλκάσπιδες*, who seem to be an elite detachment, given that they receive particularly important and dangerous missions, such as occupying key positions in the face of the enemy[25] or that, on the battlefield of Chaeronea, they are placed on the honorary right flank[26]. Moreover, their status must have been immediately visible in their appearance (either gear or standards), for they are quickly recognised by their enemies – Sulla at Parapotamoi and Murena at Chaeronea.

Given all these facts, it seems probable that the *Chalkaspides* were a professional or semi-professional body of soldiers recruited in Anatolia, but the exact mechanism remains unknown. Seleukid and Attalid parallels demand that they be recruited from amongst the Macedonian settlers, who enjoyed close ties to the king and often lived in special settlements. However, such settlements have not yet been traced in Pontus: the few new urban sites that bear dynastic names seem rather to have been *synoikismoi* and do not seem to present an essentially military character. The only solution that can be identified, in this case, is that either the recruits were extracted from the Greek *poleis* of the Euxine coast and employed directly by the king, or that they were recruited from amongst the semi-Hellenised population of the Hinterland, the *Leukosyroi*. Such an attitude would not represent a complete novelty in the Hellenistic world, as the Ptolemies had successfully trained and deployed native Egyptians as *makhimoi*, obtaining a resounding, though short-term success at Raphia and decades of unrest as a consequence of the fact that Egyptians had acquired in the process the taste of freedom and the means to fight for it.

At Chaeronea, however, an important contingent of the phalanx – perhaps the most numerous – was not made up of Anatolians, but of Europeans. Some of them were citizens of polities that still upheld the Pontic alliance, others were recently liberated slaves. Their enrolment in the phalanx is not without rationale. The phalanx, after all, is a body of men trained to level their spears and maintain

[23] *τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων προβαλλομένων τὰς σαρίσας μακρὰς καὶ πειρωμένων τῷ συνασπισμῷ τὴν φάλαγγα διατηρεῖν ἐν τάξει* (Plut., *Sull.* 18.4).

[24] This is by no means a singular occurrence: it is the same formation, described as *συντεταγμένη φάλαγξ καὶ ὡπλισμένη καλῶς* that carries the day in front of the barbarian Palakos, in Crimea (Strabon, *Geographika* 7.3.17).

[25] *δείξας αὐτοῖς τὴν πρότερον μὲν γενομένην ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Παραποταμίων, τότε δὲ ἀνῃρημένης τῆς πόλεως λόφος ἐλείπετο πετρώδης καὶ περίκρημνος [...] συνεκτραχυνόμενος ὀχυρὰν ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι τὴν ἄκραν ποιεῖ. διὸ καὶ τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας ὁρῶν τῶν πολεμίων ὠθουμένους ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐβούλετο φθῆναι καταλαβὼν τὸν τόπον* (Plut., *Sulla* 16.6-7).

[26] Plut., *Sull.* 19.

formation at all costs, and therefore basic training can be finished by experienced officers in a very short time. Add to that the fact that not all phalangites required expensive armour – the last ranks could get away with wearing none at all – and it results that the phalanx is the ideal formation for green recruits.

While writing about this, Plutarch feels compelled to introduce the character of a Roman centurion, who is reported to have made the Catonian remark that slaves should only take up the business of free men at *Saturnalia*.[27] Now, unless these men made it a point of honour of waving the chains of their slavery in the guise of standards, the Roman centurion had no way of knowing the previous career path of those bearded, helmeted men who stood 30 to 60 metres in front of him. Besides, even if he did know, he had little reason to feel personally offended. After all, the idea of granting freedom to slaves in exchange for military service was nothing new. It had been used by Cleomenes, the king of Sparta before the campaign which culminated in the battle of Sellasia,[28] by Aristonikos during his revolt[29] and even the good Roman Marius had not been above promising slaves their freedom if only they would fight against Sulla.[30] There was, however, another aspect to this reality: not the military, but the social and the economic one, and this irritated not so much the Romans, but their Greek allies. Being a Chaeronean himself, Plutarch feels the need to transmit this sense of anger, which had reached him no doubt in the form of oral tradition.

The question that needs to be asked is this – how much can we read into this fact, namely the presence in the Pontic army of slaves liberated ad-hoc? Is this a simple military expedient? Is it part of a larger social strategy devised by Mithradates, designed to shake the foundations of traditional *polis*-type communities? If so, what could he possibly have hoped to achieve?

It must be said that in the early stages of the war, Mithradates was particularly careful to befriend the Anatolian communities, while allowing full rein to brutalities against Romans and Italians. The so-called Ephesian Vespers, the mass murder of Italian citizens in Anatolia, was considered by most observers of the age to be the blood bond between himself and the Greek *poleis*. Even in Athens, Mithradates' troops had not entered as conquerors, but rather as trusted allies, after Archelaos had put down the revolt in Delos and handed the isle back to the Athenians.[31] On the other hand, in the North, Mithradates' son, Arcathias, was delayed while dividing Macedonia into satrapies, or so the rumour had it. This no doubt reminded many Greeks of another monarch from the East who had invaded Greece by way of Macedonia, and this impression could not have been mitigated by the fact that Pontic troops rampaged the country, sacking even sanctuaries such as that at

[27] Plut., *Sull.* 18.5.
[28] Plut., *Cleomenes* 23.1.
[29] Strabon, *Geogr*. 14.1.38.
[30] Plut., *Sull.* 9.7.
[31] App., *Mithr*. 108.

Lebadeia. One might be tempted to think that Mithradates played the card of friendship just so long as it suited him, after which, considering he needed more leverage in his relation with the Greek poleis, he took steps to expand the citizen pool, including in it people faithful to him personally. This hypothesis might serve, certainly, for Asia Minor, where slaves released as a consequence of their support during the Ephesian Vespers remained within their cities and could, as a consequence, lobby for the king's wishes from within the system. On the other hand, in Greece we see slaves extracted from their cities and therefore having their political influence seriously undermined. When one adds the thought that these men were constantly facing the danger of physical elimination on the field of battle, the idea that Mithradates was interested in creating and strengthening a new class of citizens and thus enact a social revolution in Greece becomes untenable. It is much more likely that Mithradates' generals, seeking safety in numbers, required a very large number of troops and the only source of eager volunteers was this.

The confidence invested in them proved not to have been misplaced, for their bravery is praised even by Plutarch. However, in the face of the relentless Roman pressure and suffering many casualties from the Roman artillery, they finally broke ranks and fled, signalling the defeat of the whole army.

CLOSING REMARKS

Thus ended in defeat a battle which showcased the best the Pontic kingdom had to offer: a brilliant general, who on a number of occasions baffled Sulla, leaving him confused and unable to see the whole picture; the strength of the Achaemenid tradition, materialised in the superb and very numerous Anatolian cavalry, accompanied by the famous scythed chariots; the intelligent integration of Macedonian traits, especially the equipment and organisation of the phalanx; the ability to field numerous light troops, grown at the crossroads of military traditions; not least, that engrained respect for multiculturalism, cultivated by all Pontic monarchs in almost every aspect of life, which allowed these parts to function as a whole.

If this formidable machine failed to carry the day at Chaeronea, it was mainly because of the almost superhuman sturdiness and stamina of the Roman legionnaire, who stood his ground, fought and won even when attacked from the flank and rear, situations in which all other soldiers on the face of the earth would have fled without blushing.

SOURCES

Appianus, *Bellum Mithridaticum*, in Goukovski, P. 2003. *Appien, Histoire Romaine, Livre XII, La Guerre de Mithridate*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
Bellum Hannibalicum, *in* Mendelssohn, L. 1879-1881. *Appiani Historia romana*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Bellum Celticum, *in* Mendelssohn, L. 1879-1881. *Appiani Historia romana*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, *in* Ziegler, K. 1964[3]. *Plutarchi uitae parallelae*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Philopoemen, *in* Ziegler, K. 1964[3]. *Plutarchi uitae parallelae*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Sulla, *in* Ziegler, K. 1964[3]. *Plutarchi uitae parallelae*. Leipzig: Teubner.
Strabon, *Geographika*, *in* Meineke, A. 1969. *Strabonis geographica*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
ID = P. Roussel, M. Launey (éds.), *Inscriptions de Délos*, vol. 4 [6], nos. 1497-2219. Paris. 1937.
IosPE I[2] = B. Latyshev (ed.), *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, 3 vols. St. Petersburg. 1885-1901; Vol. 1[2], Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae. St. Petersburg. 1916.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bernard, P. 1993. "Bouclier Inscrit du J. Paul Getty Museum au Nom de Pharnace I, Roi du Pont", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 7, p. 11-19.
Callataÿ, Fr. de. 1997. *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*. Louvain-la-Neuve.
Camp, J. et al. 1992. "A Trophy from the Battle of Chaironeia of 86 B.C.", *AJA* 96, 3, p. 443-455.
Hammond, N.G.L. 1938. "The Two Battles of Chaeronea (338 BC and 86 BC)", *Klio* 31, p. 186-218.
Keaveney, A. 2005[2]. *Sulla, the Last Republican*. London.
McGing, B. 1986. *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI King of Pontus*. Leiden.
Munk Højte, J. "The Date of the Alliance between Chersonesos and Pharnakes (IosPE I² 402) and its Implications", in V.F.Stolba, L. Hannestad (eds.) 2004. *Chronologies of the Black Sea Area in the Period C. 400-100 BC*. Aarhus. P. 137-152.
Webber, C. 2001. *The Thracians. 700 BC - AD 46*. London.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE ISTRIAN PANTHEON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

VALENTIN BOTTEZ
University of Bucharest

Abstract: The present paper concentrates on a very important aspect of the public life in Istros – or any other ancient city –, namely religion. As this is a vast topic, we choose to focus only on a very important moment in the city's evolution, namely the period when, following a series of local and regional conflicts, it came under the domination of the Roman Empire[*].

Keywords: Istros, religion, Roman empire, continuity, change.

Religion was affected, as any other aspect of life in Istros, by the major political, social and economical changes that the city underwent at the end of the Hellenistic period when, in the second half of the 1st c. B.C.[1] – along with the other Greek cities on the Western Black Sea shore –, it entered the Roman sphere of influence. The 1st c. B.C. was marked by a series of far-reaching events for the entire area, as the Greek cities on the western Black Sea shore became involved in the war between King Mithridates VI and Rome.[2] Afterwards they were subdued – some peacefully and some violently – by the Getian King Burebista who got involved in the Roman civil war. After the battle of Pharsalus, this area, along with the entire eastern part of the Roman territories, came under the rule of Marcus Antonius, and it remained firmly under Roman domination after Actium.

In this complex political and military context there are two meaningful moments as far as religious life in Istros is concerned: the destruction of the sacred area and the moment Istros came under Roman rule, during the reign of Octavianus.

[*] The work this paper was supported by the strategic grant POSDRU/89/1.5/S/62259, Project "Applied social, human and political sciences. Postdoctoral training and postdoctoral fellowships in social, human and political sciences" cofinanced by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

[1] In 29 B.C., after Crassus' campaigns, according to Suceveanu and Barnea 1991, 25, or after the campaign of P. Vinicius in 3/2 B.C., according to Avram 1998.

[2] Avram and Bounegru 1997 brings new information resulting from the spectacular discovery of two new fragments of an already published decree; after the war, in 62-61 B.C., the cities revolted against the abuses of Antonius Hybrida, the governor of Macedonia. For the domination of Burebista see Daicoviciu 1972, 71-76.

The main god of Istros was the god of the mother-city, namely Apollo.[3] Most probably he was at the centre of the religious heritage the first colonists of Istros brought with them when they settled on the western Black Sea shore and therefore his cult must have been the oldest and formed the core of the local religious life. This is confirmed by the fact that its priesthood remained eponymous throughout the city's thirteen-century long history.

He was honoured mostly under the epiclesis of Ietros (the Healer), as well as that of *Pholeuterios* (ISM I 105)[4] and *Boreas* (ISM I 97).[5] His cult is, as expected, the best attested in the local pantheon. The temple and altar of Apollo played themselves another highly important role, that of depository of the state archives (ISM I 6, 21, 34, 422[6] and maybe 10). That role was either shared with or played by the temple of the Great Gods of Samothrace[7] in the 3rd c. B.C. (ISM I 11, 19 and 58). Also, the temple of Apollo was the place where the person receiving the decree was supposed to meet the priest of the god as a supreme honour (ISM I 6).

A recent article by A. Avram, I. Bîrzescu and K. Zimmermann updates all the monuments (epigraphic, sculptural and numismatic) and theories connected to it as far as the Greek period is concerned.[8] The article also demonstrates another very important aspect of this cult, namely that the god was honoured at Istros alongside his mother, Letho (ISM I 170, 380 and a recently discovered inscription[9]) and his sister, Artemis (ISM I 172) in what formed a divine family triad.

Concerning the location of the god's temple, which must have been the largest and most spectacular in the entire city, the article lists the theory of M. Lambrino, according to which it is to be found under the Christian basilica in the SE part of the acropolis,[10] and that of P. Alexandrescu,[11] according to which the temple of Apollo is in fact temple A′ of the Greek sacred area. This theory was rejected by C. Domăneanțu,[12] who proved that the *kouros* connected by P. Alexandrescu (who considers it as belonging to the cult of Apollo) to temple A′ was in fact discovered in a *bothros* in the western part of the acropolis.

[3] During the research stages of the postdoctoral program POSDRU/89/1.5/S/62259 we have identified in the deposits of the Istros aerchaeological site a *graffito* dated to the first half of the 4th c. B.C. It contains a list of names, among which the name Molpagoras is mentionded twice. The name is connected to the *Molpoi*, devotees of Apollo *Delphinios* of Miletus, and proves yet another cultural link between Istros and the mother-city. This *graffito* will be published in the near future.

[4] Avram 2007, 112-113, no. 16.

[5] Avram 2007, 95, no. 97.

[6] Avram 2007, 113-114, no. 422.

[7] Pippidi 1998, 63-65.

[8] Avram, Bîrzescu and Zimmermann 2008 with the complete bibliography on the subject.

[9] Avram, Bîrzescu and Zimmermann 2008, 115-117, no. 24

[10] Lambrino 1938, 14-15; 96-97. However, recent excavations under the basilica failed to identify the temple (Angelescu and Bottez 2009).

[11] Alexandrescu 2005, 83-84.

[12] Domăneanțu 2006; the documents used by Alexandrescu, namely M. Lambrino's field journal, actually described the situation Domăneanțu encountered in her own excavation in a sector located in the center of the western part of the acropolis. M. Oppermann also doubts Alexandrescu's theory (Oppermann 2004, 40).

But there is also another theory. In 2003 I. Achim excavated what seems to be a *bothros* dated to the Roman period, located precisely under the altar of another Christian basilica (conventionally called Basilica "Florescu") located in the W/NW part of the acropolis. Inside, among many votive offerings (pottery, animal remains etc), was discovered a fragment of an amphora with a graffito dedicated to Ietros.[13] Up to the present moment it is the only monument connected directly to the cult of Apollo *Ietros* ever discovered *in situ* and in a closed complex. Along it there were found an Apollo-like terracotta face and the statue of a pregnant woman (and Artemis, sister of Apollo, was in fact protector of pregnant women since Mycenaean times[14]). In 2005[15] and 2008[16] I. Achim excavated two other *bothroi*, this time dated to the Greek period and located within meters of the first one. This concentration of *bothroi*, as well as the monuments related to the cult of Apollo Ietros found in the first one, suggests that the temple of the god was located somewhere in the vicinity of these archaeological complexes.

During the Roman period, apart from the above-mentioned graffito, there is a series of coins depicting Apollo,[17] which prove the continuity of the god's cult in Istros down to the second half of the 3rd c. A.D.

The destruction of the Greek sacred area is a very much discussed subject, as the precise dating of this event is still unclear. Starting with D. M. Pippidi, the general opinion concurred on the fact that the sacred area was destroyed during the conquest of the city by Burebista.[18] Yet there are other arguments that suggest this destruction could be dated at an earlier date in the 1st c. B.C.[19] Regardless of the date of this destruction, it is clear that it marked the end for a number of temples and cults in the city, such as that of Aphrodite.

The cult of the goddess of beauty and love[20] is attested epigraphically and archaeologically ever since the 6th c. B.C.[21] and was celebrated in a temple[22] that played an important role in the Greek sacred area. The level of the latter's destruction in the 1st c. B.C. covered the temple and, as the total absence of any monument related to the goddess seems to indicate, the cult was never revived.

The cult of Zeus, honoured with the epiclesis of *Polieus*,[23] protector of the city, presents a different picture though. According to D. M. Pippidi, its destruction

[13] Achim 2003-2005, 186, fig. 7.
[14] Nilsson 1964, 28.
[15] Achim 2006.
[16] Achim 2009.
[17] Varbanov 2005, nos. 595-596, 633, 634, 651-653, 661 and 674-676.
[18] Pippidi 1965, 282-287; Pippidi 1967, 270-286534-546; Suceveanu 1975, 117, n. 29; Suceveanu 1977, 16, n. 29 and Alexandrescu 2005, 142-154 with all the recent bibliography on the subject.
[19] Suceveanu 2009, 48-50 and 76.
[20] Pippidi 1998, 51-56.
[21] ISM I 101, 108, 113, 118, 119 and 173.
[22] Alexandrescu 2005, 86-88, 159-173.
[23] Pippidi 1998, 45-48.

should be dated to the end of the Hellenistic period.[24] W of the temple there is a Hellenistic structure he called Temple B and that he considered to be the replacement of Temple A. After Temple B was destroyed, two other levels of buildings were identified before the 4th c. A.D. building that covered the entire area.[25] The problem is that the stratigraphy of all these structures remains unclear, and that nowhere is there a mention of any other structure but the 4th c. A.D. building covering the temple of Zeus itself. It is very difficult to say anything with certainty when it comes to such old and unevenly documented excavation, but there is no definitive archaeological proof for precisely dating the destruction of the temple of Zeus *Polieus* during the Hellenistic period.

Moreover, apart from ISM I 8 (3rd c. B.C.) and ISM I 54 (middle of the 1st c. B.C.), there is a third inscription mentioning the eponymate of Ζεὺς Π[ολιεύς] in the 3rd c. A.D. (ISM I 222). Assuming that we are indeed dealing with the same epiclesis (and it is the likeliest solution), it seems that the god continued to be honoured protector of the city during the Roman period in a temple, and this was to be expected for such an ancient and prestigious cult.[26] The abandonment of such an important religious building and the construction of another in a different location is difficult to conceive, given the importance Greeks gave to the place a religious structure was raised upon; this theory should therefore be treated with the outmost care, especially due to the incomplete archaeological data. On the other hand, there is no depiction of Zeus on any of the local monetary issues during the Roman period.

Zeus also started to be honoured during the 3rd c. A.D. as Zeus *Ombrimos*, "the Bringer of rain" (ISM I 334), an epiclesis attested at Tropaeum Traiani[27] in the same period, while at Callatis a feast called the *Diombria* is attested as early as the 1st c. A.D. (ISM III 31). Such an attribute of the god was surely very important in an area where agriculture was of the outmost importance, but one can also take into account a change in the climate (long- or short-term) that prompted the appearance of this religious phenomenon.

A mysterious divinity in Istros is *Theos Megas*,[28] a god whose temple was discovered SE of the temple of Zeus and NE of that of Aphrodite. Dated to the middle of the 3rd c. B.C., there is no further information on the cult and on the moment it ceased to be celebrated.

There is a number of divinities for which there is little information concerning the cult itself (no mention/archaeological trace of a temple/shrine/altar), but which probably had a public cult as attested by the coins minted by the city. Such a god is Asklepios, who seems to have been honoured during the Greek (ISM I 124, a 3rd c.

[24] Condurachi 1954, 266: "la o dată ce trebue căutată încă în cursul epocii elenistice" – "at a date that should be set as early as the Hellenistic period" (author's translation).

[25] Condurachi 1954, 276.

[26] One must not forget that its importance during the autonomous period is clearly shown by the fact that copies of honorary decrees were set up near its altar (ISM I 8, l. 23-24).

[27] Barnea 1969, 599-608, no. 2.

[28] Pippidi 1998, 61-63; Alexandrescu 2005, 123-137 with all the bibliography.

B.C. dedication) and the Roman period (ISM I 135 is a 2nd c. A.D. dedication to Asklepios of Pergamon; also there is a monetary issue from the reign of Caracalla which depicts the god on the reverse).[29]

The cult of Hermes remains confined to the Greek period when, in the 2nd c. B.C., it is attested by two votive offerings (ISM I 175 and 176) and by the *Hermaia* (ISM I 59), a public feast connected to the activities of the youth and the *gymnasium*. There is also a bronze monetary issue depicting the god on the reverse, which confirms its status of official cult.[30] During the Roman period though there are no monuments connected to the god.

In spite of the powerful Athenian influence starting with the end of the archaic period, the goddess Athena is not well attested at Istros. There are three graffiti from the Classical and Hellenistic periods,[31] a small statue of the goddess, dated to the 2nd – 1st c. B.C.[32] and there are four monetary issues in bronze from the autonomous period,[33] which clearly confirm the presence of a cult. During the Roman period the cult is attested by a private 2nd c. A.D. dedication (ISM I 134), by a small stone relief[34] and by three monetary issues from the reign of Gordian III.[35]

Dedications to Demeter[36] (goddess of agriculture, fertility and the rebirth of nature) were offered at Istros as early as the 3rd c. B.C. (ISM I 120, 109 and maybe 115); silver[37] and bronze[38] coins bearing the goddess' head on the reverse were also minted during the Hellenistic period. The continuation of the cult during the Roman period is confirmed by a 1st – 2nd c. A.D. votive inscription (ISM I 125), as well as by a series of bronze issues ranging from the reign of Commodus to that of Severus Alexander.[39]

A goddess with similar attributes was the Mother of Gods,[40] *Μήτηρ Θεῶν*. She is first attested at Istros by a 5th c. B.C. terracotta[41] and then by a series of stone statues dated starting with the 3rd c. B.C. and up to the imperial period,[42] even

[29] Varbanov 2005, no. 635.
[30] Talmaţchi 2011, 108-109, pl. 29, no. 3.
[31] Suceveanu 1965, 273-275, nos. 1-3, figs. 1-2.
[32] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 40-41, no. 13.
[33] Talmaţchi 2011, 110, pl. 29, nos. 1-4.
[34] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 120, no. 149.
[35] Varbanov 2005, nos. 685-687.
[36] Pippidi 1998, 48-51.
[37] Talmaţchi 2011, 99.
[38] Talmaţchi 2011, 108, pl. 27 and 28.
[39] Varbanov 2005, nos. 598, 604, 605, 646 and 664.
[40] Usually called Cybele. As P. Borgeaud showed (Borgeaud 1996, *passim* and especially 33-35), the goddess passed from Phrygia to the Greek world changing her attributes – for example in Athens she became the guardian of the written acts in the *Bouleuterion* –, and therefore in public Greek cults she was not called Cybele but the Mother of Gods.
[41] Alexandrescu–Vianu 1990, 221, pl. 2.1.
[42] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 41-45, nos. 14-22. Her cult is also attested in the Istrian territory, in the settlement at Nuntaşi, where a terracota statue was discovered in a temple – in this case we must also consider a possible association with Demeter (Domăneanţu 1993).

though it is not clear what role she played inside the local pantheon. During the Roman period her cult is very well attested epigraphically (ISM I 57, 126, 127 and 128), iconographically[43] and numismatically.[44] ISM I 57, an honorary decree, mentions the fact that Aba, daughter of Hekataios, before reaching the highest public position for a woman – high-priestess of the imperial cult[45] –, also held the priesthood of the Mother of Gods, which therefore seems to be the highest traditional priesthood for women.

Another god of the rebirth of nature was Dionysos. Although there are no epigraphic or iconographic sources for his cult, the latter is attested by the bronze monetary issues from the autonomous period,[46] which clearly place him among the main gods of the city. There is also a small votive relief of the god that could be dated to the beginning of the Roman period, if not even slightly earlier.[47] During the Roman period his cult developed to an unprecedented level, as the god was honoured with the epiclesis Karpophoros[48] ("Bearer of Harvest") by many inscriptions: ISM I 142,[49] 198, 203, 204, 205, 206 and two lists of the god's priests.[50] He is also mentioned once as μέγας θεὸς Δ(ιόνυσος) by ISM I 100. Two institutions prove the popularity of the cult, namely a group of hymn-singers οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, attested by ISM I 167, 221, and an association of Dionysian elders (ISM I 99). As far as the iconographical sources are concerned, apart from three small statues of Dionysos[51] there is the spectacular recent discovery of a fragmentary base of the monumental statue of Dionysos Karpophoros.[52] Also, there are no less than eight stone reliefs depicting the god.[53] As several of these discoveries are concentrated in the layers covering the Greek sacred area,[54] this situation raises further doubts concerning the total destruction of the latter in the 1st c. B.C. Also, the importance of the cult during the Roman period is proven by the fact that the Dionysian

[43] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 45-47, nos. 23-28.

[44] Varbanov 2005, nos. 597, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 626, 636, 654, 662 and 663. In the case of nos. 597, 626, 654, 662 and 663, the goddess wears a mural crown, her official attribute as protectress of the city.

[45] There is only one other high-priestess attested (Suceveanu 2007, 149, no. 6, l. 2).

[46] Talmaţchi 2011, 107-108, pl. 21 and 26.

[47] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 128, no. 173.

[48] Avram 2007, no. 111 considers ISM I 111 not to be a votive offering to Dionysos Bassareus, but a simple funerary inscription.

[49] Although there is no specific mention of the epiclesis, this is probably another case of a priest of Dionysos Karpophoros.

[50] Avram 2007, no. XXXII and a second, discovered in 2010, for which see the report for Istria, Sector T, on [http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2010/cd/index.htm] (accessed on February 25th, 2013).

[51] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, nos. 56-58.

[52] See the report for Istria, Sector T, on [http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2010/cd/index.htm] (accessed on February 25th, 2013).

[53] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 128-131, nos. 174-177d.

[54] More precisely the SE part of the archaeological sector; the sacred area extends southwards, and current excavations are extending in that direction.

hymn-singers were directly involved in imperial cult ceremonies as they took part in sacred singing competitions (ISM I 98, 196, 207) organized by associations headed by the city's elite.

Heros, the Thracian Horseman, is attested epigraphically at Istros since the beginning of the Hellenistic period (ISM I 246), when it first appears on a tombstone mentioning the deceased has become divine in the shape of the *Heros*. During the Roman period though his cult became increasingly popular, as it is attested by inscriptions (ISM I 131 and 268[55]), as well as no less than 21 stone reliefs[56] (the choice of monument for this cult *par excellence*, as there are no statues of the god).

Istros was a harbour-city. And, apart from Hermes, protector of the merchants, protectors of navigation and sailors are also attested: the Dioscurs and the ruler of the seas, Poseidon. The Dioscurs,[57] celestial twins or Castor and Pollux are well attested ever since the 4th – 3rd c. B.C. on a *kantharos*.[58] They appear clearly as protectors of a naval expedition in the 3rd c. B.C. (ISM I 112)[59] and are attested again epigraphically in the 2nd – 1st c. B.C. (ISM I 123). But as the five other stone reliefs indicate,[60] the twins were very popular. During the Roman period they are attested as holding the eponymous priesthood of Apollo *Ietros* (ISM I 142), a customary procedure when there was no individual available for such a position. Poseidon on the other hand is not attested by direct offerings during the Greek period, rather by the mention of the month *Taureon* and of an association of *taureastai* in the 2nd c. B.C. (ISM I 60 and 61), that organized a special feast of the god called the *Taurea*. The same association continued to function throughout the Roman period (ISM I 57 and 143), which proves its popularity in a traditional harbour-city.

During the Roman period we could identify only two new cults that became part of the city's religious life: the cult of Mithras[61] and that of the emperors. The cult of Mithras is attested at Istros by two fragmentary reliefs[62] and one inscription (ISM I 137). The god keeps his traditional Persian attributes, that of symbol of the victory of good over evil, but also takes a new significance once his cult developed in the Roman world: god of fidelity and of the contract. Also, the organization of his cult, with the progression through seven degrees of initiation, resembled or maybe was even modelled to resemble the official and administrative structures of the Roman Empire.[63]

[55] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 122, no. 153.
[56] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 120-127, nos. 150-152, 154-171.
[57] Pippidi 1998, 65-67.
[58] Suceveanu 1965, 274-275, no. 5, fig. 2.
[59] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000,132, no. 178.
[60] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 132-134, nos. 179-183.
[61] Bottez 2006. We choose to mention here this cult, that was actually not an official one, as the characteristics we are going to present in connection with it clearly inscribes it in the public sphere of interest.
[62] Alexandrescu–Vianu 2000, 136-137, nos. 189-190.
[63] Clauss 2000, 40.

The inscription is very important, as it is the foundation document for the cult at Istros. The god's cave, the *mithraeum*, was dedicated by members of the local elite – Meniskos, the *pater*, could be the son of Noumenios, son of Polemon (ISM I 193 A 39) and brother of Polemon (ISM I 193 A 49), both members of the *gerousia*, an institution that during the Roman period was re-created with the approval of Roman authorities with the precise objective of concentrating local Greek tensions in a competition aimed at proving the subjects' fidelity to Rome.[64] It therefore became involved in the imperial cult (financial support and organizing public celebrations). Karpos, son of Apollodoros, was member of the *gerusia* (ISM I 193 B 34) and was also involved in a sacred contest that was also part of the imperial cult manifestations in Istros (ISM I 207) and Dionysios, son of Dionysodoros was probably the son of Dionysodoros, son of Dionysios (ISM I 193 A 67), also member of the *gerusia*. Most importantly, among the members there is Iulius Bassus, a *beneficiaries consularis*, that is the representative of the Roman administration in charge of the city's security and M. Ulpius Artemidoros (ISM I 207 and 208), the protopontarch, that is the chief magistrate in charge of the imperial cult in the *koinon* of the cities on the western Black Sea shore. The composition of this mithraic community seems to suggest a powerful connection between this cult and that of the emperors, as well as the desire of the Istrian elite to integrate itself in the religious structures favoured by the Roman authorities.

As far as the imperial cult is concerned, the problem is more complicated. This peculiar religious phenomenon developed as a means for the Roman authority to control the local authorities and for the latter to obtain more rights and privileges by assuring the former of their fidelity.[65] The emperor's religion did not aim to radically change the religious life of the Greek communities, but only to obtain a high-profile position by associating itself with the latter's most prestigious manifestations in order to ensure the loyalty of Greeks in the provinces.[66]

The first imperial temple and statue were dedicated in Istros to Augustus during his lifetime, which indicates an immediate reaction from the local notables to the new single ruler of the Roman world. These monuments were offered by Papas, son of Theopompos (ISM I 146). Even though Istros was not yet part of a Roman province, this is not surprising, as there are several examples of imperial cults in areas outside the Roman provinces, such as those founded by King Juba II of Mauretania or King Herod of Judea.[67]

Istros is not the only city that reacted quickly. In Callatis and Tomis as well imperial cults were dedicated to Augustus. Unlike in Istros, in Callatis it was the People that dedicated the place of worship (ISM III 58), making it an official

[64] The main works on this subject remain Oliver 1941; Oliver 1958; Oliver 1967, Van Rossum 1988 and Giannakopoulos 2008.

[65] Harter-Uibopuu 2003, 209; Price 1984, 65–77.

[66] Sartre 1991, 116.

[67] Pippidi 1998, 191–193; Fishwick 1987, 104; Ma'oz 1994, 91.

initiative. In Tomis the beginning of the imperial cult seems to be connected to one of the most important Latin authors, Ovid.[68] If indeed the information provided by Ovid is true, then he conducted games dedicated to the birthday of Augustus;[69] he also composed a poem in the Getian language (which he presented at what seems to have been a public meeting/festivity) in which he explained the divine essence of the (by then dead) emperor and the transfer of power from him to his son Tiberius who, as the son of a god, gained an intermediary position between gods and mortals.[70] Ovid also had a domestic cult-place.[71] Therefore in all three cities we can see an effort to adjust the communities – through the imperial cult – to the new political master, who probably returned the favour by bestowing certain privileges or advantages on them.[72] This must have resulted in the progress these communities registered on several levels at that time: they resumed coin production,[73] games were organized in Tomis, which probably became the province's capital[74] later on, and public life flourished at Callatis.[75]

At Istros however, after this initial élan, all trace of an active public life disappeared, including any proof of the cult of Augustus. The next pieces of information concerning the imperial cult in Istros come exclusively from the 2nd c. A.D.: the first information, given precisely by the list of benefactors of the *gerousia,* concerns religious ceremonies in which imperial busts were involved; then there is the mention of an imperial high priest in mid-2nd c. A.D. (ISM I 78) and of two high priestesses (Aba in ISM I 57 and another unidentified in Suceveanu2007, 149, no. 6, l. 2). Another fundamental development of the imperial cult during the 2nd c. A.D. is the creation of the *koinon* of the Western Black Sea Shore, probably during the reign of Hadrian.[76] There are at least 26 pontarchs attested in inscriptions from five cities and at least four of them are from Istros: 3 from the 2nd c. A.D. (ISM I 137, 178-80 and 207) and ISM I 143 from the 3rd c. A.D. All these inscriptions indicate that the imperial cult in Istros, after an initial

[68] Ezquerra 1997, especially 13-20 puts forward a theory according to which Ovid was never actually exiled to Tomis, and his exile was only a literary one. As the absence of proof is not a solid argument, for the moment we disagree with this idea.

[69] Ov. *Pont* 4. 9. 116.

[70] Ov. *Pont* 4. 13. 19-38. On the emperor's position between gods and mortals, see also Fishwick 1987, 21-36.

[71] Ov. *Pont* 2. 8. 1-8.

[72] These events must be seen as part of Augustus' effort to secure the Lower Danube area through war, diplomacy or transfers of populations; Vulpe and Barnea 1968, 40-44.

[73] RPC Suppl. I, no. S-1841A.

[74] Haensch 1997, 332.

[75] ISM III 31-2, 40-6, 57 etc.

[76] ISM II 52 (130-138 A.D.), set up by the Argadeis tribe in honour of the pontarch T. Flavius Poseidonios, high priest of the *Hexapolis* and son of the pontarch Phaidros, which must have held his position somewhere during the reign of Hadrian, if not earlier. And as Phaidros does not bear the prestigious title of πρῶτος ποντάρχης, attested both in Istros (ISM I 207) and Kallatis (ISM III 99 and 100), there must have existed at least one other pontarch before him.

development during the reign of Augustus, followed by a blank period during the 1st c. A.D., was revived in the second century, starting with the reign of Hadrian.

All the data presented in this paper draw a very interesting picture of the religious life in Istros. There was an abundance of gods that were honoured publicly in the city, each with its own traditional role. Some of these religions became absent in the sources we were able to collect up to the present moment and it was normal to try to connect this situation with the profound political, economic and social changes that the city underwent during the 1st c. B.C., when it was subject to the hardships provoked by a series of wars, as well as to the requirements of the now permanent Roman rule.

Apart from the cult of Aphrodite, no other cult disappeared in this period. On the contrary, starting with the Roman period some of them developed and became more visible, as is the case of the cult of Dionysos. But it is clear that Roman rule actually did not change anything in terms of ending certain cults. What it did, it added to new ones.

The imperial cult is the classic instrument through which Greek communities that became part of the Empire sought to integrate themselves and establish good relations with the authorities. Due to its unique combination of political interests with religious aspects, this religion became extremely appreciated and much of the local elite became involved in it. The number of monuments connected to the imperial cult shows that it reached one of the top positions in the pantheon. Numbers in this case are not completely relevant though, as the imperial cult was also connected to the elite's political desires, which translated into public prestige and therefore the need to be publicly recognized through monuments. So, we can assume that part of the reasons to become involved in such a religion was precisely the perspective of being publicly honoured through monuments. The same desire of integration in the Roman structures and practices must have prompted the start of the local mithraic cult, generally a religious phenomenon alien to the Greek world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achim, I. 2003-2005. "Histria. Basilica *Florescu*. Noi cercetări (2002-2004)", *SCIVA* 54-56, p. 179-194.

Achim, I. 2006. "Sector Basilica cu Criptă (Florescu)", *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 2005*, 2006, [http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2006/cd/index.htm] (accessed on February 23rd, 2013).

Achim, I 2009. "Sector Basilica cu Criptă (Florescu)", *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 2008*, 2009, [http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/cronicaCA2009/cd/index.htm] (accessed on February 23rd, 2013).

Alexandrescu, P. 1978. *Histria IV. La céramique d'époque archaïque et classique.* Bucarest.

Alexandrescu, P. 2005. *Histria VII. La zone sacrée d'époque grecque*, Bucarest.

Alexandrescu–Vianu, M. 1980. "Sur la diffusion du culte de Cybèle dans le basin de la Mer Noire à l'époque archaïque", *Dacia* N.S. 24, p. 261-265.

Alexandrescu–Vianu, M. 1990. "Nouveaux documents concernant le culte de Cybèle à Istros", *Dacia* N.S. 34, p. 219-222.

Alexandrescu–Vianu, M. 2000. *Histria IX. Les statues et les reliefs en pierre*, Bucarest.
Angelescu, M.V., Bottez, V. 2009. "Histria. The Basilica Pârvan Sector.I. The Sector's Archaeological Topography 2001-2007", *Pontica* 42, p. 193-212.
Avram, Al. 1998. "P. Vinicius und Kallatis. Zum Beginn der römischen Kontrolle der griechischen Städte an der Westküste des Pontos Euxeinos" *in* Tsetskhladze, G. (ed.). *The Greek Colonisation of the Black Sea Area: Historical Interpretation of Archaeology*. Stuttgart, p. 115-129.
Avram, Al. 2007. "Le Corpus des inscriptions d'Istros revisité", *Dacia* N.S. 5, p. 79-132.
Avram, Al., Bounegru, O. 1997. "Mithridates al VI-lea Eupator și coasta de vest a Pontului Euxin. În jurul unui decret inedit de la Histria", *Pontica* 30, p. 155-165.
Avram, Al, Bîrzescu, I., Zimmermann, K. 2008**.** "Die apollinische Trias von Histria" *in* Bol, R., Höckmann, U., Schollmeyer, P. (eds.). *Kult(ur)kontakte. Apollon in Milet/Didyma, Histria, Myus, Naukratis und auf Zypern. Akten des Table Ronde in Mainz vom 11.–12. März 2004*. Rahden. p. 107-134.
Barnea, Al. 1969. "Trei altare inedite de la Tropaeum Traiani", *SCIV* 20, 4, p. 595-609.
Borgeaud, P. 1996. *La Mère des dieux. De Cybèle à la Vièrge Marie*. Paris.
Bottez, V. 2006. "Quelques aspects du culte mithriaque en Mésie Inférieure", *Dacia* N.S. 50, p. 285-296.
Clauss, M. 2000. *The Roman Cult of Mithras*. Engl. transl. New York.
Condurachi, E. (ed.) 1954. *Histria. Monografie arheologică.* Vol. I. Bucureşti.
Ezquerra, A.A. 1997. *Exilio y elegía latina entre la Antigüedad y el Renacimiento*. Huelva.
Daicoviciu, H. 1972. *Dacia de la Burebista la cucerirea romană*. Cluj-Napoca.
Domăneanţu, C. 1993. "Nuntaşi II (comm. d'Istria, dép. de Constanţa)", *Dacia* NS 37, p. 59-78.
Domăneanţu, C. 2006. "Două complexe arheologice din epoca arhaică redescoperite la Histria", *Pontica* 39, p. 75-93.
Fishwick, D. 1987. *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire. Volume I.2*. Leiden.
Giannakopoulos, N. 2008. *Ο θεσμός της Γερουσίας των ελληνικών πόλεων κατά τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους*. Thessalonike.
Haensch, R. 1997. Capita Prouinciarum. *Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit.* Mainz am Rhein.
Harter-Uibopuu, K. 2003. "Kaiserkult und Kaiserverehrung in den Koina des griechischen Mutterlandes" *in* Cancik, H., Hitzl, K. (eds.). *Der Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*. Tübingen, p. 209-231.
Lambrino, M.F. 1938. *Les vases archaïques d'Histria*. Bucureşti.
Ma'oz, Z.U., 1994. "Coin and Temple – The Case of Caesarea Philippi–Paneas", *INJ* 13, p. 90-102.
Nilsson, M.P. 1964[2]. *A History of Greek Religion*. Engl. transl. Oxford.
Oliver, J.H. 1941. *The Sacred Gerusia. Hesperia. Supp. 6*. Princeton.
Oliver, J.H. 1958. "Gerusiae and Augustales", *Historia* 7, p. 473-496.
Oliver, J.H. 1967. "The Sacred Gerusia and the Emperor's Concilium", *Hesperia* 36, p. 329-335.
Oppermann, M. 2004. *Die westpontischen Poleis und ihr indigenes Umfeld in vorrömischer Zeit*. Bremen.
Pippidi, D.M. 1965. *Din istoria Dobrogei*. Vol. I. Bucureşti.
Pippidi, D.M. 1967[2]. *Contribuţii la istoria veche a României*. Bucureşti.
Pippidi, D.M. 1998[2]. *Studii de istorie a religiilor antice. Texte și interpretări*. Bucureşti.
Price, S.R.F. 1984. *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. New York.
Sartre, M. 1991. *L'Orient romain : provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d'Auguste aux Sévères: 31 avant J.-C. – 235 après J.-C.*Paris.
Suceveanu, Al. 1965. "Cîteva inscripții ceramic de la Histria", StCl 7, p. 273-286.
Suceveanu, Al. 1975. "À propos d'Argedava à la lumière d'une inscription inédite", RRH 14, 1, p. 111-118.
Suceveanu, Al. 1977. *Viaţa economică în Dobrogea romană. Secolele I-III e.n*. Bucureşti.
Suceveanu, Al. 2009. Opuscula scythica. *Grecs et Romains au Bas-Danube*. Bucureşti.
Suceveanu, Al. 2007. *Histria XIII. La basilique épiscopale. Les résultats des fouilles*. Bucarest.
Suceveanu, Al., Barnea, I. 1991. *La Dobroudja romaine.* Bucureşti.

Talmaţchi, G. 2011. *Monetăriile oraşelor vest-pontice Histria, Callatis şi Tomis în epocă autonomă.* Cluj-Napoca.
Van Rossum, J.A. 1988. *De gerousia in de Griekse steden van het Romeinse Rijk*. Leiden.
Varbanov, I. 2005. *Greek Imperial Coins and their Values. The Local Coinages of the Roman Empire. Vol. 1. Dacia, Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior*. Bourgas.
Vulpe, R., Barnea, I. 1968. *Din istoria Dobrogei*. Vol. II. *Romanii la Dunărea de Jos*. Bucureşti.

IL FASCINO DEI PRIMORDI IN CALPURNIO E NEMESIANO

ANCA MEIROŞU

Abstract: In the *Bucolics*, Virgil described the Golden Age in a way that inspired his two remarkable followers, Calpurnius and Nemesianus. The literary motifs and vocabulary which survive in these two poets' works show that the human perspective on happiness and good living hasn't changed so much in time. While the tribute paid to Virgil responds to the very old tradition of intertextuality, the slight variations operated by the two writers confirm the need to move a little bit further, in search for originality.

Keywords: landscape, ideal, happiness, fantasy, nature.

Uno dei più amati e longevi miti letterari nell'Antichità greco-romana, che ha fatto una bella carriera, che è sopravvisuto fino al Rinascimento italiano, rivestendosi di una serie di sfumature, ma pur sempre mantenendo intatto il suo nucleo, è decisamente il mito dell'età dell'oro. Per l'età dell'oro intendiamo i primordi dell'umanità in cui gli uomini vivevano insieme agli dei nell'Olimpo, godendo di una vita spensierata. Questa convivenza si caratterizzava tanto per una passività fisica (l'assenza del faticare per sopravvivere), quanto per una passività spirituale (l'assenza del male come principio distruttivo del mondo). È indubbio che, agli occhi dell'uomo moderno, queste siano le premesse della felicità. L'agognato stato di benessere, il cui raggiungimento ha preoccupato per secoli di fila i filosofi, i letterati, continua ad essere tuttora uno dei quesiti più dibattuti della nostra società.

Se Esiodo ci offre la più antica testimonianza letteraria greca del mito,[1] Teocrito ce ne presenta un interessante approccio in *Idyllia* (sec. IV a. C.). Lui compone una serie di poemi aventi come argomento la vita pastorale, disposti in forma dialogica e monodica, dal linguaggio accessibile. Va sottolineato che il preciso momento della loro comparsa sancisce in teoria lo stretto legame fra questo tipo di componimento lirico e il mito dell'età dell'oro *in fieri*. Vale a dire che, da ora in poi, l'età dell'oro si affermerà prevalentemente nell'ambito della poesia pastorale. C'è da chiedersi naturalmente perché ?! Per ragioni estetiche, perché l'argomento scelto, che è umile, deve quadrare con una poesia dalla forma accessibile. Tuttavia, ciò non vuol dire che la poesia pastorale sia un semplice esercizio di stile e più avanti daremo parecchi argomenti in favore di questa tesi.

[1] *Op.*, 112-120.

Nei suoi idilli, Teocrito ha operato una fusione tra forma e contenuto a livello mentale dentro la cornice dell'Arcadia, intesa come spazio poetico. Abbiamo testimonianza che all'interno dell'opera compare per un paio di volte la denominazione 'Arcadia' (*ἱππομανὲς φυτὸν ἐστι παρ'Ἀρκάσι...*[2]; *Ἀρκαδίη τ'εὔμηλος...*[3]), la quale rappresenta la trasfigurazione letteraria di quell'Arcadia geografica, la zona situata nel sud della Grecia, che faceva meravigliare per la bellezza del paesaggio, un *locus amoenus* composto di sorgenti, pascoli e grotte. L'unico elemento umano che si afferma all'interno di questo spazio sono i pastori, che vi menano le loro greggi, sorvegliandole e trascorrendo il tempo in maniera piacevole e non remunerativa, suonando le zampogne e componendo versi. Paradossalmente, l'Arcadia letteraria non è nata nell'Arcadia geografica perché lì non è esistita una letteratura scritta. Eppure, l'Arcadia letteraria è riuscita a sbocciare nell'opera del siracusano Teocrito e in quella del mantovano Virgilio, i quali, per quanto si sappia, non l'abbiano mai visitata, ma della cui bellezza hanno letto e sentito parlare.

L'*inventio* dell'Arcadia letteraria segna un processo che parte dal recupero dei dati principali dell'Arcadia geografica (il paesaggio, la comunità di pastori) e ne prosegue con l'*amplificatio*, atta a stimolare la fantasia del lettore. Alla fine, costui si ritrova in un posto abitato tanto dai pastori quanto dalle ninfe, dai satiri, o persino dagli dei (Pan, Fausto, Apollo, Pales), dove si fanno gare di poesia e di canto, che, per lo più, hanno per oggetto l'amore. Nasce così il trio tematico, composto dal tema della natura, dell'amore e del canto pastorale. Parallelamente, i motivi più diffusi sono: il motivo dell'ombra: *δεῦρ'ὑπὸ τὰν πτελέαν ἑσδώμεθα τῶ τε Πριήπω*,[4] il motivo dell'estate ardente: *τῶ δὲ θέρευς φρύγοντος ἐγὼ τόσσον μελεδαίνω*,[5] il motivo del pomeriggio: *οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμήν, τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν συρίσδεν*,[6] il motivo dell'antro: *Αἴτνα μᾶτερ ἐμά, κήγω καλὸν ἄντρον ἐνοικέω*,[7] il motivo della sorgente: *ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ*,[8] tutti quanti circoscritti al tema della natura. Dall'altra parte, tra quelli circoscritti al tema dell'amore, possiamo annoverare: il motivo dell'indifferenza della persona amata (11), il motivo dei doni (11), mentre tra quelli che girano intorno al tema del canto pastorale, ricordiamo il motivo dell'agone (8) e il motivo del premio (8).

In Teocrito, l'Arcadia è un rifugio dal trambusto cittadino, in cui la poesia diventa la forma compensatoria della realtà. Ne manca l'idealizzazione (che troveremo in Virgilio), perché soffocata dagli influssi realistici, tra cui spiccano la presentazione minuta dei pastori classificati per il tipo di bestiame che portano al pascolo e un certo distacco da parte del poeta nei confronti dei suoi personaggi. Eppure negli idilli rintracciamo i rudimenti dell'età dell'oro, reperibili nella descrizione equilibrata

[2] 2.48.
[3] 22.157.
[4] 1.21.
[5] 9.12.
[6] 1.15.
[7] 9.15.
[8] 11.47.

di uno luogo naturale, silenzioso, multicolore, che il greco tratteggia molto abilmente: *ἅδιον ἐν τῶντρῳ παρ'ἐμὶν τὰν νύκτα διαξεῖς / ἐντὶ δάφναι τηνεί, ἐντι ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι, / ἔστι μέλας κισσός, ἔστ'ἄμπελος ἁ γλυκύκαρπος, / ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, τὸ μοι ἁ πολυδένδρεος Αἴτνα / λευκᾶς ἐκ χιόνος ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον προΐητι.*[9] A parte tali spunti, dobbiamo ancora ricordare l'introduzione negli idilli del tema encomiastico, anche se la trattazione di un tale tema interferisce solo marginalmente con l'universo bucolico. Abbiamo presenti, per esempio, gli elogi rivolti a Tolomeo Filadelfo, che si distinguono dalla poesia pastorale somigliando per lo più con il mimo.

Con Virgilio, il mito dell'età dell'oro prestato da Esiodo per il tramite di Teocrito fa un gran passo in avanti verso quella visione idealista a cui siamo noi abituati. L'Arcadia delle dieci *Bucoliche* è l'Arcadia mantovana, che risente in grande misura dell'Arcadia siciliana di Teocrito. Il quadro naturale è fatto di elementi appartenenti tanto al campo padovano (paesaggio collinare), quanto alle sponde mediterranee: *montes, muscosi fontes, pinus, populi, abietes, fraxini, fagi, iuniperi, coryli, thymus, rosaria, myrtus, laurea.* Sembra che, attraverso questa *contaminatio*, il poeta latino aspiri a ricreare un mondo da sogno, dove l'uomo ritrova le condizioni della primitiva felicità, facendo corrispondere al *locus amoenus* un *tempus amoenum*: *Omnia nunc rident...*,[10] sottratto alla Storia, grazie alla forza magica della poesia. Da uno spazio fisico-geografico, l'Arcadia diventa uno spazio esclusivamente letterario, pieno di vita, un concetto che racchiude in sé un'abbondanza di forme, colori e odori: *Hinc tibi, quae semper, uicino ab limite saepes / Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti / saepe leui somnum suadebit inire susurro; / hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras, / nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes / nec gemere aeria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.*[11] Virgilio dedica all'età dell'oro un'ecloga intera e la collega con il mito della rinascita, secondo il modello esiodeo: *pauca tamen suberunt priscae uestigia fraudis.*[12] Lui agisce nel nome della dottrina stoica, sostenitrice del carattere ciclico delle età del mondo, che si susseguono in maniera ripetitiva. Rifacendosi alle profezie Sibilline che andavano molto di moda nel principato, *Ultima Cumae uenit iam carminis aetas*,[13] il poeta ci dà per scontato che l'età dell'oro ricomincerà non appena scenderà dal cielo un *puer*, un particolare che ha destato molti dibattiti, soprattutto nel Medioevo, quando il testo è stato letto in chiave cristiana. Secondo alcune fonti, si tratterebbe del secondogenito di Asinio Pollione, il consule e l'amico di Virgilio, secondo altre fonti di un figlio di Ottaviano, o persino di Ottaviano: *Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum / Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, / Casta faue Lucina; tuus iam regnat Apollo.*[14] L'immagine della culla fiorente, *ipsa tibi blandos fundent*

[9] 11.44-48.
[10] 7.55.
[11] 1.53-59.
[12] 4.31.
[13] 4.5.
[14] 4.8-10.

cunabula flores,[15] rimanda alla nascita di Apollo, artificio per cui il poeta intende la fioritura culturale avvenuta in età augustea. Segue la descrizione della natura, in cui una serie di versi rimandano all'interruzione delle attività agricole: *Non rastros patietur humus, non uinea falcem, / Robustus quoque iam tauris iuga soluet arator*,[16] all'abbondanza: *Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae / ubera nec magnos metuent armenta leones*,[17] alla gioia, *ipse sed in pratis aries iam suaue rubenti / murice iam croceo mutabit uellera*,[18] ma soprattutto alla mancanza di stimoli che fanno sbocciare la natura, idea resa attraverso il ripetitivo aggettivo determinativo: *ipsae... capellae*,[19] *ipsa... cunabula...*,[20] *ipse... aries...*[21] Il mito dell'età dell'oro si intreccia così con la Grande Storia ma anche con la Storia Individuale, perché la situazione politica favorevole alla *pax*, al restauro del *mos maiorum* procura il benessere personale, una gioia di vivere che contamina l'ambiente, il regno vegetale e il regno animale.

Nello studio *The Design of Virgil's* Bucolics, John Van Sickle[22] aveva sintetizzato i molteplici riusi teocritei da parte di Virgilio, riducendoli a tre e facendo corrispondere a loro altrettante ecloghe. La prima implica un supermanento del modello. Si tratta del motivo centrale dell' investitura poetica che si ricolegga al settimo idillio teocriteo. Da una parte, a Titiro (Virgilio) viene assegnata l'autorità poetica da un nuovo dio di Roma, in confronto con Simichida (Teocrito), il pastore a cui viene offerto in dono un bastone da parte di un altro pastore, Licida. La seconda ecloga implica il riconoscimento del modello nella tecnica del ritratto dell'innamorato e del tema dell'amore non corrisposto: Coridone, invaghito di Alessi corrisponde a Polifemo invaghito di Galatea. Infine, la decima ecloga implica l'esautoramento del modello, conferendo a Virgilio uno statuto secondario nella tradizione pastorale. A Dafne che muore per rifiutare la donna che lo amava, Virgilio fa corrispondere Gallo che muore perché viene rifiutato da una donna. Se nel primo idillio teocriteo però Dafni si accomiata da Aretusa prima di fuggire in Sicilia, nella decima ecloga virgiliana, Aretusa è una fonte dell'Arcadia, dove abitano Pan e Apollo.

Veniamo finalmente ai poeti che ci interessano in questa sede, Calpurnio e Nemesiano, in cui testi riecheggiano tanto Virgilio quanto Teocrito. I bucolici minori per antonomasia hanno contribuito parecchio allo sviluppo del mito dell'età dell'oro, a parte le *imitationes* e le *contaminationes* di cui ci ocuperemo più avanti. Loro hanno allargato la strada della poesia pastorale, arricchendola attraverso l'introduzione di temi e motivi nuovi (il tema della vendemmia, che è un tema

[15] 4.23.
[16] 4.40-41.
[17] 4.21-24.
[18] 4.43-45.
[19] 4.21.
[20] 4.23.
[21] 4.43.
[22] Van Sickle 2004.

georgico, il motivo della persona amata castigata dai genitori e rinchiusa in casa, il motivo del canto pastorale da parte di un dio), per cui, a nostro avviso, risultano a torto emarginati dalla critica multisecolare. A detta di alcuni, ai due poeti si deve più che altro l'evolversi del linguaggio bucolico verso una retorica dell'espressione. Ci si riferisce soprattutto alla ricercata abbondanza di figure retoriche in Nemesiano, che era contraria alla semplicità della parlata pastorale. Era questo l'inizio della fine dell'ecloga tradizionale, che, almeno a partire da Nemesiano, assume tutte le caratteristiche di un raffinato veicolo letterario in cui versare contenuti bucolici e non solo (vedasi il percorso dell'ecloga latina e volgare nell'Umanesimo italiano).

Tito Calpurnio Siculo nasce e scrive nel I d. C., in età neroniana. Nerone, figura molto controversa della storia romana, era riuscito a salire al trono dopo l'avvelenamento del figlio naturale di Claudio, Germanico. In confronto a Claudio, Nerone era riuscito a far riemergere la cultura e l'amore per le arti per lo meno nella prima tappa del suo regno, il felice cinquennio. Pare che sia stata una mossa molto intelligente in confronto a quello che avevano fatto i suoi predecessori sopraffatti dalla voglia di allargare i confini dell'Impero. A differenza di questi, Nerone si è limitato a mantenere un quadro politico stabile, facendo concessioni al popolo e sostenendo ideologicamente e finanziariamente la produzione artistico-letteraria, tramite la rinascita della letteratura di corte, sull'esempio di quella augustea. È in questo momento che s'afferma Calpurnio e scrive le sue sette ecloghe (di cui tre contrassegnate dal tema encomiastico) che probabilmente compose nel cinquennio felice (54-59 d. C.). Calpurnio prende per modello Virgilio e Teocrito, e ciò viene velatamente dichiarato nella quarta ecloga attraverso l'immagine del tramandare dell'arte bucolica da un pastore all' altro. Tre delle sue ecloghe riprendono il tema encomiastico (1, 4, 7), ma solo le prime due ripropongono, secondo il modello virgiliano, il ricongiungimento dell'età dell'oro con il tema encomiastico. Nella prima, Coridone, che soffre per amore, e Ornito vanno alla ricerca di un po' di ombra per sedersi e scoprono il vaticino di Fauno sulla corteccia di un faggio: *non pastor, non haec triuiali more uiator, / sed deus ipse canit...*[23] Il ritorno dell'età dell'oro non è annunciato come in Virgilio dalla sacerdotessa di Apollo, Sibilla Cumana, ma è Fauno stesso, l'antico dio italico del bosco, a farlo: *aurea secura cum pace renascitur aetas.*[24] Sempre a Fauno Virgilio aveva assegnato capacità profetiche,[25] il suo oracolo venendo consultato da suo figlio, il re Latino. Il vaticino prosegue con la descrizione dell'ambiente dei campi reso sicuro da ogni pericolo: *...licet omne uagetur, / securo custode pecus nocturnaque pastor, / claudere fraxinea nolit praesepia crate, / non tamen insidias praedator ouilibus ullas / afferet aut laxis abiget iumenta capistris*.[26] L'immagine della pace viene resa attraverso la discesa celeste di alcune divinità dal ruolo

[23] 1.28-29.
[24] 1.42.
[25] *Aen.* 7.81.
[26] 1.37-41.

simbolico: Temi, dea greca della giustizia, *redit ad terras,*[27] Bellona, la dea romana della guerra che si lascia legare le mani dietro la schiena, *dum populos deus ipse reget, dabit impia uinctas post tergum Bellona manus spoliataque telis…* ,[28] Clemenza, ritenuta una delle somme virtù romane, *...et insanos Clementia contundit enses.*[29] Ne risulta che la giustizia e un atteggiamento politico moderato costituiscano gli obiettivi maggiori del nuovo regime. Debitore a Ovidio per questa *interpretatio romana* che mira a offrire l'immagine di un saldo quadro istituzionale, Calpurnio ribadisce il ritorno del regno di Saturno, che, a sua volta, non è che *altera regna Numae*, un'allusione al secondo re di Roma di origine sabina, che si era molto impegnato tanto nel consolidare il sistema legislativo, quanto nel rafforzare il ruolo della religione; a lui si devono, tra l'altro, l'istituzione del collegio dei Salii e delle Vestali.

Tuttavia, le due descrizioni differiscono in fatto di ordine compositiva. Mentre in Ovidio, la descrizione del quadro istituzionale dell'oro scatta per prima, in Calpurnio questa segue i cenni relativi alla vita campagnola e soprattutto all'invito di gioirne. Sempre in quest'ultimo, la descrizione si conclude con l'apparire della cometa che annuncia l'istaurazione del nuovo regime neroniano e la fine del regime di Claudio. Una diferenza notevole in confronto a Virgilio, per il quale il ritorno *dell'aurea aetas* coincideva con la discesa del *puer*, ma anche in confronto a Ovidio, che ne presenta solamente le avvisaglie. Nerone sarebbe salito al trono il 13 ottobre 54 d. C., quando astrologicamente sarebbe iniziato l'autunno. Eppure, l'estate non è ancora finita: *Nondum solis equos declinis mitigat aestas / quamuis et madidis incumbant prela racemis / et spument rauco feruentia musta susurro*,[30] così come lo testimoniano i verbi al presente atemporale. L'ultimo indizio che contribuisce all'*amplificatio* dell'encomio neroniano è la seguente affermazione: *causam qui uincit Iulis*,[31] che ricorda il discorso tenuto da Nerone nel 53 d. C., in cui elogiava le origini troiane del popolo romano. Questo momento è di particolare importanza nell'ambito dell'ascensione di Nero al trono (54 d. C.) poiché la prepara e la legittima. È Nerone colui che, tramite il sangue materno di Giulia Agrippina, ristabilisce il filo della dinastia, portandone avanti il nome e la gloria.

Sempre sullo sfondo del mutamento dei tempi (*non eadem nobis sunt tempora*),[32] la *laudatio* del regime si continua nella seconda ecloga, i cui protagonisti sono, questa volta, lo stesso Coridone, Melibeo e suo fratello, Aminta. Il poeta riscrive accuratamente il quadro di riferimento bucolico. I tre pastori trovano un riparo dal caldo *sub hac platano*, in prossimità dell'acqua, *vicini spiritus amnis*, e si mettono a cantare l'età dell'oro e non un amore perso come il più delle volte: (...) *sed haec,*

[27] 1.44.
[28] 1.47.
[29] 1.59.
[30] 1.1-3.
[31] 1.44-45.
[32] 4.30.

quibus aurea possint saecula cantari, quibus et deus ipse canatur, / qui populos urbesque regit pacemque togatam.[33] La quarta ecloga riprende in maniera trasparente due delle prerogative del regime esposte già nella seconda: l'istaurazione della pace (attraverso l'immagine della toga o l'assenza delle trombe, gli strumenti per cui si davano i segnali della guerra),[34] e della clemenza, la ninfa dei monti, l'Oreade, non calpesterà più sangue umano sui monti.[35] Un'antitesi tra il regime attuale e quello percedente si rivela ormai necessaria e viene incentrata sulla contrapposizione tra *otium* e *negotium*: *secura saturi recubamus in umbra*[36] in confronto a: *duc ad mulctra greges et lac uenale per urbem / non tacitus porta. Quid enim tibi fistula reddet, / quo tutere famem?...*[37] Al sentir l'elogio del nuovo principe, la natura si zittisce in segno di rispetto, *siluae conticeant*,[38] le pecore cambiano vello e producono più latte, *superfuso magis ubera lacte grauentur / et nuper tonsis exundent uellera fetis?*,[39] le divinità tornano ad abitare le foreste e le Naiadi si bagnano nel fiume. Nerone viene gradualmente immedesimato con Pales, la dea dei pastori (*et uenisse Palen pecoris dixisse magistros*),[40] con le Muse benevole, che secondo la tradizione agiscono sotto l'autorità di Apollo *facundus* (*at mihi, qui nostras praesenti numine terras perpetuamque regit iuuenili robore pacem, / laetus et augusto felix arrideat ore*)[41] e infine con il dio sommo, Giove, *posito paulisper fulmine*.[42] A nostro avviso, quest'ultimo indizio potrebbe fungere da allusione ironica anche al regno decadente di Caligula, famoso per il suo bizzarro uso di sfidare il potere di Giove, rispondendo al fulmine con un tuono ottenuto in maniera meccanica. Il desiderio che il regime neroniano si prolunghi oltre i limiti di tempo consentiti, *locus communis* nella letteratura cortigiana di tutti i tempi, viene espresso nella preghiera rivolta a Giove di lasciare il giovane governare più a lungo possibile: *sit deus et nolit pensare palatia caelo*.[43] Non per ultimo viene affermata la *pietas*: *si non ualet arte polita / carminis, at certe ualeat pietate probari*,[44] pretesto per celebrare anche il comporre dei versi bucolici.

Riprendendo in maniera virgiliana molto audace il connubio tra il mito dell'età dell'oro e il tema encomiastico, Calpurnio si è imbattuto nel problema del come adeguare un genere umile ad una tematica alta, e come conciliare l'idea di uno spazio chiuso e misterioso a quella di una realtà storica e nota a tutti? Il poeta

[33] 2.6-8.
[34] 4.131.
[35] 2.135.
[36] 4.37.
[37] 4.25-26.
[38] 4.97-98.
[39] 4.103-104.
[40] 4.106.
[41] 4.84-86.
[42] 4.94.
[43] 4.141.
[44] 4.14-15.

sembra aver trovato la soluzione al problema mediante il travestimento del reale: l'imperatore diventa un dio e i letterati di corte dei pastori, questo fatto rivelando l'intento metaletterario del tema bucolico. Veniamo a scoprire un Nerone che abita i regni celesti, e che, in seguito, viene ardentemente pregato di scendere dal cielo sul monte Ditte, su cui sono scesi anche Apollo o Giove. Il gesto dello scendere non è che l'accettazione di abbassarsi all'umile ascolto del canto bucolico composto dai pastori, cioè i letterati della corte. È il canto bucolico l'unico mezzo dei pastori per acquisire la benevolenza e la protezione imperiale: più se ne fa degno, più gradito è. Da questa prospettiva, è importante sottolineare il ruolo di Melibeo (che non è altro che l'omologo di Asinio Pollione, amico di Virgilio), che è il nobile protettore di Coridone, quello che lo sostiene finanziariamente, ma anche quello che intercede in suo favore presso l'imperatore. È per questo che lo esorta a scrivere dei versi limati: *dulce quidem resonas (...) / (...) sed magna numina Romae / non ita cantari debent ut ouile Menalcae*.[45]

Di origine cartaginese, Marco Aurelio Olimpio Nemesiano visse nella seconda metà del III secolo d. C., presso la corte dell'imperatore Marco Aurelio Caro, noto per le sue campagne contro i Persiani, concluse con la conquisita di Seleucia. Niente ci è pervenuto degli *Halieutica*, e dei *Nautica*, la cui esistenza è incerta; dubbi maggiori sussistono per la *Laus Herculis* e il *De aucupio*. Una differenza notevole rispetto ai suoi predecessori è che Nemesiano non recupera il tema encomiastico nell'ambito dell'età dell'oro. La prima ecloga, ambientata in seno alla natura paradisiaca, riprende per esempio la sequenza dell'intreccio del canestro riconducibile prima a Virgilio,[46] *dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco*, poi a Calpurnio,[47] *sed mihi nec gracili fiscellam texit hibisco*, e quella delle cicale che friniscono: *raucis resonant... cicadis*, debitrice a Virgilio.[48] I protagonisti della prima ecloga sono Titiro (il vecchio) e Timeta (il giovane, che è la maschera del poeta stesso), esortato a cantare la scomparsa di Melibeo. Il giovane si mette a incidere sulla corteccia di un ciliegio qualche verso celebrativo, allo stesso modo con cui Mopso celebrò Dafne in Virgilio.[49] Interessa la coppia di pastori, che rimanda simbolicamente alla fusione del passato e del presente in un'atmosfera atemporale, che assicura il perdurare della tradizione bucolica, tramandata di generazione in generazione. Attira l'attenzione la coppia divina, Pan e Apollo (in termini di una *coincidentia oppositorum*), che compaiono anche in Virgilio e in Calpurnio, e che mettono in luce la rivalità fra la zampogna e la lira, Pan essendo per eccellenza il simbolo della natura selvaggia e Apollo, il simbolo della civiltà. Lo spazio delle selve in cui sfilano liberamente gli dei accanto alle bestie è uno spazio selvaggio padroneggiato da Pan, però che accoglie allo stesso tempo la

[45] 4.9-11.
[46] 10.71.
[47] 3.68-69.
[48] 2.12-13.
[49] 5.13-14.

'perfomance' artistica, che è sotto la responsabilità di Apollo. Apollo e Pan hanno tuttavia un numitore comune: la loro predisposizione per il mondo pastorale. Pan è incontestabilmente il dio delle greggi, Apollo è il dio della poesia per eccellenza, e quindi anche della poesia pastorale. Quest'ultimo è stato in qualche maniera integrato nell'universo pastorale sin da Omero: nell'*Iliade*, Apollo fa la guardia alle mandrie del re Lomedonte.[50] Non per ultimo, quest'ecloga respira una forte dimensione programmatica. Essa presenta l'ideologia poetica di Nemesiano, secondo cui la poesia pastorale non è un esercizio di stile, ma richiede un periodo di elaborazione, *sed quia tu nostrae laudem deposcis auenae, / accipe quae super haec cerasus, quam cernis ad amnem, / continet, inciso seruans mea carmina libro*[51] e ha un ruolo profondamente sociale: *tu calamos aptare labris et iungere cera / hortatus, duras docuisti fallere curas.*[52] La seconda ecloga, che ha per protagonisti Ida e Alcone, riecheggia dal punto di vista tematico (un amore non corrisposto e nutrito da due uomini per la stessa donna) la seconda ecloga di Calpurnio, in cui Astaco e Ida amano entrambi la vergine Crocale. Nemesiano introduce il tema del castigo a cui viene sottoposta la giovane rinchiusa tra i muri del focolare dopo essere stata violentata dai due pastori mentre coglieva dei fiori sulla pianura. Il motivo della raccolta di fiori riecheggia l'undicesimo poema di Teocrito: *sed postquam Donacen duri clausere parentes, / quod non tam tenui filo de uoce sonaret, / sollecitumque foret linguis onus*...[53] La terza ecloga si incentra sul canto di Pan che elogia la vendemmia, ossia il dio Bacco. Questa è una novità in fatto di poesia bucolica, poiché mai si era visto fino ad allora un dio che celebrasse un altro dio attraverso il canto pastorale. Nemesiano rivisita il tema del canto pastorale, rivelandosene un grande manipolatore. Ma l'originalità di Nemesiano non finisce qui: l'autore si rifà a Virgilio allorché introduce nella poesia bucolica un tema georgico, il tema della vendemmia. Sembra che l'introduzione di un tale tema corrispondesse ad una realtà socio-economica di quei tempi, secondo cui la richiesta del vino nell'Impero Romano sovrastava l'offerta delle regioni orientali dell'Impero. Non per ultimo, nell'ambito della stessa ecloga, Nemesiano riprende il tema della differenza generazionale, questa volta nel rapporto tra Bacco e Sileno, che aveva già fatto carriera nei suoi antecessori. La quarta ecloga riprende il tema dell'amore non corrisposto (Licida-Iolla; Mopso-Meroe) che riecheggia Teocrito (2, 3, 11), Virgilio (2) e Calpurnio (2). Il tema dell'amore si ricongiunge al tema del tempo inesorabile, che si rifà a Virgilio (*omnia fert aetas*).[54] Ancor una volta, Nemesiano ribadisce la funzione sociale della poesia bucolica: *cantet, amat quod quisque: leuant et carmina curas*,[55] ritornello che si trova a fine di ogni strofa.

[50] 21.448.
[51] 1.27-29.
[52] 1.58-59.
[53] 2.10-12.
[54] 9.51.
[55] 4.25.

La ripresa del trio bucolico (il tema della natura, dell'amore e del canto pastorale) rappresenta il più trasparente omaggio ai suoi predecessori.

Ci sono, comunque, alcune differenze nell'approccio di questi temi, che vogliamo sottolineare. Il *locus amoenus* in Nemesiano è un luogo che, così come si è visto prima, confina con i *rura*: *hic cantare libet: uirides nam subicit herbas / mollis ager lateque tacet nemus omne; quieti / aspice ut ecce procul decerpant gramina tauri*,[56] il poeta offrendo così spazio allo sviluppo di un tema georgico nell'ambito del paesaggio ideale, il quale subisce un ampliamento. In secondo luogo, il *locus amoenus* è uno spazio i cui gli elementi danno l'impressione di essere appena nati, per cui sono molto fragili: il cannello che serve da materiale per la zampogna è esile, *gracile sub arundine*, la terra è soffice come appena sfornata dalla natura madre, *mollis ager*, i prati sono privi di vegetazione, *siccis aruis*. L'acqua circonda tutti questi elementi e l'aria dà loro vita: *omniparens aether et rerum causa, liquores, / corporis et genetrix tellus, uitalis et aer*.[57] La prima ecloga coincide con la nascita di questo spazio che matura pian piano, arrivando a sfoggiare colori e profumi diversi: *purpureos flores, purpureae rosae, rubens hyacinthus*. Nemesiano predilige il rosso, il rosseggiante, come anche Virgilio, a cui piace però contrapporlo alle sfumature dorate. Si potrebbe dire che, a differenza di Virgilio, che presenta l'unità nella diversità, Nemesiano crea l'idea dell'unità che precede la diversità. Nell'ambito del tema dell'amore, il poeta riprende il motivo della passione, il motivo dello specchiarsi nell'acqua (già presenti in Teocrito, Virgilio e Calpurnio) o dell'innamorato insicuro di sé (è Alcone che vi si specchia, come anche Polifemo in Teocrito e Coridone nella seconda ecloga virgiliana), ma ci aggiunge anche il motivo della violenza e il motivo del castigo della persona amata, che è una minorenne.

Non per ultimo, nell'ambito del canto pastorale, la più grande innovazione è l'introduzione del canto pastorale divino. In altre parole, è Pan che elogia la grandezza di Bacco! Ancora una volta abbiamo la prova che il *locus amoenus* accoglie lo sviluppo di un tema ad esso estraneo, cioè il tema georgico della vendemmia. A nostro avviso, da questo punto di vista, Nemesiano deve molto a Virgilio: le Georgiche virgiliane propongono un rapporto dinamico con la natura circondante. Non si tratta più della contemplazione di una natura paradisiaca, ma si tratta di tutte quelle attività per cui si sgobba all'aperto in seguito alla perdita di quello stato di contemplazione. Nemesiano ha ben capito però che la natura è pur sempre lo sfondo su cui vengono proiettate tutte le esperienze umane, anche se il rapporto tra l'uomo e la natura non è più lo stesso. Questo è per sottolineare ancora una volta il grande intuito artistico di Nemesiano nel rendersi conto che la manipolazione di temi e motivi contrastanti possa garantire loro un percorso ampio e innovativo sulla strada della letteratura. Se con Virgilio siamo agli inizi della poesia pastorale latina, con Nemesiano ci piazziamo alla fine della poesia pastorale tradizionale, in quanto i cambiamenti di contenuto e di forma proposti da quest'ultimo

[56] 1.32-34.
[57] 1.35-37.

ne avvertono il crollo. La sorte della poesia pastorale, per chi avrà voglia di approfondire, si rivelerà molto tortuosa nei secoli a venire, poiché le esigenze e i bisogni della società cambieranno.

In tutti i poeti che abbiamo avuto modo di prendere in esame, al di là delle implicazioni letterarie, al di là delle originali *uariationes* che contrassegnano la personalità artistica di ognuno di loro in parte, sussiste in tutti quanti (tranne Teocrito) una nostalgia di quell'età dell'oro che riesce ad attuarsi laddove le realtà storiche la permettono. Un clima politico favorevole rappresenta lo stimolo per la raffigurazione di un mondo mitico privo di affanni, così come si è già visto in Virgilio e Calpurnio. Già in Nemesiano, il mito dell'età dell'oro avverte il bisogno di aggiungere qualcosa sul piano compositivo, bisogno che si risolve nell'allargamento dei temi specifici, dei motivi e del linguaggio. In tutti questi autori latini, la poesia è la celebrazione della vita, nei suoi dati semplici, basali. Purtroppo, oggi, sembra che l'individuo non sia più così interessato a celebrare la vita, ma si dimostra più incline a sfruttarla, desiderando ardentemente quelle cose materiali che essa gli può procurare. È per questo che, a distanza di così tanto tempo, il tema dell'età dell'oro si rivela attuale, offrendo l'occasione di una reformulazione del vero significato dell'esistenza.

FONTI

Vinchesi, M.A. (ed.) 2002. *Calpurnio. Egloghe*. Milano: Rizzoli.
Cupaiuolo, G. (ed.) 1997. *Nemesiano. Eclogae.* Napoli: Loffredo.
Stracca, B.M.P. (ed.) 1997. *Teocrito. Idilli e epigrammi*. Milano: Rizzoli.
Richelmy, A. (ed.) 1970. *Virgilio. Le Bucoliche*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore.

BIBLIOGRAFIA

Gail, J. B. 1805. *Observations littéraires et critiques sur les* Idylles *de Théocrite et les* Eglogues *de Virgile*. Paris.
Johnston, P. 1980. *Vergil's Agricultural Golden Age*. Leiden.
La Penna, A. 1978. *Il canto, il lavoro, il potere; Introduzione alle* Bucoliche. Milano.
Legrand, Ph. E. 1898. *Étude sur Théocrite.* Paris.
Novelli, A. 1980. *Il linguaggio di Calpurnio Siculo*. Lecce.
Stoianovici-Donat, L. 1981. *Mitul vârstei de aur în literatura greacă*. Craiova.
Traina, A. 1998. *Poeti latini e neolatini*. Bologna.
Van Sickle, J. 2004. *The Design of Virgil's* Bucolics. Bristol.

LATRIX / *PERLATRIX* E *BAIULA*: EVOLUZIONI 'DI GENERE' NEL TARDOANTICO

PATRIZIA MASCOLI
Università „Aldo Moro" di Bari

Abstract: In this contribution, the authoress examines the attestations of the terms *latrix*, *perlatrix* and *baiula* which in Late Antiquity referred to the female mail carriers, a unicum in the few surviving testimonies on the presence of women who carried out this service.

Keywords: *latrix*, *perlatrix*, *baiula*, postal service, babysitter, Gregorius Magnus, Ennodius, Hieronymus, Gregorius Tour, Augustinus.

Il tema della distribuzione della corrispondenza nella Roma repubblicana è stato trattato soprattutto sulla base di testimonianze di straordinario valore come quelle contenute nell'epistolario ciceroniano[1]. Invece per l'analogo servizio nella Roma imperiale la documentazione si presenta, ancorché non scarsa, piuttosto casuale e si basa su passi di autori diversi, soprattutto (com'è naturale) epistolografi. Come ho avuto modo di accertare in un mio precedente contributo[2], in particolare dal IV secolo in poi il ventaglio delle denominazioni del corriere postale si arricchisce progressivamente attraverso l'uso di termini quali *baiulus*[3], *gerulus*, *oblator* (*litterarum*), *perlator*, *portitor*.

Nel contributo più recente mi sono soffermata sul termine *lator*, utilizzato in poche (peraltro anche dubbie) occorrenze, nel significato di „corriere di epistole". La sua più ampia diffusione è attestata, invece, nei modulari della cancelleria pontificia, come traspare, ad esempio, dall'epistola 48 di Leone Magno, ma soprattutto nel *Registrum* di Gregorio Magno, le cui numerosissime occorrenze sono elencate nell'indice analitico redatto da Ludovicus M. Hartmann per l'edizione dei *MGH*. Ivi sono altresì registrate ben quattordici attestazioni del femminile *latrix*, un sostantivo che pone subito un problema 'di genere', in quanto fino al V secolo, almeno dalle testimonianze superstiti, non risulta la presenza di donne che svolgano

[1] Io stessa me ne sono occupata di recente in Mascoli 2018.
[2] Mascoli 2019.
[3] La denominazione *baiulus* ha anche una sua versione al femminile (*baiula*), per cui vd. *infra*.

questo tipo di servizio[4]; e, infatti, finora tale problema non è stato mai posto. Ma la realtà che emerge dai passi di Gregorio è molto particolare: la caratteristica più significativa dell'uso di *latrix* nel *Registrum* di Gregorio Magno è che non si tratta di messaggere – per così dire – 'in conto terzi', cioè di semplici latrici di messaggi altrui, bensì di portatrici di 'autoraccomandazioni' che consentissero loro di fronteggiare varie tipologie di soprusi patiti. Infatti in casi di istanze del genere il pontefice, rivolgendosi quasi sempre al vescovo del luogo dove l'episodio era avvenuto, lo pregava di intercedere in favore della *latrix praesentium*[5] per risolvere il problema che la angustiava. Ad esempio in *epist.* 1.63 Gregorio ingiunge ad Antemio, rettore del patrimonio della Campania, di restituire a Teodora, vedova di Petronio, notaio della Chiesa Romana, la casa ingiustamente confiscata. In 7.1 invita il vescovo di Napoli Fortunato ad intercedere presso un suo chierico perché riprenda in moglie la donna ripudiata in quanto schiava, ma nel frattempo riconosciuta libera. In 9.207 esorta il medesimo vescovo Fortunato a evitare, per ovvi motivi di opportunità, che dei militari siano ospiti del monastero dell'abbadessa Agnella. In 11.30 comanda al notaio palermitano Adriano che il marito di Agatosa, entrato nel monastero di Urbico senza il consenso della moglie, ritorni da lei, in quanto la legge divina non consente che un matrimonio si sciolga senza l'accordo di entrambi i coniugi.

Dunque, anche sotto questo profilo, come si è già visto per *lator*, la prassi seguita dalla cancelleria pontificia segue un suo particolare percorso: quelle donne[6], che si erano evidentemente recate a Roma proprio per richiedere l'intercessione papale, ricevevano dagli uffici a ciò preposti lettere credenziali (comunque sempre brevi e mirate solo a questo fine) che avrebbero consegnato personalmente al vescovo locale o a chi dovesse provvedere a risolvere situazioni, spesso piuttosto incresciose, nell'auspicio che l'autorevolezza del firmatario della petizione avrebbe certo facilitato la soluzione anche dei problemi più spinosi.

[4] Nel naufragio quasi totale delle opere teatrali di Nevio ci è stato tramandato il titolo di una commedia, la *Tabellaria*, della quale ci restano solo due brevi frammenti: Non. p. 322, 18 Lindsay *PANNUS usu generis masculini. Neutro Novius Tabellaria*: „Qui habet uxorem sine dote, pannum positum in purpura est" e Diom. p. 380, 16 Keil *Quamquam et id perfectum quod est attuli ex alio verbo proficisci reperimus apud veteres. Ex eo quod est attollo, ut Naevius in Tabellaria*: „dotem ad nos nullam attulas". L'interpretazione del termine *tabellaria* potrebbe far pensare ad un femminile del più consueto *tabellarius*, e in questo caso si inquadrerebbe perfettamente nella nostra ricerca; ma è noto che i titoli terminanti in *–aria* nella commedia latina sottintendono per lo più il sostantivo *fabula*. Siamo qui di fronte, dunque, ad una „Commedia della *tabella*", sulla cui trama i due frammenti superstiti ci offrono un indizio molto indicativo attraverso la presenza, in ambedue i frustuli, del sostantivo *dos*, che ci fa intuire che si tratta, con ogni probabilità, di un contratto di matrimonio vergato su *tabellae*.

[5] Si noti che il termine *latrix* è costantemente accompagnato dalla specificazione *praesentium* (scil. *litterarum*).

[6] Dall'epistolario di Gregorio possiamo recuperare i nomi di dieci di queste *latrices* (*Adeodata*, *Agathosa*, *Agnella*, *Arethusa*, *Desideria*, *Ianuaria*, *Paula*, due *Stephaniae*, *Theodora*). Le uniche *latrices* anonime sono in *epist.* 3.5 e 7.1, mentre in 9.86 e 11.11 il termine è ripetuto due volte per la stessa persona.

Pertanto dall'epistolario gregoriano emergono almeno due elementi significativi: l'ampio uso del rarissimo termine *latrix* e, soprattutto, l'inedita figura di donne che si rivolgono al pontefice per ottenere quel patrocinio scritto che loro stesse, successivamente, avrebbero presentato a chi di dovere per riaffermare i propri diritti calpestati.

Una situazione del tutto diversa, ma ai fini di questa ricerca ancor più interessante, è invece quella che presenta un passo di Ennodio, il quale così scrive in una lettera inviata a un suo parente di nome Firmino[7]: *epist.* 1.8.4 *Idoneae tamen perlatricis viaticum praegravavi et, quae me praesentare vivis potuisset affatibus, ea epistulam comitante perduxi, minus nobis periculi esse confidens sub intercessoris bonae praesentia deliquisse*. Da questo passo si recupera anzitutto l'unica attestazione del femminile *perlatrix*[8], come vera e propria „messaggera postale", nella fattispecie scelta da Ennodio con oculatezza e perciò definita *idonea*, e tanto fidata da poter rappresentare il mittente anche portando notizie a voce (*vivis affatibus*), sì che si riducesse al minimo il rischio di generare equivoci, in virtù della presenza di una attenta intermediaria; una portalettere, dunque, di livello superiore a quello medio di chi in genere svolgeva questo servizio e la sola, di cui ci rimanga testimonianza, alla quale sia stato affidato un tale incarico[9].

Oltre all'occorrenza di *perlatrix* è attestata anche una versione femminile sia di *gerulus* sia di *baiulus*: entrambi i termini al femminile non hanno però attinenza con il servizio postale, in quanto non si tratta di „latrici di missive" bensì di „puericultrici"[10]. Il termine *baiulus* (o *-olus*), di etimo incerto[11], nel significato generico di *portitor*, *gerulus*[12], è ampiamente presente in tutta la latinità sin dall'epoca arcaica e fino alla tarda antichità[13]. Peraltro il loro uso sembra limitato solo agli autori cristiani, a cominciare già da Tertulliano (*anim.* 19.8 *et matrem spiritu probat et nutricem spiritu examinat et gerulam spiritu agnoscit* [scil. *infans*]) e sempre in affiancamento ad una *nutrix*, sebbene si tratti di puericultrici con funzioni ben distinte: la *nutrix* allattava l'infante, mentre la *gerula* e la *baiula* lo accudivano in tutte le sue esigenze quotidiane.

Tale abbinamento di diverse ma sinergiche competenze è evidente anche quando la *nutrix* non è esplicitamente citata nel testo, ma l'infante è in 'disperata' attesa del suo arrivo: è il caso di Hier. *c. Ioh.* 21, dove l'Autore, in un'invettiva

[7] Si tratta probabilmente del medesimo personaggio che sollecitò Sidonio Apollinare a completare la sua raccolta con un nono libro di lettere, sul modello dell'epistolario di Plinio il Giovane.

[8] Timidamente Gioanni 2006, 115 osserva che „*perlatrix* semble être un néologisme".

[9] In Ennodio si ritrova ancora in un altro passo il medesimo termine *perlatrix* (*epist.* 1.1.22) ma con un significato solo metaforico, in quanto si riferisce non a persone ma ad epistole definite quasi „portatrici di lamenti": *quasi querellarum perlatrices litteras prorogavi.*

[10] *Thes.l.L. s.v.: ancilla, cui iuxta nutricem parvulorum cura commendata est.*

[11] Forse da interpretare in connessione col greco *bastázein*, come proponeva Osthoff 1893, 322.

[12] *Gloss. Lat.* IV 600.5; V 270.45 (*baiulus gerulus*).

[13] Vd. *Thes.l.L. s.v.* (Ihm). Tuttavia nel più specifico valore di „corriere, portatore di lettere", come sinonimo del più tradizionale *tabellarius*, la sua storia ha inizio solo nel IV secolo, in particolar modo nell'opera di Gerolamo, con sette occorrenze, di cui quattro nell'epistolario (6.1; 7.2; 15.5; 103.1).

contro il radicale dualismo nella filosofia manichea di Giovanni di Gerusalemme, istituisce un paragone tra colui che tende a stornare l'attenzione dalla più equilibrata impostazione filosofica di Origene e il comportamento di una *gerula*, la quale intrattiene con ogni tipo di trastullo (*ludicra*) il bimbo che avverte i morsi della fame (*parvulis cibum poscentibus*), per distogliere la sua attenzione (*ut avocent mentes eorum*) dalla persona che in quel momento è più nei suoi pensieri, la nutrice: *producis nobis Manicaeum et abscondis Origenem, et sicut parvulis cibum poscentibus ludicra quaedam offerunt gerulae, ut avocent mentes eorum, sic tu nos rusticos avocas ad alia, ut dum alterius personae novitate tenemur, quod volumus non quaeramus*[14].

Il femminile *baiula* si ritrova una sola volta in Gregorio di Tours, nella vita del santo vescovo Gallo[15] *quem a Dei cultu abstrahere non potuit nec splendor generis nec celsitudo senatorii ordinis nec opulentia facultatis; quem separare a Dei amore non potuit non dilectio patris, non matris blanditiae, non amor nutricum, non obsecundatio baiularum*. Come si può osservare, è qui adoperato un verbo al singolare (*potuit*), che regge prima tre soggetti e poi ancora altri quattro, in una chiara rappresentazione della vita esteriore attraverso una duplice *climax*, la prima (ascendente) contempla la nobiltà dei natali (*splendor generis*), i successi della carriera politica (*celsitudo senatorii ordinis*), il benessere economico (*opulentia facultatis*); subito dopo segue la *climax* discendente relativa agli affetti per il neonato, da quelli dei familiari agli altri di persone non consanguinee, ma facenti parte dell'ambito familiare: l'amore (*dilectio*) del padre, la tenerezza (*blanditiae*) della madre, l'attaccamento (*amor*) della nutrice, l'amorevole condiscendenza (*obsecundatio*) della *baiula* (donde l'ital. *balia*): quest'ultima, in particolare, nelle ricche famiglie romane, era incaricata di portare in braccio i bambini ancora non in grado di camminare da soli. Va comunque sottolineato che lo scenario educativo che emerge da tali testimonianze sarà verosimilmente da circoscrivere alle famiglie della più alta aristocrazia, che potevano disporre di un ampio numero di persone di servizio cui affidare compiti specifici di assistenza. In altri casi, come già osservava Quintiliano[16], non sempre era possibile disporre di una nutrice e di un pedagogo all'altezza della situazione, ma in circostanze del genere era necessario affiancare al fanciullo almeno una persona che sapesse parlare in maniera corretta, per evitare di imprimere indelebilmente eventuali loro errori nella mente del piccolo discente.

Un altro passo di Gerolamo ci offre qualche ulteriore chiarimento: *epist.* 3.5.2 *scis ipse…ut ego et ille a tenera pariter infantia ad florentem usque adolerimus aetatem, ut idem nos nutricem sinus, idem amplexus foverint baiulorum et, cum post Romana studia ad Rheni semibarbaras ripas eodem cibo, pari*

[14] Per altre occorrenze di *gerula* in quest'accezione cfr. Tert. *Adv. Iud*. 9.5; *adv. Marc.* 3.13.2 e ancora Hier. *epist.* 54.5.1 e 107.4.7.

[15] *Vit. Pat.* 6 *praef.*, p. 230, 4-5 Krusch, ma vd. anche Pietri 2016, 68.

[16] *Inst.* 1.1.11 *Si tamen non continget quales maxime velim nutrices, pueros, paedagogos habere, at unus certe sit adsiduus loquendi non imperitus, qui, si qua erunt ab his praesente alumno dicta vitiose, corrigat protinus nec insidere illi sinat.*

frueremur hospitio... Si tratta di una lettera che Gerolamo invia a Rufino di Aquileia, che nell'estate del 375 si trovava in Egitto, per sollecitargli un incontro, cogliendo anche l'occasione per ricordargli il comune amico Bonoso, della cui amicizia egli ricostruisce una breve storia: essi erano cresciuti insieme sin dalla prima infanzia (*tenera pariter infantia*) e con le stesse nutrici (*nutricum sinus*), poi ancora insieme nella fase preadolescenziale (*ad florentem usque adoleverimus aetatem*) e con i medesimi accompagnatori (*amplexus foverint baiulorum*); successivamente, dopo aver studiato insieme a Roma (*post Romana studia*), avevano condiviso vitto e alloggio a Treviri (*ad Rheni semibarbaras ripas*). Dalla preziosa testimonianza di Gerolamo possiamo dedurre proprio il momento in cui il *baiulus* poteva subentrare alla *baiula*, non appena cioè il bambino fosse in qualche modo autonomo. Aveva così inizio un percorso di formazione 'privata', in genere affidato ad uno schiavo o ad un liberto della famiglia, prima che maturasse l'età adatta all'insegnamento elementare, curato dal *ludi magister*.

Una ulteriore conferma ce la offre un passo in cui Agostino parla della paura del male e dei pericoli prima che se ne faccia reale esperienza, e fa l'esempio di un fanciullo che si aggrappa spaventato al suo tutore, se lo si minaccia di gettarlo giù: *de gen. ad litt.* 8.16.34 *quis parvulum puerum adhaerescere baiulo suo, si eum fuerit ex alto iacere minatus?* Come è evidente, viene ritratta qui un'immagine di intima tenerezza, analoga a quella geronimiana (*amplexus foverint baiulorum*): un *parvulus puer* che si stringe (*adhaerescit*) al suo baiulo che lo protegge. Il fanciullo riesce ad avere la percezione del pericolo e, dunque, ha raggiunto un'età in cui comincia a rendersi conto della realtà che lo circonda.

In conclusione, il momento del 'passaggio di consegne' tra la *baiula* e il suo omologo di sesso maschile credo che corrisponda alla rappresentazione quasi visiva di quella fase naturale di evoluzione del fanciullo che ormai si muove e si esprime in totale autonomia.

FONTI

Gioanni, St. (ed.) 2006. *Ennode de Pavie : Lettres. Tome I, livres I et II*. Paris: Belles Lettres.

Keil, H. (ed.) 1857. *Grammatici Latini*. Vol. 1. *Flavii Sosipatri Charisii: Artis grammaticae libri V; Diomedis Artis grammaticae libri III; Ex Charisii Arte grammatica excerpta*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Krusch, B. 1885 (ed.). *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Liber Vitae Patrum*, MGM SRM I. Hannover, p. 661-744.

Lindsay, W.M. (ed.) 1903. *Nonni Marcelli de compendiosa doctrina libros XX*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Pietri, L. 2016 (ed.). *Grégoire de Tours. La vie des Pères*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

BIBLIOGRAFIA

Mascoli, P. 2018. „*Certi homines* e rischi di intercettazione nella corrispondenza ciceroniana", *C&C* 13, p. 149-161.

Mascoli, P. 2019. Il recapito della corrispondenza nella Roma imperiale C&C 14 (in corso di stampa).

Osthoff, H., „Ancullus, ἀμφίπολος" *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, vol. 15, Adalbert Bezzenberger (ed.), Göttingen, 1893, pp. 316-337.

« *LOCUS PANTOMORPHOS* ». SUR LE LIEU DU BOUT DU MONDE DANS LA COSMOLOGIE MÉDIÉVALE

IOANA MUNTEANU
Université de Bucarest

Abstract: What is the name of that place at the boundaries of the physical world in a Universe that the early Middle Ages imagined to be closed/limited and spherical? And of the other place, at the entrance to the spiritual world? Which is their essence, their substance? What is the relation between the "physical" place and the "spiritual", "mental", or "ideal" place? How does the corporeal place announce the non-corporeal world? Which are the terms used to describe the boundary between the sensible and the intelligible space in theological, philosophical, contemplative, and scholarly texts and which is the iconographic language applied to this *tópos* in the early medieval cosmological thought before the apex of the 12th century? How could we describe the end of the world from a genetic, static, axiological, or a dynamic perspective? What kind of light and music permeate or express it? What kind of beings inhabit it – if any at all?

The strange "pantomorph place" that Natura reaches in her quest of Urania, the dwelling of the old Oyarses, the old god who assigns individual forms to all things by painting on the firmament, it is this place, which Bernardus Silvestris, drawing upon hermetic sources, described in his *Cosmographia* (2.3.10-12) that inspired our research. Therefore, we shall bring together a collection of texts and images concerning the place at the end of the world, in order to throw some light on its fundamental ambiguity, an ambiguity which, despite our efforts, we shall not be able to entirely dissipate. (trad. par Ioana Gogeanu)

Keywords: ancient and medieval cosmology, boundaries of the world, physical and ideal Universe, sphericity of the Universe, demiurgic creation in the 12th century's Neoplatonism, square and circle in the cosmological diagrams and miniatures, immanence and transcendence of God in the world, representation of the intelligible space, musical expression of the cosmic layers, far-off and nearby in the spiritual world, pseudo-decorative art.

« Le lieu de frontière », toute frontière est, par excellence, un lieu de l'ambiguïté. D'autant plus, « le lieu du bout du monde » est, par excellence, un lieu mystérieux, bizarre, impossible à déceler. Avant que Dante n'eût rangé dans une parfaite harmonie les neuf sphères paradisiaques, avant que la méditation des théologiens de l'apogée du Moyen Âge n'eût multiplié le nombre des cieux « spirituels », tout en les ajoutant aux cieux « théologiques », c'est-à-dire aux cieux déductibles du texte de la *Genèse*

biblique, avant que les spéculations scholastiques n'eussent établi soigneusement des distinctions exactes entre le Paradis et le Ciel Empyrée, avant que le dessin de la sphère universelle ne fût devenu très précis et la relation entre le monde physique sphérique et le monde idéal, non-corporel, divin – sphérique, à ce qu'il semble, lui aussi – eût été peinte avec beaucoup de détails, avant que tout ce processus de raffinement du contour du monde ne se fût accompli, les représentations de la chrétienté médiévale sur la marge extérieure de l'Univers ont parcouru un chemin long et sinueux.

Nous partons de la vérité, que je suppose acceptable sans réserve aujourd'hui, selon laquelle il y a une continuité bien claire, entre la tradition platonico-aristotélicienne antique et la pensée chrétienne, dans la représentation de l'Univers comme étant sphérique, limité et unique[1]. En outre, la même continuité pourrait être démontrée, en général, dans la survie de la vision platonicienne de l'Univers fonctionnel, qui se trouve dans un mouvement harmonieux, ressemblant, d'une certaine manière, à un mécanisme, et en même temps à un être vivant. Seulement, bien sûr, pendant le haut Moyen Âge, cette image complexe a circulé simplifiée, dans une réduction symbolique qui avait retiré l'essence de la riche philosophie ancienne, en créant les fondements d'une science qui allait devenir de plus en plus mathématisée à partir du XII^{e} siècle, après la redécouverte des textes grecs et la valorisation du savoir arabe.

Nous sommes intéressés de poursuivre ici la manière dans laquelle la méditation sur le contour du monde a été reflétée dans les textes et les images, en rassemblant une « collection » de témoignages – assez réduite, à présent, mais susceptible de s'agrandir avec le temps, afin de mettre en évidence l'ambiguïté ontologique foncière d'une pareille limite « absolue ». En principe, on s'attend à ce que le bout du monde nous dise quelque chose sur l'essence de ce monde même. Aussi longtemps que nous envisageons une doctrine qui prêche ou admet la dualité corps/âme ou bien, encore plus, les distinctions corps/âme/esprit, corps/âme/esprit/intellect, dès que l'on aura prononcé la formule « le bout du monde », on posera nécessairement la question : « Quel monde ? ». Le monde d'ici-bas, corporel ? Un autre – spirituel, mental, idéal ? Le monde « d'au-delà » ? Est-ce que l'on peut dire quelque chose sur le bout du monde d'au-delà ? Y a-t-il la possibilité que ces mondes différents se rencontrent ? Y a-t-il – au moins dans l'imagination populaire – une frontière commune entre le monde physique et l'autre ? Aussi longtemps que l'âme va passer pour a-topique, il est sûr que son pays sera, lui aussi, partout et nulle part, il sera non-formel et formateur ; mais au moins dans un langage symbolique, ou dans une projection figurative, on peut parler du seuil qui se trouve entre les deux mondes. Puisque le monde de l'esprit est parfait, certainement la forme parfaite et divine par excellence, la sphère, peut représenter le contour du monde idéal, de même qu'elle représente le contour du monde physique platonico-aristotélicien.

[1] Évidemment, cette continuité n'est pas sans syncopes et on ne saurait pas la soutenir pleinement et en mesure égale pour l'Occident médiéval et Byzance.

En fait, du point de vue des origines philosophiques du problème, cette ambiguïté fertile du bout du monde peut être suivie en remontant jusqu'au moins Platon et Aristote. Il faut rappeler que, déjà dans le dialogue fondateur de la connaissance médiévale savante du cosmos – le *Timée* –, Platon affirme nettement que l'Univers est unique, sphérique, et qu'en dehors de lui, il n'y a plus rien (32*c*-34*b*). Il parle, d'un côté, du modèle idéal du monde visible et sphérique – l'essence qui ne devient pas, le Monde des Idées, le Vivant en soi –, modèle qui, certainement, ne saurait être que sphérique, lui aussi (30*c*-31*b*). De l'autre côté, il parle de l'Âme du Monde qui se trouve dissipée dans le Vivant en soi, ayant comme ingrédient l'essence éternelle et s'identifiant avec le Ciel (34*b*-36*e*), « le premier et le plus vaste de tous les objets visibles »[2], par conséquent elle est, elle-même, sphérique, mais aussi « visible ». Même si on admet que les images du métaphorisme philosophique platonicien ont souvent, comme on le sait, une valeur démonstrative, et même si on connaît le manque de persévérance du Divin Philosophe dans la construction d'une théorie pleinement transparente du « lieu » physique, dès que l'on a parcouru le dialogue, on garde l'impression d'une ambiguïté – ou peut-être ambivalence – ontologique de la limite du monde. Rivaud a aussi remarqué une fluctuation très subtile entre transcendantalisme et un certain immanentisme dans la description de la relation entre les idées et le monde sensible, et cette fluctuation est liée d'une façon étroite à notre problème (Rivaud, 35-36).

Il convient bien de rappeler ici, dans un ordre semblable d'idées, les hésitations du Stagirite en ce qui conceme le *Prôton Kinoûn,* qui aurait transmis la pulsion initiale à la sphère des étoiles fixes, qui, à son tour, propage le mouvement vers les sphères inférieures. Dans la *Physique,* la transcendance du Premier Mouvant est clairement affirmée, tandis que dans la *Métaphysique* 1071 *b,* celui-là est une substance immatérielle éternellement actualisée[3], mais dans le *De caelo* les choses ne sont plus aussi évidentes : même s'il y a encore des passages qui renvoient à la transcendance du mouvant, par exemple 279 *a-b,* le mouvement des étoiles est expliqué par la *phýsis* propre à la sphère extérieure[4].

Si nous étudions l'autre source majeure des représentations sur le monde d'au-delà, c'est-à-dire le folklore – l'imagination populaire, les traditions ancestrales qui pendant le haut Moyen Âge agglutinent des éléments bibliques et patristiques –, on peut constater que, sur cette ligne, le manque de précision topographique et cosmographique s'est maintenu d'une manière encore plus évidente, avec des répercussions sur l'image de la frontière entre les mondes. Il était à attendre que l'hiératisme du livre sacré, conjointement avec le clair-obscur dont toute mythologie enveloppe les marges du monde, laisserait flotter une certaine nébulosité dans ce problème. Il faut rappeler aussi que la doctrine chrétienne a évolué dans les

[2] Selon l'expression qu'Albert Rivaud propose dans son introduction à l'édition du *Timée,* 1925, 39.

[3] Peters 1993, 154, *s. u. kinoûn* 10.

[4] Peters 1993, 153, *s. u. kinoûn,* 8.

premiers siècles du I^er^ millénaire entre l'acceptation des images concrètes du monde d'au-delà (celles des tortures infernales et des délices paradisiaques) et le rejet de ces mêmes images, car des scrupules théologiques et philosophiques tendent à récupérer le plus exactement possible le spiritualisme fondamental du message christique. L'ouvrage de Claude Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (V^e^-XIII^e^ siècle)*[5], suit pas à pas l'évolution de ces représentations populaires dans la littérature des voyages vers le monde d'au-delà, que développent, dans le haut Moyen Âge, surtout les insulaires de l'Ouest et du Nord de l'Europe. En fin de compte, l'ouverture vers la lecture symbolique et les représentations cosmiques, sur la verticale, du monde d'au-delà, qui sont conçues en parallèle avec les représentations géographiques, sur l'horizontale, laissent la voie ouverte aux visions spirituelles, qui allaient rejoindre la tradition savante. Claude Carozzi attire l'attention sur le cas à part d'Hildegarde de Bingen, dont les visions ne sont pas spirituelles, mais intellectuelles, tout en étant nourries, comme on l'a maintes fois montré, de lectures très bien fondées non seulement des Pères, mais aussi des anciens philosophes. Dans la filiation du prophétisme biblique, elle jouit de la rencontre directe avec Dieu ; ses visions se trouvent sous le sceau de l'énigme, mais pas forcément sous celui de l'ambiguïté.

LA LIMITE DU MONDE COMME EXPRESSION DE LA RATIONALITÉ DIVINE. LES CIEUX MULTIPLES ET LE CIEL INTÉRIEUR DANS QUELQUES TEXTES DU XII^e^ SIÈCLE

En bonne tradition pythagorico-platonicienne, l'idée d'une limite du monde visible qui coïncide, sur les principes du nombre et de l'harmonie, avec la forme supérieure même, mathématique et astronomique, de la raison divine se retrouve avec une grande clarté dans le Moyen Âge occidental. Au XII^e^ siècle, dans l'*Hortus Deliciarum*, Herrade de Hohenbourg suivait encore cette ligne de pensée en comparant le mouvement rationnel du firmament avec celui de l'âme, tandis que les mouvements irrationnels et erratiques des planètes signifiaient pour elle les désirs charnels. L'attention pour le firmament et la sphère des fixes en soi n'importe comment et dans tout contexte où ils auraient été évoqués, s'avère le premier degré dans l'évaluation du potentiel de spiritualité et d'intelligibilité du bout du monde. Le riche héritage philosophique relatif à la sphère extérieure, de feu ou d'éther, confluait ici avec les commentaires à la *Genèse*, à propos de la substance des anges de lumière créés par Dieu lors du premier jour.

L'intérêt des néo-platoniciens pour le monde intelligible, archétypal, qui était très vif au XII^e^ siècle, surtout chez les Chartriens, a nourri la réflexion sur la limite du monde, car affirmer que la création de l'Univers matériel a une cause transcendante

[5] Publié par l'École Française de Rome, avec le concours du CNRS, en 1994.

à cet Univers même conduit directement au problème de la médiation entre le transcendant et le contingent. Il y a aussi des cas où une conception cosmologique plus immanentiste oblitère le problème de la frontière entre les mondes.

Par exemple l'ouvrage pseudo-hermétique ***De sex rerum principiis***, quoique inspiré dans une grande proportion par la *Cosmographie* de Bernard Silvestre et par Guillaume de Conches, est plus proche du stoïcisme de Firmicus Maternus à en juger selon l'intérêt manifesté pour la causalité astrale. Des six principes – *causa, ratio, natura, mundus, machina mundi, tempus* –, au moins *ratio* et *natura* auraient pu renvoyer à l'archétype et à la médiation. Mais dans ce traité *natura* est une nature immanente, elle n'apparaît pas dans l'hypostase de l'Âme du Monde (comme chez les Chartriens), et *ratio* n'est pas associée à un monde intelligible (comme chez Abélard ou Guillaume) ou bien à une *mens* (ou un intellect) qui contient les formes de toutes les choses. Cet auteur n'explique pas l'existence des espèces en s'appuyant sur un *exemplar* divin; *mundus intelligibilis* de la *Cosmographie* bernardine ne s'y retrouve point[6].

En revanche, toujours en dehors de l'École de Chartres, **Honoré d'Autun** s'intéresse beaucoup au monde intelligible et au monde-archétype. Sans être doué d'une intelligence vraiment brillante, il fait la performance de résumer pour ses contemporains, dans la *Clauis Physicae,* la métaphysique subtile de Scot Érigène, du IX^e^ siècle, qui s'appuyait sur Denys le Pseudo-Aréopagite et Maxime le Confesseur, les piliers du néo-platonisme oriental.

Même ses œuvres les plus simples, du type du manuel qui est l'*Imago mundi,* par exemple, parlent de la distinction entre le monde sensible et le monde intelligible, du corporel comme reflet/image/préfigure de l'incorporel. Nous y découvrons, sous une apparence presque schématique, une sorte de vulgate se référant à la structure du monde : déjà dans le *Prologue* dédié à Christianus, Honoré distingue soigneusement entre l'Univers rond, visible à l'œil corporel, et la *machina universitatis* (certainement sphérique elle aussi, d'après ce que l'on sait sur la relation bien établie au fil du temps entre *sphaera* et *machina mundi).* L'univers physique est structuré tel un œuf, et c'est dans le cadre de cette similitude que le ciel *(celum)* se trouve à la périphérie du monde, comme la coquille de l'œuf, en entourant l'éther, au sujet duquel Honoré dit plus loin qu'il se confond avec le feu (1.72). Mais après avoir décrit pour une première fois cette marge extérieure du monde, Honoré n'hésite pas de reprendre le problème plus loin, en raffinant l'image du ciel, dans une présentation « traditionnelle » et synthétique du cosmos visible (avec les sept sphères planétaires qui gravitent en sens inverse par rapport à l'« Univers », avec les quatre éléments, avec l'axe du monde autour duquel le « ciel » tourne *ut rota in axe,* le tout fonctionnant sur les principes de l'harmonie auxquels la constitution de l'homme

[6] Voir là-dessus l'étude introductive au volume Hermetis Trismegisti *De sex rerum principiis,* cura et studio Paolo Lucentini, Mark D. Delp. Tomus II. 2006. CCCM CXLII, Hermes Latinus. Turnhout, surtout 19-120.

se soumet tout aussi bien…). Dans le 93e chapitre de la première partie, Honoré donne le nom « théologique » de *firmamentum* au ciel extérieur du monde physique, ciel cristallin ou glacé et étoilé, situé, d'après le verset de la *Genèse*, entre les eaux d'en haut et les eaux d'en bas. Puis, dans le chapitre 145, il parle d'un autre ciel « théologique », l'*aqueum celum… instar nebule suspense…*, celui qui contourne le firmament. Sans aucune transition s'ensuit alors « le ciel spirituel », *spiritale celum*, qui devrait être exempt de toute consistance physique, comme étant « inconnu aux hommes », habité par les anges disposés en neuf ordres, et abritant le *paradisus paradisorum*, demeure des âmes des saints. (Au 8e chapitre, Honoré avait décrit d'un point de vue géographique un paradis terrestre.) Ce ciel *in principio legitur cum terra creatum* [« on lit qu'au commencement il fut créé en même temps que la terre » – notre trad.], donc il s'agirait du ciel du premier jour, qui est associé par une longue tradition herméneutique (qui remonte à Philon et à Origène) aux anges en tant que témoins du premier jour de la Genèse[7]. Honoré incline tacitement vers l'interprétation de ce *celum* comme monde spirituel, opposé au monde matériel qui est représenté par la terre[8]. Enfin, le dernier chapitre de la première partie (celle qui est consacrée à l'espace – chap. 147) mentionne le *celum celorum in quo habitat rex angelorum* [« le ciel des cieux dans lequel habite le roi des anges », notre trad.], situé, paraît-il, à une grande distance *en haut (longe supereminere)*. Certainement, cette affirmation permet à l'auteur d'exprimer la nature exceptionnelle, par rapport à l'Univers matériel, de ce dernier ciel, pourtant il faut observer, justement, qu'Honoré parle d'un monde non-spatial dans des termes qui indiquent encore l'horizon du monde matériel.

Ainsi, il traite ensemble la demeure des anges – ce que deviendra plutôt l'Empyrée, et la demeure des âmes des élus – qu'il appelle déjà « le Paradis des Paradis », tandis que le séjour de Dieu est considéré séparément comme « ciel des cieux ». Tout en gardant l'ambiguïté sur les cieux spirituels, dont l'image générale aboutira à celle de l'Empyrée et à celle du Paradis céleste aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, il ne leur donne pas des caractéristiques trop « physiques ». Par la simplicité de l'effigie qu'il créé (ou qu'il hérite, en partie, de toute une tradition), il évite d'accentuer la série des contradictions que suscitait surtout, comme le montre bien

[7] Des arguments pour cette lecture offraient la *Genèse* 2.1, où κόσμος et *ornatus* rendaient le sens d'« ordre » de l'hébreu *tsava*, « armée céleste (des astres ou des anges) », dont les commentateurs avaient gardé la mémoire, de même qu'une des interrogations avec un substrat cosmologique que Dieu adresse à Job (38.4.7), en évoquant, selon les *LXX*, les « Anges » (selon la *Vulgate*, les « Fils de Dieu ») qui l'auraient assisté au jour de la Création.

[8] Dans la *Clauis Physicae*, il avance dans une direction plus philosophique et, après avoir exposé les interprétations traditionnelles, il ajoute celle qui est spécifique à Érigène : le ciel du premier jour renferme les causes de toute la création, qui précèdent les *condita*. Cette définition est complétée par le Disciple : ce sont des causes créées par une cause unique, créatrice de toutes les autres, qui créent, à leur tour, les choses sous-jacentes, c'est-à-dire la matière informe, dont ont été faits ce monde sensible et toutes les choses qui existent en lui (chap. 82 : *Quid sit : In principio fecit Deus celum et terram…*).

Michel-Pierre Lerner, un Empyrée-lieu vraiment « corporel », « créé à partir de la matière informe », « lumineux », « immobile », etc.[9].

Par comparaison avec l'*Imago mundi* – cosmographie d'apparence accessible à tout le monde, les subtilités de la *Clauis Physicae*, qui présente le cosmos érigénien, nous renvoient avec plus de force vers les racines philosophiques de l'image médiévale du monde. Sans entrer trop profondément dans les détails du texte (que nous continuerons à explorer en faisant une recherche sur la synthèse créée par l'artiste enlumineur dans les miniatures du manuscrit latin 6734 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France), nous rappelons ici que, à proprement parler, la *Clauis Physicae* certifie la préoccupation d'Honoré pour un trajet spirituel/intellectuel de l'âme non-corporelle après la mort, idée fondamentale dans le *Periphyseon* d'Érigène, avec des sources lointaines dans l'œuvre augustinienne. Cette tendance est visible même dans l'*Imago mundi*, mais elle apparaît d'autant plus évidente à celui qui étudie l'œuvre d'Honoré dans son ensemble[10]. L'intérêt pour le lieu spirituel est ici strictement lié à la réflexion sur la causalité dans la naissance du monde et sur la relation entre les catégories corporelles et incorporelles.

[9] Dans le X^e^ chapitre, « Nombre de cieux et lieu du monde », du tome premier de son traité *Le Monde des sphères*, Lerner explique la relation entre les cieux « astronomiques » et les cieux « théologiques », de même que la question du « lieu du monde » dans le contexte du développement des cieux spirituels (Lerner 1996). À la « naissance » de l'Empyrée avaient travaillé, comme le montre Lerner, p. 216, toute une série de philosophes et encyclopédistes – Proclus, Martianus Capella, Hilaire de Poitiers, Isidore de Séville, Bède le Vénérable, Anselme de Laon, Pierre Lombard. En lignes générales, après les sept sphères planétaires, après la huitième sphère, celle des étoiles fixes, après, enfin, le ciel *anastre* (introduit par Ptolémée dans les *Hypothèses des planètes*) censé être tout à la fois le Premier Mobile, les théologiens allaient introduire comme dixième ciel le *coelum cristallinum*. Celui-ci remplit, lui aussi, parfois, la fonction du Premier Mobile invisible, ayant donc une fonction astronomique et étant nettement matériel, une sphère « fluide » et « molle », probablement éthérée, mais encore matérielle. (On compte Scot Érigène parmi ceux qui considéraient ce ciel comme étant incorporel – voir *Periphyseon*, livre III, éd. I. P. Sheldon-Williams 1981, Dublin, p. 198-204, *ap.* Lerner, t. I, 362, n. 67.) L'Empyrée apparaissait comme une création des théologiens pour expliquer des choses assez obscures du texte biblique (« comme la création des anges, la nature du ciel de *Genèse* I, 1 ou encore le „ lieu " du Paradis céleste », *ibid.*), mais ses qualités physiques étaient de nature à intriguer la raison, puisqu'on ne pouvait pas expliquer la présence des anges incorporels et des « âmes des saints séparées de leurs corps » dans un lieu considéré corporel. On ne pouvait pas comprendre pourquoi la lumière de l'Empyrée n'était pas visible pour les hommes de la terre et, tout à la fois, l'immobilité de ce ciel faisait difficulté pour l'explication de l'influence qu'il aurait dû exercer sur les sphères astronomiques, etc.

Certes, les spéculations de Saint Thomas ou d'Albert le Grand ont apporté des solutions plus ou moins ingénieuses là-dessus, et la tendance à occulter l'Empyrée pour ne plus parler que d'un Paradis purement spirituel, comme le fait Dante dans son *Paradiso*, s'avère salutaire (Lerner 1996, 218-221). Mais il est vrai que plus tard, en commençant avec le XIII^e^ siècle, l'Empyrée allait apporter aussi, par son immobilité, une solution commode à la question difficile léguée par Aristote, celle du « lieu » de l'Univers. Un contenant immobile de toutes les sphères astronomiques, y compris du Premier Mobile, éliminait la nécessité de l'artifice imaginé par le Stagirite pour localiser l'Univers (c'est-à-dire l'attribution d'un lieu « par accident » à sa « limite mobile »). Voir, là-dessus, Lerner 1996, t. I, 227-230.

[10] Notamment le parcours entre l'*Elucidarium*, l'*Interrogatio* – sur la descente du Christ aux Enfers, la *Scala Coeli Maior* – sur le chemin de l'âme après la mort etc. Voir, sur ce problème, Carozzi 1994, 544-549, et Minois 1998, 178-181.

En suivant, de fait, les traces d'Aristote dans une tentative de définir le lieu comme étant distinct du corps et non-matériel, Honoré donne pour *locus* une définition (attribuée au Disciple, mais acceptée par le Maître), qui, au moins prise à la lettre, semble radicale d'une manière surprenante : *D. : His rationibus cogor fateri non esse locum nisi in animo. Si enim omnis diffinitio in disciplina est et omnis disciplina in animo, necessario locus omnis, quia diffinitio est, non alibi nisi in animo est* [« Le Disciple : Par ces raisons je suis contraint à affirmer qu'il n'y a de lieu que dans l'esprit. Car si toute délimitation se trouve à l'intérieur de la science et toute science à l'intérieur de l'esprit, alors, forcément, tout lieu, en tant que délimitation, ne saurait se trouver ailleurs qu'à l'intérieur de l'esprit », notre trad.] (475 *B,* éd. Lucentini, dans le chap. (40), *Quid sit locus*). Ainsi, puisque le lieu n'existe que dans l'esprit, nous comprenons qu'il nous est permis de revenir sur « le ciel des cieux » de l'*Imago Mundi* pour l'expliquer en termes de *localitas,* vu que *quantitas* donne aux choses leur dimension et aux espaces une extension naturelle, tandis que *localitas* définit par encerclement[11]. Cependant, *Solus itaque Deus infinitus est…* [« Ainsi, seul Dieu est infini… »] (482 *C,* éd. Lucentini).

Quant au Paradis, qui devrait se situer au-delà du « bout du monde », Honoré suit Grégoire de Nysse en affirmant que celui-là serait la nature humaine primordiale elle-même, semée dans l'argile (« *terra fertilis* ») d'un corps potentiellement immortel et destinée à la béatitude de la ressemblance avec Dieu, supérieure au monde sensible, non par son poids, mais par la dignité de sa nature (*…maior et melior omni sensili mundo, non mole sed dignitate nature,* 822 *B,* Lucentini). Après quoi, il donne une description de l'homme-microcosme constitué des éléments transfigurés pures. La « délocalisation » et la « dématérialisation » de l'au-delà sont rendues parfaites et « le bout du monde » physique perd sa raison d'être.

« LOCUS PANTOMORPHOS » CHEZ BERNARD SILVESTRE

De toute évidence, parmi tant de bizarreries parsemées à profusion dans **la *Cosmographie* de Bernard Silvestre**, la représentation d'un espace tellement étrange et ambigu comme le « lieu pantomorphe » n'a rien d'étonnant. Quoique la description proprement dite de ce lieu du bout du monde soit limitée à moins d'une demi-page (les paragraphes 10-12, tout au plus, du iii^e^ chapitre du second livre, *Microcosmus)* et quoique sa source (le traité hermétique du IV^e^ siècle en langue latine *Asclepius)* soit incontestable, pourtant la lettre même du texte soulève quelques problèmes, pour ne plus parler de ses sens profonds.

Rappelons le cadre pseudo-narratif dans lequel ce passage est inséré : sur son chemin ascendant vers le bout du monde, chemin qu'elle parcourt afin de trouver Uranie, sa sœur, en répondant à la prière de leur mère, Noÿs – l'intellect divin, la

[11] Voir, au chapitre 42, *Quod aliud sit quantitas aliud localitas : locus vero rerum certo fine terminantium ambitus atque conclusio* [« Sur la différence entre la quantité et la propriété d'être dans l'espace : en vérité, le lieu est le contour et l'achèvement des choses qui se terminent par une certaine limite », notre trad.] (478 *B,* éd. Lucentini).

sagesse divine, *Deus de Deo,* la seconde personne de la Trinité, d'après Gilson[12] –, Nature franchit les sphères célestes, transportée par un noble sentiment. Je rappelle en résumé le motif auguste de ce voyage: après que Noÿs a aidé Nature à remodeler Silva-Ylè, la matière grossière, après qu'elle a déterminé les quatre éléments à sortir de leur confusion, après avoir fait l'âme, après qu'Endélichie, l'épouse de l'Univers (l'Âme du Monde), a engendré les êtres vivants, après que le Créateur, situé en dehors de l'Univers, a donné au monde une forme, avec ses étoiles et ses planètes, avec la Terre pleine de richesses, après que la Providence a mis en branle le cycle du temps, après que, enfin, Noÿs a invité Nature à admirer son œuvre, après tout cela, Noÿs veut achever son travail en créant l'homme. Elle a besoin de l'aide de ses deux filles, Nature et Uranie, dont la seconde est difficilement trouvable. Nature part en quête de sa sœur. Dans sa montée vers les astres fixes, Nature traverse les colures et les parallèles, elle passe par la Voie Lactée, gravit le Zodiaque. En arrivant, finalement, à l'éther qui met en mouvement les planètes, elle rencontre l'Ousiarque (Oyarses), le génie du *lieu pantomorphe,* qui lui fait voir, à sa proximité, Uranie. Une fois qu'Uranie accepte de participer à la création de l'homme, les deux sœurs pénètrent dans le sanctuaire de Dieu, où celui-ci, dans l'hypostase de Tugaton, trône parmi les esprits. En recevant sa bénédiction, Uranie et Nature commencent à descendre par l'éther et les sphères planétaires, parmi les Ousiarques des planètes, parmi des esprits – anges et démons –, jusque dans le ravissant Gramision terrestre, l'« atelier » de Physis. De l'âme faite par Uranie et du corps constitué par Physis, grâce à la médiation de Nature, qui en fera un, Noÿs réussira à créer l'homme-microcosme.

Je viens d'affirmer que le court passage où l'on parle du lieu pantomorphe nous semble plein de mystère. En premier lieu, on peut faire remarquer que l'expression même du titre de notre conférence comporte un accord hybride, entre un nom latin et un adjectif grec, à une forme grecque : c'est parce que nous suivons ici les opinions de Peter Dronke, qui, dans son édition commentée de la *Cosmographie,* déduit que Bernard avait interprété la forme *pantomorpho* (Παντόμορφο), qu'il lisait dans les manuscrits de l'*Asclepius,* comme une forme adjectivale, en l'accordant successivement avec *loco* et *circulum (quem) : hoc igitur in loco pantomorpho…, Oyarses igitur circuli, quem Pantomorphon Grecia… nominat* [« alors, dans ce lieu pantomorphe…, alors, l'Oyarses du cercle, que la Grèce nomme Pantomorphos »]. Si on entend de cette manière le statut de l'adjectif, on déduit qu'au nominatif il devrait se présenter sous la forme *pantomorphos*. (D'autre part, Dronke n'exclut pas la possibilité que *pantomorpho* soit adoptée par Bernard comme une forme de nom figée au nominatif.) Il faut dire que, dans l'*Asclepius* 19, Pantomorphos est le dieu-maître de ce lieu-là. Du « Dieu qui crée toutes les formes », Bernardus est arrivé au « lieu où se trouvent toutes les formes », ou « qui crée toutes les formes » (« all-forming place », d'après le même savant anglais)[13].

En fait, le lieu peut être identifié comme étant l'éther, qui nourrit les astres, et qui, tout en tournant, entraîne dans son mouvement les sphères planétaires.

[12] Dans Gilson 1928, 5-24, surtout 9 et 12-24.

[13] Voir, pour toutes ces précisions, les commentaires de Dronke dans son édition parue à Leyde (1978, 41, 52-53 et 168).

Plus exactement, c'est l'espace *Aplanos/Aplanes*, le dernier du monde physique, au-delà des cercles planétaires, et implicitement marqué par les signes zodiacaux. L'ambiguïté du lieu pantomorphe est renforcée par l'ambiguïté ontologique du dieu-peintre Oyarses, qui dans l'*Asclepius* était le dieu Pantomorphos. L'Ousiarque, dont le nom signifie, à première vue, « maître de l'essence », semble correspondre en tout et pour tout au type du dieu vieillard et bienveillant – c'est un *Deus otiosus*, probablement oublié (puisqu'on nous dit qu'il est décrépit), un dieu qui serait devenu secondaire, mais qui remplit une fonction par excellence créatrice (il donne des formes aux choses) en tant que *Deus pictor* : on sait que la peinture est une activité essentiellement démiurgique. (Nous nous souvenons du Démiurge platonicien qui géométrisait, en dessinant l'Univers tout entier.) Comment se passe-t-elle, à proprement parler, son action, cela on ne nous le dit pas très exactement. Il pourrait projeter les périmètres des constellations sur la terre en créant les formes terrestres ; il pourrait peindre les constellations mêmes, qui, pourtant, on le comprend, changent toutes seules leurs positions par rapport à la terre en vertu de la conversion même du cercle d'éther ; il pourrait aussi copier sur la terre les modèles stellaires[14]. Son geste est en quelque sorte suspendu, à cause du mouvement propre à la sphère extérieure, et Bernard utilise même une tournure ambiguë afin de présenter l'acte de la peinture : *…formas rebus omnes omnibus et associat et ascribit* (« il associe et assigne à toutes les choses toutes leurs formes », trad. Lemoine).

R. B. Woolsey faisait remarquer[15] que, dans le traité hermétique, ce dieu était un des dieux intelligibles, « rulers over material things »[16], d'après la traduction anglaise de Walter Scott du mot grec οὐσιάρχαι, et ces dieux intelligibles sont opposés aux *dii sensibiles*. Le même Walter Scott, en tant que commentateur de l'*Asclepius*, est d'avis que ce dieu représente les principes physiques dans la cosmologie hermétique[17], car Pantomorphos, qui gouverne sur les Décans, se trouve dans une même série avec Zeus Hypatos, gouverneur du Ciel, avec Heimarménè, maîtresse des sept sphères planétaires, avec Zeus Neatos, maître de l'air, et avec Zeus Chthonios, gouverneur de la terre et de la mer. Tandis que, chez Bernard, l'Oyarses du *locus pantomorphos* est rangé à côté de Saturne et Jupiter, et aussi à côté de Sol, qui *inter Oyarsas geniosque caelestes… illustrior lumine… perfuderat uniuersa* [« étant plus brillant par sa lumière… parmi les Ousiarques et les génies célestes… avait baigné toutes les choses {de son éclat} », notre trad., 2.5.13]. On comprend bien que cet Ousiarque est vu comme semblable aux génies de chaque planète. « From the original term he has discarded the sense of rule ; in *Oyarses* he employs only the notion of essence or true quality », dit Woolsey (p. 343), sans nier la qualité de génies que Bernard assigne à tous ces dieux. Donc, ils sont des dieux spirituels, mais liés au monde matériel plus qu'ils ne l'étaient dans l'*Asclepius*.

[14] Dans l'*Introduction* à son édition, p. 41, Dronke semble convaincu que « he writes and paints in the firmament the forms that will be realized below ».

[15] 1948, 340-344.

[16] Avec les mots de Brian Stock 1972, 170: « As *usia* in the *Asclepius* is a synonym of matter ».

[17] *Hermetica* 3.109, *ap.* Stock 1972, 171.

Nous nous rappelons aussi la mythologie d'Uranie, qui affirme d'habitude le patronage de cette muse sur la sphère ultime, celle des étoiles fixes. Son iconographie la présente quelquefois en tant qu'astronome qui indique les positions des étoiles sur la voûte, ou bien d'instructeur des astronomes, auxquels, en fait, elle dévoile les lots des humains[18]. Dans son étude dédiée à Bernard Silvestre, Brian Stock fait remarquer le caractère composite de cette Uranie, qui pourrait nous évoquer la muse de l'harmonie dominant les marges de l'Univers, dans un esprit néo-platonicien, chez Martianus Capella, tout en étant aussi, dans l'esprit du XII^e^ siècle, une déesse-astrologue, chargée des prédictions et maîtresse de la causalité[19]. Uranie qui, justement, habite, chez Bernard aussi, quelque part dans le voisinage du dieu Ousiarque, c'est-à-dire dans la sphère des fixes, qu'elle admire « bouche bée » (*inhians*). Le rapport entre cette région et les destins des mortels – formes résultées des positions astrales – est suggéré non seulement par la relation entre cet Ousiarque, Uranie et les étoiles fixes, mais aussi, en particulier, par la proximité des signes zodiacaux, que le traité *Asclepius* souligne encore mieux, tandis que dans la *Cosmographie* elle est plutôt implicite[20].

[18] Voir, entre autres, Brendel 1977, surtout le chapitre « V. The Celestial Sphere of the Moirai », 70-85 et *passim*.

[19] Voir surtout le IV^e^ chapitre, « The Creation of Man », 163-187 (Stock 1972), et en particulier, sur Uranie, 166-167.

[20] Dans le 19^e^ chapitre de l'*Asclepius*, l'Ousiarque Pantomorphos ou Omniformis – un parmi les autres ousiarques maîtres du Ciel, des Planètes, des éléments… – règne sur les Trente-Six Horoscopes (qui ne peuvent être que les trente-six décans du Zodiaque, représentant, paraît-il, du point de vue fonctionnel, les signes zodiacaux eux-mêmes, considérés comme des configurations d'étoiles fixes), et il octroye aux diverses espèces la forme qui leur est propre : *XXXVI, quorum uocabulum est Horoscopi, id est eodem loco semper defixorum siderum, horum* οὐσιάρχης *uel princeps est, quem* Παντόμορφον *uel omniformem uocant, qui diuersis speciebus diuersas formas facit* [« Les Trente-Six, qu'on nomme Horoscopes, c'est-à-dire les astres toujours fixés au même lieu, ont pour Ousiarque, ou chef, le dieu qu'on appelle Pantomorphe, ou Omniforme, qui impose leurs formes diverses aux divers individus de chaque espèce », trad. A.-J. Festugière] (p. 319, éd. Nock-Festugière). En même temps, la diversité des formes individuelles, constituées d'éléments corporels et incorporels, à l'intérieur d'une espèce qui est éminemment incorporelle, est due aux déplacements temporels à l'intérieur du cercle zodiacal et à la position spatiale spécifique à l'individu par rapport aux astres et aux signes zodiacaux. Et cette spécificité spatio-temporelle dépend de la révolution du même cercle zodiacal au sein duquel habite le dieu Pantomorphe, comme on peut lire au chapitre 35 du traité hermétique :

Cum itaque haec duo, ex quibus constant formae, corpora <et> incorporalia sint, inpossibile est formam unamquamque alteri simillimam nasci horarum et climatum distantibus punctis; sed inmutantur totiens, quot hora momenta habet circuli circumcurrentis, in quo est ille omniformis quem diximus deus. Species ergo permanet ex se totiens pariens imagines tantas tamque diuersas, quanta habet conuersio mundi momenta, qui mundus in conuersione mutatur; species uero nec mutatur nec conuertitur [« Puis donc que les deux éléments dont sont constituées les formes sont des corps et des incorporels, il est impossible qu'aucune forme individuelle naisse entièrement semblable à une autre à des points différents du temps et à différents degrés de latitude ; au contraire, ces formes changent autant de fois qu'une heure a de moments pendant la révolution du cercle à l'intérieur duquel réside le grand dieu que nous avons nommé Omniforme. Dès lors, le type générique persiste immuable, bien qu'il engendre hors de soi autant de copies de lui-même, en aussi grand nombre et aussi diverses, que la révolution du monde comporte de moments, car le monde change au cours de sa révolution, tandis que le type ne change pas et n'a pas de révolution », trad. A.-J. Festugière] (p. 345-346, éd. Nock-Festugière).

Évidemment, au-delà de l'aura de mystère hermétique, nous apercevons avec assez d'aisance le noyau platonicien de cette mise-en-scène, avec des accents aristotéliciens et stoïciens: les choses se présentent comme si le Dieu Suprême, Tugaton, qui habite au-delà, dans la lumière, entre les anges, avait délégué une partie de ses attributions – notamment celle de projeter des formes du monde idéal dans le monde terrestre – à un dieu qui lui est immédiatement inférieur, éventuellement à l'une de ses hypostases, ou plutôt au premier de ses intermédiaires, car les Ousiarques propagent l'esprit divin du haut idéal vers le bas matériel, d'une manière qui rappelle, selon Brian Stock, la conception stoïcienne sur la diffusion de la force vitale et, tout à la fois, la conception néo-platonicienne de l'émanation de l'Un vers le Multiple[21].

Ainsi, au bout du monde physique dont parle Bernard Silvestre, il y a un lieu de toutes les formes, un lieu des idées, un lieu idéal, mais qui opère sur le monde sous-jacent à travers une action mystérieuse de transfert entre la forme de la matière la plus éthérée et les formes plus grossières de celle-ci (ou purement et simplement entre l'idée et la matière ?). Gilson avait déjà attiré l'attention sur le manque de cohérence de Bernard – qu'il attribuait à la manière littéraire dans laquelle celui-là s'ingéniait à écrire – sur le parcours de la présentation de l'Âme du Monde, Endélichie, vue comme une sphère spirituelle, mais une sphère dont la nature a des affinités avec celle de la matière plus légère (du ciel et de l'air), qui est plus efficace pourtant dans les régions supérieures, et qui transmet les idées d'en haut vers les âmes individuelles et vers Nature[22].

Au-delà du lieu pantomorphe qui est, à la fois, idéal et subtil-matériel, il n'y a que les anges et le Dieu de lumière, le Bien suprême, qui habite certainement en dehors du monde matériel, puisque son séjour, où entrent Nature et Uranie avant leur descente vers la Terre, est appelé « la demeure de la lumière purifiée et sans souillure, qui se trouve séparée et éloignée des lieux matériels », « le sanctuaire du Dieu suprême et superessentiel »[23]. Et les autres divinités célestes séjournent quelque part dans sa proximité, dans ce que Bernard appelle des *mansiones*. Il les dépeint d'une manière ambiguë, mais en termes de spatialité (*dextra, laeua, superis, medioximis, infimis, propiores, pro qualitate distantie,* etc.), une spatialité qui quantifie la relation ontologique des divers esprits avec le Dieu suprême. Plus loin, dans le septième chapitre de la seconde partie, Bernard parle du ciel comme étant « rempli de Dieu » (*plenum Deo*), un « lieu » (!) d'où, caché dans le brouillard de sa majesté, Dieu regarde sa création (y compris les anges), qui est imprégnée de Lui (2.7.3). Après cette nouvelle image assez peu précise, Bernard essaye d'exprimer encore une fois, toujours dans des termes spatiaux, recueillis en partie de la tradition biblique, la non-spatialité de la demeure divine : « Au sommet le plus élevé, si

[21] 1972, 169.
[22] Gilson 1928, 15-19.
[23] Traduction de Michel Lemoine pour *locis longe corpulentis sepositam et abstractam purgati defecatique luminis… mansionem, summi et superessentialis dei… sacrarium* (2.5.1).

toutefois il peut y avoir un lieu plus élevé que le ciel, Tugaton, la divinité suprême, a placé sa tente »[24]. Là-haut, Tugaton est entouré par les séraphins flamboyants.

Ainsi, le « lieu pantomorphe » est le dernier lieu du monde matériel, tout en portant les caractères de l'idéalité, tandis que le monde d'au-delà, tout en surmontant la corporalité, est peint par Bernard Silvestre dans les termes de la spatialité.

LA LIMITE DU MONDE DANS LES REPRÉSENTATIONS GRAPHIQUES ET PICTURALES

L'étude si riche de Barbara Obrist sur les diagrammes des vents dans le haut Moyen Âge nous a offert, outre les précieux documents picturaux, quelques suggestions supplémentaires pour l'approche du problème qui nous préoccupe. D'abord, les principes généraux de sa démarche sont parfaitement applicables à notre prospection : de même que les théories sur les vents sont codifiées dans le langage pictural avec plus de cohérence que dans les manuels de sciences naturelles des premiers siècles du Moyen Âge, quelquefois on apprend plus sur la limite extérieure de l'Univers à travers les images qu'à travers les textes scientifiques. Je dirais encore plus : les représentations picturales ou diagrammatiques sont souvent un pas en avant dans la description de la structure de l'Univers par rapport aux traités philosophico-théologiques, et aussi par rapport à la littérature des voyages dans l'au-delà. Nous partageons l'avis de Barbara Obrist, qui croit que le langage pictural visualise une hiérarchie, qui n'est pas évidente dans les textes érudits et sapientiaux. D'un autre côté, en suivant ses recherches sur l'évolution du statut des vents entre la condition modeste que leur assigne Aristote dans ses *Météorologiques*[25] et le rôle de plus en plus noble et spiritualisé qu'ils acquièrent avec le temps, en tant qu'ordonnateurs de l'Univers, nous avons eu l'occasion de constater comment l'origine des vents se déplace de plus en plus vers le haut, vers une limite du monde de plus en plus problématisée.

Pour celui qui cherche le spécifique des représentations cosmologiques du haut Moyen Âge, **le cercle et le carré superposés** forment l'ensemble symbolique (longuement expliqué par Barbara Obrist) qui s'offre le premier aux regards, surtout – mais pas seulement – dans les diagrammes (voir les figures n^os^ 1-6). Le carré renvoie au monde sensible, ou seulement à la Terre, ou bien au « monde dans son extension spatiale »[26], orienté selon les quatre points cardinaux et constitué des

[24] 2.7.5. C'est la traduction de Lemoine cette fois-ci pour *In sublimiori igitur fastigio, si quid celo sublimius, tabernaculum Tugaton suprema diuinitas collocauit,* où le *tabernaculum* provient du *Psaume* 18.6.

[25] « …he emphasizes that the movement of winds is less regular than that of the elements, which, in turn, is less regular and perfect than the spherical rotations », dit-elle, en renvoyant aux *Météorologiques* 1.1, 338 *a* 20 *sqq.* Voir Obrist (1997, 33-84, notre citation à la p. 37).

[26] Obrist 1997, 63: « in parallel to the circle, it symbolizes the surface of the earth and the world in its spatial extension ».

quatre éléments. Le cercle signifie, dans les diagrammes plus « primitifs », seulement la ligne de l'horizon. Ou bien il introduit la perspective temporelle, comme il est très évident dans les roues du temps (isidoriennes, du type *« mundus-annus-homo »* ou avec des riches éléments figuratifs – voir les figures n^os^ 7-11). Mais la dimension temporelle, qui s'identifie au cycle cosmique, résultant de la rotation du firmament et des planètes, renvoie vers l'immatériel, vers le côté spirituel du monde, qui, en fait, est représentable par la sphère[27]. Quoique Barbara Obrist nie l'existence des spéculations philosophiques à propos de la relation entre le sensible et le suprasensible pendant le haut Moyen Âge, on peut bien supposer que ces spéculations aient toujours existé, plus ou moins ouvertement, dans la tradition des dessins diagrammatiques de l'Univers. Le cercle n'a jamais cessé de figurer l'intelligible, le supramondain, le transcendant – ce qui est facile à vérifier si on étudie la fonction de l'aura ou des mandorles qui accompagnent depuis très tôt le thème *Maiestas Domini*[28], ou même si on s'aperçoit qu'un simple arc de cercle, dentelé comme les nuages, d'où sort la main de Dieu, suffit pour indiquer la présence du transcendant dans un cadre quelconque[29].

Même les diagrammes très simples, ceux qui sont formés, disons, d'un cercle intérieur et d'un autre extérieur (voir les figures n^os^ 12-17), peuvent être interprétés comme des spéculations sur le rapport entre le contingent et le transcendant. En considérant le cercle intérieur comme la ligne de l'horizon, le cercle extérieur pourrait être la limite de l'Univers visible, le firmament[30], mais si le cercle intérieur est occupé par le *kocmoc-mundus*, l'interprétation du contour extérieur dépend du sens attribué à ces deux termes : s'ils désignent « le monde sublunaire », comme il arrive pendant le haut Moyen Âge, le cercle extérieur serait l'enveloppe du monde physique, mais s'ils réfèrent à « l'univers dans son ensemble »[31], le cercle extérieur ne saurait représenter que le divin, figurant la sphère intelligible. D'ailleurs, les diagrammes à carte du type T-O dans le médaillon central (voir les figures n^os^ 3, 18-22) et aussi ceux avec un périmètre rectangulaire ou carré au milieu (voir, de nouveau, les figures n^os^ 1-6) nous suggèrent une dichotomie semblable. En tout cas, la polysémie de *mundus* ouvre la voie à de nombreux jeux référentiels.

[27] En toute simplicité, Honoré d'Autun annonçait, au début du deuxième livre de l'*Imago Mundi,* consacré au temps (après la fin du premier livre, qu'il avait dédié à l'espace), le passage à un niveau supérieur d'abstraction : « dans le premier livre, j'ai présenté aux yeux du corps le globe du monde entier, dans le livre suivant nous voudrions mettre devant les yeux du cœur le temps durant lequel celui-là tourne » (notre trad.).

[28] Un thème qui, d'ailleurs, met souvent ensemble le cercle divin et le carré mondain.

[29] Il est vrai que, comme le faisait remarquer André Grabar depuis déjà 1948, après la fin de l'Antiquité, l'Orient a repoussé le cercle en tant que symbole de l'éternité, vu que, pour les Byzantins, celui-ci rappelait, justement, d'une manière encombrante, la conception philosophique grecque de l'éternité comme étant résultée de la succession des cycles temporels. Mais ce refus est typiquement byzantin et distingue l'Orient par rapport à l'Occident (129-130). D'autre part, ni même à Byzance les auras et les mandorles n'ont jamais été absentes de la représentation du divin.

[30] Obrist 1997, 49.

[31] Voir, au sujet des dénotations différentes de *kósmos* et de *mundus,* l'ouvrage de synthèse de Barbara Obrist 2004, 46.

Si, pendant la période la plus reculée, les diagrammes étudiés par Barbara Obrist n'offrent aucun indice quant à **la couche originaire des vents** (l'intuition la plus commune nous suggère et les sources les plus nombreuses nous indiquent la couche de l'élément « air »), au fur et à mesure que les siècles passent et même avant le XII^e^ siècle, on peut voir les vents surgir d'un lieu de plus en plus élevé. Ainsi, au moment où les diagrammes commencent à contenir aussi des éléments figuratifs, les représentations insistent même à montrer les vents en pleine transgression du cercle extérieur, du dehors vers l'intérieur, ou soutenant de l'extérieur les cercles célestes (voir les figures n^os^ 23-26 [et, en quelque mesure, 27-29]). Plus l'importance des vents s'accroît, dans le cadre d'une tradition stoïcienne bien attentive au rôle ordonnateur et structurant du *pneûma* universel, et, sûrement, grâce à l'assimilation du souffle des vents au souffle du Saint Esprit et à leur identification biblique avec les anges-messagers[32], plus la tendance de déplacer leur source en quelque sorte au-delà des frontières de l'Univers sensible augmente elle aussi. D'ailleurs, même les textes d'Isidore, qui considère les vents d'un point de vue météorologique, en bonne tradition aristotélicienne, et les situe, le plus probablement, dans l'espace sublunaire, nous permettent, à un certain moment, à cause de l'ambiguïté de *mundus*, de comprendre que les vents soufflent autour du monde[33]. Si chez Hildegarde, qui accorde aux vents un rôle immense dans le mouvement du firmament et des planètes, dans le bon fonctionnement du macro- et du microcosme, ils ont leur origine dans le feu lumineux extérieur et dans le feu sombre d'au-dessous de lui, mais aussi dans l'éther et l'air aqueux (*Sciuias*, 1.3, v. la figure 30) ou ils partent d'un cercle du feu supérieur, situé sous le feu extérieur de l'Esprit (*Liber Diuinorum Operum*, 1. 3.1 ; 2.18, etc., v. les figures n^os^ 31-33), dans l'*Astronomie* de Nemrot « they are the means whereby the movement of the Prime Mover is transmitted to the universe »[34]. (C'est ce que nous laissent voir aussi, de nouveau, les diagrammes du manuscrit latin 2760 de l'*Astronomie de Nemrot*, rédigé environ 1200 et se trouvant à la Biblioteca Marciana de Venise, celui du fol. 2r représentant les vents personnifiés qui soutiennent les cieux comme des atlantes et celui du fol. 2v, où les vents avec des têtes ailées s'appuient sur la couche bleue d'air, d'au-dessous du cercle de feu – figures n^os^ 25-26.)

En même temps que les diagrammes se développent depuis la renaissance carolingienne et que les éléments figuratifs se multiplient, la suggestion de « mécanisme immanent » induite par les diagrammes simples, indifférents, paraît-il, à l'extérieur du monde, laisse la place ouverte à **la suggestion de plus en plus forte de la**

[32] Voir, pour toute cette discussion et les références utiles, Obrist 1997, surtout 75-76.

[33] Obrist 1997, 49 : « Thus Isidore defines *mundus* as *„ caelum et terra, mare et quae in eis opera Dei "* [*Etymologiae* 13. 1 – „ le ciel et la terre, la mer et les œuvres de Dieu qui s'y trouvent ", notre trad.] or as *„ uniuersitas omnis quae constat ex caelo et terra "* [*De rerum natura* 9. 1 – „ la totalité du monde, qui consiste en ciel et terre" notre trad.], yet he also asserts, in accordance with the shorter wind poem [*i. e.* le poème plus court sur les vents attribué à Suétone], that the twelve winds blow around the globe of the world [*Etymologiae* 13. 11. 3] ».

[34] Voir Obrist 1997, 79.

transcendance divine. Il faudrait mentionner ici une distinction assez banale : parfois, même dans un style figuratif, la présence de Dieu ou, d'une manière encore plus évidente, disons, la présence de l'*Anima Mundi* au centre d'une effigie du cosmos (comme on voit dans le ms. lat. 6734 de Paris du traité érigénien *Clauis Physicae* d'Honoré[35]) fait en ressortir une idée immanentiste (voir la figure n° 41, à comparer avec la figure n° 4). À la fois, les images de plus en plus fréquentes, vers l'apogée du Moyen Âge, d'un Dieu qui tient le monde dans ses bras en postures diverses (soit qu'il le dessine avec le compas en le maniant comme il manierait une balle [voir les figures n^os^ 36-38 a et b], soit que les extrémités du corps divin se laissent apercevoir aux quatre points axiaux de la sphère du monde [voir les figures n^os^ 29, 31 et, paradoxalement, peut-être encore une fois la figure 4]), jouent sur l'idée de la transcendance divine. De fait, j'arrive maintenant au noyau dur de ce thème : la problématisation croissante de la frontière de l'Univers, le plus d'attention qui lui est accordée dans les textes et les images vers le XII^e^ siècle et durant le XII^e^ et le XIII^e^ siècle. Et on peut suivre encore ce phénomène se produire de plusieurs manières : soit par une figuration ingénieuse du Père-Créateur ou du Christ-Créateur (du Créateur sous les traits du Christ) embrassant l'Univers (voir les figures n^os^ 29, 31, 36-38 a et b), soit par la multiplication pseudo-décorative des cercles célestes (voir la figure n° 35, révélant les ordres angéliques dans un manuscrit du *Sciuias* hildegardien), soit, comme on peut voir dans les miniatures qu'avaient inspirées toujours les visions d'Hildegarde, par la complication de la sphère extérieure dans un dessin à clé (voir surtout les figures n^os^ 30, 31). D'ailleurs, il faut rappeler ici que le premier type de problématisation – la figuration du Créateur qui tient dans ses mains l'Univers – a été anticipé par Platon lui-même dans la métaphore d'Ananké qui tient sur ses genoux le fuseau représentant le monde. L'image platonicienne n'avait pas annulé le postulat de l'Univers fermé et limité, mais elle avait apporté seulement la suggestion de l'« au-delà ». C'est sûr que l'on peut comprendre cette apparition comme étant dictée – dans des contextes différents – par la logique intérieure d'une métaphore philosophique ou, respectivement, du paradoxe religieux.

Dans ce qui suit, nous allons présenter trois types d'images illustrant, au milieu du XII^e^ siècle et puis au XIII^e^, trois conceptions cosmologiques légèrement différentes, trois niveaux d'abstraction dans la représentation du monde physique et spirituel (et, bien sûr, de la frontière entre les deux).

Il vaut d'abord la peine de s'attarder sur au moins deux miniatures qui transposent en image **les visions d'Hildegarde de Bingen**, dévoilées par l'abbesse dans le *Liber Diuinorum Operum*, l'ouvrage qui parachève ses écrits visionnaires[36]:

[35] D'Alverny 1993a a expliqué les arcanes des figures conservées ici. Sur la miniature de l'*Anima Mundi*, voir 69-78.

[36] Notre guide pour la lecture et l'interprétation de ces œuvres a été Peter Dronke, inégalable dans sa force de percevoir la pensée d'Hildegarde ; un fruit de ses recherches est, entre autres, son édition de *Liber Diuinorum Operum* parue en 1996, qu'il a travaillée avec Albert Derolez (voir p. XXXVII-XLVI de l'*Introduction* et 46-113 du texte).

la *Première Vision* de la *Première Partie* (fol. 1v du manuscrit du XIII^e siècle de Lucques [voir la figure n^o 34][37]) est celle qui expose au premier plan la figure allégorique de *Caritas,* en tant que jeune homme éblouissant, au visage et aux vêtements rouges, qui tient dans ses bras un agneau et dont les pieds reposent sur un monstre enveloppé dans les lignes sinueuses d'un ophidien. Cette figure dépasse le cadre rectangulaire de la miniature, comme en signe de sa transcendance, mais aussi du dépassement de la convention picturale vers l'espace réel. Des épaules du jeune homme sortent deux ailes bien longues, et à la hauteur de son cou s'insèrent deux ailes plus petites, orientées vers le haut, figurant l'amour de Dieu et celui du semblable. Au bout de la petite aile de gauche, on peut distinguer une tête de vautour aux yeux de feu, et au bout de celle de droite, une tête d'homme. De la tête ceinte d'une couronne d'or de ce personnage qui dit qu'il rend l'éclat et la vie, puisqu'il est l'*ignea uis,* se dresse une autre tête, celle d'un vieil homme, l'image allégorique de la *Diuinitas.* La couronne dorée est la foi qui contourne le monde. Les analogies *Caritas*-Le Christ/*Diuinitas*-Dieu le Père s'imposent de soi presque aussitôt.

Sur le sens cosmologique de cette vision on ne peut pas avoir de doutes, puisqu'elle revient sous une forme encore plus explicitement cosmologique dans la *Deuxième Vision* (fol. 9r du même manuscrit [voir la figure n^o 31]) : cette fois-ci, *ignea uis* réapparaît comme un cercle de feu qui embrasse la vaste *rota* de l'Univers, avec une *imago hominis* au centre. On y découvre une des synthèses les mieux caractérisées et les plus amples sur la relation entre le macrocosme et le microcosme à l'apogée du Moyen Âge. À l'image des cercles concentriques figurant les sphères concentriques de l'Univers nous avait habitués la longue tradition des diagrammes à structures « en pelures d'oignon ». Mais ici ils suivent une disposition assez originale. Au-dessous du cercle extérieur du feu brillant il y a un cercle en *niger ignis* ; à l'intérieur de ce dernier on distingue des serpentins de pur éther ; plus bas, s'ensuit le cercle de l'air aqueux (qui correspond aux eaux que la tradition théologique place au-dessus du firmament), puis celui de l'air qui resplendit d'un éclat blanc, puis celui de l'*aer tenuis,* pour qu'au milieu on puisse voir le *globus* de la Terre… L'Orient se trouve dans la partie supérieure, où il y a la tête de l'Homme (c'est-à-dire dans « la direction la plus proche du divin » [Dronke]). La miniature est encore plus compliquée, car elle présente les forces que les vents (qui surgissent de têtes d'animaux), les planètes (Saturne, Jupiter et Mars, du cercle de feu brillant, le Soleil, du cercle de feu sombre, Vénus, Mercure et la Lune, du cercle de pur éther) et les étoiles (du cercle de pur éther et du cercle d'air brillant) exercent sur le corps du monde, sur la Terre, sur le Microcosme, etc. En ce qui concerne la limite du monde, la grande originalité d'Hildegarde se fait voir dans l'identification de cette limite

[37] Dont les planches auraient pu être peintes d'après des ébauches faites pendant la vie d'Hildegarde ou conformément à ses indications directes, ou bien auraient pu être conçues au XIII^e siècle, en partant du texte. Voir les explications de Derolez dans l'*Introduction* au *Liber Diuinorum Operum,* p. CIII-CVII.

avec la *uis ignea* le cercle de feu, dont la matérialité est bien douteuse[38], mais aussi, implicitement, avec la divine *Caritas,* qui, dans la miniature précédente était la forme humaine centrale, couronnée par la foi et surmontée par la *Diuinitas* elle-même.

En outre, un détail du texte de la *Deuxième Vision* nous permet un rapprochement avec le premier ouvrage de la trilogie visionnaire, c'est-à-dire le *Sciuias.* Puisque dans le *Liber Diuinorum Operum* Hildegarde emploie le nom d'*instrumentum* avec une valeur cosmologique, nous nous souvenons d'une autre représentation picturale de son Univers, dont la limite avait, elle aussi, une apparence exceptionnelle, dans l'esprit d'un réalisme fantastique : il s'agit de l'œuf cosmique du *Sciuias* (dont l'Abbesse parle dans la *Troisième Vision* de la *Première Partie,* en lui donnant le nom d'*instrumentum*[39]), avec une coquille « chevelue », représenté dans le fac-similé d'après le manuscrit 1 de Wiesbaden (voir la figure n° 30, que nous avons déjà indiquée plus haut, p. 106), où l'on peut voir, de nouveau, le feu extérieur, le *lucidus ignis,* secoué par les tempêtes du feu sombre, le *tenebrosus ignis,* d'au-dessous de lui.

Du M**anuscrit latin 3236 A de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France**, qui raconte les pérégrinations de l'âme dans le monde d'au-delà (cité aussi comme l'*Anonyme de la fin du XII*e *siècle*[40]), s'est occupée en détail Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny : elle en a étudié à la fois le texte et les deux miniatures des folios 89 et 90, dont la seconde représente la version agrandie (mais aussi tronquée) de la première (voir les figures nos 39-40)[41]. La concordance entre le texte et les images n'est pas parfaite, pourtant l'idée en est à peu près la même ; cette représentation de l'au-delà témoigne d'une forte empreinte néo-platonicienne arabe, gnostique, dualiste et hermétique. Tout comme dans le texte, nous retrouvons dans la double miniature le schéma des sphères concentriques, cette fois-ci sous une apparence purement géométrique, avec la Terre au centre, entourée de l'eau, de l'air, du feu – c'est-à-dire du monde corruptible des quatre éléments ; plus haut, viennent ensuite les sphères planétaires ptoléméennes ; après la sphère de Saturne, la sphère étoilée (la huitième), suivie d'un orbe double sans astres – la neuvième sphère, qui met en branle la sphère étoilée du nord vers le sud et inversement, et la dixième, principe du mouvement, qui détermine le mouvement de l'occident vers l'orient (!). Notre regard est déjà monté aux sphères non-corporelles, des principes – à la sphère de la nature, *« principium corporis »,* qui est le début du monde matériel d'en bas. Au-dessus de la nature, commencent les cieux spirituels, d'abord par les quatre degrés de l'âme du monde (négligée dans le texte !) – *« anima*

[38] Dans Dronke 1992. Dronke attire l'attention sur cette ambiguïté, car le texte d'Hildegarde suggère la présence physique du feu, aussi bien que la nature en quelque sorte immatérielle de celui-ci, en tant que vie et force vitale. C'est la touche typiquement chrétienne qu'Hildegarde applique à une idée stoïcienne qu'elle aurait pu puiser dans le second livre de *De natura deorum* de Cicéron, car pour Balbus la « force ignée » « was rational and divine but was also material » (163-164).

[39] Pour ce rapprochement entre le *Liber Diuinorum Operum* et le *Sciuias* à propos du mot *instrumentum,* voir, encore une fois, le commentaire de Peter Dronke dans l'*Introduction* au *Liber Diuinorum Operum,* p. XXXII-XXXIII.

[40] Dans le catalogue actuel de la Bibliothèque Nationale, le manuscrit est censé dater du début du XIIIe siècle.

[41] D'Alverny 1993c.

uegetabilis », « anima animalis », « anima rationalis », « anima celestis ». Puis, les dix intelligences, ordonnées vers le haut en commençant par la *decima,* pour finir avec la *prima* : aux premières neuf intelligences correspondent les neuf chœurs angéliques, dans la hiérarchie inverse par rapport à celle du texte, les séraphins étant en bas, au niveau de la neuvième intelligence, et les anges en haut, au niveau de la première ; à la dixième intelligence correspond un *« ordo seniorum »*, les *seniores* étant probablement les Vingt-quatre Vieillards de l'*Apocalypse*. Au lieu du νοῦς qu'on attendrait aux derniers cercles d'en haut, on y trouve : *« Causatum primum esse creatum primum principium omnium creaturarum continens in se omnes creaturas » – « Materia in potentia » – « Forma in potentia »*. Enfin, le tout est surmonté d'un Christ en majesté bénissant, assis sur un trône, dont les pieds reposent « sur un globe qui vient s'emboîter dans la série des demi-cercles » (d'Alverny, 268), qui représentent les sphères spirituelles. Les plantes de ses pieds touchent le dernier cercle, celui de la forme *« in potentia »*.

À cette structure – qui, par l'image des cercles concentriques développés autour de la Terre, nous semble tellement familière, mais seulement si on la regarde dans ses lignes générales – l'artiste a superposé avec ingéniosité les dix petits personnages, de plus en plus jeunes d'en bas vers le haut, probablement pour figurer l'âme humaine pendant sa montée vers Dieu, sinon les membres d'une secte gnostico-hermétique dans un parcours initiatique.

M.-P. Lerner, qui analyse, à son tour, le manuscrit anonyme 3236 A de la Bibliothèque Nationale, considère les deux planches et le texte comme significatifs pour la notion de « cieux métaphoriques »[42], c'est-à-dire de cieux spirituels ou idéaux, ou bien de cieux angéliques, longtemps figurés (jusqu'au XVIII^e^ siècle, paraît-il, dans la tradition occidentale), selon le « schéma d'origine géocentrique en „ pelures d'oignons " », qui a « soit „ prolongé ", soit transposé le modèle des sphères concentriques » (238). Mais il y en a plus qu'une simple « manière d'expression ». On ne peut pas ne pas être frappé par l'insistance des artistes-cosmologues à reproduire toujours le cercle double signifiant une sphère comme symbole d'un « ciel/lieu » spirituel, sans d'autres marques de l'idéalité. Il est vrai que, par exemple dans le manuscrit 3236 A, la plante du pied divin est l'empreinte de la transcendance, mais elle se fait voir après un bon nombre de sphères non-corporelles. Ainsi, la forme bidimensionnelle serait appelée à signifier non seulement la forme tridimensionnelle, mais toute dimension supérieure. Évidemment, on ne peut pas faire autrement sur un support bidimensionnel, mais l'ambiguïté qui en résulte semble bien voulue et cultivée.

Les miniatures du **Manuscrit latin 6734 de *Clauis Physicae*** (*Anima Mundi* et La Grande miniature à quatre registres [voir les figures n^os^ 41, 42])[43] ne s'encadrent

[42] Il en parle dans la *Conclusion* au chapitre mentionné plus haut, n. 9, « Cieux „ métaphoriques ", ou de la prégnance d'une structure cosmique », 238-239.

[43] Étudiées et commentées longuement, elles aussi, par d'Alverny 1993a.

pas dans le type des diagrammes qui représentent l'Univers par le jeu géométrique des cercles et des carrés, mais leur caractère figuratif, étant hautement symbolique, exige une décodification encore plus difficile que celle des formes géométriques. Dans la seconde des deux images, l'artiste enlumineur a exposé le devenir de l'Univers dans les termes assimilés par Érigène d'une vision chrétienne développée autour d'une causalité et d'une finalité plutôt néo-platoniciennes, avec des empreintes stoïciennes. Les quatre registres présentent, de haut en bas : 1. les sept femmes-noms divins autour de *Bonitas,* avec lesquelles on pourrait identifier la Sagesse et ses sept filles, ou la Sainte Philosophie avec les sept Arts Libéraux, ou bien les sept Dons du Saint Esprit ; en tout cas, ce sont les causes primordiales les plus hautes, dont découlent, dans le second registre, 2. *effectus causarum* : le monstre tétramorphe – *materia informis* –, situé entre le vieux Temps et la figure de la jeune femme (!) qui représente l'Espace ; de cette manière ingénieuse est indiquée la détermination spatio-temporelle de l'Univers, en accord avec les anciennes conceptions sur l'*aión*, et avec les représentations traditionnelles des *rotae* isidoriennes, qui associent la circularité de l'*Annus* avec celle de *Mundus*. L'Univers inclus dans l'espace et le temps donne naissance à 3. la matière organisée, au monde des créatures, figuré par quatre espèces : la race céleste, l'espèce ailée, l'espèce aquatique, l'espèce des êtres vivant sur la terre (tout proche, en même temps, du *Timée* et de la *Genèse)* ; 4. en tant que *Finis,* encore une fois Dieu, qui était aussi le Commencement de la Création. En plus, au-dessus de cette composition savamment articulée, un espace blanc, résulté peut-être d'une erreur de pagination, nous permet pourtant d'y penser comme au vide destiné à l'ἄγνωστος θεός[44].

Nous ne retrouvons plus, dans cette miniature cosmologique, ni le jeu des sphères, ni le carré du monde sensible, et le monde physique apparaît, sous une forme iconique, seulement comme matière informe, comme un monstre tétramorphe, contenu entre l'Espace et le Temps. S'il nous faut y découvrir une information sur « le lieu du bout du monde » ou « le lieu d'au-delà », nous devons la puiser à une méta-image. C'est d'une méta-image que résulte la figure du monde sensible, qui passe de la matière informe à la matière organisée : les chevets de la génération se trouvent dans la cause première *(Bonitas diuina)* et dans la fin ultime (le Christ). Ceux-ci sont bordés, pourtant, d'arcs de cercle traditionnels, signifiant la perfection divine[45].

[44] Voir, pour toute cette discussion, d'Alverny 1993a, 56-69.

[45] En ce qui concerne la miniature qui représente l'*Anima Mundi,* Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny affirme que, d'une manière évidente, l'auteur de celle-ci abandonne toute intention de suivre le schéma de la pensée érigénienne, en assumant directement l'essence de la réflexion platonicienne au sujet de l'Âme du Monde, enrichie de quelques données stoïciennes regardant les éléments. Cette miniature ne transpose pas d'une manière précise, elle non plus, la structure de l'Univers, mais ce que le dessinateur envisage c'est la relation entre *Anima Mundi* et les éléments, plus exactement la pénétration des éléments embrassés en *sympátheia* par l'Âme du Monde.

LA LIMITE DU MONDE COMME HARMONIE MUSICALE

Étant, dans un certain sens, l'art le plus immatériel et, en même temps, un art ancré dans la matérialité éthérée du son, la musique peut rendre compte d'une façon idéale de ce qui se trouve à la limite et au-delà de la limite de l'Univers. Dans ses commentaires au *Somnium Scipionis* (2, 3), alors qu'il décrit la manière dont les Muses patronnent les sphères concentriques du monde matériel, Macrobe attribue à la huitième, Uranie, la sphère ultime, celle des étoiles fixes, tout comme Martianus Capella, qui rappelle dans le *De Nuptiis* 1, p. 19-20, éd. Dick, que, implicitement, Uranie est la maîtresse du son le plus aigu, par conséquent le plus pur et, peut-être, le plus « joyeux ». À la neuvième muse, Calliope, « la belle voix », Macrobe octroie la symphonie de tout l'Univers, l'harmonie de toutes les autres voix de ses sœurs.

Au haut Moyen Âge, les théoriciens chrétiens de la musique récupèrent les conceptions de l'harmonie des sphères, en mentionnant souvent la collaboration des Muses-protectrices. Dans un article de 1964 sur la mythologie culte des Muses dans les textes médiévaux, Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny a discuté surtout les manuscrits latins 11104 (dont une partie date du début du XII^e^ siècle), 7203 (de la fin du XI^e^[46]), et une note aux *Mythologiques* de Fulgence qui se trouve dans le manuscrit 7975 (des environs de 1200) de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. L'auteur de la chanson *Des sept planètes* et *des neuf Muses* du ms. 11104 utilise les sources anciennes, fussent-elles païennes, pour interpréter le parcours entre « les agents de l'harmonie » comme un parcours moral vers le « Royaume » divin. L'auteur de la note aux *Mythologiques,* du ms. 7975 – d'ailleurs un esprit assez hédoniste – constate la similitude fonctionnelle entre les neuf Muses et les neuf chœurs angéliques, et identifie la signification intellectuelle d'Uranie, qu'il associe à la nature ignée du firmament : *...significat intellectum quod* [sic !] *prouenit ex calore ingenii, unde conuenit cum spera firmamenti quod* [sic !] *est ignee nature* [« …elle signifie l'intellect, qui provient de la chaleur de l'intelligence, ce qui fait qu'il rejoint la sphère du firmament, qui a une nature ignée », notre trad.]. Mais la contribution qui nous semble la plus intéressante est, dans ce contexte, celle de l'auteur du poème du ms. 7203 *(Naturalis concordia uocum),* que l'on trouve accompagné d'une « figure symbolique de l'échelle musicale ». Tandis que le poème didactique, tout en ignorant les Muses, présente la gamme en termes planétaires, avec des considérations typologiques, l'échelle dessinée à droite nous conduit un peu plus loin : aux noms grecs des cordes de la double octave (qui avaient été présentés par Boèce dans son *De institutione musica* 1.20), notés à droite, correspondent, à gauche, les noms des planètes (en bas, selon l'ordre « cicéronien ») et les noms de sept chœurs angéliques (en haut). La limite entre l'octave inférieure et celle supérieure est le *celum,* auquel correspond la *mése,* les sphères planétaires étant ainsi réservées

[46] Actuellement, ce manuscrit figure dans le catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France avec la mention : « date du document ou du recueil : 1100 ? - 1150 ? ».

à l'harmonie céleste, tandis que les cieux spirituels, peuplés par les chœurs des anges, sont consacrés à l'harmonie supracéleste. Tout en haut de l'échelle, comme garant, protecteur et apogée de l'harmonie universelle, Dieu même, évoqué par le monogramme de son nom (voir la figure n° 43)[47]. Dans ce demier système, le ciel comme frontière du monde physique apparaît paradoxalement en tant que limite et, à la fois, comme médiété : il est la note de hauteur moyenne entre la gamme inférieure et la gamme supérieure, tandis que la terre est le lieu le plus silencieux et le ciel suprême est le « lieu » du son le plus aigu, considéré le plus pur. (C'est dans le chapitre 1.27 de son traité sur la musique que Boèce attribue à la sphère extérieure le rôle de *mése,* lorsqu'il commente les assertions de Cicéron qui, dans le *Songe de Scipion* 10, associait le bas aux sons graves et le haut aux sons aigus ; mais il ne faut pas oublier que cet ordre n'est pas constant dans la tradition philosophico-musicale[48].)

De toutes ces gloses, païennes ou chrétiennes, sur les relations entre les planètes, les Muses, les sphères célestes et Dieu (ou une divinité gouvernant le tout) ressort le bénéfice qu'apporte le langage musical au discours sur le bout du monde : il nous permet de rejeter la terminologie purement spatiale, qui s'avère, paradoxalement, impropre à exprimer ce genre de problèmes. Le contour de ce monde-ci, la « structure » de l'autre, le rapport entre les deux sont mieux révélés en termes d'harmonie musicale.

' LOINTAIN ' ET ' PROCHE ' DANS LE MONDE SPIRITUEL. LE BOUT DU MONDE ET LA « RÉGION DE DISSEMBLANCE »

Le motif philosophico-théologique de la « région de dissemblance » – *« regio dissimilitudinis »,* qui a fait l'objet des recherches tellement intenses de la part des patrologues et des historiens de la philosophie, nourrit un bon nombre de spéculations sur la description des limites de l'Univers dans un langage spatial. C'est une parfaite mise en abîme de notre sujet. De son destin a parlé, entre autres, avec une énorme érudition, Pierre Courcelle, en revenant là-dessus plusieurs fois, pour enrichir le dossier des textes de référence. Il a chaque fois apporté de nouveaux renseignements sur les relations entre les courants philosophiques et théologiques entraînés dans l'évolution du problème, avec l'intention de combler les blancs entre le V^e^ et le XII^e^ siècle[49].

L'origine de la « région de dissemblance » étant, selon toute évidence et logique, nettement platonicienne, le problème a été repris par les Chrétiens d'une manière créative : par Augustin d'abord, et puis par les intermédiaires entre les néo-platoniciens

[47] Pour toutes ces questions, voir d'Alverny 1993b.

[48] *Apud* d'Alverny 1993b, 15-16 et n. 3.

[49] Courcelle 1957, Courcelle 1960 et Courcelle 1970. La série des études consacrées par Pierre Courcelle à la « région de dissemblance » est encore plus vaste ; c'est surtout son intérêt pour Saint Augustin qui a alimenté ses recherches là-dessus.

grecs de l'Antiquité tardive et les penseurs de l'apogée du Moyen Âge[50]. Ce motif

[50] Comme les titres mentionnés dans la note précédente le laissent déjà voir, le premier repère textuel fondamental se trouve chez Platon, dans le *Politique,* 273 *d* (d'où part la formule τόπος ἀνομοιότητος), avec des possibles extensions dans le *Phèdre,* 247 *c* (où « le Divin Philosophe » parle du τόπος ὑπερουράνιος) et dans le *Banquet,* 211 *c,* éd. Robin, p. 70 (en rapport avec l'idée de l'initiation graduelle à la Beauté). Puis, ce thème polymorphe s'enracine dans le christianisme avec le concours décisif d'Augustin, en premier lieu à travers les *Confessions,* 7. 10. 16, où « le Docteur de l'Église » mesure d'une manière révolutionnaire la distance entre Dieu et la *« regio dissimilitudinis »* à l'intérieur de l'âme humaine (à la différence de Saint Athanase, qui se situe encore dans le voisinage strict du texte du *Politique* dans son commentaire à *De incarnatione Verbi,* 43.4, *PG,* t. 25, 173 *a*), tout en établissant la relation entre la tradition (néo-)platonicienne et l'histoire du Fils Prodigue. De son côté, Grégoire de Nysse participe à l'évolution du thème, en touchant quelques questions congruentes du même champ conceptuel : la montée et la descente des âmes, qu'il repousse en polémisant avec Origène, dans le *De anima et resurrectione, PG,* t. 46, 113 *a,* la chute dans le bourbier vu comme lieu « illimité » du mal et associée à la perte de l'image divine – métaphore qu'il accepte même si elle est en égale mesure d'inspiration origénienne, dans le *De uirginitate,* 12, *PG* 46, 372 *bd* et 376 *a,* et dans *De oratione Dominica oratio,* 5, *PG* 44, 1181 *c.* En ce qui concerne Grégoire le Grand, il affirme la « non-dissemblance de Dieu avec soi-même » dans *In Ezechielem* 2.5.10, *PL* 76, 990 *c,* 991 *a,* et dans *Moralia in Iob* 26.44.79-80, *PL* 76, 395 *d* et 396 *a.* Denis le Pseudo-Aréopagite parle, lui aussi, de Dieu en termes de « dissemblance », dans le *De coelesti hierarchia* 3.2.32, et 8.1.19 (éd. Roques, Heil et Gandillac, en SC 58, 1958), qui sera traduit par Scot Érigène au IX[e] siècle *(PL* 122, 1045 *b* 10 et 1053 *d* 1).

Dans la tradition cistercienne, on redécouvre le thème en premier lieu chez Bernard de Clairvaux (*In Canticum Canticorum sermo XXXVI,* 5, *PL* 183, 968 *c,* où celui-ci développe le noyau augustinien en l'enrichissant de quelques nuances originales, comme l'insistance sur l'humilité), mais aussi dans les milieux qui lui étaient proches, chez Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, Richard de Saint-Victor, Isaac de Stella, Ailred de Rievaulx, qui suivent Augustin dans l'assimilation de la *regio longinqua,* dans laquelle s'était « évadé » le Fils Prodigue, à la *regio dissimilitudinis.*

Courcelle montre bien que le développement arborescent du thème dans l'Antiquité tardive et le Moyen Âge entraîne bien plus que l'assimilation de l'augustinisme. En faisant écho à Plotin (*Enn.* 1.8.13.12, éd. Henry-Schwyzer, t. I, p. 136), certains cisterciens ont interprété le *locus dissimilitudinis* comme une variante de *regio dissimilitudinis* plus fidèle à Platon, de même qu'ils ont soutenu l'idée de la descente de l'âme dans le monde en parcourant les degrés du mal. C'est ce qu'ont fait, par exemple, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry (dans le *In Cantica canticorum expositio altera, PL* 180, 494 *a,* à propos du *locus dissimilitudinis* et de la descente de l'âme, ou dans le *De natura corporis et animae,* 2, *PL* 180, 724 *d*-726 *c,* à propos de la descente de l'âme), mais aussi Bernard de Clairvaux, dans *De diuersis sermo* 42. 2, *PL* 183, 661 *d.* C'est encore Plotin qui avait soutenu l'analogie entre notre monde comme lieu de dissemblance et le bourbier du Tartare (*ibid.* et *Enn.* 1.6.5.44, p. 101, etc.) . Cette analogie se retrouve chez Proclus, dans *In primum Alcibiadem*, qui parle aussi de la montée de l'âme et de sa descente (éd. Cousin, p. 329, 15, et 328, 38), en inspirant, entre autres, le Pseudo-Aréopagite, qui, à son tour, aurait inspiré, par d'autres intermédiaires, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry. En ce qui concerne la montée et la descente de l'âme, Guillaume aurait pu avoir accès à la pensée plotinienne, tout à la fois, par l'entremise de la postérité d'Origène, nous dit Courcelle. Grégoire de Nysse est un pareil transmetteur de cette lignée origénienne. Quant à Proclus, il faut dire qu'il inclut, dans la théorie de la chute de l'âme, l'exégèse d'origine porphyrienne de la légende de Circé, qui est considérée comme pouvoir de la génération, de l'oubli, de l'erreur et de l'ignorance (voir *In primum Alcibiadem* 110 *e* [éd. Westerink]). Cette interprétation rejoint les théories chrétiennes de la chute par le péché originel et tout le métaphorisme chrétien de la transformation de l'ange en bête (voir Ambroise, *In Ps. CXVIII,* 10.11.2; *Exam.* 6.3.10, etc.; Augustin, *Enarr. in Ps. LXX, sermo* II, 7.49, *in Ps. LIV,* 3.44, où le monde des humains est désigné par le nom de lointaine inspiration porphyréenne de *« regio gemendi »*; *De Ciu. Dei* 8.23.68, 13.3.30, 22.24.42, etc., et parmi les médiévaux, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *De natura corporis et animae,* II, fin, *in PL,* t. 180, 725 *b ;* Bernard de Clairvaux, *De diuersis sermo* 42.2, *in PL,* t. 183, 661 *d ;* Nicolas de Clairvaux, *Sermo in festo s. Nicolai Myrensis episcopi* 3, *in PL,* t. 184, 1057 *a ;* Isaac de l'Étoile, *Sermo II, PL* 194, 1695 *c et alii).* Du côté du néo-platonisme latin, c'est

ne nous dévoile rien d'une manière directe sur le lieu du bout du monde. En fait, par la synthèse obtenue au fil du temps entre le thème platonicien de la « dissemblance » de notre monde avec celui des idées et le thème biblique de la création de l'homme « à l'image et à la ressemblance de Dieu », auxquels se sont ajoutés le thème chrétien de l'égarement du Fils Prodigue, celui de l'expulsion de l'homme primordial du Paradis, celui de l'exil de Caïn dans le pays de Naïm, et aussi celui, plutôt néo-platonicien que chrétien, de la descente de l'âme dans le corps (qui peut revêtir la forme de la chute des anges jusqu'au niveau des bêtes), la *« regio dissimilitudinis »,* avec ses variations pas du tout fortuites *« locus dissimilitudinis »* et *« terra dissimilitudinis »*[51], représente *le lieu* tout à fait opposé au bout du monde matériel d'au-delà des sphères planétaires traditionnelles. Cette *regio dissimilitudinis* ne parle qu'implicitement du *lieu* qui nous intéresse et qui s'appelle, bien sûr – comment autrement ? – *regio similitudinis*. Au point de départ, chez Platon, le τόπος ἀνομοιότητος – lieu illimité ! – est, justement, notre monde, c'est-à-dire le monde matériel, qui s'oppose au monde idéal, mais les Chrétiens, surtout dans les traces d'Augustin, font des spéculations sur la *regio dissimilitudinis* en la localisant à l'intérieur de la conscience humaine, et ils insistent même sur le fait que l'éloignement de Dieu se produit dans notre monde intime. Le lieu « spirituel » serait le pays de la similitude avec Dieu, donc, apparemment, le lieu du bout du monde physique. Ainsi, on a essayé de restreindre avec précaution toute tendance à donner un sens trop matériel à la *« regio dissimilitudinis »* et évidemment à celle de la « similitude », la région d'origine des âmes qui descendent dans le corps, que

Marius Victorinus qui aurait pu traduire des extraits des textes porphyriens qui se trouveraient, à ce qu'il semble, à l'origine de l'interprétation donnée par Proclus au mythe de Circé (*Quaestiones homericae ad Odysseam pertinentes,* Περὶ Στυγός, probablement Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου φιλοσοφίας), en servant de source pour les auteurs du XII[e] siècle. Situé dans le voisinage du néo-platonisme antique, Origène parle, lui aussi, de la descente des êtres comme forme de la Création (Origène-Rufin, *De principiis*, 3.5.4, éd. Koetschau, dans *GCS*, t. XXII, p. 273, 18), et il fut « décanté » pour les médiévaux, comme le dit Courcelle (1957, 22), par Grégoire de Nysse. Et c'est encore une fois Grégoire de Nysse qui aurait pu faciliter pour le Moyen Âge la connaissance de Porphyre-Proclus en ce qui concerne la ressemblance entre la perte de la condition angélique et le devenir analogue à celui des animaux irrationnels (voir, encore une fois, Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *De natura corporis et animae* II, fin, *PL*, t. 180, 714 *d*, 725*b*). (Rappelons que c'est Jean Scot qui a traduit et commenté Grégoire de Nysse.) Dans ce sens va aussi le renvoi de Saint Jérôme (dans l'épître *ad Auitum,* 124.4.3, *CSEL*, t. 56, p. 19) à Origène, qui, dans le Περὶ ἀρχῶν, avait parlé de la métamorphose de l'ange en bête, par la chute de l'âme. Un rôle de médiateur aurait pu jouer aussi l'ouvrage perdu de Saint Ambroise, *De philosophia,* où ce saint polémisait avec les néo-platoniciens, etc.

[51] Le texte de *Luc* 15.13 dit *peregre profectus est in regionem longinquam…* [« partit pour une contrée lointaine… » – notre trad.], ce qui a permis à Augustin de faire le saut de τόπος à *regio. Locus dissimilitudinis* apparaît en descendance de la lignée platonicienne, sans la médiation d'Augustin, par exemple chez Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, *Super Cantica canticorum expositio altera,* 1.5.64-66, éd. Déchanet, *in* SC LXXXII, 1962, 162-163. Quant à la *terra dissimilitudinis*, que nous découvrons, grâce, encore une fois, à Pierre Courcelle, chez un Pierre de Blois, dans l'*Epistula ad Anselmam sanctimonialem,* 25, *PL* 207, 114, et dans une autre épître, adressée *ad R. clericum, iam aetate prouectum,* 11, *PL* 207, 35 *b-c*, son origine est à chercher dans la *terra aliena* de *Jérémie* 22. 26, formule qui a subi, elle aussi, des influences néo-platoniciennes, probablement porphyriennes, et aussi dans l'équivalence entre la *regio dissimilitudinis* et la *terra* [*Naïm*] de la *Genèse* 4.14-16, que l'on trouve chez un Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, dans *De natura corporis et animae 2*, *PL* 180, 725 *b*.

surtout le néo-platonisme décrivait avec trop d'insistance en termes astraux. (Bernard de Clairvaux le fait, en bon augustinien : *Est ergo coelum sancta aliqua anima, habens solem intellectum, lunam fidem, astra uirtutes* [« Donc, le ciel est une âme sainte quelconque, ayant l'intellect comme soleil, la foi comme lune, les vertus comme astres », notre trad.], mais cela n'empêche pas Bérenger de Poitiers de l'accuser pour la « saveur origénienne » et, en général, néo-platonicienne de sa conception sur « l'origine céleste des âmes »[52].) Dans les milieux proches de Bernard on parle de cinq « régions spirituelles » où le moine peut chercher son bien : la « région de dissemblance », la « région australe » ou *paradisus claustralis*, la « région d'expiation », la « région de géhenne », la « région supracéleste » ou *paradisus supracoelestis*[53]. Ce qui est particulièrement intéressant est cette stratification pseudo-spatiale des régions éminemment spirituelles, qui traduit l'attachement au modèle spatial et, en même temps, la polémique avec ce modèle. Ailleurs, dans la « direction » opposée à la « région de dissemblance » se trouve Dieu, ou le Christ, ou bien l'Église-Mère (comme écrit le chanoine Absalon de Springkirchsbach, au XII^e^ siècle, dans le *Sermo XVI*, *PL* 211, 100 *a-c*).

Il arrive ainsi que la longue suite des interinfluences entre le platonisme, le néo-platonisme et le christianisme, surtout le poids qu'a eu dans ce contexte la parabole du Fils Prodigue, d'où provient le qualificatif *longinquus/longinqua* (« éloigné/éloignée ») attaché au nom du pays ou du lieu de « dissemblance », aient conduit à la présentation de ce pays ou lieu comme étant par excellence « éloigné », et de ce fait comme un *autre bout du monde,* même si ce monde était un monde intérieur.

CONCLUSIONS

Nous avons suivi dans les pages ci-dessus quelques repères que la tradition culte, héritière principalement de Platon et d'Aristote, durant le haut Moyen Âge chrétien, a établis au sujet de la limite du monde. Les textes et les images étudiés par nous parlent du contour du monde dans un langage qu'on pourrait considérer comme étant celui du réalisme symbolique (chez Herrade de Hohenbourg ou chez Honoré d'Autun dans l'*Imago Mundi)*, de l'allégorie mythico-philosophique (chez Bernard Silvestre), de la vision intellectuelle (chez Hildegarde de Bingen) ou mystico-initiatique (dans le Pélérinage du ms. 3236 A). Ce sont des genres qui représentent des espèces d'*integumentum*. D'ailleurs, comme l'a bien montré M.-P. Lerner, toute référence au spirituel et à l'idéal en termes spatiaux représente une « métaphore », une sorte de « transfert ». Mais nous nous sommes aussi confrontés avec un langage purement conceptuel en explorant la *Clauis Physicae* d'Honoré.

Une difficulté fondamentale que soulève le problème du bout du monde est de trouver la modalité la plus adéquate pour parler de la limite entre le corporel et l'incorporel, le sensible et l'intelligible. *Faute de mieux,* comme pour les descriptions

[52] Voir son *Apologeticus contra Bernardum, PL,* t. 178, 1863 *a* et 1866 *c,* à propos du texte de Bernard *In Cantica, sermo XXVII,* 8, *PL* 183, 917 *c – ap.* Courcelle 1957, 22-23 et 27.

[53] Courcelle 1970, 272 et 275.

du Paradis céleste, on a imaginé une « topographie » de la limite du monde physique, quoique celle-ci puisse se trouver partout et nulle part. Dans la théologie chrétienne, les commentaires d'Augustin au premier verset de la *Genèse (De Gen. ad litt.,* 1.1) ont établi la distinction décisive entre les deux « espaces » créés par Dieu : les cieux représentent l'être intellectuel et spirituel, tandis que la terre signifie l'être corporel et sensible. Ce fut le point de départ pour toute une tradition herméneutique qui situe l'esprit dans un ciel qui *paraît* être physique. Cette tradition est venue rejoindre les conceptions philosophiques sur une sphère extérieure divine ou à même de « traduire » l'ordre divin dans le « langage » du monde physique.

En ce qui concerne les solutions iconographiques, naturellement, nous ne sommes pas surpris de constater que le cercle exprime la limite du monde sensible tout aussi bien que la perfection du transcendant et de l'intelligible. En principe, dans les diagrammes ou les représentations figurées cosmologiques de la tradition occidentale, le cercle extérieur en tant que limite du monde ne cesse pas de rendre manifeste le divin, comme l'avait fait remarquer André Grabar depuis plus d'un demi-siècle, à la différence de ce qui se passe en Orient, où l'on refuse au cercle, au moins partiellement, cette signification. Tout à la fois, ce sont les orientaux Pseudo-Denys et Maxime le Confesseur qui auraient transmis à l'Occident l'idée d'un Univers hiérarchisé, d'un Univers-Église, où l'inférieur contient un reflet du supérieur, où les ordres angéliques couronnent la création, tout en étant distribués en cercles concentriques. Mais au-delà de ce lieu commun de la représentation symbolique, ce qui nous attire, en outre, l'attention, ce sont les solutions ingénieuses trouvées par les miniaturistes pour transposer le discours sur le lieu intelligible dans l'image bidimensionnelle : par exemple, le jeu entre le cercle de feu extérieur et une figuration non-géométrique des hypostases divines (dans les manuscrits d'Hildegarde), les spéculations picturales sur la limite du monde dans les images de Dieu qui tient dans ses mains ou embrasse, en transgressant, l'Univers, les conceptualisations graphiques savantes des rapports entre les causes, la structure et la finalité du monde, l'insistance de plus en plus obstinée sur les contours extérieurs, par des moyens pseudo-décoratives, etc.

Des discontinuités anciennes dans la définition de l'espace et du lieu se retrouvent au Moyen Âge. Notamment, les échos des indécisions d'Aristote sur la nature du *Primum Mouens* ou le statut de la sphère extérieure se laissent encore percevoir ; l'idée aristotélicienne qu'il est impropre de situer l'Univers quelque part, dans un lieu quelconque, persiste à travers des traitements néo-platoniciens. C'est pourquoi la cosmologie du haut Moyen Âge assume, à propos du lieu et de la limite spatiale, une perspective multiple, sans désambiguïser le contour du monde. Ainsi, la doctrine aristotélicienne se trouve à l'origine d'un certain relativisme quant au statut du lieu, et en particulier du lieu-Univers, que l'on peut reconnaître encore chez Honoré d'Autun, lorsqu'il adapte le texte d'Érigène : l'idée que le lieu n'est qu'une abstraction soutient la conception d'un lieu spirituel. Et les spéculations sur le lieu spirituel, figuré d'une manière symbolique dans une continuité apparemment physique avec l'Univers sensible, revêtent des formes de plus en plus ingénieuses.

L'image du bout du monde est influencée surtout par la perspective platonicienne d'un espace actif, dont la limite extérieure est implicitement active

elle aussi et plus proche de l'Idée, respectivement de Dieu, en infusant son énergie vivifiante à travers l'Univers physique[54]. Et la lignée aristotélicienne, bien qu'elle ait favorisé, au cours des siècles, la conception d'un espace passif, est venue rejoindre la vision d'une frontière active surtout par la conception du *Primum Mouens*, par la représentation aristotélicienne d'une hiérarchie de l'espace où le haut est plus pur que le bas, puisque les éléments plus subtils, situés dans le haut, jouissent d'un statut ontologique supérieur à celui des éléments grossiers d'en bas. De plus, l'éther-feu stoïcien, le feu créateur qui s'identifie à la divinité, à la nature et au *noûs*, et qui nourrit les étoiles et le soleil, tout en pénétrant le monde entier, renforce l'idée aristotélicienne sur la prééminence ontologique des éléments d'en haut[55]. Du côté stoïcien, la conception d'un Esprit vivifiant du monde, que la tradition biblique a superposé à l'image stoïcienne du *pneûma* de feu et d'air, ne pouvait que suggérer, elle aussi, l'éclat spirituel actif du bout du monde (c'est ce que l'on découvre chez Hildegarde, dans la conception qu'elle a sur le rôle des vents et, en général, dans tout le courant de pensée – étudié par Barbara Obrist – qui tend à investir les vents du rôle de régulateurs de l'Univers).

Une synthèse des conceptions d'un espace actif et d'une limite formative du monde est à découvrir dans le « périmètre » du *locus pantomorphos* de Bernard Silvestre, qui rassemble des idées propres à la démiurgie platonicienne (comme celle d'un dieu géomètre-peintre qui projette des formes idéales dans le monde corporel) avec ce que l'hermétisme avait puisé à l'astrologie mystique et à l'ancienne mythologie astrale, sur un canevas néo-platonicien ayant depuis longtemps assimilé l'hiérarchie aristotélicienne du monde. Il n'est point étranger à cette synthèse le motif néo-platonicien de la montée et de la descente – des figures allégoriques, dans ce cas, et pas des âmes – à travers les sphères planétaires. En même temps, on est tenté d'identifier chez Bernard l'interprétation du *tópos* comme *týpos*, dans un esprit également néo-platonicien, puisque le *locus pantomorphos* est un lieu dont l'extension représente l'espace physique structuré, où les objets se trouvent dans un certain ordre et pas dans un autre (interprétation qui nous conduit vers les opinions de Damascius[56]). Ou bien on pourrait le concevoir, à la manière de Simplicius[57], comme un lieu intrinsèque, un lieu intelligible, qui se déploie dans une pluralité de changements de positions. En tout cas, comme le montre bien Brian Stock, les contemporains de Bernard, commentateurs de la tradition platonicienne en ce qui concerne la sphère *aplanos*, interprétaient parfois cette sphère comme une matrice des formes universelles[58]. Une étude approfondie des sources néo-platoniciennes intermédiaires auxquelles Bernard aurait puisé tout ce savoir s'impose au chercheur qui voudrait éclaircir encore plus les mystères de ce lieu emblématique.

[54] Voir, au sujet de l'héritage platonicien et aristotélicien dans les théories néo-platoniciennes de l'espace, les commentaires de Sambursky 1982.

[55] Consulter, là-dessus, l'étude de Lapidge 1988.

[56] Voir Sambursky 1982, 21-22.

[57] Sambursky 1982, 25-29.

[58] *Cf.*, chez Adelard of Bath, dans les *Questiones Naturales*, cap. 76, sur *aplanos : qui uniuersa formata sinu continet* [« qui contient dans son sein toutes les choses qui ont reçu une forme »], *ap.* Stock 1972, 168.

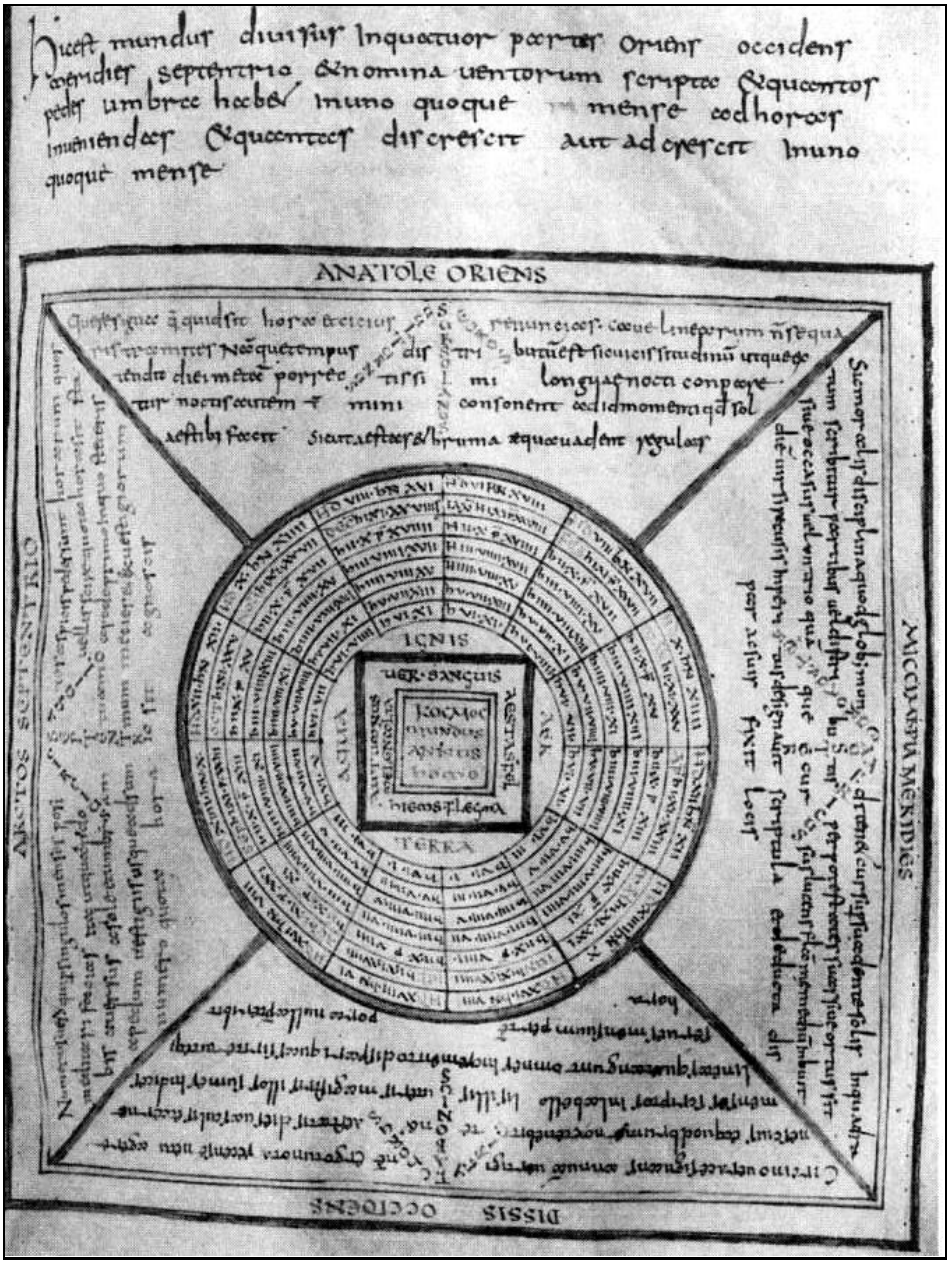


Fig. 1 : Diagramme de l'Univers (*kocmoc-mundus-annus-homo*) avec cercle et des carrés concentriques. Miscellanée computistique. Cologne, Dombibliothek/Diözesanbibliothek, ms. 83 II, fol. 84r. Cologne, Cathédrale, environ 800 (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 60, Fig. 19. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

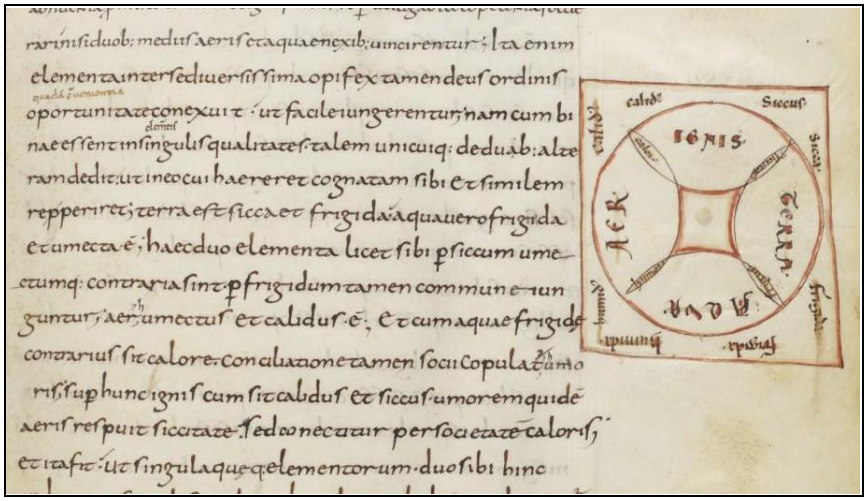


Fig. 2 : Les quatre éléments et les quatre qualités élémentaires. Macrobe, *Commentaire au Songe de Scipion*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 6370, fol. 15r. Tours, 820-830. Additions par Loup de Ferrières (textes et figures) et Heiric d'Auxerre, à partir de 859 (*apud* Obrist [2004], Fig. 61. URL : ftp://ftp.bnf.fr/842/N8426285_JPEG_33_33DM.jpg).

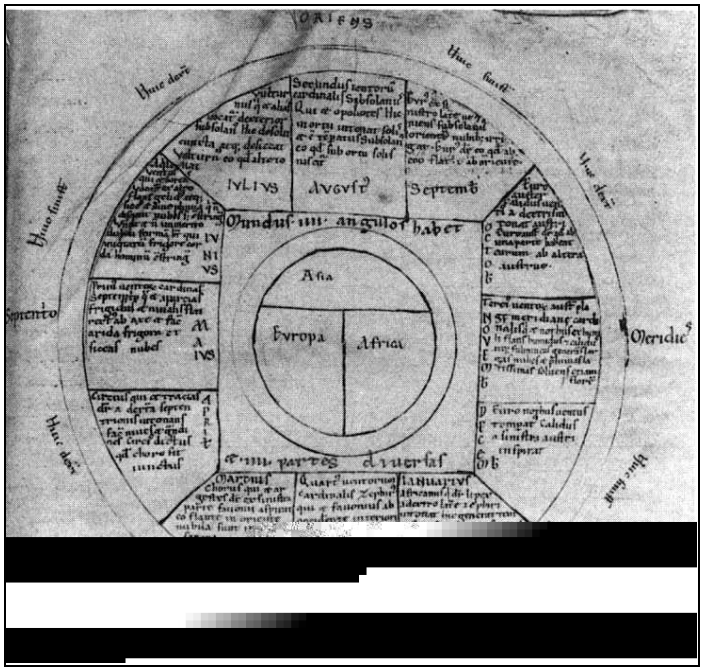


Fig. 3 : Diagramme de l'Univers avec des cercles et un carré concentriques et avec une carte en T-O dans le médaillon central. Trèves, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 1084/115 4°, fol. 99r (détail). Trèves, Abbaye Saint-Maximin, XI[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 60, Fig. 18. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).



Fig. 4 : Le Logos divin comme archétype du monde céleste et du monde élémentaire avec ses vents. Thomas de Cantimpré, *De naturis rerum ; Physiologus ;* Guillaume de Conches, *Philosophia mundi* (copie partielle). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 2655, fol. 105r. Aldersbach (évêché de Passau), entre 1295 et 1308 (*apud* Hartmut Böhme, « Die Hermetishce Ikonologie der vier Elemente », Mediale Hamburg 1993 [Ausstellungskatalog], Hamburg, 1993, p. 84–97. URL : http://www.culture.hu-berlin.de/hb/static/archiv/volltexte/texte/b_ikonologie/Mediale-Abb4.jpg).

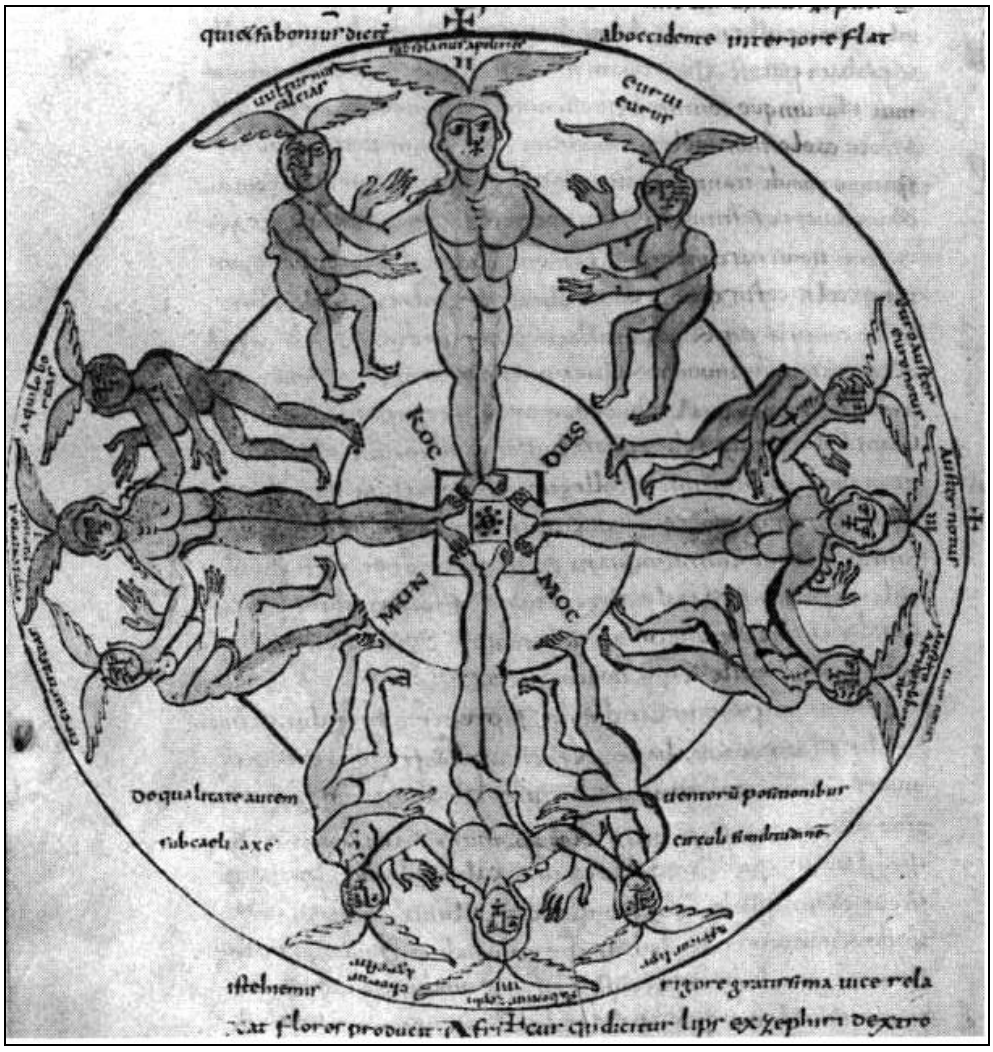


Fig. 5 : Diagramme des vents personnifiés et l'Univers *(kocmoc-mundus)*, avec un carré inscrit dans des cercles concentriques. Isidore de Séville, *De rerum natura*. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 422, fol. 5v (détail). Laon, début du IX[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 67, Fig. 25. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

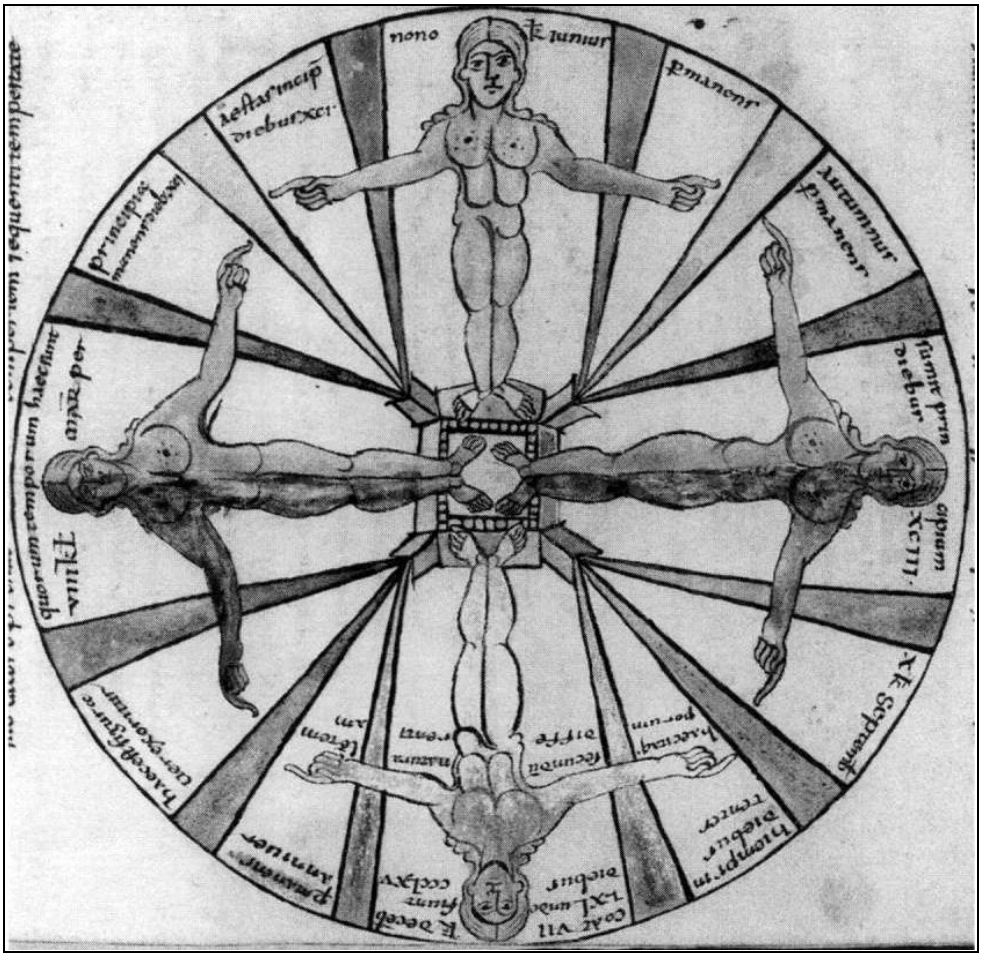


Fig. 6 : Diagramme des saisons personnifiées et l'Univers, avec un carré inscrit dans un cercle. Isidore de Séville, *De rerum natura*, VII, 4. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 422, fol. 6v (détail). Laon, début du IX^e^ siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 68, Fig. 27. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

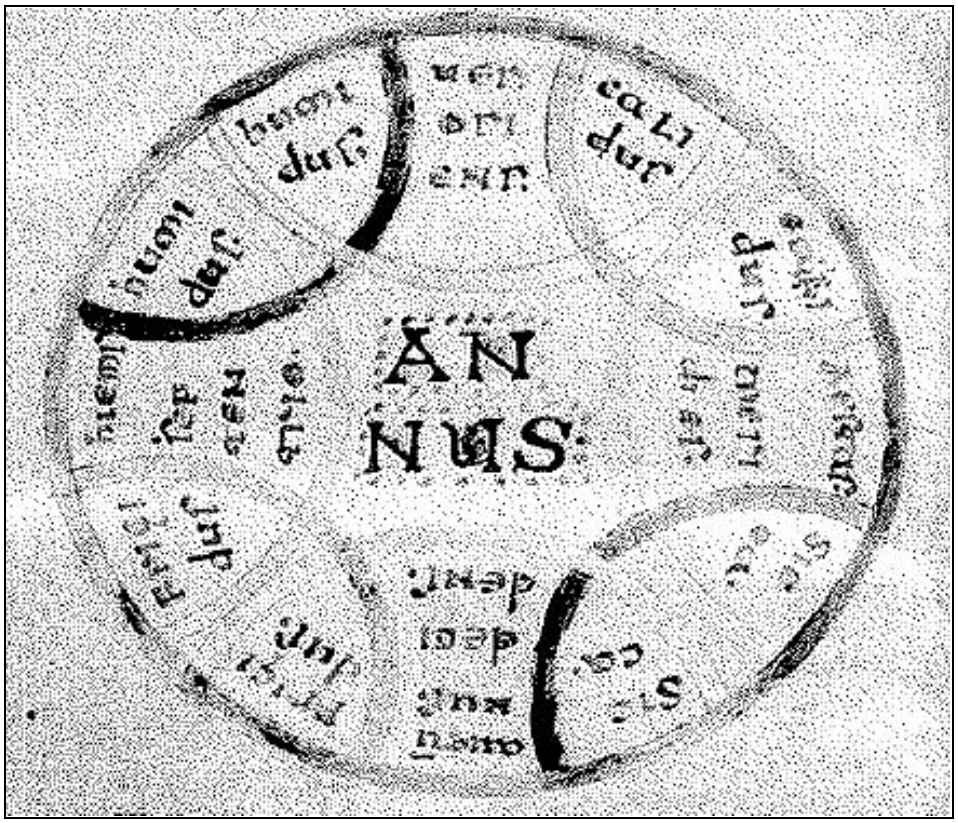


Fig. 7 : *Rota* isidorienne du type *annus*. Isidore de Séville, *De natura rerum*, VII, 4. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 423, fol. 8v. Laon, milieu du VIII[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1996], p. 128-129, Fig. 1. URL : http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a149380.pdf).

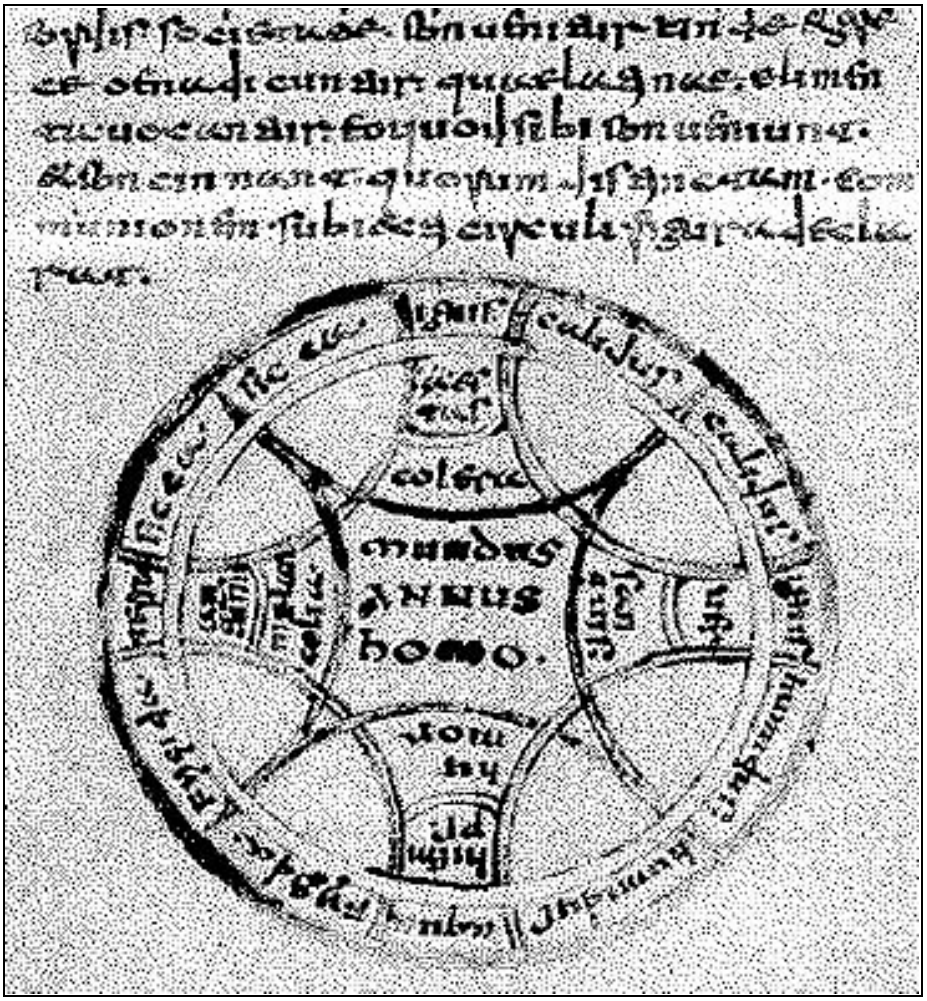


Fig. 8 : *Rota* isidorienne du type *mundus-annus-homo.* Isidore de Séville, *De rerum natura*, XI, 2. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 423, fol. 12r. Laon, milieu du VIII[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1996], p. 128-129, Fig. 3. URL : http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a149380.pdf).

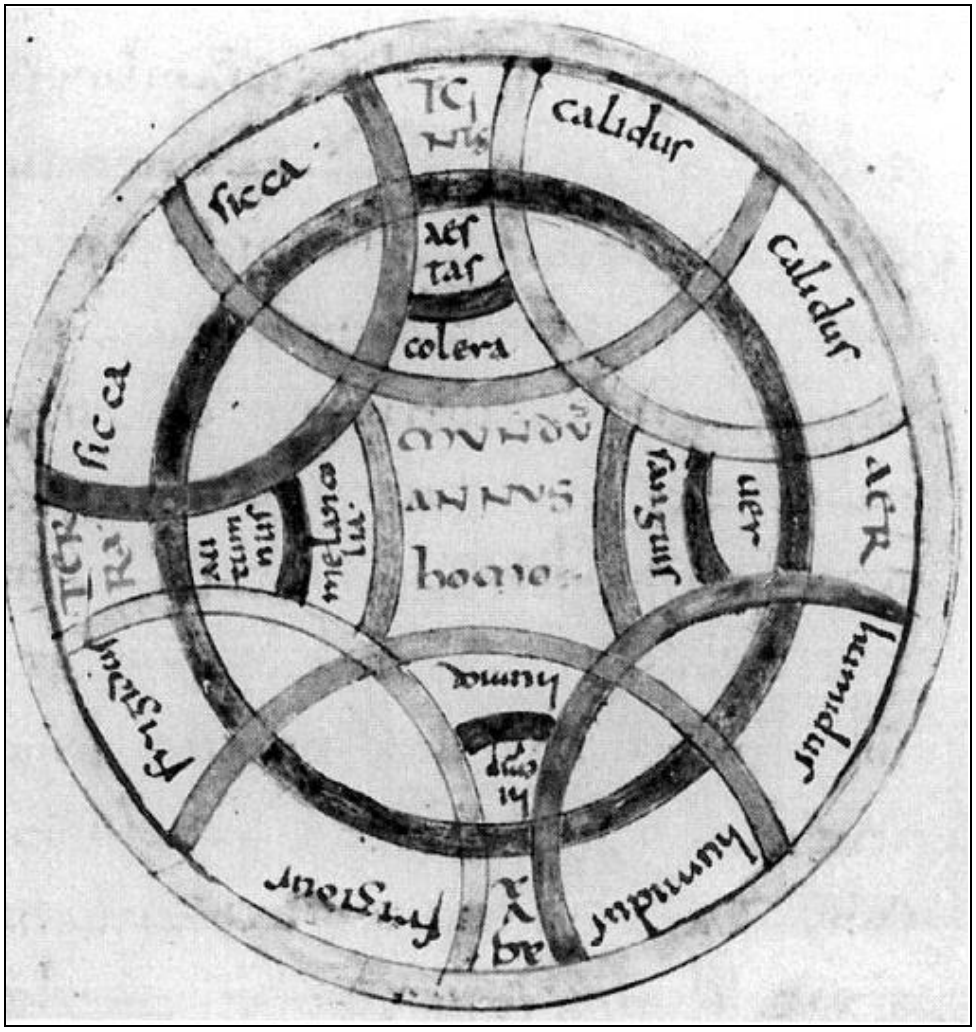


Fig. 9 : *Rota* isidorienne du type *mundus-annus-homo*. Isidore de Séville, *De rerum natura*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 16128, fol. 16r (détail). Provenant de Passau, St. Nikola, fin du VIII[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 61, Fig. 20. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 2865863).



Fig. 10 : Le Zodiaque avec les personnifications du Soleil et de la Lune au centre. Corpus latin révisé d'écrits astronomiques aratéens. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 12957, fol. 72r. France, premier quart du IX[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [2001], p. 27, Fig. 21. URL : http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/ccmed_00079731_2001_num_44_173_2791).



Fig. 11 : Le Soleil sur son quadrige, personnifications en demi-figures des heures et des mois (travaux des mois), signes du Zodiaque. Ptolémée, *Tables faciles* avec scholies et ajouts. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. gr. 1291, fol. 9r. Constantinople, entre 829 et 842 (*apud* Obrist [2001], p. 20, Fig. 13. URL : http://www.voynich.nu/extra/img/helios.jpg).

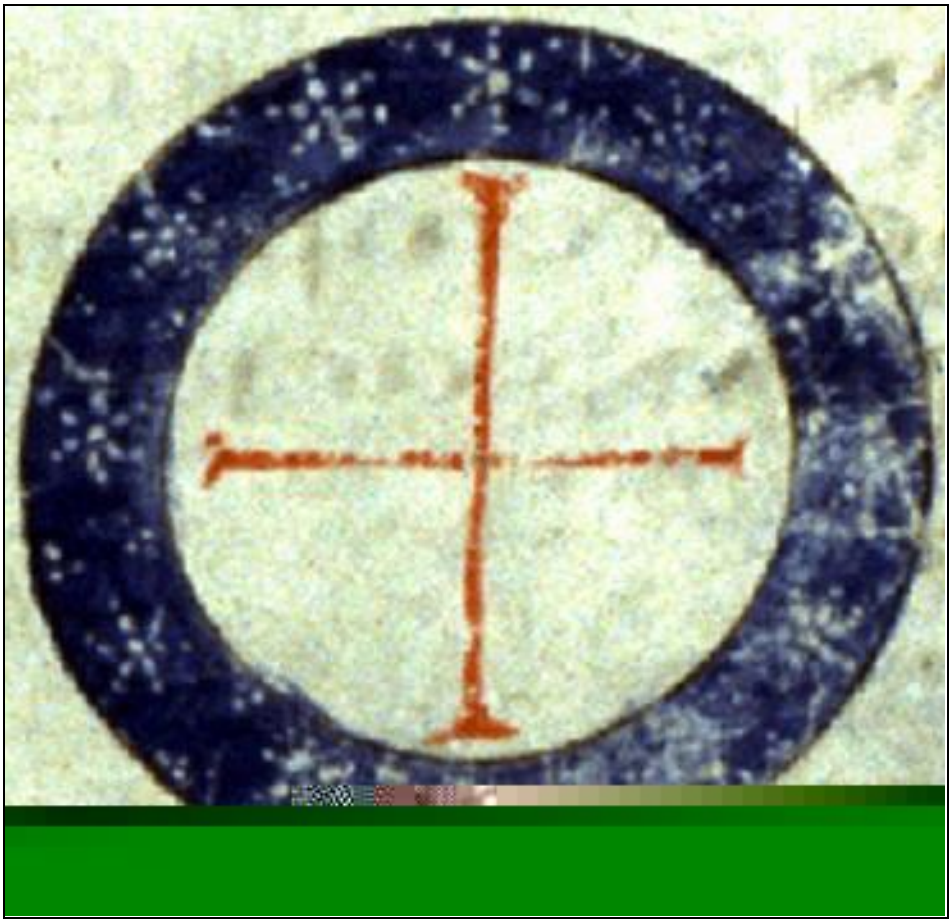


Fig. 12 : Le monde figuré par deux cercles concentriques, dont le cercle intérieur est marqué par une croix. Hygin l'Arpenteur, *L'Établissement des limites,* « Le monde divisé par le *cardo* et le *decumanus* ». Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 36. 23 A, fol. 52v. Italie, début du VI^{e} siècle (*in* Hygin, *L'Établissement des limites*, dans les *Sources gromatiques* éditées par l'Institut des Sciences et des Techniques de l'Antiquité de l'Université de Franche-Comté, Fig. 66 A 111. URL : http://ista.univ-fcomte.fr/index.php/ed-src/gromatiques/hygin-cd/figures).



Fig. 13 : Le monde figuré par deux cercles concentriques, dont le cercle intérieur est « divisé par les cinq cercles célestes parallèles et le cercle du zodiaque ». Hygin l'Arpenteur, *L'Établissement des limites*. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, cod. Guelf. 36. 23 A, fol. 42r. Italie, début du VI[e] siècle (*in* Hygin, *L'Établissement des limites,* dans les *Sources gromatiques* éditées par l'Institut des Sciences et des Techniques de l'Antiquité de l'Université de Franche-Comté, Fig. 100 A 132. URL : http://ista.univ-fcomte.fr/index.php/ed-src/gromatiques/hygin-cd/figures/682-fig100).

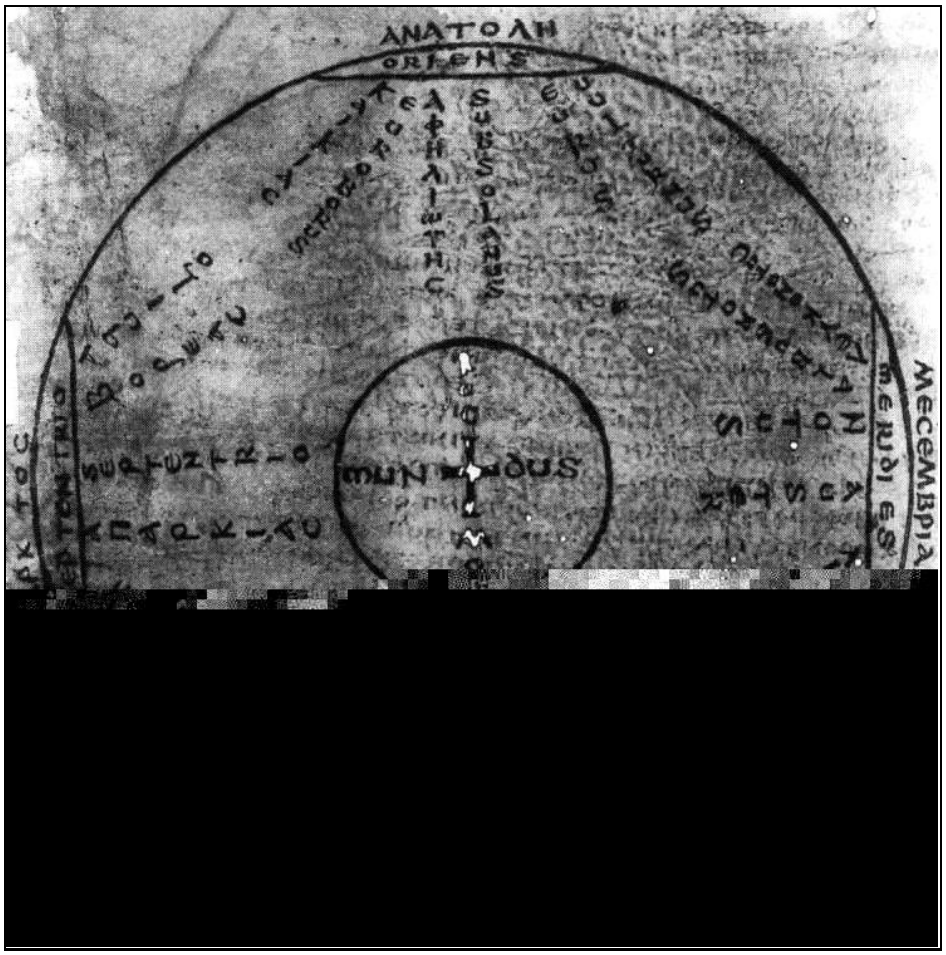


Fig. 14 : Diagramme des vents avec un médaillon de type *kocmoc-mundus* au centre. Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*. Cité du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Reg. lat. 2077, fol. 99r (détail). Début du VII[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 44, Fig. 3. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

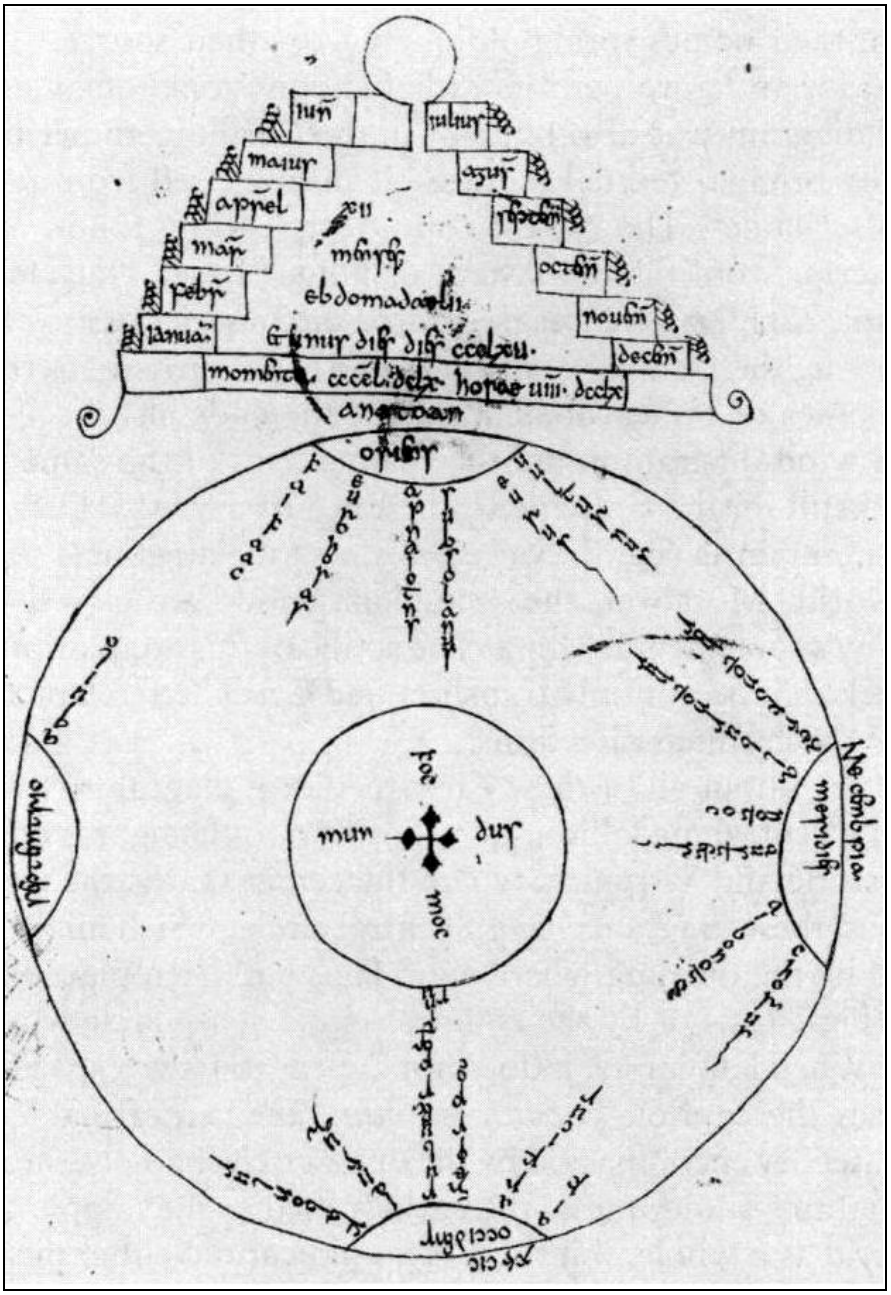


Fig. 15 : Diagramme des vents avec un médaillon de type *kocmoc-mundus* au centre. Isidore de Séville, *De rerum natura*, avec des *schemata* additionnels. Bâle, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. F III 15a, fol. 22r. Monastère de Fulda, fin du VIII[e] (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 47, Fig. 8. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

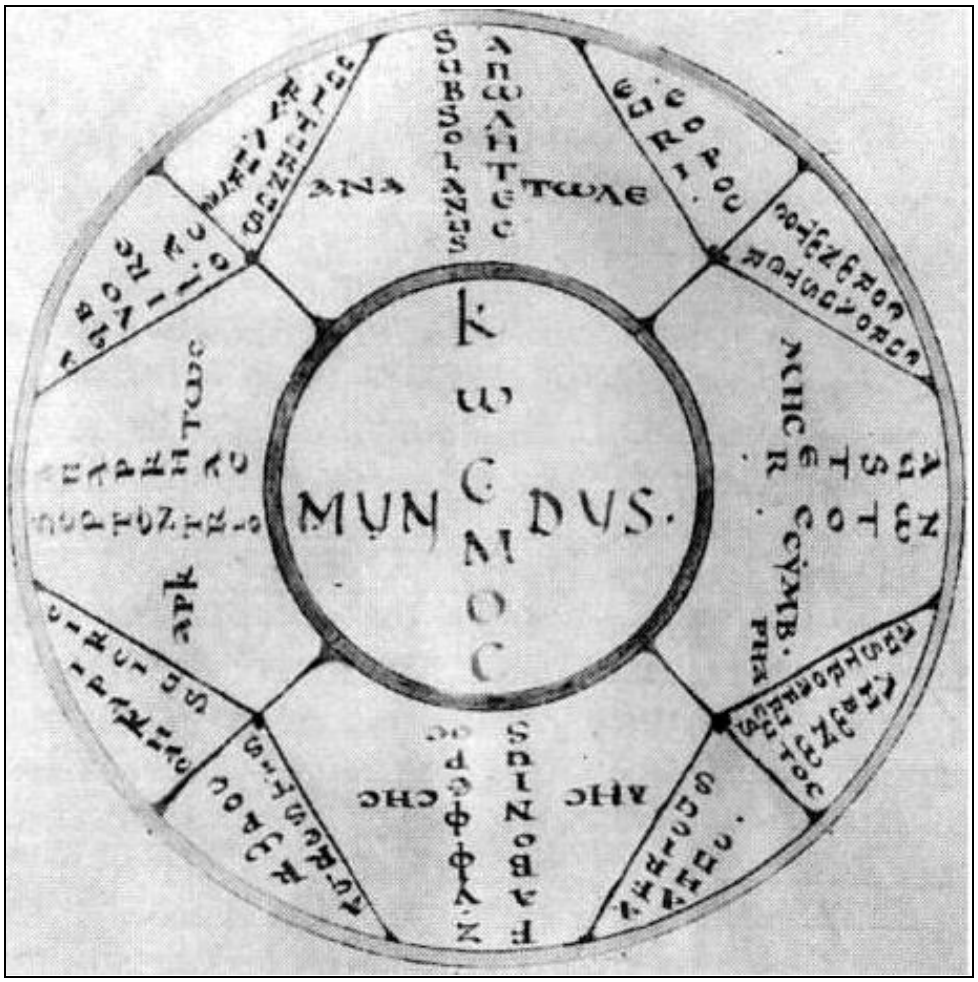


Fig. 16 : Diagramme des vents avec un médaillon de type *kocmoc-mundus* au centre. Miscellanée computistique. Cologne, Dombibliothek, ms. 83 II, fol. 141r (détail). Cologne, Cathédrale, environ 800 (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 44, Fig. 5. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

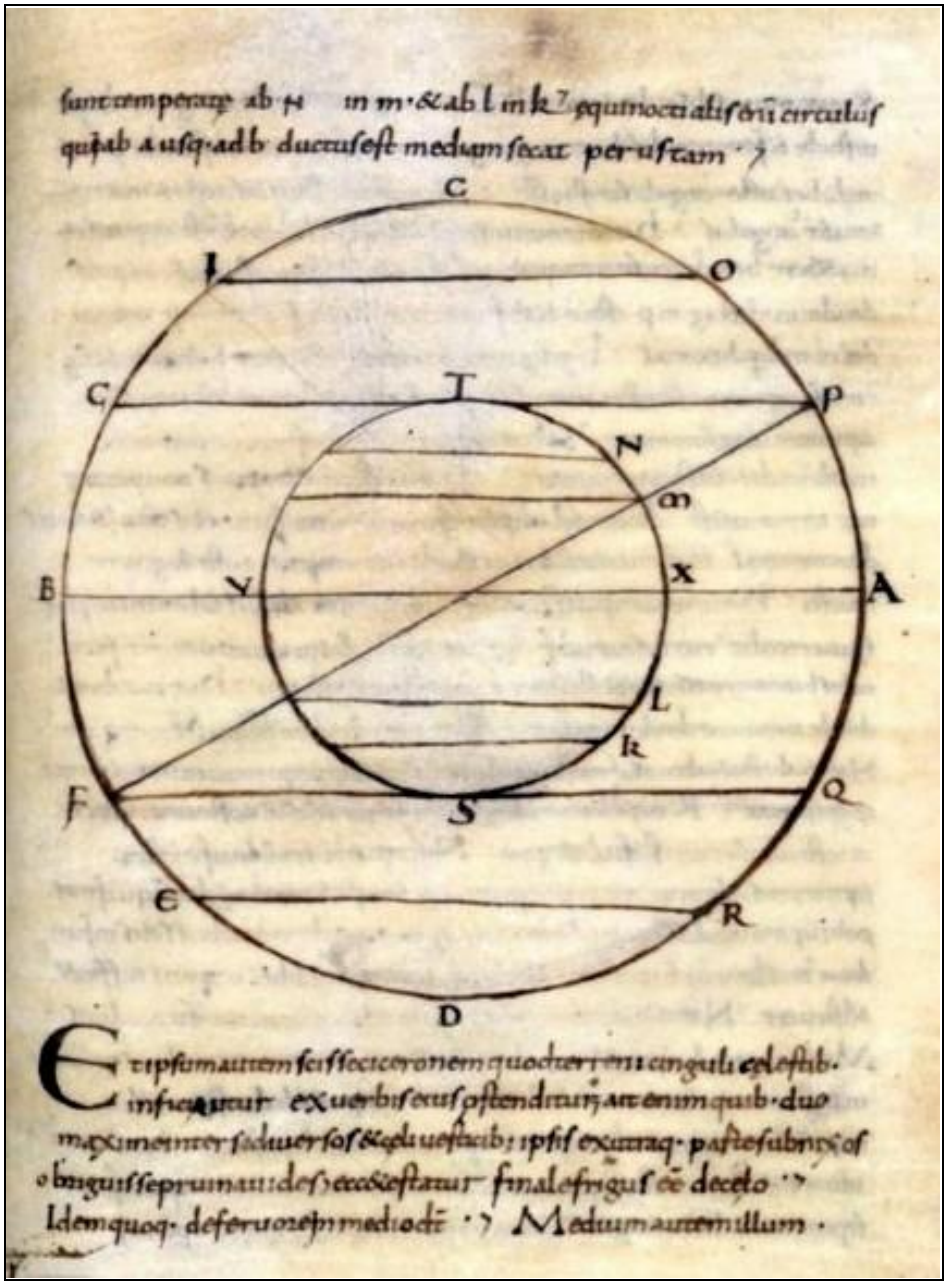


Fig. 17 : Le monde figuré par deux cercles concentriques. Macrobe, *Commentaire au Songe de Scipion* II, 7, « La relation entre les zones célestes et les zones terrestres ». Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 454, fol. 66r. Corbie (?), second tiers du IX^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [2004], Planche 7. URL : http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=5&M=imageseule).



Fig. 18 : Diagramme de l'Univers avec une carte en T-O au centre. Isidore de Séville, *De rerum natura* XLVIII, 2-3. Bâle, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. F III, 15a, fol. 16v. Fulda, environ 800 (*apud* Obrist [2001], p. 6, Fig. 2a. URL : http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/ home/ prescript/article/ccmed_0007-9731_2001_num_44_173_2791).

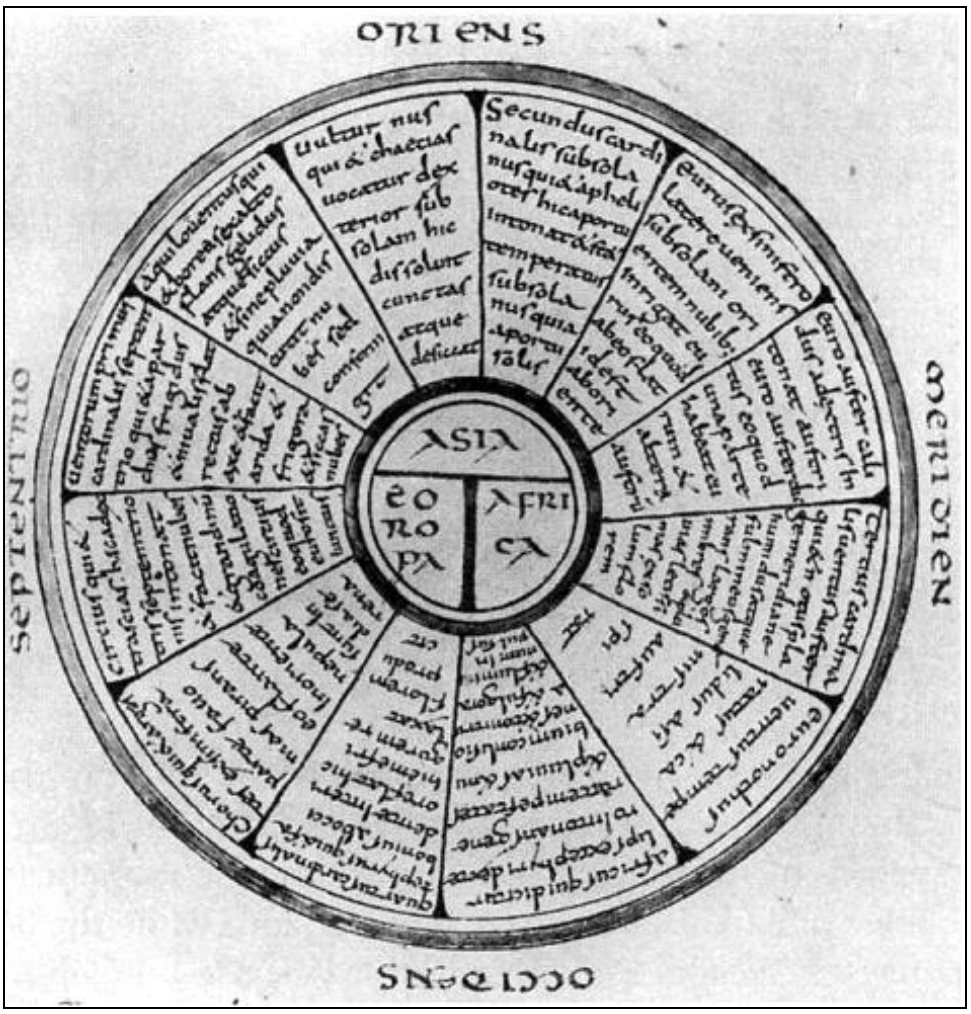


Fig. 19 : Diagramme des vents avec un médaillon de type carte en T-O au centre. Berne, Bürgerbibliothek, ms. 212/I, fol. 109r (de Homburger, *Die Handschriften*, illus. 74.) (détail). École de la Cathédrale de Mayence, premier tiers du IX^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 50, Fig. 9. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

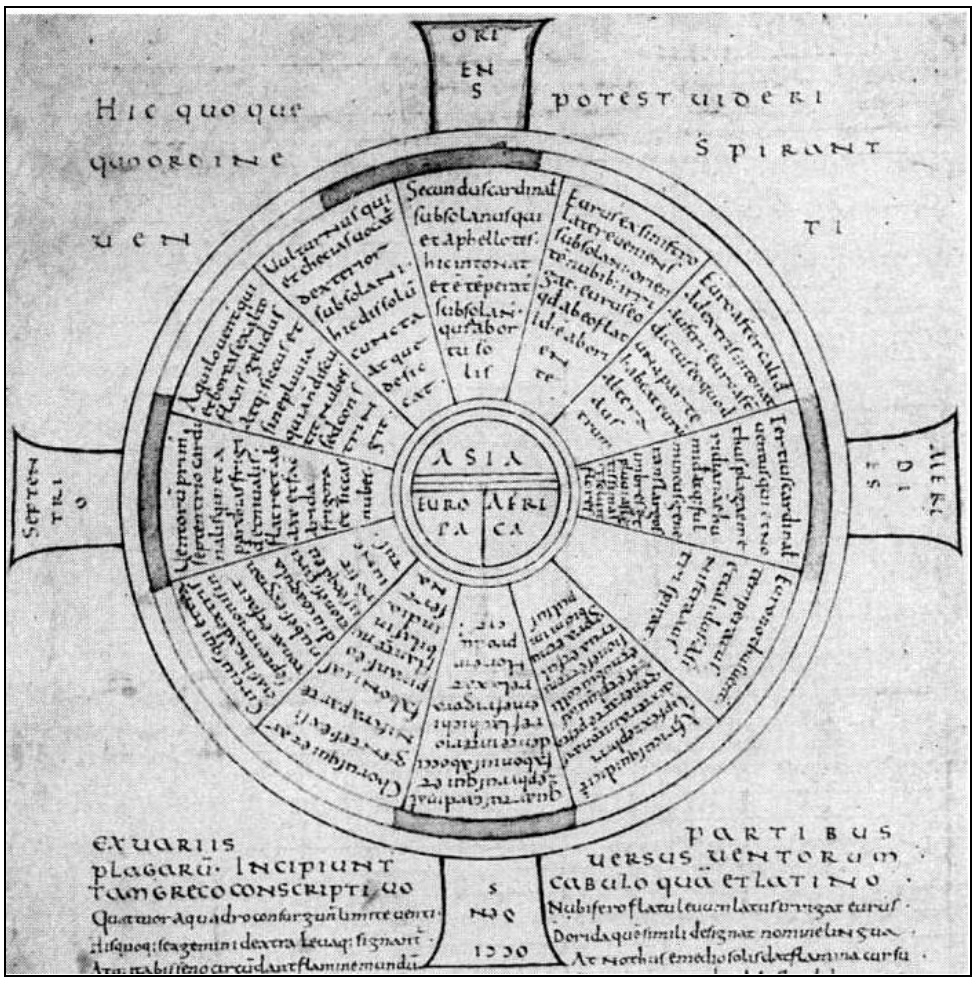


Fig. 20 : Diagramme de l'Univers avec une carte en T-O au centre. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Phill. 1830, fol. 3v (détail). Metz, IX^{e}-X^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 50, Fig. 10. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

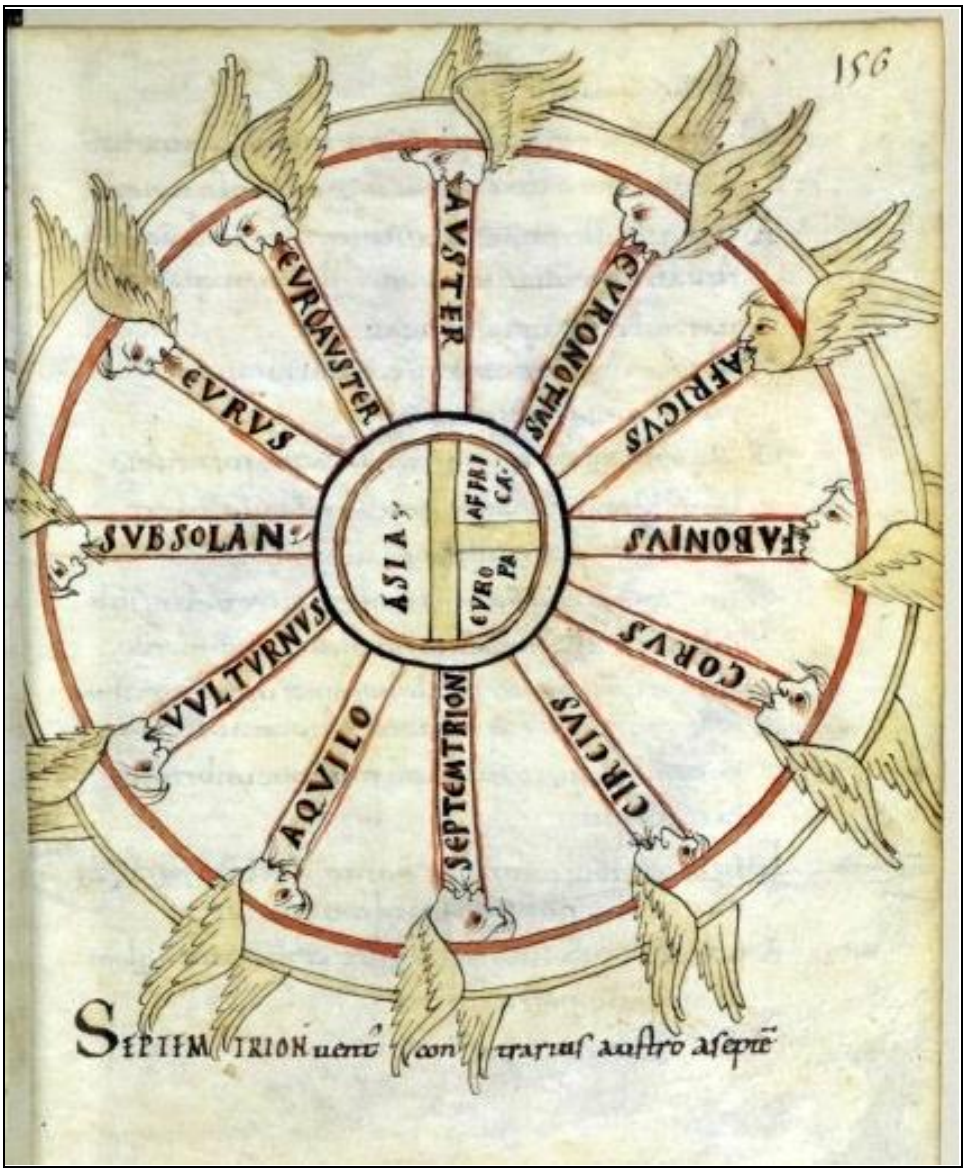


Fig. 21 : Diagramme avec des têtes de vents ailées qui transgressent le cercle extérieur du dehors vers l'intérieur. Miscellanée médicale. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 7028, fol. 156r. Centre de l'Italie, XI[e] siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 54, Fig. 12. URL : http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/ConsulterElementNum?O=IFN-07859311&E=JPEG&Deb=1&Fin=1&Param=C).

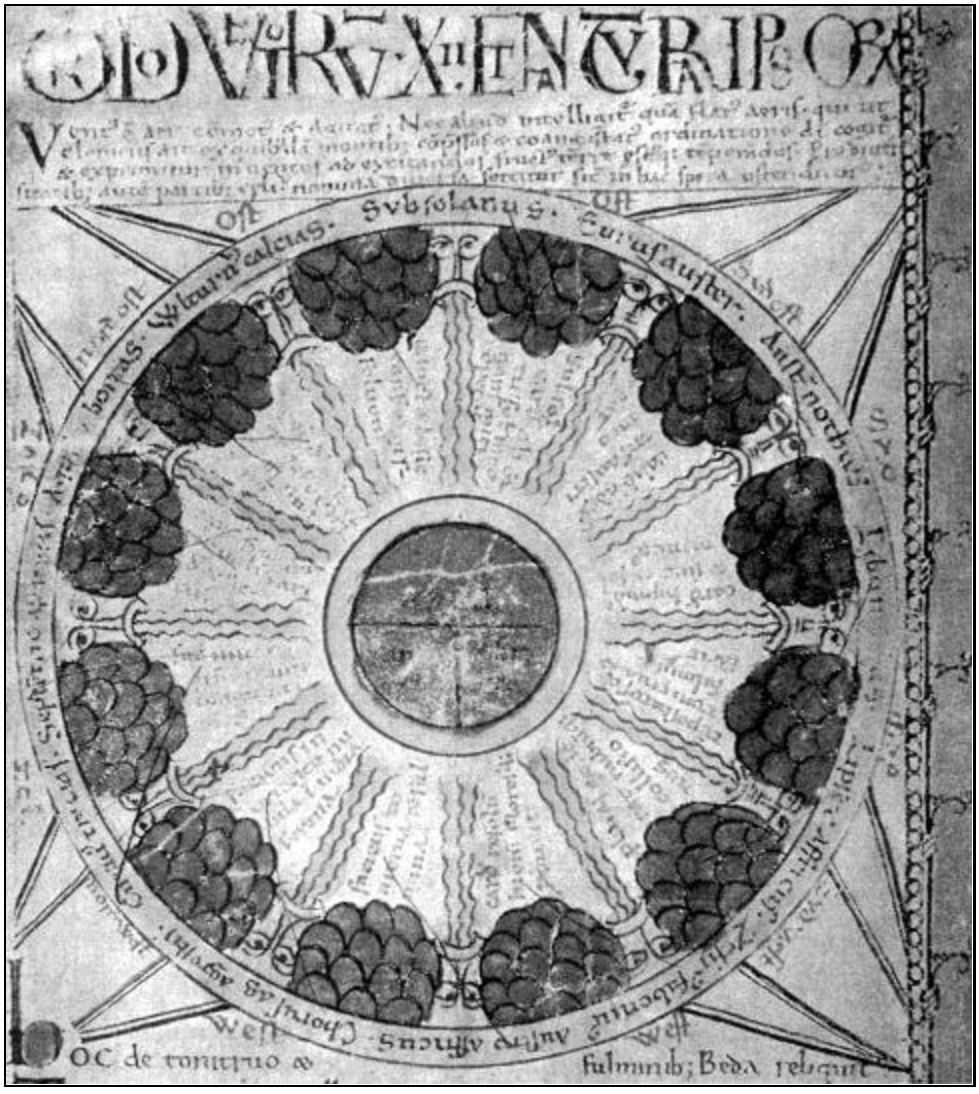


Fig. 22 : Diagramme avec des têtes de vents et carte en T-O dans le médaillon central. Lambert de Saint-Omer, *Liber floridus*. Gand, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms. 92, fol. 24r (détail). Gand, environ 1120 (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 55, Fig. 13. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

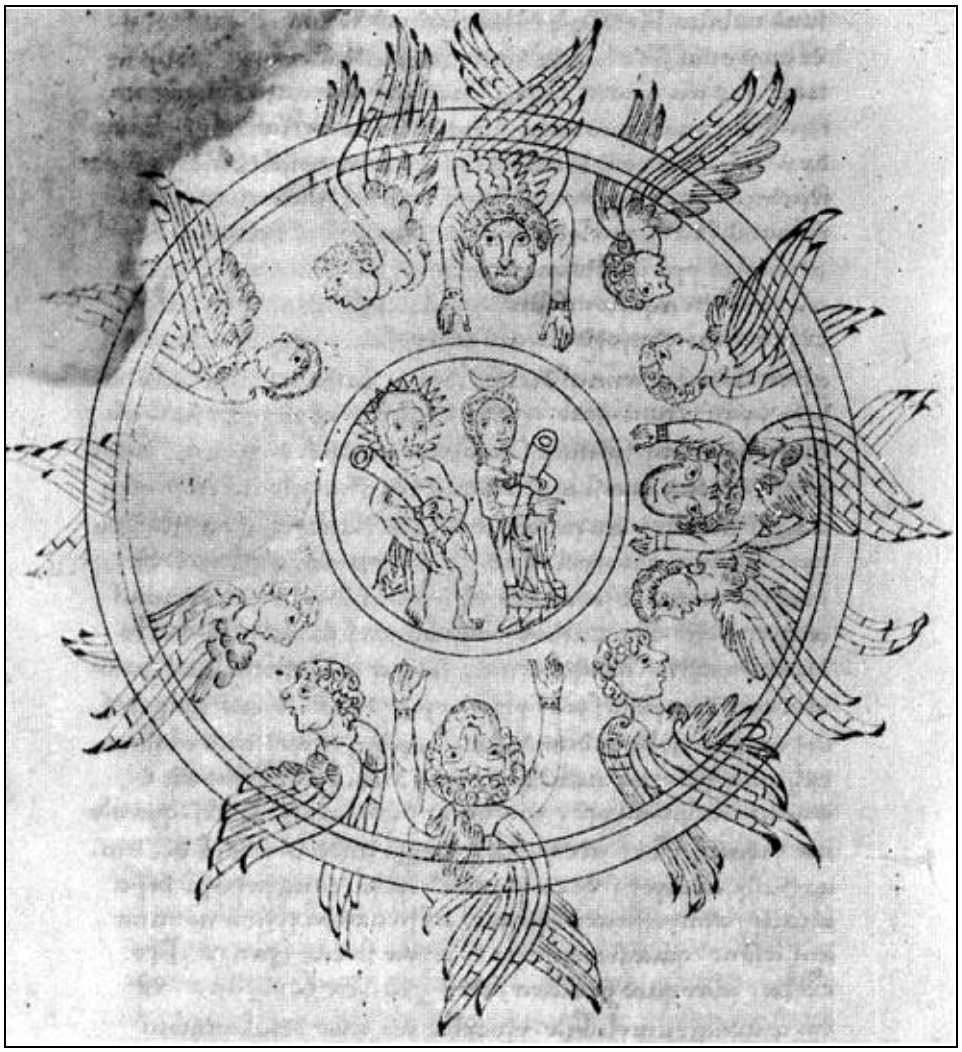


Fig. 23 : Diagramme avec des vents qui transgressent le cercle extérieur et médaillon central circulaire avec Soleil et Lune. Miscellanée computistique avec des ouvrages de Bède. Cava dei Tirreni, Abbazia della Santa Trinità, ms. 3, fol. 198v (détail). Milieu du XI^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 56, Fig. 15. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

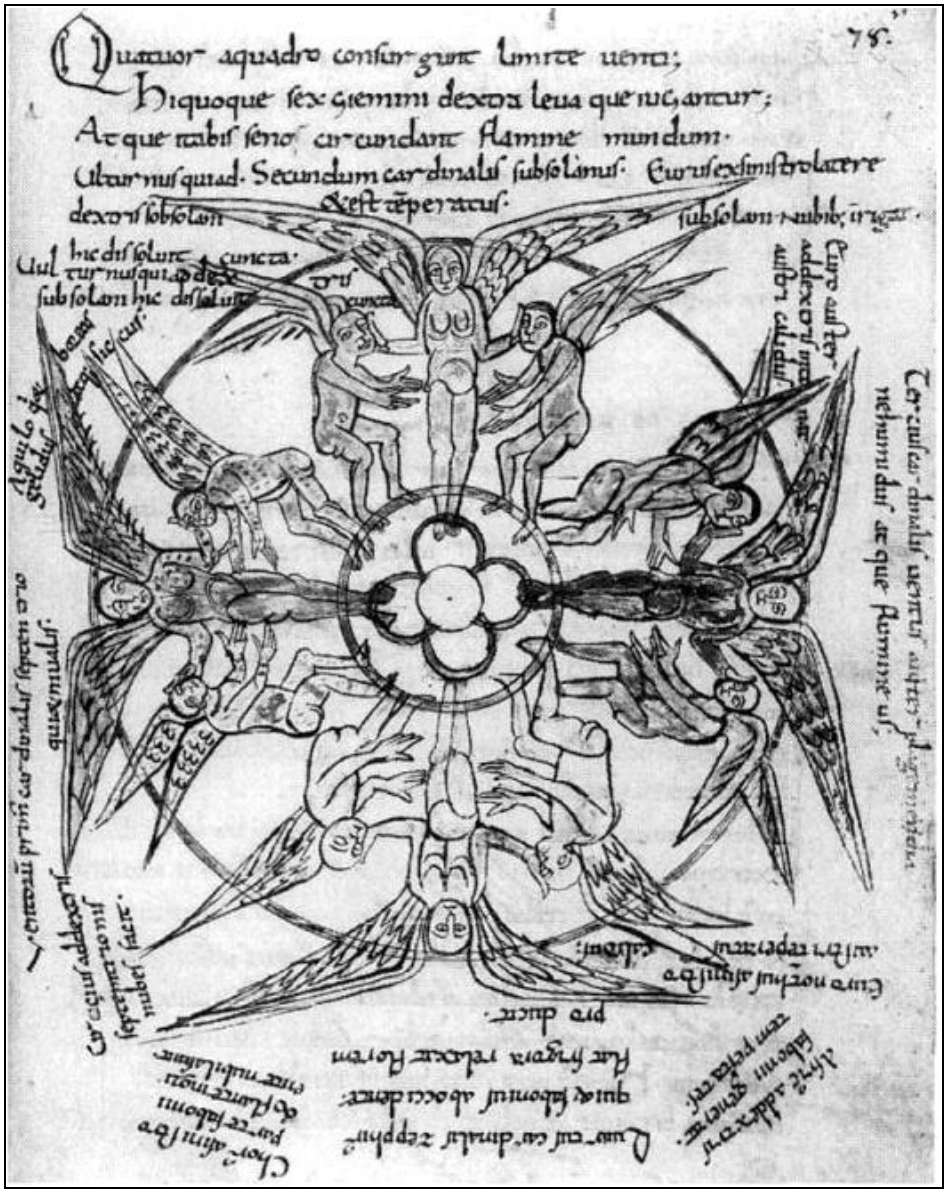


Fig. 24 : Diagramme des vents personnifiés avec jeu de cercles. Miscellanée computistique. Cité du Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Reg. lat. 1263, fol. 78r. Saint-Mesmin de Micy, XI^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 68, Fig. 26. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

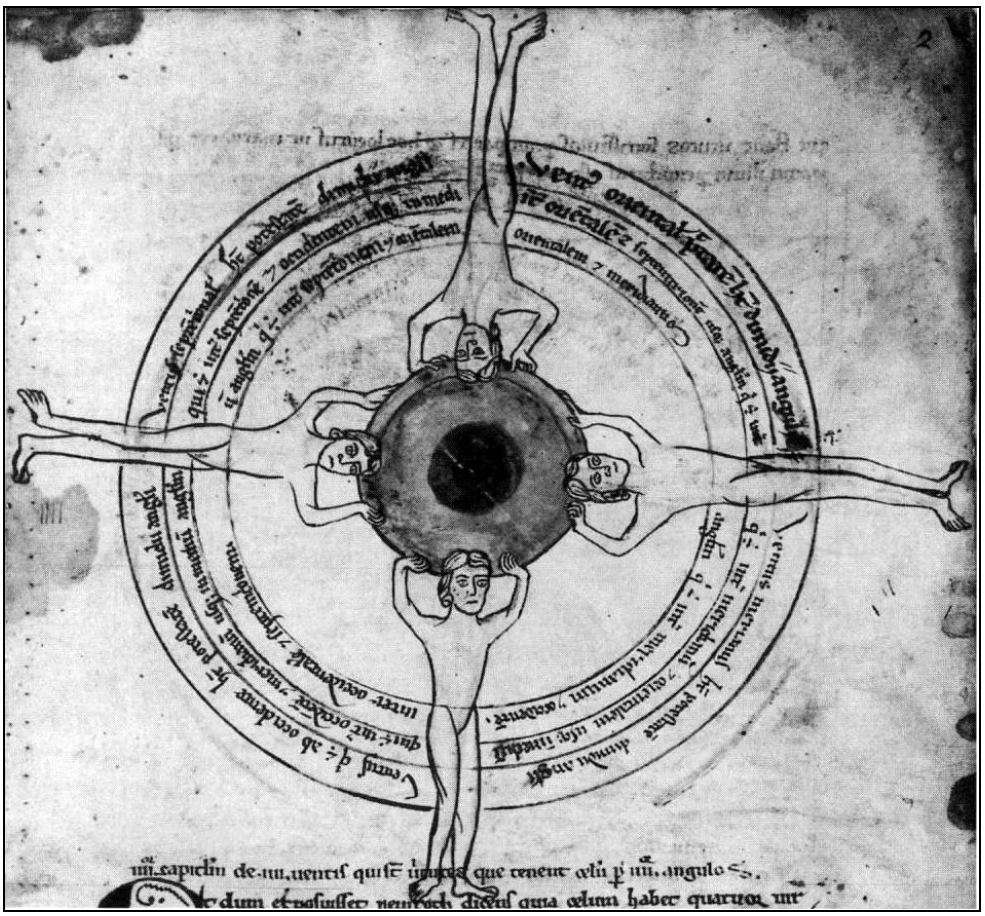


Fig. 25 : Diagramme des vents personnifiés qui soutiennent les cieux dessinés au centre de la figure. *Astronomie de Nemrot.* Venise, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. lat. 2760, fol. 2r (détail). Environ 1200 (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 80, Fig. 32. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

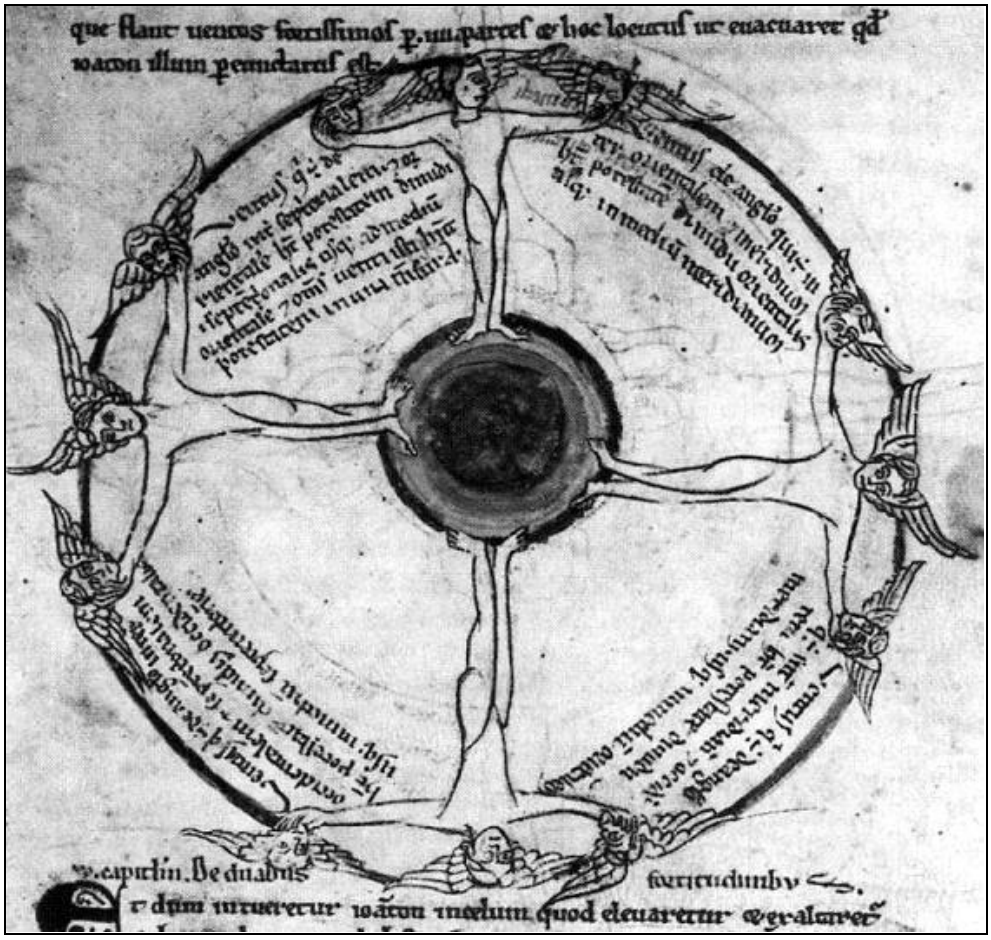


Fig. 26 : Diagramme des vents personnifiés qui s'appuient sur les cercles de l'Univers dessinés au centre de la figure. *Astronomie de Nemrot.* Venise, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. lat. 2760, fol. 2v (détail). Environ 1200 (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 80, Fig. 33. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

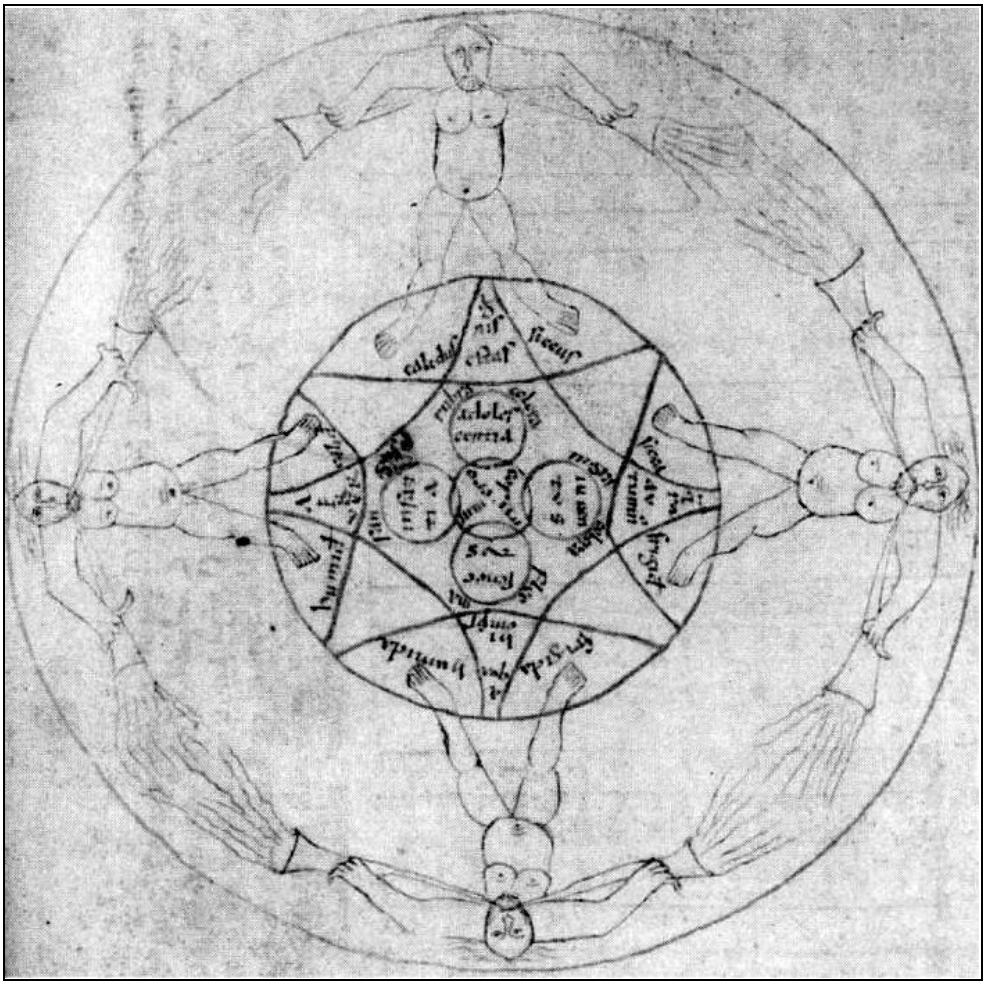


Fig. 27 : Diagramme des vents personnifiés ordonnateurs du microcosme et du macrocosme. Miscellanée computistique. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 448, fol. 80r (détail). Bourgogne, XI^e siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 69, Fig. 28. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

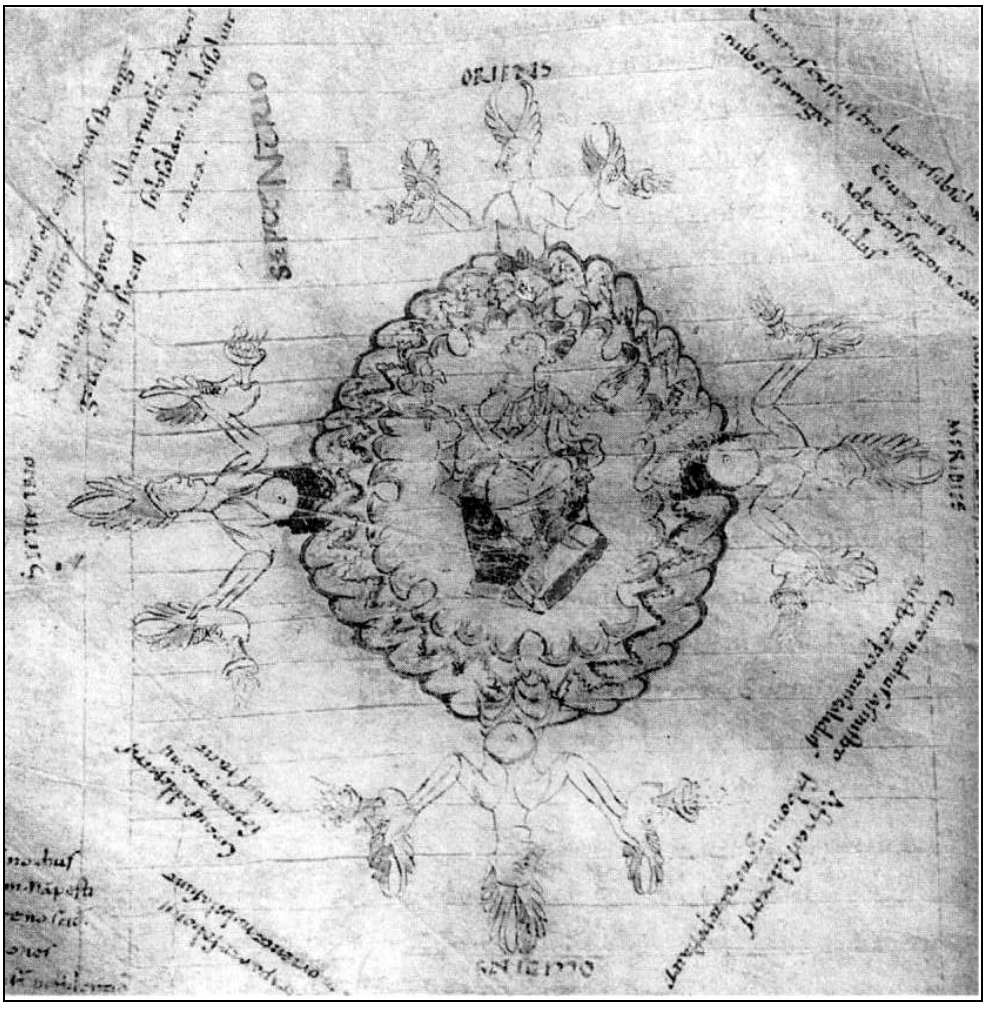


Fig. 28 : Diagramme avec des vents personnifiés autour d'un tout-puissant Éole. *Versus Platonis de deo*. Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 12-II, fol. 58v (détail). X^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 69, Fig. 29. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).

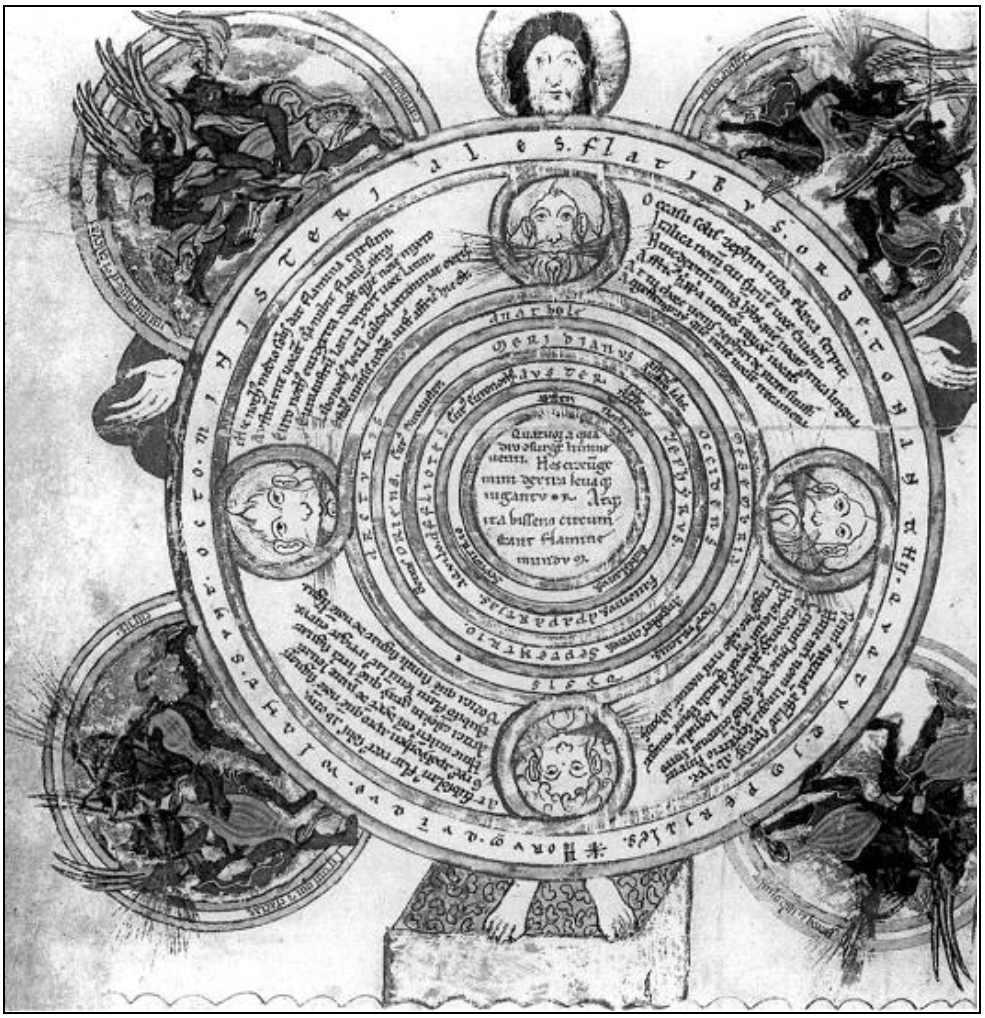


Fig. 29 : Diagramme avec des têtes de vents et le Christ embrassant les cercles de l'Univers, dont les plantes des pieds s'appuient sur le cube du monde matériel. Pierre de Poitiers, *Epitome historiae sacrae*. Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 378, fol. 1v. Heiligenkreuz, Zisterzienserkloster (?), début du XIII^{e} siècle (*apud* Obrist [1997], p. 81, Fig. 34. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863).



Fig. 30 : L'Œuf du Monde. Hildegarde de Bingen, *Sciuias*, I, 3. Fac-similé du ms. 1 de Wiesbaden (1927-1933, Eibingen, Bibliothek der Abtei St. Hildegard), fol. 14r. Rupertsberg, XII^{e} siècle (*in* Hildegardis *Sciuias* [1978], p. 40-41, pl. 4. URL : http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b9/Meister_des_Hildegardis-Codex_001.jpg/466px-Meister_des_Hildegardis-Codex_001.jpg).



Fig. 31 : L'Homme-Microcosme embrassé par la Charité et la Divinité. Hildegarde de Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum*, I, 2. Ms. 1942 de Lucques, Biblioteca Statale, fol. 9r. Région rhénane (?), première moitié du XIII[e] siècle (*in* Hildegard von Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum* [1996], pl. 7. URL : http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2e/ Hildegard_von_Bingen_Liber_ Divinorum_Operum.jpg).



Fig. 32 : L'Homme-Microcosme. Des vents et des humeurs. Hildegarde de Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum*, I, 3. Ms. 1942 de Lucques, Biblioteca Statale, fol. 28v. Région rhénane (?), première moitié du XIII^{e} siècle (*in* Hildegard von Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum* [1996], pl. 8. URL : http://www.phmae.it/ildegard/ilde3/img/ldo_i_3_3v2.jpg).

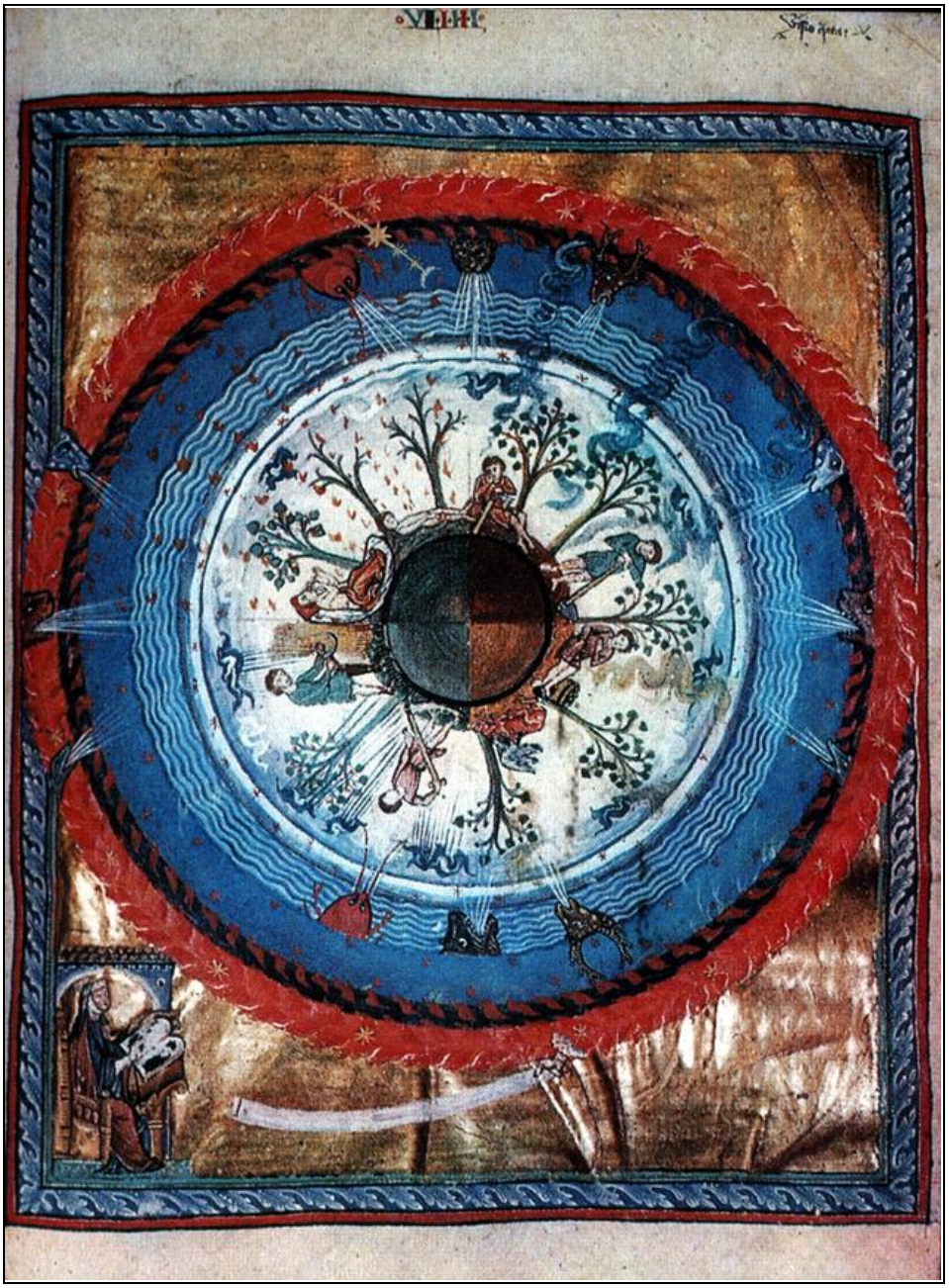


Fig. 33 : L'Homme et le Cosmos – Univers, corps et âme – Sphère et quaternité. Hildegarde de Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum*, I, 4. Ms. 1942 de Lucques, Biblioteca Statale, fol. 38r. Région rhénane (?), première moitié du XIII^{e} siècle *(in* Hildegard von Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum* [1996], pl. 9. URL : http://www.oberlin.edu/images/Art315/13985.JPG).



Fig. 34 : *Caritas* et *Diuinitas*. Hildegarde de Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum*, I, 1. Ms. 1942 de Lucques, Biblioteca Statale, fol. 1v. Région rhénane (?), première moitié du XIII^{e} siècle (*in* Hildegard von Bingen, *Liber Diuinorum Operum* [1996], pl. 6c. URL : https://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/O52AosS0ZJFdBOyb7yTW2A?feat=embedwebsite).

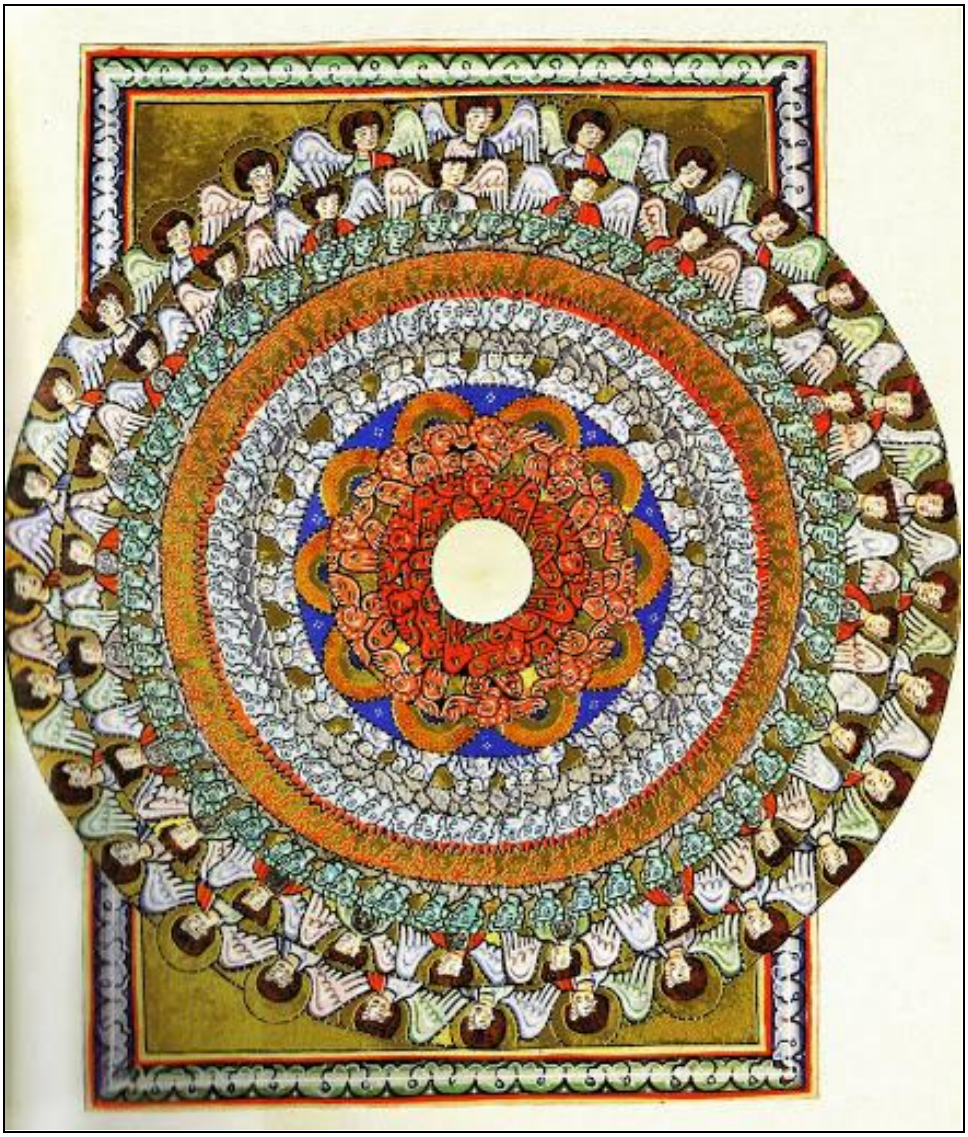


Fig. 35 : Les Ordres angéliques. Hildegard von Bingen, *Sciuias*, I, 6. Fac-similé du ms. 1 de Wiesbaden (1927-1933), Eibingen, Bibliothek der Abtei St. Hildegard. Rupertsberg, XII^{e} siècle (*in* Hildegardis *Sciuias* [1978], p. 100-101, pl. 9. URL : https://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/lZ-0H72lvaD1WW0H_ycvnQ?feat=embedwebsite).

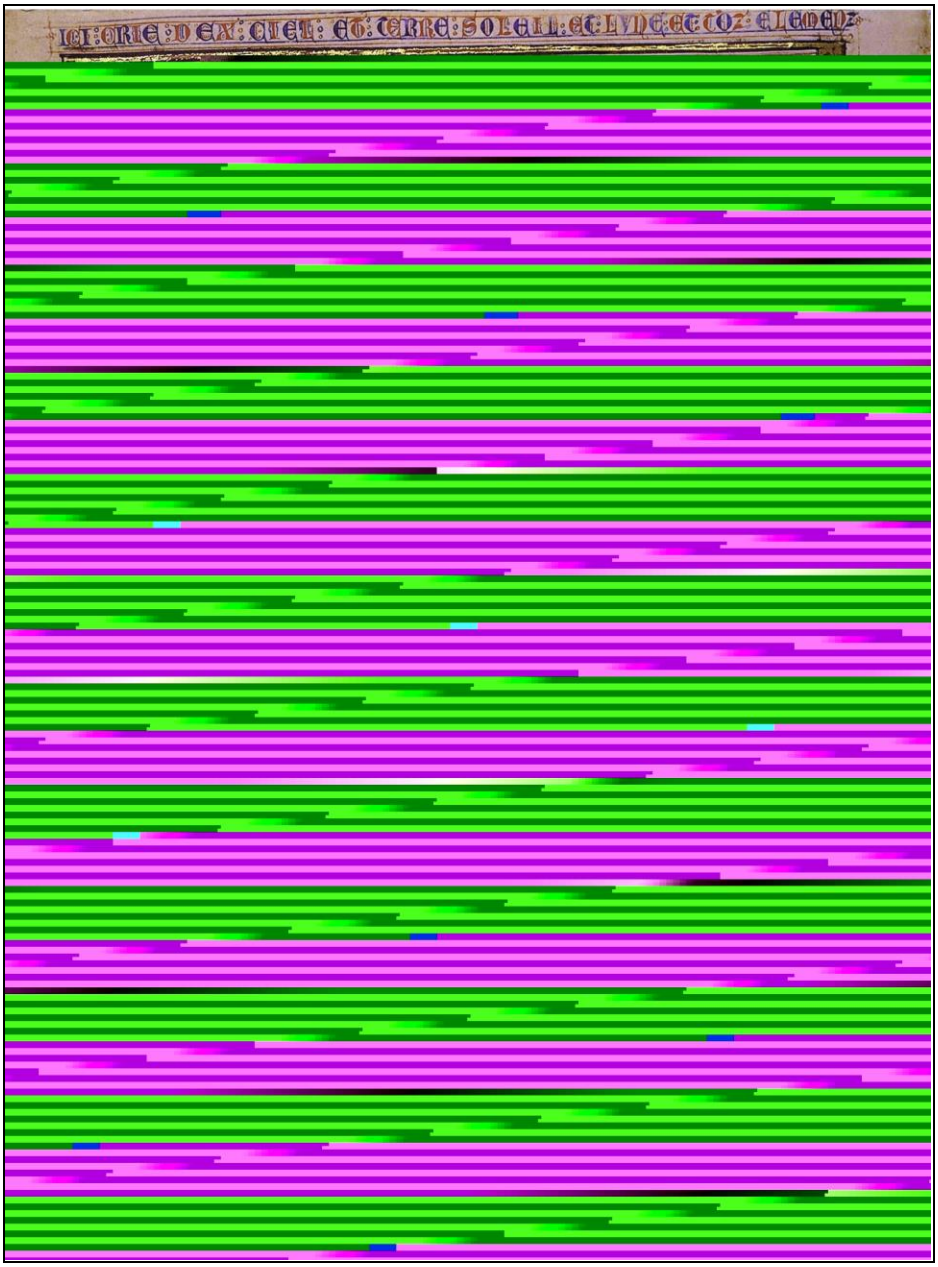


Fig. 36 : Le Christ-Créateur avec le compas. *Bible Moralisée.* Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 2554 (anc. fr.), fol. 1v. Paris, début du XIII[e] siècle (*apud* Kathrine H. TACHAU, « God's Compass and *Vana Curiositas :* Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée* », *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 80, n[o] 1, mars 1998, p. 7-33, publié par College Art Association. URL : http://www.jstor.org/stable/3051252).



Fig. 37 : Le Christ-Créateur avec le compas. *Bible Moralisée.* Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob., 1179 (lat.), fol. 1v. Paris, première partie du XIII[e] siècle. URL : http://www.celtoslavica.de/imago/bilder/vindob.jpg.

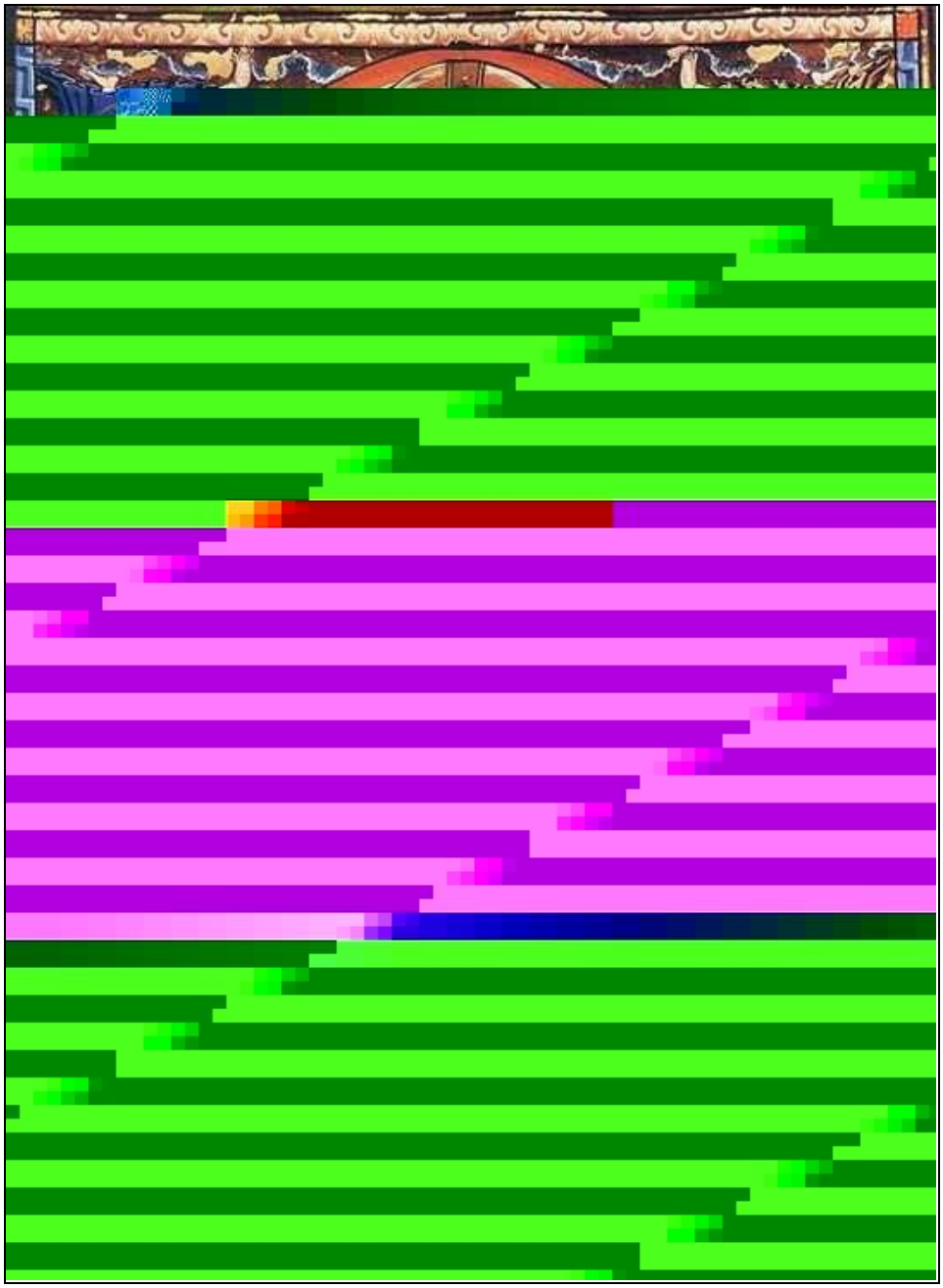


Fig. 38 a : Le Christ-Créateur avec le compas. *Bible Moralisée.* Tolède, vol. 1 (lat.), fol. 1v. Nord de la France (Paris), première partie du XIII[e] siècle. URL : https://fbcdn-sphotos-d-a.akamaihd.net/hphotos-ak-snc7/3006_470896716288531_1769978045_n.jpg.

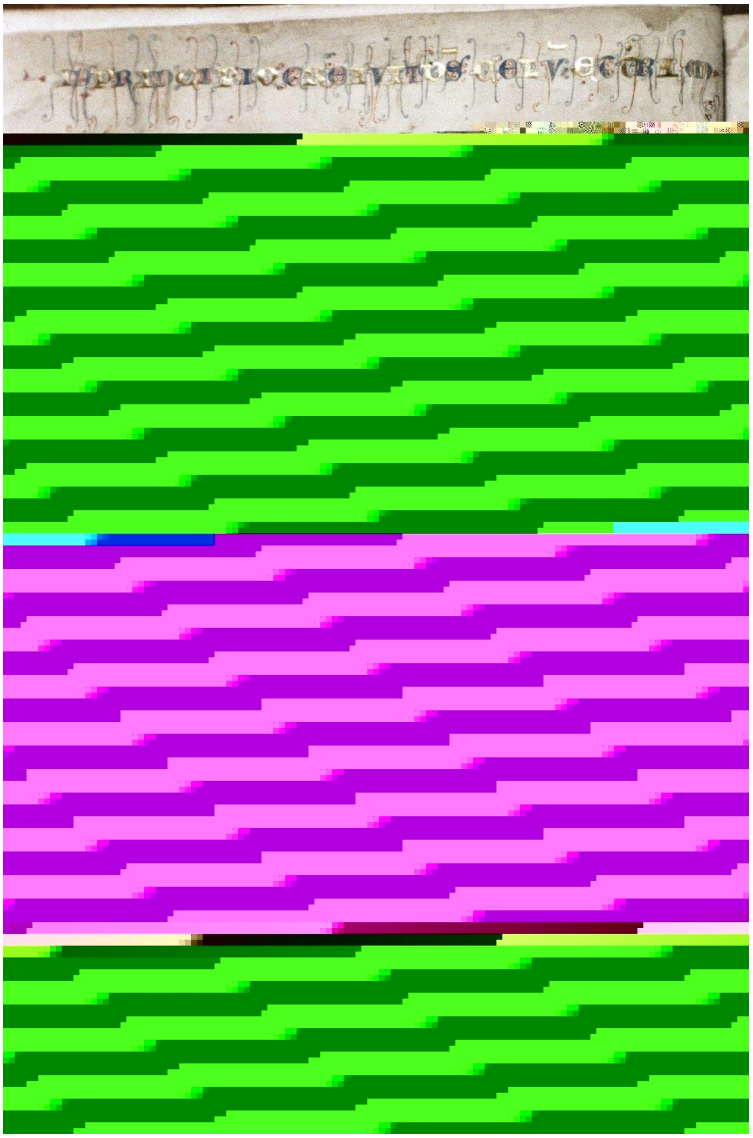


Fig. 38 b : Le Christ-Créateur avec le compas. *Bible Moralisée.* Oxford, ms. Bodl. 270b (SC 2937 – lat.), fol. 1v. Nord de la France (Paris), environ 1240. Dans la Base LUNA de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne d'Oxford. URL : http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/ servlet/ detail/ODLodl~1~1~34130~125541:Bible-moralis%C3%A9e,-part-I-?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_ Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23&qvq=q:God%2Bthe%2BCreator%2Benthroned%2C%2 Bwith%2Bcompasses%2Bover%2Bcosmos%2C%2Bin%2Ba%2Bfour-lobed%2Bframe%2 Bsupported%2Bby%2Bfour%2Bangels%3B%2Bmade%2Bat%2Bthe%2BRoyal%2Bworksho p%2Bof%2BSt.%2BLouis.;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CRoll_%23%2CFrame_%23;lc :ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23, ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=0&trs=1).



Fig. 39 : L'ascension de l'âme à travers les sphères célestes vers le trône divin. Anonyme. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 3236 A, fol. 89. Italie ou Espagne (?), fin du XII^{e}/début du XIII^{e} siècle. URL : http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur? Destination=Daguerre&O=7835397&E=JPEG&NavigationSimplifiee=ok&typeFonds=noir.

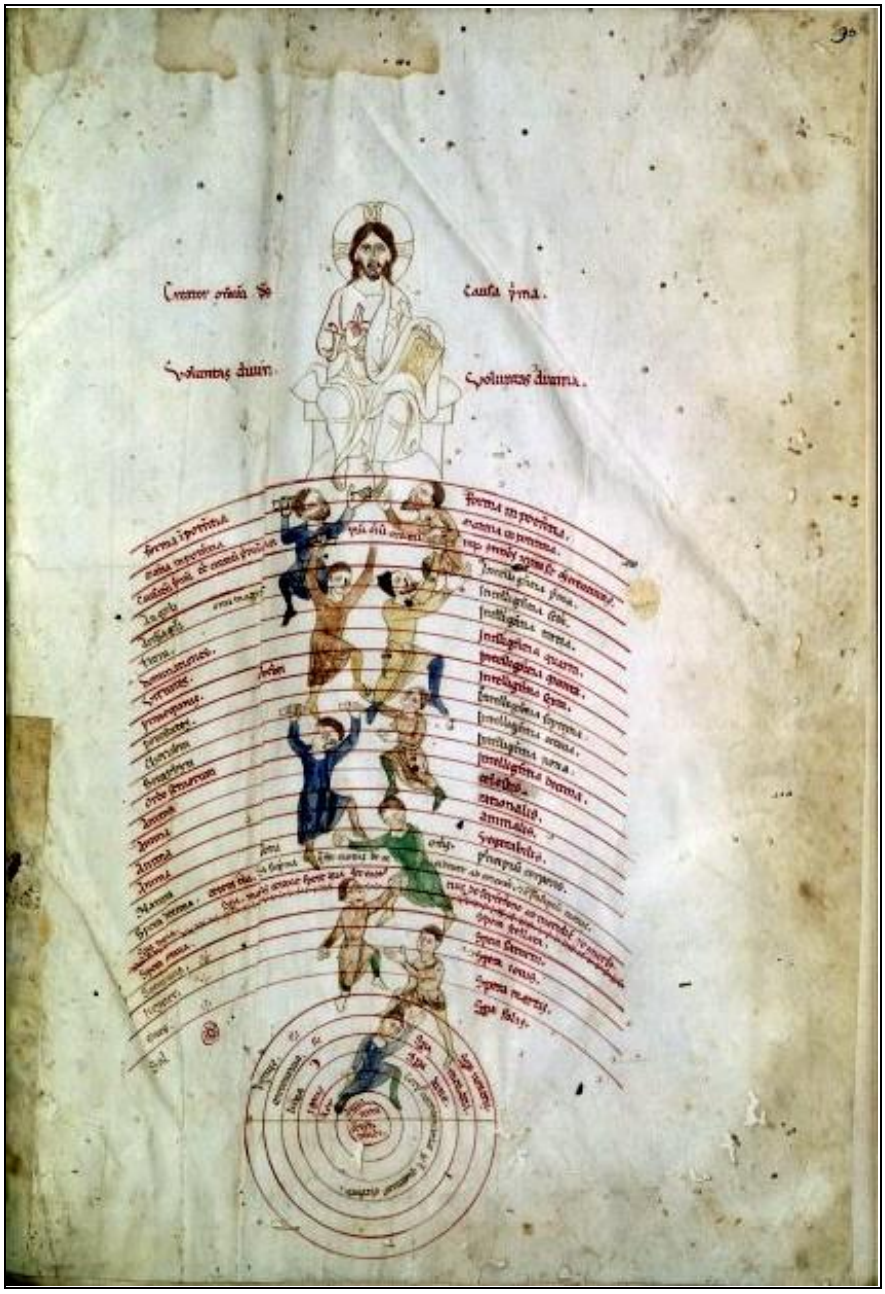


Fig. 40 : L'ascension de l'âme à travers les sphères célestes vers le trône divin. Anonyme. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 3236 A, fol. 90. Italie ou Espagne (?), fin du XII^{e}/début du XIII^{e} siècle. URL : http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur? Destination= Daguerre&O=7829166&E=JPEG&NavigationSimplifiee=ok&typeFonds=noir.



Fig. 41 : La domination de l'Âme du Monde sur l'Univers. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis Physicae*, *Anima Mundi* et les éléments. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 6734, fol. 1v, France, XII[e] siècle (*apud* d'Alverny [1953], p. 46-47. URL : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90665224/f2.item).



Fig. 42 : Le Cosmos érigénien. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Clauis Physicae,* La Grande miniature à quatre registres. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 6734, fol. 3v. France, XII^{e} siècle (*apud* d'Alverny [1953], p. 46-47. URL : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90665224/f4.item).

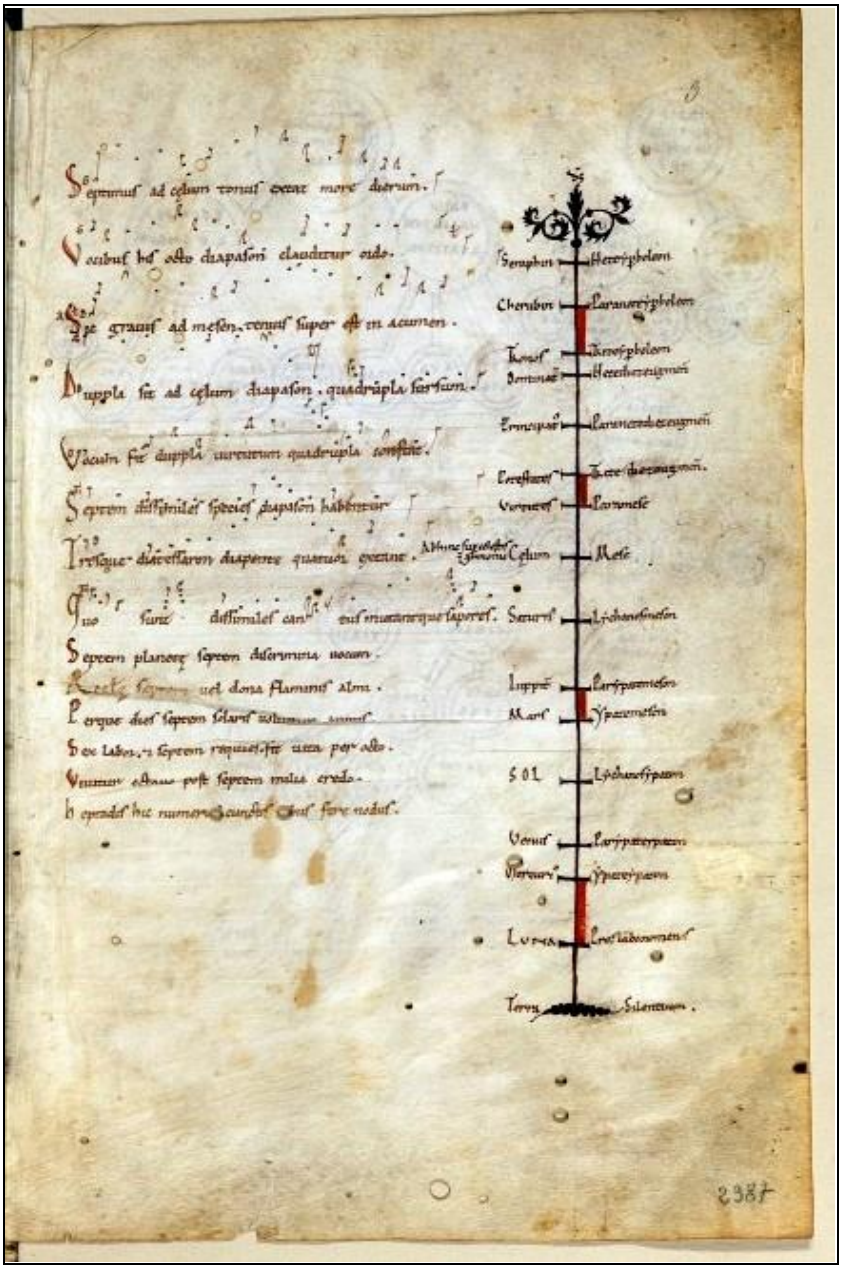


Fig. 43 : Les planètes et les chœurs angéliques ordonnés selon l'échelle musicale et couronnés du monogramme du nom de Dieu. Boèce, *De institutione musica*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. 7203, fol. 3 (*Naturalis concordia uocum*). Fleury-sur-Loire (?), fin du XI[e]/début du XII[e] siècle. URL : http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Daguerre&O=7854653&E=JPEG&NavigationSimplifiee=ok&typeFonds=noir.

SOURCES

Aristotel. 1965. *Metafizica* [*Métaphysique*]. Traduction en roumain par Şt. Bezdechi. Étude introductive et notes par Dan Bădărău. « Scriitori Greci şi Latini ». Bucarest : Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române.

Aristotel. 1966. *Fizica* [*Physique*]. Traduction en roumain et notes par N. I. Barbu. Étude introductive, notes, index thématique et index terminologique par Pavel Apostol. Étude analytique sur la *Physique* d'Aristote et notes par Alexandru Posescu. Bucarest : Editura Ştiinţifică.

Aristote. 1983-1996. *Physique*. 2 vol. Texte établi et traduit par Henri Carteros. Sixième tirage. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

Aristote. 2003. *Du ciel*. Texte établi et traduit par Paul Moraux. Deuxième tirage. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

Aristotel. 2005. *Despre cer* [*Du ciel*]. Édition bilingue. Étude introductive, bibliographie, traduction du grec ancien, sommaire analytique, notes et indexes par Şerban Nicolau. Bucarest : Paideia.

Aristote. 2010. *Les Métaphysiques*. Traduction en français par A. de Murait, avec un commentaire analytique continu, index des notions et des noms. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

Bernard Silvestre. 1998. *Cosmographie*. Introduction, traduction et notes par Michel Lemoine. « Sagesses Chrétiennes ». Paris : CERF.

Bernardus Silvestris. 2010. *Cosmografia*. Édition bilingue. Traduction roumaine par Ana Palanciuc et Florina Ion. Étude introductive par Michel Lemoine. Postface de Jean Jolivet. « Biblioteca Medievală ». Bucarest : Polirom.

Bernardus Silvestris. 1978. *Cosmographia*. Edited with Introduction and notes by Peter Dronke. « Textus Minores », vol. LIII. Leyde : E. J. Brill.

Corpus Hermeticum. T. II, Traités XIII-XVIII. *Asclepius*. 1983. Texte établi par A. D. Nock et traduit par A.-J. Festugière. Quatrième édition. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

Hermetis Trismegisti *De sex rerum principiis*. 2006. Cura et studio Paolo Lucentini, Mark D. Delp. CCCM, 142, Hermes Latinus, tomus II. Turnhout : Brepols Publishers.

Hildegard von Bingen. 1996. *Liber Diuinorum Operum*. Cura et studio A. Derolez et P. Dronke. CCCM, 92. Turnholti : Brepols.

Hildegardis *Sciuias*. 1978. Edidit A. Führkötter OSB collaborante A. Carlevaris OSB. CCCM, 43-43a. Turnholti : Brepols.

Honorius Augustodunensis. 1974. *Clauis Physicae*. A cura di Paolo Lucentini. « Temi e Testi », 21, a cura di Eugenio Massa. Roma : Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Imago mundi*. Éd. par Valerie I. J. Flint, *Archives d'Histoire Docrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 49, 1982, p. 7-153, mis en réseau « en sa forme originale de prose rimée » par Hans Zimmermann, en mars 2000 : Quellengrundlage zu Gervasius von Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia* – http://12koerbe.de/hanumans/imago.htm.

Platon. 1925. *Timée*, dans *Œuvres complètes*. T. X. Texte établi et traduit par Albert Rivaud. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE SECONDAIRE

Brendel, O. J. 1977. *Symbolism of the Sphere. A Contribution to the History of Earlier Greek Philosophy*. With 30 plates. Engl transl. Leyde.

Carozzi, Cl. 1994. *Le Voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (V^e^-XIII^e^ siècle)*. Rome.

Courcelle, P. 1957. « Tradition néo-platonicienne et traditions chrétiennes de la *région de dissemblance* (Platon, *Politique*, 273*d*) », *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 24, p. 5-33.

Courcelle, P. 1960 [1961]. « Témoins nouveaux de la région de dissemblance (Platon, Politique, 273*d*) », *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 118, p. 20-36.

Courcelle, P. 1970. « Treize textes nouveaux sur la région de dissemblance (Platon, *Politique*, 273 *d*) », *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 16, 3-4, p. 271-281.

D'Alverny, M.-Th. 1993a. « Le Cosmos symbolique du XII[e] siècle », *in* Ch. Burnett (éd.). *Études sur le symbolisme de la Sagesse et sur l'iconographie.* Aldershot (Hampshire)/Brookfield (Vermont). D'après *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 20, 1953, p. 31-81.

D'Alverny, M.-Th. 1993b. « Les Muses et les sphères célestes », *in* Ch. Burnett (éd.). *Études sur le symbolisme de la Sagesse et sur l'iconographie.* Aldershot (Hampshire)/Brookfield (Vermont). D'après Ch. Henderson, Jr. (éd). 1964. *Classical and Renaissance Studies in Honour of B. L. Ullman*. II. Rome, p. 7-19.

D'Alverny, M.-Th. 1993c. « Les Pérégrinations de l'âme dans l'autre monde d'après un anonyme de la fin du XII[e] siècle », *in* Ch. Burnett (éd.). *Études sur le symbolisme de la Sagesse et sur l'iconographie.* Aldershot (Hampshire)/Brookfield (Vermont). D'après *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 15-17, 1942, p. 239-299.

Dronke, P. 1992. « Problemata Hildegardiana », *in* P. Dronke. *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe*. Rome, p. 143-191.

Friedman, J. B. 1974. « The Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures of the Later Middle Ages », Traditio. *Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion* 30, p. 419-429.

Gilson, Ét. 1928. « La cosmogonie de Bernardus Silvestris », *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 3, p. 5-24.

Grabar, A. 1951-1952. « La Représentation de l'Intelligible dans l'art byzantin du Moyen Âge », *Actes du VI[e] Congrès International d'Études Byzantines : Paris, 27 juillet-2 août 1948, II*. Paris, p. 127-143.

Lapidge, M. 1988. « The Stoic Inheritance », in P. Dronke (éd.). *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy.* Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney, p. 81-112.

Lerner, M.-P. 1996-1997. *Le Monde des Sphères. I. Genèse et triomphe d'une représentation cosmique; II. La fin du cosmos classique.* Paris.

Minois, G. 1998. *Istoria Infernurilor*. Trad. rom. Bucarest.

Obrist, B. 1996. « Le Diagramme isidorien des saisons, son contenu physique et les représentations figuratives », *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge* 108, 1, p. 95-164, URL : http://www.mgh-bibliothek.de/dokumente/a/a149380.pdf.

Obrist, B. 1997. « Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology », *Speculum* 72, 1, p. 33-84. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2865863.

Obrist, B. 2001. « La Représentation carolingienne du zodiaque. À propos du manuscrit de Bâle, Universitätsbibliothek F III, 15a », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 44, p. 3-33. URL : http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/ccmed_0007-9731_2001_num_44_173_2791.

Obrist, B. 2004. *La Cosmologie médiévale: textes et images*. « Micrologus' Library », 11. Firenze.

Peters, Fr. E. 1993. *Termenii filozofiei greceşti.* Trad. rom. Bucarest.

Sambursky, S. 1982. (Introduction and Notes). *The Concept of Place in Late Neoplatonism*. Text with Translation. Jerusalem.

Stock, B. 1972. *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century. A Study of Bernard Silvester*. Princeton / New Jersey.

Wetherbee, W. 1972. *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century. The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres*. Princeton, New Jersey.

Woolsey, R. B. 1948. « Bernard Silvester and the *Hermetic Asclepius* », Traditio. *Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion* 6, p. 340-344.

LA RÉÉCRITURE DU MYTHE D'ULYSSE DANS *NAISSANCE DE L'ODYSSÉE* DE JEAN GIONO

MĂDĂLINA INDRIEŞ
Université d'Oradea

Abstract: In this article, we try to demonstrate the meaning of Ulysses' myth in the vision of Jean Giono. The French writer is interested in the conditions in which the great poem was born. He borrows from Homer's Odyssey literary themes and motifs, but he treats them in a burlesque way. The real Ulysses is an ordinary man, who participated to the war of Troy, but remembers only the love adventures from this period, because he is, in fact, a sensual man. On his way of returning home, he creates his own legend, rapidly disseminated all over the world by the bards. The legend is born from the necessity to justify a ten year absence and its real source is the fantasy of Ulysses and of his audience.

Keywords: myth, parody, anti-hero, devaluation, invention.

ACTUALITÉ ET IMPORTANCE DU MYTHE

La mythologie gréco-romaine représente « un vivier foisonnant »[1] pour la création littéraire. Depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos jours, les écrivains n'ont pas cessé d'y recourir. Ils y retrouvent soit « des obscurités natives de la condition humaine »[2], des conduites humaines exemplaires, soit des réalités ontologiques et des vérités absolues. Les chefs-d'œuvre antiques deviennent pour les écrivains modernes « cette espèce d'admirable chèque en blanc sur lequel chaque poète, à tour de rôle, peut se permettre d'inscrire le chiffre qui lui convient »[3]. Les mythes représentent le fondement de toute culture. Le mythe d'Ulysse, de Prométhée, de Faust, de Don Juan, de Don Quichotte et d'Hamlet définissent le profil de la culture européenne. Tous ces mythes incarnent l'esprit aventurier de l'européen, la révolte, la curiosité insatiable de connaître, la possibilité du progrès et l'esprit de liberté. Mais « Ulysse est plus familier aux Européens. Son odyssée est si fameuse qu'elle devient synonyme, dans bon nombre de langues, d'expédition lointaine semée d'embuches »[4]. Ulysse est le héros qui le long du temps a acquis « le statut d'une

[1] Favre 1995, 189-196.
[2] Favre 1995, 189-196.
[3] Yourcenar 1971, 19.
[4] Obaton 1997, 33.

personne à laquelle il devient possible de s'identifier»[5]. Aucune surprise alors si l'empereur Hadrien se déclare « Ulysse sans autre Ithaque qu'intérieure »[6] ou si le mythe accumule autour de soi les plus nombreuses interprétations[7]. Ulysse et le prototype de l'européen, de l'héros civilisateur par excellence. Son mythe comprend une pluralité de significations. On y retrouve une grande richesse de thèmes : la séparation entre mari et femme, les retrouvailles entre père et fils, le désir de retour, le refus de l'immortalité et la fidélité à la condition humaine, la survivance après de multiples maux subis, le triomphe de la raison, la maîtrise de soi, et d'autres. Dans ce mythe, il y a une fascination impossible à éviter comme le déclare l'un des personnages de Giono : « le sort d'Ulysse, en son temps, nous a tous passionné. Il y a quelque chose de divin, à tout prendre, dans la disparition de cet homme qui fond au milieu de la vie comme une vapeur »[8]. Le mythe d'Ulysse est fascinant aussi par son destin littéraire. Comme le héros dont il porte le nom, le mythe a connu une curieuse aventure. Si pour Homère, il a été « le divin et le patient Ulysse », s'il est « le *polymétis*, le *polytropos*, le *polyméchanos* »[9], pour d'autres écrivains il est surtout « le bâtard de Sisyphe », un personnage fourbe, cynique, gourmand, un démagogue, toutes ses vertus sont transformées en vices[10]. Pierre Brunel considère que l'essence du mythe d'Ulysse réside dans l'intelligence du héros, une intelligence qui comprend diverses nuances, mais aussi dans le pouvoir de celui-ci de concilier les contradictions présentes dans sa personnalité. Gabriel Audisio le décrit comme *homo duplex*, un être constitué de deux natures, une bivalence spécifique à tout Méditerranéen. Dans sa personnalité, Audisio reconnaît « la fiction et la réalité, l'amour et l'infidélité, l'aventure et le foyer, la mer et la terre, le courage et la peur, la mort douce et la mort effroyable ».

L'INTERPRÉTATION DE GIONO

Jean Giono est l'un des écrivains du XX^e^ siècle qui s'est formé à l'école de l'Antiquité. Homère, Virgile, Théocrite, Eschyle, Euripide et Sophocle ont longtemps constitué sa lecture favorite. Finalement, le lecteur assidu de tous les classiques de la collection Classiques Garnier en portera la marque : il sera appelé par Gide « un Virgile en prose ». Son premier roman *Naissance de l'Odyssée* en est aussi le

[5] Brunel 1994.

[6] Yourcenar 1974, 138.

[7] Les écrivains antiques qui ont réinterprété le mythe d'Ulysse sont : Pindare, Sophocle, Euripide, Sénèque, Ovide, Héraclite le Pontique, Origène, Porphyre, Saint Basile de Césarée, Julien L'Apostat. Parmi les modernes s'inscrivent : Joyce, Seferis, Kazantzakis, Moravia, Tennyson, Pascoli etc.

[8] Giono 1938, 46.

[9] Brunel 1994, 1350.

[10] P. Brunel fait un inventaire des œuvres où l'image d'Ulysse est négative et des écrivains qui se sont inspirés de celles-ci. Il s'agit des œuvres en vers recueillies dans le *Cycle épique* : *Petite Iliade, Chants Cypriens*, *Ethiopide, Télégonie* et des écrivains suivants : Pindare, Euripide, Sénèque dans les *Troyennes*, Ovide, Héraclite le Pontique, Benoit de Sainte-Maure etc.

témoin. « Vers la trentaine, Jean Giono, le cœur et le pouls encore tout battants des cadences homériques, l'imagination enfiévrée d'images fortes, naïves et fines, compose, un soir sous la lampe, son premier livre : *Naissance de l'Odyssée* »[11]. C'est un livre dont il n'a pas été très fier et qu'il a qualifié de la sorte : « c'est la première chose qui est sortie de moi. Il est comme un enfant paralysé des jambes et tout contourné, et qui est là, sur son matelas, dans l'ombre de la treille ; alors pourquoi ne pas mener l'hôte devant lui et dire : 'Celui-là aussi est de la famille'»[12]. En réalité, son premier livre naît sous l'influence de la *Bible* et de *l'Odyssée* de Homère, que l'écrivain lisait sur une colline. Il y allait pour calmer son esprit, après être revenu de la guerre. Le livre naît ensuite du besoin impératif de son auteur d'échapper au monde fermé, où l'obligeait à vivre son emploi. Travaillant dans un souterrain, derrière un guichet de banque marseillaise, Jean Giono rêvait de voyager comme Ulysse et jouir de la beauté du monde. Et pour obtenir tout cela, il n'avait que son imagination et les beaux paysages offerts par la Haute-Provence : « J'avais à mes pieds les petits ports de pêcheurs d'où jamais aucun pêcheur ne part. Il me suffisait de tourner la tête pour regarder au large… quelques îles pouvaient être imaginées en me servant du Château-d'If, de Pomègue et de l'île Maire. Le vent, pour être grec, n'avait qu'à être baptisé Notos. La colline qui le servait à la fois d'assiette et de piédestal avait la blancheur tragique et le parfum des terres que foulent les dieux »[13]. Jean Giono préférait l'*Odyssée* à l'*Iliade*, parce que la première était « bleue », tandis que la seconde était « rouge ». « L'*Iliade*, c'était le feu et le sang, c'était rouge, tandis que là, c'était bleu, c'était vert, c'était dans les grands vents; c'était le vent, c'était l'effet des espaces, et pour moi c'était très important, parce que j'étais enfermé dans une banque où je travaillais toute la journée, et par conséquent, j'avais besoin d'espace; j'avais besoin de cet espace spirituel que je trouvais dans l'*Odyssée*, que je n'aurais pas trouvé dans l'*Iliade* »[14]. Le titre du roman de Jean Giono nous éclaire sur l'intention de l'écrivain. Il n'a aucune intention de narrer les aventures d'Ulysse, au contraire, son regard se focalise sur les circonstances dans lesquelles est né le célèbre poème. La source en est, selon Jean Giono, le besoin de conter, la nécessité d'inventer un monde irréel, qui remplace une réalité pauvre et décevante. « Giono emprunte personnages et motifs homériques, mais détruit le mythe épique pour créer un mythe personnel essentiel, celui de la parole créatrice »[15]. Le vrai personnage du roman est le mensonge d'Ulysse, un essai de justifier une absence de dix ans. Le lecteur suit l'aventure de ce mensonge et le rapport d'Ulysse avec celui-ci. La proposition simple : « Il est mort », prononcée par un aède, déclenche la naissance du mensonge. Pour le contredire, Ulysse prépare un discours éloquent, qui finalement lui échappe.

[11] Chonez 1964, 38.
[12] *Ap.* Ballestra-Puech 2008.
[13] *Ap.* Ballestra-Puech 2008.
[14] *Ap.* Ballestra-Puech 2008.
[15] Landes 2001, 20.

Il use toutes les garanties de la vérité et s'adresse à son auditeur par des formules comme : « Maintenant, je vous dis », « que je sois changé en baudet si je mens » ou « je dis franchement ce que je sais ». Pour soutenir l'invention, le conteur recourt à la naïveté et aux superstitions de la foule, invoquant « les forces étranges » qui se cachent derrière les choses. La fantaisie peut révéler une autre réalité, que celle que nos sens perçoivent, car le merveilleux se dévoile à celui qui le cherche. L'imagination est pour Giono une vraie force créatrice. Un seul mot prononcé ou une phrase sont suffisants pour l'apparition de toutes sortes de visions, qui se superposent à la réalité. Après avoir laissé la parole lui échapper, Ulysse en est étonné. Il est surpris des proportions et de la force de sa propre création, qui le domine, contre laquelle il ne peut plus rien faire : « Il était dressé dans le temps passé comme un arbre sur la plaine rase »[16]. A mesure que le temps passe, que la parole circule de l'un à l'autre, l'arbre se transforme en « un bosquet de lauriers musiciens, un bois sacré, une immense forêt, épaisse, noire, vivante, enchevêtrée de lianes et du tortillement des longues herbes »[17]. L'invention exerce son charme tout d'abord sur celui qui l'a créée. Ensuite elle s'enrichit par la contribution de ceux qui l'entendent et finit par acquérir une existence propre, elle devient « une pelote de fleur ». Mais la légende tourne contre son auteur, lorsque le personnage réel se compare à celui inventé. Ulysse n'a pas le courage de se montrer tel qu'il est à Pénélope, à cause de sa propre légende, qui l'avait devancé sur le chemin de retour. Pénélope, elle aussi attend plutôt le personnage de la légende que le fils de la réalité. Mais le mensonge est très puissant, parce qu'il est capable de retenir toute la beauté de la réalité : « Il voyait dans son mensonge des formes précises, des gestes harmonieux, la couleur de la lumière d'après-midi, les hautes vagues gémissantes et ces îles aigues qui enfoncent dans la mer paisible le fer triangulaire de leurs reflets. Il entendait le fracas des eaux échevelées entre les vagues, le grondement des pins et le crissement des cigales pareil au bruit d'une épée qu'on aiguise : il sentait l'odeur des résines, des bruyères et le parfum de ce grand vent des plateaux qui dort la nuit, vautré dans les hautes herbes aromatiques »[18]. Le pouvoir du mensonge réside dans une ressemblance parfaite à la réalité, de sorte qu'il devient difficile à discerner finalement le vrai du faux.

Jean Giono a changé le genre littéraire, il a choisi le roman, transformant l'épopée dans une parodie. Les deux parties du roman ont en exergue deux citations de Ronsard : « la mer qui sçait ainsi que toi piper/Les paroles que dist Calypson ou qu'elle devoit dire » et « Que vas-tu voir en ton isle pierreuse, / Où ne bondit la jument généreuse/ Ny le poulain, que vas-tu voir sinon /Une putain riche d'un beau renom ? Les paroles que dist Calypson ou… » L'écrivain nous invite à une lecture de l'*Odyssée* à travers la vision de Ronsard, qui s'inscrit dans la même lignée que

[16] Giono 1938, 71.
[17] Giono 1938, 72.
[18] Giono 1938, 130.

celle de l'auteur des *Métamorphoses*. Pour Ovide et pour Ronsard, Ulysse était surtout un fourbe et un lâche. Son roman comprend deux parties. Dans la première, Ulysse est surpris dans l'île de Circé, prisonnier de l'Éros incarné par cette femme. La rencontre avec Ménélas, qui lui apprend l'infidélité de Pénélope, le détermine à préparer son retour à Ithaque. Sur ce chemin de retour, Ulysse s'arrête pour passer une nuit dans une auberge, une autre sur les collines et assiste finalement à une récitation publique à Mégalopolis, où il se rend compte des proportions de sa légende. Dans la deuxième partie, Ulysse arrivé à Ithaque se présente à Pénélope comme un mendiant. Invité au dîner, il réussit à effrayer son rival, l'amant de sa femme, Antinoüs, qui se met à courir et meurt en tombant d'une falaise. Un personnage inventé par Giono, la servante Kalidassa, se suicide à cause de la mort d'Antinoüs et par peur d'être punie par Ulysse. Le récit est organisé de manière à permettre la naissance et ensuite l'instauration de la légende d'Ulysse. Les emprunts à la légende homériques sont insérés dans la trame narrative de manière à servir l'intention de l'auteur : le mythe de la parole créatrice. La première partie est entièrement inventée par Giono. La deuxième, qui traite la vengeance d'Ulysse, a subi d'importantes modifications. Ulysse ne doit plus lutter contre une foule de prétendants, il doit mesurer ses forces seulement avec un seul, l'amant de Pénélope. Aucune lutte n'a lieu, une seule confrontation verbale, un poing d'Ulysse dans le menton du rival, qui prend la fuite, effrayé plutôt par la force du personnage légendaire, que par celle du personnage réel. Ulysse est reconnu par sa pie, Gotton, qu'il étrangle de peur de ne pas le trahir. Giono a remplacé le chien Argos par une pie. Il fait la même chose avec la première personne qui reconnait Ulysse. Si dans l'Odyssée d'Homère, c'est la nourrice Euryclée, dans le roman de Giono, c'est le porcher Eumée. Le romancier fait preuve d'une grande liberté dans le traitement des thèmes et des motifs homériques. « Giono ne s'est pas fait une obligation de respecter sa source. Il reprend sans aucune systématisation les motifs qui lui plaisent ou s'insèrent harmonieusement dans son propre récit »[19].

LE PORTRAIT D'UN ANTI-HÉROS

On a dit que pour recréer le personnage d'Ulysse, Giono n'a rien inventé et qu'il a repris certaines interprétations de la légende antique qui amplifiait le penchant d'Ulysse pour le mensonge. En réalité, Giono nous propose un personnage recréé par l'imagination de la foule assoiffée de miraculeux et de fantastique. Ulysse accepte cette image irréelle, parce que la plus difficile chose est d'expliquer une vie et d'en trouver le sens. Sur ce point Ulysse se rencontre avec l'empereur Hadrien, qui en essayant d'expliquer sa propre vie, se trouve dans une grande difficulté : « Tantôt ma vie m'apparaît banale au point de ne pas valoir d'être, non

[19] Landes 2001, 24.

seulement écrite, mais même un peu longuement contemplée, nullement plus importante, même à mes propres yeux, que celle du premier venu »[20]. Ulysse de Giono ne ressemble guère au personnage d'Homère. C'est un homme quelconque qui aime beaucoup les femmes et qui porte sur son dos «la besace à mensonges ». « Certes, il n'était pas un trop mauvais garçon, mais il avait menti, menti d'affilée, comme on respire, comme on boit quand on a soif, tant et tant qu'il ne connaissait plus le vrai du faux, qu'il n'y avait plus de vrai dans sa vie, son imagination cristallisant sur chaque brin de vérité une carapace scintillante de mensonges »[21]. Il a participé à la guerre de Troie, mais ce passé glorieux surgit trois fois dans son souvenir. Une fois, lorsqu'il rencontre Ménélas et il est surpris par l'image présente de celui-ci. A l'homme « gras comme un thon, béat », il superpose le guerrier agité par « une fièvre rongeuse », sous les murs de Troie. La deuxième fois, il se rappelle ses propres exploits, lorsqu'il revenait aux vaisseaux le dernier, couvert de sang, après avoir harcelé l'ennemi. La troisième fois, le chant funèbre, qu'il entend devant un temple en ruine, lui rappelle Troie. Lorsqu'il doit justifier une absence de dix ans, il est terrifié. Il n'a rien à offrir au présent, car de toute cette période, il ne lui est resté que le souvenir des plaisirs charnels : « Ulysse resta silencieux, comme un qui a reçu un coup de poing au menton et vacille, la tête alourdie d'images fulgurantes : il revoyait en éclair les ports aux bras de femmes, Cythère la rocheuse, Circé-glu, Photiadès »[22]. C'est un être sensible qui vit plutôt dans le souvenir et dans la rêverie. Son périple est intérieur, composé de nombreuses visions. Tout ce qu'il a vu ou aimé s'y reflète. Prisonnier des charmes de Circé, dans l'île de Cythère, il ne pense à rentrer en Ithaque que sous l'impulsion de la nouvelle que Pénélope le trompe. Une fois la décision de rentrer prise, il est déchiré entre le désir de revoir sa femme, son foyer et la peur d'avoir le même destin qu'Agamemnon. Pénélope n'est plus la femme chaste et fidèle, qui attend le retour de son mari. Elle a eu des amants le long des années et finalement elle est tombée amoureuse d'un jeune homme appelé Antinoüs. Elle avait obéi à la loi des dieux, celle de jouir de l'existence. L'amour est inscrit dans cette loi et personne n'y échappe : « l'enfant Éros court entre les jambes de celui qui veut marcher droit, l'entrave et le couche dans les mauves »[23]. Ulysse est un homme vieux, « le visage cireux », « aplati, bourbeux à ne pas savoir quoi faire ». Il porte sur son visage la marque des vingt ans écoulés. Ses membres sont lourds, il a des douleurs aux aisselles et aux hanches. Il se traîne sur la terre et il le reproche à la déesse Cybèle, qu'il appelle « marâtre ». La mer, en échange lui donne la sensation de vol, c'est pourquoi il cherche partout, sous la terre, les traits de son visage. Il refuse de se battre contre Antinoüs et il déçoit ainsi Télémaque, qui quitte Ithaque pour aller à l'encontre de ses propres aventures. Il a peur d'Antinoüs, parce que, dans son

[20] Yourcenar 1974, 34.
[21] Giono 1938, 76.
[22] Giono 1938, 46.
[23] Giono 1938, 14.

imagination, il le voit gigantesque. Rentré chez soi, Ulysse se sent comme un homme malade, coupable envers le destin de sa propre ferme. « – Vingt ans ! Que de pluies obliques sur le crépi depuis. A-t-on songé à couper ce lierre têtu qui poussait sa tête sous les tuiles ? Il lui venait tout d'un coup le sentiment des mille dangers qui avaient assailli la ferme quand il n'était pas là pour l'aider et la défendre »[24]. Il est le contraire de ce que représente le jeune amant de Pénélope : « jeune, droit, vastes épaules, bras arqués comme deux anses d'amphore, larges cuisses brunes ». Antinoüs est l'image de l'héros du jour, héros de Palestres, huilé, choyé, très beau, qui n'a pas connu la guerre et qui cultive sa force physique. Ulysse n'a que la force de son imagination et de sa sensualité, il est « courageux pour les seuls exploits de la langue ».

LE SACRÉ DE LA NATURE

Dans l'univers de *Naissance de l'Odyssée*, les plus importantes divinités grecques sont présentes : Poséidon, Vénus, Artémis, Éros, Pan, Pallas, Héraclès, Cybèle, Zeus, Apollon. Ces divinités sont présentes surtout par des invocations. A celles-ci s'ajoute même une divinité védique, Maya, la déesse de l'illusion. Par rapport à l'*Odyssée* d'Homère, Giono opère un changement essentiel. Les dieux sont descendus de l'Olympe, ils vivent dans la nature, parmi les hommes. On les retrouve partout, dans les bois, dans les sources ou dans les golfes. Tout élément naturel est animé par un souffle divin ; ainsi l'ombre a ses dieux, de même que les oiseaux ou les fontaines. Les dieux ne sont plus « des figures conventionnelles de marbre », on ne les retrouve plus « sous les tuiles des temples ». Au contraire, les mortels savent « qu'ils marchent, se coulent sous les manteaux, se cramponnent aux chars, se glissent même entre les lèvres qui s'approchent pour un baiser, en fin de compte, flottent autour de nous comme des molles algues invisibles »[25]. Pendant ses errances sur les montagnes, Ulysse rencontre un temple. Devant celui-ci, il n'éprouve aucun sentiment de piété, au contraire, il constate l'harmonie de ses proportions, mais il la trouve horrible et froide. Il a la sensation d'entendre un chant funèbre pareil à celui qu'il avait entendu sous les murs de Troie. Il est fasciné, en échange, par la végétation qui pousse dans le temple et qui le rend vif. Il sent aussi dans l'air la présence du dieu Pan, « ironique et joueur…plus véloce que la flèche ». Les divinités, les plus présentes, dans l'*Odyssée* de Giono, sont Pan et Éros. Nul ne peut résister à l'appel de l'amour, ni Ulysse, ni Pénélope. Pour le premier, le périple d'île en île, est un périple de femme en femme. Le désir de retour est aussi plutôt un désir de la femme, car Ithaque « était parfumée de Pénélope » : « chaque fois qu'apparaissait le mirage d'Ithaque, Ulysse sentait sous sa chair se réveiller le tumultueux serpent du désir. Alors, par une exagération

[24] Giono 1938, 97.
[25] Giono 1938, 48.

inverse, il supprimait tous les obstacles, il lui poussait d'immatériels bras développés à travers les forêts et les monts comme deux fleuves de fumée et il étreignait Pénélope ; mais, ô subtile haine du ciel, au lieu de s'apaiser dans cette étreinte, au moment où il touchait la fallacieuse chair dénudée, la soif d'amour brûlait plus hautement en lui comme un qui boit à ces sources dont l'eau amère coule entre les racines des cyprès »[26]. La force de l'amour s'exerce partout, sur la vague qui baise les rochers, sur un liseron qui embrasse une colonne du temple d'Artémis ou sur le jeu de deux jeunes bergers. Pan est vu comme un chèvre-pied, avec des bras longs comme les fleuves et un corps fait de roches et de terre. Pan et Hermès sont poussés par Éros, c'est pourquoi, Pan a violé une femme et Pan a fait à une laitière « un enfant qui a deux petites cornes d'or ».

Il y a, dans la nature, une communion parfaite entre l'homme, les bêtes et les végétaux. Giono cherche dans la nature le deuxième terme de toute comparaison : les seins des femmes sont « des pigeons palpitants », les pieds « tors et noirs » d'un homme ressemblent à « des ceps de vin », le rire suinte comme l'eau, les paroles ruissellent comme « de source la montagne généreuse », « une figure plissée et nue » ressemble à une colline. La nature est personnifiée : le vent a des mains, les arbres parlent et pleurent, la mer est « une rude mangeuse », l'écorce des arbres « tressaille comme une chair qui souffre ».

Jean Giono se sert du mythe d'une manière explicite. Il le désigne dans le titre du roman, il fait de nombreuses allusions aux épisodes de l'*Odyssée* d'Homère et respecte, en grand, la trame narrative. Mais pour lui, le mythe a plutôt une fonction décorative, il en exploite l'expressivité en lui ajoutant de nouveaux sens. Le lecteur moderne peut se poser la question suivante : Qui a été Ulysse ? Quelle est la part de la réalité et de la fiction dans la composition du caractère de ce fameux personnage ? S'il est plutôt un personnage né de l'imagination de ceux qui ont colporté son nom de bouche en bouche, sa figure représente les aspirations et la mentalité de ceux gens-là. L'Ulysse d'Homère incarne les valeurs fondamentales du monde antique : l'héroïsme, l'intelligence utilisée dans le seul but de dépasser les situations difficiles, le respect pour les valeurs du pays natal, la maîtrise de soi, la survivance, le respect et la peur des dieux. L'Ulysse de Giono, le personnage réel du roman, incarne les valeurs du monde moderne. C'est un homme qui aime la vie, mais qui goûte la saveur de celle-ci surtout par les sens. Il vit dans l'immédiat, dans une réalité dominée par l'illusion. La dévalorisation du mythe se fait en faveur de la glorification de la vie simple des paysans et de la communion de l'homme avec l'univers. L'abandon de l'homme dans le paysage naturel est une source de bonheur et en même temps de poésie : « Ils se couchaient au revers du coteau, l'intérieur de l'île s'arrondissait devant eux avec ses près d'asphodèles. L'air paisible sonnait entre le vol des guêpes, la voix des laveuses ricochait sur l'eau plate du ciel, le tintement bucolique des pipeaux frémissait dans le bourdonnement des arbres.

[26] Giono 1938, 36.

Une quiétude élyséenne planait sur les champs, berçant la douleur d'Ulysse »[27]. Dans « cette apologie souriante de la fabulation »[28], on découvre le vrai Giono, le romancier qui vit par le plaisir d'écrire, qui a une fantaisie luxuriante comme le paysage de Provence. C'est l'homme toujours enchanté devant le spectacle du quotidien, qui trouve le merveilleux dans chaque détail. L'*Odyssée* lui permet de découvrir le mirage qui se cache derrière le monde visible et d'exprimer sa joie de vivre.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Audisio, G. 1970. „Ulysse, adică Inteligenţa", trad. rom., *Secolul XX* 7-8, p. 55-67.
Ballestra-Puech, S. 2008. *Le rideau déchiré de l'épopée dans* Naissance de l'Odyssée *de Jean Giono*, Séminaire *Modernités antiques*. *La littérature (1910-1950) et les mythes gréco-romains*. Séance du 18 janviers 2008 (Autour d'Homère).
http://www.fabula.org/atelier.php?Le_rideau_d%26eacute%3Bchir%26eacute%3B_de_l%27%26eacute%3Bpop%26eacute%3Be#_ednref1.
Brunel, P. 1994. *Dictionnaire des mythes littéraires*. Paris.
Chonez, C. 1964. *Giono par lui-même.* Paris.
Creţulescu, I. 1970. „Renaşterea *Odiseei* la Jean Giono", *Secolul XX*, 7-8, p. 89.
Favre, Y.-A. 1995. „Marguerite Yourcenar: le rôle du mythe dans la création romanesque", *in* M.Delacroix, S. Delacroix (éds.), *Roman, histoire et mythe dans l'œuvre de Marguerite Yourcenar: Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université d'Anvers du 15 au 18 mai 1990.* Tours. P.189-196.
Giono, J. 1938. *Naissance de l'Odyssée.* Paris.
Landes, A. 2001. „Présence du mythe dans *Naissance de l'Odyssée*", *in* L.Fourcaut (éd.), *Jean Giono* 7: Naissance de l'Odyssée-*enquête sur une fondation*. *La revue des Lettres Modernes*. Paris-Caen. P. 19-45.
Obaton, V. 1997. *La promotion de l'identité culturelle européenne depuis 1946*. Genève.
Yourcenar, M. 1971. *Théâtre. Avant-propos à la pièce* Electre *ou la chute des masques*, Paris.
Yourcenar, M. 1974. *Mémoires d'Hadrien*. Paris.

[27] Giono 1938, 18.
[28] Chonez 1964, 38.

SOCIETATEA DE STUDII CLASICE DIN ROMÂNIA

ADUNAREA GENERALĂ DE ALEGERI DIN 26 IANUARIE 2019
EXTRAS DIN PROCESUL-VERBAL

Cuvânt de deschidere al prof. dr. Alexandru Barnea, președintele Societății de Studii Clasice din România. Secretarul General în exercițiu, prof. dr. habil. Tudor Dinu, preia conducerea ședinței, având acordul tuturor membrilor prezenți.

Prof. Dr. Alexandru Barnea prezintă raportul de activitate al vechiului Birou de conducere SSCR. Situația financiară în raport cu Ministerul de Finanțe / ANAF. În ceea ce privește activitatea științifică a SSCR, se remarcă lipsa comunicărilor lunare. Situația revistei „Studii Clasice" s-a înrăutățit în comparației cu deceniul trecut din cauza lipsei materialelor pentru publicat primite, care nu au permis alcătuirea unui sumar complet de revistă. Cu ajutorul dr. Alexandrina Lițu s-a reușit adunarea unui număr de revistă care urmează a fi predat săptămâna viitoare la Editura Academiei Române. Apel pentru contribuții noi atât de la centru, cât și de la filialele din țară.

Dna dr. Doina Doroftei, în calitate de cenzor la SSCR, dă citire bilanțului financiar al societății trimis de dna Luiza Oancea, trezorierul în exercițiu. Nu există activitate contabilă în ultimii ani, cu excepția comisioanelor bancare. Raportul cenzorului este supus votului şi este aprobat. [...]

Existând cvorumul statutar de 31 de membri (la care se adaugă voturile Filialei SSCR Iași, transmise statutar prin președinta acesteia, conf. dr. Claudia Tărnăuceanu), se trece la punctul al treilea de pe ordinea de zi: consultarea Adunării Generale în privința alegerii biroului. [...]

Se trece apoi la punctul patru de pe ordinea de zi: alegerea prin vot secret a Biroului Societății de Studii Clasice din România Sunt aleși: prof. dr. habil. Ioana Costa în funcția de președinte (38 de voturi pentru, 1 împotrivă); prof. dr. habil. Alexander Baumgarten în funcția de secretar general (39 de voturi pentru); dr. Florian Matei-Popescu în funcția de secretar general adjunct (37 de voturi pentru, 2 împotrivă); prof. dr. Ana Cristina Halichias, prof. dr. Florica Bechet și prof. dr. Nelu Zugravu în funcții de vicepreședinți (37 voturi pentru, 2 împotrivă pentru fiecare); lect. dr. Simona Nicolae în funcția de trezorier. [...]

Comisia de cenzori: se înregistrează cinci candidaturi. În urma votului secret, conf. dr. Theodor Georgescu obține 31 de voturi, conf. dr. Claudia Tărnăuceanu obține 22 de voturi, dr. Vichi Ciocani obţine 20 de voturi. Ca cenzori supleanți sunt aleşi drd. D. Baraboi (15 voturi) și drd. Alexandru Călin (13 voturi).

După alegeri, prof. dr. habil. Tudor Dinu mulțumește vechiului birou al SSCR și dă cuvântul noului președinte al societății, prof. dr. habil. Ioana Costa, care mulţumeşte Adunării Generale pentru încrederea acordată şi aduce un omagiu memoriei prof. dr. Lucia Wald, anunțând și instituirea unui premiu „Lucia Wald", ce urmează a fi decernat în fiecare an, în octombrie, la debutul anului universitar. [...]

În privința cotizației, punctul al zecelea de pe ordinea de zi, se stabilește un cuantum anual al acesteia de 50 de lei, cu plata până la 31 iulie (30 de voturi pentru). [...]

Secretar de ședință
dr. Theodor E. Ulieriu Rostas

CONSTANTIN SĂLĂVĂSTRU, *Elogiu elocinței: Cicero*, Catilinarele, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Iași, 2018, 273 p., ISBN: 978-606-714-495-6

Unele cărți n-ar trebui să apară la o editură universitară. Nu știm dacă nu e și cazul celei de față. Autorul nu cunoaște istoria și nu înțelege specificul evoluției politico-sociale a Romei republicane târzii – așadar, contextul îi este străin, în ciuda a ceea ce scrie în capitolul I (Catilinarele*: context și timp istoric*, p. 13-77), nu cunoaște personalitatea lui Cicero decât din spusele altora, pentru că n-a studiat atent opera acestuia și nici scrierile antice (sofismul găunos de la p. 77 o arată foarte clar: „El [Cicero – n.n.] este ceea ce ar fi trebuit să fie dacă nu ar fi fost ceea ce este!"), și nu cunoaște latină – nu apare *niciun concept* politic, social, religios, literar ciceronian, singurul cuvânt latinesc din *Catilinare* fiind redat eronat – *improbis* (p. 246) în loc de *improbi*[1]; de asemenea, în numeroasele, extinsele și recurentele fragmente sau fraze preluate din *Catilinare*, nu este folosită *nicio expresie latină*, la fel cum se întâmplă și cu trimiterile din alte opere ale oratorului roman sau ale altor scriitori latini, adesea citate în traduceri proprii după tălmăciri franțuzești, unele discutabile, pentru că nu corespund conținutului textului latin, precum fragmentul din scrisoarea către Atticus de la p. 59, nota 11, sau cel din *De oratore* de la p. 205 (dar ce spuneți de „fallacy of popularity", p. 163, sau „straw man", p. 188!); chiar numele autorilor antici sau ale unor personaje din lucrări antice sunt uneori franțuzite – Salluste, Cicéron, Aristote (*passim*), Trasymaque (p. 148). Scrisă într-un stil rudimentar (*e.g.*: „Pompei este ofuscat mai mult de «gălăgia» lui Cicero…", p. 60), cu exprimări școlărești, unele greșite, precum ale elevilor („scurt intermezzo", p. 193; „ori", p. 205, în loc de „or"), cu explicații puerile, chiar hilare (*e.g.*: „De ce a rămas Catilina în atenția opiniei publice? Răspunsul este pe buzele tuturor: datorită discursurilor lui Cicero!", p. 69; „letargia" „proverbială" (!?) a senatorilor, p. 87) sau de-a dreptul aberante („Oratorul simte nevoia să suscite interesul mulțimii prin detalii picante din viața personală a conjuraților, detalii care, pentru vulg, devin un excelent punct de atracție, de amuzament în raport cu picanteriile vieții cotidiene, oricum mai accesibile și mai binefăcătoare decât problemele filosofice și morale ale conceptelor de datorie, patrie, dreptate și altele asemenea!"[2]), și cu reflecții de-o „profunzime" ridicolă (*e.g.*: „Dragostea n-are morală!", p. 59; „*Catilinarele* sunt o ilustrație vie care ne spune cu toată claritatea și cu toată tăria că *democrația este singura formă de organizare politică și socială în care problemele societății găsesc o rezolvare rațională*", p. 259, subl. aut.; „Pasiunile au dominat lumea!", p. 253), plină de extrase din retoricieni contemporani precum – trebuia neaparat să fim avertizați! – cel care „a avut generozitatea" de a-l invita la lecția inaugurală la Collège de France (p. 191), sau din *Catilinare* care, chipurile, argumentează, „contra-argumentează", reprezintă sau dovedesc

[1] Toate trimiterile se fac la textul românesc din ediția Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In L. Catilinam orationes quatuor / Cele patru cuvântări împotriva lui L. Catilina*, ediție bilingvă, ediție coordonată de Mihaela Paraschiv, traducere, notă istorică, note și comentarii de Claudia Tărnăuceanu (*Catilinara I*), Constantin Răchită (*Catilinara a II-a*), Constantin Ionuț Mihai (*Catilinara a III-a*), Mihaela Paraschiv (*Catilinara a IV-a*), indici de Claudia Tărnăuceanu, studiu introductiv de Constantin Sălăvăstru, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Iași, 2013 (*Cicero*).

[2] Cum rămâne, atunci, cu afirmațiile de la p. 40-41? „*Catilinarele* depun mărturie credibilă cu privire la *valorile care domină, cel puțin ca aspirație, viața socială și politică* a Romei în timpul lui Cicero. Sunt valori care servesc binele public, scopul comun al cetățenilor: patria, datoria, legea, dreptatea… Cicero evocă… patria ca valoare supremă și ca argument decisiv ce trebuie să orienteze deciziile și acțiunile oamenilor… Aproape fiecare rând al *Catilinarelor* respiră aerul impus de această valoare care orientează tot: fiecare argument are, direct sau indirect, legătură cu această valoare, fiecare sentiment pe care aceste discursuri îl dezvăluie își are originea tot în ideea de patrie… etc." (subl. aut.).

„teze", „raționamente", „sofisme" sau „mari pasiuni" (*Dispozitivul argumentativ al* Catilinarelor, p. 79-148; *Sofismele în* Catilinare, p. 149-190; *Pasiuni și cuvinte pasionale*, p. 191-257), conținând referințe care n-au nimic de-a face cu elocința antică, Cicero și *Catilinare* („politica de vânzări a managerului"; *Proclamația către Armată din 27 martie 1796* a lui Napoleon; „sacrificiul pentru țară al Ioanei d'Arc", „cruzimea lui Nero", „admirația lui Caligula pentru sine", „pasiunea de-a dreptul devoratoare a lui Arhimede pentru cercetările sale", „Evrika!" – „simbolul trăirii reușitei" ș.a.), ea e dovadă de netăgăduit a inutilității acestui tip de lucrare pentru înțelegerea frumuseții, conținutului și intenționalității discursurilor omului politic roman.

Nelu Zugravu
Centrul de Studii Clasice şi Creştine,
Facultatea de Istorie,
Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi

Les Hommes illustres de la ville de Rome, texte établi et traduit par Paul Marius Martin, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2016, 199 p., ISBN 978-88-9346-058-3*

Vi sono alcune fonti tardoantiche esasperanti per gli studiosi in quanto se ne conoscono pochissimi elementi sicuri: un esempio famoso ne è L'*Historia Augusta*. Nella stessa categoria si iscrive anche la raccolta di microbiografie nota con il titolo *Les hommes illustres de la ville de Rome*. Paul Marius Martin, il curatore della recente edizione pubblicata presso Les Belles Lettres nella *Collection des Universités de France* e sulla quale ci soffermeremo in seguito, spiega che "presque tout est obscur dans celui-ci: la date exacte de sa rédaction, son véritable titre, son auteur, sa composition même" (p. IX) (si veda anche p. X: "Le titre *De uiris illustribus Vrbis Romae* n'est certainement pas le titre original, non plus que les titres de chapitres qu'on trouve dans certains manuscrits"). Di conseguenza, la provocazione è stata enorme, ma – dobbiamo dirlo sin dall'inizio – l'editore l'ha fronteggiata con successo. Con acribia, con spirito analitico, con ampia visione, con ottima conoscenza delle fonti, Martin ha fatto il meglio per offrire le soluzioni più convincenti alle qustioni sollevate da questa fonte tardo-latina. Nell'impresa dell'editore ci sembra altamente notevole il dialogo che ha stabilito con il lettore nell'*Introduction* (p. VII-LXXIII), nelle note infrapaginali (p. 2-92) o nelle *Notes complémentaires* (p. 93-184). Insufficientemente sicuro di alcuni aspetti, insoddisfato da alcune spiegazioni, dubbitante, egli invita il lettore a trovare possibili soluzioni alle numerose questioni poste dal testo: l'intenzionalità dell'autore, il suo nome, le fonti, gli influssi, le datazioni ecc.; i punti interrogativi che compaiono su molte pagine – si veda p. X (n. 12), XIII (n. 25), XXV, XXXIV, XXXV, XLII, XLIV, LV (n. 183), LX, LXXIII, 12 (n. 65), 27 (n. 172), 59 (n. 405), 84 (n. 609), 97 (n. 8), 114 (n. 66), 101 (n. 14), 108 (n. 45), 117 (n. 77), 124 (n. 114), 129 (n. 144), 132 (n. 166), 138 (n. 238), 140 (n. 258), 142 (n. 278), 157 (n. 462, 478), 160 (n. 505), 166 (n. 560, 562) ecc. – dimostrano appunto questa strategia. Certamente, non tutte le risposte possono essere soddisfacenti: a volte vi restano dubbi. Per esempio, è discutibile la datazione dell'opuscolo nella seconda metà del IV^{o} secolo, forse verso "la sua ultima fine", sulla base dell'espressione *ut seditionibus abstinerent* del *DVI* II, 13, che potrebbe alludere alle usurpazioni di Massimo e Eugenio durante Teodosio I (p. X). Perché pensare soltanto a quelle seccessioni? Perché quella di Eugenio ha lasciato echi nella *Historia Augusta*? Il regno di Costanzo II è pieno di *seditiones* (Magnenzio nel 350-353, Nepoziano nel 350, Vetranione nel 350, Giuliano nel 360-361), e non ne mancano neanche sotto Valentiniano o Valente (Valentino nel 371, Procopio nel 362-363). Condividiamo però l'osservazione che il tentativo di identificarne l'autore, allo stadio attuale delle conoscenze, "semble… vouée à l'échec" (p. XI). Allo stesso tempo, siamo d'accordo con l'idea che l'Anonimo emerge dal testo come un pagano erudito e un tradizionalista ponderato ma, come mostreremo in seguito, non siamo affatto convinti del

"ritegno" che questi avrebbe manifestato a causa di possibili critiche dei seguaci del cristianesimo nei confronti di alcuni miti fondamentali del "catechismo civico" dei romani (p. XI-XXV). Notiamo l'eccellente analisi, nel contesto della discussione sulla tradizione manoscritta (p. XXV-XLIX), delle due famiglie di manoscritti – una lunga, di origine renana, che, dunque, comprende tutti gli 86 capitoli della raccolta (*A*) (p. XXVII-XXXI), e un'altra breve, di origine italica, che si conclude con il capitolo 77 (*B*) (p. XXXIII-XXXIV) –, ma anche della tradizione indiretta rappresentata dal *codex Metelli* (*M*) (p. XXXII-XXXIII). Martini sostiene "l'unicità organica della raccolta" (p. XXXV), allegando agli argomenti proposti dai suoi predecessori (p. XXXV-XLII) il proprio contributo, ingegnoso e convincente, cioè la critica interna del testo (p. XLII-XLIX). Lo studioso osserva l'esistenza di indubbie similitudini lessicologiche, sintattiche e stilistiche, che lo inducono a concludere che gli 86 capitoli del *DVI* hanno lo stesso autore (p. XLVIII). Per quanto riguarda la struttura e la cronologia della raccolta (p. XLIX-LVI), egli precisa, tra l'altro, che le distorsioni della seconda non sono sempre spiegabili (p. LV). In quanto alla spinosa questione delle fonti, che ha generato opinioni divergenti tra gli esegeti (Sage, Braccesi, Bessone, Fugmann, Arnaud-Lindet, Schmidt ecc.), Martin, a volte critico, altre volte lodevole, evidenzia il contributo di ognuno di essi nel senso della chiarificazione di questo assunto (p. LVI-LXI). Non ci sembra però altrettanto equilibrato nei suoi giudizi nei confronti di alcuni suoi predecessori (p. LXI-LXIV). Per esempio, benché abbia, a volte, parole lodevoli per Sherwin e la sua edizione (p. 79, n. 561; p. 110, n. 49), le osservazioni negative non sono particolarmente eleganti: l'editore in questione ha fatto "la plus mauvaise" delle edizioni (p. LXIII), è bizzarro (p. XXXIX, LXIII-LXIV, 105 [n. 26]), la sua opinione è un'"inezia" (p. 109, n. 46), manifesta una "habituelle servilité à la lettre des manuscris" (p. 111, n. 56). In cambio, è eccessivamente ammirevole nei confronti di Gufmann. La novità apportata dalla presente edizione (p. LXV-LXVIII) è la valorizzazione di una serie di cinque manoscritti fin'ora trascurati – uno del Trecento (*y*) (*Livorno. Bibl. com. Labronica F.D. Guerrazzi*) (p. LXVI) e quattro del Quattrocento – *v* (*Lond. mus. Brit. Harl. 2471*), *x* (*Ticinensis 68*) (p. LXV), *z* (*Napolitanus*) (p. XXXVII-XXXIX, LXVI) și *w* (*Danielensis*) (p. LXVI).

Sul testo latino (p. 2-92) e sulla traduzione francese ci permettiamo segnalare soltanto che non c'è concordanza tra il contenuto latino e quello francese dei paragrafi VIII, 1-2 e LIX, 3-4. Osserviamo inoltre la traduzione differente di alcuni termini, il che, senza rappresentare una mancanza dell'edizione, lascia l'impressione di inconseguenza. Per esempio, *dux* è reso con "général" quando si tratta dei comandanti romani (XVIII, 1; XXXVIII, 1; XXXIX, 1; LXX, 1) (ma si veda anche XXVI, 4 e XXIX, 3), mentre per le altre popolazioni si usa, con poche eccezioni (XXXVII, 3; LX, 2; XXXVIII, 2; 3), la parola "chef" (II, 3; IV, 5; XVII, 3; XXIII, 6; XXV, 1; XXX, 1; XLV, 1; LX, 2; LXXI, 1); *creatio*, in riferimento alla nomina dei magistrati, compare, anch'esso, tradotto in maniera diversa – "créa le grand pontife" (*pontificem maximum creauit*) (III, 1), "créé roi" (*rex creatus*) (IV, 1), "il fut le premier à devenir consul" (*primus consul creatus*) (X, 5), "après avoir élu dix tribuns" (*qui creatis decem tribunis*) (XXI, 3) ecc.; "Carthage" (XXXVIII, 2-3; XL, 4; XLVII, 7; XLVIII, 4; XLIX, 17; LVIII, 5), ma anche "Carthagène", probabilmente per distinguere *Carthago Nova* dalla *Carthago* (si veda *Index*, p. 187); allo stesso tempo, a p. 44, "Carthage" rende in francese lat. *Puni* (XXXVIII, 3); a p. 45 (XXXIX, 2) (testo francese), compare "Parnomos", al posto della forma corretta "Panormos" (si veda anche p. 142, n. 280), mentre nel testo latino è "Panormus", come compare anche nell'*Index* (p. 193).

Nelle *Notes complémentaires* (p. 93-184), Martin si è proposto un obiettivo degno d'invidia – essere esaustivo (p. LXVIII). Era da aspettarsi, però, che, vista la complessità dell'opera, ciò rimanesse soltanto un desiderio, soprattutto per quanto riguarda i rinvii alle fonti, come mostreremo in avanti. Sarebbe scorretto però trascurare l'estrema attenzione dell'editore per il chiarimento di molti aspetti di stampo paleografico, linguistico, stilistico, grammaticale, istituzionale, biografico, per la discussione delle questioni nel loro contesto storico, per l'appello a numerose altre fonti, per la messa in risalto dell'originalità delle informazioni contenute nel *DVI* ecc.; così le rispettive pagine sono di reale utilità sia allo specialista sia a qualcuno meno familiarizzato con questa fonte storica. Siamo però dispiaciuti per il sistema totalmente confusionario di inserimento delle note, con il quale, d'altronde, la collezione ci ha abituati – quando infrapaginale, quando alla fine del testo, senza

rispettare un ordine –, cosa che rende particolarmente difficile l'uso del volume e la consultazione agevole delle informazioni.

Menzionavamo prima il dialogo dell'editore con il lettore. In questo dialogo vanno inserite le nostre osservazioni seguenti. Martin sceglie di datare selettivamente gli eventi narrati nel *DVI*: molti di essi non hanno la minima indicazione cronologica, il che, evidentemente, scade il valore dell'edizione. La Bibliografia (si veda anche p. LXXVII-LXXXV) non include alcun lavoro recente di archeologia della Roma arcaica come, per esempio, quelli di A. Carandini oppure F. Coarelli. Il breviatore Rufio Festo è citato una sola volta – p. 64, n. 445, dove si commenta il suo conflitto con lo Pseudofilippo Andrisco (qui, il rinvio corretto doveva essere 7, 3, invece di "7", come appare nell'edizione) –, ma informazioni utili presenti nel suo lavoro possono essere aggiunte anche ad altri paragrafi del *DVI* come *Breu.* 3, 1 a V, 3; 2, 3 a XXI, 1; 6, 1 a XXIII, 9; 4, 1 a XLI, 2; 4, 1 a XLV, 5; 4, 3 a XLIX, 14; 12, 1 la LIV, 4; 11, 3 a LV, 1; 7, 3 la LVI, 3; 4, 3 a LVIII, 6; 7, 2 a LX, 2; 4, 4 a LXII, 1; 5, 2 a LXIII, 2; 4, 4 a LXVII, 1; 6, 2 a LXVII, 2; 15, 2-3 a LXXIV, 5-6; 15, 2 a LXXV, 4; 11, 4 a LXXVI, 2; 11, 5 e 16, 1 a LXXVI, 7; 16, 1 a LXXVI, 8; 16, 1 a LXXVI, 8; 5, 2 a LXXVII; 4; 16, 2 a LXXVII, 5; 16, 3 a LXXVII, 7; 5, 1 e 6, 2 a LXXVIII, 4; 4, 5 a LXXVIII, 8; 13, 3 a LXXIX, 3; 17, 2 e 19, 2 a LXXIX, 4; 19, 2 a LXXIX, 5; 13, 1 a LXXX, 2; 17, 3 a LXXXIII, 1; 18, 2 e 13, 1 a LXXXV, 4.. Nella nota 185 della p. 134 (*ad* XXIII, 9), Martin menziona due tradizioni sull'esercito con il qualle Camillo sconfisse i Galli – "une tradition qui met Camille à la tête des reste de l'armée romaine, réfugiée à Véies … et une autre qui lui fait redoubler ou anticiper cet exploit à la tête d'une armée ardéate…" – mentre Rufio Festo trasmette un'informazione senza alcun precedente nelle fonti conosciute – *Postea Gallos cum uictoria remeantes Camillus qui in exilio erat, collecta de agris multitudine oppressit*. (*Breu.* 6, 1). Continuando a discutere delle informazioni offerte dalle fonti, queste si potevano arricchire con l'aggiunta di altri rinvii (l'editore desidera essere esaustivo!) o correggere tramite una più attenta citazione. Eccone alcuni esempi: p. 24, n. 150 a XVIII, 6: sulla creazione dei tribuni della plebe dopo la prima seccessione della plebe nel 494, si veda anche Eutr. 1, 13, 2; sulle ambasciate dei cittadini presso Coriolano, si veda anche Eutr. 1, 15, 2; sui decemviri e la legge delle XII Tavole, il rinvio a Gellio corrispondente all'informazione del *DVI* è 17, 21, 15 piuttosto che "20, 1, 16"; sempre là, si devono aggiungere gli *Annales* di Tacito, 1, 1, 1, mentre il rinvio a Ampel. 29, 2 va corretto rimovendo l'abbreviazione "sq."; p. 62, n. 423 a LVIII, 5: le fonti sulla distruzione di Cartagine nel 146, e non "en 147" come scrive Martin, sono più numerose rispetto a quelle registrate nella nota; si veda: Sall. *Cat.* 10, 1; Liv. *Per*. XLVIII-LI; Vell. I, 12, 2-7; II, 38, 2; Plin. *NH* XV, 74-76; Ampel. 46, 7 (non "46, 5", come nella nota); App. *BC*. IV, 53; Plut. *Cato Maior* 27, 2; *Ti. Gr*. 4, 2; Eutr. 4, 12, 1; Oros. IV, 23, 1; p. 111, n. 54 a V, 3: alle fonti sulla colonia di Ostia, fondata da Anco Marzio, va aggiunto Strab., V, 3, 5; Fest. 362 Q^1; Cic. *Rep.* 2, 18, 33: *ad ostium Tiberis urbem condidit colonisque firmauit*; p. 122, n. 98 *ad* X, 7: sul lutto di un anno delle matrone per la morte di Bruto, si veda anche Eutr. 1, 10, 2; una simile informazione per Publicola in 1, 11, 4, che andava aggiunta a p. 127, n. 134 *ad* XV, 6; p. 129, le note 144-145 *ad* XVII 1 e 3-4: sulla prima dittatura di Cincinnato e la sua vittoria sui Volsci e sui Sabini, si veda anche Eutr. 1, 15, 1; p. 177, n. 644 a LXXIX, 4: sulla vittoria di Azio – il rinvio corretto a *RGDA* è 4, 3, non "5, 3", ed è neccessario aggiungere anche le seguenti fonti: *RGDA* 25, 2; Verg. *Aen.* 8, 675-715; Strab. 7, 7, 6; 8, 4, 3; 12, 3, 1; 17, 1, 11; Vell., 2, 84-86; Joseph. *AJ* 15, 5, 1-2; 6, 1; Plin. *NH* 7, 148; 11, 195; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10; Plut. *Ant.*; Paus. 8, 8, 6; 8, 46, 1; 10, 8, 2; 50, 25-26; 31-35; 51, 1; Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 1, 3; Eutr. 7, 7; Fest. 13, 3; Oros. 13, 1; p. 177, n. 646 a LXXIX, 4: sulla consegna delle bandiere da parte dei Parti, si veda anche Strab. 16, 1, 28; Vell. 2, 94, 4; Iust. 42, 5, 6-12; Suet. *Diu. Aug.* 21, 3; Dio. Cass. 54, 8; Eutr. 7, 9; Fest. 17, 2; 19, 2; Zos. III, 32, 4; p. 177, n. 647 *ad* LXXIX, 5: le ambascerie delle popolazioni straniere ricevute da Augusto compaiono anche in Strab. 15, 1, 4; 1, 73; Verg. *Georg.* 1, 102; Hor. *Od.* 3, 29, 27-28; *Carm. saec.* 56; Prop. 2, 10, 15; Dio Cass. 54, 9; Fest. 19, 2; Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit. de Caes*. 1, 9; allo stesso tempo, le fonti menzionano anche altre genti che inviarono deleghe ad Augusto: *Bactri* (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 688; *Georg.* 2, 138; Hor. *Od.* 3, 29, 27; Aur. Vic. *Caes*. 1, 7), *Garamantes* (Verg. *Aen.* 6, 794; Flor. 2, 31; Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit. de Caes*. 1, 9), *Bastarnae, Albani, Hiberi, Medi* (*RGDA* 31, 2), *Britanni* (Strab. 4, 5, 3), *Seres* (Flor. 2, 34; Hor. *Od.* 1, 12, 55; 3, 29, 27), *Medi* (Hor. *Od.* 4, 14, 42-43), *Aethiopes* (Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit. de Caes*. 1, 9); p. 177, n. 648 a LXXIX,

6: la chiusura del tempio di Giano compare anche in Ovid. *F*. 1, 711-712; Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 1, 3; Oros. 6, 22; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1, 291; p. 177, n. 648 a LXXIX, 6: Ottaviano Augusto come *dictator* appare anche in Eutr. 1, 12, 2, mentre per il rifiutto della dittatura nel 22 a.C., si veda anche App. *BC*. 3, 25; p. 178, n. 650 a LXXIX, 7: per il titolo di *Augusto*, il rinvio corretto a Suet. *Diu. Aug.* è 7, 2 e non "7, 4", mentre a Dio Cassius, 56, 38, 1 invece di "54, 58, 1"; da aggiungere: Censor. *Nat.* 21; Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 1, 1; Eutr. 7, 1, 2; Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit de Caes*. 1, 2; per la divinizzazione di Augusto, Martin non menziona alcuna fonte, ma si veda Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10; Plin. *Paneg.* 11; Dio Cass. 56, 46, 1; Aur. Vict. *Caes*. 1, 6; Eutr. 7, 8, 2; 10, 5; Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit. de Caes*. 1, 28 ecc.

La modalità di citazione delle fonti presenta alcune inconseguenze: in generale, Serv. *ad Aen.*, ma anche Serv. *Ad Aen.* (p. 95, n. 4; p. 96, n. 6, 7; p. 97, n. 7 ecc.) e Serv. *Aen.* (p. 119, n. 84; p. 135, n. 203, 204; p. 136, n. 214; p. 139, n. 254; p. 150, n. 386); Lact. *Inst.* (p. XVII, n. 45; XVIII, n. 51; p. 96, n. 6; p. 148, n. 356), ma anche Lact. *inst.* (p. XXII, n. 69), Lac. *Div. Inst.* (p. 107, n. 40) oppure Lac. *Div.* (p. 139, n. 254); Amp. (p. IX, n. 7; p. XXXVI, n. 122), ma anche Ampel. (p. 17, n. 96; p. 26, n. 165, 169; p. 31, n. 193; p. 36, n. 225, 227; p. 41, n. 263; p. 44, n. 274, 275; p. 49, n. 321; p. 54, n. 357; p. 60, n. 406, 409; p. 62, n. 423; p. 64, n. 445 ecc.); Aug. *Civ.* (p. XIV, n. 34; p. XVI, n. 38, 40; p. XVII, n. 45; p. XVIII, n. 51; p. 96, n. 6 ecc.), ma si veda anche Aug. *civ.* (p. XXII, n. 69; p. 12, n. 65; p. 27, n. 171; p. 95, n. 3; p. 99, n. 12; p. 100, n. 13 ecc.) o Aug. *civ. Dei* (p. 74, n. 515); Arnob. *Nat.* (p. XVII, n. 45; p. 27, n. 171; p. 100, n. 13; p. 104, n. 24), ma anche Arnob. *nat.* (p. XIX, n. 55; p. XXII, n. 69; p. 108, n. 45; p. 114, n. 66); Suet. *Aug.* (p. 92, n. 718; p. 106, n. 35; p. 115, n. 66; p. 176, n. 641; p. 177, n. 649; p. 182, n. 705; p. 183, n. 706), ma anche Suet. *Diu. Aug.* (p. 176, n. 639, 640; p. 177, n. 644, 645, 647, 648); Ammian. (p. 45, n. 279; p. 47, n. 297; p. 141, n. 277; p. 144, n. 309), ma anche Amm. Marc. (p. 76, n. 538); Plin *HN* (p. 123, n. 102) – Plin. (p. 155, n. 448); Tzetz. (p. 94, n. 1, 2; p. 144, n. 309) – Tz. (p. 124, n. 112); Plut. *Syll.*, ma anche Plut. *Sylla* (p. 168, n. 580); Justin. (*passim*), ma anche Just. (p. 181, n. 685) ecc.

I rinvii al *Breviarium* di Eutropio (il più delle volte siglato Eutr., si ritrova anche come Eutrop. a p. 44, n. 275) sono spesso incompleti, in quanto non vengono indicati i sottocapitoli (paragrafi), ma soltanto il libro (reso in cifre arabe, ma, a volte, anche in cifre latine – per esempio a p. 115, n. 66; p. 116, n. 73 ecc.) e il capitolo; così, a p. 25, n. 157, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 15, 2, non solo "Eutr. 1, 15"; a p. 31, n. 196, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 19, 1, non solo "Eutr. 1, 19"; a p. 44, n. 275, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 2, 20, 1-2, nu "Eutr. 2, 20"; a p. 46, n. 285, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 2, 21, 1-2, non solo "Eutr. 2, 21"; a p. 46, n. 287, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 2, 21, 3-5, non solo "Eutr. 2, 21"; a p. 56, n. 381, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 2, 2, non solo "Eutr. 4, 2"; a p. 56, n. 383, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 5, 2, non solo "Eutr. 4, 5"; a p. 95, n. 3, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 1, 1, non solo "Eutr. 1, 1"; a p. 122, n. 97, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 10, 1, non "Eutr. 10, 1"; a p. 129, n. 144, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 17, 1, non solo "Eutr. 1, 17"; a p. 130, n. 152, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 15, 1; a p. 131, n. 159, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 1, 15, 2, non solo "Eutr. 1, 15"; a p. 141, n. 277, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 2, 20, 1-2, non "Eutr. 20, 1-2"; a p. 143, n. 292, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 2, 27, 4, non solo "Eutr. 2, 74"; a p. 144, n. 308, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 5, 2, non solo "Eutr. 4, 5"; a p. 144, n. 309, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 5, 2, non "Eutr. 4, 11"; a p. 149, n. 366, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 3, 20, 2, non solo "Eutr. 3, 20"; a p. 149, n. 369, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 4, 1, non solo "Eutr. 4, 4"; a p. 151, n. 389, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 4, 2; a p. 151, n. 386, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 4, 5, 1; p. 174, n. 629: non è nel "6, 17" che Eutropio fa riferimento al "*Blitzkrieg* di Zéla", ma nel 6, 22, 2; p. 174 (n. 631) e 181 (n. 695): Eutropio non scrive della battaglia di Munda nel "6, 19" o "6, 23", ma nel 6, 24; p. 175, n. 635: l'uccisione di Cesare "le 15 mars 45" non viene menzionata da Eutropio nel "6, 20", ma nel 6, 25; a p. 177, n. 647: il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 7, 10, 1, non solo "Eutr. 7, 10"; a p. 182, n. 701, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 7, 6, 1, non solo "Eutr. 7, 6"; a p. 183, n. 706, il rinvio corretto è Eutr. 7, 3, 4, non solo "Eutr. 7, 3" ecc. Vi sono anche altri rinvii alle fonti che vanno corretti: aa p. 104, n. 25: il rinvio corretto è Suet. *Dom*. 2, 3; a p. 111, n. 54, il rinvio corretto è Ampel. 17, 1; a p. 120, nota 84, il rinvio corretto è Arnob. *nat.* 6, 7, 18-19; a p. 144, n. 309, il rinvio corretto è Ammian. 22, 9, 3; a p. 146, n. 324, è corretto *DVI* 2, 4, invece di "*DVI* 2, 5" ecc.; p. 179, n. 660: è corretto *off.* invece di "*offf.*".

Alcune osservazioni puntuali ad alcune opinioni formulate nelle *Note complementarie*: l'espressione *summum imperium auspiciumque*, menzionata a p. 144 (n. 296) e 148 (n. 354), ripresa dal lavoro di F. J. Valvaet uscito a Stuttgart nel 2014 (*The Height Command in the Roman republic. The Principle of the* summum imperium asupiciumque *from 509 to 19 BCE*) (p. LXXXV; l'autore viene ricordato anche a p. 149), è un'invenzione di quest'ultimo, che non esiste nelle fonti latine antiche; X, 5: *primus consul creatus*: riteniamo necessario segnalare che la storiografia moderna ha dettagliato i dati dell'annalistica e della storiografia antica, e ha mostrato che la magistratura del consolato ha potuto essere preceduta da "possibili forme intermedie di potere": la carica consolare, annuale e collegiale, è una creazione posteriore al decemvirato, dunque all'anno 450 a.C. Da questo punto di vista, alcuni ricercatori considerano che nel 509/508 a.C., il potere a Roma era stato esercitato da un *praetor maximus* di nome Marco Orazio Pulvillo (menzionato da Martin a p. 119, n. 84), registrato *consul sine collega* nei *Fasti Consulares* e sull'iscrizione che prescriveva la conficcatura del chiodo annuale nel muro del Campidoglio (*cf.* A. Drummond, *Appendix. II. The consular fasti: 509-220 BC*, in *CAH*, VII/2, p. 628); il suo titolo, *praetor*, altro non è che la trasposizione in latino del nome della carica politica etrusca di *zilaθ purθne* (*zilath purthne*) – il capo del collegio di *zilaθ* (*zilath*) (lat. *praetores*) (*cf.* A. Drummond, *Rome in the fifth century II: the citizen community*, in *CAH*, VII/2, p. 172).

L'opinione più discutibile dell'editore è, dal nostro punto di vista, l'ostinazione con la quale vuole convincerci che l'Anonimo, pagano ma "sufficientemente" buon conoscitore del Cristianesimo per non cadere in ridicolo (p. XVII) o per non esporsi alla "feroce ironia" (p. XVIII) dei suoi seguaci, dimostrò una "précaution prudente" (p. XII, XXI, 161 [n. 519]), manifestò spesso "gêne" (p. XIII, XV, XVI, XIX), "discrétion" (p. XV: "une grande discrétion"; XXII, XXIII), "distance" (p. XV, XVIII, XXIV), "réticence(s)" (p. XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXI, 120 [n. 84]), "retenue" (p. 105, n. 25), persino un "silence étrange" (p. XXI; si veda anche p. 120, n. 84) rispetto a certi accaduti delle *gesta* delle personalità riunite in questa raccolta di microbiografie (p. XIII), sicché preferì termini ed espressioni "neutre", "impersonali" ed evitò l'uso di alcune parole con significati compromessi, "sradicò" gli episodi contrari al buonsenso, "razionalizzò" a volte la tradizione, eliminò versioni "miracolose" trasmesse dalla volgata, che, tutte, sarebbero cadute vittima allo "spirito critico" cristiano (p. XIII, XXI, 104 [n. 24], 106 [n. 37]) (i cristiani e lo spirito critico oggettivo!). Con la dovuta considerazione nei confronti di una scienza indispensabile allo storico dell'Antichità, potremmo dire però che Martin soffre di ciò che si potrebbe chiamare la sindrome del filologo – un ablativo assoluto, una parola meno "ortodossa", un cambiamento improvviso del registro temporale, un dettaglio inspiegabile ecc. deve per forza segnare modifiche di senso, trasmettere messaggi cifrati, occultare pensieri nascosti ecc. Lo sforzo di "ammassare" ragioni che mostrino ad ogni costo che le cose stavano così sul cosiddetto "gêne" dell'Anonimo rende la dimostrazione quasi dappertutto forzata, sicché, almeno dal nostro punto di vista, l'impresa diventa in gran parte inverosimile. Martin stesso non sembra convinto delle proprie opinioni ma, una volta imboccata questa via, non può più tirarsi indietro e deve trovarne l'uscita nel senso desiderato. Così, a volte prova più lucidità e mette un punto interrogativo (p. 105, n. 25) o ammette che non esiste alcuna "certezza" tra "la réticence" dell'Anonimo e "la raillerie chrétienne" (p. XIX), che tra la fede pagana e la teologia biblica e cristiana vi sono alcune similitudini (p. XX); eppure, apparentemente spaventato da simili alternative, ritorna subito al concetto iniziale, aggiungendovi dubitativi come "peut-être", "mais", "semble", "il est possible que", "nous suggérons que" ecc. (si veda anche *infra*), che rendono l'argomentazione forzata. Secondo Martin, le cose si presentano in un determinato modo, ma possono anche essere diverse; ciò che è sicuro in una fonte e dubitevole nel *DVI*; l'Anonimo non manifesta ritegno per un certo fatto, ma avrebbe potuto farlo in un caso simile; "il est vrai que… mais nous pensons… que…" (p. XVII) ecc., ecc. Eccone alcuni esempi. "Certes", come Floro, l'autore della raccolta "ne souffle mot" della diarchia Romolo-Tazio, né delle circostanze della morte del re sabino: "l'ipotesi più semplice" è che entrambi abbreviarono il contenuto degli eventi, "mais il est possible aussi que notre auteur ait préféré «glisser»" su un episodio di cui i cristiani si sarebbero potuti servire "pour noircir la figure du fondateur de Rome" (p. XV-XVI). Ciò che presso Tito Livio era "l'expression d'un scepticisme", presso l'autore anonimo del *DVI* diventa "l'expression d'une gêne" (p. XVI). "Certes", Romolo divenne dio, ma uno "« à part

entière »" (p. XVI), perché, anche se, come i cristiani, l'autore usa la parola *consecratio*, pure, per paragone con la divinizzazione di Cesare e Augusto, "on est tenté de croire qu'il considère qu'en effet Romulus ne fut que *diuus*", "non de *deus*"; di conseguenza, "il est permis de penser" que l'Anonimo avesse avuto certi "ritegni" in quanto alla divinizzazione di Romolo (p. XVI-XVII; si veda anche p. 104-105, n. 25). L'Anonimo segue "scrupuleusement" la tradizione sul prodigio della testa umana scoperta sul Campidoglio, "mais, curieusement", omette quello che fece impossibile il trasferimento di Termine, fatto che, certo, potrebbe ("pourrait bien") essere dovuto "alla critica cristiana" per la quale tale tradizione era "absurde" (p. XX-XXI; si veda anche p. 120, n. 84). Come potrebbe evitare "l'incrédulité chrétienne" sul coinvolgimento di Castore e Polluce nella battaglia del lago Regillo se non esprimendosi "discrètement", attraverso la parola *ratus*, che getta su Postumo "la responsabilité de l'interprétation miraculeuse de la victoire"? (p. XXII). Il *DVI* descrive il serpente che avrebbe rappresentato Asclepio *uenerabilis, non horribilis*, "comme en réponse à la répulsion chrétienne" nei confronti del rettile che "incarnait le Mal" (p. XXII-XXIII, si veda anche p. 132, n. 173). Nella storia su "le corbeau de Valerius" a Martin sembra che si è più vicini al film "Gli uccelli" di Hitchcock piuttosto che a un miracolo (p. XXIII) ecc. (si veda anche p. XIII-XXV, 94-95 [n. 3], 106 [n. 37], 154 [n. 431], 161 [n. 519]). Se dovessimo credere a Martin, l'autore anonimo pagano di questa raccolta di microbiografie sarebbe un accorto conoscitore della storia e della teologia del Cristianesimo, un intellettuale di eccezionale sottigliezza, un personaggio attento al dialogo continuo con i seguaci della nuova religione. Riteniamo però che molte delle sue idee non stanno in piedi. Per esempio, il verbo *consecratio*, termine religioso assolutamente banale, è utilizzato dall'Anonimo in molti passaggi senza alcuna connotazione "speciale" e senza alcun "ritegno": I, 4: *Spolia opima Ioui Feretrio in Capitolio consecrauit*; XXV, 2: *De eo spolia opima Ioui Feretrio secundus a Romulo consecrauit*; XXVII, 1: *spolia ex his Cereri consecrauit*; XLV, 2: *Spolia opima Ioui Feretrio tertius a Romulo consecrauit*. Nello stesso senso, come altre parole dello stesso ambito, compare in più fonti pagane dei secoli III-IV (vide *Pan.* II [10], 1, 2 (a. 289; V [9], 7, 2-3; 17, 1 (a. 298); VII [6] 8, 3: *neque enim fas erat diutius fleri principem consecratum* (a. 310); Eutr. 1, 2, 2: *ad deos transisse creditus est et consecratus*; 7, 13, 5: *post mortem consecratus est Diuusque appellatus*; 8, 8, 4: *inter Diuos relatus est in merito consecratus*; Amm. 23, 6, 4: *ritus sui consecratione permixtus est omnium primus*; Ps.-Aur. Vict. *Epit. de Caes*. 1, 28: *templa tam Romae quam per urbes celeberrimas ei consecravit*). In ogni caso, l'autore del *DVI* era convinto che Romolo era diventato *deus*, non dio "à part entière" (p. 105, n. 25) – *cf.* II, 13-14: *cum ad deos* (nu *ad diuos*) *abiret... ipse pro deos* (nu *pro diuos*) *cultus et Quirinus est appellatus*. Se era stato così cauto nel parlare dell'aspetto *uenerabilis, non horribilis* del serpente che rappresentava Asclepio (XXII, 2), allora perché non sarebbe stato altrettanto cauto nel menzionare che nel letto della madre incinta del futuro Scipio Africano era apparso un serpente (*serpens*) e che un *draco* (quale parola *horribilis* per i Cristiani!) si era avvolto intorno a lui quando era bambino (XLIX, 1) oppure che nel letto matrimoniale della casa di Tiberio Sempronio Gracco *duo angues… erepsissent*, e questi, ascoltando ingenuamente l'oracolo, per amore per sua moglie Cornelia uccise soltanto il maschio, ben cosciente, però, che tale gesto gli avrebbe recato la morte (LVII, 4)? In ugual misura, se l'autore anonimo era così ben informato sul Cristianesimo e poteva aspettarsi malizie da parte dei suoi seguaci, perché non evitò o non trovò modo di evitare la narrazione di gesta, eventi e opinioni ampiamente diffuse che, sicuramente, erano respinte dalla teologia e dalla morale cristiana – il suicidio di Lucrezia (IX, 5), *deuotio diis Manibus* di Decio *pater* (XXVI, 5) e di Decio *filius* (XXVII, 3-4), il suicidio di Annibale (XLII, 6), l'automutilazione di Muzio (XII, 3), la pretesa di Pirro – ridicola, certamente! – di appartenere alla discendenza di Achille ed Ettore (XXXV, 1), di Publio Scipio l'Africano di discendere da Giove (*Iouis filius creditus*) (XLIX, 1) o di Sesto Pompeo di essere figlio di Nettuno (*Neptuni se filium professus est*) (LXXXIV, 2) (Lattanzio, *Mort.*, IX, 9, non ironizzava Galerio in quanto *ex Marte se procreatum et uideri et dici uellet tamquam alterum Romulum maluitque Romulam matrem stupro infamare, ut ipse diis oriundus uideretur*?), l'interrogazione dell'oracolo di Apollo dallo stesso re (XXX, 1-2), l'idea della crocefissione di Imilcone (XXXVIII, 3), la presa degli auspici da parte di Gracco e le dimissioni di Scipione Nasica perché gli auspici erano stati sfavorevoli (XLIV, 2) (situazioni simili in LIX, 4: *augurio* e LXIV, 6: *aduersis auspiciis*), il traslocco di Mater Deum da Pessinunte perché così avevano indicato i libri sibillini (*ex responso*

librorum Sibyllinorum) (XLVI, 1), il rifugio di Caio Gracco nella selva *sacra* della dea Furina (*in lucum Furinae*) (LXV, 5), la conservazione intatta del tempio di Minerva ad Ilione nel fuoco devastatore appiccato da Flavio Fimbria, fatto dovuto, indubbiamente, all'"effetto della maestà divina" (*quod diuina maiestate seruatum nemo dubitauit*) (LXX, 3), i rumori sull'*impudicitia* di Cesare dovuta alle "visite frequenti" fatte a Nicomede, re della Bitinia (LXXVIII, 1), la fine iminente di Cicerone annunciata "par l'auspice d'un corbeau" (*imminens exitium corui auspicio didicit*) (LXXXI, 6). D'altra parte, con eccezioni particolarmente rare (vide p. XVII, n. 45), gli autori cristiani che Martin porta a sostegno delle sue idee sulle possibili "critiche", "denigrazioni", "ironie", "assurdità", "contestazioni" ecc. nei confronti di alcuni elementi della tradizione romana narrata dal *DVI* sono *posteriori* al momento della redazione di questo scritto – Geronimo (anche se a p. XIII, n. 25 si chiede: "le *DVI* ne serait-il pas une réplique à saint Jérôme et à son *de viris* chrétien?"), Orosio, Prudenzio, Agostino –, che spesso rendono caduca la dimostrazione (come, per esempio, quella su "la nymphe Égérie" – p. XVIII). Di conseguenza, noi non contestiamo il fatto che l'Anonimo, rendendo noto il proprio orientamento religioso tradizionale, si fosse astenuto da alcune stonature presenti nella tradizione storiografica, ma non condividiamo il modo in cui l'autore della presente edizione tenta di convincercene.

Dal punto di vista della redazione, sia nell'*Introduction*, sia nelle *Notes complémentaires*, compaiono numerosi segni grafici inutili – vide p. XIV, XVII (n. 41: "Suet. *Dom*. 2…"; 45: "22, 6…"), XVIII (n. 50), XX (n. 56), XXI (n. 60), LXVIII, 8 (n. 43: "Liv. 1, 30, 2…"), 16 (n. 88), 17 (n. 95), 24 (n. 150), 25 (n. 161), 26 (n. 167), 30 (n. 184, 189), 31 (n. 193), 32 (n. 200), 35 (n. 220: "Zon. 7, 25…"), 38 (n. 241), 39 (n. 252), 41 (n. 260: "Eutr. 2, 11, 1…"; 261: "Jord. *Rom*. 153…"), 42 (n. 266, 267), 45 (n. 283), 52 (n. 344), 56 (n. 382: "10 sq…"), 80 (n. 568: "Plut. *Lucul.* 39, 5…"; "Tac. *Ann.* 11, 1, 1…"), 92 (n. 718), 105 (n. 26, 34), 106 (n. 35), 116 (n. 71), 119 (n. 84), 121 (n. 90), 122 (n. 97), 126 (n. 125; 129: "Liv., 1, 58, 6… ; D.H. 5, 12, 3…"), 127 (n. 131; 133; 134: "Val. Max. 4, 4, 1…"), 128 (n. 140), 129 (n. 144), 130 (n. 149), 134 (n. 190), 136 (n. 209, 213, 214: "; ;"), 137 (n. 218, 222), 140 (n. 256, 259, 264), 141 (n. 277), 142 (n. 278, 284), 143 (n. 290), 145 (n. 311, 313), 148 (n. 343, 345, 350), 163 (n. 540), 170 (n. 591), 176 (n. 639), 177 (n. 646), 179 (n. 657), 180 (n. 679), 181 (n. 689), 182 (n. 703), 183 (n. 709, 710, 711, 713)..

Per quanto riguarda l'*Index* (p. 185-197), manca la voce Ierone, *rex Syracusanus* (XXXVII, 1 e 5). Sempre qui, sotto *Carthago*, il rinvio corretto è 47, 7 invece di "47, 8", mentre manca il rinvio a 49, 7. Per Hiempsal viene indicato "*vd.* Massinissa" (p. 190), ma i rinvii a questa ultima voce ("49, 11; 77, 2 (*sic*)") (p. 192) non includono l'antroponimo Hiempsal; d'altronde, esso non compare affatto nel *DVI*!

Al di là di queste osservazioni intese piuttosto a sostegno delle correzioni per una possibile riedizione rivista e arricchita, sottolineamo ancora una volta l'alta tenuta scientifica del volume, l'acribia e l'erudizione esorbitante di Paul Marius Martin, che ha offerto all'ambiente accademico un'eccellente edizione del *De viris illustribus Vrbis Romae*.

Nelu Zugravu
Centrul de Studii Clasice şi Creştine,
Facultatea de Istorie,
Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi

CSABA SZABÓ, *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia: Materiality and Religious Experience*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 49, Archaeopress, Oxford, 2018, VIII + 241 p., ilustrations (most in colour), Paperback, ISBN 978-1-78969-081-1

Noul model interpretativ al religiozității antice propus de Jörg Rüpke, *Lived Ancient Religion* (LAR), a fost receptat cu deschidere de exegeți, care i-au recunoscut originalitatea. Csaba Szabó este unul dintre istoricii care au adoptat noua paradigmă, elaborând o lucrare incitantă despre experiența

religioasă în Dacia, o provincie de graniță a Imperiului. Autorul scrutează diversele manifestări ale sacrului printr-o analiză minuțioasă a evidențelor arheologice și epigrafice. Interpretarea acestor *testimonia*, dintr-o perspectivă sociologizantă, se concentrează în jurul mai multor termeni-cheie, precum *space sacralization*, *religious communication*, *religious appropiation* sau *religious individualisation* care subliniază autonomia (*agency*) individului în manifestările sale religioase, elaborând în funcție de scopurile sale, noi narațiuni ale sacrului. Aceste narațiuni, adevărate epifenomene sociale, sunt integrate pe piața religioasă (*religious market*) foarte competitivă a Imperiului, prin diverse strategii de comunicare și legitimare.

Cartea este structurată în cinci capitole, care sunt completate de trei *Annexes* (*Sanctuaries of Roman Dacia*, p. 180-189), un rezumat în limba maghiară (*Összefoglaló*, p. 190-193), *Bibliography* (p. 194-234) și un *Index* (p. 235-241), care nu este semnalat în *Cuprins*.

În primul capitol (*Introduction*, p. 1-7) este prezentat cadrul teoretic în linia căruia autorul și-a elaborat demersul (LAR), concentrându-se în special pe analiza diverselor strategii de sacralizare a spațiului (spații primare [*primary spaces*], spații secundare [*secondary spaces*] și spații comune [*shared spaces*]) și a materialității acestuia în Dacia romană. În cel de-al doilea capitol (*Sacralizing the space in urban context*, p. 11-121) – de altfel, cel mai întins și mai important al lucrării –, sunt prezentate mai multe studii de caz relevante privind sacralizarea spațiului unor *loca sancta* publice (ziduri, forturi, amfiteatre, sanctuare) din Apulum, dar și a celor aparținând grupurilor religioase închise (*small-group religions*), mai puțin vizibile (*secondary spaces*), cum ar fi cultul lui Liber Pater sau Mithras. Orașul este prezentat ca un agent activ al sacralizării (*citification*), care contribuie la crearea unei noi „densități" religioase (*e.g.*, *sensescape*), ideologice. Autorul subliniază, de asemenea, competitivitatea manifestărilor de pietate (*e.g.*, dedicații votive), evidențiind diferite strategii de monopolizare a spațiului sacru, elaborate de membrii elitei municipale, senatori, *pontifices*/*sacerdotes*, pentru a-și legitima statutul social superior. Așadar, religia este un mediu important de comunicare și prezervare a ierarhiei sociale și politice. În ceea ce privește problema spinoasă a creștinismului timpuriu la Apulum (sec. I-VII) – așa cum sugerează mai multe artefacte –, autorul respinge ideea existenței unor comunități creștine stabile, permanente aici, dar și în toată Dacia, în lipsa unui dosar arheologic mai bogat (p. 127). Nu împărtășim acest punct de vedere, simplificator, care generalizează o posibilă realitate istorică pe un spațiu atât de întins, sub raport cronologic și geografic. De asemenea, nu susținem nici afirmația conform căreia istoriografia română a studiat *en bloc* această problemă de pe poziții partizane, naționaliste, teologizante sau propagandistice.

În capitolul al III-lea (*Sanctuaries and networks in military settlements: Porolissum and Praetorium*, p. 128-135), autorul prezintă două studii caz care atestă sacralizarea spațiului, mai ales la nivel iconografic, în context militar: a două *Dolichena*, la Porolissum, respectiv Mehadia (Praetorium). Astfel, în cele două așezări, reliefurile care-l reprezintă pe Iuppiter Dolichenus reflectă condițiile specifice, locale, în care a evoluat raportarea la această divinitate în cadrul unor comunități mixte, militare și civile. Lucrarea subliniază importanța legăturilor intra- și extra-provinciale ale membrilor, în special *negotiatores* de origine orientală, în menținerea acestor sanctuare.

Capitolul al IV-lea (*Sacralised spaces in the countryside*, p. 141-174) abordează o problemă mai puțin studiată, anume religiozitatea în mediul rural. Ca *loci* ai pietății, sunt analizate sanctuarele de la Ad Mediam și Germisara, așezarea minieră de la Ampelum, *villae rusticae* sau unele sanctuare mithraice. Autorul relevă, mai ales, importanța elementelor naturale (păduri, izvoare, mine) în comunicarea religioasă și sacralizarea spațiului. O discuție mai amplă este dedicată sanctuarului de la Germisara (ca exemplu de comunicare religioasă influențată de practicile rituale locale, pre-romane) și așezării miniere de al Ampelum care, în ciuda statutului său non-urban, se remarcă prin monumentalitatea spațiilor sale sacre. Autorul avansează mai multe interpretări interesante care merită discutate, cum ar fi rolul factorilor ideologici în modelarea comunicării religioase în noua provincie romană sau mediul rural văzut ca o creație, prelungire a așezărilor urbane sau militare, fapt care se reflectă și în tipul de religiozitate practicat.

Ultimul capitol (*Beyond Lived Ancient Religion in Dacia*, p. 175-179) schițează concluziile demersului interpretativ realizat de către Csaba Szabó, pentru care specificitatea religiozității în pro-

vincia Dacia rezidă (în ciuda statutul particular al acesteia în cadrul lumii romane – periferic, de provincie de frontieră, militarizată), în integrarea sa rapidă și profundă într-un Imperiu, a cărui infrastructură și conectivitate a asigurat transmiterea unui flux constant de tradiții religioase, care au fost adaptate de către un mozaic etnic receptiv, *ex toto orbe romano*.

În concluzie, lucrarea lui Csaba Szabó se impune ca o contribuție importantă în istoriografia dedicată fenomenului religios în Dacia romană, atât prin metodologia propusă cât și prin acribia cu care sunt interpretate evidențele arheologice și epigrafice. Expunerea clară, sintetică a informațiilor, ușurează parcurgerea cărții, în economia căreia un spațiu amplu este dedicat excursurilor teoretice, comparative sau istoriografice. Acestea din urmă, referitoare la minusurile arheologiei românești, sunt expuse într-o formă mai degrabă generalizatoare, polemică, care nu se justifică, credem, în ansamblul argumentării autorului. Lucrarea are o ținută îngrijită, fiind completată de numeroase imagini, ilustrații color și hărți care facilitează înțelegerea informațiilor prezentate. Am remarcat doar câteva mici greșeli de tehnoredactare (*e.g.*, *Aklepieion*, p. 16; *Aque*, p. 116; *Mithras Petogenitus*, p. 170).

Drd. George IVAȘCU,
Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine,
Facultatea de Istorie,
Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași
e-mail: george.ivascu28@yahoo.com

P. ERDKAMP, C. HOLLERAN (edd.), *The Routledge Handbook of Diet and Nutrition in the Roman World*, Routledge, Oxford-New York, 2019, XVII + 362 p., ISBN: 978-0-8153-6434-4 (hbk); 978-1-351-10733-4 (ebk)

Dieta e nutrizione: da sempre, l’uomo è ciò che mangia, e il libro in oggetto (di cui si prende in considerazione il formato digitale), conferma l’aforisma di L. Feuerbach, proponendo una serie di ricerche (ventitré contributi, cui si aggiunge il saggio introduttivo) su questo fondamentale aspetto della vita umana; come coordinate, si assumono una determinata area geografica, il bacino del Mediterraneo, e un ambito temporale che si estende dal secondo secolo a. C. al quarto secolo d. C. I due curatori, studiosi di storia antica, rivendicano nell’*Introduction* (p. 1-14) l’importanza di un approccio sempre più interdisciplinare a un ambito di studi che si presenta quanto mai ampio e complesso. Mi piace ricordare due pubblicazioni di carattere simile uscite di recente in Italia, *Cultura del cibo*, dal respiro internazionale, in quattro volumi (Utet, Torino 2015), diretta da un esperto in cultura dell’alimentazione come M. Montanari, e il recentissimo *Quanto erano nutrienti i banchetti dei romani antichi?* (L’Erma di Bretschneider, Roma, 2019), dell’archeologa C. Cerchiai Manodori Sagredo e della biologa specialista in scienze dell’alimentazione L. Di Renzo; doveroso, inoltre, il ricordo dei numerosi contributi dell’archeologa E. Salza Prina Ricotti.

Sull’esempio di K. D. White e di P. Garnsey, pionieri tra gli anni Settanta e Novanta del Novecento di una ricerca aperta agli apporti di discipline diverse, i contributi compongono un mosaico ampio e diversificato per temi e metodologie, con l’obiettivo comune di fornire un quadro completo e articolato sull’alimentazione in un preciso contesto geografico, storico, sociale. I due editori insistono molto su questa prospettiva multidisciplinare; obiettano agli studi di J. André di essere basati unicamente su fonti letterarie e pittoriche (*Introduction*, p. 2). Ci troviamo tuttavia di fronte a un latinista e filologo, non ad un archeologo, che ha aperto la strada a lavori più aggiornati e completi (come quello di A. Dalby citato alla n. 8, del 2003). Le cinque sezioni in cui il libro è diviso chiariscono la pluralità di prospettive: nella prima, *Evidence and methodology*, si dà spazio alle fonti (letterarie, materiali, archeologiche); nella seconda, *Food and drink*, troviamo contributi sulle diverse tipologie di cibo rapportate all’ambito sociale del loro consumo (cereali e pane, legumi, olive e olio d’oliva, vino e altre bevande, carne e pesce). Nella terza sezione (*Peoples and identity*) lo studio di determinati gruppi sociali (donne, bambini, Ebrei e cristiani) e quello di alcune aree geografiche (Europa centrale e del Nord, Egitto) vengono messi in relazione con la dieta; quella successiva, *A forum on energy, malnutrition and stature*, presenta tre casi di studio sul rapporto tra dieta e

malnutrizione. L'ultima parte, *Food on the market and in politics*, reca i contributi dei due curatori del volume, dedicati alle modalità di distribuzione di cibo e alle crisi alimentari nel contesto dell'impero. Lo studioso di letteratura sarà certamente attratto dal primo saggio, *Textual evidence. Roman reflection of realities* (p. 17-25) di K. Beerden, che passa in rassegna testimonianze letterarie (anche manualistiche) greche e latine sul cibo, cui affianca un riepilogo di quelle epigrafiche; l'autrice è perentoria nel ribadire che solo il ricorso ad una pluralità di discipline può portare a risultati attendibili per una conoscenza obiettiva del cibo e della sua fruizione nel mondo romano, e che l'archeologia (in tutte le sue declinazioni) deve necessariamente precedere il ricorso ai testi. Le fonti letterarie, tuttavia, non sono affatto residuali nel volume: per fare solo un esempio, il saggio di J. Donahue (*Roman meals in their domestic and wider settings*, p. 93-100) cita i due Plinii, Cassio Dione, Plutarco, ma anche poeti come Marziale e Giovenale. I testi letterari antichi trovano spazio anche in saggi che indagano i resti materiali, come quello su dieta, utensili e tecniche di cottura di L. M. Banducci (*Material evidence on diet, cooking and techniques*, p. 36-50). Non manca un accenno polemico nei riguardi degli archeologi classici, restii a incorporare nei loro progetti lo studio dei resti organici; lo troviamo nel saggio di A. Livarda dedicato all'archeobotanica (*Investigating Roman diet through archaeobotanical evidence*, p. 51-63). Interessante il contributo dal titolo *Visual evidence. Picturing food and food culture in Roman art* (S. D. O'Connell, p. 26-35), basato su un'indagine riguardante Campania e Nord Africa. In esso si rileva che le fattezze del cibo sostanzialmente non cambiano nonostante il succedersi degli stili pittorici; la loro raffigurazione risulta coerente con gli spazi di destinazione, domestici, commerciali e funerari. Se si può muovere un appunto, è riguardo alle immagini, che (almeno nella versione in digitale) sono in bianco e nero, e non sempre perspicue. Ho poi trovato di particolare rilievo tre contributi, nei quali il tema della dieta offre l'occasione per un discorso di più ampio respiro. Il primo di questi, *The impact of Christianity*, di E. Raga (p. 229-242), interroga numerosi testi di autori cristiani e no (san Paolo, Giovenale, i Padri della Chiesa e Galeno, Plutarco, Clemente Alessandrino e Tertulliano, Sidonio Apollinare e Cassiano) per verificare come il discorso normativo cristiano sul cibo sia stato recepito e adattato nella tarda antichità. Un altro saggio, al cui interesse contribuisce il confronto sulla base di una pluralità di dati fra civiltà greco-romana ed età moderna, si occupa del rapporto tra nutrizione e ineguaglianze sociali nel mondo antico (G. Kron, *Comparative perspectives on nutrition and social inequality in the Roman world*, p. 259-272). L'autore parte dalla constatazione che per studiare la massa della popolazione si rende necessario un concorso di dati di origine differente, dalle evidenze archeologiche ai dati antropometrici all'economia agraria alla demografia; attribuisce un ruolo fondamentale alle politiche governative di sostegno alla popolazione, all'incidenza delle malattie e alla condizione di potabilità delle acque. Il confronto che l'a. istituisce con le epoche storiche successive si rivela molto utile per diversi ambiti di indagine, come la valutazione della statura di Greci e Romani, per la quale ricorre ai dati riguardanti la popolazione inglese nel diciannovesimo secolo, o la disponibilità di carne del Romano medio, messa a confronto con quella nella Germania del Medioevo o nell'Italia del Rinascimento. L'idea forse più interessante che ricorre nel contributo è che sul piano delle disuguaglianze di reddito e di nutrizione il mondo antico non ha affatto il primato che gli storici gli avevano attribuito; le ricerche precedenti vengono infatti sottoposte a una rilettura critica che tiene conto del progresso nelle metodologie di ricerca. P. Erdkamp centra il suo intervento su fame e carestia nel mondo romano (*Famine and hunger in the Roman world*, p. 296-307). In esordio, una citazione ovidiana, anche se nel solo testo in inglese, l'allegoria della Fame (Ov. *met.* 8, 799-808; nel formato digitale manca l'indicazione del libro ovidiano da cui la citazione è tratta), raffigurata con caratteristiche simili a quelle di un dipinto che secondo la testimonianza del retore Polieno era nel tempio spartano di Athena Chalkioikos. L'autore passa in rassegna alcune fonti letterarie (prevalentemente autori cristiani), pur facendo presente che esse non riescono a dare conto di molte aree del mondo romanizzato, come Spagna, Gallia, Britannia e centro Europa; ugualmente pochissimo rappresentati risultano i territori che circondavano i grandi centri urbani, e gli strati più poveri della società. I casi di studio principali sono quelli di Flavio Giuseppe, che documenta la carestia in Palestina negli anni 24-25 d. C, la testimonianza di Eusebio relativa alla carestia che colpisce sempre la Palestina negli anni 312-313, la fame e la peste a Edessa nel resoconto dello pseudo Giovanni lo Stilita e le gravi deprivazioni cui va

incontro l'Italia del Nord durante le guerre gotiche nel sesto secolo. Interessante, e di grande attualità, l'indagine sulla connessione tra carestia, mobilità di massa e diffusione di malattie; innovativo il ricorso al confronto con le carestie nell'Inghilterra del Medioevo (documentate da due studi recenti) per gettare luce sulle variazioni demografiche provocate dalle crisi alimentari nel mondo romano.

Questo volume rappresenta un'aggiornata messa a punto degli studi inerenti a cibo e nutrizione presso le popolazioni accomunate dal dominio romano e dal comune contesto mediterraneo. In esso si tiene a evidenziare, con accentuata insistenza, che la letteratura ha perso la considerazione privilegiata di cui godeva fino a qualche decennio fa; tuttavia essa concorre al pari di altre discipline, e non potrebbe essere altrimenti, a delineare un quadro storico-documentario di estremo interesse.

Carmela Laudani,
Università della Calabria,
e-mail: carmela.laudani@unical.it