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Facultatea de Istorie • Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine

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SIGLE ȘI ABREVIERI / SIGLE E ABBREVIAZIONI*

ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> , II, Prinzipat, Berlin-New York
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Turnhout.
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> , Turnhout.
Cod. Iust.	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i> .
Cod. Theod.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .
DELL	<i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots</i> , par Alfred Ernout et Alfred Meillet, tirage de la 4 ^e édition, Paris, 1959.
EDR	<i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php).
GCS	<i>Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller</i> , Berlin.
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford, 1968.
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> , Paris.
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , Paris.
PLRE I	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , I, A. D. 260-395, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, Cambridge, 2006
PSB	<i>Părinți și scriitori bisericești</i> , București
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Lyon.
SCIV (SCIVA)	<i>Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)</i> , București.
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> .

* Cu excepția celor din *L'Année Philologique* și *L'Année Épigraphique* / Escluse quelle segnalate da *L'Année Philologique* e *L'Année Épigraphique*.

RELIGIOUS CRIMES IN THE ACTS OF THE *COLLEGIUM* OF THE *FRATRES ARVALES**

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Universidad de Cantabria)

Keywords: *sacrifice, collegium, fratres Arvales, religious crimes, A.F.A.*

Abstract: *Religious crimes in the acts of the collegium of the fratres Arvales.* Our work consists of the study of two fundamental paths that go hand in hand and are present, even, in other priesthoods and rituals. In the first place, we will study how the sacrifice was and the faults committed in it and secondly, about the Arvales college. The Roman sacrifice had a series of specific operating rules. If these immolations had any anomaly, their interruption would be immediate so that they could be restarted. This return was atoned for with a new sacrifice, generally of a sow, cow or calf that was prepared for that purpose. The existence of numerous priestly collegia was evident in Rome thanks to epigraphic or literary sources. We will discuss in this space the immolative changes, their reasons and what elements could cause the sacrifices in general, and particularly those made by the fratres Arvales, to be interrupted. We want to investigate the different religious crimes¹ that could have occurred in a sacrifice led by the fratres Arvales and their legal consequences around the protagonists who committed it. We begin this study from two complementary paths. On the one hand, we will capture what are the different religious crimes linked to the sacrifice and, on the other, the knowledge of the immolations by the fratres Arvales and what events forced them to perform a series of expiatory rituals.

Cuvinte-cheie: *sacrificiu, collegium, fratres Arvales, crime religioase, A.F.A.*

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¹ We understand crime as all those acts that were constituent of a fault, an error, an anomaly during the ritual or any act considered sacred or linked to it, which was solvable with atoning or piacular sacrifices and that in some cases implied, in the same way, a fine and / or expulsion from office.

Rezumat: Crimele religioase în actele colegiului fraților arvali.

Lucrarea noastră constă în studiul a două căi fundamentale care merg mână în mână și sunt prezente, de asemenea, în alte preoții și ritualuri. În primul rând, vom studia cum a fost sacrificiul și greșelile comise în el și, în al doilea rând, despre colegiul arvalilor. Sacrificiul roman a avut o serie de reguli de funcționare foarte specifice. Dacă aceste sacrificii ar avea vreo anomalie, întreruperea lor ar fi fost imediată, pentru a putea fi reluate. Această reluare era ispășită printr-un nou sacrificiu, în general al unei scroafe, al unei vaci și al unui vițel care a fost pregătit în acest scop. Existența a numeroase colegii preoțești a fost evidentă la Roma datorită surselor epigrafice sau literare. Vom discuta în acest spațiu schimbările survenite în ritul de imolare, motivele lor și ce elemente ar putea face ca sacrificiile, în general, și cele făcute de frații arvali, în special, să fie întrerupte. Dorim să investigăm diferitele crime religioase care ar fi putut avea loc într-un sacrificiu condus de frații arvali și consecințele lor juridice în jurul protagoniștilor care l-au comis. Începem acest studiu pe două căi complementare. Pe de o parte, vom surprinde care sunt diferitele crime religioase legate de jertfă și, pe de altă parte, cunoașterea imolărilor făcute de către frații Arvales și ce evenimente i-au forțat să îndeplinească o serie de ritualuri expiatorii.

1. Sacrifice and its crimes

The theoretical definition of sacrifice and its origin is perfectly studied by several authors². A first definition of sacrifice was the one coined through the School of Paris, specifically the one transmitted by

² J.-P. Vernant et al., *Théorie générale du sacrifice et mise à mort dans la θυσία grecque*, Génova, Fondation Hardt, 1981, 1-22; J. Scheid, *Le délit religieux dans la Rome tardo-républicaine*, in *Le délit religieux dans la cité antique*, Roma, (Collection de l'École Française, 48), 1981, 117-171; idem, *Romulus et ses frères. Le collège des frères arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*, Roma, 1990 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome CCLXXV); idem, *Lucus, nemus. Q'est-ce qu'un bois sacré ?*, in *Les bois sacrés. Actes du Colloque International organisé par le Centre Jean Bérard et l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (V section)*, Naples, 23-25 novembre 1989, préface de O. de Cazanove et J. Scheid, Naples, 1993, 13-20; idem, *Quand faire, c'est croire. Les rites sacrificiels des Romains*, Flammarion, 2005; S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, 28-43; J. Z. Smith, *The Domestication of Sacrifice*, in R. G. Hamerton-Kelly (ed.), *Violent Origins. Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation*, Stanford, 1987, 197-198; C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, Oxford University Press, New York-Oxford, 1992, 173-175; F. Prescendi, *Décrire et comprendre le sacrifice. Les réflexions des Romains sur leur propre religion à partir de la littérature antiquaire*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2007; J. Rüpke, *Die Religion der Römer. Eine Einführung*, 2., Überarbeitete Ed., C. H. Beck Verlag, München, 2006.

Mauss and Hubert³, in which it was specified that the ritual should be exclusively with animal death. However, for us, there is certainty of the existence of bloodless sacrifices, where the protagonist was no longer the ritual death of the beast, but of vegetable products⁴. A clear description, with which we agree, is the one provided by Prescendi⁵:

“Sacrifice was the rite of a human community (a city, *collegium*, or a family) represented by the most important hierarchical member (emperor, magistrate, priest/isa, *paterfamilias*), to create a channel of communication between the earthly world and all that is superhuman. [...] The sacrifice consisted of a banquet offered to the divinity, followed by a human one. The offering can be animal or vegetable such as dates, wine, fruits and / or animal derivatives such as honey, milk, cheese, etc. The sacrifice of the animal was more prestigious and spectacular because it included the moment of the death of the animal and the subsequent observation of its internal organs. There were elements of sacrifice that had to be always present, in this case it was fire, which not only served to cook the meat or viscera, as mentioned above, but as an integrating and purifying element of immolation. There was no sacrifice without fire”⁶.

Considering this definition, necessary to introduce our study with it, let us continue with some of the characteristics of *immolatio*. One of them was the marked rigorous nature of its praxis, having a precise regulation based on a series of parameters that had to be met⁷.

An immolation could not be conducted without the main participation of fire. Without this, a sacrifice could not be being made. Thanks to the fire, the entrails could be offered to the deities, as well as the *aromata* of herbs and perfumes that accompanied the sacrifice⁸, serving to provide atmosphere and cover up the bad smells produced by the death of the animal or the cooking of its *exta* (viscera).

³ M. Mauss, H. Hubert, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, in M. Mauss, *Les fonctions sociales du sacré*, Paris, 1968, 29-138.

⁴ J. A. Delgado Delgado, *La ritualización del reino vegetal en la Roma antigua: los liba*, in R. Olmos, P. Cabrera, S. Montero Herrero (coords.), *Paraíso cerrado, jardín abierto. El reino vegetal en el imaginario religioso del Mediterráneo*, Madrid, 2005, 191-205.

⁵ F. Prescendi, *op. cit.*, 21-23.

⁶ Serv., *Aen.* I, 292: *Nullum sacrificium sine igne est*.

⁷ For further development of the topic see M. Almansa Fernández, *El delito religioso en el sacrificio romano. The religious crime in the roman sacrifice*, Tesis Doctoral, Univ. Complutense de Madrid, 2019.

⁸ Serv., *Aen.* V, 238.

This observance was based on the correct functioning of the immolatory ritual, that is, in short, that the animal had no macula (*iniugi*)⁹, no mooing¹⁰ or anomalous noises¹¹ during the journey or when the victim was beaten by the *victimarius*; that the colour¹² and sex of the animal were appropriate for the deity to be sacrificed¹³; the priest recited the prayers correctly; the subordinates realized its functions in an appropriate way and, of course, that the reading of the viscera (*exta*) was clear and favourable¹⁴. What was outside this rigid ritual norm would entail a religious crime that, according to its severity, would have legal consequences ranging from a fine to his expulsion from the priestly office, a subject, on the other hand, little studied¹⁵.

The immolation phase was the moment of the ritual in which it was more likely to obtain more failures than the previous steps. This is because it not only depends on the priest, or his ministers (*victimarii*, *popae*, *cultrarii* or child assistants called *camilli/camillae*, musicians, etc.), but it was in the hands of the behaviour of the animal itself whether the sacrifice was favourable or not. Considering the functioning of this period, in which the stern brought the animal closer to the sacrificial altar, possibility tying it to a ring on the ground, recreating the acceptance of the animal to be sacrificed. The stern would ask if it acted (*agon?*) If he received an affirmative answer (*hoc age!*)¹⁶, he would hit

⁹ Macr., *Sat.* III, 5, 5: *quaedam sunt quae iniuges vocantur, id est quae numquam domitae aut iugo subditae sunt*; see Verg., *Aen.* VI, 38-39.

¹⁰ Serv., *Aen.* II, 118; Verg., *Aen.* II, 220-224. The use of music was a tool precisely to cover up these and other anomalous noises that occurred during certain phases of sacrifice (Luc., *Sacr.* 12).

¹¹ M. Almansa Fernandez, *Errores, silencios y ruidos en el sacrificio romano*, in B. Briones Soto, R. Paz Espinoza, A. Bertolo Díaz (eds.), *El fenómeno religioso meditado al alero de la pandemia*, Chile, 2022, 74-93.

¹² Serv., *Aen.* III, 118; Macr., *Sat.* III, 9, 11; CFA. n^o. 105b, 11; n^o. 107, II, 8; CIL X, 8259 = ILS 8381; CIL XI, 1420 = ILS 139.

¹³ Read for the variety of animals dedicated to the divinities: E. Lübbert, *Commentationes pontificales*, in G. Berolini y Schade (eds.), Harvard University, 1859, 79-132; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Ed. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1886, 169-189; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2^o ed., Munich, 1912, 409-420; J. Scheid, *L'animal mis à mortune interprétation romaine du sacrifice*, *Etudes rurales*, 147-148, 1998, 15-26.

¹⁴ Ovid., *Met.* XV, 573-576; J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères...*, 326-330.

¹⁵ M. Almansa Fernandez, *op. cit.*, 94-100.

¹⁶ In texts related to sacrifice we have not found the opposite expression *hoc ne feceris*, although it does appear in Cicero (*Div.* II, 61).

the animal's temple to leave it stunned, while the *cultrarius* would make the precise cut in the neck of the bovine¹⁷, pig, or another animal of equivalent size.

Based on this premise of religious crime, in each ritual act in which it happened, the sacrifice had to be repeated, restarting it through another expiatory, *procuratio prodigi*, and then continuing with the main one. According to the crime committed, *hostia succidanea*, that is, a substitute victim, that was used of the sacrifice in case the fault was the animal (for mooing, for pulling the rope, not obtaining a favourable reading of the viscera, etc.). Or, on the contrary, offer a *piaculum* in case the priest, someone from the public or a member of the ritual team makes a mistake, commits negligence in his duties, is inattentive in the use of the instruments, makes some strange gesture or something happens anomalous noise¹⁸. The *piacula operis faciendi operisque perfecti*, sacrifices of atonement prior to infringements, could also be used to repair any errors in the main sacrifice¹⁹. It was to be repeated as many times as necessary since the favourable result had to be found, *hostiis usque ad litationem*²⁰.

Precisely, these criminal acts and compensations were due to a particularly crucial factor that is in the background of ritual praxis, superstition. And it is that this feeling that the Romans had was what motivated them to repeat, to atone for the sacrifices in favour of maintaining the so-called *pax deorum*. The fear of making mistakes and divine reprisals surfaced precisely in the immolations, whose ritual served mortals as a communicator thread with the divinities²¹.

¹⁷ Sen., *Prov.* I, 6, 8-9. For example, for the Mithraic cult, the bull's throat was cut with a special sword or knife called *harpe*, mentioned in Greek mythology, *vid.* a Greek author of the s. II-III AD Ach. Tat. III, 7, 8-9.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 94-97.

¹⁹ J. Scheid, *Roman animal sacrifice and the system of being*, in C. Faraone & F. Naiden (Eds.), *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, 84-96.

²⁰ S. P. C. Tromp, *De Romanorum piaculis*, Ed. Lugduni Batavorum, Leyde, 1921, 90; J. Scheid, *Sacrifices for Gods and Ancestors*, in J. Rüpke, *A Companion to Roman Religion*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Oxford, 2007, 266; Liv. XLI, 15, 2-3.

²¹ F. Díez de Velasco, *Miedo y religión*, Ed. del Orto, Madrid, 2002; J. Rüpke, *Panteón. Una nueva historia de la religión romana*. Ed. Akal, Madrid, 2020, 18-21 and on religious communication: 22-29; C. Schultz, *Roman Sacrifice, Inside and Out*, *JRS*, 106, 2016, 58-76.

Precisely because of this, the way of thinking of Roman society was based on *superstitium*, it is a behaviour of a “gift against gift” or a “I give you to give me” what we call “religious contract by superstition”, based on the *do ut des*²². It is precisely the ability of communication (agency) on the part of each person of Roman society, which has allowed us to know different forms of communication. In the case of the *frates Arvales*, we have it clear, thanks to the sources we have and, above all, to the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, where we see that, at least publicly, the immolatory rites were linked to the death of a cow, sow, ox, and some vegetable offerings, such as rolls or pastries, wine, etc.

Within the immolator ritual, as we have seen, numerous errors, crimes or misdemeanours can happen depending on the origin of this. However, these errors, which are, in a certain way, remediable by an atoning sacrifice, only underline the superstitious idea and the fear of the rupture of divine peace.

To establish the existence of a religious offence, legislation must be recognised in accordance with the offence committed. In fact, the texts on the regulation of religious crimes that remain are scarce²³. We carry through in mind that there are very few texts that tell us about dismissals of priests for some mistake committed²⁴. And on most occasions where we have evidence, they only refer to the *flamen Dialis* and his wife because of the importance of their position²⁵. The problem lies with the rest of the priesthoods of which we have no information about the suspension of their office except the vestals and their punishment by stoning. We could think that the laws were similar for all priestly bodies, and, like this, the punishments and penalties could also be extended.

One might think about the possibility that the priesthoods perform all the rituals correctly every day of the year and that, for this reason, they were not collected in the texts. However, this fact seems

²² M. Almansa Fernandez, *op. cit.*, 225; *Dig.* XIX, 5, 5.

²³ Only in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of the *Digest* a senate consult related to the errors produced in the Roman sacrifice is collected: *Dig.* XLVIII, 8, 43: *Ex senatus consultum andius legis poena damnari iubetur, qui mala sacrificia fecerit, habuerit.*

²⁴ Liv. I, 31, 8; XXVI, 23, 8; Dion. Hal. XVI, 3, 1; Val. Max. I, 1, 4; 5; Plut. *Marc.* 5, 3-4.

²⁵ The few texts we have on the dismissal of the *flamen Dialis*: Liv., XL, 42; Val. Max. I, 1, 4-5; Plut. *Marc.* 5; F. Marco Simón, *Flamen Dialis. El sacerdote de Júpiter en la religión romana*, Ed. Clásicas, Madrid, 1996, 254.

unlikely to us since it is strange that everything went correctly the first time. Moreover, the faults committed by the *flamen Dialis* proved to be plausible, so it was likely that the other priesthoods would also commit them. The problem is the loss of such testimonies.

Returning to the previous hypothesis about the types of sentences, such as dismissal and fine, we find, however, with one reservation, that of the augur that Plutarch tells us about²⁶:

“Why, if any priest is condemned and exiled, they dismiss him and choose another, but if it is the augur, even if he is convicted of the greatest crimes, they do not deprive him of his priesthood as long as he lives? They call “omens” those who deal with omens. Do you, some say, do you not want anyone who is not a priest to know the secrets of sacred rites? Or do they not want the augur, bound by oaths to tell no one about sacred matters, to be freed from his oaths by becoming a private man? Or, perhaps, is “foreshadowing” not a title of honour or command, but of knowledge and skill? For to prevent a fortune teller from being a fortune teller is akin to decreeing by vote that the musician is not a musician and that the doctor is not a doctor, for they cannot be deprived of their capacity, even if their name is taken away. They do not appoint any other, logically, because they observe from the beginning the number of augurs”. (Our translation from Greek).

An augur of unquestionable social status²⁷, he was not forced to resign from office. His dignity was for life and, therefore, he could leave his position voluntarily²⁸, as happened in the case of the *salii* or by some interdiction, it happened with the *flamen* and the *flaminica* when his consort died²⁹. We see that the augur was forgiven this pe-

²⁶ Plut., *Q. Rom.* 99; See Plin., *Ep.* IV, 8, 1-2: *Gratularis mihi quod acceperim auguratum: iure, gratularis, primum quod gravissimi principis iudicium in minoribus etiam rebus consequi pulchrum est, deinde quod sacerdotium ipsum cum priscum et religiosum tum hoc quoque sacrum plane et insigne est, quod non adimitur viventi. Nam alia quamquam dignitate propemodum paria ut tribuuntur sic auferuntur; in hoc fortunae hactenus licet ut dari possit.*

²⁷ However, throughout the history of Rome, the condition of priestly belonging on the part of the patricians was reduced in favor of a balance with the other social ordos, such as the *equites*. Thanks to laws such as the *lex Ogulnia* from 300 BC or the *lex Domitia* 104-103 B.C. For example, Livy tells us about the election to occupy the offices of augurs and pontiffs by the plebeian class, Liv. X, 6-9, 2.

²⁸ Dion. Hal. II, 21, 3; Plin., *Ep.* IV, 8, 1-2.

²⁹ Gell. X, 15. Except in the provinces where we observe that some *flaminicae* exercised their priesthood without being united to their male counterparts and integrating and promoting their sons and daughters in the priesthood since they made

nalty, given his political-religious immunity. An allowance that would allow him to establish himself for life in his position, compatible with political magistracies, as happened in the case of Cicero. We know that no public activity was conducted without divinatory consultation, therefore, the augurs could influence for or against the proposed law, for example, exercising a political manipulation that allowed him his religious position³⁰.

Therefore, the augur entered a metaphorical *uroboros* of his own in which he himself could safeguard himself in case of committing a crime of any kind, alluding to divine signs supported by his forbearance. At the same time, he could also act on behalf of one politician or another depending on the faction to which they belonged.

In relation to the oath³¹, on which we are not going to dwell here because it is not our subject of study, we do think it is interesting to cite the one collected by Festus: the *fetiales*³² (priests in charge of the declaration of war and peace). From this it can be deduced that, if he did not comply with the agreement, at the time of making the sacrifice, similar punishments are applied to him as to those of the *flamen*, that is, fine and expulsion from the city and seizure of his property.

Finally, we must mention what is considered “taboo”³³, that is, that which, under Roman religious legislation, was forbidden to touch, say or were forbidden places. Although the Romans did not know this Polynesian term, they did use other concepts of similar meaning, such as *nefas est*³⁴, *fas non est*, that is, if *fas* mean “licit”, these negative expressions accentuate everything that was contrary, that is, the *nefarius*, harmful, illegal, and adverse, to the divine will. This is especially important to keep in mind for when we talk about the prohibitions and

them participants in the rituals as *cammilli/ae*. *CIL* II, 5918, *HEpOL* 12208; *RIT* 347; *RIT* 350; *CIL* II, 4276; *Vid.* M^a. C. Gregorio Navarro, *Flaminicae sive sacerdotes de la Provincia Hispania Citerior: el sacerdocio femenino del culto imperial*, *Hispania Antiqua*, 37-38, 2013-2014, 137-163.

³⁰ Liv. VI, 27; 41; VIII, 23.

³¹ We recommend reading, for the question of the oath, H. B. Riesco Álvarez, *Iuppiter Lapis y el Lapis silex*, *EHum*, 10, 1988, 19-28.

³² Fest., s.v. *lapidem*: *Si sciens fowl, tum me Dispiter salua urbe arceque bonis eiciat ut ego hunc lapidem*. See F. Marco Simón, *op. cit.*, 90-92.

³³ Although this Peloponnesian term does not exist in ancient Rome, we used it to understand and explain the related Latin words.

³⁴ Cic., *Nat. Deo*. III, 22, 56: *nefas est dictu, miseram fuisse talem senectutem*. Cic., *Par.* 25: *quicquid non licet, nefas putare debemus*; see Varr., *L.L.* 6, 4.

why certain types of sacrifice were performed by the *collegium* of the *fratres Arvales*.

2. The *collegium* of the *fratres Arvales*

The *collegium*³⁵ of the *fratres Arvales* has been an attractive subject for many researchers of the subject³⁶. We will review, in summary, what is known about this subject matter to contextualize what we want to show.

The *fratres Arvales* formed a priestly college or *sodalitas* the gentilic type³⁷, located near Rome, known through archives written on marble slabs, called *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (A.F.A.) compiled by Wilhelm Henzen between 1866-1869. They were in a sacred grove 8 km from Rome, in the area called La Magliana Vecchia, currently in Region XI of the capital. These inscriptions date from 21-20 BC until, certainly, the third century AD³⁸ (which would not indicate the end of the

³⁵ It was through the *lex Julia de collegiis*, the one that formalized this and any other association, both religious (*collegia cultorum*) as a civic. Vid., P. W. Duff, *Personality in roman private law*, Cambridge University Press, 1938; M^a D. Saavedra Guerrero, *Tipología y status social de las patronae collegiorum*, *Polis*, 17, 2005, 153-162; although there was previously another law in this regard, *lex Clodia de collegiis*, L. M. López Román, *Publio Clodio y la lex de collegiis: una aproximación al fenómeno asociativo a finales de la República romana*, *ETF(hist)*, 22, 2010, 117-126.

³⁶ W. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt*, Berlin, 1874; A. Piganiol, *Observations sur le rituel le plus récent des frères arvales*, *CRAI*, 1946, 241-251; J. Scheid, *Les frères Arvales. Recrutement et origine sociale sous les Julio-Claudiens* (Collection de l'E.P.H.E. Sc. Relig. N° 77), Paris, 1975; idem, *Le bois sacré de Dea Dia et la limite du territoire de la cité de Rome*, *CRAI*, 157/1, 2013, 151-166; Idem, *Les actes des frères arvales de 109, 111 et 112 apr. J.C.*, in *Hommages à R. Schilling*, Paris 1983, 215-230; idem, *Romulus et ses frères. Le college des frères Arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*, Rome, 2016 (Ed. orig. 1996); idem, *Commentarii fratrum arvalium qui supersunt. Les copies épigraphiques des protocoles annuels de la Confrérie Arvale (21 av.-304 ap. J. C.)*, Rome, 1998; J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum. A Prosopography of Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Religious Officials in the City of Rome, 300 BC to AD 499*, Oxford University Press, Oxford-New York, 2008; M. Beard, *Writing and Ritual: A Study of Diversity and Expansion in the Arval Acta*, *PBSR*, 53, 1985, 114-62; I. Chirassi Colombo, *Dea Dia e Fratres Arvales*, *SMSR*, 39, 1968, 191-291; I. Paladino, *Fratres Arvales. Storia di un collegio sacerdotale romano*, L'Erma di Bretschneider (Ed.), Roma, 1988.

³⁷ J. Scheid, *I sacerdoti «arcaici» restaurati da Augusto*, in *L'esempio degli arvali, sacerdos. Figure del sacro nella società romana*, *Civildale del Friuli*, 26-28 settembre 2012, a cura di Gianpaolo Urso, Ed. ETS, Pisa, 2014, 179.

³⁸ M. Beard, *op. cit.*, 114-115.

brotherhood, which occurred with Theodosius in 391 AD with the prohibition of cults and temples considered pagan in favour of Christianity)³⁹. In these acts were recorded year after year, although not all are preserved, the ritual acts of this brotherhood.

Precisely in the year 218 AD coinciding with the government of Emperor Elagabalus, the *carmen Arvalium* is preserved, which refers to various songs written in archaic Latin⁴⁰. The only reference to the Republican era is that of Varro⁴¹, although it seems that this brotherhood could be traced back to the time of *Romulus*⁴² and revived in the time of *Augustus* in 27-29 BC., previously very forgotten⁴³. The priestly college was composed of twelve members elected from among the senatorial families by cooptation, the *Princeps* being the president or *magister* while the other members were considered *flamines Arvales* elected annually.

The *Arvales* were elected by *cooptatio*, that is, the election of new candidates chosen by the memberships of the brotherhood themselves, as recorded in the following text (*CIL* VI, 2023):

[Is]dem co(n)s(ulibus) pridie eidus Maias in regia
 10 [Cn. Cornélius] Cn. [f.] J. Lentulus augur mag(ister) in locum L.
 [Aemili] Paulli Drusum Caesarem Ti. f. Augusti n.
 [fratrem] arualem cooptauit et ad sacra uocauit.
 [Adfuerunt] Cn. Pompeius Q. f. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus,
 [L. Calpurnius] Piso pontif(ex), [T.] Quinctius Crispinus
 15 [Valerianus] per tabellas cooptarunt

³⁹ *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 10, 9-10, being February 24, 391 A.D. the time of prohibition of cults considered pagan in favour of Christianity. While it is true, 405 A.D. was the year in which we have verified the last pagan priest, the *Pontifex Vestae* occupied by *Publilius Caeionius Cecina Albinus* (J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum...*, 436). This would indicate that the transition was slow (approximately 14 years).

⁴⁰ A. García Calvo, *Nueva interpretación del Carmen Arval*, *Emérita*, 25, 1957, 387-448.

⁴¹ Varro., *L.L.* V, 85, 3-5: *Fratres aruales dicti qui sacra publica faciunt pro-perea ut fruges fera arua: a ferendo et aruis fratres aruales dicti. Sunt qui a fratria dixerunt. Fratria est Graecum uocabulum pa(rt)is hominum, ut (Ne)apoli etiam nunc.*

⁴² Gell. VI, 7. A question also repeated by Pliny (*HN.* 18, 6) in addition to describing, briefly, the crown of spikes they wore with white strips. *Aulus Gellius*, for his part, also cites the Romulean origin of this *collegium* (VII, 7, 8).

⁴³ Appears in *RG* 20, 4. Vid. J. Gage, *Les Sacerdotes d'Auguste et ses re-formes religieuses*, *MEFR*, 48, 1931, 75-108.

- [imp(erator) Caesar] Augustus, Ti. Caesar Augusti f., Germanicus
 [Caesar Ti. f.] J. Paullus Fabius Maximus.
 [Isdem consul] i[b]us XVIII k(alendas) Ianuarias in regia
 [Cn. Cornelijus Cn. f. Lentulus augur mag(ister) in locum Cn.
 20 [Pompeii Q. f. Pompeium augurent et in locum imp(eratoris)
 [Caesaris] Augusti [...] fratres aruales
 [cooptavit et] ad sacra uocavit.
 [Adfuerunt Drusus] Caesar Ti. f., L. Piso pontifex, T. Quinctius
 [Crispinus Valerianus,] M. Cornutus; per tabellas cooptavit
 25 [Ti. Caesar divi Aug(usti) f.] Augustus

Or this other interesting period text by Sulla (CIL VI, 2023):

- Mam(erco) Aemfilio Scauro,
 Cn. Trem[ellio co(n)s(ulibus)]
 III k(alendas) Iun(ias) [in regia(?)]
 quod T. Qui[nctius Crispinus]
 20 Valeria[nus magister fratrum]
 arualium [ad fratres aruales ret-J
 tulit in [locum Sullae Felicis].
 demortui [alium(?) a fratrib(us) arual-J
 ibus ad sa[cra deae Diae uocari de-]
 25 [b]ere soli[to more C. Pomponium]
 Graecin[um fratr(em) arual(em) cooptarunt. Ad-]
 fuerunt [T. Quinctius Crispi-]
 [nus] Valer [ianus mag(ister)].

The election of the *flamines Aruales* was like those who were *magister Aruales* or *promagister*, although we have no direct record of their election, we do know that certain people were chosen to occupy *flaminate* positions. Keep in mind that the *flaminate Arval* would not be equal to the already known twelve *flamines* dedicated to the cult of certain divinities more, for us, other type of *flaminate*, the *flamen augustalis*⁴⁴ in the imperial period. The *flaminate* would correspond to a specialization of the cult or way of naming the priest or a specific type dedicated to the worship of certain divinities, in addition to that of *dea Dia*.

Annus 84 (?): (illum) [ex Saturnali]bus primis ad Sa[turnalia secunda
 mag(istrum) et (illum) flam(inem)] fecerunt.

⁴⁴ M. Almansa Fernández, *El flaminado en la provincia de Cuenca*, in J. A. Jara Fuente, J. F. Ruíz López (Coords.), *Cuenca: su historia y sus tierras*, Ed. Univ. de Castilla la Mancha, 2023, 323-344.

*Annus 87: (illum) ex Saturnalibus primis ad Saturnalia secunda annum gistrum fecer(unt), item(illum) flaminent*⁴⁵.

Although they had the religious prestige that was granted to other *collegia*, such as the augurs, pontiffs, *quindecimviri sacris faciundi* or the *septemviri epulonum*, they were not classified within the *quattuor amplissima collegia*⁴⁶. Although it is true that during the Republican period this *Arvales* brotherhood was, little by little, forgotten, until the arrival of Augustus to power, who revitalized it by incorporating senators into its ranks, such as *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *M. Cecilius Cornutus*. This action, surely, was the product of the desire to install in influential positions his greatest collaborators to obtain support for the imperial government. One of the possible reasons why Augustus revitalized this school and no other (for example, the *salii*) could be because he wanted to recover the Roman cults themselves, which were abandoned, such as that of Apollo or *Mars Ultor* at the same time as the *Arvales*⁴⁷.

They wore a crown of ears of wheat⁴⁸ with white bands and were dressed in *toga praetexta*. One of its annual functions was to hold a three-day festival honouring *dea Dia*, perhaps Ceres, held on May 17, 19 and 20, or May 27, 29 and 30. Strabo⁴⁹, in fact, informs us that, under *Tiberius*, these priests (*ἱερομνήμονες*) participated in the feast of *Ambarvalia* in various places on the borders of the *ager romanus*.

The *Ambarvalia* was so called because it required a specific victim, usually a white cow, a sow or pig, called *ambarvales hostiae*⁵⁰,

⁴⁵ J. Scheid, *op. cit.*, 215, table 3.

⁴⁶ *Aug. Anc.* 9.

⁴⁷ R. M. Ogilvie, *The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus*, Ed. W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1969, 114; Cfr. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939, 447; K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: an interpretive introduction*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, 291; M. Beard, J. North, S. Price, *Religions of Rome*, Vol. I, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, 132. Hor., *Od.* III, 6 where the idea is narrated that you can only have one *pax deorum*, if the temples are restored and ancient Roman cults that were in decline are restored.

⁴⁸ Plin., *HN.* XVIII, 2. At banquets, on the other hand, they wore a crown of roses and changed to put on their banquet clothes, surely, without the toga.

⁴⁹ *Estr.* V, 3, 2.

⁵⁰ Macr., *Sat.* III, 5, 7: *Ambarvalis hostia est, ut ait Pompeius Festus, quae rei divinae causa circum arva ducitur ab his qui pro frugibus faciunt*; Paul.-Fest., p. 5: *ambarvales hostiae appellabantur, quae pro arvis a duobus fratribus sacrifi-*

sacrificed for the occasion, previously driven three times around the fields, thus creating a mantle of protection over them. This procession was accompanied, not only by the twelve *Aruales*, but also by choirs and the farmers themselves (*chorus et socii*) who praised Ceres, asking for his favour while offering him libations of honey, wine, and milk⁵¹. It's possible that these *Aruales* was participated as judges of the frontiers of the fields, due to its link with agriculture and its demarcation space⁵².

The type of sacrifice of the *hostiae praecidaneae* as it was, in the case of the *Aruales*, the sow was before the new harvest to purify it, performing the ritual of sprinkling pure water made with three cakes of milk and wine with honey (Paul., 223 M.; 250 L.), being immolated in honour of Ceres.

They also participated in other important events such as the coming to power of an emperor⁵³ or his victory after a war or some extraordinary event that is in favour of the emperor, such as the clear example of Caracalla on his return to Nicomedia in 214 AD who escaped the shipwreck of his ship in a storm:

Fratres Aruales convenerunt [quod domjinus n(oster) imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius [Felix Aug(ustus) Parth(icus) max(imus) Brit(annicus) max(imus) Germ(anicus) ma]x(imus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) t(ribunicia) p(otestate) XVII, imp(erator) III co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(ul) salv[us atque incolumis]

cabantur. See J. Scheid, *op. cit.*, 180-181 for the definition of the *ambarvalis hostia* and the *fruges*.

⁵¹ Virg., *Georg.* I, 338.

⁵² *CGL*, II, 19, 1 = M. Laistner, *Philoxeni Glossarium*, in W. H. Lindsay, R. G. Austin, M. Laistner, J. F. Mountford (Eds.), *Glossaria latina*, II, Paris, 1926, 149: *Arbares s[c]jodales οἱ περὶ ὄρων διαγινώσκοντες δικασταὶ Liber de officio proconsulis*; See J. Scheid, *Les sanctuaires de confins dans la Rome antique. Réalité et permanence d'une représentation idéale de l'espace romain*, in *L'Urbs: espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C. - IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*. Actes du colloque international de Rome (8-12 mai 1985), Rome, 1987, 583-595; idem, *I sacerdoti «ar-caici»...*, 182; idem, *Romulus et ses frères...*, 35-39.

⁵³ We can observe this at various times, when they sacrifice in honour of the *genius* of the emperor of the moment and other atonements in the forest, In addition to other gods: *CIL* VI, 2099, I, 1. 20-24; II, 1. 1-14 (183); 2104, a, 1. 1-4 (218); 2107, 1. 2-20 (224); 37164, II, 1. 1-9 (237?); I, 1. 7-17 (240). Question that was also realized for temporary purposes: *CIL* VI, 2107, 1. 8; II, 37164, 1. 5: *item ad ar(as) tempor(a-les)*, as attested in the years 183, 218, 224, 237 or 240.

*pro securitate provin]ciar(um) felicissime ad [h]iberna Nicomediae ing[ressus sit]*⁵⁴.

There was a plethora of subordinates in this priestly college, finding us minor servants of the Arval cult. For example, we have four boys from senatorial families who attended the sacrifices and joined the communal banquets of the priests, as *camilli/ae*⁵⁵. There were also other helpers, *kalatores*⁵⁶, who were freedmen of the *Arvales* priests who, together with other *servi publici* linked to the priesthood, in turn performed other sacrifices in the name of the brotherhood⁵⁷. Other servants assumed other types of roles that we know better, such as one or more *aedituus* who oversaw the daily care of the temple of *dea Dia* and probably of the sacred grove; it is also known the existence of a notary (*commentariensis* or *publicus a commentariis*) who kept a record of the ritual and administrative activities of the brotherhood⁵⁸.

The main temple was called *aedes deae Diae*⁵⁹, located next to the *lucus* or sacred grove to the divinity (*clivus*)⁶⁰. Around May 19 and 29 they moved in the morning to the top to collect the sacred wood of the forest (*lucum ascenderunt*), then descending to the tetrastyle area to celebrate the rituals and the subsequent banquet. However, this ceremony is mentioned from the year 84 AD, this does not mean that before it was not presented, since as we see in the *A.F.A.* the meticulousness of the data was sparser⁶¹.

We know that the *Arvales* were not only dedicated to the cult of *dea Dia*, but that in their vows there were also other gods who

⁵⁴ Year 214 (b, 2-6); *H. A, Caracalla*, V, 8; Dio., 78, 16. Although events such as the arrival in Rome of Nero and his wife Poppaea with their newborn daughter are also recorded (April 10, 63 AD); Hadrian's arrival in Rome after his appointment in 118 AD; again, Caracalla after his victory in *Germany* on October 6, 213 A.D.

⁵⁵ May 30, 80 A.D.; May 20, 213 A.D.; May 27, A.D. 218 (a. d., 11-12).

⁵⁶ On the figure of the *calator/kalator* it is interesting to read M. A. Marcos Casquero, *Kalator: su significado, Helmantica*, 27/82, 1979, 77-89. In the *A.F.A.* appear this word with the letter "k".

⁵⁷ As, for example, that of April 25, of the year 92; May 29, 218, (a, 30) and with *kalatores* performing piacular sacrifices (April 12, 89; April 7, 121).

⁵⁸ M. Beard, *op. cit.*, 119.

⁵⁹ *CIL VI*, 2099, I, 1. 22: *in fastigio aedis deae Diae*; 1. 23: *ad aedem deae Diae*; II, 1. 8: *ad aedem deae Diae* (183 D.C.).

⁶⁰ *CIL VI*, 2071, I, 1. 7: *lucum deae/[Diae ad summotum . . .]* (84 AD), see R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989, 315.

⁶¹ H. Broise; J. Scheid, *Deux nouveaux fragments des Actes des frères arvales de l'année 38 après J. Chr.*, *MEFRA*, 92, 1980, 215-248.

participated in ritual. For example, in the years 58-60 the following were cited: *Iuppiter*, Juno, Minerva and *Salus publica*; to which were added the names of the divine *Augustus*, the divine *Augusta* and the divine *Claudius* (CIL VI, 32350). Successive years continued to cite these gods and the epithets of the Augustan emperors and that of *Claudius* until 81 AD. From this date the emperors ceased to be cited, leaving only the exhortation of the gods themselves (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva and *public Salus*) until the last year that we have evidence of the A.F.A. of 239 A.D. Which leads us to think that the classical Capitoline Triad, which did not include Mars or *Quirinus*, and was of Etruscan origin was the one that prevailed, in this priestly college, considering it the most appropriate due to the origins in the time of *Romulus* and Etruscans of Rome.

However, in extraordinary moments, such as periods of conflict, war deities such as *Mars* did participate, as happened between January 11 and May 17, 66 AD where *Iupiter*, *Iuno*, *Minerva*, *Mars*, *Providentia*, are cited through a series of sacrifices. Also, with Trajan emperor in 101 AD (*Mars pater/Mars victor cet. ut de Iunione nisi quod tauro aurato immolator*). Precisely in 66AD under the principality of Nero, there were mass riots of Jews in Jerusalem according to *Flavius Josephus* (Bell. Iud. II, 307-308), initiating the First Jewish-Roman War (66-73 A.D.). In this context of war uncertainty, we could understand the extraordinary promises of the *Arvales* that are cited in this case.

3. *Piacular sacrifices*

In this section we will see the crimes committed by the *Arvales* or by some subordinate that would imply the purification of the place, person, or situation. As we indicated at the beginning, anomalies did not have to come only from an error during a ritual or sacrifice, but any event could occur that broke the *pax deorum* or affected a place considered sacred. The events considered nefarious prodigies or *omina mala* could be for several reasons that we classify as follows. We add an example of each so that you can read the structure of the text and exemplify the event:

- Fall of a branch of the sacred forest of *dea Dia*⁶². It could be caused by lightning, by an old branch, or by a storm⁶³.

Prisco co(n)s(ulibus) IIII idus Sept(embres) mag(isterio) C. Iuli/ [Sila]ni in luco deae Diae, quod ramus ex arbore ilicana ob/ [vetustatem deciderit, piaculum factum est per calatorem et/ [p]ublicos /⁶⁴.

- Downfall of a tree in the same sacral forest⁶⁵.

[isdem consulibus (deficiunt dies et lociis)quod [Cn. Corneliu]s Cn. f. Lentulus augur mag(ister) in locum [factus, ad] fratres Arvales rettulit arborem [in luco d]e[ae] Diae vetustate cecidisse, q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret), d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt) : [cum arbo]r vetustate in luco deae Diae cecidisset, ut [in luc]o ad sacrificium consumeretur, neve quid [lign]i exportaretur) [adfuerunt fratres illi]⁶⁶.

- Use of inappropriate instruments or considered nefarious⁶⁷.

L. Vettio Paullo, T. Iunio Montano c(on)s(ulibus) k(alendis) Mais in luco deae Diae piaculum factum per calatorem et publicos eius sacerdoti ob ferrum inlatum in aedem scripfur(ae)⁶⁸.

Let us keep in mind that a sacred grove was necessary to maintain it as if it were a temple, since it was a *locus sacrum*. There were several helpers or *c/kalatores* in charge of cleaning, of keeping the forest of *dea Dia* in order. To do this, very surely, they were responsible for the fact that there were no anomalous elements in the forest and that it looked adequate. These actions of cleaning and care were noted to keep a record of everything that was anomalous, in what we call the *A. F. A.* Therefore, the fall of a branch by intense winds, storm by its own weight or some other phenomenon inexplicable at that time, was considered a rupture of the sacredness of the locus and should be purified or atoned for. For this, like any other sacrifice for similar circum-

⁶² Giving some examples of this type: (day / month unknowns) year 38; September 10, 87; November 7, 224; January 15, 80.

⁶³ W. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 136-137.

⁶⁴ September 10, year 87. W. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 120.

⁶⁵ As an example, April 18, year 38; January 15, 81; March 29, year 81.

⁶⁶ W. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 136.

⁶⁷ Examples we would have: May 1, 80; May 1 and 13, 81; April 25, 92; April 7 and May (date not visible) of the year 121; April 18 and May 5, 225.

⁶⁸ May 1, 81. W. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 106.

stances belonging to other priesthoods or rituals, a sow or *pork* was offered⁶⁹, although in this case a cow or sheep was also added, performed by the *calatores*.

In the *A.F.A.* We are summoned to four unknown or *indigita-menta* divinities, these must be appealed for a *piaculum*, a propitiation performed before destroying a tree. They are *Adolenda* (in connection with the burning of the tree), *Commolenda* (reduction to chips), *Deferunda* and *Coinquenda* (the felling of the tree).

For this, the ceremony of the *lucum conlucare* was conducted in which an expiatory offering was made before the potential damage that was going to be undertaken to the grove. It must be borne in mind that these names are written in a gerundive and/or passive way, that is, that the female tree *numina* were the ones who received the *piacular* action. The following words (*verba concipito*) were to be formulated for the action at the site:

“Whether you are god or goddess (*si Deus, si Dea*) to whom this forest is dedicated, for you have the right to receive the sacrifice of a pig for the thinning of this sacred grove, and with this intention, whether it is me or someone in my name, do it, let it be done correctly. To this end, in offering you this pig, I humbly beseech you to be gracious and merciful to me, to my house and my home, and to my children. Deign to receive this pig that I offer you for this purpose?”⁷⁰

Servius defines the *lucus* as “a large number of trees with religious significance”⁷¹. *Non luceat*, “it is not illuminated”, that is, no torches are needed to illuminate, since in the sacred forest of *dea Dia* there was a danger of fire, so we can determine that the rituals were, surely, during the day or during certain hours of sun⁷².

There is, on the other hand, a brief legislation preserved for the general protection of forests and that, surely, the sacred grove of *dea Dia* did not escape this regulation⁷³. For example, we have the *lex spo-*

⁶⁹ To cite some of the *A.F.A.*: 26[101]143a; W. Henzen, *op. cit.*, 69 corresponding to the year 58 A.D. where two are immolated *porcas piaculares*, accompanist of a cow; On May 29, 59, a similar sacrifice was made.

⁷⁰ Cat., *Agric.* 139.

⁷¹ Serv., *Aen.* I, 310: *lucus est arborum multitudo cum religione*.

⁷² Idem. I, 441: *Non quod sint ibi lumina causa religionis*.

⁷³ We know that, not only in Rome there was evidence of this protection of the forests, but we find in Martial the protection of the sacred grove near *Bilbilis* (Spain): Mart., *Epigr.* IV, 55, 23 y ss: *sanctum Buradonis ilicetum/ per quod uel*

letina, from s. III-II B.C. specific for the mountain of Monteluco, near Espoleto:

*Honce loucum neque violatod neque exvehito neque exferito quod louci siet neque cedito nesei quo die res dei anua fiet eod die quod rei dinai causa fiat sine dolo cedere licetod sei quis scies violasid dolo malo iovei bovid piaculum datod a CCC moltai suntod eius piacli moltai dicatori exsactio estod*⁷⁴.

“No one shall desecrate this sacred grove, nor shall he take away in cart or through arms that which belongs to the sacred grove, nor cut it down, except on the day when the annual sacrifice has been gave; On that day it will be permissible to cut it without committing an illegal action such as for sacrifice. If anyone [against these provisions] desecrates him, he will have an atonement by offering an ox to Jupiter and pay a fine of 300 aces. The task of enforcing the obligation of both the atonement and the fine is performed by the dictator”.

It is particularly noteworthy that this type of piacular sacrifices were performed by the *kalatores* and not by the *flamines Arvales* who only supervised or directed them. This was because the former played a subordinate role to the latter, since as in other priesthoods, it was the subordinates who sacrificed the animal while the arvales led and read the ritual prayers. However, another of the fundamental reasons why the *kalatores* oversaw this type of rituals, was because they were not considered priests (*sacerdos*)⁷⁵, since they were freedmen with some privileged consideration to be under religious public service. Consequently, they assumed those sacrifices considered polluting by their nature, that is, by the fall of a tree, a branch or handling iron. Religious crimes committed voluntarily and involuntarily fell on the helpers since they were committed in the *lucus* itself and not in the temple.

piger ambulat uiator. Prohibition of carts drawn by horses or oxen, in the sacred holm oak of Buradón (*Bilbilis*, in *Hispania* (Spain)), other than a chariot made entirely of wood of the divinity without the use of iron (Tac., *Germ.* XL, 2-5).

⁷⁴ CIL XI, 4766; See S. Panciera, *La lex luci Spoletina e la legislazione sui Boschi sacri in età romana*, in *Monteluco e i monti sacri*, Spoleto, 1994, 25-46 for this legislation.

⁷⁵ Remember that *sacerdos* comes from *sacer*, sacred, someone who cannot be in direct contact with death. For example, the *aruspex* himself, as a priest, could not touch the viscera; his assistant did so, who was not a priest and, therefore, could manipulate the *exta*, while the *aruspex* directed the reading and observed the organ.

This would mean that the wonders or events that occurred in the forest would not affect the temple of *dea Dia*⁷⁶.

The priests in ancient Rome could not touch anything that was lifeless or related to it (a fallen tree was something already lifeless, the organs of sacrificial victims, a fallen branch or, for example, the *ferrum* of the tools that was considered harmful and impure⁷⁷ with which they cut the wheat to make the *mola salsa*⁷⁸).

On the nefarious related to the forest, as we pointed out before, we could add that it was possible that the entry of certain animals was also prohibited, as happened in the forest of *Diana Nemorensis*⁷⁹ with horses. In this way, the surveillance of the entire sacred precinct had to be scrupulously supervised by those in charge.

We find, therefore, different elements that made the *collegium* or *sodalitas* of the *fratres Arvales* had to make constant atoning sacrifices, to safeguard the *pax deorum*. As a result of precisely this type of data offered by the texts, especially those relating to the use of iron, we can infer that the *Arvales* would write their minutes of the previous year around the months of April-May. This allows us to think that what happened some time before was recorded in papyrus documentation or wax tablets, not preserved today, that was later transferred to the stone, having a public symbolic function.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères...*, 69-70.

⁷⁷ Let us remember the interdiction of the *flamen Dialis* of playing the iron instruments (Plin., *HN*. XIX, 177; XXIII, 123; XXIV, 68) We also have evidence in our own *A.F.A.* of the need to perform a rite of atonement by sacrificing a sheep or pig on the grave of a *Arval* after the use of an iron chisel to carve the inscription stone (W. Henzel, *op. cit.* 81; 128-135). F. Marco Simon, *op. cit.*, 120-122. As an example, the following text of the *A.F.A.* of the year 222: [*Ferru/m inferendi scripturae et sca[l]ptur[ae mar]m(oris) [ferrum efferendi scripturae et scalpturae] magisteri peracti*]. It is quite possible to extrapolate this prohibition of touching iron to the rest of the priesthoods of Rome.

⁷⁸ The vestals were also unable to make *mola salsa* directly (*contra* Serv., *Ecl.* VIII, 82) since the cut wheat was considered something dead. Therefore, the vestals only looked after their good creation and it was the cooks, *fictores*, who really carried them out. *Vid.* M. Almansa Fernández, *op. cit.*, 46; Cic., *Domo*. LIV, 139; *CIL* V, 3352; Varro., *LL*. VII, 44; *CIL* VI, 2136; *CIL* VI, 2136; *CIL* VI, 32413; *CIL* VI, 32419 (*fictor v(irginum) V(estalium)*).

⁷⁹ M. P. Françoise-Hélène, *Diana Nemorensis, déesse latine, déesse hellénisée*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 81/2, 1969, 425-471. See for this ban on chariots and horses in the Nemi Forest: Prud., *C. Symm.* II, 53-56; Ov., *Fast.* III, 265-266; Verg., *Aen.* VII, 778-780.

⁸⁰ M. Beard, *op. cit.*, 137-144.

Given the legendary nature of its foundation in the time of *Romulus*, at which time the Roman calendar began in March, it can be deduced that the *Arvales* continued to use, centuries later, this same calendar. Otherwise, it does not explain why the atoning sacrifices, by use of iron tools, are around these months and not in December-January (which is when the calendar would end and begin respectively in later centuries). Another alternative could be to make these recordings in stone to leave it captured before the festival of the *Ambarvalia* of May 29, a celebration dedicated to the field and, surely, to Ceres⁸¹.

There is a particular case, within the religious crime related to the *Arvales* that we believe it is necessary to collect. It refers precisely to a situation related to the absence of the people in charge of bringing the fruits or green wheat to offer them in the slaughter to *dea Dia*. This event does not seem to focus on a specific chronological moment, given the confusion of the registered consul, *Crassus*, so the epigraph is dated between 14 BC and 64 AD when this name coincides as consul⁸²:

[---]m
 [--- in luc]o dea[e Diae---]
 [---(ille)] mag(ister) fra[trum arualium ad collegium]
 [fratrum arvalium] rettulit de [---]
 [---f]ratrum arual[ium---]
 [---] n ad fuissent qui fr[uges---]
 [collegium]Pontificum decreuit (uacat)[---?]
 [Pisone o Basso et] Crasso. co(n)s(ulibus). sacrificium q[uod ---?]
 [a collegio fratru]m arualium factum. Esset et fr[uges]
 [---]s acceptae essen placer piacul[---]
 [---fra]tri[bu]s [ar]ualibus ad ferren [t---]⁸³.

From this fragmentary text we can deduce several issues. The first, and most important, is that it is the pontiffs who oversee decreeing only the repetition of the sacrifices, since it is they who dictated that the sacrifice be repeated. In this case, the people in charge of car-

⁸¹ Virg., *Georg.* I, 343.

⁸² R. Paribeni, *Di un nuovo frammento degli Atti degli Arvali*, NSA, 18, 1921, 49-51, he dated it to 27 AD. Based on the surname of a consul preserved in verse 8 (*Crassus*), which he attributed to *Mr. Licinius Crassus Frugi* (son of another consul of the same name), ordinary consul at 27 D.C. with *L. Calpurnius Piso*; this dating was accepted by his successors (E. Pasoli, *Acta fratrum Arvalium quae post annum MDCCCLXXIV reperta sunt*, Bologna, 1950, 52; J. Scheid, *Les frères Arvales...*, 133).

⁸³ CIL VI, 2024.

rying the offerings, *fruges*, did not appear at the time of sacrifice⁸⁴, so they had to go to get the wheat of the offering to be able to correctly carry out the sacrifice to *dea Dia* somewhere nearby (*fruges petere / fruges accipi a collegio*), causing delays in the sacrificial execution. This event would go unnoticed, even for the Romans⁸⁵, if it were not for two possible causes: the first that one of the pontiffs was extant and took note of the event, given his function of certifying the ritual and resolution of this; and second, that all incidence should be communicated, by the president (*magister*) of the *Arvales* to the *collegium* of the pontiffs to recognize the contingency and decree the piacular sacrifice. In both cases, the pontiffs appointed to this task would ratify the result and dictate the atoning sacrifice to avoid conflicts with the gods.

This piacular sacrifice, according to the fragment collected, was of a cow [*collegium*]*Pontificum decreuit (uacat) [---?]*, the type of animal would be registered as *vacca honoraria*, for this case. The text also tells us that the main sacrifice has not been accepted, we reiterate the absence of the *fruges*. Nevertheless, this was not the only case about the absence of personnel in charge of bearing the fruits, since we find that in the year 145 A.D.⁸⁶ *a [---]a frugium repetit [---]* is noted, whose text more fragmentary than the previous one cited, seems to refer to the rites *in luco* of the banquet of the *Arvales* and to the games. According to this epigraph, they also had to repeat the entire ritual the next day, which was mandatory by pontifical decree (which we do not know except for these brief lines)⁸⁷.

Most likely, on the people who did not come to leave their fruits for the ritual would fall an imposition of some kind, which we can not specify, but which we assume would be the payment of a fine in spices, *fruges*, and / or the veto to be able to participate in future rituals.

4. Conclusions

We can end our study by commenting that the *Arvales*, like any priestly body in ancient Rome, was subject to strict rules of obligatory

⁸⁴ J. Scheid, *Romulus et ses frères...*, 608-609 makes a hypothetical reconstruction of this fragment.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 607-608.

⁸⁶ *CIL* VI, 32379.

⁸⁷ E. Pasoli, *op. cit.*, 70 and ff.

ritual compliance. Any error, voluntary or involuntary, paralysed the ritual to correct it, likewise, the noises produced by sacrificial personnel and the public had to be disguised in some way with the music.

The piacular sacrifices also had to be made to cure phenomena such as falling trees, branches, or the use of iron. This meant that reasons as common as a fallen branch in the forest caused by a blow of wind, rain, or the weight of snow, were considered anomalous. Since the soil would require that it be clean and that the growth of trees and plants be natural. The use of iron would cause a contamination that would have to be purified with a piacular sacrifice, since the plates of the *Arval* annals were going to be placed in a sacred precinct that should not be stained using iron.

The *Arvales* did not escape this situation and, as we have seen, it was necessary to conduct healing sacrifices since, for example, part of the staff sometimes made a resignation in their functions at the time of the main sacrifice. However, as we have already pointed out above, sacred crimes extended beyond the sacrificial moment. Proof of this were the basic principles cited that made them make piacular sacrifices to maintain the *pax deorum* due to the prodigies occurred in the forest.

A deduction, in which the control of the forest, as a timber and food resource, at a primitive time, remained in the hands of this brotherhood. But, due to the historical evolution, its safeguarding remained residual (since access to wood was something normal and widespread)⁸⁸. At first, they could have control of the agroforestry resources of the city so that, little by little, during the Republic, the control vanished and remained only as an honorary position and caretakers, not only of the agricultural field, but of the grove as a symbolic element of what in the past was one of its possible main functions.

⁸⁸ Something similar would happen in the Middle Ages, where we can observe, at first, that the management of forest resources was communal. Vid. J. Bolòs, *Els orígens medievals del paisatge català. L'arqueologia del paisatge com a font per a conèixer la història de Catalunya*, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004, 342-343; M. Sancho Planas, *Aprovechamiento de recursos forestales en la Edad Media: una apuesta interdisciplinar para su estudio en zonas de media montaña mediterránea*, *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 22, 2001, 191-217; M. Villagra, L. Di Pasquantonio, *Forestación y deforestación en las edades antigua y media, con especial atención al derecho romano y su influencia*, *Revista De Derecho Romano*, 2, 2020, 52-90.

HISTORIA PROXIMA POETIS: OSSERVAZIONI SUL LESSICO DI SISENNA E ACCIO*

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Keywords: Accius, Sisenna, Latin historiography, Latin poetry, lexicon.

Abstract: *Historia proxima poetis: Observations on Sisenna and Accius' Lexicon.* The surviving fragments of Sisenna's historiographical work display obvious connections between the language used by the Sullan historian and that of contemporary poets, in particular Accius. This seems to confirm that the reuse of poetic vocabulary was already practiced by Latin historical writers in the pre-Ciceronian era.

Parole chiave: Accio, Sisenna, storiografia latina, poesia latina, lessico.

Riassunto: *Dai frammenti superstiti dell'opera storiografica di L. Cornelio Sisenna emergono evidenti legami tra la lingua utilizzata dallo storico sillano e quella della poesia a lui contemporanea, in particolare quella di Accio. Questo sembra confermare che il riuso del lessico poetico veniva praticato dagli storiografi latini già in epoca preciceroniana.*

Cuvinte-cheie: Accius, Sisenna, istoriografia latină, poezia latină, lexic.

Rezumat: *Historia proxima poetis: observații asupra lexicului lui Sisenna și Accius.* Fragmentele păstrate ale operei istoriografice a lui L. Cornelius Sisenna prezintă legături evidente între limbajul utilizat de istoricul sillan și cel al poeziei contemporane lui, în mod deosebit cea a lui Accius. Aceasta pare să confirme faptul că reutilizarea lexicului poetic era deja practicat de istoricii latini din perioada preciceroniană.

Nell'introdurre il celebre capitolo primo del libro decimo della *Institutio oratoria* in cui viene presentato il canone degli autori greci

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e latini che un futuro oratore deve inserire nella propria formazione, a proposito della storiografia Quintiliano (10, 1, 31) afferma che *historia est enim proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum est ...; ideoque et verbis remotioribus et liberioribus figuris narrandi taedium evitat*: la vicinanza con la poesia rende i testi storiografici utili per l'oratore, ma con le dovute cautele, perché la storiografia tende non alla dimostrazione probatoria a cui invece deve mirare l'oratore, ma alla piacevolezza del narrato col ricorso ad alcuni strumenti linguistici desunti, fra l'altro, dalla poesia¹.

La consapevolezza che fra la storiografia e la poesia ci fosse un'affinità di lingua, di stile e perfino di contenuti (si pensi solo all'epica storica da Nevio ed Ennio fino a Lucano e Silio Italico) non era certo nuova nel mondo latino, quando Quintiliano scriveva l'*Institutio oratoria*: nel *De oratore* (3, 152 ss.) Cicerone sosteneva infatti che l'oratore poteva all'occorrenza illustrare il proprio dettato con parole inusitate, neologismi e traslati, ma nel paragrafo seguente consigliava all'oratore di impiegare, se non occasionalmente, parole lontane dall'uso comune, concesse in maniera più estesa solo ai poeti². E nel riportare esempi di parole della *lexis* poetica che potevano elevare il tono della prosa citava uno storico arcaico per il quale nutriva una discreta ammirazione, Celio Antipatro: in un passo della sua opera Celio utilizzava l'arcaico *tempestas* nel significato di *tempus* e un'operazione di questo tipo secondo Cicerone poteva essere talvolta ammessa in un testo storiografico, al quale conferiva un certo sapore poetico ed elevato³.

La testimonianza di Cicerone e, in particolare, la citazione di Celio Antipatro ci fanno comprendere come la coscienza dell'affinità tra poesia e storia e della possibilità per quest'ultima di servirsi del materiale linguistico della prima fosse propria già degli storiografi delle età precedenti all'Arpinate.

Il presente studio si propone di verificare come il riuso del vocabolario poetico venisse messo in atto anche da uno degli storici più

¹ Sul celeberrimo passo cfr. almeno Norden 1986, 103; Ax 1990, 133 ss.; da ultimo Foucher 2000, 7 ss. (con bibliografia).

² Cic. *de orat.* 3, 152 s. *tria sunt igitur in verbo simplici, quae orator adferat ad inlustrandam atque exornandam orationem: aut inusitatum verbum aut novatum aut translatum ... quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae; sed tamen raro habet etiam in oratione poeticum aliquod verbum dignitatem.*

³ Cic. *de orat.* 3, 153 *neque enim illud fugerim dicere, ut Caelius 'qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam venit' nec 'prolem' aut 'subolem' aut 'effari' aut 'nuncupare' aut, ut tu soles, Catule, 'non rebar' aut 'opinabar'; aut alia multa, quibus loco positus grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe videri solet.*

interessanti del panorama preciceroniano, vale a dire L. Cornelio Sisenna. Del resto è di nuovo Cicerone a fornirci una prima chiave interpretativa, quando in *Brut.* 259 definisce Sisenna *emendator sermonis usitati*, confermando l'innovatività come cifra artistica dello storico sillano: pur con qualche manchevolezza, Sisenna aveva infatti immesso in un percorso di ricerca stilistica quel genere che secondo Cicerone era ancora in attesa di un rappresentante di valore che lo facesse divenire un autentico *opus oratorium*⁴.

Operando nell'età di Silla, Sisenna aveva alle sue spalle una lunga tradizione poetica, sia epica sia tragica. Che Sisenna avesse come modelli di riferimento non solo poeti come Ennio ma anche i preneoterici a lui contemporanei, con i quali in particolare sembra condividere le istanze espressionistiche, è stato già dimostrato⁵. Non è stata tuttavia posta attenzione sull'influenza che un poeta come Accio, successore di Ennio in quello sperimentalismo che proseguì anche nella lingua poetica latina successiva, possa aver avuto sulla lingua dello storico sillano. Dallo spoglio lessicografico delle *Historiae* di Sisenna da me svolto in precedenza⁶, emerge infatti come, anche solo da un punto di vista puramente quantitativo, la presenza di lessico di probabile derivazione acciana – e, più in generale, epico-tragica – rappresenti una porzione notevole nel variegato vocabolario di Sisenna, il quale attingeva volentieri, come è noto, anche ad altri campi lessicografici, quali, ad esempio, la lingua tecnica⁷, dando vita ad un amalgama che gli valse il riconoscimento sia pur condizionato da parte di Cicerone a cui sopra si è fatto cenno.

Lo studio è suddiviso per categorie lessicali, a cui si aggiungono alla fine brevi osservazioni di tipo sintattico.

⁴ Sulla considerazione che Cicerone aveva della storiografia a lui precedente cfr. Leeman 1955, 183-208; Leeman 1974, 221 ss.; i vari passi ciceroniani citati, compresa la celebre epistola a Luceio (*fam.* 5, 12), in cui viene espressa la concezione ciceroniana della storiografia, sono analizzati da ultimo in Foucher 2000, 33 ss.

⁵ Da Perutelli 2004; in particolare per i rapporti di Sisenna con Ennio cfr. Perutelli 2004, 27 s.; per le connessioni dello storico con la poesia preneoterica ancora Perutelli 2004, 33 ss.

⁶ Sulla lingua di Sisenna nel suo complesso e sui caratteri innovativi del suo stile e i giudizi ciceroniani sul suo conto, dopo le considerazioni di Perutelli 2004, cfr. Ambrosetti 2009b e Ambrosetti 2012.

⁷ Si veda Ambrosetti 2009b, 47 ss.

Sostantivi

In un frammento breve, ma di alta densità drammatica, trasmesso da Prisciano per il raro *carnificor* usato passivamente, Sisenna inserisce il sostantivo *cruciatu* (*hist.* 138 P² = 140 B = 140 B-W = 140 Ch. = 141 Corn. *vitam cum dolore et insigni cruciatu carnificatus amisit*⁸), usato già da Accio nel *Philocteta* (*trag.* 553 R³ = W = 236 D e *viperino morsu venae viscerum / veneno inbutae taetros cruciatu cient*), in un passo trasmesso da Nonio per il verbo *imbuere* = *inficere*, ma prima di Nonio anche da Cicerone in ben due occasioni (*fin.* 2, 94 e *Tusc.* 2, 19). Nel *De finibus* Cicerone sta contestando a Epicuro che i dolori grandi siano brevi e quelli lunghi siano lievi e cita come prova del suo discorso il caso di Filottete, abbandonato nell'isola di Lemno con una ferita inguaribile, causata dal morso di una vipera, che gli procurava atroci sofferenze⁹. In *Tusc.* 2, 19, in una discussione sul giudizio del dolore da parte dei filosofi, e di Epicuro in particolare, Cicerone cita di nuovo il passo di Accio, osservando che a Filottete le frecce ricevute da Ercole non servirono di nessuna consolazione nella condizione in cui si trovava nell'isola di Lemno, tormentato dalle ferite prodotte dal morso del serpente. E cita subito dopo il passo delle *Trachinie* di Sofocle in cui Ercole è tormentato dalla tunica intrisa del sangue di Nesso, quasi a voler unire la sofferenza di Ercole e quella di chi ha ereditato le sue frecce. Stando ai contesti ciceroniani, sembra che la vicenda di Filottete narrata da Accio fosse divenuta quasi emblematica di una sofferenza particolarmente feroce. La narrazione acciana poi è attraversata da un *pathos* esagerato e questo medesimo tipo di *pathos* vuole certamente esprimere anche Sisenna nel frammento, quasi assimilando il protagonista del suo passo all'eroe divenuto celebre per il suo patimento. Da non sottovalutare anche il fatto che entrambi i passi, quello di Accio e quello di Sisenna, siano caratterizzati da una insistente allitterazione che coinvolge il termine qui in

⁸ Il passo sarebbe riferibile alla strage di Servilio e dei suoi durante i giochi di Ascoli nel 91 a.C. secondo Barabino 1967 nel commento *ad l.*; ipotesi difficile da accettare per Chassignet 2004, *ad l.* e rigettata del tutto da Cornell 2013, il quale avanza il confronto con una strage della guerra civile, in particolare con la morte di M. Mario Gracidiano, orribilmente torturato nell'anno 82 a.C. (si veda commento *ad l.*).

⁹ In Hom. *Il.* 2, 716 ss. leggiamo che Filottete fu poi portato via da Lemno da Ulisse e Diomede e condotto a Troia, perché per volere del fato non si poteva conquistare la città se non con l'arco e con le frecce che Filottete aveva ricevuto in dono da Ercole.

esame¹⁰. Non sembra pertanto impossibile che Sisenna abbia adottato il sostantivo e, forse, anche il contesto, dal poeta tragico.

In *hist.* 100 P² = 123 B = 92 B-W = 92 Ch. = 99 Corn. (*quo voto damnati fetum omnem dicuntur eius anni statim consecrasse*), un passo di ispirazione verosimilmente religiosa, Sisenna usa il tecnicismo *fetus*, di cui è incerto l'esatto significato: 'piccolo dell'animale appena nato' secondo alcuni traduttori¹¹, senso che si legge a partire da Plauto; oppure 'frutto della terra'¹², valore che si trova già in Pacuv. *trag.* 13 R³ = D'Anna = fr. 7 Schierl *sol ... torrens terrae fetum exusserit* e in Acc. *trag.* 244 R³ = 208 W = 410 D *Cithaeron / frondet viridantibus fetis*. Ed è proprio il confronto con Accio (e con Pacuvio) a farci propendere per la seconda ipotesi. Se si accetta questa interpretazione, la dipendenza di Sisenna da Accio o Pacuvio pare estremamente probabile.

Interessante è anche il caso di *fluvia*: se si escludono i grammatici¹³, questo sostantivo, dovuto forse ad influsso analogico di *pluvia*¹⁴, è usato solo da Acc. *trag.* 505 R³ = 508 W = 19 D (*scatebra fluviae radit rupem*) e da Sisenna (*hist.* 53 P² = 83 B = 84 B-W = 84 Ch. = 88 Corn. *oppidum ... inter duas fluvias ... conlocatum*; *hist.* 54 P² = 84 B = 85 B-W = 85 Ch. = 89 Corn. *transgressus fluviam*¹⁵). Il più comune *fluvius* è attestato a partire da Nevio ed è anch'esso termine poco usuale, meno diffuso di *flumen* e poco amato sia dalla lingua poetica – che predilige, accanto a *flumen*, anche *amnis* –, sia dalla prosa che in-

¹⁰ Per un'analisi stilistica del passo acciano cfr. Stucchi 2004, 28, che evidenzia in particolare l'accostamento di una serie di termini tale da produrre, fra gli altri effetti, anche un'efficace onomatopea.

¹¹ Barabino 1967 traduce "animale"; cfr. DELL, s.v. **fe-*, *fetus*; Bruno 1969, 130 "piccolo dell'animale, appena nato".

¹² Il *ThLL* s.v. col. 683, lin. 55 colloca l'esempio sisenniano sotto la rubrica «quod terra profert: fructus terrae, herbarum». Così interpretano anche Beck - Walter 2004 con la loro traduzione "Frucht" e, presumibilmente, anche Chassignet 2004, che traduce "production de l'année en cours", nonché Cornell 2013 con "the whole of the offspring of that year".

¹³ Oltre a Nonio, fonte di entrambi i passi di Sisenna e Accio, *fluvia* si legge solo in Isid. *orig.* 13, 10, 2 *pluviae dictae quod fluant, quasi fluviae*.

¹⁴ Così ritiene Lebek 1970, 274; per Bardon 1952, 255 la formazione va considerata invece un arcaismo di Sisenna. Il *ThLL* s.v. *fluvia* spiega «a *fluere*, sicut *pluvia* a *pluere*».

¹⁵ Nel fr. 53 P² Chassignet 2004 legge *duas fluvios*, seguendo in parte Peter¹ (*duos fluvios*), nel fr. 54 P² la studiosa adotta la lezione di una parte dei mss. noniani con *fluvium*.

dulge al poetismo (ad es. Livio e Tacito¹⁶) e non è in genere frequentemente attestato¹⁷. Sisenna usa anche *flumen* (*hist.* 3 P² = B = S = B-W = Ch. = Corn.; *hist.* 103 P² = 114 B = 121 B-W = 121 Ch. = 114 Corn.), Accio usa sia *fluvia* sia *flumen* (*trag.* 461 R³ = 431 W = 503 D) sia *amnis* (al femminile in *trag.* 297 R³ = 294 W = 607 D *antiquam amnem* e in *trag.* 323 R³ = 314 W = 154 D *alta in amni*). L'impiego del rarissimo *fluvia* sembra quindi una scelta intenzionale da parte di Sisenna di un termine che poteva leggere solo in Accio.

Nell'ambito dei tecnicismi, categoria lessicale largamente presente nel vocabolario sisenniano, troviamo *lembus*, che è usato in *hist.* 38 P² = 41 B = 19 S = 50 B-W = 50 Ch. = 47 Corn. (*Otacilium*¹⁸ *legatum cum scaphis ac lembis*). Si tratta di un tecnicismo improntato al gr. λέμβος, attestato a partire da Plauto e poi frequente nella storiografia (Livio, ad es. 32, 32, 9 *rex ... cum quinque lembis et una nave rostrata venit*; 34, 26, 11 *triginta lembis mixtisque aliis minoris formae navigiis*; 35, 26, 1 *tres tectas naves et lembos pristisque*; Curzio Rufo, ad es. 5, 4, 18; Ammiano, in part. 29, 6, 18 *lembis et scaphis*¹⁹, dove ritorna lo stesso abbinamento sisenniano; 17, 13, 17 *lembos et ... remigia*), che indica un'imbarcazione maneggevole e adatta probabilmente anche per avvicinamenti alle coste. Era un tipo di nave utilizzato anche dai pirati²⁰. Accio usa *lembus* in un passo del *Deiphobus* (*trag.* 129 R³ = 249 W = 254 D *forte aliquanto solito lembo sum progressus longius*²¹), citato, oltre che da Nonio nello stesso passo in cui il grammatico cita Sisenna, anche da Servio Danielino a commento di

¹⁶ Livio usa *amnis* 159 volte, *flumen* 182, *fluvius* 33; Tacito *amnis* 53 volte, *flumen* 66, *fluvius* solo 4: cfr. *ThLL s.v. amnis* col. 1943, linn. 6 ss.

¹⁷ Si confronti il *ThLL s.v. amnis* col. 1943, linn. 6 ss. e la tabella *s.v. flumen* col. 957, linn. 53 ss.

¹⁸ Barabino 1967, 115 legge *Voltacilius*, identificato col liberto *Voltacilio Piluto*, avverso alla parte cesariana e protetto di Cn. Pompeo Strabone; *contra* Chassignet 2004 e Cornell 2013, che intendono M. Otacilius. Secondo Sensal 1997, 211 M. Otacilio sarebbe uno dei *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* dell'anno 76 a.C. Nessuna prova che il personaggio sia un Otacilio secondo Beck - Walter 2004, 273 nel commento *ad l.*

¹⁹ Cfr. il commento di den Boeft 2013, *ad l.*

²⁰ Cfr. *DELL*, *s.v.*; Ernout 1954, 46; De Meo 1986, 249; Barabino 1967, 115; Sensal 1997, 208 s.; cfr. anche il lemma di Non. 856 L (che cita il frammento di Sisenna): *lembus, navicula brevis piscatoria*; Serv. *georg.* 1, 201 *naviculam admodum brevem*.

²¹ Ma Dangel 1995 nel commento *ad l.* riferisce il passo acciano ad un'ipotetica tragedia *Equus Troianus*, forse dal confronto con Verg. *Aen.* 2, 17, per il quale vedi oltre nel testo. Per il grecismo acciano cfr. Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1980, 105 s.

Aen. 2, 17, dove si parla dell'inganno del cavallo di Troia da parte dei Greci, di Ulisse in particolare (*votum pro reditu simulant, ea fama vagatur*). Il passo di Accio farebbe riferimento a una scena di pesca, diversamente dal passo di Sisenna, che si ascrive, al contrario, ad un contesto militare²². L'ambito pertanto sembra diverso, ma è interessante notare come Sisenna prenda in prestito e riconverta un termine già presente nella poesia precedente e lo introduca nella storiografia, dove, dopo di lui, verrà usato prevalentemente come tecnicismo militare.

Il sostantivo *pecus*, -*udis* che si legge in Sisenna (*hist.* 76 P² = 119 B = 124 B-W = 124 Ch. = 82 Corn. *iumenta, pecuda*²³ *locis trepidare conphuribus*) è attestato a partire da Ennio (*scaen.* 296 R³ *pecudi dare vivam marito*) e indica il singolo capo di bestiame, a differenza di *pecus*, -*oris*, collettivo per denotare genericamente il bestiame, sia grosso che piccolo. Annullato il differente valore semantico originario, i due termini sono infine divenuti sinonimi²⁴, anche se *pecus*, -*oris* è di gran lunga più diffuso. Anche Accio usa *pecus*, -*udis* e sempre al neutro plurale (*trag.* 409 R³ = 398 W = 484 D *vagant, pavore pecuda in tumultis deserunt*)²⁵. I due frammenti sono inoltre accumulati da una certa tonalità patetica²⁶. Anche in questo caso pare possibile la dipendenza di Sisenna da Accio (o da Ennio).

²² Cfr. Salvadori 1987, 147 s. Sull'uso di *lembus* in campo militare cfr. la bibliografia indicata da Chassignet 2004 nel commento *ad l.*

²³ Il neutro è dovuto ad analogia con *pecus*, -*oris*: cfr. Neue - Wagener 1902, 845.

²⁴ Cfr. Bruno 1969, 103; Andrei 1981, 100 s. La fonte Non. 235 L (*pecua et pecuda ita ut pecora veteres dixerunt*), dove sono citati appunto Sisenna, Acc. *trag.* 409 R³ e Cic. *rep.* 4, 1 (*in pecuda*), sembra confermare come avvenuto il passaggio semantico.

²⁵ Il frammento acciano è tratto dal prologo della *Medea* e vi si descrive la paura dei pastori che vagano per i campi e abbandonano le greggi: cfr. il commento di Falcone 2016, 174 s. Accio usa il sostantivo anche in *trag.* 211 R³ = 175 W = 39 D (*agnum inter pecudes*, femm. o masch., il contesto non permette di determinare il genere), *pecus*, -*oris* in altri luoghi: cfr. *ThLL s.vv. pecus*, -*udis*, col. 955, linn. 11 ss. e *pecus*, -*oris*, col. 950, linn. 35 ss.

²⁶ Secondo Frassinetti 1972, 109 e Perutelli 2004, 11 s. Sisenna starebbe descrivendo un prodigio; ipotesi sostenuta anche da Chassignet 2004, *ad l.* (la quale colloca il passo tra gli *incertae sedis* del libro 4°) e da Beck - Walter 2004, *ad l.*; diversamente Cornell 2013, *ad l.* ("Sisenna is describing the effect of military actions on transport and farm animals"). Sul termine cfr. anche Bardon 1952, 255 (arcaismo) e Lebek 1970, 276 (non arcaismo, ma termine appartenente alla lingua viva). Per Accio cfr. la nota precedente e il commento di Dangel 1995, *ad l.*

Il tecnicismo²⁷ *proris* è il doppione arcaico²⁸ di *prora* e si legge solo in Sisenna (*hist.* 105 P² = 63 B = 78 B-W = 78 Ch. = 120 Corn. *prores actuariae*) e nelle *Phinidae* di Accio (*trag.* 575 R³ = 578 W = 461 D *obtorque prorim* [*proram*²⁹ Dangel] *ac suppa tortas copulas*), citati entrambi da Nonio, ma in due passi diversi³⁰. In seguito si incontra solo in Lucr. 2 ,554. Sembrerebbe trattarsi di un deliberato arcaismo di Sisenna³¹, il quale trovava lo stesso morfema proprio in Accio. In generale il termine *prora* è prevalentemente usato proprio nella poesia epico-tragica e nella storiografia³².

Nella categoria dei tecnicismi troviamo anche *telum* (Sisenna *hist.* 23 P² = 52 B = 47 S = 43 B-W = 43 Ch. = 36 Corn. *manualis lapides dispertit, propterea quod is ager omnis eius modi telis indigebat*; *hist.* 91 P² = 121 B = 114 B-W = 114 Ch. = 108 Corn. *periclitantur tormenta ac tela multaque genera machinamentorum*), che indica genericamente un'arma da getto, cioè un'arma offensiva, anche pietre da lanciare a mano, come nel fr. 23 P² = 47 Sensal³³ (cfr. Cato *orig.* 140 P² *sub tela volantia*; Caes. *civ.* 2, 11, 3; 3, 51, 7; 3, 55, 1; per la correlazione *lapis/telum* in part. Sall. *Iug.* 60, 6 *cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt*; Caes. *civ.* 3, 63, 7 *ab ictu lapidum, quod unum nostris erat telum*). Accio usa il termine in diversi passi delle sue tragedie, trasmessi da fonti diverse (*trag.* 52, 262, 545, 547 R³ = 319, 227, 554, 556 W = 324, 23, 221, 223 D). Si tratta anche in questo caso di un termine impiegato parimenti dalla poesia (da Ennio) e dalla storiografia (da Catone).

In un passo di particolare spessore drammatico (*hist.* 47 P² = 45 B = 16 S = 15 B-W = 15 Ch. = 21 Corn. *cum ... barba inmissa et intonso capillo, lugubri vestitu, populum ... circumiret*), in cui è descritto un

²⁷ Cfr. De Meo ²1986, 256.

²⁸ Dovuto verosimilmente a influsso analogico di *puppis*: cfr. DELL, s.v. *prora*.

²⁹ Cfr. ThLL s.v. *prora* col. 2145, linn. 30 s. Lindsay, editore della fonte Nonio (Non. 200, 37 L) adotta la lezione di G *prorim* (cod. G; -em L¹; -am cett.). Come Dangel, anche D'Antò 1980 legge *proram*.

³⁰ Il passo di Sisenna è riportato s.v. *actuariae, naviculae celeres* (Non. 857 L), il passo di Accio s.v. *copulae generis feminini* (Non. 295 L).

³¹ Così Cornell 2013 nel commento *ad l.* e già Bardon 1952, 255; *contra* Lebek 1970, 279; metonimico per *navis* secondo Beck - Walter 2004 nel commento *ad l.*

³² *Prora* è attestato a partire da Lucil. 578 M e si legge con frequenza nei poeti (dopo Accio, che però usa il doppione arcaico, cfr. Lucrezio, Virgilio, Properzio, Lucano, Valerio Flacco) e negli storici (ad es. Caes. *Gall.* 3, 13, 2; Tac. *hist.* 3, 47, 3).

³³ Cfr. il commento di Sensal 1997, *ad l.*

uomo con vesti logore, barba e capelli incolti, accompagnato dai figli che suscita compassione in giro per la città³⁴, Sisenna impiega il sostantivo *vestitus*. Lo stesso fa Accio in un passo del *Telephus* (*trag.* 615 R³ = 630 W = 84 D *quem ego ubi aspexi, virum memorabilem / intui viderer, ni vestitus taeter, vastitudo, / maestitudo praedicarent hominem esse*), dove è rappresentato Telefo vestito di stracci, ma con una dignità interiore in contrasto con l'aspetto³⁵. Il termine è attestato a partire da Plauto e Terenzio, ma si legge in seguito quasi esclusivamente in prosa e nella storiografia (dopo Sisenna, *vestitus* in Cicerone, ad es. *Quinct.* 49 *habitu atque vestitu*; *Att.* 1, 13, 3; Cesare 2 *vestis* / 2 *vestitus*; Nepote 5 *vestis* / 7 *vestitus*; Livio 51 *vestis* / 8 *vestitus*; *Plin. nat.*; Tacito 36 *vestis* / 2 *vestitus* [entrambi in *Germ.*, solo *vestis* in *hist.* e *ann.*]; *Amm.* 5 *vestis*, 1 *vestitus*)³⁶. Accio sembra preferire il sinonimo *vestis*, utilizzato parimenti in contesti drammatici (cfr. ad es. *trag.* 86 R³ = 50 W = 637 D *sed quatenam haec est mulier funesta veste, tonsu lugubri*, dall'*Amphitruo*, l'entrata in scena di Alcmena vestita a lutto³⁷; *trag.* 375 R³ = 335 W = 332 D *sed ut atratus taetra veste et vastitudine / deformatus*, dove Eurisace vede un vecchio la cui nobiltà non è alterata dalla tristezza e dalla povertà³⁸; *trag.* 519 R³ = 518 W = 74 D *capere lucti vestem in leto coniugis*). Anche per *vestitus* si può ipotizzare che Sisenna abbia preso in prestito il termine dalla poesia, verosimilmente da quella tragica (meno probabilmente da quella co-

³⁴ Il protagonista del frammento sarebbe M. Emilio Scauro secondo Barabino 1967, 116 s.; incerta l'identificazione del personaggio secondo Chassignet 2004, *ad l.*; cfr. Calboli 1975, 168 ss.; Sensal 1997, 190 s.; l'uomo sarebbe invece C. Aurelio Cotta per Frassinetti 1972, 90-91, con cui concordano Beck - Walter 2004, *ad l.* e Cornell 2013, nel commento *ad l.* La scena narrata da Sisenna sembra non del tutto nuova nella storiografia latina, in quanto una descrizione analoga si incontra forse già in Asellio *hist.* 7 P², in cui viene rappresentato Tiberio Gracco che raccomanda i suoi figli al popolo (*orare coepit id quidem, ut se defenderent liberosque suos, eum, quem virile secus tum in eo tempore habebat, produci iussit populoque commendavit prope flens*).

³⁵ Cfr. il commento di D'Antò 1980, *ad l.*; Stucchi 2004, 31; Fantham 2009, 429.

³⁶ Cfr. Axelson 1945, 101 (l'unico esempio poetico dopo le prime attestazioni nei comici arcaici è proprio Accio, poi solo in *Phaedr.* 5, 1, 12). Il termine è uno dei tanti che il latino ha per 'vestito', 'abito': cfr. Tac. *Germ.* 17, dove ricorrono *tegumen*, *vestis*, *velamen*, *habitus*, *amictus*.

³⁷ Il personaggio femminile è così identificato da Stucchi 2004, 25, come pure da D'Antò 1980, 229. Per Dangel 1995 nel commento *ad l.* si tratterebbe invece di Megara che non viene riconosciuta da Ercole.

³⁸ Cfr. Dangel 1995 nel commento *ad l.* e già La Penna 1979, 94.

mica), e lo abbia introdotto in prosa e in particolare nel genere storiografico, nel quale comunque *vestis* finirà per prevalere.

Aggettivi

Rilevante si mostra l'impiego sisenniano di *caecus*. L'aggettivo è usato in riferimento ai flutti nel significato traslato di 'insidioso' (*hist.* 104 P² = 75 B = 120 B-W = 120 Ch. = 113 Corn. *subito mare persubhorrescere caecosque fluctus in se provolvere leniter occepit*). Con questo valore l'aggettivo si legge già in *Atta com.* 21 R³ e sempre nel nesso con *fluctus* (*pro populo fluctus caecos faciunt per discordiam*³⁹). Si confronti in seguito Verg. *georg.* 2, 503 (*freta*), *Aen.* 1, 536 (*vada*) e in part. Liv. fr. 60 Weiss. (*caeco volvente fluctu*, nella descrizione della morte di Cicerone). Accio usa due volte l'aggettivo nel senso di 'oscuro' (*trag.* 32 R³ = 237 W = 291 D *nocte caeca*) e nel senso astratto di 'accecato' (*trag.* 450 R³ = 443 W = 517 D *cor ira fervit caecum*). Entrambi questi valori sono attestati già in Plauto e sono ben testimoniati nella poesia successiva (cfr. ad es. Lucr. 1, 1115 *nec tibi caeca / nox iter eripiet*; 2, 14 *pectora caeca*; cfr. già Pacuv. *trag.* 366-375 R³ = 105-115 D'Anna = fr. 262 Schierl *fortunam insanam ... et caecam et brutam*). Il passo di Sisenna, in cui si descrive una tempesta, è caratterizzato da un tono elevato, anche grazie ad altre scelte lessicali poeticamente connotate presenti nel frammento (ad es. i verbi *persubhorrescere* e *occipere*)⁴⁰. Il confronto con i fr. 32-33 R³ = 237-238 W = 291-292 D

³⁹ Passo con tonalità tragiche secondo Daviault 1981 nel commento *ad l.*, che cita a confronto, fra gli altri, Acc. *trag.* 608 R³ = 609 W = 403 D (*non vides quam turbam, quantos belli fluctus concites?*).

⁴⁰ Poetico l'aggettivo sisenniano per Bardon 1952, 256, carattere invece negato da Lebek 1970, 279, con la considerazione dell'esiguità degli esempi poetici precedenti al nostro passo (solo nel sopra citato *Atta com.* 21 R³, ma con altri valori anche in Plauto, Pacuvio e Accio stesso, come visto nel testo). Per l'uso virgiliano dell'aggettivo in part. Militeri Della Morte 1984, 598 s. Cfr. il lemma della fonte Non. 720 L (*caecum non solum oculis captum, sed et insidiosum et occulte malum et tacitum vel latens quid dicendum veteres aestimaverunt*); così anche Barabino 1967 ("insidioso"); Chassignet 2004 interpreta come *incognitus*, *incertus* e traduce "sourd"; Beck - Walter 2004 nel commento *ad l.* traducono "dunkel", come già Lebek 1970, 279, mentre Cornell 2013 rende "treacherous". Per il tono aulico adottato dalla storiografia nella descrizione di tempeste cfr. di nuovo Cornell 2013 nel commento *ad l.* Aulica anche la *iunctura* con *fluctus*: cfr. il citato Liv. fr. 60 Weiss. *caeco volvente fluctu* e Suet. fr. p. 244 Reifferscheid *caecus fluctus tumens necdum tamen canus*; cfr. anche Cic. *rep.* 2, 5 *non solum multis periculis ... sed etiam caecis*; Prop. 2, 27, 6 *et maris et terrae caeca pericla viae*.

di Accio, tratti dalla *Clitennestra*, sembra interessante, perché vi si descrive parimenti una tempesta, benché il valore dell'aggettivo sia diverso (*deum regnator nocte caeca caelum e conspectu abstulit / flucti inmisericordes iacere, taetra ad saxa adlidere*). Si veda anche Acc. *trag.* 413 R³ = 402 W = 486 D (*ut ... toleraret hiemes, mare cum horreret fluctibus*, tratto dalla *Medea* e riferito alla solidità della nave Argo⁴¹), trasmesso da Nonio insieme al passo sisenniano⁴², e già Pacuv. *trag.* 411 ss. R³ = 369 ss. D'Anna = fr. 239 Schierl *interea prope iam occidente solo inhorrescit mare, / tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimum obcaecat nigror, / flamma inter nubes coruscat, caelum tonitru contremitt...*⁴³. Sisenna potrebbe aver avvertito la suggestione dei passi acciani – e di quello pacuviano – e, in ogni caso, tutti i precedenti poetici di *caecus*, anche quelli con senso diverso, provano che l'aggettivo veniva sentito come elevato già in epoca arcaica. Che il modello fosse Accio o un altro poeta non può essere stabilito con certezza, anche se appare verosimile che fosse lui. Ad ogni modo il trasferimento in prosa di un aggettivo poetico costituisce un'ulteriore prova dell'atteggiamento innovatore dello storico sillano e dei frequenti contatti poesia/storiografia da lui attuati.

Sisenna è il primo autore a usare l'aggettivo *ferus* nel senso di 'selvatico', detto di una pianta, frutto e simili (*hist.* 60 P² = 78 B = 54 B-W = 54 Ch. = 74 Corn. *et partim fera vite, partim lauro et arbuto ac multa pinu ac myrtetis abundant*). Questo significato è in seguito riservato alla poesia e alla prosa tecnica (cfr. Lucr. 5, 1368 *fructus*; Verg. *georg.* 2, 36 *fructus*; Ov. *met.* 14, 391 *robora*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 7 *olivas*; 9, 735 *herbas magicas*; per gli autori tecnici cfr. Varro *rust.* 1, 9, 7; 2, 1, 4; Colum. 3, 1, 2; 9, 1, 8; Plin. *nat.* 14, 127; 19, 42). Accio usa più volte l'aggettivo nel senso di 'duro' nelle tragedie (*trag.* 25 R³ = 8 W = 302 D *fera hominum pectora*; 683 R³ = Inc. 25 W = 720 D *cor tam ferum*), ma in *didasc.* I, 6 Mueller = 12 Baehrens = 5 Funaioli = 7-

⁴¹ Cfr. Falcone 2016, 176 s.

⁴² Non. 683 L *'horrendum' et 'horridum' habent plurimam diversitatem. est enim horrendum taetrum et vitabile*. Nonio trasmette due volte il frammento di Sisenna, qui e in Non. 720 L, come visto in nota 40.

⁴³ Cfr. il commento di Dangel 1995 ad Acc. *trag.* 32-33 R³ = 237-238 W = 291-292 D. Il confronto tra Sisenna e Pacuvio è suggerito da Perutelli 2004, 19 s. (il quale suggerisce Pacuvio come modello già di Coel. *hist.* 40 P², passo in cui, secondo lo studioso, Celio Antipatro avrebbe 'inventato' la tempesta nella traversata della flotta di Scipione verso l'Africa prima della battaglia di Zama, laddove tutte le altre fonti storiche tacciono questo particolare). Per Lebek 1970, 279 Cicerone avrebbe avuto presente il passo di Sisenna in *rep.* 1, 63 (*cum subito mare coepit horrescere*).

8 Warmington = 6 Dangel (*natura inpos / excors et fera*⁴⁴) *ferus* sembra essere impiegato con un significato analogo a quello di Sisenna. Se questo è vero, anche in questo caso non si può escludere una relazione tra i due, soprattutto in considerazione del fatto che l'aggettivo a partire proprio dai due autori assumerà il significato poi prevalente nella poesia e nella prosa tecnica.

In Sisenna *hist.* 8 P² = 9 B = 8 S = 9 B-W = 9 Ch. = 8 Corn. (*vetus atque ingens erat arbor ilex*) si legge *ingens*, un aggettivo attestato da Ennio (ad es. *ann.* 132 V² = 133 Sk. *cura*; 211 V² = 205 Sk. *signis*) che è raro nell'età repubblicana (cfr. il contemporaneo Quadrig. *hist.* 24 P²), ma è gradito a Sallustio (soprattutto con sostantivi astratti) e amatissimo dai poeti (ad es. Verg. *georg.* e *Aen.*), dai prosatori postclassici (Livio, Seneca, in particolare Tacito) e dalla lingua tarda (Agostino; *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*) per il suo carattere enfatico⁴⁵. La qualità poetizzante dell'aggettivo sembrerebbe confermata anche dalla continuità della sua presenza nella lingua storiografica. Accio lo riprende verosimilmente da Ennio e conferma la predilezione della poesia per questo aggettivo (cfr. *trag.* 392 R³ = 382 W = 468 D *ingenti sonitu et spiritu*⁴⁶ e *trag.* 652 R³ = *Inc.* 17 W = 703 D *dextera ingenti*). Sisenna potrebbe aver avvertito la suggestione di Quadrigario, l'altro annalista sillano, oppure di Ennio o di Accio stesso. Sembra di poter affermare che entrambi gli autori seguono una tradizione già consolidata, sia in poesia sia in prosa.

Nel passo già illustrato prima in cui si descrive un uomo di aspetto lugubre che infonde pietà in chi lo incontra (*hist.* 47 P² = 45 B = 16 S = 15 B-W = 15 Ch. = 21 Corn. *cum ... barba inmissa et intonso capillo, lugubri vestitu, populum vicitim flens ... circumiret*) Sisenna

⁴⁴ Così i mss., mentre Dangel 1995 legge con Lachmann *ecfera* e traduce "sauvage". Warmington 1936 mantiene *et fera* e traduce "a hateful savage". Diversamente il *Thll* s.v. *ferus* col. 604 linn. 52 s. inserisce il citato passo di Acc. *didasc.* I, 6 Mueller sotto la categoria «saevus, crudelis, immitis, superbus». Barabino 1967 traduce il *fera vite* di Sisenna con "viti selvatiche"; Beck - Walter 2004 "von wildem wild"; Chassignet 2004 "vigne selvatique"; Cornell 2013 "wild vines".

⁴⁵ Per Ennio cfr. il commento di Skutsch 1985, *ad l.*; su Quadrigario Ambrosetti 2009a nel commento *ad l.*; per Sallustio cfr. Skard 1933, 40 s. e La Penna 1973, 385; su Virgilio e la lingua poetica in generale Grillo 1985, 968 s.; per Tacito Kuntz 1962, 101 s.; sulla *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* Löfstedt 1966, 72. In generale cfr. anche Ingvarsson 1950, 66 ss.

⁴⁶ Sul nesso, tratto dal prologo della *Medea* acciana, cfr. Falcone 2016, 165 s., che vi scorge un riecheggiamento di Apoll. Rh. 1, 543 (l'intero Acc. *trag.* 391-402 R³ = 381-392 W = 467-478 D si rifarebbe ad Apoll. Rh. 4, 316-322: cfr. Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1980, 151 s.).

utilizza *intonsus*, aggettivo/participio che non è frequente in prosa (dopo Sisenna, Liv. 21, 32, 7 *homines*; Sen. *phil.*; Curzio Rufo; Plin. *nat.*; cfr. Curt. 4, 13, 5 *hirta illis* [scil. *Scythis et Bactrianis*] *ora et intonsas comas esse*), ma è molto più diffuso in poesia (Hor. *epod.* 15, 9 *capillos*; Tib. 1, 4, 38 *crinis*; Sil. 4, 203 *coma*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 587 *comae*; Val. Fl. 6, 643 *intonso ... crine*)⁴⁷. Nel passo in questione *intonsus* non vale semplicemente secondo il valore etimologico ‘non tagliato’, ma quasi ‘incolto’, ‘irsuto’: cfr. *trag. inc.* 192 R³ = Pacuv. *trag.* 274 D’Anna = fr. 181 Schierl *barba pedore horrida atque / intonsa infuscat pectus inluvie scabrum*⁴⁸, in un contesto assimilabile a quello descritto da Sisenna; Lucan. 2, 375 *intonsos rigidam in frontem descendere canos / passus erat* (il personaggio lucaneo è Catone Uticense). Accio (*trag.* 672 R³ = 483 W = 696 D *scindens dolore identidem intonsam comam*) parimenti utilizza l’aggettivo in riferimento ai capelli – e sembrerebbe anche qui con aggiuntiva nozione di incuria – in un passo trasmesso da Cicerone (*Tusc.* 3, 62), in cui il filosofo parla delle diverse modalità con cui si manifesta il dolore, come l’aspetto sordido, il lacerarsi le guance, il battersi il petto e simili atteggiamenti e cita Hom. *Il.* 10, 14 s. (dove il protagonista è Agamennone, il quale si strappa i capelli guardando le navi e gli uomini achei) e il frammento di Accio, forse tratto proprio dall’*Agamemnon*⁴⁹. Sisenna potrebbe essersi facilmente rifatto agli esempi tragici precedenti sopra citati sia per il significato dell’aggettivo sia per il suo inserimento in una scena drammaticamente connotata⁵⁰.

Nello stesso frammento sisenniano è utilizzato anche l’aggettivo *lugubris* che, insieme a *intonsus*, contribuisce a caratterizzare la scena drammatica in cui si descrive un uomo che va in giro con i figli vestito come un mendicante. *Lugubris* è attestato in poesia a partire da Ennio (*scaen.* 386 V² *lugubri succincta est stola*), poi in Plauto e Terenzio (*Haut.* 286 *mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri*) e successivamente ancora in Accio, in un frammento tratto dall’*Amphitruo* – Alcmene in

⁴⁷ Cfr. *ThLL s.v. intonsus* col. 29, linn. 52 ss.

⁴⁸ Sul passo cfr. il commento di Schierl 2006, *ad l.*

⁴⁹ Così il *ThLL s.v.*; cfr. anche la fonte Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 62 *ille Agamemno Homericus et idem Accianus*; ma Ribbeck 1897, Warmington 1936 e Dangel 1995 attribuiscono il frammento alla *Nyctegresia* acciana, per quanto Dangel collochi il frammento tra gli *incertae sedis*. Dangel conserva nella traduzione il significato etimologico di ‘non tagliato’ (“longue chevelure”), come pure Warmington (“unshorn hair”).

⁵⁰ Sul carattere poetico dell’intera scena cfr. anche Sensal 1997, Beck - Walter 2004 e Cornell 2013 nei rispettivi commenti *ad l.* Sulla tipologia dell’eroe descritto come uno straccione cfr. La Penna 1979, 92 ss.; Perutelli 2004, 23.

scena dopo la morte del padre (*trag.* 86 R³ = 50 W = 637 D *mulier funesta veste, tonsu lugubri*⁵¹) – e nella poesia dattilica successiva (Lucrezio, Virgilio, ma cfr. anche Sen. *Oed.* 553 *lugubris imos palla perfudit pedes*), alla quale è interdetto *metri causa* il sinonimo *luctuosus*, attestato comunque solo a partire da Cicerone. Sisenna pertanto introduce l'aggettivo in prosa, dove sembra attestarsi con frequenza proprio nella storiografia (cfr. ad es. Liv. 3, 32, 2 *domus*; 30, 43, 12 *incendium*; Curt. 10, 5, 17 *Persae comis suo more detonsis in lugubri veste cum coniugibus ac liberis ... lugebant*; Tac. *ann.* 13, 32, 3 *per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto egit*)⁵², e lo inserisce in un contesto che pare aulicamente connotato⁵³, per cui la scelta sembra opportuna. Accio sopra citato probabilmente subisce l'influenza di Ennio nel descrivere Alcmena vestita a lutto, mentre non si può escludere la suggestione del poeta tragico – o di Ennio stesso – nel caso di Sisenna, il quale attraverso le sue scelte lessicali sembra riassumere in questo brano un intero repertorio tragico.

Interessanti spunti di riflessione sulle competenze linguistiche di Sisenna ci fornisce anche l'aggettivo *proprius*. Lo storico lo impiega in due frammenti (*hist.* 45 P² = 44 B = 14 S = 13 B-W = 13 Ch. = 33 Corn. *propriam capere non poterat quietem*; *hist.* 67 P² = 115 B = 125 B-W = 125 Ch. = 106 Corn. *victoribus propriae spem, victis adversae fortunae maiorem formidinem obiecit*), trasmessi entrambi da Nonio che spiega *proprius* come sinonimo di *diuturnus* (fr. 45 P²) e di *perpetuus* (fr. 67 P²), in riferimento alla durata di ciò che è posseduto, pertanto 'stabile', 'duraturo', 'perpetuo'⁵⁴. L'aggettivo è attestato in prosa

⁵¹ Per la contestualizzazione del passo acciano cfr. *supra* nota 37. Sullo stile del frammento, in particolare sulla coppia di aggettivi a schema chiasmico, a sottolineare il lutto di Alcmena, cfr. Stucchi 2004, 25.

⁵² Dopo Sisenna *lugubris* si legge in Cicerone (9 occorrenze contro le 29 di *luctuosus*), Livio (6 volte, mai *luctuosus*), Curzio (6 volte, mai *luctuosus*), Tacito (3 *lugubris*, 3 *luctuosus*, di cui una al superlativo). Fanno eccezione Sallustio, che conosce solo *luctuosus*, e Ammiano, che usa 11 volte *lugubris* e 15 *luctuosus*: cfr. *ThLL s.v. lugubris* col. 1802, linn. 57 ss. e i lessici degli autori citati.

⁵³ Così anche Sensal 1997, 185.

⁵⁴ Non. 573 L (= fr. 45 P²) *proprium, diuturnum*; 573 s. L (= fr. 67 P²) *proprium rursum significat perpetuum*). Il *ThLL s.v. proprius* col. 2106, linn. 49 ss. inserisce il fr. 45 P² nella categoria «de re significata, quae plene respondet vocabulo adhibito, sc. vere, recte ita appellatur» e in col. 2107, linn. 71 ss. il fr. 67 P² nella categoria «quod integre, tuto possidetur, ut vergat in vim q. e. stabilis, perpetuus sim.». La variante *proprie* nel fr. 67 P², accolta dal solo Cornell 2013, mi sembra smentita dalle antitesi concettuali, sottolineate dalla doppia allitterazione *v/f*, presenti nel passo stesso. *OLD* colloca il fr. 45 P² sotto la categoria «one's own absolutely or in

già nello storico Cn. Gellio (*hist.* 15 P² *te obsecro ..., uti liceat nuptiis propriis et prosperis uti*, in contesto sacrale, sottolineato dal nesso allitterante), sempre nel significato di ‘durevole’⁵⁵, mentre in poesia è attestato da Lucil. 551 M (*proprium vero nil neminem habere*⁵⁶) e appunto da Accio, il quale usa l’aggettivo con lo stesso valore presente nei frammenti di Sisenna in due passi trasmessi, sempre da Nonio, insieme al fr. 67 P² dello storico (*trag.* 159 R³ = 126 W = 174 D *nam non facile sine deum opera humana propria sunt bona*, tratto dall’*Armorum iudicium*; *trag.* 423 R³ = 412 W = 499 D *fors dominatur, neque vita ulli / propria in vita est*, tratto dalla *Medea* e trasmesso anche da Cic. *nat. deor.* 2, 89)⁵⁷. Interessante appare il passo della *Medea* acciana, che ha in comune con il fr. 67 P² di Sisenna un’indubbia tonalità sentenziosa e, verosimilmente, anche una tematica affine: come in Accio si riflette sul dominio della sorte e sulla condizione non eterna della vita umana⁵⁸, così in Sisenna si oppongono la condizione dei vincitori, che possono sperare in una fortuna duratura, e quella dei vinti, che, viceversa, temono maggiormente le avversità della sorte. Non si può pertanto escludere neanche in questo caso che Sisenna abbia guardato con attenzione il testo di Accio. Per altro questo senso dell’aggettivo è raro in prosa dopo Sisenna (cfr. Cic. *Manil.* 48 *pro-*

perpetuity». Barabino 1967 traduce nel primo caso “duraturo”, traduzione più libera nel secondo passo (“di nuovo infuse speranza nei vincitori, mentre nei vinti un maggior timore dell’avversa fortuna”); “durable” è la traduzione di Chassignet 2004 per entrambi i frammenti (medesima quella di Sensal 1997 per il fr. 45 P², la quale a p. 172 propende per il valore “durable”, “permanent” anche per il fr. 67 P²); “keine stabile Ruhe” quella di Beck - Walter 2004 nel primo passo, “auf ein beständiges Glück” nel secondo. Cornell 2013 nel fr. 45 P² “he could not sleep for any length of time”, nel fr. 67 P² (dove legge *proprie*) traduce “individually”.

⁵⁵ Cornell 2013 traduce “long-lasting”, Chassignet 1999 “durables”; Beck - Walter 2001 traducono “eine dauerhafte ... Ehe”.

⁵⁶ “Niemand habe in Wirklichkeit etwas für immer zu eigen” è la traduzione di Krenkel 1970, il quale cita a confronto Acc. *trag.* 422-3 R³.

⁵⁷ Il *ThLL s.v. proprius* col. 2108, linn. 9 s. inserisce Acc. *trag.* 159 R³ sotto la medesima categoria di Sisenna *hist.* 67 P².

⁵⁸ Cfr. il commento di Falcone 2016, 194 ss., la quale traduce “la sorte regna sovrana, e nessuno, finché vive, ha un tenore di vita stabile”, ritenendo che il passo appartenga alla parte finale della tragedia e sia assegnabile al coro; Scafoglio 2010, 168 invece interpreta “Il caso impera su tutto e nessuno nella vita è padrone della vita”, seguendo Dangel 1995 (“durante toute la vie, nul n’est maître de sa vie”), quindi con indicazione di appartenenza. Viceversa per il fr. 159 R³ Scafoglio 2010, 169 accetta l’interpretazione fornita dal lemma noniano (*proprium ... perpetuum*). War-mington 1936 traduce l’intera espressione “for hardly are the blessings of mankind men’s own for ever”.

prium ac perpetuum; Bell. Afr. 61, 5 *proprium gaudium bellantibus Fortuna tribuere non decrevit*; Nep. Thras. 4, 2 *parva munera diutina, locupletia non propria esse consuerunt*), ma anche in poesia (Lucr. 3, 357; Verg. ecl. 7, 31; Aen. 3, 85; 6, 871⁵⁹).

Verbi

In *hist.* 94 P² = 59 B = 61 B-W = 61 Ch. = 62 Corn. (*itaque postero die legatos Iguvium redeuntis apiscitur*) Sisenna utilizza *apisci*, un verbo raro e di tonalità elevata⁶⁰ che mantiene nel passo il valore proprio di ‘raggiungere’, quasi ‘trovare’, ‘imbattersi in’. Si tratta del valore originario del verbo, attestato a partire da Plauto, ma infrequente in seguito (Lucr. 5, 808; 6, 1235; Cic. Att. 8, 14, 3), che si legge anche in Acc. trag. 436 R³ = 426 W = 535 D (*quem advorsum aptus alter in promptu occupat*), mentre il passaggio al senso traslato di ‘ottenere’, che sarà quello maggiormente diffuso in seguito, era avvenuto già in Plauto (ad es. Rud. 17). Non è improbabile che Sisenna abbia ripreso il significato antico del verbo proprio dal modello tragico di Accio, meno verosimilmente il riferimento sarà stato Plauto.

Il verbo *callere* è usato da Sisenna nel senso di ‘essere abile in qualcosa’, ‘sapere per esperienza’ (*hist.* 44 P² = 48 B = 15 S = 14 B-W = 14 Ch. = 31 Corn. *quem* [scil. *Lucium Memmium*] *Marci Livi consiliarium fuisse callebant*) con passaggio rispetto al valore originario di ‘essere indurito’, ‘avere il callo’ (attestato da Plaut. Pseud. 136)⁶¹. Di questo senso traslato ci sono numerose attestazioni già in età arcaica (cfr. Plaut. Most. 279; Ter. Haut. 548; Afran. com. 3 R³). Con questo significato il verbo è particolarmente diffuso proprio nella storiografia dall’età classica in poi (cfr. Liv. 35, 26, 10; 39, 40, 5; Tac. ann. 13, 3, 2; molti esempi in Ammiano, ad es. 15, 2, 4 e 3, 4; 21, 1, 6; 22, 16, 17; 30, 4, 13 e altri), mentre il costrutto con l’accusativo e l’infinito è attestato per la prima volta proprio da Sisenna ed è rarissimo (cfr. Apul. met. 1, 3)⁶². Accio usa il verbo in tre passi e sempre con questa accezione

⁵⁹ Per Virgilio cfr. Sconocchia 1988, 323.

⁶⁰ Il verbo semplice, rispetto al più comune composto *adipiscor*, è di uso raro: cfr. DELL, s.v. *apio*, 39; ThLL s.v. col. 239, linn. 3 ss.; Axelson 1945, 27 e 149. Significativamente Cicerone usa il verbo solo in contesti imitativi della lingua giuridica (leg. 1, 52; Serv. Sulp. Cic. fam. 4, 5, 6; Att. 8, 14, 3, dubbio). Frequente in Tacito, solo negli *Annales*.

⁶¹ Cfr. DELL, s.v. *callum*, 87.

⁶² Cfr. ThLL s.v.; Lebek 1970, 273; per Apuleio Callebat 1968, 314 e 478.

(*praet.* 8 R³ = *praet.* 9 W = 684 D *quod periti sumus in vita atque usu callemus magis*⁶³, dalla *praetexta Decius*; *trag.* 27 R³ = 10 W = 305 D *melius quam viri / callent mulieres*, tratto dall'*Aegisthus*⁶⁴; *trag.* 475 R³ = W = 184 D *satin astu et fallendo callet?*, dal *Neoptolemus*). Non è evidente in questo caso se Sisenna sia stato influenzato dal poeta tragico o da altri autori, vista la ricca presenza del verbo con questo significato nella poesia precedente, anche comica. Di certo Sisenna ha introdotto il verbo, raro anche nella poesia successiva⁶⁵, stabilmente nella prosa, in particolare storiografica, come provano le numerose attestazioni negli storici posteriori.

Un verbo particolarmente gradito a Sisenna è *concitare* (*hist.* 32 P² = 28 B = 37 S = 34 B-W = 34 Ch. = 28 Corn. *ecum concitatum*; *hist.* 48 P² = 46 B = 52 S = 51 B-W = 51 Ch. = 29 Corn. *concitat vulgum*; *hist.* 87 P² = 110 B = 56 B-W = 56 Ch. = 101 Corn. *cohors ... concitata*), verbo di ambito per lo più prosastico che nel primo passo è detto di un cavallo, nel secondo del popolo, con una venatura presumibilmente negativa (cfr. ad es. Cic. *II Verr.* 83 *populum* [cfr. Liv. 2, 18, 3 *populos*]; *Man.* 23 *gentes* e altri), nel terzo di soldati. Accio è il primo ad usare il verbo: lo fa due volte, la prima volta con il significato di 'scagliare' (*trag.* 545 R³ = 554 W = 220 D *reciproca ... tela*), la seconda con quello di 'provocare', 'suscitare' (scompiglio e sim.) (*trag.* 608 R³ = 609 W = 403 D *non vides quam turbam, quantos belli fluctus concites?*). Trattandosi di un verbo raro in età arcaica, attestato con sicurezza proprio a partire da Accio – e con frequenza solo da Cicerone in poi –, non si può affatto escludere che sia stato ancora una volta Accio ad influenzare Sisenna, al quale il verbo sarà piaciuto talmente da applicarlo in contesti diversificati, che ne apriranno l'uso proprio a partire dall'età successiva allo storico.

Articolato anche l'uso sisenniano di *dissipare*: se in un primo frammento il verbo ha il senso comune di 'spargere', 'sparpagliare' (*hist.* 11 P² = 12 B = 44 S = 46 B-W = 46 Ch. = 18 Corn. *dissipatis imbricum fragminibus*), in un altro frammento (*hist.* 35 P² = 33 B = 42 S = 36 B-W = 36 Ch. = 16 Corn. *dispalati ab signis, digressi omnes ac dissipati*) il verbo assume per la prima volta il valore tecnico-militare di 'sbaragliare', piuttosto diffuso in seguito in testi storiografici (cfr. ad es. Caes. *Gall.* 2, 24, 4; Hirt. *Gall.* 8, 5, 4; frequentissimo in Livio, ad es. 6,

⁶³ Sul passo cfr. Stucchi 2004, 32.

⁶⁴ Qui il verbo è usato con accezione negativa, con probabile riferimento all'omicidio di Agamennone: cfr. Scafoglio 2010, 171.

⁶⁵ Cfr. Axelson 1945, 111.

12, 10; 7, 24, 8; 10, 20, 13; manca in Sallustio; una sola occorrenza in Tacito). Accio usa una volta il verbo nel senso di '(dis)perdere', 'dilatidare' in un passo delle *Phoenissae* (trag. 587 R³ = 590 W = 567 D *ne horum discordiae et dividiae dissipent / disturbent tantas et tam opimas civium / divitias*), passo caratterizzato da marcata allitterazione⁶⁶ come il fr. 35 P² di Sisenna. Anche in questo caso potrebbe ipotizzarsi un rapporto tra i due autori, per quanto il verbo sia usato in contesti diversi e con significati differenti (ritirata scomposta di militari in Sisenna, discordie e conseguenti perdite di denaro in Accio)⁶⁷.

In Sisenna si legge anche la prima attestazione in prosa di *integrare* (hist. 89 P² = 96 B = 88 B-W = 88 Ch. = 77 Corn. *ultra citroque integrant in oppido caedem*) nel significato di 'riprendere', 'ricominciare', che si trova con frequenza solo a partire da Livio e negli storici e nella poesia epica posteriore (cfr. la medesima *iunctura integrare caedem* in Liv. 9, 43, 17; inoltre Liv. 3, 70, 6 e 6, 24, 4 *pugnam*; 5, 25, 11 *seditionem*; 10, 20, 14 *proelium* [cfr. Amm. 16, 12, 37]; Stat. *Theb.* 8, 656 *bellum*; cfr. anche Sil. 12, 680 *acies*). Il verbo è comunque raro prima di Sisenna e le uniche occorrenze si leggono in Pacuv. trag. 111 R³ = 126 D'Anna = fr. 74 Schierl (*inimicitiam*) e in Acc. trag. 124 R³ = 79 W = 250 D (*opes Troiae*). Anche qui Sisenna avrà sentito la suggestione del modello tragico e avrà introdotto il verbo in prosa riferendolo a un ambito settoriale come quello militare, tenendo fede ancora una volta al suo sperimentalismo linguistico.

Molto amato da Sisenna è anche il verbo *perturbare*, che ricorre in tre passi (hist. 68 P² = 118 B = 108 B-W = 108 Ch. = 60 Corn. *agmen perturbatum peditis insinuant ac loco conmovent*; hist. 71 P² = 68 B = 72 B-W = 72 Ch. = 123 Corn. *Galli materibus aut lanceis tamen medium perturbant agmen*; hist. 96 P² = 72 B = 75 B-W = 75 Ch. = 110 Corn. *terrore perturbatam multitudinem subigunt*), sempre in contesti di forte tensione emotiva (in riferimento a battaglie le prime due occorrenze, col valore tecnico-militare di 'sconvolgere', 'scompigliare', in una scena di massa nel terzo caso). *Perturbare* è attestato in prosa per la prima volta proprio in Sisenna (cfr. il coevo Quadrig. hist. 10b, 209,7 P² *statum Galli conturbavit*) e risulta impiegato in modo cospicuo nella storiografia successiva solo da Cesare (27 volte), mentre la lingua storiografica mostra una spiccata predilezione per il semplice

⁶⁶ Cfr. Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1980, 89 nota 114.

⁶⁷ Il confronto tra i due passi di Sisenna e Accio è segnalato già da Perutelli 2004, 20 nota 33, il quale evidenzia la scelta stilisticamente connotata dello storiografo per il tricolon asindetico e allitterante.

*turbare*⁶⁸ (*agmen* anche in Hirt. *Gall.* 8, 29, 2; cfr. Caes. *Gall.* 2, 11, 5 *ordinibus* e Liv. 35, 5, 8; 37, 42, 4; *hostes* in Sall. *Cat.* 60, 5; *Iug.* 59, 2; *aciem* in Sall. *Iug.* 59, 3; Liv. 27, 14, 11). Il verbo è presente già in Plauto e Terenzio, Accio lo introduce nella poesia elevata (*trag.* 135 R³ = 87 W = 576 D *quid agis? perturbas rem omnem ac resupinas, soror!* – è Ismene che si rivolge ad Antigone), nella quale tuttavia non ebbe successo (8 occorrenze in Lucrezio, poi occasionalmente in Fedro, Sen. *trag.*, Silio). Si può tranquillamente ipotizzare anche in questo caso che Sisenna abbia subito l'influsso del poeta, ma la scelta di Accio non fu accolta con favore dalla successiva lingua poetica, né quella di Sisenna dalla prosa storiografica.

Avverbi

In Sisenna *hist.* 49 P² = 47 B = 24 S = 22 B-W = 22 Ch. = 15 Corn. (*quod fortassean ex voluntate sua summa cum claritudine celeriter confecisset*) compare il rarissimo avverbio *fortassean*, in precedenza attestato solo in Acc. *trag.* 121 R³ = 86 W = 247 D (*fortasse an sit quod vos hic non mertet metus*), poi in Varro *ling.* 7, 10 e 8, 7; *rust.* 3, 6, 1 e 10; Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1, 2, 5 (*quem adductum in iudicium fortassean dimitti non oportuerit*), infine solo in Apuleio e Gellio. Il più comune *fortasse* si legge da Plauto, poi nella prosa elevata (ad es. Cicerone, Cesare, Tacito, ma Petronio usa *forsitan*) e in poesia (prevalentemente esametrica), la quale tuttavia utilizza anche i sinonimi *forsan*, *forsitan*, attestati a partire da Terenzio⁶⁹. Probabile anche in questo caso la dipendenza di Sisenna da Accio⁷⁰.

⁶⁸ Cfr. Livio 22 *perturbare* / 160 *turbare*; Curzio 2 / 25; Tacito 1 *dial.* / 74 *hist.* e *ann.*: cfr. *Thll* s.v. col. 1829, linn. 45 ss.

⁶⁹ Cfr. *Thll* s.vv. *fortasse* col. 1140, linn. 75 ss. e *fortassean*; Axelson 1945, 31; Perutelli 2004, 30; diversamente da Bardon 1952, 255, per Lebek 1970, 275 e Sensal 1997, 241 non si tratta di un arcaismo di Sisenna.

⁷⁰ Si riportano qui altri termini attestati sia in Accio sia in Sisenna, ma meno significativi, come il plurale *mortales* nel senso di *homines* (Sisenna *hist.* 123 P² = 126 B = 123 B-W = 123 Ch. = 79 Corn.; Acc. *trag.* 328 R³ = 317 W = 139 D; *trag.* 533 R³ = 537 W = 208 D; al singolare in *trag.* 424 R³ = 427 W = 536 D e *trag.* 554 R³ = 557 W = 228 D), sostantivo già presente nella prosa precedente e molto frequente anche nella storiografia successiva come poetismo ben attestato (nella *iunctura* allitterante con *multi* già in Catone, ad es. *orat.* 58 M⁴ = 42 Sblend. e prima in poesia in Naev. *carm.* 5, 1 Mor. = Barch. = Blänsd.); poi in Quadrig. *hist.* 76 P², Sallustio, Livio, nonché in simili formulazioni allitteranti sia in poesia che in prosa (Lucrezio; Virgilio): cfr. ad es. Sall. *Cat.* 12, 3; *Iug.* 17, 7; Pollio *hist.* 5 P²; Liv. 9, 44, 3; Tac. *Agr.* 11, 1; *Germ.* 21, 2; *hist.* 1, 55, 1; *ann.* 4, 38, 5; Amm. 14, 11, 18); esteso anche l'uso ciceroniano (ad

Altre osservazioni lessicali

Tra i caratteri dello sperimentalismo linguistico di Sisenna è stato giustamente citato l'interesse dell'autore per i verbi incoativi in -sco, che incontriamo almeno in due frammenti e in entrambi i casi si tratta di formazioni ipercharacterizzate (*hist.* 104 P² = 75 B = 120 B-W = 120 Ch. = 113 Corn. *persubhorrescere*; *hist.* 123 P² = 126 B = 123 B-W = 123 Ch. = 79 Corn. *laetiscere*). Questo interesse accomunerebbe Sisenna e la poesia a lui contemporanea, in particolare quella di Levio, Furio Anziato e Mazio⁷¹. La categoria linguistica dei verbi in -sco è assiduamente utilizzata anche da Accio, in cui troviamo diversi incoativi, alcuni dei quali neoformazioni o formazioni ipercharacterizzate, proprio come quelle usate da Sisenna (Acc. *trag.* 26 R³ = 9 W = 303 D *fragescere*, che è un *hapax*; 83 R³ = 46 W = 643 D *hiscere* [*miscere* Passerat, accettato da Warmington e Dangel]; 163 R³ = 130 W = 178 D *sanctescere*; 266 R³ = 231 W = 26 D *superescere*; 274 R³ = 262 W = 546 D *celebrescere*, anche questo un *hapax*; 317 R³ = 303 W = 138 D *perdolescere*, che troviamo anche in Quadrig. *hist.* 10b P², contemporaneo di Sisenna; 330 R³ = 316 W = 159 D *fatisci*; 440 R³ = 428 W = 500 D *pergrandescere*, altro *hapax*; 600 R³ = 603 W = 561 D *vastescere*; 693 R³ = Inc. 40 W = 714 D *pallescere*⁷²). La frequenza di queste formazioni nei frammenti del poeta tragico sembra pertanto autorizzare l'ipotesi che anche per questo tipo di categoria lessicale Accio sia stato un modello di riferimento per Sisenna e, probabilmente, lo sia stato anche per i poeti contemporanei allo storico sillano sopra menzionati.

es. Cic. *div. Caec.* 5; *Pis.* 77). Anche il sostantivo *perniciēs* si legge in entrambi gli autori (Sisenna *hist.* 128 P² = 128 B = 130 B-W = 130 Ch. = 130 Corn. e Acc. *trag.* 434 R³ = 419 W = 526 D, nella forma *permities*) e si tratta di un termine attestato da Catone e dai comici arcaici, in seguito usato quasi esclusivamente in prosa (Cicerone, Livio, Plin. *nat.*, Tacito; cfr. anche il coevo Sulla *hist.* 20 P²). Medesimo il discorso per gli avverbi *repente* e *subito*, il primo dei quali appartiene a un livello più elevato, il secondo a un livello più popolare della lingua, per quanto *subito* sia amato anche dalla dizione poetica. Sisenna li impiega entrambi (*hist.* 103 P² = 114 B = 121 B-W = 121 Ch. = 114 Corn.; *hist.* 45 P² = 44 B = 14 S = 13 B-W = 13 Ch. = 33 Corn.; *hist.* 104 P² = 75 B = 120 B-W = 120 Ch. = 113 Corn.), mentre Accio sembra preferire *repente* (*trag.* 224 R³ = 184 W = 55 D; cfr. anche l'ipercharacterizzato *derepente* in *trag.* 184 R³ = 146 W = 280 D), ma *desubito* si legge in *trag.* 366 R³ = 361 W = 347 D.

⁷¹ Così Perutelli 2004, 34 s.

⁷² Il *pallescit* di *trag.* 693 R³ è congettura di Bücheler accolta dal solo Ribbeck 1897, mentre Warmington 1936 e Dangel 1995 hanno *patescit*, trasmesso da una parte dei codici della fonte Varrone (gli altri codici hanno *patefit*).

In *hist.* 115 P² = 104 B = 97 B-W = 97 Ch. = 115 Corn. (*neque aetatis granditatem ... neque ordinis honestatem aut dignitatem sibi esse excusationi*) Sisenna conia il raro sostantivo *granditas* nel valore di ‘pienezza (dell’età)’, ‘maturità’, che deriva da un analogo uso di *grandis* nel senso di ‘maturo’, ‘adulto’ presente già in Plauto e Terenzio⁷³. Con il medesimo significato Accio usa invece l’ancor più raro *grandaevitas* (*trag.* 68 R³ = 31 W = 619 D *quia nec vos nec ille inpune inrideret meam / grandaevitatem*; *trag.* 245 R³ = 210 W = 417 D *quia neque vetustas neque mos neque grandaevitas*), documentato già in Pacuv. *trag.* 162 R³ = 195 D’Anna = fr. 119 Schierl (*quod tamen ipsa orbitas / grandaevitasque Pelei penuriam / stirpis subauxit*)⁷⁴. Anche in questo caso non credo si possa escludere che Sisenna abbia subito l’influsso di Accio (e Pacuvio) nel coniare una parola che in qualche misura richiamava il solenne sostantivo tragico: come i poeti tragici avevano coniato *grandaevitas* da *grandaevus*, così Sisenna coniava *granditas* da *grandis* ‘maturo’, specificandolo con *aetatis*. L’operazione potrebbe essere stata suggerita anche da motivazioni stilistiche, in quanto nel fr. 245 R³ di Accio *grandaevitas* compare in un tricolon sindetico in allineamento con un altro sostantivo in *-tas*, in Pacuvio il sostantivo è inserito in un vistoso omoteleuto, in Sisenna infine troviamo un tricolon con ben tre sostantivi in *-tas*⁷⁵.

Minima syntactica

Sisenna usa due volte *simul et* con probabile valore di *simul ac* temporale (*hist.* 90 P² = 120 B = 113 B-W = 113 Ch. = 94 Corn. *simul et tormenta contenduntur*; *hist.* 136 P² = 138 B = 136 B-W = 136 Ch. = 39 Corn. *simul et senatus consultis clarissimis amplificati*). L’uso è ciceroniano, limitato alle lettere (a parte *fin.* 2, 33; 5, 24), ma si trova già in Enn. *ann.* 150 V² = 138 Sk. e in Acc. *trag.* 196 R³ = 162 W = 67 D *simul et Pisaea praemia arrepta a socru / possedit suo* e *trag.* 571 R³ = 575 W = 457 D *simul et circum magna sonantibus / excita saxis*

⁷³ Cfr. Plaut. *Aul.* 191; Ter. *Ad.* 673; anche in Cicerone, ad es. *II Verr.* 3, 159 *filium*; *Chuent.* 179 *puero*.

⁷⁴ *Grandaevitas* ricompare solo nel latino cristiano (Arnobio; Gregorio Magno).

⁷⁵ La coniazione sisenniana sarebbe condizionata dalla presenza di contigui sostantivi in *-tas* secondo Perutelli 2004, 21 s. Il termine sarebbe un arcaismo per Bardon 1952, 255, *contra* Lebek 1970, 281.

suavisona echo / crepitu clangente cachinnat. Difficile non pensare anche in questo caso ad un richiamo ad Accio o a Ennio⁷⁶.

Conclusioni

Il materiale sopra raccolto indica chiaramente che Sisenna aveva presente la produzione tragica di Accio e più volte ha individuato in essa vocaboli, espressioni e perfino situazioni che potevano costituire piccoli tasselli del suo progetto di ricerca linguistica e stilistica. Il piano, non sappiamo fino a che punto consapevole, era formare un linguaggio storiografico nuovo in cui l'enfasi espressiva occupasse uno spazio importante, con lo scopo di approdare a un genere al quale di lì a pochi anni Cicerone richiederà i caratteri di un *opus oratorium*. E chi meglio del poeta tragico, che aveva guidato la tragedia verso l'età classica attraverso una sintesi di preziosismo e ridondanza espressiva a tratti persino barocca, poteva offrire i migliori spunti di riflessione? Il vocabolario sisenniano, almeno da quanto ne rimane, doveva essere un *mix* di termini della più ampia provenienza – poetismi, tecnicismi, vocaboli del *sermo cotidianus* – e tra questi la poesia elevata rappresentava di certo un modello a cui far esplicito riferimento. Le voci verosimilmente desunte da Accio (o, più in generale, dalla tragedia) sono spesso introdotte da Sisenna per la prima volta nella storiografia e sono destinate ad essere in futuro adottate all'interno di questo genere letterario. Del resto era stato proprio Cicerone, come detto all'inizio, ad aver ben intuito la natura dell'operazione sisenniana, riconoscendo i meriti dello storico sillano nell'evoluzione di un genere ancora in ritardo nella ricerca stilistica e, al tempo stesso, i suoi difetti; quella *puerilitas*⁷⁷ che aveva condotto Sisenna a creare un *mélange* in cui veniva

⁷⁶ Cfr. Hofmann - Szantyr 1965, 638; *ThLL* s.v. *et* col. 913, linn. 84 ss., che però dubita del valore di tutti i passi di Ennio, Accio e Sisenna. Sulla stessa linea del *ThLL* gli editori con le loro traduzioni (Barabino 1967, fr. 90 P² “e insieme vengono tese le macchine”, fr. 136 P² “nello stesso tempo ingranditi per un senato consulto”; Cornell 2013 traduce entrambi i passi “at same time”; Chassignet 2004 entrambi “en même temps”; Beck - Walter 2004 “zugleich” in entrambi i passi). Solo Perutelli 2004, 31 interpreta almeno nel primo frammento di Sisenna *simul et* = *simul ac* (ma in nota 81 ammette anche l'ipotesi di *et* = *etiam*). Meno specifiche conclusioni si possono ricavare dalle coincidenze morfologiche tra i due autori: se si esclude *fluvia* f., di cui si è parlato, *finis* f. (*hist.* 59 P² = 87 B = 94 B-W = 85 Ch. = 87 Corn. e Acc. *trag.* 577 R³ = 584 W = 466 D) e *vulgus* m. (*hist.* 48 P² = 46 B = 51 B-W = 51 Ch. = 29 Corn. e Acc. *trag.* 348 R³ = 344 W = 368 D) sono morfemi comuni in età arcaica.

⁷⁷ Cic. *leg.* 1, 7 *et in historia puerile quiddam consecatur* (scil. *Sisenna*).

concesso ampio spazio alla lingua elevata desunta dalla poesia contemporanea, ma anche a termini tecnici e di altra, più bassa provenienza, in un equilibrio evidentemente instabile che lasciava insoddisfatto Cicerone. I limiti di Sisenna nel suo lavoro di perfezionamento dello stile della storiografia nulla tolgono però alla sua intuizione di accostare la lingua storiografica a quella poetica, intuizione che ancora Cicerone riteneva possibile se non addirittura auspicabile, come visto sopra. Il tutto in un esperimento ingenuo forse, ma di certo prima tappa di una ideale continuità che da storici poco conosciuti come Sisenna e altri autori arcaici⁷⁸ arriva ai grandi esponenti della storiografia latina come Livio e Tacito.

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Cicerone prosegue il brano affermando che Sisenna avrebbe provato la sua puerilità stilistica come strenuo seguace di Clitarco, storico greco autore di un'opera su Alessandro Magno che doveva essere ricca di elementi narrativi drammatici e indulgeva al meraviglioso. Clitarco fu una delle fonti anche di Curzio Rufo.

⁷⁸ Ho cercato di dimostrare l'importanza degli storici arcaici nella costruzione del *genus* storiografico in lingua latina in diverse occasioni (oltre agli articoli citati in nota 6 e ad Ambrosetti 2009a, si veda anche Ambrosetti 2008).

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IL “GRAN FINALE” DEL DE CONSULATU STILICHONIS DI CLAUDIANO*

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Keywords: *Claudian, encomium, spectacle, ekphrasis, aestheticisation.*

Abstract: *The “gran finale” of Claudian’s De consulatu Stilichonis. The final episode of Claudian’s De consulatu Stilichonis (carm. 24, 237-369) describes the hunt of animals to be brought to Rome for the hunting spectacles (venationes) which the consul Stilicho generously aimed to offer to the city. The hunt covers an extraordinarily wide geographical area (Europe, Africa, India); the goddess Diana is the protagonist of the scene and directs the action; her companions, the Nymphs, collaborate with her. The passage offers many insights for analysis, from different perspectives: in this paper, I focus mainly on the encomiastic motifs that emerge, on several levels, from the staging of the hunt, and on the aesthetics of its representation, with its distinctly ekphrastic, visual, and spectacular character. Both aspects, ideological and poetic one, are related to literary references (in particular, Ovid and the poets of the Flavian period, Statius and Martial) and iconographic material culture (the great African mosaics of Late Antiquity, above all the “Great Hunt” of the Roman Villa of Piazza Armerina).*

Parole chiave: *Claudio, encomio, spettacolo, ekphrasis, estetizzazione.*

Riassunto: *Nell’episodio conclusivo del De consulatu Stilichonis di Claudiano (carm. 24, 237-369) viene descritta la caccia degli animali destinati a essere portati a Roma per gli spettacoli delle venationes che con generosità Stilicone console intende offrire alla città. La caccia si estende in un’area geografica straordinariamente ampia (Europa, Africa, India); regista e protagonista è la dea Diana: con lei collaborano le Ninfe sue compagne. Il passo fornisce molti spunti di analisi, da diverse prospettive: in questo studio mi soffermo soprattutto sui motivi encomiastici, che a più livelli scaturiscono dalla messa in scena della caccia, e sull’estetica*

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della sua rappresentazione, dal carattere spiccatamente ecfrastico, visuale, spettacolare. Entrambi gli aspetti, ideologici e di poetica, vengono posti in relazione ai referenti letterari (in particolare Ovidio e i poeti di età flavia, Stazio e Marziale) e iconografici della cultura materiale (i grandi mosaici africani tardoantichi, in primo luogo la “Grande caccia” della villa di Piazza Armerina).

Cuvinte-cheie: *Claudian, encomium, spectacol, ekphrasis, estetizare.*

Rezumat: În episodul final din *De consulatu Stilichonis* al lui Claudian (carm. 24, 237-369) este descrisă vânătoarea de animale destinate a fi aduse la Roma pentru venationes pe care, cu generozitate, consulul Stilicho intenționează să le ofere orașului. Vânătoarea se întinde pe o zonă geografică extraordinar de mare (Europa, Africa, India); regizorul și protagonistul este zeița Diana: însoțitorii ei, Nimfele, colaborează cu ea. Pasajul oferă multe idei spre analiză, din perspective diferite: în acest studiu mă concentrez în primul rând pe motivele laudative care decurg pe mai multe planuri din punerea în scenă a vânătorii și pe estetica reprezentării ei, cu claritatea sa ekfrastică, vizuală, spectaculară. Ambele aspecte, ideologice și poetice, sunt puse în relație cu referințele literare (în special Ovidiu și poeții epocii flaviene, Statius și Marțial) și iconografice ale culturii materiale (marile mozaicuri africane antice târzii, în primul rând „Marea Vânătoare” din villa romană din Piazza Armerina).

L’episodio finale del panegirico per il consolato di Stilicone (*Stil.* 3 [carm. 24], 237-369)¹ si è rivelato un terreno privilegiato su cui testare delle idee che da qualche tempo sto maturando e che sono in costante fase di verifica. Soprattutto ho avuto l’occasione di individuare all’interno di questo passo alcuni elementi (visività, stile ecfrastico, carattere spettacolare, immaginazione mitopoietica, coesistenza di mito e realtà) che mi sembra si possano ricondurre a una matrice in prima istanza ovidiana, e che poi, ripresi dai poeti flavii (Stazio e Marziale in particolare)², vengono nella loro scia sviluppati da Claudiano anche in direzione encomiastica.

Il brano si sofferma sulla caccia-cattura degli animali destinati a essere portati a Roma per gli spettacoli delle *venationes*, che Stilicone console intende offrire con generosità per ringraziare della magnifica accoglienza che la città gli ha riservato al suo rientro. Sono Diana e le

¹ Nel prosieguito del lavoro il testo di Claudiano sarà citato secondo l’edizione di Hall 1985.

² Su questi tratti ovidiani recuperati nella poesia flavia cfr. soprattutto Rosati 2006; Rosati 2014; Rosati 2017; Rosati 2019; cfr. anche la bibliografia citata nella nota 22.

sue compagne che procurano gli animali per i giochi, mentre agli uomini è affidato il trasporto, vv. 237-355; nei successivi vv. 356-369 si passa alla traversata marittima verso l'Italia, che rassomiglia al corteo di Bacco vittorioso.

È un pezzo di bravura che concentra diversi *topoi* e una complessità di riferimenti letterari e culturali impressionante. E fornisce molti spunti di analisi, da diverse prospettive.

In primo luogo il tema della caccia, che registra una lunga tradizione letteraria (un tema presente in numerosi autori, oltre che oggetto di specifici componimenti poetici, quali i *Cynegetica* di Grattio Falisco e di Nemesiano) e iconografica (ne parlerò poco più avanti). Sul tema della caccia si innesta il tema della descrizione geografica: anche questo un tema presente in molti testi poetici, oltre che argomento di componimenti poetici specifici (per esempio la *Chorographia* di Varrone Atacino). L'abbinamento di caccia e geografia si riscontra nel prologo della *Phaedra* di Seneca (dove c'è una dettagliata descrizione geografica dell'Attica), un referente, tra i vari, di non scarso interesse anche sotto altri profili.

Il tutto improntato a una minuziosa erudizione, qui applicata specie al mondo delle Ninfe: infiniti i paralleli nella poesia greca e latina, con tantissimi richiami intertestuali (soprattutto a Virgilio, a Ovidio, a Stazio, per restare ai Latini; ma non si può non menzionare almeno Callimaco per i Greci), così cospicui per numero e sottigliezza da scoraggiare quasi l'analisi³.

1. Il motivo encomiastico

Qui la caccia ha una sua finalità peculiare: non mira a uccidere la preda ma a catturarla. È appunto una caccia-cattura, come accennavo prima: perché lo scopo della caccia sono gli spettacoli, le *venationes* che Stilicone vorrà organizzare a Roma, vv. 239-240:

*tu [scil. Latonia] quoque nobilibus spectacula nostra laboras
inlustrare feris.*

Regista e protagonista è la dea Diana: con lei collaborano le Ninfe sue compagne. Ne scaturiscono motivi celebrativi a vari livelli. È noto

³ Per tutti questi aspetti e motivi Keudel 1970, 133-148; Charlet 2017, 333-340 nelle note complementari; Flores Militello 2021, 119-129; Flores Militello 2023.

infatti che offrire spettacoli è funzionale a conquistare il consenso; la storia del sostentamento materiale al popolo e dei giochi, secondo la proverbiale formula *panem et circenses*, è intimamente legata a quella del potere imperiale, e tale connessione assume per questo importanza strategica nella letteratura encomiastica⁴.

Claudiano però non si limita ad agire come *loudspeaker* dell'attività propagandistica di Stilicone celebrando i suoi giochi e il suo evergetismo, ma si pone come loro interprete creativo, soffermandosi sugli eventi che ne costituiscono le premesse, ai quali conferisce una dimensione mitica: anche questo può spiegare lo spazio insolitamente ampio assegnato alla caccia degli animali che serviranno per i giochi, di cui si esplora e si sfrutta ogni potenzialità simbolica – anche relativamente alla dimostrazione del prestigio economico-sociale di Stilicone di fronte a un destinatario qualificato⁵.

La miticizzazione del mondo che circonda il *laudandus* e i benefici che derivano dall'atmosfera superumana sublimata che lo accompagna è fenomeno ben conosciuto nella letteratura encomiastica (già a partire da Stazio, da Marziale e da Plinio, per rimanere in ambito latino, ma risale all'encomio ellenistico), e comprende l'intera società e natura⁶.

Dunque una caccia per Stilicone di cui si incarica la stessa divinità Diana, in un paesaggio popolato dal mito (come già in *Theod.* [carm. 17] 272-332⁷): senza alcun espediente di trapasso, la dea entra in scena e si atteggia a generale, stratega, pronunciando una allocuzione a un gruppo numeroso di Ninfe, un vero e proprio esercito, diviso in 5

⁴ A proposito delle *venationes* e delle loro implicazioni ideologiche e politiche nella poesia latina della prima età imperiale (Calpurnio Siculo, Marziale, Stazio, Giovenale) e di epoca più tarda (Claudiano, Corippo) una dettagliata panoramica critica in Flores Militello, rispettivamente 2020 e 2021.

⁵ In merito soprattutto Sánchez-Ostiz 2018; Flores Militello 2023, 319. Cfr. anche *infra*, 68. Ricordo che anche la caccia di Traiano è intesa da Plinio come attività nobile, rigorosa ed estremamente produttiva (*paneg.* 81, 2): cfr. Econimo 2019, 414-425.

⁶ Per es. Coleman 1999; Rosati 2003; Rosati 2006; Rosati 2014; Rosati 2019.

⁷ In merito Keudel 1970, 134-135; Charlet 2017, 334 nota 42 relativa alla p. 177; Flores Militello 2021, 116-119. Sulla funzione dell'apparato divino in Claudiano cfr. per es. Ware 2012, 48-53 (spec. 50 per il valore encomiastico attribuito all'apparizione delle figure divine in *Theod.* [carm. 17] 274-310 e in *Stil.* 3 [carm. 24], 237-317; cfr. anche 24 per Diana); Meunier 2019, 316-361 (319-320 su Diana; 322 su Nettuno cit. alla fine del discorso di Diana in *Stil.* 3 [carm. 24], 265). Cfr. Charlet 2017, 333 note 39 e 40 relative alla p. 177.

coorti che corrispondono alle aree geografiche nelle quali le Ninfe dovranno compiere la loro missione⁸.

La poesia dà vita al mito stimolando la fantasia, proietta il lettore-spettatore nel mondo della fantasia, del mito che diventa realtà a proposito delle azioni di Stilicone. E, come nell’età dell’oro, uomini e dei vivono insieme, in un contesto terreno estetizzato⁹.

Il quadro geografico in cui si esplica questa caccia abbraccia praticamente tutto il mondo conosciuto, lo scenario d’azione appare pressoché illimitato. La visione è universalistica, e a questa visione è sottesa un’idea imperialistica: tutto il mondo, tutta la natura si sottomette a Roma – quella cattura di animali aveva come obiettivo terminale appunto Roma, cioè gli spettacoli romani di Stilicone.

Evidente il risvolto encomiastico. In merito a questa universalità geo-etnografica vorrei ricordare, tra gli altri, l’epigramma 3 del *De spectaculis* di Marziale, nel quale il poeta afferma, con topica movenza celebrativa, che nella città del suo Cesare arrivano genti da tutte le parti del mondo; Marziale definisce i punti cardinali con il nome delle popolazioni più lontane e conclude con la proclamazione unanime di Domiziano quale padre della patria¹⁰, vv. 11-12:

*vox diversa sonat populorum, tum tamen una est,
cum verus patriae diceris esse pater.*

L’azione compiuta da Diana *Spokesperson* di Stilicone è una azione pacificatrice, come da lei stessa enunciato in sede programmatica alla fine del suo discorso nel v. 284:

pacet muneribus montes qui legibus urbes.

⁸ Analisi in Keudel 1970, 135; Müller 2011, 346-347; Charlet 2017, 179 nota 49 in calce al testo, e 335 nota 47 relativa alla p. 178; Meunier 2019, 249. Vi si soffermano molto Flores Militello 2021, 120-129, e Flores Militello 2023, 314-317, 321-323, 324-326.

⁹ All’interno di questa cornice sublime Stilicone si muove come un eroe del mito; nel panegirico egli è raffigurato infatti come un eroe super-epico («über-epischer Held»), per usare un’espressione di Schindler 2009, 154.

¹⁰ In Claud. *Stil.* 3 (*carm.* 24), 189 è proprio a Stilicone che viene conferito il titolo di *pater (patriae)* insieme a quello di *dominus*, e lui lo accetta: cfr. Charlet 2017, 331 nota 34 relativa alla p. 175 (a proposito della problematicità del titolo di *dominus*, con una retrospettiva storica a partire da Augusto).

La cattura degli animali nei boschi affrancherà gli abitanti dalle consuete paure, e i pastori ormai tranquilli in un mondo irenico potranno dedicarsi a cantare con la *fistula* le lodi di Stilicone, vv. 282-283:

[...] *posita ludat formidine pastor
securisque canat Stilichonem fistula silvis.*

Senza alcun dubbio Stilicone fa pensare al paradigma tipologico dell'eroe cacciatore-civilizzatore, il cui prototipo si riconduce a Ercole¹¹, nonché a figure di pacificatori-legislatori quali Augusto e il re Numa Pompilio, come peraltro indicano i rinvii intertestuali specialmente al sesto libro dell'*Eneide*, all'*Hercules Oetaeus*, e per esempio al panegirico per Massimiano (3/11, 3, 6 *terras omnes et nemora pacavit*), individuati già da Ursula Keudel e successivamente ribaditi e approfonditi da altri, compreso l'ultimo editore Jean-Louis Charlet¹²; ma anche a Orfeo, a mio parere: Orfeo che ammansisce gli animali selvatici, seda le controversie, insegna il bello¹³. Ed è proprio questo l'effetto del *charisma* orfico di Stilicone, che è riuscito a mitigare la ferocia delle varie popolazioni per assoggettarle a Roma (specialmente in Africa, che è la terra che Diana riserva a sé stessa: era da poco terminata la vicenda di Gildone raccontata da Claudiano nel *De bello Gildonico*¹⁴).

¹¹ Spesso evocato in contesti panegiristici, già per esempio in Plinio a proposito di Traiano. Approfondimenti e bibliografia in Econimo 2019, 416-422, anche relativamente alla generosa missione di Ercole, il quale con il liberare la terra dalle bestie e dai mostri che vi imperversavano aveva ripristinato un ordine superiore, ottenendo il titolo di *pacator*, "pacificatore" del mondo (cfr. Sen. *benef.* 1, 13, 3 *Hercules nihil sibi vicit; orbem terrarum transivit non concupiscendo, sed iudicando, quid vinceret, malorum hostis, bonorum vindex, terrarum marisque pacator*).

¹² Keudel 1970, 140-142 *ad v.* 284; Müller 2011, 348-349, 349 nota 62; Charlet 2017, 336 nota 50 relativa alla p. 180; Meunier 2019, 250-251, 298 nota 72; Flores Militello 2023, 316.

¹³ Anche Orfeo, come Ercole, è soggetto frequente nei mosaici tardoantichi africani e di maniera africana: Orfeo per esempio in un mosaico di Porto Torres, degli anni immediatamente successivi alla metà del III sec. d.C., 250/260 (un mosaico di bottega turritana ma su modello africano, cartaginese), e a Piazza Armerina, in una *diaeta*, databile al 325-330 d.C.; le fatiche di Ercole sono rappresentate per esempio in un mosaico di Acholla, Tunisia (attuale Rass Bou Tria), fine II sec. d.C. - inizio III sec. d.C., e poi a Piazza Armerina, nel grande triclinio trilobato aggiunto in età teodosiana. Chiarirò meglio in seguito il senso di queste notazioni.

¹⁴ Per alcuni punti di contatto tra le due opere cfr. Ware 2012, spec. 150-152; Charlet 2017, 336 nota 50 relativa alla p. 180.

Barbari come animali feroci che il generale vuole domare non sterminare: questa è la rappresentazione figurata dell'azione di Stilicone secondo l'immaginazione mitopoietica dello scrittore.

Generalmente si tratta di una cattura senza violenza e soprattutto senza una reazione di violenza da parte delle fiere catturate: questo mondo idealizzato, oltre a rendere possibile la presenza degli dei sulla terra, esclude ogni forma di crudeltà e di aggressione. Però l'idea della brutalità ferina viene accortamente recuperata dal poeta attraverso riferimenti agli usuali comportamenti violenti precedentemente tenuti dalle fiere, e al terrore normalmente suscitato da quei comportamenti. Per esempio nei vv. 333-343: in Africa i leoni, che mettevano in fuga le Esperidi e Atlante e devastavano gli armenti degli Etiopi, e che invece ora, vv. 342-343,

*ultra se voluere capi gaudentque videri
tantae praeda deae,*

addirittura spontaneamente hanno voluto essere presi e godono di apparire quale preda di una divinità così importante¹⁵. Riconoscono la superiorità del potere divino: davanti a Diana/Stilicone e alla sua *virtus* civilizzatrice i leoni, il simbolo della forza selvaggia, subito abbandonano la propria *feritas* e si assoggettano¹⁶.

¹⁵ Questa allusività alla natura usualmente crudele delle fiere catturate acquista in Claudiano un taglio originale nel caso dei rematori della nave che trasporta quel carico belluino: essi tremano non già, come di consueto, per paura degli eventi naturali connessi al mare o ai venti, bensì per paura proprio del loro carico: vv. 325-327. O come nel caso dei giovenchi che debbono trainare il carro con sopra la fiera catturata: essi si fanno prendere dallo spavento ogni volta che girano il collo verso quella fiera, della quale fino ad allora avevano costituito una ricercata preda (vv. 328-332). In questo quadro evidenzierei poi la particolare efficacia plastica (che rimanda al realismo espressionistico di certi mosaici africani: vi accennerò più avanti) sia nell'immagine dei giovenchi impegnati nell'ardua fatica di trascinare per sentieri montani il carro con la fiera catturata, sia nell'immagine dei medesimi giovenchi che torcono il collo a contemplare sgomenti la belva che si trascinano dietro e della quale essi erano stati il pasto prediletto.

¹⁶ Sui risvolti panegiristici di una simile rappresentazione cfr. inoltre Charlet 2017, 339 nota 61 relativa alla p. 182; Flores Militello 2021, 126 con nota 40; Flores Militello 2023, 321-322 con nota 54. Per i rapporti con Stat. *silv.* 2, 5 Pavarani 2014, 166-169; Flores Militello 2021, 125. L'immagine del leone ammansito ricorre altrove nell'opera claudiana, per es. in *Gild. (carm. 15)* 356-366.

Non sto qui a rimarcare come il motivo del nemico, nel caso specifico il barbaro feroce, che si arrende e volentieri obbedisce ai Romani sia topico nella panegiristica in prosa e in versi, e offra uno spunto encomiastico di sicura efficacia relativamente alla *clementia*, alla *magnanimitas* e più in generale alla capacità del *laudandus* di controllare le forze selvagge della natura e di assicurare protezione all'umanità intera.

E i risultati non si fanno attendere, vv. 343-344:

[...] *respirant pascua tandem;*
agricolae reserant iam tuta mapalia Mauri.

Uomini e pascoli sono sollevati dai timori abituali: si pensi all'impresa di Ercole di liberare i campi dal cinghiale di Erimanto o dal toro di Creta, che l'eroe cattura ma appunto non uccide.

Già in Marziale, in particolare in alcuni epigrammi del *De spectaculis* e in quelli del ciclo delle lepri e dei leoni del I libro, il motivo viene ampiamente sfruttato e piegato a ulteriori curvature ideologiche¹⁷.

Nel caso degli elefanti dell'India (vv. 345-355), essendo giudicata troppo complessa la procedura del trasporto (la dea avrebbe voluto mostrare ai Romani questi *miracula*, v. 354, ma teme che la pesantezza dei loro movimenti avrebbe rallentato il viaggio), Diana provvede con una sorta di operazione chirurgica – l'immagine è sconcertante – a privarli della loro arma di difesa e offesa, le zanne (vv. 351-353; l'avorio verrà inviato a Roma per realizzare i dittici consolari, vv. 346-349¹⁸). Gli elefanti soffrono (*gementum*, v. 351)¹⁹. E gli abitanti vengono colti da uno *stupor* attonito nell'osservare gli animali resi incapaci di nuocere che errano senza gloria (vv. 349-351).

¹⁷ Cfr. Citroni 1975, per es. 36-37, e *passim* nel commento agli epigrammi; Rosati 2006, 45-48; Flores Militello 2020, 113-118.

¹⁸ Keudel 1970, 146 nota 69; Charlet 2017, 339-340 nota 63 relativa alla p. 183.

¹⁹ Per i referenti letterari e iconografici cfr. Flores Militello 2021, 126-129; Flores Militello 2023, 324-328.

Si nota anche una attitudine scientifica per la catalogazione (secondo certe inclinazioni dell'estetica tardoantica²⁰), quasi una enciclopedia animalesca: la conoscenza della natura si configura come un corrispettivo di un illuminato dominio del mondo²¹.

Peraltro alcuni degli animali catturati non sono crudeli, ma semplicemente belli; il poeta lo rileva nei vv. 314-320:

[...] *venata virago*
Nebrophone cervos aliasque in vincula cogit
non saevas pecudes sed luxuriantis harenae
delicias, pompam nemorum. quodcumque tremendum
dentibus aut insigne iubis aut nobile cornu
aut rigidum saetis capitur, decus omne timorque
silvarum.

In effetti ciò che interessa è che essi abbiano una loro spettacolarità in quella esibizione del lusso che saranno le *venationes* nell'arena: ma è chiaro che già la caccia-cattura è uno spettacolo sorprendente.

2. Lo spettacolo della caccia

Ed ecco che arrivo alla dimensione visiva e spettacolare di questo testo, intimamente connessa a quella mitopoietica di cui ho appena trattato, e proprio per quanto riguarda l'aspetto della coesistenza di mito e realtà.

Tutti i contenuti finora illustrati sono esposti dal poeta nel segno di un insistito descrittivismo ecfrastico, come è nel gusto caratteristico dello stile di Claudiano, che grande risalto concede alla componente dello sguardo e alla rappresentazione della realtà come spettacolo. La narrazione stessa diventa spettacolo e ripetutamente presuppone un osservatore.

²⁰ Già Wedeck 1960, 6; poi tra gli ultimi Elsner - Hernández Lobato 2017, 11. Questo si rileva anche per es. a proposito delle Ninfe (vv. 243-260) e dei cani di Diana (vv. 297-301): cfr. *infra* note 37 e 38.

²¹ Si veda anche quanto detto sopra nota 11 e contesto a proposito della funzione civilizzatrice di Ercole e sulle conseguenze benefiche della sua caccia: un'attività necessaria per il progresso e per l'affermazione di un pieno controllo dell'uomo sulla natura.

È questo forse il tratto più suggestivo della presenza di Ovidio e poi dei poeti flavi, Stazio e Marziale, che a lui si ispirano²², in Claudiano e in molta parte della letteratura tardoantica²³, in linea con alcuni degli orientamenti che contraddistinguono la ricezione di Ovidio nella tarda antichità e che si associano, valorizzandosi, a certe istanze salienti di quello che è stato etichettato come manierismo / alessandrino tardoantico o neoalessandrino²⁴. Oltre che parole, espressioni, temi, immagini, strutture, Claudiano eredita da Ovidio il modo di guardare la realtà, la prospettiva: l'atteggiamento da spettatore, cioè, e la scrittura ecfrastica fortemente visiva²⁵.

L'operazione venatoria viene suddivisa nelle varie zone geografiche, il che consente una rappresentazione priva di un centro e dunque libera di esprimersi senza condizionamenti di armonia compositiva. Si tratta infatti di singoli quadri (le aree geografiche) che danno alla narrazione un ritmo fratto per piani che si sovrappongono: il poeta simula la descrizione di una sequenza di immagini plastiche, segmenti (verticali) indipendenti. Come dei pannelli che devono essere 'montati' quasi con tecnica cinematografica. Scene legate da un filo tematico (la caccia), ma ognuna con una sua autonomia, senza un vincolo, senza un continuum sintattico narrativo, come è tipico dell'*ekphrasis*, nonché

²² Su Ovidio e sulla ricezione nella poesia flavia di una sensibilità ovidiana, nei termini di poetica della visività (declinata in vari aspetti) ed estetizzazione della realtà, cfr. Rosati 2016 (=1983; e Rosati 2021, con una nuova introduzione); Rosati 2006; Rosati 2014; Rosati 2017; Rosati 2019; e inoltre per esempio Hardie 2002a e Hardie 2002b; Bessone 2018; Econimo 2021, *passim*, per es. 12, 20, 229-230.

²³ Ho potuto verificarlo in Ennodio, per esempio (Bruzzone 2022): nel panegirico per Teoderico la tendenza alla spettacolarizzazione trova la sua espressione privilegiata nella raffigurazione di Teoderico, oggetto degli sguardi di tutti. Si veda anche nota seguente.

²⁴ Cfr. per es. Charlet 1988 e Charlet 2008; Fielding 2017, spec. 3-10; Roberts 2018 (e altri contributi parimenti contenuti in Consolino 2018). Si veda anche la bibliografia citata nella nota 26. Cfr. inoltre Agosti 2004-2005, 357 relativamente all'attenzione che la civiltà tardoantica mostra, nelle sue diverse manifestazioni artistiche, allo sguardo e alla visione: di essa, definita un «mondo visuale», 352, Agosti individua la cifra forse più peculiare proprio nella spettacolarizzazione. Più in generale, sul tema dello sguardo e della visualità nella cultura romana, tra la cospicua e stimolante bibliografia che si potrebbe addurre ricordo qui Bartsch 2006 e Elsner 2007.

²⁵ Ho avuto già modo di studiarlo in Bruzzone 2023 e in Bruzzone c.d.s.

dell'estetica 'cumulativa' tardoantica, della scansione e frammentazione in sezioni, che tuttavia non compromettono l'unitarietà del componimento²⁶.

Questa modalità compositiva per grossi riquadri autonomi non ha mancato di far pensare ai mosaici di Piazza Armerina²⁷, studiatisimi in Italia soprattutto da Salvatore Settis e da Andrea Carandini (e da Patrizio Pensabene e da Paolo Barresi). Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli li definisce «il più straordinario documento d'insieme che ci resti dell'arte musiva africana di età tardoantica»; e poi nel dettaglio: «La "Grande caccia" [...] è piena di motivi prettamente africani ed è esempio spettacolare, nelle sue dimensioni [...], di come la composizione verticale a elementi sovrapposti potesse fornire possibilità narrative praticamente illimitate, consentendo continuamente l'inserzione di scene diverse e di figurazioni di formato diverso, senza turbare l'unità dell'insieme»²⁸.

A questi si aggiungono altri mosaici dell'Africa romana²⁹. In rapporto a Claudiano, da ultimo Vicente Flores Militello³⁰ focalizza la

²⁶ Secondo quanto è stato largamente riconosciuto dagli studiosi: oltre ai fondamentali Fontaine 1977, 428-429 e Roberts 1989, e oltre alla bibliografia citata sopra nella nota 24, cfr. tra i più recenti almeno Elsner 2004, 304-309; Hernández Lobato 2012, 381-383; Elsner - Hernández Lobato 2017, per es. 11 (dell'*Introduction*), e *passim* nei vari contributi contenuti nel volume; Hardie 2019, 223-249 (anche per altri aspetti), spec. 225-227; Kaufmann 2020 (la quale soprattutto enfatizza come l'estetica del dettaglio, del frammento, della divagazione, che la critica tradizionalmente ha messo in luce appunto quale carattere identificativo della poetica tardoantica, conviva senza difficoltà con la percezione dell'opera come unità organica). Per Claudiano in particolare cfr. Ware 2012, 36-39; Coombe 2018, 23-24; Meunier 2019, 128. Sull'*ekphrasis* in Claudiano già Cameron 1970, 270-273; e poi per es. Ware 2012, 37-39, 136-139, 153-154; Hardie 2019, 52-53, 83-86, 149, 176, 214; Pégolo - Robledo 2023.

²⁷ Di età costantiniana: è un mosaico cartaginese, ad opera cioè di maestranze africane e su modelli africani. Sulla dialettica costante specie nella tarda antichità tra letteratura e arti figurative, sul piano delle influenze reciproche e su quello della condivisione delle estetiche, si veda per tutti Roberts 1989, 66-121 (nel capitolo dedicato a «Poetry and the Visual Arts»), e ora l'ampio studio d'insieme di Squire - Elsner 2023, spec. 652-677; cfr. anche Agosti 2004-2005, spec. 362-368. Sui rapporti di questo passo con le rappresentazioni di piazza Armerina già per esempio Keudel 1970, 136 con nota 51. La problematica è ripercorsa, con dovizia di riferimenti bibliografici, da Flores Militello 2023.

²⁸ Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 244 e 245.

²⁹ I migliori mosaici, con scene cinegetiche davvero spettacolari, sono quelli della bottega di Cartagine, conservati nell'attuale Tunisia; alcuni molto belli si trovano anche in Algeria, a Ippona (Annaba) e a Cesarea di Mauritania (Cherchell).

³⁰ Flores Militello 2023; cfr. anche già Flores Militello 2021.

sua attenzione, oltre che sulla “Grande Caccia” di Piazza Armerina³¹, sui mosaici di Dermech³², e di Ippona³³, e sottolinea come Claudiano si esprima precisamente attraverso un “linguaggio iconografico” che il suo pubblico, l’*élite* romana, conosceva molto bene: con esso si celebra la *liberalitas*, la *ratio*, il potere economico-politico-sociale, la *virtus* che i proprietari delle ville (e quindi, indirettamente, Stilicone) rivendicavano per sé. Per ricollegarci ancora alla funzione encomiastica, è stato peraltro già rimarcato come lo stesso mosaico di Piazza Armerina abbia un carattere panegiristico: Carandini - Ricci - de Vos parlano di «un unico grande panegirico figurato, dove si raccontano, magari esagerandoli, i meriti del committente»; e sul brano di Claudiano che stiamo esaminando osservano che «è un brano che evoca una cattura e un trasporto di animali per le *venationes*, quasi il nostro mosaico in versi»³⁴. Del suo programma iconografico sono state acutamente individuate le sottili implicazioni ideologiche e politiche³⁵.

Dunque lo sguardo del poeta condizionato da modelli artistici, quelli che adornavano le ville aristocratiche; e nella “Grande caccia”, che è appunto una raccolta di animali da usare nei giochi nelle arene romane, così come negli altri mosaici africani, compaiono pressoché tutti i passaggi che Claudiano descrive, compreso il trasporto degli animali. L’analisi molto puntuale condotta da Flores Militello giunge a risultati davvero incontrovertibili.

Ma anche la personalissima percezione ecfrastica della realtà da parte di Claudiano: gli oggetti, le situazioni reali colti o concepiti come

³¹ Flores Militello 2023, 317-321. Come è noto, la “Grande Caccia” è una caccia-cattura di grandi animali esotici narrata nel mosaico del lungo corridoio della villa di Piazza Armerina, detto appunto il corridoio della Grande Caccia; vi è poi la “Piccola Caccia” che è invece il mosaico di una *diaeta* con l’immagine di una scena cinegetica in un paesaggio di campagna locale, probabilmente dei possedimenti della stessa villa. Cfr. anche sopra nota 13.

³² Flores Militello 2023, 326-328. Dermech è un quartiere residenziale della Cartagine romana, caratterizzato dalla presenza di ricche *domus* con importanti pavimenti musivi: in uno, risalente all’inizio IV sec. d.C., vi è l’immagine di un elefante sofferente (si veda Flores Militello 2023, 339 illustrazione nr. 6), che si trova ora al Museo Nazionale di Cartagine.

³³ Flores Militello 2023, 323-324 (pure inizio IV sec. d.C.: Museo delle rovine di Ippona).

³⁴ Carandini - Ricci - de Vos 1982, 71. Cfr. anche Flores Militello 2023, 317 e nota 39 con ulteriore bibliografia; e già Keudel 1970, cit. nella nota 27.

³⁵ Settis 1975, 923-987, partic. 980-987; Settis 1982; cfr. Flores Militello 2023, 317-318.

‘artistici’, in conformità a quella peculiare tendenza di Ovidio (e poi di Marziale e di Stazio) che Gianpiero Rosati definisce «occhio ecfrastico»³⁶, uno sguardo cioè che legge la realtà attraverso il filtro di una sensibilità artistica, evidentemente condivisa dal suo pubblico. E il poeta con le parole ricrea per gli occhi del lettore/spettatore la realtà come la vede lui, estetizzandola, trasformandola in opera d’arte: il lettore/spettatore ne ricava così l’impressione di vivere anche lui nel mito, nelle sue immagini, quelle di cui ama circondarsi nella vita quotidiana e che la poesia di Claudiano ricostruisce.

Il testo di Claudiano, attraverso il mito, che viene allusivamente richiamato naturalmente anche tramite riferimenti ad alcune importanti opere letterarie, amplia il suo spazio discorsivo, e suggerisce e interpreta le fantasie di potere dell’*élite* dominante.

Se l’estetica visuale informa l’episodio a livello strutturale o nei quadri descrittivi più articolati, essa non meno si evidenzia dai singoli particolari della rappresentazione: la ricerca dell’espressione vivida, idonea a stimolare l’immaginazione visiva – quella *enargeia* in altri termini prescritta già nell’antica definizione di *ekphrasis* – permea ogni momento del racconto³⁷. Da qui la propensione per i dettagli meravigliosi, impressionanti, il compiacimento per i motivi paradossali che suscitano sorpresa e stupore, l’interesse per i colori e le loro combinazioni e per gli effetti luministici. E anche il ricorso a movenze tradizionali della comunicazione ecfrastica come per esempio l’uso dei deittici³⁸.

³⁶ Rosati 2014, 63; Rosati 2017, spec. 117-130; Rosati 2019, 118-123.

³⁷ In verità già squisitamente ecfrastica è la tecnica con cui il poeta rappresenta la scena introduttiva, in cui con precisione calligrafica descrive le Ninfe, vv. 243 ss.; Ninfe peraltro assolutamente ovidiane: *umeros et brachia nudae*, v. 243, *incomptae*, v. 245, con le chiome *sine lege*, v. 247, *pulchraeque tamen*, v. 245. Sui precedenti letterari cfr. Keudel 1970, 137-139, e Charlet 2017, 334-335 note 43 e 45 relative alla p. 178.

³⁸ Per es. a proposito dei cani femmina di Diana (vv. 297-301), individuati ciascuno con le proprie caratteristiche, con i pronomi dimostrativi appunto come tipici segnali ecfrastici (e nei vv. 303-304 il poeta si rivolge direttamente a una delle Ninfe, Leontodame, in seconda persona). Per i cataloghi di cani nella tradizione letteraria cfr. Keudel 1970, 144, e Charlet 2017, 337-338 note 52 e 53 relative alla p. 180. I cani risultano un soggetto molto diffuso nei mosaici africani tardoantichi (scene suggestive sono rappresentate per es. nel mosaico di Thysdrus, metà III sec. d.C., e in quello di Uthina, fine III - inizio IV sec. d.C., oltre che naturalmente a Piazza Armerina).

La lingua stessa, grazie a soluzioni audaci e insolite, sembra voler accompagnare in maniera quasi mimetica la realtà complessa e spettacolare che si vuole riprodurre *sub oculos*, con una accentuazione del *pathos* e quindi del coinvolgimento emotivo del lettore³⁹.

Un brano pertanto in cui la sensorialità è esaltata. Anche sotto un altro profilo. All'indicazione di stimoli per gli occhi si affianca infatti la componente uditiva⁴⁰: l'attenzione per gli effetti sonori, acustici, capaci di sollecitare ancora più pienamente la *phantasia* del lettore, con il conseguimento insomma di una *enargeia* estesa al piano uditivo⁴¹, che accresce la forza evocativa del testo; e nel caso del panegirico, la cui prima fruizione doveva essere aurale, questo fattore mi sembra senz'altro significativo⁴². Si mira quindi alla minuziosa resa di un'acutissima αἰσθησις, su un duplice versante: ὄψις e ἀκοή. Accanto all'«occhio ecfrastico» anche l'«orecchio ecfrastico» (così Carole E. Newlands a proposito di Stazio)⁴³, che si manifesta con la scelta di termini uditivi (di suoni, rumori, versi ferini per esempio: ci sono i *fragosa murmura* dei leoni, vv. 337-338; i *latrantes*, v. 294, cani divini di Diana, che viaggiano sulle nubi, e che *fremunt*, v. 300; le *voces* dei capretti, v. 340) e con l'uso di figure di suono spesso a carattere onomatopeico e fonosimbolico (per es. nei vv. 293-310 e vv. 333-344)⁴⁴.

Una pluralità di piani sensoriali, insomma, quasi una sinestesia in cui il lettore si ritrova immerso, e che produce una scrittura non solo visuale ma che, superando i limiti delle arti visuali e toccando appunto

³⁹ La descrizione del carro di Diana trainato da cervi (vv. 286-291) ne costituisce un esempio. In versi fortemente stilizzati, cesellati direi, che insistono sulla luce, sui colori, sulle forme, spicca l'immagine di queste magnifiche creature. La tensione ecfrastica del linguaggio si fa particolarmente icastica, dando vita a un mondo fantastico.

⁴⁰ Cfr. già Flores Militello 2021, 126, 128.

⁴¹ Cfr. Newlands 2022, 19-21 sulla dimensione non solo visuale ma anche sonora dell'*ekphrasis*.

⁴² E rientra nella spettacolarità del panegirico imperiale, spazio nel quale si fondono gli elementi encomiastici e le strutture retoriche coagulate intorno all'*ekphrasis*, in una convergenza di immagine e parola, espressione letteraria e arti figurative. Basti qui ricordare l'indagine fondamentale di MacCormack 1981.

⁴³ Newlands 2022, 20: «synecdoche for a discriminating guide to auditory perception and interpretation».

⁴⁴ A proposito di sensorialità (visiva e uditiva) segnalo il tocco pittorico delle criniere dei leoni che si muovono al vento, *ventoque citatis* / [...] *iubis*, vv. 335-336 (lo stile visuale dell'autore si rivela soprattutto dove non sarebbe indispensabile); e le *taedae ardentes*, v. 339, particolare visivo ma anche uditivo (crepitio delle fiamme).

una percezione multipla, attraverso l’intersezione e l’interazione di molteplici media espressivi (verbale, visuale, acustico), combinati e potenziati reciprocamente, diventa in qualche modo ‘totale’, in una sorta di autosufficienza della poesia.

Tutti questi elementi si esaltano nella sezione con cui si conclude l’episodio, epilogo del panegirico, che costituisce il momento culminante⁴⁵: il ritorno vittorioso di Diana sul mar Tirreno, paragonato a un trionfo di Bacco (vv. 356-369)⁴⁶, dove le componenti del *mirum*, dello stupore-ammirazione, della visività, dell’udito si concentrano con straordinaria intensità.

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⁴⁵ Flores Militello 2021, 120.

⁴⁶ Su questa similitudine Keudel 1970, 147; Charlet 2017, 340 nota 65 relativa alla p. 184; Meunier 2019, 111 e 127.

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IL CARCERE DEL CORPO E LA SANITÀ DELL'ANIMA NELL'APOLOGETICUM DI TERTULLIANO*

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Parole chiave: *Tertulliano, Apologeticum, critica del testo, anima, corpo.*

Riassunto: *Il contributo concentra l'attenzione sulle caratteristiche specifiche di Tert. Apol. 17,5: analizza le scelte lessicali dell'autore, evidenzia le possibili fonti filosofiche e le colloca sia nel contesto polemico proprio dell'Apologeticum sia più in generale nella produzione di Tertulliano. In questo modo è possibile comprendere meglio gli aspetti del brano che a prima vista non sono molto chiari.*

Keywords: *Tertullian, Apologeticum, textual criticism, soul, body.*

Abstract: *The prison of the body and the soundness of the soul in Tertullian's Apologeticum. The contribution focuses attention on the specific characteristics of Tert. Apol. 17.5. It analyzes the author's lexical choices, highlights the possible philosophical sources and places both within the polemical context that is proper to the Apologeticum and more broadly in Tertullian's production. In this way it is possible to better understand the aspects of the passage that are not very clear at first sight.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Tertulian, Apologeticum, critică textuală, suflet, corp.*

Rezumat: *Închisoarea corpului și sănătatea sufletului în Apologeticum al lui Tertulian. Contribuția își concentrează atenția asupra caracteristicilor specifice din Tert. Apol. 17.5: analiza alegerilor lexicale ale autorului și evidențierea posibilele surse filosofice atât în contextul polemic propriu scrierii Apologeticum, cât și în cel mai larg, al operei lui Tertulian. În acest fel este posibil să înțelegem mai bine aspectele pasajului, care nu sunt foarte clare la prima vedere.*

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1. Premessa

Il capitolo 17 dell'*Apologeticum* è dedicato a una lucida esposizione della dottrina cristiana relativa a Dio¹, che è presentato come Dio unico², che ha creato dal nulla l'universo con la parola con cui ha comandato³, con la ragione con la quale ha disposto e con la potenza

¹ Ter. *Apol.* 17,1-4 (Dekkers, 117) *Quod colimus, Deus unus est, qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum, uerbo quo iussit, ratione qua disposuit, uirtute qua potuit, de nihilo expressit in ornamentum maiestatis suae, unde et Graeci nomen mundo κόσμον accommodauerunt. Inuisibilis est, etsi uideatur; incomprehensibilis, etsi per gratiam repraesentetur; inaestimabilis, etsi humanis sensibus aestimetur; ideo uerus et tantus! Ceterum quod uideri, quod comprehendere, quod aestimari potest, minus est et oculis quibus occupatur, et manibus quibus contaminatur, et sensibus quibus inuenitur; quod uero immensum est, soli sibi notum est. Hoc est, quod Deum aestimari facit, dum aestimari non capit; ita eum uis magnitudinis et notum hominibus obicit et ignotum. Et haec est summa delicti nolentium recognoscere, quem ignorare non possunt. Vultis ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus, quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur, uultis ex animae ipsius testimonio comprobemus?*

² È la formula di fede dei cristiani che Tertulliano riprende anche in altre opere: cf. *Praesc.* 13,1 (Refoulé, 197) *Vnum omnino Deum esse nec alium praeter mundi conditorem qui universa de nihilo produxerit per uerbum suum primo omnium emissum; Prax.* 2,1 (Scarpata, 144-146) ... *unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam oikonomiam dicimus, ut unici Dei sit et Filius, sermo ipsius qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil; Virg.* 1,3 (Dekkers, 1209) *Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem...*

³ Cf. Ter. *Apol.* 21,11 (Dekkers, 124) *Et nos autem sermonem atque rationem, item que uirtutem, per quae omnia molitum Deum ediximus, propriam substantiam spiritum adscribimus, cui et sermo insit pronuntianti, et ratio adsit disponenti, et uirtus praesit perficienti.* Il riferimento è chiaramente a *Io.* 1,1, in cui si dice che la creazione non è opera diretta di Dio Padre, ma per mezzo del Verbo, Figlio di Dio. A proposito del Verbo Tertulliano utilizza sia *ratio* (ragione) sia *sermo/uerbum* (parola), che in greco sono espressi dal solo Λόγος. Quanto all'ordine (*iussit*) impartito dal Verbo nell'atto creativo occorre ricordare sia il *fiat lux* di *Gen.* 1,3.6 sia *Min. Oct.* 18,7 (Pellegrino-Rizzi-Siniscalco, 134) *Tu in caelo summam potestatem dividi credas et scindi veri illius ac divini imperii totam potestatem, cum palam sit parentem omnium Deum nec principium habere nec terminum, qui nativitatem omnibus praestet, sibi perpetuitatem, qui ante mundum fuerit sibi ipse pro mundo, qui universa quaecumque sunt uerbo iubet, ratione dispensat, uirtute consummat.* Su questo passo vd. Paratore 1975, 361-394; Doignon 1976, 571; Pellegrino-Rizzi-Siniscalco 2019, 246-248.

con la quale ha espresso il proprio potere⁴. È da subito evidente l'insistenza di Tertulliano sul concetto della creazione della materia *ex nihilo*, contro il pensiero dei filosofi stoici e, in un'altra opera, dell'eretico Ermogene, che consideravano la materia eterna e preesistente⁵.

In questo quadro Tertulliano si sofferma a dimostrare l'esistenza di Dio al quale riferisce tre attributi: invisibile, inafferrabile, incomprendibile, per quanto di contro possa essere visto, toccato per grazia e compreso dalle facoltà umane. A proposito dell'esistenza di Dio dunque Tertulliano propone una sorta di prospettiva ossimorica, che, proprio in quanto tale, dimostra la grandezza del Dio cristiano: egli appare pertanto al contempo come noto, perché si è rivelato, e ignoto, perché l'uomo è incapace di coglierne a pieno la straordinaria grandezza. Ora, secondo Tertulliano, è possibile conoscere Dio sia grazie alla rivelazione divina presente nelle Scritture sia grazie alla testimonianza della natura. È dunque a questo punto che il Cartaginese, a sostegno della propria argomentazione, chiama in causa la testimonianza dell'anima⁶.

Inizia qui, sempre in *Apol.* 17, una breve sezione, che sarà oggetto di analisi in questa sede. Prima però è opportuno ricordare ancora che Tertulliano riprenderà e approfondirà questa riflessione in un'opera specificatamente dedicata ad affrontare la questione: il *De testimonio animae*, composto tra il 198 e il 200⁷, sviluppa l'argomento dell'anima naturale, che cioè non è stata ancora intaccata dalla cultura, intesa in senso lato, e la cui voce attesta l'esistenza di un Dio unico.

⁴ Cf. ex. gr. Tert. *Ermog.* 20,2 (Chapot, 134) *In sophia enim primo fecit in qua cogitando et disponendo iam fecerat, quoniam, et si ex materia facturus fuisset, ante in sophia cogitando et disponendo iam fecerat, quoniam [et si] erat initium uiarum, quia cogitatio et dispositio prima sophiae sit operatio de cogitatu uiam operibus instituens*: vd. Carpin 2021, 148-149; *Prax.* 5,4 (Scarpata, 152) *Nam etsi Deus nondum sermonem suum miserat, proinde eum cum ipsa et in ipsa ratione intra semetipsum habebat, tacite cogitando et disponendo secum quae per sermonem mox erat dicturus. Cum ratione enim sua cogitans atque disponens, sermonem efficiebat quam sermone tractabat*. Vd. la nota ad l. in Scarpata 1985, 271.

⁵ Vd. per una sintesi sull'argomento Carpin 2021, 11-58.

⁶ Si tratta delle due fonti della nozione naturale di Dio che rimontano agli argomenti cosmologico e psicologico di matrice aristotelica: vd. Tibiletti 1969, 25-27.

⁷ Vd. Tibiletti 1984, 7.

Accanto a quest'opera sarà necessario tenere presente anche il *De anima*, databile tra il 210 e il 211⁸, che offre un'ampia trattazione sull'origine dell'anima.

Tenendo dunque sullo sfondo tale doppio approfondimento successivo all'*Apologeticum*, in questa sede concentrerò l'attenzione sulle caratteristiche specifiche di *Apol.* 17,5, sottolineando le scelte lessicali, evidenziando le fonti filosofiche e collocando le une e le altre all'interno del contesto polemico che è proprio dell'*Apologeticum* e in maniera più ampia nella produzione di Tertulliano, che consentiranno di meglio comprendere aspetti del passo solo a prima vista poco perspicui.

2. Il carcere dell'anima

Prima di dare spazio alla testimonianza dell'anima, Tertulliano si sofferma a descrivere in maniera sintetica, ma allo stesso tempo efficace, grazie a una sapiente arte retorica⁹, la situazione di prigionia in cui l'anima si trova:

Quae licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus prauis circumscripta, licet libidinibus et concupiscentiis euigorata, licet falsis deis exancillata...

“Essa, sebbene oppressa dal carcere dal corpo, sebbene raggirata da insegnamenti malvagi, sebbene svigorita dalle libidini e dalle concupiscenze, sebbene ridotta ad ancella di falsi dèi ...¹⁰

Il tema dell'anima imprigionata nel corpo, che nasconde una probabile matrice pitagorica¹¹, appare di certo più diffusa nella letteratura platonica¹², ma nel passo tertulliano acquisisce una portata più precisa e più ampia al contempo, che è possibile cogliere grazie a

⁸ Vd. Leal-Mattei 2019, 17-19.

⁹ Vd. Memoli 1966, 19.

¹⁰ Tert. *Apol.* 17,5 (Dekkers, 117). Qui e in seguito, a meno di diversa indicazione, la traduzione è di chi scrive. Sul valore e l'uso di *licet* in Tertulliano vd. Piras 2019, 310-322.

¹¹ Vd. Delatte 1915, 132.

¹² Cf. ex. gr. Plat. *Phaed.* 62b (Burnet) Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὥς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λυεῖν οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν, μέγας τέ τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ οὐ ῥάδιος διδεῖν; *Crat.* 400b-c (Burnet) Πολλαχῇ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτό γε· ἂν μὲν καὶ σμικρόν τις παρακλίνη, καὶ πάνυ. καὶ γὰρ σῆμά τινές φασιν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥς τεθαμμένης ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι· καὶ διότι αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημαίνει

un'analisi lessicale. Innanzitutto è lo stesso Tertulliano a esplicitare nel *De anima* l'origine platonica dell'idea dell'anima incarcerata nel corpo, contrapponendola, almeno in parte, a quella paolina del corpo come tempio, quando esso è in Cristo: in ogni caso il corpo rappresenta per Tertulliano un effettivo impedimento per l'anima¹³. È opportuno qui precisare, come ha fatto Waszink, che tale idea è troppo diffusa sia nei testi filosofici pagani sia in quelli cristiani per poter essere ricondotta direttamente a una qualche fonte platonica¹⁴. D'altro canto Tertulliano riferisce la stessa idea dell'anima che ritorna ripetutamente nel carcere del corpo in polemica contro lo gnostico Carpocrate, sostenitore della metempsicosi¹⁵.

Nel passo tertulliano in esame, però, l'immagine del corpo presentato come carcere dell'anima è arricchita notevolmente del verbo *premo*, che evoca l'idea della costrizione efficace¹⁶. Con la sua fine abilità retorica, basata sulla pregnanza lessicale, Tertulliano è dunque riuscito a presentare la condizione dell'anima nella prigionia e nella tomba del corpo, che s'innesta ancora una volta in una lunga tradizione di matrice platonica.

ἃ ἂν σημαίνει ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ ταύτῃ “σῆμα” ὀρθῶς καλεῖσθαι. δοκοῦσι μέντοι μοι μάλιστα θέσθαι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφέα τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς δίκην διδούσης τῆς ψυχῆς ὧν δὴ ἔνεκα δίδωσιν, τοῦτον δὲ περιβολὸν ἔχειν, ἵνα σώζηται, δεσμοτηρίου εἰκόνα· εἶναι οὖν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦτο, ὥσπερ αὐτὸ ὀνομάζεται, ἕως ἂν ἐκτείσῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα, [τὸ] “σῶμα,” καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖν παράγειν οὐδ’ ἐν γράμμα; *Gorg.* 493a (Burnet) “Ἦδη γάρ του ἔγωγε καὶ ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν ὡς νῦν ἡμεῖς τέθναμεν καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἐστιν ἡμῖν σῆμα ...

¹³ Cf. Tert. An. 53,5 (Waszink, 72) *Si enim corpus istud Platonica sententia carcer, ceterum apostolica dei templum, cum in Christo est, sed interim animam conseperto suo obstruit et obscurat et concreione carnis infaecat, unde illi, uelut per corneum specular, obsoletior lux rerum est.* Vd. la nota ad l. in Waszink 2010, 545.

¹⁴ Waszink 2010, 545.

¹⁵ Tert. An. 35,1 (Waszink, 50) *Itaque metempsychosin necessarie imminere, si non in primo quoque uitae huius commeatu omnibus illicitis satisfiat (scilicet facinora tributa sunt uitae!), ceterum totiens animam reuocari habere quotiens minus quid intulerit, reliquatricem delictorum, donec exsoluat nouissimum quadrantem detrusa identidem in carcerem corporis.* Vd. Waszink 2010, 410-411. Cf. Iren. Haer. 1,25,4 (Rousseau-Doutreleau, 340) *Et hunc dicunt esse primum ex mundi fabricatoribus, et illum altero Angelo, ei qui ministrat ei, tradere tales animas, uti in alia corpora includat: corpus enim dicunt esse carcerem.*

¹⁶ Cf. ex. gr. Verg. Aen. 1,52-54 (Geymonat, 176) *Hic vasto rex Aeolus antro / luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras / imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.* Vd. TLL, s.v., col. 1176.

Tuttavia, in *Apol.* 17 la prigionia dell'anima non si ferma al corpo fisico, ma si estende alla condizione corporale. Infatti di seguito l'anima è detta raggirata dagli insegnamenti malvagi. Il verbo *circumscribo* ritorna poco dopo sempre nell'*Apologeticum* in un contesto che presenta affinità con quello in esame e in coppia con il verbo *capio*, che richiama ancora una volta l'idea della cattura e nel caso specifico dell'inganno¹⁷. Altrove, oltre al verbo *circumscribo*, Tertulliano usa due volte anche il termine *circumscriptor* sia in riferimento al serpente ingannatore sia a proposito del dio menzognero di Marcione¹⁸. Inoltre, se si considera che le *institutiones*, in *Apol.* 17 definite *pravae*, sono i principi fondamentali impartiti fin dalla prima educazione¹⁹, si può osservare come nel nostro passo Tertulliano stia collocando una nuova tessera nel mosaico iniziato con l'immagine della prigionia del corpo, accanto alla quale vi è fin dalle prime fasi della vita la condizione di inganno a cui l'anima è sottoposta a causa di un'educazione ingannevole.

Il mosaico che va rappresentando l'anima continua poi a comporsi con il suggestivo ed evocativo aggettivo *euigoratus*, che non ricorre altrove nella letteratura latina se non in un passo del *De pallio*, a indicare le spalle rammollite, svingorite e profumate di Ercole, l'eroe brutale per antonomasia, divenuto volontariamente schiavo effeminato di Onfale, regina di Lidia²⁰. A togliere vigore all'anima, dunque, sono le

¹⁷ Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 22,6 (Dekkers, 129) *Eadem igitur obscuritate contagionis adspiratio daemonum et angelorum mentis quoque corruptelas agit furoribus et amentiis foedis aut saevis libidinibus et erroribus uariis, quorum iste potissimus, quo deos istos captis et circumscriptis mentibus commendat, ut et sibi pabula propria nidoris et sanguinis curet simulacris et imaginibus.* Vd. Waszink 1947, 19; Waszink-Van Winden 1987, 203.

¹⁸ Cf. Tert. *Marc.* 2,7,3 (Braun, 58) *Denique puta intercessisse, puta rescidisse illum arbitrii libertatem, dum reuocat ab arbore, dum ipsum circumscriptorem colubrum a congressu feminae arcet: nonne exclamaret Marcion: 'O Dominum futillem, instabilem, infidelem, rescindentem quae instituit?'* 1,27,1 (Braun, 230) *O deum ueritatis praeuaricatore, sententiae suae circumscriptorem!* Cf. Anche Tert. *Pat.* 5,11 (Fredouille, 74) *Perit igitur et alius homo per inpatientiam alterius, perit immo et ipse per inpatientiam suam utrobique commissam, et circa Dei praemonitionem et circa diaboli circumscriptionem, illam seruare hanc refutare non sustinens.* Vd. la nota *ad l.* in Fredouille 1984, 153.

¹⁹ Sulla pluralità di accezioni di questo termine vd. Braun 1977, 425-426.

²⁰ Cf. Tert. *Pall.* 4,3 (Turcan, 156) *Ne sobriae mulieris quidem aut uiraginis alicuius scapulae sub exuuias bestiae tantae introire potuissent, nisi diu mollitas et*

libidini e le concupiscenze (*libidines et concupiscentiae*), due termini di matrice paolina, che in Tertulliano ritornano altrove in coppia e che hanno valenza specifica: il primo indica il piacere sessuale, il secondo il desiderio carnale²¹.

A questo punto l'anima, gravata dal corpo, ingannata e priva di forze, perde qualsiasi autonomia e cade nella condizione di schiavitù, che Tertulliano esprime ancora una volta con un *hapax* assoluto molto efficace (*exancillata*)²². In ultima analisi, per il Cartaginese il livello di schiavitù più basso è rappresentato dall'asservimento ai falsi dèi, cioè quando l'anima arriva al punto di rinnegare del tutto la propria origine divina.

3. La sanità dell'anima

Solo il risveglio dell'anima può garantire il ritorno alla sanità che le è confacente e la facoltà di testimoniare l'esistenza di Dio. Anche in questo passaggio la terminologia tertulliana è estremamente precisa e lo stile rigoroso:

euigoratas et exodoratas, quod apud Omphalem balsamo aut telino spero factum. Su tutto il passo vd. le note ad l. in Tucan 2007 e in Capone 2012, 398-399.

²¹ Cf. Tert. *Spect.* 14,2 (Turcan, 222) *Nam sicut pecuniae uel dignitatis uel gulae uel libidinis uel gloriae, ita et uoluptatis concupiscentia est; species autem uoluptatis etiam spectacular, opinor; Cast.* 13,4 (Moreschini, 116) *Quanti igitur et quantae in ecclesiasticis ordinibus de continentia censentur, qui deo nubere maluerunt, qui carnis suae honorem restituere, quique se iam illius aevi filios dicauerunt, occidentes in se concupiscentiam libidinis et totum illud, quod intra paradisum non potuit admitti; Idol.* 2,3 (Waszink-Van Winden, 24) *At enim dominus quam extensius ista disponat, certi sumus, cum adulterium etiam in concupiscentia designat, si oculum quis impegerit libidinosae et animam commouerit impudice, cum homicidium etiam in uerbo maledicti uel conuicii iudicat et in omni impetu irae et in neglegentia caritatis in fratrem...; Virg.* 7,2 (Dekkers, 1216-1217) *Si enim propter angelos, scilicet quos legimus a Deo et caelo excidisse ob concupiscentiam feminarum, quis praesumere potest tales angelos maculata iam corpora et humanae libidinis reliquias desiderasse, ut non ad uirgines potius exarserint, quarum flos etiam humanam libidinem excusat?; Pud.* 17,2.18 (Munier, 238-244) *Quid denique et Thesalonicensibus scribit? Aduocatio enim nostra non ex seductione nec ex immunditia, et: Haec est uoluntas Dei, sanctimonia uestra, abstinere uos a fornicatione, scire unumquemque uas suum possidere in sanctimonia et honore, non in libidine concupiscentiae, sicut nationes, quae Deum ignorant [...] Demonstrat et Colossensibus, quae membra mortificent super terram, fornicationem immunditiam libidinem concupiscentiam malam et turpiloquium.* Vd. Rambaux 1978, 211-224.

²² Vd. Clasen 1992, 105.

*... cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua ualitudine, et sanitatem suam patitur, Deum nominat hoc solo nomine, quia proprio Dei ueri*²³.

“... tuttavia, quando ritorna in sé, come da un ingozzamento, come da un sonno, come da una qualche malattia, e riacquista la sanità che le è propria, nomina Dio con questo solo nome, in quanto proprio del Dio vero.”

La riappropriazione delle facoltà caratteristiche da parte dell'anima è presentata da Tertulliano in due movimenti. Il primo è espresso dal verbo *resipisco*, che indica l'idea di riprendere i sensi e che il Cartaginese torna a usare in un passo del *De anima* affine a quello in esame a indicare lo stato di padronanza di sé e quindi il recupero della propria condizione divina grazie alla libertà che appartiene all'anima: il passo è di notevole importanza, perché spiega con maggiori dettagli e con una prosa più ricca di immagini l'affrancamento della sostanza dell'anima da tutti gli accidenti e il suo ritorno in una luce limpida e pura²⁴.

Questo primo movimento viene espresso da Tertulliano con tre immagini che denotano uno stato di ottundimento delle facoltà intellettive: la prima è relativa al riaversi dall'ingozzamento²⁵, la seconda,

²³ Tert. *Apol.* 17,5 (Dekkers, 117).

²⁴ Tert. *An.* 53,6 (Waszink, 72) *Procul dubio cum ui mortis exprimitur de concretione carnis et ipsa expressione colatur, certe de oppanso corporis erumpit in apertum ad meram et puram et suam lucem, statim semetipsam in expeditione substantiae recognoscit et in diuinitatem ipsa libertate resipiscit, ut de somnio emergens ab imaginibus ad ueritates*. Vd. le note ad l. di Waszink 2010, 545-546.

²⁵ Interessante, anche da un punto di vista lessicale (*excussit crapulam* [...] *animi ebrium resipiscere*), l'episodio narrato da Valerio Massimo in cui il re Filippo, grazie a una donna, torna in sé dopo una sbornia e pronuncia una sentenza più giusta (*Memor.* 6,2, ext.1, Kempf, 283-284): *Inserit se tantis uiris mulier alienigeni sanguinis, quae a Philippo rege temulento immerenter damnata, prouocare se iudicium uociferata est, eoque interrogante ad quem prouocaret, 'ad Philippum' inquit, 'sed sobrium'. excussit crapulam oscitanti ac praesentia animi ebrium resipiscere causaque diligentius inspecta iustiore sententiam ferre coegit. igitur aequitatem, quam impetrare non potuerat, extorsit, potius praesidium a libertate quam ab innocentia mutuata*.

presente anche nel passo del *De anima* testé citato, riguarda il ridestarsi dal sonno²⁶, la terza è relativa al riprendersi da una malattia²⁷.

Il secondo movimento vede l'anima protagonista nel riacquistare la propria sanità²⁸. Oltre al passo in esame il termine *sanitas* ricorre nove volte in Tertulliano. L'esame di queste occorrenze può essere utile per ricostruire la costellazione di significati che il Cartaginese abbina al termine: *sanitas* indica la salute restituita da Pietro e Giovanni al cieco nei pressi del tempio²⁹; la sanità fisica restituita immediatamente dal Signore al servo Malco ferito inopportuno all'orecchio³⁰; la guarigione donata dal Signore all'emorroissa o al paralitico di Gerusalemme³¹; la salute che manca ai malati³²; la sanità della

²⁶ La stessa immagine si ritrova in Aug. *Gen. litt.* 10,14 (Zycha, 313) *Quae si esset quodammodo indigestibilis, creatori tribueretur; cum uero paulatim ab huius obliuionis torpore anima resipiscens possit conuerti ad deum suum eiusque misericordiam et ueritatem primo ipsa pietate conuersionis, deinde seruandi praecepti eius perseuerantia promereri, quid ei obest illo uelut somno paululum inmergi, unde paulatim euigilans in lucem intellegentiae, propter quam rationalis anima facta est, potest per uoluntatem bonam eligere uitam bonam?* Cf. anche Aug. *Gen. litt.* 12,12,25 (Zycha, 396) *Resipiscentes autem aliqui referunt, quod uidissent, aliqui non possunt; sic enim et somnia quidam obliuiscuntur, quidam meminerunt.* Sul valore del sonno in Aristotele e Tertulliano vd. Tibiletti 1969, 26.

²⁷ Cf. Tert. *An.* 25,4 (Waszink, 35) *Si liuor ac rubor sanguinis passio est, sine anima non erit sanguis; si uoletudo omnis accessio est, sine anima non erit uoletudo; si alimonia inedia crementa decrementa pauor motus tractatio est animae, his qui fungitur uiuet.* Su questo passo, che appare oscuro, vd. le note ad l. in Waszink 2010, 324-325.

²⁸ Sull'uso del verbo *patior* vd. Waltzing 1931, 124 e cf. Tert. *An.* 9,4 (Waszink, 11) *Est hodie soror apud nos reuelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter dominica sollemnia per ecstasin in spiritu patitur...*; *An.* 9,4 (Waszink, 15) *Nam etsi Adam statim prophetauit [...] accidentiam spiritus passus est....* Più in generale vd. TLL, s.v., col. 729.

²⁹ Cf. Tert. *Or.* 25,4 (Diercks, 272) *Idem cum Iohanne ad nonam in templum adibat, ubi paralyticum sanitati reformauit.* Vd. Ayán Calvo 2003, 293.

³⁰ Cf. Tert. *Pat.* 3,8 (Fredouille, 66-68) *Patientia domini in Malcho uulnerata est: itaque et gladii opera maledixit in posterum et sanitatis restitutione ei quem non ipse uexauerat satisfecit, per patientiam misericordiae matrem.*

³¹ Cf. Tert. *Marc.* 4, 20,9 (Braun, 258) *'Sed et hoc qui aduersarius legis, ut, quia lex a contactu sanguinantis feminae summouet, idcirco gestierit non tantum contactum eius admittere, sed etiam sanitatem donare:* vd. Henss 1967, 36; *Prax.* 21,9 (Scarpit, 202) *Et ad Iudaeos de paralytici sanitate: Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor.*

³² Cf. Tert. *Pat.* 1,4 (Fredouille, 60-62) *Itaque uelut solacium erit disputare super eo quod frui non datur, uice languentium qui cum uacent a sanitate de bonis eius tacere non norunt.*

pazienza, per mezzo della quale si può giungere alla fede e alla sanità della vita nel Signore³³; la lucidità della mente³⁴; la salute fisica e morale che congiunge nell'opera del Signore la guarigione fisica e la remissione dei peccati³⁵.

Questo significativo ventaglio di occorrenze chiarisce il fatto che *sanitas* può essere perlopiù ricondotta direttamente o indirettamente a un intervento divino e consente di meglio comprendere che cosa intenda Tertulliano con sanità dell'anima: è la liberazione di tutti quegli ostacoli relativi al corpo, all'istruzione, ai piaceri e ai agli idoli, l'affrancamento dalla schiavitù, la riappropriazione integrale della propria sostanza, la consapevolezza dell'origine divina. Secondo Tertulliano, dunque, riacquistato il proprio stato d'essere naturale che è divino, l'anima in maniera insopprimibile prorompe nella testimonianza del Dio unico e vero³⁶. È quindi per questo motivo che, come conclude il Cartaginese, l'anima, per natura cristiana, volge lo sguardo non al Campidoglio, sede e simbolo della religione pagana, ma al cielo, sede del Dio vero, da cui discende³⁷.

4. *Un problema testuale*

Nel finale di *Apol.* 17,5 si trova poi un'interessante problema testuale relativo alle due recensioni con cui è stato trasmesso il testo³⁸:

³³ Cf. Tert. *Pat.* 1,5 (Fredouille, 62) *Ita miserrimus ego semper aeger caloribus inpatientiae, quam non optineo patientiae sanitatem, et suspirem et inuocem et perorem necesse est, cum recordor et in meae inbecillitatis contemplatione digero bonam fidei ualitudinem et dominicae disciplinae sanitatem non facile cuiquam nisi patientia adsideat prouenire.*

³⁴ Cf. Tert. *Pud.* 7,2 (Munier, 174) *Praescribimus enim ex naturae disciplina, ex lege auris et linguae, ex mentis sanitate ea semper responderi quae prouocantur.* Vd. Micaelli 1993, 343 e Capone 2016, 61.

³⁵ Cf. Cf. Tert. *Pud.* 22,8 (Munier, 278) *Si Dominus tantum de potestatis suae probatione curauit, uti traduceret cogitatus et ita imperaret sanitatem, ne non crederetur posse delicta dimittere, non licet mihi eandem potestatem in aliquo sine eisdem probationibus credere.*

³⁶ Vd. Tibiletti 1984, 8-10.

³⁷ Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 17,6 (Dekkers, 117-118) *O testimonium animae naturaliter christianae! Denique pronuntians haec non ad Capitolium, sed ad caelum respicit. Nouit enim sedem Dei uiui: ab illo et inde descendit.* Vd. Viciano 2000, 540-541.

³⁸ In estrema sintesi sulla questione delle due recensioni dell'*Apologeticum* vd. Capone 2022, 122.

<i>Fuldensis</i>	<i>Vulgata</i>
... <i>Deum nominat hoc solo nomine, quia proprio Dei ueri.</i>	... <i>Deum nominat hoc solo, quia proprie uerus hic unus.</i>

La lezione della *Fuldensis* è stata accolta da Dekkers nel testo, mentre quella della *Vulgata* è stampata nell'interlinea, sulla scorta di Rigault, Havercamp e soprattutto di Waltzing, il quale ha proposto il confronto con *Test. an.* 2,1, che qui riporto secondo la successiva edizione di Tibiletti, p. 42³⁹:

*Non placemus deum praedicantes hoc nomine [unico] unicum, a quo omnia et sub quo uniuersa. dic testimonium, si ita <sci>s. nam te quoque palam et tota libertate qua non licet nobis, domi ac foris audimus ita pronuntiare: "quod deus dederit", et "si deus uoluerit". ea uoce et aliquem esse significas et omnem illi confiteris potestatem, ad cuius spectas uoluntatem; <si>mul et f<als>os deos esse dum suis uocabulis nuncupas: Saturnum, / Iouem, Martem, Mineruam. solum deum confirmas quem tantum deum nominas, ut et cum illos interdum deos appellas, de alieno et quasi pro mutuo usa uidearis*⁴⁰.

Dekkers in apparato rimanda a un contributo di Thörnell, il quale aveva esaminato la questione, prendendo in considerazione anche un'altra affermazione dello stesso Waltzing: « Dans P [sc. *Vulgata*], il y a une lacune : *hoc solo <nomine>*, à moins que *hoc solo* ne soit le pron. neutr. 'par cela seulement', comme au cap. 44,3 : *Nemo illic Christianus, nisi hoc tantum* F (*nisi plane tantum Christianus* P). Mais *proprio* exige que *nomine* soit exprimé »⁴¹.

Alla luce di queste osservazioni Thörnell conclude che in riferimento allo stile di Tertulliano Waltzing «concedit hanc quoque orationis

³⁹ Vd. Waltzing 1914-1917, 50.

⁴⁰ «Non raccogliamo consensi quando proclamiamo con questo nome dio come unico, dal quale ogni cosa procede, e sotto il cui potere è l'universo. Da' la tua testimonianza, se ne sei consapevole. Poiché noi udiamo che tu pure, apertamente e con quella libertà che a noi è concessa, in casa e fuori proclami: "dio lo conceda", e "se dio vorrà". Con tale voce fai capire che esiste un dio, e riconosci ogni potere a colui, al cui potere ti rimetti. Contemporaneamente affermi che gli altri sono falsi dèi, perché li denomini con i loro propri nomi: Saturno, Giove, Marte, Minerva. Affermi solo dio colui al quale riservi il nome di dio, cosicché, quando talora anche questi chiami dèi, lasci la impressione di usare un titolo che loro non appartiene, preso quasi a prestito» (trad. di C. Tibiletti).

⁴¹ Waltzing 1914-1917, 50. Vd. però Waltzing 1931, 279: «*Nisi hoc tantum*, sc. *est. Hoc remplace Christianus*. Cf. 9,5; 12,5; 22,8».

formam, qua neutro pronominis notio ante expressa vel significata revocatur (sicut h. l. pronomine *hoc* notio *Dei* vel potius *nominis Dei*, quia antecedit *Deum nominat*), non esse ab eius sermonis alienam; immo adamatam ei esse alibi monuit (ad ipsum illum locum 44,3, Étude, p. 362) [...] In hac enuntiati forma summa est sententiarum concinnitas perfectaque antithesis verborum *hoc solo* – *hic unus*, quam tam a correctoris conatu alienam iudico, quam artificis Tertulliani, et quidem opus accuratius limantis, propriam»⁴².

A queste argomentazioni vorrei aggiungerne delle altre, che permettono di affrontare il problema in una prospettiva più complessa. Merita attenzione innanzitutto la locuzione *hoc solo*, che in Tertulliano ricorre anche altrove:

Nat. 2,4,7 (Borleffs, 46): Porro θεός ille iam h<oc> solo quod non sit in promptu, uacat a comparatione eorum qui in p<romp>tu sunt et uisui et sensui⁴³.

Iud. 10,6 (Tränkle, 27) Ioseph et ipsum Christum figuratus uel hoc solo, ne cursum demorer, quod persecutionem a fratribus passus est et uenumdatus in Aegyptum ob dei gratiam, sicut et Christus ab Israele, a carnaliter fratribus, uenumdatus, a Iuda cum traditur⁴⁴.

Marc. 3,18,3 (Braun, 158) Ioseph et ipse Christum figuraturus, nec hoc solo, ne demorer cursum, quod persecutionem a fratribus passus est ob Dei gratiam, sicut et Christus a Iudaeis carnaliter fratribus...⁴⁵

Val. 3,2 (Fredouille, 84) Nihil ueritas erubescit, nisi solummodo abscondi, quia nec pudebit ullum aures ei dedere, eum deum recognoscere,

⁴² Thörnell 1921, 17-18.

⁴³ «Ora quel θεός, per il solo fatto di essere alla portata, non regge il confronto con quelli che sono alla portata della vista e dei sensi».

⁴⁴ «Giuseppe, figura dello stesso Cristo anche per questo stesso motivo, per non dilungarmi, per il fatto che subì la persecuzione dai fratelli e fu venduto in Egitto per grazia di Dio, così come Cristo fu venduto da Israele, fratelli secondo la carne, quando fu tradito da Giuda». Per i problemi testuali del passo vd. Tränkle 1964, 90.

⁴⁵ «Anche lo stesso Giuseppe ha prefigurato Cristo, non solo, per non dilungarmi, per il fatto di aver subito la persecuzione dai fratelli per grazia di Dio, così come anche Cristo l'ha subita dai fratelli secondo la carne...». Un testo del tutto simile si legge nel passo citato precedentemente: per i problemi testuali che accumulano entrambi i passi vd. le note *ad l.* in Braun 1994, 250-251.

*quem iam illi natura commisit, quem cotidie in operibus omnibus sentit, hoc solo minus notum, quod unicum non putauit, quod in numero nominauit, quod in aliis adorauit*⁴⁶.

*Val. 14,1 (Fredouille, 112) Namque Enthymesis, siue iam Achamoth, quod abhinc scripta hoc solo ininterpretabili nomine, ut cum uitio indiuiduae passionis explosa est in loca luminis aliena, quod pleromatis res est, in uacuum atque inane illud Epicuri, miserabilis etiam de loco est*⁴⁷.

Si può agevolmente notare come quattro dei cinque passi richiamati contengano l'espressione *hoc solo* nella funzione di elemento prolettico con accezione causale che annuncia una proposizione di questo tipo introdotta da *quod*⁴⁸. Questi paralleli rendono del tutto plausibile il testo della *Vulgata* di *Apol. 17,5*, senza dover supporre alcuna lacuna (*Deum nominat hoc solo, quia ...*).

Nello specifico è poi opportuno fermare l'attenzione sul *Val. 3,2*, che sviluppa il tema dell'anima naturalmente cristiana esposto in *Test. 2,1*: proprio in riferimento all'espressione *hoc solo minus notum, quod unicum non putauit, quod in numero nominauit...* Fredouille richiama *Apol. 17,5* secondo il testo della *Vulgata* (... *Deum nominat hoc solo, quia proprie uerus hic unus*), che in effetti è significativamente affine dal punto di vista sintattico⁴⁹.

Rileviamo ancora un parallelo a proposito dell'avverbio *proprie*: *Nam ubi pudicitia, ibi uacua pulchritudo, quia proprie usus et fructus pulchritudinis luxuria ...*⁵⁰. Qui l'avverbio viene usato da Tertulliano

⁴⁶ «La verità non arrossisce per nulla, se non solo per essere nascosta, poiché nessuno si vergognerà di prestarle ascolto, di riconoscere quel Dio che la natura gli ha già affidato, di cui si accorge ogni giorno in tutte le opere, poco noto per il solo motivo di non averlo considerato unico, di non averlo nominato in abbondanza e per averlo adorato in altri al suo posto».

⁴⁷ «In effetti, Eutymes, detta anche Achamoth, poiché d'ora in avanti sarà scritta solo con questo nome intraducibile, quando fu espulsa con il vizio della passione inseparabile nei luoghi estranei alla luce, che è proprietà del pleroma, in qual vuoto e vacuo di Epicuro, è miserabile anche a causa del luogo». Vd. le note *ad l.* in Tommasi Moreschini 2010, 282.

⁴⁸ *Val. 14,1*, che riporta l'espressione *scripta hoc solo ininterpretabili nomine* non presenta affinità significative con *Apol. 17,5* né secondo il testo della *Fuldensis* né secondo quello della *Vulgata*, sicché non pare utile alla discussione.

⁴⁹ Vd. Fredouille 1981, 191-192.

⁵⁰ *Tert. Fem. 2,3,1 (Turcan, 104)*: «Infatti dov'è la castità, lì la bellezza è vuota, poiché propriamente la funzione e il frutto della bellezza del corpo sono lussuria».

in una proposizione causale ellittica di verbo subito dopo *quia*, così come leggiamo nel testo della *Vulgata* di *Apol.* 17,5.

Infine la presenza nella *Vulgata* di *unus* in riferimento a Dio (*hic unus*) merita specifica attenzione⁵¹. Subito prima, in *Apol.* 17,1, come s'è visto, Tertulliano aveva affermato che *quod colimus, Deus unus est ...*⁵². Allo stesso modo in *Nat.* 2,4,2 (Borleffs, 46) il Cartaginese aveva scritto ... *Ille unus Deus <quem colimu>s ...*, poco prima cioè del già citato passo a proposito della locuzione *hoc solo* (*Nat.* 2,4,7 [Borleffs, 46]: *Porro θεὸς ille iam h<oc> solo quod ...*). Considerata nel suo insieme, si può notare dunque una certa affinità tra *Nat.* 2,4 e *Apol.* 17, che insistono entrambi sulla nozione di *Deus unus*. Anche quest'ultimo elemento pertanto lascia supporre che il testo della *Vulgata* sia più vicino all'*usus scribendi* dell'*Apologeticum* e più in generale della prima produzione apologetica di Tertulliano, specificamente rappresentata in questo caso da *Nat.*

Alla luce di tutte queste considerazioni, in *Apol.* 17,5 appare dunque auspicabile accogliere il testo della *Vulgata* (... *Deum nominat hoc solo, quia proprie uerus hic unus*), accolto anche da altri editori⁵³, in luogo di quello della *Fuldensis* (... *Deum nominat hoc solo nomine, quia proprio Dei ueri*), preferito da Dekkers.

5. Conclusioni

L'analisi lessicale e tematica qui presentata ha inserito il passo in esame nel più ampio contesto della produzione tertulliana e in questo modo ha consentito di meglio comprendere le espressioni concise e vigorose di *Apol.* 17,5. L'originalità del pensiero di Tertulliano sullo specifico argomento trattato appare evidente sia rispetto alla precedente trattazione filosofica pagana sia rispetto alla letteratura cristiana.

Inoltre, se si tiene presente il contesto apologetico nel quale la riflessione tertulliana si colloca, appariranno altrettanto evidenti non solo la novità, la veemenza e la robustezza del discorso del Cartaginese,

⁵¹ Sull'uso di *solus*, *unus* e *unicus* in Tertulliano vd. Braun 1977, 67-68.

⁵² Cf. in questo senso anche *Apol.* 24,1 (Dekkers, 133) *Omnis ista confessio illorum, qua se deos negant esse quaque non alium deum respondent praeter unum, cui nos mancipamur ...*; 39,9 (Dekkers, 151) *Quanto nunc dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur, qui unum patrem Deum agnoverint, qui unum spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae eiusdem ad unam lucem expaverunt veritatis?*

⁵³ Vd. ex. gr. Oehler 1853, 184 e Becker 1961, 120.

ma anche il capovolgimento dei ruoli dalla difesa all'accusa. Poco prima, infatti, introducendo la propria dimostrazione, Tertulliano ha segnato con efficacia il cambiamento di prospettiva, che consiste nel passare dalla confutazione delle opinioni degli avversari all'esposizione della dottrina cristiana, che comporta di conseguenza un'evidente purificazione delle accuse pagane⁵⁴.

In questo senso la testimonianza dell'anima presentata in *Apol.* 17,5 si può articolare in tre tempi: l'anima è nel carcere caratteristico della condizione umana, riacquista la sanità che è propria della condizione divina e può quindi pronunciare il nome di Dio che è unico e vero. In tale crescendo, che trova opportuna e felice espressione più nella lezione della *Vulgata* che in quella della *Fuldensis*, le accuse e la religione dei pagani non sono solo ribattute, ma anche oltrepassate dalla dottrina e da un Dio che appaiono decisamente superiori al pensiero e alle divinità degli avversari.

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⁵⁴ cf. Tert. *Apol.* 16,14 (Dekkers, 117) *Haec ex abundanti, ne quid rumoris irrepercussum quasi de conscientia praeterissemus. Quae omnia, conversi iam ad demonstrationem religionis nostrae, repurgabimus.*

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HOW ULFILAS BECAME AN ARIAN BISHOP? CONTRIB- UTION (I) TO THE CHRISTIAN PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE *DIOECESIS THRACIARUM*

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Keywords: *Ulfilas, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Arianism, Constantinople, Church.*

Abstract: *This paper sheds light on the historical importance taken by Ulfilas, not only among the Tervingi as their bishop, but also as an agent of the Empire, in the context of the initial development of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. His role will be shown by analysing the following events: (1) Ulfilas' first visit to Constantinople and his consecration as a bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia, (2) Ulfilas' participation in the Council of Constantinople in 360, and (3) his third visit to Constantinople, in 381, while the Second Ecumenical Council was held. The key to the understanding of Ulfilas' allegiance to Arianism seems to be closely connected with the rise of Constantinople to the top of the Eastern ecclesiastical hierarchy.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Ulfilas, Eusebiu de Nicomedia, arianism, Constantinopol, Biserică.*

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Rezumat: Cum a devenit Ulfilas un episcop arian? Contribuție (I) la prosopografia creștină a Dioecesis Thraciarum. Această contribuție pune în lumină importanța istorică pe care Ulfilas a avut-o nu doar în rândul tervingilor, ca episcop al acestora, ci și ca reprezentant al Imperiului, în contextul dezvoltării incipiente a Patriarhatului de Constantinopol. Rolul său va fi demonstrat prin analiza următoarelor evenimente: (1) prima vizită a lui Ulfilas la Constantinopol și consacrarea sa ca episcop de către Eusebiu de Nicomedia, (2) participarea lui Ulfilas la Conciliul de la Constantinopol din 360 și (3) a treia sa vizită la Constantinopol, în 381, în timpul desfășurării celui de-al doilea Conciliu ecumenic. Cheia pentru înțelegerea fidelității lui Ulfilas față de arianism pare să fie strâns legată de ascensiunea Constantinopolului în vârful ierarhiei ecleziastice orientale. [traducere: Irina Achim]

The life of the “Moses of the Goths”, Ulfilas/Wulfila, is described by several sources (Philostorgius first of all, but also Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomenus, Theodoretus, Auxentius of Durostorum and Jordanes), and its basic features are well known to us, through numerous publications.¹ For this reason, this paper will not deal with the general narrative of this bishop’s life, but will rather try to shed light on the least clear aspect of his religious career, as a contribution to the volume in preparation of the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, which will be devoted to both the *Dioecesis Thraciarum* and the Northern Black Sea Coast (*Cherronesus Taurica*, *Bosphorus Cimmerius* and *Zechia*).²

That mysterious aspect of Ulfilas religious career is the circumstances in which he became an Arian bishop and a follower of the Homoian doctrine. These events will be analysed through assessing the historically important role played by Ulfilas, not only as the bishop of a branch of the Tervingi, but also as an agent of the Empire, in the context of the initial development of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. Special attention will be paid to the following events: (1) the first imperial invitation of Ulfilas to Constantinople and his consecration as

¹ The most recent full synthesis on Ulfilas and his effort to Christianise the Goths is Faber 2014, 69-127. On the sources of Ulfilas’ life, see Heather-Matthews 1991, 124-144.

² This volume is currently being prepared within the framework of the DAN-UBIUS Project on Christianisation of the Late Antique Lower Danube, which was financially supported from 2018 by both the I-SITE ULNE Foundation up to 2021 and the French National Research Agency (ANR-18-CE27-0008) up to 2022. That project is based at the University of Lille, within the HALMA-UMR 8164 research centre, and its principal investigator is Dominic Moreau. For more information, see <https://danubius.huma-num.fr>.

a bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia, (2) his participation in the Council of Constantinople in 360, and (3) his third visit to the city in 381, at the Emperor's order, while the council which was going to establish the Nicene doctrine as the official faith of the Empire was organised.

1. *Ulfilas' First Visit to Constantinople and his Consecration as Bishop*

In 332, Constantine I concluded the *foedus* with the Tervingian chieftain Ariaric, which, in return for an annual payment, required the Goths to provide auxiliary troops. The "Barbarians" were then allowed to trade with their Roman neighbours across the Danube.³ As the life of Ulfilas suggests, the emperor also had the idea of strengthening Roman influence among the transdanubian Goths by spreading Christianity. We can thus imagine that it was Constantine's project to control the process of Christianisation over the Danube which was at the origin of Ulfilas' first invitation to Constantinople.

The origin of the Christianisation of the Goths, which is little known, dates back to the third century. During one of the Gothic invasions into Cappadocia and Galatia, most probably in 261-262⁴, the invaders captured a lot of prisoners, including Christians. Philostorgius informs us that these latter captives brought a large number of Goths to the Christian faith.⁵ Since the beginning of the process of Christianisation was a consequence of the abduction of these Cappadocians and Galatians, this abduction could perhaps explain the constant support for the Christian mission among the transdanubian Goths offered later by the communities from northern and eastern Anatolia.⁶

³ Schäferdiek 1992, 25; Heather 1996, 61; Chauvot 2000, 803; Wolfram 2009, 70-71; Faber 2014, 66-67; Maraval 2014, 229-230.

⁴ See B. Bleckmann, D. Meyer and J.-M. Prieur's comment on Philost. *h.e.* 2, 5. in Des Places et al. 2013, 202-203, n. 3. See also Bleckmann-Stein 2015 (2), 118 (cf. Philost.). In the scientific literature, we find other dates for the capture of Ulfilas' ancestors. For example, in the year 257 according to Wolfram 2009, 84-85; or in the year 264 according to Gschwantler 1976, 175. See also Schäferdiek 1978, 498; Schäferdiek 1979, 107; Heather 1991, 92 and 96; Schäferdiek 1992, 22-23; Sivan 1995, 280-281; Heather 1996, 90; Heather 2010, 165-166; Faber 2014, 77; Ivanov 2019, 59.

⁵ Philost. *h.e.* 2, 5. On the figure of Ulfilas in Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History*, which is by far the main source of this paper, see Chauvot 2006.

⁶ In 373/374, the relics of the Gothic martyr Saba were translated from "Gothia" to Caesarea in Cappadocia. See Schäferdiek 2001, 297. Moreover, Eutyches, an

Ulfilas was a descendant of one of the above-mentioned Cappadocian captives.⁷ The role he was already playing in the early Christian community within the Goths probably accounts for his selection to accompany a delegation of the tribal federation to Constantinople between 332 and 337. Although we don't have complete or reliable data on the following event, it is not impossible at all that it was during his first visit to Constantinople that Ulfilas was consecrated bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia and his Arian followers.⁸ This could be deduced from the information given by Philostorgius about the life of both Ulfilas and another man who spread the Christian faith beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire: Theophilus the Indian.

The passage in his now-lost *Ecclesiastical History* which presented Ulfilas' life and his role in disseminating Christianity among the Goths was followed by short passages about this Theophilus, which were preserved in Photius' *Epitome*:

"Our heretic says that all of the Indians of the interior who had learned to revere Christ from the teaching of the apostle Bartholomew held to the doctrine of 'other in substance'. He also relates how Theophilus the Indian, who embraced that doctrine, journeyed to their country and gave a full account of their belief. Now those belonging to this Indian people were of old called 'Sabaeans', from their capital, Saba, while nowadays they are known as 'Himyarites'."⁹

Much more information on Theophilus the Indian is given a few chapters later, in the *Epitome*:

"He says that Constantius sent an embassy to the people called of old Sabaeans and now known as Himyarites. ... Their country is called Great Arabia and Fortunate Arabia by the Greeks. ... Constantius, then, sent an embassy to them with the purpose of converting them to the true faith. He planned to win over the leader of the people by the magnificence and number of the gifts, and hence to find an opportunity to plant the seeds of faith in him. ... Theophilus the Indian was among the leaders of this embassy. Long before, when he was quite young, during the reign of Constantine, the previous emperor, he had been sent to the

"orthodox" from Cappadocia, worked among the Goths during the time of Constantius II. See Schäferdiek 1992, 23; Thompson 2008, 82.

⁷ We do not know exactly which of Ulfilas' ancestors (on his mother's or his father's side?) were from Cappadocia. See Schäferdiek 2001, 297.

⁸ Philost. *h.e.* 2, 5.

⁹ Philost. *h.e.* 2, 6 (transl. Amidon 2007, 22).

Romans as a hostage by the people known as Divaeans. The island they inhabit is called Diva, and they too are among those known as Indians. Now Theophilus, during the considerable time he spent living among the Romans, formed his character to the highest degree of virtue and his beliefs in accordance with orthodoxy, choosing to live in celibacy. He even entered the ranks of the deacons, Eusebius laying upon him his priestly hands, but this happened earlier. When he undertook the embassy, he received the dignity of bishop from those who shared his beliefs. ... Upon reaching the Sabaeans, Theophilus tried to persuade their ruler to worship Christ and renounce pagan error. Now the Jews in their usual way <tried to counter him?>, but when Theophilus with his marvellous works showed on more than one occasion how invincible the Christian faith is, the opposition was reduced, however unwillingly, to utter silence. His embassy was successful; ...”¹⁰

At first sight, the short mention of Theophilus the Indian in conjunction with that of Ulfilas in the second book of Philostorgius’ *Church History* seems somewhat irrelevant. Why would he have written about Theophilus almost immediately after the passage in which Ulfilas is presented, since the information given to us about “the Indian” (the spreading of the Christian faith among the Himyarites)¹¹ doesn’t correspond to the timeline of his second book, which is devoted to the period 326-337? And what are actually the links between Theophilus and Constantine? As we can read above in the second excerpt, Theophilus was sent during his reign as a hostage to the Romans, when he was still very young. He spent a long time among them and converted to Christianity. Then he chose to live a life of celibacy and was consecrated deacon by Eusebius of Nicomedia.

Although both Ulfilas and Theophilus had similar roles in spreading Christianity among their own people, they spent their youth very differently. First, Ulfilas was not a hostage of the Romans, but a member of a Gothic mission, when he first entered the Roman Empire. Second, he didn’t convert to Christianity during this first visit, but he came precisely because he was already a Christian, if Philostorgus’ narrative is right. On the basis of Philostorgius’ writings, it seems there is only one similarity that connects the life of both men with the emperor Constantine: they were both most probably consecrated, Ulfilas as bishop and Theophilus as deacon, by Constantine’s court bishop at the time,

¹⁰ Philost. *h.e.* 3, 4 (transl. Amidon 2007, 40-41).

¹¹ For the location of his mission see Mathisen 1997, 666; Bleckmann-Stein 2015 (2), 124-125 (cf. Philost.).

Eusebius of Nicomedia, and thus, as we can imagine, they became important actors of the Constantinian religious policy. This is most probably the reason why Philostorgius writes about Theophilus in a chapter consecrated to Constantine's reign. Moreover, this could indicate that Ulfilas was also consecrated by Eusebius of Nicomedia during the reign of Constantine, an idea which today finds some supporters, even if most modern commentators consider that his ordination occurred during Constantius II's reign.¹²

In July 336, while Constantine was still alive, a council of Constantinople finally and fully reintegrated Arius and his doctrine.¹³ At that moment, Alexander, a supporter of the Nicene formula, was bishop of the City. Because he opposed this rehabilitation, he was threatened by Eusebius of Nicomedia with being immediately deposed unless he admitted Arius and his followers to communion.¹⁴ As Socrates writes, the Nicene bishop of Constantinople could do nothing except devote himself to continual fasting and praying.¹⁵ Since his return from exile in 328 or 329, Eusebius of Nicomedia was the most influential representative of the Church at the imperial court. Indeed, as soon as he was back in favour, he had replaced Bishop Hosius of Corduba as Constantine's counsellor in the field of religious policy, a position he had held

¹² This possibility could also be confirmed by Socrates, according to whom the Goths embraced the Christian religion for the first time during the time of Constantine. See Socr. *h.e.* 1, 18, 4. For some examples of standard study who favor a consecration under Constantius II, see Heather 1996, 60; Schwarcz 1999, 453; Chauvot 2000, 803-804 (even if he notes that the process of Christianisation of the Goths could have begun during Constantine's reign, as implied in Eusebius of Caesarea's works); Ivanov 2019, 67. For his part, P. Maraval, who studied in depth the texts of ancient ecclesiastical historians, seems rather to favor an ordination after the death of Constantine, but remains cautious and vague. Cf. Maraval 2014, 232; Maraval 2013, 231.

¹³ Barnes 1993, 213; Bardill 2012, 298. Some of the supporters of Ulfilas' consecration under Constantine suggest that it took place during that council. See Schäferdiek 1992, 41; Faber 2014, 79-81. Furthermore, it is possible that Arius had already been rehabilitated at the Council of Nicaea in 327 (but there is nothing certain about that council) – see Simonetti 1975, 119; and readmitted to communion by the Council of Jerusalem in 335 – see Barnes 2009, 109-129. See also Barnes 2011, 141. It is interesting to note that there is a whole scientific literature which rejects, or at least attenuates, the Arian turn of Constantine. See for example Maraval 2014, 300-306.

¹⁴ Socr. *h.e.* 1, 37, 4; see also Soz. *h.e.* 2, 29; Ath. Alex. *ep. Aeg. Lib.* 19, 2-4.

¹⁵ Socr. *h.e.* 1, 37, 6.

previously with Licinius.¹⁶ Eusebius and his followers knew well how to exploit the emperor's trust. After the Council of Nicaea, they did not oppose its creed openly, but they began to tackle its most devoted defenders. Through many synods held in the Greek East between 326 and 335, the Arian party removed many bishops who adhered to the conclusions of the Council of Nicaea. However, the charges against these bishops were, in general, theologically thin, and, for most of them, more linked to personal matters. In fact, most of the prosecuted prelates were convicted for moral and political reasons.¹⁷ It is thus in a context of revenge by the Arian party that Eusebius of Nicomedia, even though he was not yet the bishop of Constantinople, became the main religious figure in the City, and that was the situation when the Gothic mission came to visit.

Besides Eusebius' influence, there is another reason which makes us believe that there was no real obstacle for him to consecrate Ulfilas in Constantinople at a time when he himself was still "only" the head of the church of Nicomedia. The bishops who assembled at the council of Nicaea promulgated this for ordination of new bishops:

"It is by all means proper that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops in the province; but should this be difficult, either on account of urgent necessity or because of distance, three at least should meet together, and the suffrages of the absent [bishops] also being given and communicated in writing, then the ordination should take place. But in every province the ratification of what is done should be left to the Metropolitan."¹⁸

Ulfilas was not a resident of the Roman Empire at the time he was consecrated as a bishop. Therefore, the rules established by the canon could not apply to him. Such theoretical conditions for consecration did not exist for Ulfilas', as he did not depend on any bishop

¹⁶ For the possibility that Eusebius of Nicomedia advised Licinius in the controversy over Arius before 324, see Grant 1975, 3; Drake 2000, 236-237; and Moreau 2022. After Licinius' surrender in Nicomedia, his wife, Constantia, who was Constantine's sister, together with Eusebius of Nicomedia, came before the winner in order to request that his previous colleague be allowed to spend the rest of his days in peace. See Philost. *h.e.* 1, 6e (from the *Vita Constantini ex codice Angelico* 22); Ps. Aur. *Vict. epit.* 41, 7; Anon. *Vales.* 1, 28; Grant 1975, 3; Barnes 1981, 77; Barnes 2011, 106; Maraval 2014, 157-158.

¹⁷ Marrou 1985, 44-45; Lenski 2016, 263-276.

¹⁸ C Nic. (325), *can.* 4 (transl. Percival 1900, 11).

based in a metropolis, *viz.* a bishop who should coordinate his ordination as his provincial/regional superior.¹⁹ And in any case, the Nicene canons may well not have been accepted by the opponents of the council. Whatever the case, the task was left to Eusebius, Constantine's court bishop. Ulfilas' ordination being in the primary interest of the emperor's politico-religious project, the situation was not at all trivial.²⁰ By consecrating a bishop intended for a people then established in the north-eastern Balkans, without involving the churches already established in or near this region, and regardless of his own position as bishop of Nicomedia (so not even from a bordering province), Eusebius was creating a precedent that would provide the foundations for the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

2. Ulfilas' Participation in the Council of Constantinople of 360

Unlike Philostorgius, who never suggests that Ulfilas could have changed his belief from the Nicene faith to the Arian one, Socrates and Sozomen share the opinion that he first adhered to the creed of Nicaea. According to them, it was only at the Council of Constantinople of 360, that he abandoned it and signed the symbol that Acacius of Caesarea and his followers had composed.²¹ Both Socrates and Sozomen are, however, most probably wrong. Although it is not possible to make a precise identification of Gothic Christianity at the time of Ulfilas' consecration – since the “orthodox” faith, despite the creed of Nicaea, was not yet completely defined –,²² we can suppose that the circle to which he was connected with remained more or less the same from the time he was made bishop until the above-mentioned Constantinopolitan council.

As Socrates²³ and Sozomen²⁴ write, Maris of Chalcedon was also among the bishops who were invited by Acacius of Caesarea to

¹⁹ See also Mathisen 1997, 667-668.

²⁰ Eusebius of Caesarea describes Constantine as bishop of those outside the Church. See *Eus. v.C.* 4, 24. See also Mathisen 1997, 665; Manders 2019, 249-250.

²¹ Philost. *h.e.* 2, 5; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 41, 23; Soz. *h.e.* 6, 37, 8. Theodoret does not take exactly the same position. See Thdt. *h.e.* 4, 37. For a comparison of Nicene and Arian accounts on Ulfilas' own conversion, see Sivan 1996, 373-386.

²² Schäferdiek 1992, 31-36.

²³ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 41, 6.

²⁴ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 24, 1.

assemble at Constantinople.²⁵ In 360, Maris was one of the four surviving bishops of Eusebius of Nicomedia's closest followers during the last years of Constantine. Therefore, it can be supposed that he cooperated closely with Eusebius at the time when Ulfilas was consecrated as a bishop. Eusebius' circle was present at the Synod of Tyre of 335, being the strongest opponents of Athanasius of Alexandria.²⁶ Besides Eusebius and Maris, the other members of this group were then: Theognis of Nicaea,²⁷ Theodorus of Heraclea,²⁸ Macedonius of Mopsuestia,²⁹ Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum.³⁰ However, Maris was long since Eusebius' man.³¹ Shortly after the council of Nicaea he was exiled, together with his patron and Theognis of Nicaea, because of their link with Arius.³² After Eusebius' death, Maris continued, with other bishops, to follow the theological direction of their master,³³ remaining very influential during the reign of Constantius

²⁵ Among the bishops invited to the Council of Constantinople in 360, Sozomen names Maris of Chalcedon and Ulfilas; while Socrates mentions only Maris. The *Pascal Chronicle* lists the names of 55 bishops and places that of Maris in the first rank. See Chron. Pasch. s.a. 360.

²⁶ Bishops were sent by the Synod of Tyre to Mareotis in Egypt, in order to examine the accusations made against Athanasius. See Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 13; 28, 1; 72, 4; 73, 1; 75, 1; 76.2; Socr. *h.e.* 1, 27, 7; 1, 31, 1-3; Soz. *h.e.* 2, 25, 19; see also Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 77, 2; 78, 2; 79, 1.

²⁷ Theognis of Nicaea died before the Council of Serdica of 343. See Simonetti 1975, 172, n. 26.

²⁸ Philostorgius (*h.e.* 9, 10) writes that it was Theodorus of Heraclea who placed Demophilus in the see of Constantinople. Since Theodorus could have been already dead in 355, the information is most probably not correct. See Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 16, 10-11.

²⁹ Macedonius of Mopsuestia is mentioned for the last time within the list of bishops who attended the Council of Sirmium of 351. See Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, VII, 9.

³⁰ The same bishops wrote to Julius of Rome, against Athanasius of Alexandria and Marcellus of Ancyra. See Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, II, 1, 2; Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 20.

³¹ Maris was already one of Eusebius' supporters before the Nicene Council. See Ath. Alex. *syn.* 17, 1.

³² Socr. *h.e.* 1, 8, 31-33; Philost. *h.e.* 2, 7 and 15. M. Meslin (1967, 72) draws attention to the possibility that Maris and Theognis could have been mediators in establishing contacts between Eusebius of Nicomedia and both Illyrian bishops: Valens and Ursacius.

³³ Maris was among the bishops who participated, after the death of Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the elevation of Macedonius as the new bishop of Constantinople. Other members of this group were Theognis of Nicaea, Theodorus of Heraclea, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum. As Socrates writes, Eusebius' former collaborators assumed all his authority after their patron's

II.³⁴ In his report of the joint closing session for the synods of Ariminum and Seleucia, which was held at Constantinople in 359, Philostorgius emphasises Maris' role and presents him as a supporter of Eudoxius – still bishop of Antioch at that time, but bishop of the New Rome from 360 – and Acacius of Caesarea, the chief initiator of the Council of Constantinople in January 360.

Although Eudoxius was initially a follower of the Anomoean party, he changed his position after 358, and, as it seems, intensified his cooperation with Acacius of Caesarea, Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum, even before the synods of Ariminum and Seleucia.³⁵ It is through the action of these last three bishops that the joint closing session of 359 confirmed the so-called Homoian creed of Nike (of Thrace), which was promulgated under Constantius II's sponsorship, immediately after the second session of the Synod of Ariminum.³⁶ After Eudoxius condemned Aetius of Antioch and his doctrine at the Constantinopolitan Council of January 360,³⁷ he became, on the 27th of the same month³⁸ – as a member of the victorious party –, the third pro-Arian bishop of Constantinople.³⁹

Not only was Ulfilas connected with the same circle of bishops from the time of his consecration, but he was also connected with most of the pro-Arian bishops, who during the same period, enjoyed the

death. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12. At about the same time (341 or 342), Maris also travelled to Trier – or maybe to Milan – as a member of the delegation of four Eastern bishops (also composed of Narcissus of Neronias, Theodorus of Heraclea and Marcus of Ar-ethusa), with the task of informing the West about the Fourth Antiochian Creed, and, thus, trying to achieve a reconciliation. See Ath. Alex. *syn.* 25, 1; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 18, 1-2; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 10, 4-6.

³⁴ Philostorgius (*h.e.* 4, 12) emphasises Maris' role at the Constantinopolitan closing session of Ariminum and Seleucia, held at the end of 359, and presents him as a supporter of Eudoxius, at that time still bishop of Antioch, as well as of Acacius of Caesarea.

³⁵ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 16, 21.

³⁶ Maraval 2013, 275-276.

³⁷ Löhr 1986, 153-154. On the place of the council in the context of the early development by Ulfilas of a "Germanic Arianism", see Dumézil 2005, 146-147.

³⁸ Chron. Pasch. s.a 360; Dagron 1984, 426, n. 2, and 437; Berger 2005-06, 462. At the same time, Macedonius was deposed as bishop of Constantinople.

³⁹ The pro-Arian bishops of Constantinople before the prohibition of Arianism at the Second Ecumenical Council were: Eusebius of Nicomedia (339-341), Macedonius (342-347 and 351-360), Eudoxius (360-370) and Demophilus (370-380). Cf. Berger 2005-06, 462. On the Arian period of the See of Constantinople, see Dagron 1984, 411-453.

emperor's support (Constantine I and Constantius II). He may even have played therefore a certain role in appointing the heads of the church of Constantinople. We cannot know whether it was Ulfilas' theological belief which connected him with this group of bishops, or if there were other self-interested reasons. In any event, his connection with these prelates unambiguously shows how Constantinople cared for him and his Goths. Moreover, it is notable that this special interest for the church-among-the-barbarians occurs at a time when the area of influence and jurisdiction of the Constantinopolitan church was far from being defined.⁴⁰

In addition to Acacius⁴¹ (and his followers), Maris and Ulfilas, most of the bishops invited to the Council of Constantinople of 360 were Bithynian.⁴² A special invitation to the Bithynians was most probably the result of repeated efforts, since the time of Eusebius of Nicomedia, to unite the western and the eastern shores of Propontis in a single ecclesiastical "Arian" district. It is interesting to note here that there is no proof that Eusebius abandoned his see in Nicomedia when he was named bishop of Constantinople, and perhaps this is the reason why his name was always associated with the first of these cities and never the second one. That may be a basis for concluding that it was probably not a coincidence that both Eudoxius (then bishop of Constantinople)⁴³ and Maris (bishop of Chalcedon, in Bithynia) were recipients of the letter by Aetius' opponents. In this document, written after the death of the emperor Julian, who was Aetius' protector, they

⁴⁰ At the time of the foundation of Constantinople, its church was subordinate to the Archbishop of Heraclea in Thrace. See Dagron 1984, 63 and 418-419; Berger 2005-06, 461.

⁴¹ The so-called western bishops' party condemned and deposed Acacius of Caesarea at the Council of Serdica in 343, together with Valens of Mursa, Ursacius of Singidunum, Theodorus of Heraclea, Narcissus of Neronias, Georgius of Laodicea, Stephanus of Antioch and Menophantus of Ephesus, as they were considered to be Eusebius of Nicomedia's associates. See Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 36, 6; see also Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 17, 3. Later, Acacius participated in the Synod of Antioch, which was convened by Eudoxius at the beginning of 358. See Soz. *h.e.* 4, 12, 5.

⁴² The *Pascal Chronicle* notes that seventy-two bishops were present, when Eudoxius was made the bishop of Constantinople, but it names only fifty-five of them. See Chron. Pasch. s.a 360.

⁴³ Philostorgius (*h.e.* 7, 5-6) writes that Eudoxius was well disposed to the Anomoeans during Julian's reign, since Aetius enjoyed the support of the emperor. When they lost the emperor's support after Julian's death, the bishop became openly hostile to them. See Philost. *h.e.* 8, 2 and 4.

condemned Aetius' ordination as well as all ordinations held by him,⁴⁴ although the bishops mentioned by Philostorgius (Candidas and Arrian) were from the provinces of Lydia and Asia (Ionia)⁴⁵, and not from Bithynia.⁴⁶ We therefore detect a dispute between Constantinople and Antioch for control over Western Anatolia.

Besides Aetius, the Council of Constantinople of 360 condemned and deposed a number of Homoiousian bishops, opponents of Acacius and his supporters: Macedonius of Constantinople, Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebasteia in Armenia, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Heortasius of Sardis, Dracontius of Pergamus, Silvanus of Tarsus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, Elpidius of Satala in Armenia, and Neonas of Seleucia in Isauria.⁴⁷ With the exception of Macedonius (Constantinople), Silvanus and Neonas (both from the Diocese of the East), the condemned bishops were either from the Diocese of Asia (Eleusius, Heortasius, Dracontius, Sophronius) or that of Pontus (Basil, Eustathius, Elpidius). After the bishops assembled in Constantinople at the end of 359 had officially proclaimed the Homoian doctrine for the whole Church, the Acacian party at the Council of Constantinople of 360, following Eusebius' spirit, discussed the role of the See of Constantinople in the empire, in the presence and with the consent of Eudoxius of Antioch/Constantinople. Their interest was thus not for Bithynia, but for the whole Pontic and Asian region as well. And what was Ulfilas' part in this geo-ecclesiological project? That can be more easily understood if we look at his third visit to the city in 381.

3. *Ulfilas' Meeting with Theodosius I in 381*

In 381, the Second Ecumenical Council met at Constantinople. Its main purpose was to put a definite end to the Arian controversy and unite the churches under Nicene Christianity. It is possible to reconstruct from the fragment of Auxentius of Durostorum's *Epistula de*

⁴⁴ Philost. *h.e.* 8, 4.

⁴⁵ Philost. *h.e.* 8, 2.

⁴⁶ Philostorgius mentions other Anomoean bishops (Theodulus of Chairatopa in Palestine, Poimenius of Constantinople and his successor Florentius, Thallus of Lesbos, Euphronius for Galatia and Cappadocia, Julianus for Cilicia, as well as Seras, Stephanus and Heliodorus, all in Egypt), but we do not know if some are in connection with the above-mentioned letter. See Philost. *h.e.* 8, 2.

⁴⁷ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 24.

fide, vita et obitu Ulfilae that has come down to us in bishop of the Goths Maximinus' *Dissertatio contra Ambrosium*,⁴⁸ that Ulfilas visited Constantinople to discuss theological matters, at the order of Emperor Theodosius I. On the basis of this text, it is, however, impossible to determine whether Ulfilas really took part in the ecumenical council of 381, since Auxentius most probably had another meeting in mind. We can only assume that his mission to Constantinople was – in Auxentius' opinion – not a success, at least on the theological level, because his opponents altered the status of the meeting to which he was invited.⁴⁹

Thus, we do not know exactly the reasons which led Ulfilas to Constantinople on the occasion described by Auxentius. Nevertheless, if we take into account Sozomen's account, we can suppose that the purpose was not necessarily only theological. Sozomen thinks that Ulfilas was forced to accept Arian beliefs, since the chiefs of the Arian faction promised him in exchange that they would lay his requests before the emperor and forward the object of his embassy.⁵⁰ At this point Sozomen's text is not quite clear and certainly not entirely accurate. Just before he writes about Ulfilas' meeting with the chiefs of the Arian faction, Sozomen reports on the Acacian Council of Constantinople of 360, in which Ulfilas would have taken part, because of his thoughtlessness and despite being loyal to the Nicene creed.⁵¹ But as we understand from Sozomen, the decisive point of Ulfilas' accepting Arianism was his desire to achieve the main purpose of his mission before the emperor.

This passage by Sozomen is not his first mention of an embassy by Ulfilas before an emperor, as the same chapter 37 of his

⁴⁸ Maximin. c. *Ambr.* 23 and 39. On Auxentius' letter, see Heather-Matthews 1991, 135-143 (with an English translation).

⁴⁹ Maximin. c. *Ambr.* 39. Auxentius is probably writing about the assembly of bishops convened by Theodosius in 383, to which Arian (Demophilus and Eunomius) and Macedonian/Pneumatomachian (Eleusius of Cyzicus) representatives were also invited. See Soc. *h.e.* 5, 10; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 12. The consequences of this council are reflected in Roman law: Cod. Theod. 16, 5, 11-13. For the assembly, see also Simonetti 1975, 551-552. Based on Maximinus' commentary on Auxentius' letter, it can be concluded that Ulfilas travelled to Constantinople with Palladius of Ratiaria and Secundianus of Singidunum, both condemned by the Council of Aquileia in 381. See Maximin. c. *Ambr.* 23. See also Bratož 2011, 215; Gryson 1980, 162-165 and 249.

⁵⁰ Soz. *h.e.* 6, 37, 9.

⁵¹ Soz. *h.e.* 6, 37, 8.

Ecclesiastical History mentions a previous one. Thus, a few lines earlier, we read about Ulfilas as the leader of a Gothic embassy sent to the emperor Valens, with the request to allow a Gothic settlement on the territory of the Roman Empire.⁵² Sozomen is the only one who gives this information, which cannot be confirmed in any other way. Although cooperation between Ulfilas and Fritigern (a claimant to leadership of the Goths and Athanaric's rival) seems perfectly plausible, as the conversion of his band of Tervingi early in the 370s is pretty well documented by the sources,⁵³ we can easily imagine that people were invited to join the bishop's flock, the *Gothi minores*, established since the 340s near Nicopolis ad Istrum. Theoretically, the two groups would not have fully and completely merged, since some so-called "Minor Goths" may still have been present in the region in the 6th century,⁵⁴ but it was precisely from the integration of new Christian Gothic elements into Fritigern's Tervingi that the Visigothic nation was to be born.

Thus, it doesn't seem entirely incredible that the Roman authorities engaged Ulfilas - who, as we have seen, had contact with the most influential court bishops - to help solve the "Gothic problem" before and/or after Fritigern defeated the Romans at the Battle of Andriano-ple. As Sozomen is the only one to write about an embassy in the time of Valens, there is, however, a doubt about it. Might there not be a confusion with the embassy to Theodosius? And then there is the question of the conditions for the entry of the *Gothi minores* into the Empire in the 340s. Some scholars suggest that there was a direct meeting between Ulfilas and Constantius II on this occasion, hence the nickname "Moses of our time" that this Emperor seems to have given him.⁵⁵ Knowing that no ancient author offers a really detailed account of the events, the reaction of Aoric (one of the chieftains of the Tervingi during Constantius's reign) against Christianity could have been confused in some texts with Athanaric's reaction – his son according to some

⁵² Soz. *h.e.* 6, 37, 5-6.

⁵³ Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret unanimously ascribe to Ulfilas a leading role in the mass conversion of the Goths to Arianism in the 370s. See Socr. *h.e.* 4, 33; Soz. *h.e.* 6, 37, 5-12; Thdt. *h.e.* 4, 37. See Heather 1986; Heather 1996, 61 and 131; Sivan 1996, 376-377; Schwarcz 1999, 453-455; Chauvot 2000, 804-805; Wolfram 2009, 90-92. See also the critical analysis of the phenomenon in Faber 2014, 137-145.

⁵⁴ Iordanes, *Get.* 267; Schwarcz 1999, 453; Chauvot 2000, 804; Wolfram 2009, 90; Faber 2014, 125-127. For a quick overview, see also Moreau 2020.

⁵⁵ Philost. *h.e.* 2, 5. See also Maximin. *c. Ambr.* 37.

scholars – and vice versa, so that some details of the two episodes could have transposed. Putting aside that insoluble difficulty, we understand, notwithstanding, that Ulfilas could have acted, more than once, as representative of his people before the emperor, when the emperor was dealing with the question of the Gothic settlement inside the empire. Ulfilas' cooperation in solving the "Gothic question" could have been beneficial for Constantius, Valens and Theodosius. Therefore, Sozomen's account may still not be completely unreal.

Moreover, it seems relevant to ask whether Ulfilas took advantage of the situation created by the threat of Fritigern's army over the Roman Empire to try getting some benefits for his Goths? We must remember that Arianism was definitely forbidden to the Romans at this very moment,⁵⁶ while the Goths remained Arians, in the framework of a new *foedus* signed in 382. The maintenance of their Christian faith could hardly be a consequence of Fritigern's Tervingi endeavour, since they were at the very beginning of their conversion. The situation of Ulfilas' Gothic followers was completely different: the oldest converts to Christianity had been Arians already for half a century. For this reason, it seems more likely that it was, first of all, Ulfilas who tried to get permission for his Goths to remain Arians, and we can suppose that permission was granted before the Council of Constantinople of 381 finished its work. Indeed, we learn from the canons of the Second Ecumenical Council that nothing would really be changed in the future for the Church among the Goths:

"The bishops are not to go beyond their dioceses to churches lying outside of their bounds, nor bring confusion on the churches; but let the Bishop of Alexandria, according to the canons, alone administer the affairs of Egypt; and let the bishops of the East manage the East alone, the privileges of the Church in Antioch, which are mentioned in the canons of Nicaea, being preserved; and let the bishops of the Asian Diocese administer the Asian affairs only; and the Pontic bishops only Pontic matters; and the Thracian bishops only Thracian affairs.⁵⁷ And let not bishops go beyond their dioceses for ordination or any other ecclesiastical ministrations unless they be invited. And the aforesaid canon concerning dioceses being observed, it is evident that the synod of every

⁵⁶ See also Cod. Theod. 16, 1, 2 and 5, 6.

⁵⁷ We see the trio Asia-Pontus-Thrace as the parts of the Empire which were subjected to the Arian church of Constantinople from the time of Eusebius of Nicomedia, and which constituted the very first territorial foundations of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. On that matter, see Moreau (forthcoming).

province will administer the affairs of that particular province as was decreed at Nicaea. But the Churches of God in heathen nations (ἔθνη) must be governed according to the custom which has prevailed since the times of the Fathers."⁵⁸

At first sight, this last measure might seem paradoxical, in view of the religious situation after the Council of 381. If we consider the possibility that Ulfilas went to negotiate for the Goths, before the time of Theodosius, everything becomes clearer. We can therefore conclude that after the Council of 381 at least two things remained unchanged for the Goths: first, they persisted in Arianism, perhaps with the Emperor's special permission, in exchange for the signing of a new *foedus*, even if Ulfilas' clearly didn't manage to convince the emperor on theological matters, and second, they continued to be theoretically under the direction of Constantinople,⁵⁹ even after the City officially returned to the faith of Nicaea. It is said "theoretically", because, as Socrates and Sozomen write, Marinus, the Arian (anti-)bishop of Constantinople after Demophilus died (most probably in 386), was supported by the Goths, who were under the leadership of Selenas, Ulfilas' successor.⁶⁰

4. Conclusion

In view of the whole course of events presented in this paper, we can presume what were Auxentius' expectations when he was writing about Ulfilas' embassy: after Ulfilas succeeded in achieving permission for the Goths to preserve their faith, it was not entirely

⁵⁸ CCP (381), *can.* 2 (transl. Percival 1900, 176-177). Things are proclaimed even more clearly at Chalcedon in 451. C Chalc. (451), *can.* 28 (transl. Price - Gaddis 2007, 76): "The fathers appropriately accorded privileges to the see of Senior Rome because it was the imperial city and, moved by the same intent, the 150 most God-beloved bishops assigned equal privileges to the most holy see of New Rome, rightly judging that the city which is honoured with the imperial government and the senate and enjoys equal privileges with imperial Senior Rome should be exalted like her in ecclesiastical affairs as well, being second after her, with the consequence that the metropolitans alone of the Pontic, Asian and Thracian dioceses, and also bishops from the aforesaid dioceses in barbarian lands, are to be consecrated by the aforesaid most holy see of the most holy church at Constantinople, while, of course, each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses, together with the bishops of the province, ordains the bishops of the province, as is laid down in the divine canons."

⁵⁹ On Selenas' relations in Constantinople, see Mathisen 1997, 674.

⁶⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 5, 23; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 17, 9-12.

unreasonable to expect that he could achieve benefits for other Arians as well. However, Ulfilas' influence seems to have reached its limit and Auxentius could only have been disappointed to find that his Gothic friend's arrival in Constantinople did not bring any success. So happened what no one could ever have expected: Eusebius of Nicomedia's efforts to put Constantinople at the top of the Eastern ecclesiastical hierarchy – which ended up having a lasting result – can only be fully understood by also considering the process of the conversions of the Goths.

Under Ulfilas' episcopal leadership, which he owed to Eusebius, they had accepted the Arian form of Christianity. Being a leading actor of the installation of the Christian Goths within the empire and, thus, of the eventual creation of the Visigothic nation, he never hesitated to negotiate directly for his people with the highest authorities of the Roman Empire. When the situation became more favourable to the Nicene creed, Ulfilas even managed to keep his people in Arianism. However, he lost at the same time his supporters among the court bishops. Ulfilas' success was perhaps possible because the imperial power was not strong enough, at that moment, to prevent the Goths' settlement in the empire. We must remember that the situation of the empire was very delicate in the aftermath of Adrianople, and that Theodosius I had just been baptised, while he was sure he was dying.

Ulfilas' allegiance to Arianism is therefore a much more complex historic issue than usually presented in biographies or other studies devoted to the first actual bishop of the Goths. The key to understanding his allegiance seems not to be found in the different committed narratives, of all kinds, that have come down to us about it, but rather in the history (with a capital "H") of the rise of Constantinople to the top of the Eastern ecclesiastical hierarchy, under the impulse of Eusebius of Nicomedia. The conversion of the Goths to Arianism during the first half of the fourth century is, before its pastoral achievement, a political action, fully involved in the great project of both Constantine and his son Constantius II, to see the centre of the empire move to the banks of the Bosphorus.

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DEMOPHILUS, THE LAST ARIAN BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE? CONTRIBUTION (II) TO THE CHRISTIAN PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE *DIOECESIS THRACIARUM*

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Keywords: *Demophilus I of Constantinople, Arian controversy, Eusebians, Pope Liberius, Constantinopolitan episcopal see.*

Abstract: *This paper discusses the role of an important bishop, Demophilus of Beroe/Constantinople, in the Arian controversy. Two issues are dealt with in particular: the role of Demophilus as representative of the most influential group of Arian/Homoean bishops, and his involvement in the politico-religious strategy of Constantinople at the time, when its episcopal see still had to affirm itself as the most important see in the Eastern part of the Empire.*

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Cuvinte-cheie: *Demophilus I de Constantinopol, controversa ariană, eusebieni, papa Liberius, scaunul episcopal constantinopolitan.*

Rezumat: *Demophilus, ultimul episcop arian al Constantinopolului? Contribuție (II) la prosopografia creștină a Dioecesis Thraciarum.* Această lucrare discută rolul unui important episcop, Demophilus de Beroe/Constantinopol, în controversa ariană. Sunt abordate, în special, două aspecte: rolul lui Demophilus ca reprezentant al celui mai influent grup de episcopi arieni/homoeusieni și implicarea sa în strategia politico-religioasă a Constantinopolului la acea vreme, când scaunul său episcopal trebuia încă să se afirme ca cel mai important sediu episcopal din răsăritul Imperiului. [traducere: Irina Achim]

Despite the importance of this period for the subsequent development of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the history of the Arian/Homoean bishops of Constantinople is not a subject that has caused much ink to flow, as if it is some kind of taboo. This paper will focus on the last and one of the most intriguing figures among these bishops, viz. the controversial Demophilus, who first occupied the see of Beroe in Thrace, before being translated to Constantinople. On the basis of written sources (principally Philostorgius, then Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen and Hilarius of Poitiers), two main issues will be dealt with: (1) his role as representative of the most influential group of Arian/Homoean bishops during the Arian controversy; (2) his involvement, as a successor of Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the politico-religious strategy of Constantinople, at a time when its episcopal see still had to affirm itself as the most important see in the Eastern part of the Empire. In order to highlight these questions, we will especially analyse Demophilus' participation in the Church meetings of Serdica in 343, Antioch in 344, Milan in 345 and Sirmium in 351. We will thus focus on his role in persuading Pope Liberius to sign the Sirmian Formula, as well as on his participation in the Council of Ariminum (Rimini) in 359, his consecration as bishop of Constantinople in 370, his attitude towards the Eunomians, and his role in the consecration of new bishops in Cyzicus and Antioch. All this will help to understand an important phase of the constitution of the power of the Constantinopolitan Church, at a time that was somewhat embarrassing for its episcopal see, a time which is documented in a very partial way by the narrative sources.

1. *At the councils of Serdica (343), Antioch (344), Milan (345) and Sirmium (351)*

According to Philostorgius, Demophilus was born into a noble family of Thessalonica.¹ However, the oldest testimony about him is a decree proclaimed by the so-called “Eastern [*viz.* pro-Arian] Council” of Serdica (343), which he signed as bishop of Beroe in Thrace.² Because this is the only known mention of Demophilus in connection with the meeting of Serdica and as he was the 69th signatory of the decree, he is not generally considered among the most prominent participants. However, can this really be an argument, since Valens of Mursa, whose role at this meeting was by no means insignificant, is the 73rd and last signatory of the same decree?³

Shortly after Serdica, the “Eastern” bishops made it clear they had full confidence in their counterpart in Beroe. Together with bishops Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Eudoxius of Germanicia and a certain Martyrius, perhaps of Naupactus in Achaea, Demophilus was sent by the Synod of Antioch of 344 to meet the “Western” bishops, with the task of bringing them a synodical letter and the so-called “Long Creed”.⁴ The “Western” bishops discussed this epistle and the creed at the Synod of Milan in 345. We know that Demophilus attended that meeting as a member of the “Eastern” delegation⁵ and he most probably took part also in the Synod of Antioch (344), although the sources don’t give

¹ Philost. *h.e.* 9, 14.

² Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, IV, 3 (69).

³ Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, IV, 3 (73). Because of his role in the Arian controversy, Valens of Mursa was deposed by the “Western” bishops at the same Council of Serdica. The other “Eastern” bishops who were also condemned as heretics by the same meeting were: Theodorus of Heraclea, Narcissus of Eirenopolis, Acacius of Caesarea, Stephanus of Antioch, Ursacius of Singidunum, Menophantus of Ephesus and George of Laodicea. See Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 40, 3; 47, 3; Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 17, 2; Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, II, 1, 7 and 8; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 12, 3.

⁴ Ath. Alex. *syn.* 26, 1; Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, VII, 4; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 19, 1; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 11, 2. See also Simonetti 1975, 189–190; Barnes 1993, 88. The possible see of Martyrius is deduced here from Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, II, 4 (47). Without a decisive argument, A. L. Feder (1911, 129; 1916, 281) and H.-G. Opitz (1940, 251, n. 18 [cf. Ath. Alex.]) are, however, thinking that the Martyrius who was sent to Milan in 344 was a different bishop, from an unknown see.

⁵ Liberius of Rome is writing about Demophilus’ participation at the Synod of Milan, in his letter to Constantius of 353/354. See Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, VII, 4. For the date of the letter, see Barnes 1992, 263.

us clear information about this last point. The task of his deputation was of extreme importance. We can believe that in the atmosphere of political tensions between the brother Emperors, Constans and Constantius II, especially after the failure of the Council of Serdica, the creed presented to the “Western” bishops was an attempt at reconciliation in the theological field between a then weaker East and stronger West. If the bishops assembled in Milan had accepted the conclusions of the Synod of Antioch, there would have been no reason for Constans to threaten war, unless Constantius had not allowed Athanasius and other exiled Nicene bishops from his *pars* to return home.⁶

Still, the arrival of “Eastern” bishops at Milan in 344/345 was not entirely without influence on the outcome of the synod. In the so-called “Long Creed”, Photinus, a disciple of Marcellus of Ancyra and bishop of Sirmium, is mentioned for the first time as a heretic.⁷ As a likely consequence, the bishops assembled in Milan – perhaps because of some decision taken in Antioch – were the first who condemned Photinus in the West.⁸ As long as Constans was the emperor in that *pars*, however, nothing happened to put their decision into effect. Therefore, it was not until 351, when the West came under Constantius’ rule, that the Council of Sirmium not only condemned Photinus, but, in fact, deposed him and consecrated a new bishop, Germinius, in his place. Hilarius of Poitiers preserved the names of the participants at Sirmium:

“These are the signatories to the false creed, written at Syrmium, Liborius calls ‘catholic’ and says was set forth to him by Demofilus: Narcissus, Theodorus, Basil, Eudoxius, Demofilus, Cecropius, Silvanus, Ursacius, Valens, Evagrius, Hireneus, Exuperantius, Terentianus, Bassus, Gaudentius, Macedonius, Marcus, Acacius, Julius, Surinus, Simplicius and Junior.”⁹

⁶ Based on Ath. Alex. *apol. Const.* 3, we can suppose that the meeting between Constans and Athanasius of Alexandria in Aquileia in 345 was an important part of the emperor’s decision to threaten his brother Constantius with war. The meeting must have taken place after the Synod of Milan (345) had rejected the conclusions of the Synod of Antioch (344), which were presented by Demophilus and his colleagues, but before this delegation of “Easterners” left Poetovio, accompanied by the *comes* Thalassius, on its way home. Cf. Cedilnik 2004, 142–144.

⁷ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 19, 15–16. Cf. also Jones–Martindale–Morris 1971, 886 (Thalassius 1); Simonetti 1975, 191.

⁸ Barnes 1993, 88.

⁹ Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, VII, 9 (7) (transl. Wickham 1997, 78).

If Hilarius' list is correct, the participants of the Council of Sirmium of 351 were:¹⁰ Narcissus of Neronias (also known as Eirenopolis) in Cilicia; Theodorus of Heraclea in Europe; Basil of Ancyra in Galatia; Eudoxius of Germanicia in Coele Syria; Demophilus of Beroe in Thrace; Cecropius of Nicomedia in Bithynia; Silvanus of Tarsus in Cilicia; Ursacius of Singidunum in Moesia Superior; Valens of Mursa in Pannonia Superior; Evagrius, most probably of Mytilene on Lesbos;¹¹ Hireneus, most probably Eirenaïos of Tripolis in Phoenice;¹² Exuperantius, whose episcopal see is unidentified; Terentianus, also from an unidentified see; Bassus, most probably of Carpathos in the Cyclades;¹³ Gaudentius, whose see is unidentified;¹⁴ Macedonius of Mopsuestia in Cilicia; Marcus of Arethusa in Coele Syria; Acacius of Caesarea in Palestine; together with Julius,¹⁵ Surinus, Simplicius and Junior, whose sees are unidentified.

Among these twenty-two bishops mentioned by Hilarius, up to ten also participated in the Council of Serdica: Narcissus of Eirenopolis, Theodorus of Heraclea, Basil of Ancyra, Eudoxius of Germanicia, Demophilus of Beroe, Valens of Mursa, Bassus of Carpathos, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Marcus of Arethusa and Acacius of Caesarea. So, twelve of the participants at Sirmium in 351 are not listed among those of the Council of Serdica and the identity of nine of them is very uncertain (Evagrius, Hireneus, Exuperantius, Terentianus, Gaudentius, Julius, Surinus, Simplicius and Junior). Regarding the other three bishops (Cecropius of Nicomedia, Silvanus of Tarsus and Ursacius of Singidunum), we know that Cecropius was the head of the Church of Laodicea in Phrygia before being translated in Nicomedia in 351.¹⁶ Athanasius ascribes Cecropius' second appointment as bishop solely to his

¹⁰ The list of bishops is supplemented with the names of episcopal sees after Feder 1911, 101-103. See also Brennecke et al. 2014, 344-345.

¹¹ Feder 1911, 102.

¹² Feder 1911, 102.

¹³ As this Bassus could be the same bishop who attended the Council in Serdica. Cf. Feder 1911, 102.

¹⁴ At that period, there were two bishops of that name: Gaudentius of Naissus, who attended the Council of Serdica among the "Western" bishops, and Gaudentius of Ariminum. As they both opposed Arianism, none of them could be the Gaudentius from Hilarius' list. Cf. Feder 1911, 102.

¹⁵ It is hardly possible that this Julius could be the bishop of Thebae in Achaia, because he attended the so-called "Western Council" of Serdica. Cf. Feder 1911, 103.

¹⁶ Feder 1911, 101.

theological opinions – similarly as for Auxentius of Milan and Epictetus of Centumcellae –, with the purpose of bringing false charges against Nicene prelates.¹⁷ About Silvanus of Tarsus, we know nothing of him before 351. Later he was a supporter of Basil of Ancyra and for that reason he was deposed by the Council of Constantinople of 360.¹⁸ As for Ursacius of Singidunum, we meet him for the first time in 335, when he was sent by the Synod of Tyre as a member of a delegation of Eusebian (pro-Arian) prelates to the Mareotis, near Alexandria, in order to investigate the charges against Athanasius.¹⁹ He was later an important representative of the Homoean Party until to the end of his life.

Based on the material presented here, it is obvious that, since his first mention in the sources, Demophilus of Beroe/Constantinople was consistently one of a group of prelates whose theological belief was not only pro-Arian, but which was also closely connected with Eusebius of Nicomedia, at a time when the latter was still alive. Socrates names five bishops among Eusebius' close collaborators, who – as he writes – assumed all his authority after his death: Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodorus of Heraclea, Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursa.²⁰ All five bishops were sent by the Synod of Tyre to the Mareotis in 335. A sixth member was added to that latter delegation: Macedonius of Mopsuestia. Furthermore, Theognis, Maris, Theodorus, Ursacius and Valens would have signed, together with their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia (so before 341), a letter for Julius of Rome, condemning Athanasius of Alexandria and Marcellus of Ancyra.²¹ Eusebius and Theognis died before the Council of Serdica,²² but all the other bishops should have attended this meeting.²³ In addition,

¹⁷ Ath. Alex. *ep. Aeg. Lib.* 7, 5.

¹⁸ Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 27, 20-21; Feder 1911, 101-102. Silvanus played an important role at the Council of Seleucia of 359. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 39, 19; Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 26, 9; 2, 27, 4.

¹⁹ Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 13; 72, 4-73, 1; 75, 1; 76, 2; Socr. *h.e.* 1, 27, 7; 1, 31, 2-3; Soz. *h.e.* 2, 25, 19; 2, 28, 13.

²⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12, 2-5.

²¹ Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, II, 1, 2. On the various letters sent by the Eusebians to Julius of Rome between 335 and 341, see Thompson 2015, 28.

²² Feder 1911, 111.

²³ Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, IV, 1, 18. However, Maris of Chalcedon and Ursacius of Singidunum are not in the list of "Eastern" signatories copied by Hilarius of Poitiers. See Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, IV, 3; Feder 1911, 93-94; Brennecke et al. 2007, 275-279.

four of these bishops, Theodorus, Macedonius, Valens and Ursacius, were present at the Council of Sirmium of 351.²⁴

If the Council of Serdica was organised as an oecumenical meeting where as many bishops as possible from the whole Empire were supposed to gather, the Council of Sirmium of 351 had no such ambition. Yet, almost all surviving closest collaborators of late Eusebius of Nicomedia were present at Sirmium – even if the ambitions were smaller than at Serdica. Another bishop attended both synods: Demophilus of Beroe. If we could not say much about his participation at Serdica, we can – relying on his participation at Sirmium – reasonably assume that he was already not an insignificant member of the group,²⁵ whose most important representatives were formerly Eusebius' closest collaborators. It is even possible that his theological belief was not the only link that connected him with this group of bishops. Since we first met Demophilus as bishop of Beroe at the Council of Serdica, it is possible – although there is no real proof – that he was consecrated by Eusebius of Nicomedia himself, the bishop of Constantinople from 338 to 341, what is, less than two years before the Council of Serdica met in autumn 343.²⁶

2. *Liberius' Signature of the First Sirmian Formula*

A little more than four years after the Council of Sirmium of 351, Pope Liberius²⁷ was exiled²⁸ because he refused to obey Constantius II's order to condemn Athanasius of Alexandria. Beroe was chosen as

²⁴ Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, VII, 9 (7).

²⁵ In Ath. Alex. *ep. Aeg. Lib.* 7, 2-6, which was written in 356, Demophilus is listed among the men who had been promoted by the Eusebians because of their conviction in the Arian faith: Secundus of Ptolemais, George of Laodicea, Stephen and Leontius of Antioch, Theodore of Heraclea, Ursacius of Singidunum, Valens of Mursa, Acacius of Caesarea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Narcissus of Neronias (Eirenopolis), Eustathius of Sebasteia, Demophilus of Beroe, Germinius of Sirmium, Eudoxius of Germanicia, Basil of Ancyra, Cecropius of Nicomedia, Auxentius of Milan, Epictetus of Centumcellae, and George of Cappadocia (bishop of Alexandria). Cf. also Gwynn 2007, 113.

²⁶ For the date of Eusebius' death, see Barnes 1993, 213.

²⁷ Liberius was consecrated bishop of Rome in the spring of 352. Cf. Barnes 1992, 257.

²⁸ Liberius was first arrested and sent to the imperial court in Milan (autumn 355 or summer 356), then he was sent to Beroe in Thrace. Cf. Pietri 1976, 246-249; Barnes 1993, 118.

the place for the banishment. For sure, that choice was also made on the basis of Demophilus' role among the supporters of the emperor's theological position. In fact, the bishop of Beroe was already among the most prominent ones. His own position was well known to Liberius before he was exiled. In his letter to Constantius of 353/4, the bishop of Rome clearly states his opinion about him:

“So what peace can there be, most serene Emperor, if, as has now happened throughout Italy, bishops are obliged to be obedient to the declared opinions of such people?”²⁹

The prelates that Liberius had in mind were the members of the delegation sent from Antioch to Northern Italy in 344/345: Demophilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius and Martyrius, who all refused – as he writes – to condemn, at Milan, the “heretical” views of Arius, and George of Cappadocia, the pro-Arian bishop of Alexandria. That latter was then accused by his detractors of complacent communication with priests and deacons expelled from the Church in the time of Alexander of Alexandria (312–328), and for following Arius' heresy.³⁰ Nevertheless, four years after he wrote this letter and two years after the beginning of his exile, Liberius relented and signed one of the Sirmian creeds, being convinced by Demophilus of Beroe.

The exact dates of Liberius' exile cannot be given with precision and modern historians are still debating them. If we follow Charles Pietri, Liberius was arrested and taken secretly to Milan shortly after Flavius Leontius' nomination to the Urban Prefecture in Rome, which would have occurred necessarily after the 13th of June 356 according to André Chastagnol.³¹ Alternatively, Timothy D. Barnes, questioning the final protocol of the imperial constitution (*Cod. Theod.* 9.17.3) which allows this dating and preferring, in particular, to rely on the order of events in Ammianus Marcellinus, proposes instead the year 355, before the appointment of Julian as Caesar, so necessarily before the 6th of November.³² The date of his return to Rome is also not very clear:

²⁹ Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, VII, 4 (transl. Wickham 1997, 73–74).

³⁰ Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, VII, 4.

³¹ Chastagnol 1962, 147–149; Pietri 1976, 246–247. See also Jones-Martindale-Morris 1971, 503 (Flavius Leontius 22).

³² Amm. 15, 7, 6–10; Barnes 1992, 257–260. On the contrary, the specialists of the *Cod. Theod.* do not generally question the dating of the constitution concerned.

- after two years, according to Athanasius of Alexandria;³³
- in the third year of his exile, according to the anonymous author of the *Gesta sunt inter Liberium et Felicem episcopos*, who seems to rely on the same source as Theodoret of Cyrus' *Historia ecclesiastica*;³⁴
- and on the 2nd of August 358 according to the *Liber pontificalis*.³⁵

During his exile, Liberius could have theoretically signed any of the three first Sirmian creeds, which were respectively proclaimed in 351, 357 and 358.³⁶ Could we see Demophilus' position as a clue to the identity of the creed under which Liberius put his name? If so, a signature of the Homoeousian creed of 358 seems almost impossible. Demophilus, who was a true partner for Valens of Mursa and Ursacius of Singidunum from the very beginning of the whole affair, was still in 359 one of the closest collaborators with both "Danubian" bishops. Although Valens and Ursacius participated in the Council of Sirmium of summer 358, they most probably never really supported its Homoeousian conclusions.³⁷ In that sense, a signature of the Third Sirmian Formula by Liberius, under Demophilus' influence, seems impossible.³⁸

See, for example, the commentary in Delmaire et al. 2009, 166-167 (even if the dates given for Flavius Leontius' prefecture are not identical to Chastagnol's proposal).

³³ Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 89, 3; Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 41, 3.

³⁴ Avell. 1, 3. See also Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 17.

³⁵ Lib. pontif. 37, 6. Cf. Pietri 1976, 259; Brennecke 1984, 275; Hanson 1988, 360-362. As for Barnes 1992, 260-261, and Stevenson 2014, 21, they consider the year 357 as a more likely option for Liberius' return to Rome.

³⁶ Feder 1910, 153-175, argues that Liberius signed the First and the Third Sirmian creeds; Brennecke 1984, 292, the second one; Barnes 1992, 261, the first one.

³⁷ H.-C. Brennecke (1984, 276-277) points out that Liberius most likely could not have signed the Sirmian Formula of 358, because he had to leave for Rome before the council finished its work.

³⁸ The possibility that Liberius signed the Third Sirmian Formula is further reduced by the fact that Eustathius of Sebasteia, one of Basil of Ancyra's associates who attended the Council of Sirmium in 358 as a representative of Macedonians, appealed to the Pope for help against the oppression of both Emperor Valens and Eudoxius of Constantinople in 366. See Socr. *h.e.* 4, 12; Soz. *h.e.* 6, 10, 3-7. His request would hardly be reasonable if Basil and his group of followers had been responsible for Liberius' signing of a "heretical" creed. Furthermore, it might also be possible - although there is no real proof - that Basil facilitated Liberius' return by - at least - not opposing it, even though the Pope did not sign the Third Sirmian Formula. This could be the background of accusations against the bishop of Ancyra at the Council of Constantinople in 360, as he was blamed for causing discord in the

It is much more difficult to determine which one of the two remaining creeds the bishop of Rome could have signed. As Athanasius' condemnation was not the only condition for Liberius to return to Rome,³⁹ he also had to prove his support for the then most influential group of "Eastern" bishops by signing a "proper" creed. If he really returned to Rome on the 2nd of August 358, the signature must have taken place in the spring, so before the Third Sirmian Formula was written. At the same time, the Second Sirmian Formula was – due to the warnings of the Basilians (followers of Basil of Ancyra) – quickly losing the Emperor's favour. Could we thus really believe that Constantius – who, after a fast and unanimous condemnation of Athanasius by the bishops gathered at the synods of Arles in 353 and Milan in 355, wanted the Church to be united on the Christological level as well – would have permitted Liberius to return after he had signed a creed that aroused an energetic protest among the "Eastern" bishops?

In fact, the signing of the First Sirmian Formula was undoubtedly part of the original plan, since the Second and the Third Sirmian creeds had not yet been written at the time Liberius was sent to exile. To do so, Beroe was undoubtedly a first-choice place for banishment, as its bishop, Demophilus, had attended the Council of Sirmium of 351 and was one of the signatories of its creed. However, Liberius, as can be seen from the letters he wrote during his exile, resisted the signing of the new creed and was, for this reason, not allowed to return in Rome.⁴⁰ Immediately after the composition of the Second Sirmian Formula in 357,⁴¹ we can thus imagine the duplication of efforts to

Roman Church (Soz. *h.e* 4, 24, 6). We could imagine that he was seen as responsible for the so-called troubles by not preventing Liberius' return, while he was influential enough to do that in 358. Cf. Cedilnik 2004, 282-283.

³⁹ Liberius may have fulfilled this condition at the very beginning of his exile. Cf. Brennecke 1984, 278.

⁴⁰ Liberius mentions his signing of a Sirmian creed only in one of the three letters he wrote during his exile at Beroe. See Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, VII, 8, 2 (6) = Herbers 2016, n° 492. There is a debate about the authenticity of this letter, but also of others attributed to the same Pope during his exile in Beroe (*infra*, n. 44), that we find in the *Collectanea antiariana Parisina*. Cf. Pietri 1976, 253-255.

⁴¹ The synod met in the summer or, more probably, in the autumn of 357. Cf. Brennecke 1984, 312.

persuade him to sign it. Sozomen⁴² and Philostorgius⁴³ even imply that he put his signature to the Second Sirmian Formula. Moreover, the bishops to whom Liberius appeals in his letters from the exile,⁴⁴ begging them to intercede for him within Constantius, were not only supporters of the First Sirmian Formula, but, at least for some of them,

⁴² Soz. *h.e.* 4, 15, 1-4 (transl. Hartranft 1890, 309-310): "Not long after these events, the emperor returned to Sirmium from Rome; on receiving a deputation from the Western bishops, he recalled Liberius from Beroe. Constantius urged him, in the presence of the deputies of the Eastern bishops, and of the other priests who were at the camp, to confess that the Son is not of the same substance (ὁμοούσιος) as the Father. He was instigated to this measure by Basil, Eustathius, and Eusebius, who possessed great influence over him. They had formed a compilation, in one document, of the decrees against Paul of Samosata, and Photinus, bishop of Sirmium; to which they subjoined a formulary of faith drawn up at Antioch at the consecration of the church, as if certain persons had, under the pretext of the term "consubstantial," (ὁμοούσιος) attempted to establish a heresy of their own. Liberius, Athanasius, Alexander, Severianus, and Crescens, a priest of Africa, were induced to assent to this document, as were likewise Ursacius, Germinius, bishop of Sirmium, Valens, bishop of Mursa, and as many of the Eastern bishops as were present. They partially approved of a confession of faith drawn up by Liberius, in which he declared that those who affirm that the Son is not like unto the Father in substance and in all other respects, are excommunicated. For when Eudoxius and his partisans at Antioch, who favored the heresy of Aetius, received the letter of Hosius, they circulated the report that Liberius had renounced the term "consubstantial," and had admitted that the Son is dissimilar from the Father. After these enactments had been made by the Western bishops, the emperor permitted Liberius to return to Rome." Sozomen's report on Liberius' exile (Soz. *h.e.* 4, 11-15), which was written from various sources, is contradictory in its content. Cf. Brennecke 1984, 288-292.

⁴³ Philost. *h.e.* 4, 3 (transl. Amidon 2007, 65-66): "Constantius himself went to Sirmium and stayed there. It was at that time that he brought back from exile the bishop of Rome, Liberius, who was eagerly requested by the Romans, and gave him to those who were asking for him. He also says that Liberius too at this time subscribed against the consubstantialist doctrine, and against Athanasius to boot, as did Bishop Hosius, a council having met there and drawn them into unanimity. Once they had subscribed, Hosius [he says] returned to his bishopric of Cordova and governed his see, while Liberius did likewise in the church of Rome. As for Felix, who had been made bishop of Rome in the meantime, he retired, keeping the title of bishop but not governing any church."

⁴⁴ Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, VII, 8, 10 and 11 = Herbers 2016, n^{os} †492 (*Pro deifico*), †493 (*Quia scio*) and †494 (*Non doceo*). Cf. also Brennecke 1984, 271-284; and *supra*, n. 40.

also of the second one.⁴⁵ So, there is still a possibility that Liberius also signed the Second Sirmian Formula, if he really returned to Rome in 358. However, it is hardly plausible, as mentioned above, that this deed would have ended his banishment.

Could we therefore believe that the fulfilment of the original plan – the signing of the First Sirmian Formula – saved Liberius from his exile, since only then was the Emperor Constantius willing to allow the Pope to return to Rome? This is what Hilarius tells us. Furthermore, we can read in Liberius' letter *Pro deifico*:

“... because my lord and common brother Demophilus kindly saw fit to set forth your creed, which is also the Catholic faith, as discussed and set forth by the majority of our brothers and fellow bishops at Syrmium and accepted ... by all present, I have accepted it gladly ... I have not contradicted it in any respect, I have concurred with it, follow it and hold to it.”⁴⁶

We can imagine that Liberius, no matter what Sirmian creed he signed, would have tried to justify his action by referring to the widespread support the creed received among bishops. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the bishop of Rome was exaggerating, in order to justify his adhesion to the “Eastern” position. Yet we must not bypass Barnes' warning that neither the Second nor the Third Sirmian creeds ever enjoyed the sort of widespread support that Liberius refers to in the passage above.⁴⁷

3. *The Councils of Ariminum (359), Seleucia (359) and Constantinople (360)*

Regardless of which Sirmian Formula Liberius signed, we can be quite certain that Demophilus accomplished his task well enough to perfectly satisfy Valens of Mursa's and Ursacius of Singidunum's expectations. At the Council of Ariminum (359), convened by Constantius II to unite the so-called “Western” bishops on theological issues,

⁴⁵ Fortunatianus of Aquileia, Demophilus of Beroe, Ursacius of Singidunum, Valens of Mursa, Germinius of Sirmium, Epictetus of Centumcellae, Auxentius of Milan and Vincentius of Capua.

⁴⁶ Hil. *coll. antiar.* B, VII, 8, 2 (6) = Herbers 2016, n° 492 (transl. Wickham 1997, 77-78).

⁴⁷ Barnes 1992, 261.

the Emperor entrusted the realisation of his plan to Valens' and Ursacius' party. Both were the major initiators of the Fourth Sirmian Formula,⁴⁸ which at the meetings of Ariminum and Seleucia served as a basis for achieving consensus on theological issues. Among the bishops of their group who attended the Councils of Ariminum, we meet in the sources, beside Germinius of Sirmium, a certain Gaius, whose episcopal see in Pannonia is unknown, alongside Auxentius of Milan and Demophilus of Beroe.⁴⁹ The presence of this latter in Ariminum is surprising, since only the bishops of the western part of the Empire were supposed to participate in the council, while Beroe was a city in Thrace. Thus, we can only speculate whether his presence in Ariminum was due to his reputation as a persuasive promoter of Arian/Homoean ideas and positions, as he had succeeded in persuading the bishop of Rome, one of the most important "Western" bishops, to sign a pro-Arian Creed.⁵⁰

Along with other bishops of the Homoean Party, Demophilus was, however, condemned as a heretic and deposed by the Council of Ariminum on the 21st of July 359.⁵¹ After that, he is not mentioned in the sources in connection with the further course of events at this meeting. We do not know, therefore, whether he was a member of the Homoean delegation which, after the condemnation, returned to Constantius in order to give him a report on the meeting. We also do not know if he attended the following negotiations in Nike (in Thrace) or if was in Constantinople at the end of 359,⁵² when the Homoean Party

⁴⁸ The creed was written at the Council of Sirmium on the 22nd of May 359. The following participants of the synod are known to us from the sources: Valens of Mursa, Ursacius of Singidunum, Germinius of Sirmium, Marcus of Arethusa, Basil of Ancyra, George of Cappadocia/Alexandria. Cf. Simonetti 1975, 244; Löhr 1986, 99; Brennecke 1988, 13-15.

⁴⁹ Ath. Alex. *syn.* 8, 1; 9, 3; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 37, 13-14; 28; 51; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 17, 3 and 7; Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 23, 4.

⁵⁰ Could we suppose that, in his presentation at the Council of Ariminum, Athanasius mentioned Demophilus because the latter was one of those who persuaded Liberius to condemn the Alexandrian prelate, whereas, in reality, Demophilus' role at this meeting was not so important that Hilarius did not feel the need to mention him?

⁵¹ Ath. Alex. *syn.* 9, 3; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 37, 51-52; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 17, 7 and 9; Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 23, 4. As for Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, V, 1, 2; V, 3, 1 (5) and IX, 3, they list only the names of Ursacius, Valens, Germinius and Gaius.

⁵² The letter of the "Eastern" bishops - gathered in Seleucia - sent to the members of the delegation returning from Ariminum and on its way to Constantinople

achieved its victory, by proclaiming the replacement of the Nicene Creed by the Sirmian(-Nikean) Formula.

To better understand Demophilus' role in the events of that time, it seems necessary to look who were the most important supporters of the Fourth Sirmian Formula at the Council of Seleucia, where the so-called "Eastern" bishops gathered. These were, as Socrates writes: Acacius of Caesarea, George of Cappadocia, Uranius of Tyre and Eudoxius of Antioch.⁵³ Patrophilus of Scythopolis is added to this group by Sozomen and Athanasius.⁵⁴ Almost 20 years before that, they all – with the notable exception of George, who was chosen as the bishop of Alexandria not later than the beginning of 357,⁵⁵ and Uranius, who was elected on the see of Tyre at an unknown date – attended the Synod of Antioch in 341, together with Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theodorus of Heraclea,⁵⁶ both of whom had been dead for several years in 359.⁵⁷

The group of bishops who assembled in Antioch in 341 and Seleucia in 359 was not only associated with Eusebius of Nicomedia, but also with Demophilus of Beroe. Like the latter, Theodorus of Heraclea, Acacius of Caesarea and Eudoxius of Germanicia also attended the councils of Serdica in 343⁵⁸ and of Sirmium in 351.⁵⁹ Eudoxius was, as we have already seen, together with Demophilus, a member of the delegation sent from Antioch to Milan in 344/345. Furthermore, he fully accepted the Second Sirmian Formula, that of 357, when he was

lists only these names: Ursacius of Singidunum, Valens of Mursa, Magdonius, Megasius, both from unidentified sees, Germinius of Sirmium, Gaius, Justinus, Optatus and Marcialis, the four of them also from unidentified sees. However, Marcialis's name is followed by *et ceteris Ariminensis synodi legatis*. See Hil. coll. antiar. B, VIII, 1.

⁵³ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 39, 16.

⁵⁴ Ath. Alex. *syn.* 1, 3; 12, 2; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 22, 7. Because of their theological belief they were also deposed by the Council of Seleucia. See Ath. Alex. *syn.* 12, 5; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 40, 43-44; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 22, 25.

⁵⁵ For the date of George's appointment as bishop of Alexandria, see Hanson 1988, 325; Barnes 1993, 98-99; Wipszycka 2015, 137 and 439; Cedilnik 2022, 93-94.

⁵⁶ Ath. Alex. *syn.* 36, 6; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 5, 10.

⁵⁷ In addition to those whose name was already raised for the Synod of Antioch of 341, we can still mention: Gregorius of Cappadocia/Alexandria, George of Laodicea, Narcissus of Neronias (Eirenopolis) and Dianius of Cappadocian Caesarea. Cf. Hanson 1988, 284.

⁵⁸ Feder 1911, 93-94.

⁵⁹ Feder 1911, 101-103.

already the bishop of Antioch, *viz.* in 358. Besides Eudoxius, we also find at the synod held in Antioch in 358: Acacius of Caesarea and Uranius of Tyre, who were both supporters of the Fourth Sirmian Formula at the Council of Seleucia.⁶⁰

Among the most prominent supporters of the formula at this meeting, it seems that Eudoxius was the one who had been most often in contact with Demophilus in the past. They were both in Serdica (343), probably in Antioch (344), in Milan (345), in Sirmium (351), and, between 355 and 358, they perhaps worked together in order to persuade Liberius to condemn Athanasius and to sign a “proper” creed.⁶¹ At that time, Eudoxius was certainly one of the most influential “Eastern” bishops.⁶² This is unambiguously proven by the fact that he was chosen to replace Macedonius⁶³ on the see of Constantinople, at the

⁶⁰ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 12, 5.

⁶¹ Eudoxius is mentioned by Sozomen among the bishops who were present when Constantius sent for Liberius, in order to persuade him to accept his theological point of view. As Liberius refused compliance, he was exiled to Beroe. See Soz. *h.e.* 4, 11, 3. Sozomen does not tell us where Constantius and Liberius met, but from other sources we know that it was in Milan. Cf. Hanson 1988, 340; Barnes 1993, 118; also Demandt 2007, 113. Although Sozomen is the only one to report that Eudoxius took part in the meeting, his presence being only partly confirmed by Socrates, the latter writes that Eudoxius was in Rome when Leontius of Antioch died in 357. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 37, 7. As the new head of the Church of Antioch, Eudoxius convened a synod at the beginning of 358 and enthusiastically welcomed the conclusions of the Council of Sirmium of 357. See Soz. *h.e.* 4, 12, 5-7. He even claimed that Liberius admitted that the Son is dissimilar to the Father. See Soz. *h.e.* 4, 15, 1-4. Because of the accusations coming from Basil of Ancyra and his group of bishops, the chief of the Church of Antioch was then exiled by Constantius. See Soz. *h.e.* 4, 13, 4-6; Philost. *h.e.* 4, 8. However, thanks to the intercession of Patrophilus of Scythopolis and Narcissus of Neronias (Eirenopolis), with the consent of the Emperor, Eudoxius could return before the council assembled in Seleucia, since Eudoxius is mentioned among the bishops who were the most active organisers of the meetings of Ariminum and Seleucia. See Philost. *h.e.* 4, 10; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 16, 19-22.

⁶² Sozomen writes that Eudoxius became bishop of Antioch with the consent of the Emperor and with the support of his eunuchs, whereas the bishops (the Syrians and the others who had the right of ordination) gave him no sanction. See Soz. *h.e.* 4, 12, 4. Eudoxius especially enjoyed the support of Constantius’ influential eunuch Eusebius for the organisation of the councils of Ariminum and Seleucia (Soz. *h.e.* 4, 16, 22) and was, with the consent of the Emperor, soon afterwards translated from Antioch to Constantinople (Philost. *h.e.* 5, 1).

⁶³ E. Manders (2019, 257) argues that Macedonius’ succession to Eusebius of Nicomedia as bishop of Constantinople in 341 seems to reflect the increasing influence of the new bishop rather than the emperor’s dominance in ecclesiastical

council gathered in that city on the beginning of 360.⁶⁴ The *Chronicon Paschale* mentions Demophilus as a participant in this meeting.⁶⁵ During the next ten years, further contacts between both bishops can only be guessed as the sources are silent about them. However, it was Demophilus who was chosen to succeed Eudoxius as a bishop of Constantinople, at his death in 370.

4. Demophilus, Bishop of Constantinople

Demophilus became bishop of Constantinople in 370⁶⁶ and kept this position until 380, when he was, on the 26th of November, expelled from the city by Emperor Theodosius I.⁶⁷ He was the fourth and at the same time the last official Arian/Homoean prelate of the imperial city. It is by no means irrelevant that he was – as his two direct predecessors, Macedonius⁶⁸ and Eudoxius – most probably in Eusebius of Nicomedia's inner circle. After Eusebius' death, Demophilus was closely connected with the so-called Eusebian party, which means with Eusebius' former collaborators, who were supporters of his policies.

Philostorgius relates that the head of the Church of Heraclea played an important role in placing Demophilus on his new see, because it was the privilege of the metropolitan bishop of the province of

affairs. The conditions of Eudoxius' appointment could indeed give the impression that the emperor didn't play a significant role in his election. More important was the influence the bishop had gained among the most important Eastern bishops of the time.

⁶⁴ *Chronicon Paschale* (s.a 360 [PG XCII, 736]); Soz. *h.e.* 3, 5, 10; 4, 25, 6; 4, 26, 1; 4, 28, 1; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 43, 7-8; 4, 43, 11; 2, 44, 3; Philost. *h.e.* 4, 12 and 5, 1.

⁶⁵ *Chron. Pasch.* s.a 360.

⁶⁶ Socr. *h.e.* 4, 14; Soz. *h.e.* 6, 13, 1; Philost. *h.e.* 9, 8. Philostorgius writes that Demophilus' consecration was approved by the emperor while many of the people who were present at the consecration thought the bishop was unworthy of his new dignity. See Philost. *h.e.* 9, 10.

⁶⁷ Barnes 2017, 187.

⁶⁸ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12, 2-3 (transl. Zenos 1890, 41): "... the Arians, however, ordained Macedonius at the same time, in the church dedicated to Paul. This those who had formerly co-operated with Eusebius (that disturber of the public peace) brought about, assuming all his authority. These were Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace, Ursacius of Singidunum in Upper Mysia, and Valens of Mursa in Upper Pannonia." See also Soz. *h.e.* 3, 7, 4.

Europe to consecrate his colleague in Constantinople.⁶⁹ However, he is wrong when he writes that it was Theodorus who consecrated Demophilus, because that event took place about fifteen years after the first one died.⁷⁰ Four paragraphs after presenting Demophilus' translation to Constantinople, Philostorgius gives the name of another bishop of Heraclea: Dorotheus.⁷¹ Although there is no absolute proof that he was the one to be sitting on that see when Demophilus was consecrated, this possibility cannot be ruled out.

In 360, Eudoxius of Constantinople made Eunomius bishop of Cyzicus. However, Eunomius left his episcopal see within a year of his elevation. According to Philostorgius, there was no bishop in Cyzicus from the day that Eunomius left the place until the day that Demophilus consecrated a new bishop on this see, so for 9 years.⁷² In fact, this consecration would have been Demophilus' first act, as the new bishop of Constantinople. On this occasion he would not have been alone in Cyzicus, but together with Dorotheus of Heraclea.⁷³ Therefore, we may suppose that Dorotheus was the one who ordained Demophilus.

The task of consecrating the bishop of Cyzicus was entrusted to the head of the Church of Constantinople for many years at that time. Before Demophilus, it was Eudoxius who made Eunomius bishop, just after the Constantinopolitan Council of 360 deposed his predecessor, Eleusius. That latter was himself ordained by Macedonius, in about 356. From Socrates' description of these events,⁷⁴ we understand that the authority of the Church of the imperial city over the neighbouring provinces of Bithynia and Hellespont was recognized even before 360, since Macedonius had already ordained his assistants as bishops in Cyzicus (Eleusius) and Nicomedia (Marathonius) just after the Council

⁶⁹ Philost. *h.e.* 9, 10. Sozomen gives almost the same information when he writes that Paul succeeded Alexander as bishop of Constantinople against the advice of Eusebius of Nicomedia or Theodorus of Heraclea, although both bishops – as being the closest, geographically – had the right of conferring this ordination. See Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 1.

⁷⁰ Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 16, 10-11 relates that Theognis of Nicaea and Theodorus of Heraclea were already dead in 355.

⁷¹ Philost. *h.e.* 9, 14.

⁷² Philost. *h.e.* 9, 13.

⁷³ Philost. *h.e.* 9, 13.

⁷⁴ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 38, 3-5.

of Milan of 355.⁷⁵ In reality, this control over the Churches of the eastern shore of the Propontis seems even to go back to Eusebius of Nicomedia's project to make Constantinople the main episcopal see in the Eastern part of the Empire, with the unification of the two banks into a single ecclesiastical "Arian" district as one of its first steps.⁷⁶

During Demophilus' episcopate in Constantinople, the area of authority of his see became more important. The whole of *Asiana* and *Pontica* were already parts of it at the time of the Constantinopolitan Council of 360.⁷⁷ However, Demophilus went perhaps further. After Euzoius of Antioch's death in 376, Dorotheus, the then bishop of Heraclaea, was made head of the Church of Antioch.⁷⁸ As implied in Philostorgius, Demophilus could have played a role in these events.⁷⁹ His very close cooperation with Dorotheus in the past lets us suppose that he chose him, at least, as candidate for the see of Antioch, if he was not the one who consecrated him. This would not be the first time Constantinople influenced the consecration of a prelate of this city. Theoretically, bishops of Antioch were elected by regional bishops,⁸⁰ together with the people of Antioch.⁸¹ Ignoring this rule, Eudoxius – if Socrates is right – proclaimed himself bishop of Antioch, with the help of some principal officers of the Emperor's bedchamber.⁸² While writing about his installation as bishop, Sozomen emphasizes – completely in the spirit of the fourth canon of Nicaea – that it was thus done without the sanction of George of Laodicea, of Marcus of Arethusa and of the other Syrian bishops.⁸³ This information implies that it was the right

⁷⁵ Socrates relates that Macedonius sent, with the emperor's permission, four cohorts of soldiers against the Novatians in Paphlagonia. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 38, 29-31; also Soz. *h.e.* 4, 21, 1-2. On the measures against the Novatians in Mantinium and the consequences of Macedonius' conduct on his relations with Constantius, cf. Manders 2019, 258-261.

⁷⁶ Cedilnik - Moreau 2024.

⁷⁷ Cedilnik - Moreau 2024.

⁷⁸ Socr. *h.e.* 4, 35, 4.

⁷⁹ Philost. *h.e.* 9, 14.

⁸⁰ Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 31, 2-5 (regarding Meletius' case).

⁸¹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 44, 3 (also about Meletius' case). For some other testimonies about the episcopal elections in Antioch during the third quarter of the 4th century, see Soz. *h.e.* 4, 28, 3 (again Meletius) and 9-10 (Euzoius).

⁸² Socr. *h.e.* 2, 37, 7-9; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 12, 3-4; Thdt. *h.e.* 2, 31, 1. Only Philostorgius relates that it was Eudoxius' supporters and not the emperor who translated him from his episcopal see of Germanicia to Antioch. See Philost. *h.e.* 4, 4.

⁸³ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 12, 4.

of these bishops to choose a new head for the main Church of their region. Later, when Eudoxius was already bishop of Constantinople, he and his supporters installed Meletius as bishop of Antioch.⁸⁴ As we have seen, the rule was broken not only in the case of Eudoxius and Meletius, but also before them, for Leontius who was appointed by Constantius,⁸⁵ and most probably, for Demophilus' ordination of Dorotheus. Both bishops of Constantinople, Eudoxius and Demophilus, who had presumably been part of a common plan in the earlier case of Liberius, would have followed common guidelines also to develop their influence in Antioch. Their motives could have been not only to strengthen the powers of the former collaborators of Eusebius of Nicomedia, but also it is possible that their actions, which are entirely in the spirit of Eusebius, can be understood as a thoughtful plan to expand the influence of the Constantinopolitan see.

As we can conclude from the sources, Demophilus' consecration of Dorotheus as bishop of Antioch was his last success in achieving this endeavour in Syria. In 380, he was expelled from the city by the emperor Theodosius, because of his Arian/Homoean beliefs. His departure is the final moment of the Eusebians in their project to strengthen the power of the Church of Constantinople, a project which was immediately taken over by the new Nicene imperial authorities and their ecclesiastical support. However, the efforts of the Eusebians in Antioch have finally failed, and its episcopal see did not stay a part of the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence.

5. Demophilus – Expelled Bishop

At the Emperor's command,⁸⁶ Demophilus and his followers gave up the *intra muros* churches of Constantinople and found themselves obliged to meet only in an *extra muros* church.⁸⁷ However, it means that the bishop continued to be the unambiguous leader of the Arian/Homoean community of the imperial city, which he also

⁸⁴ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 28, 3.

⁸⁵ Ath. Alex. *fug.* 26, 3; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 26, 9-10.

⁸⁶ Cod. Theod. 16, 1, 2 (edict to the people of the city of Constantinople given on the 28th of February 380).

⁸⁷ Soz. *h.e.* 7, 5, 5-7; Socr. *h.e.* 5, 7, 4-11. Philostorgius writes that Demophilus returned to Beroe after being expelled. See Philost. *h.e.* 9, 19.

represented at the assembly of bishops convened by Theodosius in 383.⁸⁸ Socrates and Sozomenos argue that Demophilus there defended the Arian dogma, Eunomius the cause of the Eunomians, Eleusius of Cyzicus that of the Macedonians, and Nectarius and Agelius that of the Homoousians.⁸⁹ The Emperor's goal was to find a common position on ambiguous points of doctrine, through a conversation in which leaders of different theological orientations would take part.⁹⁰ The meeting, which did not meet these expectations, certainly shows that Demophilus did not only enjoy the confidence of his own followers, but that he was considered as their most credible representative by the Nicene Party. If Socrates' narrative is correct, Theodosius even thought, during his stay in Constantinople, that Demophilus could be the one to unite the Church of his city. The same Church historian relates that the emperor asked Demophilus to accept the Nicene Creed and, thus, to reunite the people, when he found out that Gregory of Nazianzus intended to leave Constantinople.⁹¹ Since Demophilus did not accede to this request, Theodosius expelled him. Although only Socrates writes about the emperor's supposed intention, his report is perhaps not so far from the truth.

Demophilus would most likely have remained bishop of Constantinople if he had accepted the Nicene Creed. Even though he didn't accept it and in consequence was no longer officially bishop of Constantinople, he managed, as it seems, to lead the Arian/Homoean community successfully⁹² until his death in 386.⁹³ In a situation that was disadvantageous for those who were not willing to accept the Nicene Creed, his successors were not so successful. The Arian/Homoean community of Constantinople soon divided into two parties: one led

⁸⁸ Maximin. *c. Ambr.* 39; Socr. *h.e.* 5, 10; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 12. Cf., *inter alia*, Meslin 1967, 91-94.

⁸⁹ Socr. *h.e.* 5, 10, 24; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 12, 9.

⁹⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 5, 19, 1-2; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 12, 1-2.

⁹¹ Socr. *h.e.* 5, 7, 1-5.

⁹² Socrates cites Demophilus among the principal bishops at the time when Theodosius became emperor. See Socr. *h.e.* 5, 3, 4.

⁹³ Socr. *h.e.* 5, 12, 6; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 14, 4.

by a certain Marinus, the other by Dorotheus,⁹⁴ the former bishop of Heraclea and Antioch, and one of Demophilus' closest associates.⁹⁵

6. Conclusion

This paper discusses the role of an important bishop, Demophilus of Beroe/Constantinople, as representative of the most influential group of Arian/Homoean bishops during the Arian controversy, as well as the bishop's involvement in the politico-religious strategy of Constantinople at the time, when its episcopal see was still trying to affirm itself as the most important see in the Eastern part of the Empire. These questions are highlighted mostly through analyzing the councils of Serdica (343), Antioch (344), Milan (345), Sirmium (351), Ariminum (359) and Constantinople (360), and through the reconstruction of Demophilus role in persuading Pope Liberius to sign a Sirmian Formula. Based on information on the other bishops who, with bishop Demophilus, attended the above Church meetings, it is possible to conclude that Demophilus was not only closely associated with the most influential Arian/Homoean bishops, but that the former collaborators of Eusebius of Nicomedia were among his closest associates as well. That the confidence Demophilus enjoyed in this group of bishops was justified can be deduced from the fact that Pope Liberius was detained at Beroe in the custody of Demophilus when the Pope finally condemned Alexandrian bishop Athanasius and signed a pro-Arian creed (probably the first Sirmian one). Another notable success in the career of the bishop of Beroe, however, was his translation on the see of Constantinople in 370. If the struggle against the Nicæan creed and its greatest advocate, Athanasius of Alexandria, was the primary goal of Eusebius of Nicomedia and his adherents in the theological field, the politico-religious focus of this group was to strengthen and expand the area of influence of the Constantinopolitan see. As head of the Church of Constantinople, Demophilus faithfully followed this plan as well.

⁹⁴ After Demophilus died, Marinus succeeded him as head of the Constantinopolitan Arians/Homoeans. Around 387/388, he was replaced by Dorotheus, but then there was no more unity in this community. See Mathisen 1997, 675.

⁹⁵ Socr. *h.e.* 5, 12, 7-8; 5, 23; Soz. *h.e.* 7, 14, 4; 7, 17, 9-14.

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MACEDONIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A TRUE EUSEBIAN? CONTRIBUTION (IV) TO THE CHRISTIAN PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE *DIOECESIS THRACIARUM*

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Keywords: *Macedonius I of Constantinople, Paul I of Constantinople, Eusebians, persecution, George of Cappadocia/Alexandria.*

Abstract: *This paper deal with the figure of Macedonius, which was the second pro-Arian head of the Church of Constantinople, from 342 to 360, but with two periods of interruption, during which the pro-Nicene Paul regained his see. Macedonius became bishop because of the support he received from the Eusebians and kept his position as long as his conduct was in line with the efforts of this politico-religious faction. This meant asserting the pro-Arian doctrine of this group, as*

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well as strengthening and expanding the sphere of influence of the episcopal see of Constantinople. As part of his efforts to achieve both goals, he introduced persecution of pro-Nicenes and, as it seems, had a significant influence in the appointment of George of Cappadocia to the see of Alexandria.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Macedonius I de Constantinopol, Pavel I de Constantinopol, eusebieni, persecuție, Gheorghe de Cappadocia/Alexandria.*

Rezumat: *Macedonius de Constantinopol, un veritabil Eusebian? Contribuție (IV) la prosopografia creștină a Dioecesis Thraciarum.* *Lucrarea de față se ocupă de figura lui Macedonius, cel de-al doilea lider pro-arian al Bisericii de la Constantinopol, din 342 până în 360, dar cu două perioade de întrerupere, în care pro-niceanul Pavel și-a recăpătat scaunul. Macedonius a devenit episcop datorită sprijinului primit din partea eusebienilor și și-a păstrat funcția atâta timp cât conduita sa a fost în concordanță cu strădaniile acestei facțiuni politico-religioase. Aceasta însemna afirmarea doctrinei pro-ariene a acestui grup, precum și întărirea și extinderea sferei de influență a scaunului episcopal de Constantinopol. Ca parte a eforturilor sale de a atinge ambele obiective, el a inițiat persecuții împotriva pro-niceenilor și, după cum se pare, a avut o influență semnificativă în numirea lui Gheorghe de Cappadocia pe scaunul din Alexandria. [traducere: Irina Achim]*

According to the ecclesiastical historians, it was with the support of the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia that Macedonius became the second pro-Arian head of the Church of Constantinople. When the relations between him and the Eusebians later deteriorated, Macedonius was removed as the prelate of the eastern capital. He died soon after, without leaving a good reputation not only among the Nicenes/Homoousians, but also the Arians/Homoeans, which makes it particularly complex to study his career, especially because the sources are not explicit about the exact nature of Macedonius' cooperation with the Eusebians, as well as about the conditions of its end. In order to shed light on such issues, we will follow the stage of his episcopal career, from his first attempt to become bishop to his deposition, by paying special attention to: 1- his supporters, who enabled him to achieve his goal; 2- his opponents and his attitude to them; 3- the conditions of his rejection by the Eusebians.

1. *Macedonius' First Attempt to Become Bishop (337)*

When Bishop Alexander of Constantinople died in the summer 337, two candidates ran for his position: the presbyter Paul and the

deacon Macedonius.¹ According to Socrates and Sozomen, Alexander himself recommended both.² If we follow the first of both historians, Paul was “competent to teach, and of eminent piety”, whereas Macedonius was “a man of venerable aspect, and external show only of sanctity”.³ Sozomen’s description of Paul is quite similar to that of Socrates, but the words used by Alexander to describe Macedonius in Sozomen’s text highlight other qualities, as he is presented as a man “conversant with public affairs, and with the councils of rulers”.⁴

It is not surprising that neither of the two ecclesiastical historians gives a truly favourable judgment of Macedonius, although they record an opinion that is supposed to recommend the deacon as the new bishop.⁵ The fact that both candidates are said to have been appointed directly by Bishop Alexander, an ardent follower of the Nicene Creed, is not easy to understand.⁶ If the information is true, it can be explained in two ways: 1- Macedonius was not yet publicly a pro-Arian; 2- both candidates were not really the result of Alexander’s personal choice (the bishop may have simply submit himself to all the tendencies then emerging in Constantinople). If the second solution is the good one, it would be quite possible that Macedonius was already defending pro-Arian positions at that time, but it’s impossible to prove. According to Socrates,⁷ the Christian community of Constantinople was already then divided into two factions, the pro-Arian and the pro-Nicene, but Sozomen⁸ says that this division did not take place until after Alexander’s death. Of course, the difference between Socrates’ and Sozomen’s writing is most probably linked to the objectives pursued by both ecclesiastical historians. Whatever, the events that fol-

¹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3-4.

² Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 2-3; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 2.

³ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 3, translated by A. C. Zenos.

⁴ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 2, translated by C. D. Hartranft.

⁵ Franz Geppert speculates that Socrates could have obtained his data in the passage of *h.e.* 2, 6, 3 from a certain Auxanon, an aged Novatian presbyter who was one of Socrates’ important oral sources. At the time when Macedonius was Bishop of Constantinople, he most likely lived near the capital and suffered under a persecution against his community, which was conducted by the head of its Church. Cf. Geppert 1898, 59-65, 118; Urbainczyk 1997, 17-18; Van Nuffelen 2003, 226-228.

⁶ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 2; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 4, 1-2.

⁷ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 4-5.

⁸ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 4, 1-2.

lowed Alexander's death⁹ probably did not turn into a schism, despite their respective narrative, that agree on this specific point.¹⁰

By the time Alexander suggested that he be succeeded as bishop by one of the two candidates, Macedonius had – as it is reported by Socrates¹¹ – long been a deacon and was aged. We thus can imagine that Alexander, who was head of the Church of Byzantium and Constantinople for 23 years,¹² could have known this specific member of his clergy well. Of course, it would be possible that he misjudged the man. Perhaps he could also have really appreciated Macedonius' diplomatic skills and political engagement, which is Sozomen's opinion.¹³ These abilities would certainly have benefited the episcopal see of Constantinople. Did Alexander see in Macedonius a man who could have opposed Eusebius of Nicomedia? That the future bishop would have to face attempts of his colleague from Nicomedia to interfere in affairs of Constantinople, Alexander knew well from his own experience.¹⁴ Did he hope that the election could be carried out peacefully, despite the succession being offered to two candidates?

In any case, sources do not report any riots following the appointment of a new bishop of Constantinople after Alexander's death. Additional information provided by Athanasius could confirm the assumption. He reports that Macedonius was presbyter under Paul.¹⁵ This means that in the short period when Paul was the bishop of Constantinople after Alexander's death,¹⁶ Macedonius was "promoted" from deacon to presbyter (perhaps as a "consolation prize"). This not only means that in Paul's time he performed a more responsible function in the Church than under his predecessor, but also proves that Macedonius was fully part of Paul's ecclesiastical community. Apparently, and contrary to the writing of Socrates and Sozomen, the Church of Constantinople remained thus united after Paul's election,

⁹ Bishop Alexander probably died in the summer of 337; Hansen 1995, 96 (cf. Socr.).

¹⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 5-6; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 4, 1-2.

¹¹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 3.

¹² Socr. *h.e.* 2, 6, 2.

¹³ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3.

¹⁴ Socr. *h.e.* 1, 37; Soz. *h.e.* 2, 29, 1-3.

¹⁵ Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 7, 1.

¹⁶ Paul probably became bishop of Constantinople in the summer of the year 337. Cf. Barnes 1993, 213.

even if Athanasius, who is asserting to have been an eyewitness,¹⁷ goes on to report that Macedonius, even before he was promoted as a presbyter, had publicly accused his opponent though he does not specify the nature of the charge.¹⁸ Sozomen, on his side, is telling us that Macedonius' supporters allegedly accused Paul of "having been addicted to effeminacy and an indifferent conduct".¹⁹ Yet, Paul was probably not deposed on this grievance, at least not only on it, but rather, according to Sozomen, on the pretext of not having been elected according to the rules, as both neighbouring bishops, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theodore of Heraclea, were not present.²⁰

Alongside the obvious inconsistency of the accounts provided to us of Paul's first episcopate, another big question remains, *viz.* what is the timeline of the events? Before Paul's deposition, Athanasius visited the New Rome at least three times: in the winter of 331-332, in the autumn of 335 and in 337.²¹ According to his writing, Macedonius' accusation against Paul seems to have taken place during the third of these trips. To calculate the time of the year of this third trip it is not only necessary to study Athanasius' itinerary in 337, but also that of Constantius II, because: 1- the bishop of Alexandria met the emperor at Viminacium, eventually before the 9th of September, before a short stop at Constantinople; 2- but Athanasius was not anymore in it when Constantius was there in the autumn of 337. This put us in the second or third week of September 337.²²

¹⁷ Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 7, 1-2.

¹⁸ Athanasius seems to point out that Macedonius was in the same communion with Paul after his accusations against him. See. Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 7, 1.

¹⁹ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 3, translated by C. D. Hartranft.

²⁰ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 1. The question of the election of new bishops was then regulated by the 4th canon of the Council of Nicaea. Regarding this precise case, cf. Barnes 2017, 176.

²¹ Barnes 2017, 177.

²² At the moment of Constantine's death in Nicomedia on the 22nd of May 337, Constantius was in Antioch. According to Timothy D. Barnes, Constantius arrived in Constantinople shortly after and then left for Moesia Prima and the Pannonian provinces, where he is attested from July to September, before returning to Antioch in November, via Constantinople, where he would have been as soon as September. As for Athanasius, he was still in Trier on the 17th of June (where he was in exile since 335), before meeting Constantius in Viminacium and, then, leaving for Alexandria, where he is attested on the 23rd of November. Cf. Barnes 1993, 36, 212-213 and 219; 2017, 177. The meeting of Constantine's sons, Constantine II, Constans and Constantius, in Viminacium is sometime dated to the year 338, relying on *CTh.*

As can be deduced from the sources, the real threat to Paul arose only when Constantius returned from the Pannonian provinces to Constantinople in September or October 337,²³ since the Emperor was the one to strongly oppose his election as a bishop.²⁴ We would thus expect Macedonius to take advantage of the circumstances, by taking a firm and public stand against Paul. However, the sources tell us nothing about Macedonius' or his supporters' action at that exact moment. Moreover, as Macedonius is presented in the ancient texts as a pro-Arian figure, one might expect the Arians to elevate him in the position of a bishop. This did not happen, the new bishop of Constantinople after Paul's deposition being Eusebius of Nicomedia.²⁵ Could this not be a proof that, despite the information given by the sources, Macedonius was not actually a pro-Arian candidate for the see of Constantinople?

An actual answer to this question is not possible. Since Macedonius became bishop of Constantinople after Eusebius' death, it is also possible that Macedonius' task was to pave the way for Eusebius to take over the Church of Constantinople, by casting doubt on Paul's suitability. As reported by Sozomen, Macedonius' supporters themselves were admitting that Alexander had recommended both candidates.²⁶ Based on Sozomen's writing, we can assume that not everyone believed the rumours about such a double recommendation. Could it be possible that the rumours about Alexander's statement were spread by Macedonius' supporters themselves, since, perhaps, the pro-Arian party could not count on sufficient support in Constantinople at that time? Proposing two candidates as possible successors meant opening the door to strife, and this could have perfectly been in the interest of the Arians, as they were striving to name their own head for the Church of Constantinople, while the Nicenes already had their bishop. When the apple of discord was thrown, care had to be taken that the discord

10.10.4. For example, see Demandt 2007, 105. However, it is clear that Athanasius would not have been able to meet Constantius in Viminacium in that year. Cf. Kienast-Eck-Heil 2017, 296, 298 and 300.

²³ Barnes 2017, 177.

²⁴ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 4, 2.

²⁵ Brief information about the event is given by Philost. *h.e.* 2, 10. According to the calculations here proposed, Paul was deposed for the first time in the autumn of 337. For a slightly later date, *viz.* end of 337 or beginning of 338, see Périchon-Maraval 2005, 34, n. 1 (cf. Socr.).

²⁶ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 3.

should not flare up until favourable circumstances arose for a showdown with Paul. If this was, as we suppose, Macedonius' task, he certainly did it well. Under Paul, he advanced within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, until Constantius arriving to Constantinople, which meant for Paul: to be accused, deposed and exiled.

According to Athanasius, Eusebius of Nicomedia was the one to revive Macedonius' charge against Paul.²⁷ As above-mentioned, the accusations themselves were very vague, and it is interesting to note that Paul's behaviour is not clearly presented as uncanonical (against the rules of the Church).²⁸ The reproach could, however, be a moral one and the fact that pro-Nicene writers do not refer explicitly to the whole case should perhaps be interpreted as a desire not to talk too much about it. In any case, his condemnation was received, according to Socrates reports, by Arian bishops at a synod convened by Emperor Constantius upon his sojourn to Constantinople.²⁹ At the same meeting, Eusebius of Nicomedia was appointed the new bishop of Constantinople. We can very reasonably assume that it was the bishop of Nicomedia who was behind all the events that led to Paul's removal. Macedonius, who proved himself in fact to be, like it was said before, "conversant with public affairs, and with the councils of rulers",³⁰ after his task was accomplished, is not mentioned in the sources until his consecration as bishop of Constantinople a few years later.

2. Bishop of Constantinople (342-343) and First Intermediate Period (343-344)

After Paul's first deposition, Constantinople's new bishop ruled without major protests in the city. A few years later, when Eusebius of Nicomedia/Constantinople died, in late 341,³¹ events completely spiralled out of control. What could be the reason? We cannot say that Eusebius had prepared in a better way than Alexander his succession, so, again, the same candidates, Paul and Macedonius, aspired to the position of bishop of the New Rome. However, the course of events was completely different this time and it is very difficult to conceive that an

²⁷ Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 7, 2.

²⁸ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 1.

²⁹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 7, 2.

³⁰ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 3, 2, translated by C. D. Hartranft.

³¹ For the date, see Barnes 2017, 177.

omnipotent historical figure like Eusebius did not properly prepare his succession. Could he really foresee: *après moi le déluge*!

For sure, this new competition between Paul and Macedonius led to severe riots, in which the *magister equitum* Hermogenes even lost his life (342).³² The emperor Constantius, who was in Antioch at the time, rushed to Constantinople, punished its inhabitants by halving the city's grain supply, expelled Paul, and confirmed Macedonius as the new bishop.³³ What could be the reason that circumstances yet similar to those of 337 plunged the capital into an unprecedented uprising in 341/2? Eusebius died soon after the synod of Rome organised at the end of 340 or in the spring of 341, according to Socrates,³⁴ or the synod of Antioch of 341, according to Sozomen.³⁵ Although the sources are silent about this, we can assume that Macedonius was in Constantinople at the time Eusebius was its bishop. Little reliable is known about where Paul was staying after his deposition.³⁶ We do not know for sure, but it seems likely that the Synod of Rome of 340/1 acquitted Paul of the charges of which he was condemned – as it was the case for Athanasius of Alexandria, Marcellus of Ancyra and other deposed bishops from the East.³⁷ It is even possible that Paul, after being exiled, went to Rome.³⁸ But there is another possibility: if the accusations made against Maximinus of Trier at the Council of Serdica in 343 by the “Eastern” bishops were true, he was the first to receive the exiled prelate into communion.³⁹ That Paul could have enjoyed hospitality in

³² Socr. *h.e.* 2, 13, 4.

³³ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12–13; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 7.

³⁴ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12, 1. For the date of the synod, see Simonetti 1975, 146; Pietri 1976, 201; Barceló 2004, 80. Relying yet on Socrates' text, Barnes 2017, 177, assumes that Eusebius died late in 341.

³⁵ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 7, 3.

³⁶ According to Athanasius (*h. Ar.* 7, 3), he was first banished to Pontus. Cf. Barnes 1993, 213. Since the bishop of Alexandria attributes Paul's first exile to Constantine and not to Constantius, it is not certain whether his information is correct.

³⁷ Cedilnik-Moreau 2021, 451, n. 18.

³⁸ Bishop Julius of Rome does not mention Paul in his letter written after the Synod of Rome and addressed to the bishops gathered in Antioch (*Ath. Alex. apol. sec.* 33, 1). However, he is mentioned by Socrates (*h.e.* 2, 15, 2) and Sozomen (*h.e.* 3, 8, 1) among the bishops who were in Rome with Athanasius, at the time of his second exile. Simonetti 1975, 144, assumes that Paul could have stayed in the West and not in Pontus during his first exile.

³⁹ Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, IV, 1, 27, 7; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 11, 7. Cf. Périchon-Maraval 2005, 34, n. 1 (cf. Socr.).

Trier during his first exile could be proved by another accusation of the same bishops against the Maximinus. Indeed, this latter was indirectly blamed for the slaughter in Constantinople, which took place, as claimed by the “Eastern” party, precisely because – thanks to Maximinus – Paul was able to return to Constantinople in 342. The pro-Nicene faction of Constantinople then re-accepted Paul as its bishop. At about the same time, Macedonius was appointed bishop by the pro-Arian one.⁴⁰

Although we cannot date the events in question exactly, we know precisely who the supporters of Macedonius were then. Socrates and Sozomen list them by name: Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace, Ursacius of Singidunum, and Valens of Mursa.⁴¹ They were all Eusebius of Nicomedia’s long-time collaborators and, as both historians report, assumed after their leader’s death all his power. They do not seem, however, to have inherited his political discretion right from the beginning.

To summarise what has already been said: after Alexander’s death, rumours were circulating in the capital that Paul was not suitable for the episcopate and that Macedonius was also mentioned by Alexander as his possible successor. At that time, the pro-Arian side ordained its bishop only after the emperor’s arrival at Constantinople and with his approval. They didn’t choose Macedonius, whose reputation may have been diminished by his involvement in previous events. They choose Eusebius of Nicomedia, who is not mentioned in the sources regarding the succession problem until his consecration. The events that followed Eusebius’ death turned out quite differently. This time, both parties were equally quick to appoint their own bishop. Though the emperor was not in Constantinople this time either, neither side waited for his arrival nor for his approval. Constantius subsequently acknowledged Macedonius as Bishop of Constantinople.⁴²

⁴⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12, 2; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 7, 4.

⁴¹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 12, 3; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 7, 4. Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon and Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace were not only long-time collaborators of Eusebius, but also bishops of the surrounding regions, which was in accordance with the rules set by the Council of Nicaea regarding the election of bishops. It should also be seen as the result of the power exercised by Eusebius on both banks of the Bosphorus, and which is at the origin of the future territory of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

⁴² Socrates (*h.e.* 2, 13, 6) writes that the emperor hesitated to confirm the appointment of Macedonius as bishop, but, in the end, he nevertheless gave him his permission. Sozomen’s report (*h.e.* 3, 7, 8) is different. According to him, the emperor

However, nothing could erase the fact that Macedonius' path to the position of bishop was stained with human blood.

Could it be surmised that the events got out of control because the old Eusebius was no longer holding all the threads in his hands at the very end of his episcopate, while the prospective candidates to his succession were no match compared to their predecessor? Such an explanation is plausible, even if we have to remember that Eusebius managed to take over the leadership of the Church of Constantinople without causing revolt and that he held it with such a strong iron hand that the sources have given us no information of any protest against him. In any case, his successors did not have it easy. Paul's return to Constantinople may have been supported by both the decision of the Synod of Rome and by the desire of Emperor Constans to destabilize his brother's reign through the pro-Nicene bishops. If we should consider this possible threat, Eusebius' former associates were no less responsible for the disorder, when they ignored Emperor Constantius and took action without waiting for the latter's approval and support.

The attitude of both factions in 341-343 show that taking action without the emperor's participation could have been the reason for the tragic events when Macedonius was first appointed bishop of Constantinople. After the Council of Serdica (343), Paul returned to Constantinople. At first, everything went according to the emperor's instructions, although, in reality, the situation was about to be even more critical than after Eusebius' death, as Paul was returning with even more trump cards in his hands. If in 341 his demands had been based on the Synod of Rome's decision on his innocence,⁴³ in 343 his return to Constantinople was demanded not only by Emperor Constans⁴⁴ and, pos-

returned to Antioch without ratifying or dissolving Macedonius' ordination. However, it would be difficult to imagine that the emperor would have left Constantinople without the confirmation of its new bishop. Even if Macedonius did not quite fit Constantius' wishes, in the situation after the recent suppression of the revolt, it would have been difficult to prevent new riots if the disputed bishop had not obtained the emperor's approval. We can suppose that the emperor was aware of this danger. For arguments to the contrary, see Manders 2019, 255.

⁴³ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 15, 1-4; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 8, 1-4. Both ecclesiastical historians set the episode in a false context, as they both speak of it in connection with the Paul's second exile and not with the first one, as it would be correct.

⁴⁴ Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 15, 2; Socr. *h.e.* 2, 20, 2-3; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 24, 3.

sibly, the “Western” bishops of Serdica,⁴⁵ but also by relying on the canons of this council which gave the bishop of Rome the right to intervene if a bishop deposed by a provincial synod appealed against this decision to him.⁴⁶

Socrates⁴⁷ and Sozomen⁴⁸ give a rather detailed account of what happened when Paul returned to Constantinople for the second time. This time, Emperor Constantius, being himself in Antioch, entrusted the task of expelling Paul to the Praetorian Prefect Flavius Philippus.⁴⁹ To avoid revolt, Philippus carried out the task hidden from the public eye. He invited the bishop to a private interview in the public Baths of Zeuxippus (located next to the imperial palace), where he acquainted him with the emperor’s order. Paul submitted patiently to Constantius’ condemnation without trial, was secretly conducted to the port, and sent into exile to Thessalonike, where his family originated.

So far, Macedonius is not mentioned in the sources. However, according to Socrates, Macedonius appeared like a *deus ex machina*, when Paul withdrew from the scene.⁵⁰ By this comparison, Socrates effectively points out that the truth was just the opposite. Macedonius was part of the thorough preparations designed by the praetorian prefect on the emperor’s orders. When Paul was removed from the city, it was necessary to show people two things on the spot: 1- who the actual bishop of Constantinople was, and 2- that this bishop of Constantinople enjoys the support of the emperor. So, Macedonius and the Flavius Philippus immediately left the palace together and set out for a church (most probably Hagia Eirene). They rode in a chariot seen by everybody and were accompanied by a military guard with drawn swords. People, frightened at the spectacle, hurried to this church. Arians and

⁴⁵ Socrates (*h.e.* 2, 20, 12) is the only one to report that the Western bishops at Serdica returned his episcopal see to Paul. Paul was not present at the Council of Serdica. This is attested by a letter written by the Eastern bishops gathered at the Council of Serdica. In this letter, they claim that at the Council of Serdica the Western bishops communicated with Paul through Bishop Asclepas of Gaza, receiving Paul’s letters from him and sending their letters to him; Hil. *coll. antiar.* A, IV, 1, 20, 3. Cf. also Cedilnik 2004, 98.

⁴⁶ Pietri 1976, 220; Brennecke 1984, 42-46; Moreau 2016, 372-373.

⁴⁷ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 16.

⁴⁸ Soz. *h.e.* 3, 9.

⁴⁹ Before July 344 Flavius Philippus was not praetorian prefect; Barnes 1993, 214. See also Jones-Martindale-Morris 1971, 696-697.

⁵⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 16, 7-8.

Homoousians aspiring to be the first to reach it thus completely blocked its entrance. When the chariot with the military escort approached the building, the crowd panicked, because there was nowhere to withdraw. Panic also gripped the soldiers as they thought the people were resisting and intentionally unwilling to free up the passage. In this situation, the soldiers began to use their swords and they cut down those who blocked access to the church. Socrates writes that about 3150 persons lost their lives, the greater part under the soldiers' weapons, the rest trampled by the multitude.⁵¹ Sozomen reports vaguely that, then, Constantius' order was carried out, and Macedonius received the episcopal see of Constantinople.⁵² Socrates' narrative is more engaged: he blames Macedonius for the massacre and presents his reinstatement in the position of bishop as a reward for the crime committed.⁵³

Of course, it is difficult to assess the real guilt of Bishop Macedonius for the massacre. However, there is no hint in the sources that the bishop even tried to protect people, and if ever he made any effort they clearly did not yield success. Seen through the eyes of pro-Nicene authors, he was, of course, guilty simply because he was the bishop. In any case, this would be difficult to oppose, since Macedonius – as the figure supported by the pro-Arian party as their representative – was unacceptable to the pro-Nicene side and consequently an intrinsic pre-text for conflict.

Socrates and Sozomen do not mention who exactly are the other protagonists of these events. The reason could be found in the will of the two authors to put the spotlight on Macedonius, in order to present him, the bishop of Constantinople, as the main responsible, despite the potential presence of other prelates supporting him. Yet, his position was not solid at this very moment, as shown by the presence of the army. It is not possible to deduce with absolute certainty what happened when the praetorian prefect and the bishop approached the church. But still, the information given by Socrates at the end of his presentation of Macedonius' installation is perhaps not unimportant for our

⁵¹ Despite the high number of deaths given by Socrates, the situation in the capital was not aggravated to the point where the emperor should have then been involved in resolving it. If we compare the events of 342 with those of 344, we notice two important differences. In 344 none of the imperial officers were killed and the city was not without an officially recognised bishop.

⁵² Soz. *h.e.* 3, 9, 4.

⁵³ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 16, 14-15.

understanding of the episode, as he reports that Constantius was building the Great Church, better known as Hagia Sophia, at about the same period.⁵⁴ The emperor's idea of building a larger church than Hagia Eirene could have been influenced by the consideration that the massacre might have been prevented if people had had enough room to retreat.⁵⁵

3. *From the Second to the Third Restoration (344-360)*

We do not have any concrete information about the activities of Macedonius at the time when, with the support of Emperor Constantius, he served as the bishop of Constantinople for the second time (344-346). Nevertheless, we can assume that it is not just a lack of information. Due to the always growing animosity between both emperors,⁵⁶ and consequently due to the uncertainty of the Macedonius' position, he most likely endeavoured not to inflame passions by his conduct and, thus, probably did not undertake anything worth writing about during this period.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 16, 16.

⁵⁵ Socrates and Sozomen do not specify which church the praetorian prefect and the bishop went to, but it is most likely Hagia Eirene, the first cathedral and only basilica in the city centre at that moment. Hagia Sophia was already under construction, but had not yet been completed. Hagia Sophia, which later became the imperial and patriarchal church, was dedicated only on the 15th of February 360. Cf. Dagron 1984, 392-393 and 397-401. Cf. also Périchon-Maraval 2005, 64, n. 2 (cf. Socr.); Heil 2014, 98. The assumption that Hagia Sophia did not exist in Constantine's time, or at least was not yet fully built, is confirmed by the fact that Paul was, according to Socrates (*h.e.* 2, 6, 7), ordained as the bishop in Hagia Eirene.

⁵⁶ After the Council of Serdica Constans wrote to his brother Constantius, threatening him with war if he did not allow Paul and Athanasius to return to their episcopal sees. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 22, 4; Soz. *h.e.* 3, 20, 1.

⁵⁷ Socrates, *h.e.* 2, 22, and Sozomenos, *h.e.* 3, 20, 1, provide some information on where Paul could have been during this period. As Constans, in his first and second letters to his brother Constantius, demanded the return of Athanasius and Paul, without naming other exiled bishops, we could suppose that Paul, after being expelled from Constantinople for the third time in 344, spent some time together with Athanasius. This latter was in Naissus during the Easter of 344 and then in Aquileia from the beginning of 345. After leaving Aquileia, he first visited the court of Constans in Trier during the autumn of 345, went to Rome after that, arrived in Antioch probably in the middle of 346, and finally returned to Alexandria on October 21 of the same year. Cf. Simonetti 1975, 200; Barnes 1993, 91-92; Cedilnik 2004, 141-148. On his side, Paul, who was exiled to Thessalonike most likely in the autumn of 344,

Under Constans' pressure,⁵⁸ Macedonius even had to cede the see of Constantinople to Paul who, like Athanasius, returned from the West in 346. Nothing reliable is known about Macedonius for the period when his pro-Nicene antagonist was again bishop of Constantinople. However, Paul did not stay long in Constantinople this time either. He was probably deposed by a synod already in 349, after which he was accused of collaborating with the usurper Magnentius in 350. Based on these accusations, he was exiled to Cucusus in Cappadocia and executed there.⁵⁹

With the year 350, a completely new era began for Macedonius. His fiercest opponents, Emperor Constans and Bishop Paul, were dead, and his position as head of the Church of Constantinople had never been so strong. After a period of almost a decade, during which his activity was, as it seems, rather indistinct due to the instability of his position, he was finally able to begin his true episcopate. As a result, sources on years 350-360 provide more information on him, and great part of the sources deals with his acts of violence against members of the opposing party. To fully understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to shed light on the bishop's relationship with the Eusebians in this article, by focusing on two issues: 1- What goal did he pursue in his conduct? and 2- Who were his supporters?

After Paul's banishment, Macedonius began to persecute pro-Nicene Christians and Novatians.⁶⁰ Although the persecution was worst in Constantinople, it was not limited to it, but, according to Socrates,⁶¹ covered the entire eastern part of the Empire. This information is very interesting, because it shows that Macedonius was not the only bishop to encourage persecution, as attacks were perpetrated to a much larger area than that controlled by the bishop of Constantinople. The emperor only supported this action with some decrees.⁶² Otherwise, the

soon left that city and went to Italy. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 17, 12. Cf. also Barnes 1993, 214. Would he therefore have joined Athanasius in Aquileia, or even followed him to Trier afterwards?

⁵⁸ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 23.

⁵⁹ Barnes 1993, 214-217.

⁶⁰ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 27; 2, 38, 1-35; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 2, 3-4, 3, 1. On Macedonius' persecutions, cf. also Manders 2019, 257-261.

⁶¹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 27, 6; 2, 38, 27.

⁶² According to Socrates (*h.e.* 2, 27, 2-3; 2, 38, 1 and 16) the then persecutions were supported by law and military force. Sozomen (*h.e.* 4, 2, 4; 4, 21, 3) is not completely of the same opinion regarding the emperor's role in persecuting pro-Nicene

persecution would have covered the entire Empire with the same intensity and not just its eastern part, after his victory over Magnentius.⁶³

The bishop of Constantinople thus followed a general trend among prelates in his part of the Empire, though at the same time he is presented as crueller in carrying out the persecutions than the others.⁶⁴ Precisely because of the outstanding role that both ecclesiastical historians ascribe to him, a certain degree of caution is, however, required. Socrates had much information about what was happening then in the capital,⁶⁵ since it was reported to him by an eyewitness: Auxanon.⁶⁶ As a presbyter in the Novatian church, the latter experienced Macedonius' persecution himself. Therefore, he was well informed, but his source was not completely impartial. The fact that Socrates got his information from a conversation with a direct witness who probably spoke emotionally about the past certainly influenced his perception of the persecution in Constantinople. This is confirmed by the other parts of his work. Thus, just after he writes about Macedonius' persecution for the first time, he outlines, in a special chapter, the no less cruel persecutions in Alexandria unleashed by Athanasius' successor George in 357.⁶⁷ On this basis, the persecutions directed by the bishop of Constantinople do not stand out for their cruelty, if we compare them with the persecutions in Egypt, which are also reported by Athanasius.⁶⁸

Christians. He even writes that Macedonius' conduct aroused resentment in the emperor. See *Soz. h.e.* 4, 2, 4; 4, 21, 3. Sometimes, however, we find his text also suggests Constantius' cooperation with the bishop. See *Soz. h.e.* 4, 20, 3; 4, 21, 1 and 3. On Constantius' role in the acts of religious violence, cf. Manders 2019, 258-261.

⁶³ When Constantius took power over the entire Empire, the West embraced the process of expelling the pro-Nicene bishops, but we do not have many reports of persecution of pro-Nicene laymen - one of exception being Martin of Tours. On this last case, cf. Pietri-Heijmans 2013, 1269.

⁶⁴ *Socr. h.e.* 2, 27, 7.

⁶⁵ Socrates writes, at the beginning of his report on the destruction of the Novatian church at Constantinople near the Pelargus, that the Arians destroyed churches in many other cities on Macedonius' initiative. See *Socr. h.e.* 2, 38. Cf. also *Socr. h.e.* 2, 12, 6; 2, 27, 5; *Soz. h.e.* 4, 2, 3-4, 3, 1; 4, 20, 3-4; 4, 21, 1-2.

⁶⁶ *Socr. h.e.* 2, 38, 11 and 15.

⁶⁷ *Socr. h.e.* 2, 28, 1-15.

⁶⁸ *Ath. Alex. fug.* 6-7; see also *Socr. h.e.* 2, 28, 1-15; 2, 45, 16-17; *Soz. h.e.* 4, 10, 9-12; 4, 17, 1; 4, 30, 1-2; *Thdt. h.e.* 2, 14, 4-11.

Perhaps, however, events in Egypt did not take place entirely without Macedonius' influence.⁶⁹ Indeed, it is possible that George of Cappadocia became bishop of Alexandria according to Macedonius' wishes. The bishops (Narcissus of Eirenopolis, Theodore of Heraclea, Eugenius of Nicaea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis and Menophantes of Ephesus) who ordained him as bishop at the synod of Antioch of 349⁷⁰ were closely connected with the bishop of Constantinople. In addition, Macedonius could have known George of Cappadocia personally before he became head of the Church of Alexandria.⁷¹

Similarities in the efforts to consolidate the pro-Arian theological views are found if we compare not only the Macedonius' and George's conduct; we can also compare the climate surrounding their episcopate to the events that accompanied the visit of the commission sent by the synod of Tyre of 335 to Mareotis in Alexandria. Its members were: Valens of Mursa, Ursacius of Singidunum, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea, Diognitus/Theogni(tu)s of Nicaea and Macedonius of Mopsuestia.⁷² Their arrival in Mareotis was accompanied by violence, which is described in many details in the letter of Egyptian bishops sent to Julius of Rome and to other bishops.⁷³ Hans-Georg Opitz points out that street violence in Alexandria accompanied every external intervention in the city.⁷⁴ Same people, same *modus operandi*, the use of violence by so-called "Eusebians" to achieve their goals is well attested by Athanasius.⁷⁵ The latter even writes that Valens and Ursacius were cooperating in the persecution of those who

⁶⁹ Sozomen (*h.e.* 4, 20, 1-2) reports that Marathonius of Nicomedia and Eleusius of Cyzicus assisted Macedonius in persecuting pro-Nicene Christians, but were not as cruel as him. Both were ordained by Macedonius. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 38, 3-4; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 20, 2. Moreover, Marathonius, a deacon of Macedonius, before he became a bishop, was very active in founding monasticism in Constantinople. See Socr. *h.e.* 2, 38, 4; Soz. *h.e.* 4, 20, 2; 4, 27, 4. Cf. also Rubenson 2007, 661.

⁷⁰ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 8, 3-4. Kopecek 1979, 103-104, dates the synod to 347 or 348, and also adds Leontius of Antioch, George of Laodicea, and Acacius of Caesarea to the names already mentioned. See also Cedilnik 2022, 93-98.

⁷¹ Before he was appointed bishop of Alexandria, George had lived in Constantinople for some time. See Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 75, 1; Ath. Alex. *syn.* 12, 5. Cf. Cedilnik 2022, 98-99.

⁷² Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 13, 2; 28, 1; 72, 4; 75, 1; 76, 2; Socr. *h.e.* 1, 31, 3; Soz. *h.e.* 2, 25, 19.

⁷³ Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 15.

⁷⁴ See the commentary on Ath. Alex. *apol. sec.* 15, in Opitz 1938, 98.

⁷⁵ Ath. Alex. *h. Ar.* 31, 4.

were not prepared to bow to Constantius' politico-ecclesiastical plans from the moment the emperor began persecution at the time of the synods of Arles of 353 and Milan of 355.⁷⁶

Of course, the Eusebians were not the only Christian politico-religious party to use violence to achieve their goals.⁷⁷ Because of their role in the Arian controversy, however, the ecclesiastical authors pay much attention to their actions. At the background of all these was the emperor's desire for a unified Church that would be a firm support for his authority. Eusebius of Nicomedia, his supporters and his successors managed to convince first Constantine I (from 328), then Constantius II that the solutions they advocated were the only reliable way to achieve this goal. From the moment that Eusebius became bishop of Constantinople, the main ambition of the Eusebians seems to have been the extension of the control of the imperial city to as many Churches as possible in the neighbouring provinces (first of all, Europa and Bithynia, then beyond), while theological questions served as an ideological pillar to realise this endeavour. As long as Macedonius acted in accordance with these efforts – and we saw that the appointment of the Homoean George of Cappadocia at the head of the Church of Alexandria and thus the temporary extension of Constantinople's influence over Egypt was probably his work –, he enjoyed all the support of the Eusebians. Suddenly, however, he lost it and was condemned and deposed at the synod of Constantinople of 360.⁷⁸ Socrates and Sozomen cite various reasons for his removal. The first one saw the reason both in the great slaughter of Constantinople and in his acceptance into communion of an unworthy deacon.⁷⁹ The second one, who also attributed the bishop's removal to his past acts of violence, lists, in addition: the massacre in Mantinium in Paphlagonia and the

⁷⁶ On the involvement of other members of the so-called Eusebians, cf. Cedilnik-Moreau 2021, 460-462.

⁷⁷ Of course, other pro-Arian groups as well as the pro-Nicene faction certainly resorted to violence in asserting their views. Since most of the reports are from pro-Nicene authors, we can, however, assume that this is why more space is devoted to the violent behaviour of their pro-Arian opponents, especially the Eusebians, who were by far the most powerful in the 4th century. Cf. Gwynn 2007. Cf. also Cedilnik-Moreau 2021.

⁷⁸ Philost. *h.e.* 5, 1.

⁷⁹ Socr. *h.e.* 2, 42, 3.

attempt to move Constantine's coffin from the Holy Apostles to another church.⁸⁰

However, no one cites Macedonius' decision to support Basil of Ancyra and his Homoiousian doctrine in the dispute over Aetius of Antioch's Anomoean teaching as one of the reasons for the bishop's deposition.⁸¹ Sozomen reports that Acacius of Caesarea and his followers, who defended the position that "the Son was like the Father" at the synod of Seleucia of 359, had previously affirmed, in a letter to Macedonius, that "the Son is in all respects like unto the Father, and of the same substance".⁸² Although the ecclesiastical historian gives no information about when this letter was written, we can conclude, based on the above explanation of the relationship between the Father and the Son, that it was sent to Macedonius after the council of Sirmium of 359 and before the above-mentioned synod of Seleucia. We can therefore assume that the Eusebians, at least by the time the letter was written, were trying not to get into a dispute with Macedonius. The latter's decision to support Basil and his group of Homoiousian bishops was, it seems, decisive for the termination of cooperation between him and the Eusebians, and led to his deposition just a few months later, in January 360. The Eusebians' conduct can thus be easily explained, as Macedonius' new religious orientation was not anymore in accordance with their views and projects.⁸³

4. Conclusion

With the founding of Constantinople, the importance of its Church grew, along with the power of its bishops. However, the expan-

⁸⁰ Soz. *h.e.* 4, 21, 3 and 6; 4, 24, 3; see also Socr. *h.e.* 2, 38, 29-43. Cf. also Socr. *h.e.* 1, 40; Périchon-Maraval 2005, 198, n. 2 (cf. Socr.).

⁸¹ Cf. Cedilnik 2022, 95-97, 102-104.

⁸² Soz. *h.e.* 4, 22, 8. Cf. also Heil 2014, 94-99.

⁸³ Philostogius (*h.e.* 5, 1) reports that, after the removal of Basil of Ancyra and his associates in 360, Acacius of Caesarea appointed suitable candidates as bishops of important vacant episcopal sees: Onesimus in Nicomedia, instead of Cecropius, Athanasius in Ancyra, instead of Basil, another Acacius in Tarsus, instead of Silvanus, Meletius in Antioch, instead of Eudoxius, and Pelagius in Laodicea. However, Eudoxius of Constantinople, Macedonius' successor, and Maris of Chalcedon ordained their own candidate in Cyzicus: Eunomius. See Philost. *h.e.* 5, 3. As a result of this consecration, Acacius complained to the emperor, as reported by the same ecclesiastical historian. See *h.e.* 6, 4.

sion of the boundaries and the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, finally recognized by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, was the result of a lengthy process. The pro-Arian bishops, who headed the episcopal see of Constantinople in the first decades after the founding of the New Rome, played a significant role in this. Among the four pro-Arian bishops of Constantinople, Macedonius is chronologically in the second place. Although he was the bishop of Constantinople from 342 to 360, he was not in control of the see all the time. In the 340s, twice he had to draw back and leave the leadership of the Constantinopolitan Church to Paul: in 343-344 and in 346-349. With the support of the then very influential Eusebian bishops, he always managed to return. They supported him as early as 337, when, according to ancient sources, after the death of Alexander, he first endeavoured to replace him as bishop of Constantinople. At that time, the pro-Nicene candidate Paul managed to succeed Alexander. However, the task entrusted to Macedonius was, as it seems, different from that presented by the ancient authors. When Paul was deposed and exiled, the new bishop of Constantinople was Eusebius of Nicomedia, not Macedonius. Therefore, the latter's task was, as it appears, to prepare favourable conditions for Eusebius' installation as head of the Church of the New Rome. After Eusebius' death, Macedonius, then a reliable supporter of the deceased bishop, became head of the Church of Constantinople. Emperor Constantius' relying on the exile of many key bishops in the East as a pretext for threatening Constantius, the 340s were certainly not easy for Macedonius and there is little information about his activities at that time. However, we know that there were severe riots linked to the changes of the prelates in Constantinople during this period (342 and 344). With the year 350, a new era began. The main adversaries to Emperor Constantius's politico-religious policy, his brother Constans and Bishop Paul, were dead. Until 360, Macedonius was therefore able to implement measures behind which we can see the plans and interests of the Eusebians: actively and decisively asserting the pro-Arian views of this group, while strengthening and expanding the sphere of influence of the see of Constantinople. To achieve the first goal, he introduced severe persecution of pro-Nicene Christians and Novatians. Ancient authors describe them as the worst at that time. These efforts may include the ordination of George of Cappadocia as bishop of Alexandria. The capital of Egypt was then one of the most influential episcopal sees in the Empire and its legitimate head, Athanasius, was one

of the most uncompromising defenders of the Nicene Creed. Through George's appointment, the influence of the pro-Arian bishops of Constantinople spread for a short time to Alexandria; like his Constantinopolitan counterpart, he prosecuted his opponents. As long as Macedonius acted according to the plans of the Eusebians, he enjoyed their support and remained in his position. However, when he finally decided to support Basil as bishop of Ancyra and accepted his Homoiousian doctrine, he completely lost their support and was deposed at the Synod of Constantinople in 360, leaving for posterity an ambiguous personality who was never a convinced Nicene nor a convinced Arian.

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FORMAȚIA CLASICISTĂ A UNUI AUTOR PATRISTIC: EVAGRIE PONTICUL

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Keywords: *Evagrius of Pontus, classical paideia, ecclesiastical education, Cappadocian Fathers.*

Abstract: *The classical education of a Patristic author: Evagrius Ponticus.* This study traces the scholarly context in which one of the great patristic figures of Christian antiquity was formed: Evagrius Ponticus. Biographical data on this author are extremely scarce and, therefore, in reconstructing the picture of Evagrius' intellectual formation, information from a wide variety of sources is used. In this way, the study succeeds in placing Evagrius in the general context of classical Greek paideia, showing how his many connections with pagan teachers of rhetoric and philosophy, as well as with the great theologians of the time, succeeded in imprinting on Evagrius' thought the characteristic stamp of a classical education impregnated with the Christian ethos. It was with this education that Evagrius left, in the last part of his life, for the Egyptian desert, where he used all his intellectual endowment to create a system that has become a classic in Eastern monastic theology.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Evagrie Ponticul, paideia clasică, învățământ bisericesc, Părinții Capadocieni.*

Rezumat: *Studiul de față urmărește contextul școlar în care s-a format una dintre marile figuri patristice ale Antichității creștine: Evagrie Ponticul. Datele biografice ale acestui autor sunt extrem de puține și, de aceea, la reconstituirea tabloului formării intelectuale a lui Evagrie sunt folosite informații din surse foarte diverse. În acest fel, studiul reușește să îl plaseze pe Evagrie în contextul general al învățământului clasic grecesc, arătând cum multiplele sale legături cu profesori păgâni de retorică și filozofie, precum și cu mari teologi ai vremii au reușit să imprime gândirii lui Evagrie acea pecete inconfundabilă a unei formări clasice, impregnate de duhul creștin. Cu această formație, Evagrie a plecat, în ultima parte a vieții sale, în pustia Egiptului, unde și-a folosit întreaga înzestrare*

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intelectuală pentru a crea un sistem devenit clasic în teologia monastică răsăriteană.

1. Introducere

Evagrie Ponticul (345-399) este una dintre figurile clasice ale antichității creștine. Iar clasicismul său constă, pe de o parte, în consacarea operei sale ca piatră de hotar în literatura patristică, iar, pe de altă parte, în specificul acestei opere, datorat unei educații clasice. Asupra etapei de formare intelectuală din viața autorului pontic urmează să ne concentrăm atenția în studiul de față.

Despre locul și conținutul studiilor lui Evagrie nu știm în mod direct mai nimic sigur. Spusa lui Sozomen, după care „Evagrie a fost format ca filosof și a fost învățat Sfânta Scriptură de Grigorie, episcopul de Nazianz”¹, trebuie înțeleasă ca o sinteză a brumei de informații existente în epocă și, deopotrivă, ca o dovadă a penumbrei care începea să se lase peste biografia lui Evagrie încă din secolul V. O penumbră parcă anume hărăzită pentru a incita și mai mult atenția asupra operei decât asupra autorului, mai mult spre lumea ideilor lui decât spre amănunte biografice. Dar, prin analizele care vor urma, vom constata că, din penumbra sa, Evagrie invită cercetătorul biografiei sale să facă asceza lepădării prejudecăților induse de tiparele educative contemporane, promovate anacronic drept grilă de receptare și apreciere valorică a învățământului bisericesc antic.

2. Repere biografice

a. Paladie

Viața celui care avea să fie cel mai influent, mai citit, mai copiat, mai tradus și, paradoxal, mai răstălmăcit, mai hulit și mai nedreptățit autor filocalic este astăzi învăluită – oare iremediabil? – în ambiguitatea puținătății datelor ferme. Pornind de la mărturii indirecte, bazându-se pe câteva conjecturi și pe o epistolă fără dată și destinatari precis cunoscuți, patrologii propun pentru Evagrie Ponticul schi-

¹ Soz., *HE*, VI, 30 (cf. Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres V-VI*, text grec de l'édition J. Bidez, G. C. Hansen (GCS), introduction et annotation par Guy Sabbah, traduction par André-Jean Festugière et Bernard Grillet, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 2005 (SC 495), 412).

te biografice ale căror variații evocă mai mult talentul încropirii unei *Vieți*, bazate pe date minimale, decât acribia istorică.

Dar care sunt acele date minimale și, mai ales, acele izvoare, chiar puține, pe care se poate construi orice tentativă biografică evagriană?

Să începem cu ce știm sigur. Și sigur știm despre Evagrie Ponticul că a trăit 54 de ani și că și-a încheiat cu sfințenie viața, în deplină pace cu Biserica, după ce s-a împărtășit cu Sfintele Taine în ziua Praznicului Teofaniei². Acestor ultime precizări aduse de Paladie, ucenicul, prietenul și biograful lui Evagrie, nu li se adaugă însă și menționarea anului în care ele au avut loc. Dar amănuntul că tot Paladie omite să-și amintească dascălul printre fugarii egipteni care, în primăvara lui 399, își căutau adăpost în Constantinopol, la Ioan Gură de Aur³, a dus la presupunerea că acesta trebuie să fi fost anul morții marelui autor filocalic⁴. Și, pentru că a trăit 54 de ani, putem socoti anul 345 ca an al nașterii sale.

Celelalte relatări ale lui Paladie privind evenimentele anilor 399 și 400 conțin și ele o seamă de detalii în măsură să susțină această dată a adormirii lui Evagrie. Astfel, în capitolul din *Istoria lausiacă* destinat maestrului său, Paladie lasă să se înțeleagă că era încă prezent la Kellia în momentul morții lui Evagrie. După aceasta, Paladie, „bolnav de splină și de stomac”, a fost trimis la Alexandria, iar de aici, la sfatul doctorilor, a plecat primăvara în Palestina, „pentru aer”⁵, unde a stat aproximativ un an împreună cu pustnicul Posidonius, altă victimă a furiei și a invidiei puritanist ortodoxe antiorigeniste a lui Ieronim⁶. Din Palestina, Paladie a plecat apoi la Constantinopol, „parti-

² Pallad., *HL*, 38, 13 (cf. Palladio, *La Storia lausiaca*, introduzione di Christine Mohrmann, testo critico e commento a cura di G. J. M. Bartelink, traduzione di Marino Barchesi, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1974, 102); în limba română, cf. Paladie, *Istoria lausiacă (Lavsaiçon)*, 38, traducere, introducere și note de Dumitru Stăniloae, EIBMBOR, București, 2007, 90.

³ Pallad., *Dial.*, XVII (cf. Palladios, *Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome*, tome I, introduction, text critique, traduction et notes par Anne-Marie Malin-greay avec la collaboration de Philippe Leclercq, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1988 (SC 341), 330-343).

⁴ Antoine Guillaumont, *Un philosophe au désert. Évagre le Pontique*, Vrin, Paris, 2009, 62-64.

⁵ Pallad., *HL*, 35, trad. rom., 80.

⁶ Pallad., *HL*, 36, trad. rom., 82, capitol în care Paladie spune că Ieronim „era stăpânit de atâta pizmă (βασκανία, ed. Bartelink, 180), încât aceasta îi acope-

cipând la greutatea de care a avut parte Fericitul Ioan [Gură de Aur]⁷, fiind de față, deja ca episcop, la sinodul din primăvara indictionului al XIII-lea⁸. Acest ultim amănunt este și cel mai hotărâtor pentru datarea morții lui Evagrie în 399, deoarece nu se poate ca Paladie să fi fost prezent ca episcop. Rețeaua coniecturilor se amplifică integrând și referințele cronologice legate de viața lui Paladie însuși: născut în 364, acesta scrie *Istoria lausiaca* „în al 33-lea an de conviețuire cu frații trăitori ai vieții monahale, în al 20-lea an de episcopie și în al 56-lea de viață”⁹, adică în anul 419-420. De aceea, anul 400 este *terminus ad quem*, iar anul 399 *terminus a quo* la care trebuie raportate evenimentele menționate de Paladie¹⁰ și, prin urmare, adormirea întru Domnul a lui Evagrie s-a petrecut, cel mai probabil, în 399.

Dar caracterul coniectural al acestor date a făcut ca ele să nu satisfacă pe toată lumea și să prilejuiască înaintarea altor propuneri, care întârzie anul morții lui Evagrie până în 404¹¹. Anului 399 i se reproșează susținerea șubredă inerentă unui argument bazat pe tăcere, iar cei neconviși de „origenismul” lui Evagrie vor să vadă în această datare o subtilă strecurare a ideii că acesta ar fi fost unul din personajele importante ale crizei origeniste și de aceea trebuia menționat nominal printre fugari¹². Astfel, observăm că, de cele mai multe ori, după viziunea pe care fiecare savant o are asupra implicării sau neimplicării lui Evagrie în prima criză origenistă, și anul morții sale este mutat mai devreme sau mai târziu.

rea virtutea cuvintelor [...] și datorită lui nu va locui niciun bărbat sfânt în aceste locuri” (traducere revizuită).

⁷ Pallad., *HL*, 35, trad. rom., 80.

⁸ Indictionul al XIII-lea a fost cuprins între 1 sept. 399 și 31 aug. 400.

⁹ Pallad., *Prolog*, trad. rom., 13.

¹⁰ Cf. Bernard Flusin, *Pallade, DS* 12, 113.

¹¹ Urmând autori mai vechi, Iustin Moisescu optează pentru anul 400 (*Εὐάγριος ὁ Ποντικός. Βίος, Συγγράμματα, Διδασκαλία*, Αθήνα, 1937, n. 2, 21, 35); Gabriel Bunge oscilează între anii 399 și 404, V. Preusch plasează moartea lui Evagrie între 402 și 404 (cf. Antoine Guillaumont, *op. cit.*, n. 6, 63), Guillaumont și Casiday optează pentru anul 399, deși al doilea nu admite vreun rol al lui Evagrie în disputa origenistă (Augustine Casiday, *Reconstructing the theology of Evagrius Ponticus. Beyond Heresy*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2013, 46-71).

¹² Observații detaliate pe această temă la Augustine Casiday, *op. cit.*, 9-10.

b. Evagrie și Grigorie Teologul

Despre perioada din viața lui Evagrie cuprinsă între anii 345 și 380, când îl găsim împreună cu Sfântul Grigorie la Constantinopol, nu se știu prea multe lucruri sigure. Or, tocmai această perioadă cuprinde acel răstimp, fundamental în viața fiecărui om, al anilor de studiu și de formare intelectuală. Acum, potrivit unui joc de cuvinte al lui Grigorie Teologul, „câmpul cel bun” – cum se traduce numele lui Evagrie – este semănat, așa încât „făgăduiește spice îmbelșugate”¹³, purtătoarele unui rod care se va coace sub soarele dogoritor al Egiptului și căruia, la rândul său, îi va fi dat să însămânțeze toate țărilele Bisericii.

Există câteva referiri epistolare la perioada de formare școlară a lui Evagrie, scrisorile aparținând unor personaje ilustre ale vremii, care l-au cunoscut pe Evagrie.

Un prim astfel de document este *Epistola* a 3-a a Sfântului Grigorie de Nazianz către un anume Evagrie. Acestuia, Grigorie Teologul i se adresează cu cuvintele τῇ σῇ τιμῳότητι („preaonorate”), formulă protocolară utilizată pentru un înalt oficial imperial, dar, odată cu încheierea epocii martirice, adoptată și pentru adresarea către un episcop¹⁴, soarta ei descriind obârșiile mundane ale unui manierism stilistic preluat, dezvoltat și standardizat în forme ce vor străbate cu succes mileniile, până la noi. În scrisoarea cu pricina, Grigorie îl laudă pe un tânăr numit tot Evagrie, fiul destinatarului, exprimându-și bucuria că a reușit, în cursul lecțiilor, să-i insuflă „frica de Dumnezeu și convingerea de a disprețui lucrurile lumii prezente”¹⁵. Pierre Galloway, cercetătorul de-o viață al lui Grigorie, socotește că acum Evagrie ar fi primit lecții de retorică de la acesta și că epistola sa este răspunsul lui Grigorie la mulțumirile aduse de „preaonoratul” tată al lui Evagrie, ceea ce consună cu informația lui Paladie, potrivit căruia acesta era horepiscop¹⁶. Receptivitatea ucenicului și apropierea sufletească față de dascălul său se vedește din faptul că Sfântul Grigorie îl numește „fiu” (viός), spre deosebire de o epistolă ulterioară, din perioada con-

¹³ Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 228 (PG 37, col. 372 B).

¹⁴ Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, *A Greek Patristic Lexicon*, Oxford University Press, 2009, 1394.

¹⁵ Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 3 (PG 37, col. 24 B).

¹⁶ Pierre Galloway, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze*, Lyon-Paris, E. Vitte, 1943, 65-66.

stantinopolitană, în care îl numește deja „diacon împreună slujitor (συνδιάκονος) și frate iubit”¹⁷.

c. Evagrie și Vasile cel Mare

În anul 358, Sfântul Vasile se întorsese de la studiile din Atena și se găsea la Annisa, unde încerca să pună în practică idealurile de viață monahală pe care le nutrise dintotdeauna. În 365, locuitorii din Neocezareea l-au invitat pe Sfântul Vasile să predea retorică¹⁸ la aceeași școală unde predase și episcopul Grigorie de Nazianz, tatăl Teologului. Situarea Iboarei la numai câțiva kilometri de aceste așezări ne îngăduie să credem în marea probabilitate a unei întâlniri timpurii a lui Evagrie cu acești mari Părinți și dascăli, al căror spirit l-a cunoscut încă din adolescență.

În anul 370, Sfântul Vasile devine arhiepiscop de Cezareea Capadociei. Babai cel Mare, în comentariul său la *Capetele gnostice* ale lui Evagrie, presupune că acesta a fost implicat în forma de monahism organizată de Sfântul Vasile în Cezareea, care doar l-a hirotosit citeț¹⁹ și căruia Evagrie i-ar fi adresat *Epistola* 22²⁰. În realitate, scrisoarea respectivă i-a fost scrisă de Evagrie lui Rufin, care îl tunsese în monahism de Paști, la 9 aprilie 383²¹. Testamentul Sfântului Grigorie Teologul, redactat în 381 la Constantinopol, unde Evagrie este numit doar „diacon”, nu „diacon și călugăr” ca alți legatari²², e doar o dovadă că la acea dată Evagrie încă nu era monah. Așadar, „dorul după învățăturile dumnezeiești, după filosofia lor” și după contemplația de care mărturisește că nu știe cum s-ar putea lipsi²³ l-a făcut pe Evagrie să nu se călugărească în obștea citadină a Sfântului Vasile, ci să urmeze dorului inimii, căutând omul apt să-l îndrume și locul unde să și-l poată astâmpăra. Toate amănuntele cunoscute sigur despre sede-

¹⁷ Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 228 (PG 37, col. 372 B).

¹⁸ Bas., *Ep.* 204, 207, 208, 210, 223 (cf. Saint Basile, *Lettres*, Tome 1-3, texte établi et traduit par Yves Courtonne, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1957, 1961, 1966).

¹⁹ Wilhelm Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus*, Berlin, 1912, 20. La această idee au subscris Casiday (*op. cit.*, 16) și alți savanți amintiți de Guillaumont (*op. cit.*, 28).

²⁰ Wilhelm Frankenberg, *op. cit.*, 581.

²¹ Evagr., *Ep.* 22 (cf. Evagrius Pontikos, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert von Gabriel Bunge, Beuron Kunstverlag, Beuron, 2013 (*Weisungen der Väter* 18), 201-202 și Antoine Guillaumont, *op. cit.*, n. 8, 28).

²² Greg. Naz., *Testamentum* (PG 37, col. 393 B).

²³ Bas., *Ep.* 8, 1 (= Evagr., *Ep.* 63, 1).

rea lui Evagrie în capitală nu ne descriu un monah, ci un cleric necăsătorit. Printre acestea trebuie amintită eleganța afișată în capitală²⁴, schimbându-și hainele de două ori pe zi²⁵, lucru care nu era o caracteristică a unui monah, mai ales format de Sfântul Vasile. La acestea se cuvin adăugate și precizările din *Epistola* 22 a lui Evagrie, în care acesta Îl slăvește pe Domnul pentru că Rufin, destinatarul epistolei²⁶, i-a dat „în ziua Învierii Lui... sfântul veșmânt... și l-a așezat în numărul monahilor”, după care îi trimite salutări și cuvioasei Melania, cea care „s-a ostenit mult întru Domnul”²⁷. Data Paștilor la care se referă Evagrie a fost stabilită ca fiind indiscutabil 9 aprilie 383²⁸, ceea ce confirmă restul cronologiei evagriene. De aceea, răstimpul petrecut de Evagrie la Constantinopol nu a fost decât o etapă în căutarea, cu intensitate fluctuantă, a unui monahism care să răspundă cât mai bine așteptărilor sale lăuntrice, terminată odată cu retragerea Sfântului Grigorie. De aceea, eticheta de „monah fugar” pusă lui Evagrie²⁹ este în contradicție cu puținele izvoare sigure de care dispunem³⁰.

d. Evagrie și dascălii păgâni

Socrate notează că Evagrie ar fi audiat cursurile filozofului Andragathios, unul dintre numeroșii filozofi păgâni care împărțășa în

²⁴ Cf. Soz., *HE*, VI, 30, 9 (*SC* 495, 412).

²⁵ Cf. *Vita Evagrii Coptice* 4 (8), în *Quatre ermites egyptiens d'apres les fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, introduction, traduction et commentaire par G. Bunge - A. de Vogue, Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1994 (*Spiritualité orientale* 60), 157.

²⁶ Cf. Gabriel Bunge, *Evagrie Ponticul. O introducere*, studiu introductiv și traducere de Ioan I. Ică Jr., Deisis, Sibiu, 1997, 33.

²⁷ Wilhelm Frankenberg, *op. cit.*, 581.

²⁸ Cf. V. Grumel, *Traité des études byzantines*, I, *La chronologie*, Paris, 1958, 242; Antoine Guillaumont, *op. cit.*, 44.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, 29.

³⁰ Cercetătorii care optează pentru călugărirea lui Evagrie de către Sfântul Vasile cel Mare se sprijină doar pe amintita observație a lui Babai cel Mare din comentariul său la *Capetele gnostice* (Wilhelm Frankenberg, *op. cit.*, 20) și pe presupunerea că numitul diacon Evagrie din testamentul Sfântului Grigorie nu este viitorul autor filocalic, ci un alt diacon cu același nume, teză susținută de J. A. McGuckin (*St. Gregory of Nazianzus: An Intellectual Biography*, Crestwood SVS Press, 2001, 366) și simpatizată de Casiday (Augustine M. Casiday, *Evagrius Ponticus*, Routledge, London-New York, 2006, n. 17, 204), neclaritatea soluției fiind sporită de duzina persoanelor cu numele de Evagrie identificate între anii 260 și 390 – cf. *PLRE* I, 284-286.

acea vreme tinerelor generații înțelepciunea grecilor³¹. Chiar dacă acest dascăl își preda materia fără prea multă originalitate, o făcea totuși cu o competență căreia Evagrie i-a datorat o bună parte din solida sa cultură filozofică, mai ales a dialecticii, în care îl vom găsi excelând la Constantinopol³². Cercetări de dată foarte recentă evidențiază anumite legături școlare între Evagrie și faimosul profesor de retorică Libanie din Antiohia. Dacă aceste legături se vor confirma prin documente ulterioare, atunci Evagrie a fost coleg cu Ioan Gură de Aur la școala de retorică a faimosului antiohian. Chiar dacă acesta a rămas toată viața un păgân convins, nemanifestând niciun fel de simpatie față de creștinism, totuși amprenta sa intelectuală a rămas pregnantă asupra celor doi faimoși discipoli³³.

e. La Constantinopol

Sub influența lui Grigorie Teologul și a celorlalți Capadocieni, în anturajul cărora și-a petrecut ani buni, Evagrie este cucerit de înălțimea idealurilor evanghelice. Într-o epistolă scrisă de el la Constantinopol, în anul 383, către prietenii din Cezareea, Evagrie își explică plecarea bruscă la Constantinopol, punând-o pe seama dorinței de a afla un părinte duhovnicesc care să-l „deprindă cu cea mai înaltă filozofie”³⁴. Expresia trebuie neapărat situată în tradiția teologică care denumeste prin ea viața monahală contemplativă, și nu filosofia elinilor, care, vizibil mai scundă, este abia o firavă „tendință de îndeletnicire despre Dumnezeu”³⁵ întemeiată „pe presupuneri”³⁶. Epistola evagriană menționată, păstrată salutar în colecția de epistole a Sfântului Vasile cel Mare, exprimă mobilul exclusiv duhovnicesc pentru

³¹ Cf. Socr., *HE*, VI, 3, 1-2 (cf. Socrate de Constantinople, *Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres IV-VI*, texte grec de l'édition G. C. Hansen (GCS), traduction par † Pierre Périchon et Pierre Maraval, introduction et notes par Pierre Maraval, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 2006 (SC 505), 265).

³² Cf. Pallad., *HL*, 38, 2 (ed. Bartelink, 94).

³³ Cf. Gabriel Bunge, « *Évagre le sage* ». *L'image d'Évagre le Pontique dans l'Histoire de l'Eglise*, EOS Verlag, Sankt Ottilien, 2022 (*Theologie der Spiritualität. Quellen und Studien* 11), 52-54.

³⁴ Bas., *Ep.* 8, 1, (= Evagr., *Ep.* 63).

³⁵ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, I, 17, 87, 1 (cf. Clement Alexandrinul, *Scrieri. Partea a doua. Stromatele*, traducere, cuvânt înainte, note și indici de D. Fecioru, EIBMBOR, București, 1982 (PSB 5), 63).

³⁶ Clem. Alex., I, 19, 91, 5 (ed. cit., 66).

care Evagrie a părăsit Pontul: dorința de a ucenici pe lângă un Părinte duhovnicesc, cel vizat fiind Grigorie Teologul.

De aceea, nu trebuie să surprindă pe nimeni faptul că Evagrie „filozoful”, cum este adeseori numit, în ciuda cuvintelor lui Socrate Constantinopolitanul³⁷, a început să dovedească o detașare crescândă față de „înțelepții acestei lumi”. „Odată ajuns monah, Evagrie va adopta o atitudine foarte rezervată față de filozofia profană, căreia îi atribuie o utilitate relativă [...]. Această rezervă nu îl va împiedica să se servească cu artă de instrumentele ei intelectuale”³⁸, pe care le-a deprins sub îndrumarea acestor păgâni iluștri.

Constantinopolul a fost mediul cel mai propice pentru ca Evagrie să-și arate măsura formării sale clasiciste. Într-o epistolă din anul 380 către episcopul Pansofie, Grigorie Teologul îl laudă pe Evagrie fiindcă s-a datat „nu fără curaj (ὁὐκ ἀγερῶς) la filozofie”, adică la cele duhovnicești. Întreaga introducere a epistolei către Pansofie este o laudă la adresa lui Evagrie, numit „plantă înflorită”, „câmp care făgăduiește spice îmbelșugate”, „suflet proaspăt luminat, care acum se împodobește pentru Dumnezeu și începe să scuture legăturile pământului, ca să fie cu Dumnezeu și să vadă adevărul, a cărui umbră o vedem acum”³⁹. Deducem de aici că Evagrie făcea deja, în fața unui dascăl de anvergura lui Grigorie, dovada unei temeinice educații intelectuale și promitea, totodată, un viitor care nu va dezminți intuițiile dascălului. De asemenea, expresia „suflet proaspăt luminat” s-ar putea să se refere tocmai la hirotonia lui Evagrie întru diacon⁴⁰, săvârșită, după cum se știe, de Grigorie Teologul.

f. Spre cele din afara lumii

Dorința după cele duhovnicești l-a animat pe Evagrie odată cu asimilarea educației clasice în mediul intelectual din Cezareea. Astfel că, la plecarea în Constantinopol, formarea sa clasicistă se întrepă-

³⁷ Socr., IV, 23, 34 (ed. cit., 91).

³⁸ Gabriel Bunge, *op. cit.*, 51.

³⁹ Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 228 (PG 37, col. 372 B).

⁴⁰ În ce privește relația dintre *Epistolele* 3 și 228 ale lui Grigorie Teologul, Guillaumont crede că Evagrie tatăl, presupus de el horepiscop al lui Pansofie, aflând de această scrisoare laudativă a Sfântului Grigorie la adresa lui Evagrie fiul, i-ar fi scris lui Grigorie o epistolă de mulțumire, la care *Epistola* 3 ar fi răspunsul, trimis din Constantinopol de acesta (Antoine Guillaumont, *op. cit.*, notele 2 și 3, 32). Dar în *Epistola* 3, Evagrie nu este numit συνδιάκονος și ἀδελφός – termeni specifici liturgici care arată că Evagrie era deja hirotonit diacon –, ci doar υἱός (fiu).

trundea cu preceptele creștine într-o armonie înrâurită de prezența unor dascăli precum Vasile, Grigorie Teologul și Grigorie de Nyssa, ei înșiși exemple ale fericitei sinteze dintre *paideia* clasică și Evanghelie. Acum începe o nouă etapă din viața lui Evagrie, etapă pentru care tot ceea ce a învățat până acum a fost o pregătire, un antrenament, o „ungere” pentru agonistica monahală care îl va transforma în Avvă.

3. Conținutul studiilor lui Evagrie

a. Scrierile lui Evagrie, martori ai formării sale

Zgârcenia informațiilor despre educația lui Evagrie este completată de scrierile sale, care dovedesc formația sa clasicistă pe care s-a alăturat cea monahală și talentul scriitoricesc. Parcurgerea operei evagriene în originalul grec cu atenția sporită până la nivel de amănunt lexical dezvăluie cititorului avizat straturi multiple de sens, împletite cu un meșteșug care părăsește adeseori cadrele convenționale ale scriiturii din epocă și ne ademenește la o meditație asupra actului de creație teologică. Sub pana lui Evagrie sunt asimilate și sintetizate elemente de gramatică subtil puse în slujba exegezei, de retorică, prin care își înfrumusețează cu sobrietate scrierile, folosind toate figurile de stil și procedeele artei epistolare, de dialectică și logică, mulțumită cărora folosește cu dexteritate diferitele tipuri de raționament, având o preferință specială pentru silogism⁴¹. Chiar dacă după ce a părăsit Constantinopolul și a devenit monah Evagrie a afișat o rezervă față de filozofia și cultura din afară, totuși nu a încetat nicio clipă să folosească instrumentele filozofiei profane pentru expunerea „filozofiei rugăciunii”⁴²

b. Contextualizare vs clișeizare/interpretare-clișeu

Insistența cu care majoritatea cercetătorilor lui Evagrie țin să vorbească despre ucenicia sa la Părinții capadocieni riscă să fie doar proiecția unui clișeu biografic „clasic”, aplicat după calapoadele zilelor noastre. Adică ni se livrează uneori o biografie cumintică și banală, un traseu predictibil în care Evagrie pare confratele de acum 1600

⁴¹ Antoine Guillaumont, *op. cit.*, n. 1, 32, citează o seamă de locuri unde Evagrie întrebuințează foarte riguros silogismul, majoritatea din *Capetele gnostice*: KG I, 75, 87; II, 8, 85; III, 15, 59, 64; IV, 11, 13, 26, 59; V, 6, 30, 35, 44, 67; VI, 7, 54, 61. *Sch. Ps.* 115, 2, 2 și altele.

⁴² Gabriel Bunge, *op. cit.*, 51-52.

de ani al seminaristului pios și sânguitor de azi. Însă datele privitoare la Evagrie, deși puține, odată contextualizate cu mai generoasele informații despre epoca sa, ne silesc mai degrabă să-i restituim lui Evagrie formarea școlară în mediul policrom cultural și liber spiritual pe care-l asigura educația clasicistă, obișnuită în acea vreme pentru oricare tânăr creștin sau necreștin. Așa putem vedea în Evagrie una din întrupările fericite ale „antropoplastiei” paideei clasice grecești, la care s-a adăugat floarea darurilor venite în întâlnirile cizelatoare cu Sfinții Vasile cel Mare, Grigorie Teologul și Grigorie al Nyssei. Întâlniri la răstimpuri, mai lungi sau mai scurte, care s-au suprapus peste formarea sa clasică desfășurată până la vârsta maturității.

Împlinim prin cele spuse o *restauratio*: situarea lui Evagrie în contextul cuprinzător și pluridisciplinar al Antichității târzii în care a trăit, singurul în măsură să ne arate că Părinții capadocieni amintiți au întâlnit în persoana lui Evagrie un tânăr deja suficient format la școala culturii clasice grecești, în felul în care doar educația clasică elenistică o putea face, ca moștenitoare a unor secole de preocupări concentrate pe dezvoltarea potențialului trupesc și sufletesc al tinerilor. Tocmai ea, formarea clasică, i-a deschis lui Evagrie ușa către înțelegerea, integrarea și asimilarea universului intelectual și teologic al acestor Părinți capadocieni, roade, la rândul lor, ale educației clasice, și de ea trebuie să țină seama exegeza scrierilor evagriene.

Dar în literatura academică dedicată acestui teolog al pustiei se trece adeseori peste acest „amănunt”, lăsându-se, insinuant ori „catafatic”, să se creadă că Evagrie este opera pedagogică exclusivă a Părinților capadocieni, a unei școli catehetice – pe care ei n-au avut-o de fapt nicicând – și a „comunității monastice vasilienne”, în care el nu a fost niciodată monah. O atare prezentare este, și ea, parte dintr-o rețea mai complexă de grile predefinite, menite unei înțelegeri pietrificate și facile, destinate apoi să simplifice și mai mult realitățile, despuindu-le de complexitatea lor vie. Acestui scenariu i se datorează și pigmentarea triumfalistă și deformantă a atmosferei epocii prin diminuarea ponderii avute de educația clasică seculară sau chiar prin refuzul menționării ei, când e vorba de formarea tinerelor vlăstare ale Bisericii de odinioară.

Prin urmare, contextualizarea formării lui Evagrie se înfățișează ca necesară și ne dezvăluie, pentru început, îndoita sa îndatorare: față de școala tradițională elenistică și față de Părinții capadocieni. Numai de pe aceste poziții vom putea să distingem și să înțelegem

multiplele straturi de sens din scrierile sale, pătrunse nu numai de învățăturile Părinților pustiei sau dascălilor capadocieni, ci și de educația câștigată prin științele „enciclice” aflate în epocă în uz. Atitudinea Bisericii față de acestea este exprimată cel mai concis de cuvintele lui Clement Alexandrinul: „Ele nu pot contribui la cunoașterea Binelui, ci sunt de ajutor pentru a trezi sufletul și a-l exersa pentru înțelegerea celor spirituale.”⁴³.

c. Biserica antichității târzii și paideia clasică grecească

Așadar, tocmai contextul școlarizării lui Evagrie surprinde aștăzi, pentru că ne dezvăluie o Biserică mai puțin crispată în dialogul cu cultura – păgână! – a epocii, decât suntem înclinați (= educați) să credem, și mai relaxată în legăturile ei cu școala clasică, decât vrem să știm. Cu toată intransigența pe care Biserica o arăta față de moravurile și concepțiile lumești și păgâne, în cazul școlii de tip clasic ea a fost îmbucurător de deschisă, văzând în aceasta un instrument gata făurit pentru formarea multilaterală și armonioasă a tinerelor ei vlăstare. Învățământul elenistic, care își atinsese maturitatea încă din vremea generației imediat următoare lui Aristotel și Alexandru cel Mare, cuprindea chiar chintesența educației din lumea elenistică, educație rămasă în uz în toată lumea mediteraneană și continuată în întreaga istorie bizantină⁴⁴. Sunt foarte puține excepțiile în care creștinii din Antichitate și-au creat școli proprii, pentru că „ei s-au mulțumit să-și juxtapună formația specific religioasă (asigurată de Biserică și familie) peste instrucția clasică pe care o primeau în aceleași condiții ca și păgânii, în școlile de tip tradițional”⁴⁵.

Simetric, acest fenomen poate fi observat în țările barbare, care nu erau beneficiarele unui învățământ de tip clasic elenistic și unde nu s-a mai realizat nici o sinteză a Evangheliei cu elementele locale, și unde întâlnim doar o adaptare locală a culturii creștinilor greci, deja cu totul impregnată de elemente clasice.

De fapt, procesul „traducerii” Revelației în spațiul și categoriile gândirii grecești începuse cu mult timp înainte prin traducerea Septuagintei, singura în care Biserica din toate vremurile a recunoscut textul canonic al Vechiului Testament. În epoca creștină, Biserica a

⁴³ Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, I, 93, 5 (ed. cit., 67, cu traducere revizuită).

⁴⁴ Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Istoria educației în Antichitate*, vol. 1, traducere și cuvânt înainte de Stella Petecel, Editura Meridiane, București, 1997, 157-159.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. 2, 135.

continuat opera de traducere a conținutului Revelației exprimat originar în limba și termenii gândirii semite, întâi traducând Evanghelia lui Matei din aramaică în greacă și apoi optând pentru redactarea direct în greacă a celorlalte scrieri nou testamentare, folosind din plin terminologie și concepte grecești⁴⁶. În acest fel, creștinismul, contrar unei anume viziuni moderne legate de „simplitatea” sa primară, s-a străduit încă din timpul apostolic să se orienteze după cele mai înalte standarde intelectuale ale vremii, pentru a-și face cât mai ușoară receptarea în lumea mediteraneană elenizată⁴⁷. Prin urmare, creștinismul antic a suferit de timpuriu ceea ce Henri-Irénée Marrou numește „osmoză culturală”, proces în care „mediul de civilizație este asemeni unui fluid hrănitor, care scaldă oamenii și instituțiile pătrunzându-i fără ca ei s-o știe, chiar și împotriva voinței lor. Tocmai pentru că trăiau în lumea clasică, creștinii primelor secole au acceptat ca pe ceva natural, de la sine înțeles, categoria fundamentală a umanismului elenistic: omul ca valoare necondiționată, anterioară oricărei specificații. S-ar putea spune: pentru a putea fi creștin, trebuie mai întâi să fii om, destul de matur pe plan propriu-zis uman, ca să fii capabil să îndeplinești un act de credință și acte morale (este un fapt istoric și etnografic constatat: creștinismul cere un minimum de civilizație). Or, dacă educația clasică reprezintă o tehnică admirabilă pentru formarea unui tip uman perfect dezvoltat, de ce să încerci, inutil, a elabora un alt sistem de educație?”⁴⁸

Nu e, poate, inutil să mai precizăm că parcurgerea sistemului de educație clasică nu însemna pentru un tânăr creștin și acceptarea idealurilor religioase eventual promovate de ea, unica distanțare a Bisericii față de cultura și educația clasică vizând însușirea ei în calitate de ideal independent, rival al Revelației⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Oxford University Press, 1977, 36.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 37.

⁴⁸ Henri-Irénée Marrou, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 137-138.

⁴⁹ Sfântul Vasile cel Mare recomanda tinerilor creștini ca, după ce au fost inițiați mai întâi în literatura profană, să-i folosească cu discernământ pe clasicii în care găsesc „numai o schiță a virtuții”, pentru a scoate de acolo tot ceea ce poate pregăti pentru lupta duhovnicească și duce la slava binelui (Sfântul Vasile cel Mare, *Scrieri. Partea întâi. Omilii la Hexaemeron, Omilii la Psalmi, Omilii și cuvântări*, traducere, introducere, note și indici de D. Fecioru, EIBMBOR, București, 1986 (PSB 17), 581).

Drept urmare, acestui context trebuie să i-l restituim pe tânărul Evagrie. E adevărat că în școlile de tip clasic au predat mulți creștini, Origen fiind primul care a încercat adaptarea metodelor învățământului superior elenistic la nevoile Bisericii. Dar nu mai puțin adevărat este și că școala catehetică rămasă în Alexandria după expulzarea lui Origen n-a fost imitată nicăieri⁵⁰. Așa că, în Bizanț, școala antică elenistică se prelungește direct în cea bizantină fără hiatus, iar Constantinopolul rămâne, până în 1453, un centru al studiilor și al tradiției clasice. Organizarea de către Teodosie al II-lea a Universității din Constantinopol, în 425, nu făcea decât să consfințească sistemul deja existent, care avea la bază deja amintitele „arte liberale”: gramatica, retorica, dialectica, aritmetica, geometria, astronomia și muzica⁵¹, cărora li se adăuga studiul temeinic al filosofiei și al logicii, până în vremea Sfântului Grigorie Palama, retorica rămânând examenul suprem.⁵²

4. Concluzii

Termenul oarecum ambiguu de *paideia*, care desemnează atât cultura și educația, cât și totalitatea mijloacelor prin care „o comunitate își păstrează și își transmite caracteristicile sale fizice și intelectuale”⁵³, a stat la baza formării unui anumit tip uman identificabil în persoana multora din Părinții Bisericii, și în mod indiscutabil al Părinților capadocieni pe care Evagrie i-a cunoscut.

⁵⁰ Eus., *HE*, VI, 3, 1; 15; 18, 3-4 (cf. Eusebiu de Cezareea, *Scrieri. Partea întâi. Istoria Bisericească. Martirii din Palestina*, traducere, studiu, note și comentarii de T. Bodogae, EIBMBOR, București, 1987 (PSB 13), 227, 239, 241).

⁵¹ Referitor la variația disciplinelor liberale de-a lungul istoriei și locurilor se poate consulta studiul lui Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Artele liberale în Antichitatea clasică*, în idem, *Patristică și umanism*, traducere din limba franceză de Cristina și Costin Popescu, Editura Meridiane, București, 1996, mai ales 40-50.

⁵² Capacitatea uimitoare a sistemului clasic de învățământ, de plămădire a sufletelor tinerelor vlăstare și de cultivare a comorilor de virtualitate ascunse în ele, a fost resimțită până în zilele noastre de toți cei care au avut contact cu el, așa încât un fizician ca Max von Laue a putut scrie cuvintele: „Mă îndoiesc că m-aș fi consacrat în întregime științei pure dacă nu ar fi fost contactul cu cultura și limba elină, ceea ce este posibil numai într-un liceu clasic” –, urmate de îndemnul: „Trimiteți-vă copiii la liceul clasic și lăsați-i să studieze acolo temeinic limbile clasice” (Max von Laue, *Istoria fizicii*, în românește de I. Gornstein, Editura Științifică, București, 1963, 199-200).

⁵³ Werner Jaeger, *op. cit.*, 37.

Analiza datelor istorico-biografice și a contextului tinereții lui Evagrie ne-a arătat că nu trebuie să ni-l imaginăm pe acesta urmând o școală adânc pătrunsă de duh evanghelic, ci să reținem caracterul integrator, cu deschideri universaliste, al formației primite potrivit epocii. Acest strat de temelie al formării sale *intelectuale* este singurul la care vom putea apela pentru a ne apropia de natura teologhisirii evagriene și, totodată, singurul la care suntem obligați să recurgem pentru exegeza scrierilor lui.

De acest fel de școală au avut parte, fie ierarhi citadini precum Vasile cel Mare, Grigorie de Nyssa, Grigorie Teologul, Ioan Gură de Aur, Fotie sau Grigorie Palama, fie autori monastici precum Evagrie, Diadoh al Foticeii, Nil Ascetul, Maxim Mărturisitorul, Ioan Damaschin, Ioan Scărarul; și tot în această atmosferă școlară polifonică, s-a format Evagrie ca om cu orizonturi largi, apt să compare multe modele intelectuale și duhovnicești, evitând primejdia căderii sub dominația absolută a unuia singur. Ulterior, în pustia egipteană, el avea să-și definească, prin scriere, acel stilul propriu, inconfundabil și inovator, sinteză fericită a paideei clasice cu cea anahoretică, expresie a complexei și vastei rețele de relații intelectuale și duhovnicești în care îl plasase pronia, școala și pustia.

POETES LATINS ET ZONES CLIMATIQUES : HEURS ET MALHEURS D'UN TOPOS

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Keywords: *Latin poetry, climatic zones, astronomy, geography, topos, originality, mimesis.*

Abstract: Latin Poets and Climatic Zones: Ups and Downs of a Topos. *From Accius, Varro or Lucretius onwards, Latin poets have repeatedly alluded to or described the division of the terrestrial and celestial spheres into five climatic zones. The present paper is tracking down and delving into the several passages where this theory was mentioned from the origins of Latin literature until the 5th century A.D. Be they shorter or longer, these excerpts show regular interest and curiosity for a highly scientific topic from authors whose verses are not necessarily dedicated prima facie to science in general or to geography and astronomy in particular. Over time the picture of the zones evolved into a true literary topos whose grounds for attractiveness are also looked into. The Romans' natural appeal for reality and technical matters is one of them, as well as the philosophical, moral or ideological dimensions of the theme. Last but not least, this topos offers a wide range of possibilities to authors willing to engage in an agonistic process, fully compliant with the ancient concept of creative mimesis, in order to display their personality and originality.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *poezie latină, zone climatice, astronomie, geografie, topos, originalitate, mimesis.*

Rezumat: Poeți latini și zone climatice: sușuri și coborâșuri ale unui topos. *De la Accius, Varro sau Lucretius încolo, poeții latini au făcut aluzie sau au descris în mod repetat împărțirea sferelor terestre și cerești în cinci zone climatice. Lucrarea de față urmărește și aprofundează mai multe pasaje în care această teorie a fost menționată de la originile literaturii latine până în secolul al V-lea d.Hr. Fie că sunt mai scurte sau mai lungi, aceste fragmente arată un interes și o curiozitate regulată pentru un subiect extrem de științific de la au-*

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tori ale căror versuri nu sunt neapărat dedicate prima facie științei în general sau geografiei și astronomiei în special. De-a lungul timpului, imaginea zonelor climatice a evoluat într-un adevărat topos literar ale cărui motive de atractivitate sunt, de asemenea, analizate. Una dintre ele este atracția firească a romanilor pentru realitate și probleme tehnice, dar și dimensiunile filozofice, morale sau ideologice ale temei. Nu în ultimul rând, acest topos oferă o gamă largă de posibilități autorilor care doresc să se angajeze într-un proces agonistic, pe deplin conform cu vechiul concept de mimesis creator, pentru a-și etala personalitatea și originalitatea.

1. Le contexte et le propos de cette étude

Parmi les différentes représentations qu'ils se faisaient du globe terrestre, les Anciens avaient notamment en usage une division de ce dernier en cinq zones (en grec ζῳναί ; en latin *zoniae*, *cinguli* ou *plagae*)¹, répondant à cinq zones célestes en miroir. Le principe à la base de ce schéma est le postulat selon lequel notre globe, immobile, est un reflet de la sphère céleste et les zones du ciel se projettent sur la surface de la terre. Les cinq régions ainsi dessinées correspondent chacune à une zone climatique déterminée, avec des conséquences précises en termes d'habitabilité ou non pour l'être humain : une zone médiane, constamment torride et inhabitable ; de part et d'autre de celle-ci, deux zones tempérées, habitées par les hommes ; aux extrémités supérieure et inférieure, de part et d'autre des trois zones centrales, deux zones perpétuellement glaciales, inhabitables, à savoir les régions polaires du nord et du sud. Cette cosmologie est bien attestée dans diverses sources grecques et romaines et elle a trouvé une première expression poétique dans l'*Hermès* d'Ératosthène (fr. 16 Powell), une oeuvre astro-mythologique aujourd'hui fragmentaire, qui semble avoir laissé des traces significatives dans la littérature qui a suivi².

Du côté latin, Cicéron expose longuement la théorie dans le "Songe de Scipion", tiré de la *République* (VI, 21), ainsi que dans un extrait des *Tusculanes* (I, 68-69), et la mentionne plus brièvement

¹ Sur les zones, voir e.g. Alfonsi 1952 ; Aujac 1972, 75 ; 1974, 195-199 ; 1976, 74-76 ; Le Boeuffle 1987, s.v. *zona* ; Rochette 2014, 139-140 ; Evans 2016, 66-67. Sur l'image du globe dans le monde romain en général, voir Arnaud 1984.

² Voir e.g. Agosti 2008, 149-157 et Rochette 2014, 142-143.

dans deux autres passages³. On la retrouve, présentée avec assez bien de précisions, chez d'autres prosateurs, sans surprise essentiellement dans des ouvrages à vocation technique ou scientifique, comme ceux d'Hygin⁴, Pomponius Mela⁵, Pline l'Ancien⁶, Macrobe⁷, Martianus Capella⁸, Isidore de Séville⁹ ou d'auteurs incertains¹⁰. Ce qui paraît plus étonnant, du moins au premier abord, c'est le succès qu'elle a connu chez les poètes, et ce tout au long de la latinité, de l'époque préclassique à l'époque plus tardive. Parfois, il s'agit d'allusions isolées, mais en de multiples occasions, la théorie est développée en détail et sur un nombre de vers plus conséquents. Ce phénomène, qui a retenu mon attention à l'occasion de travaux portant sur d'autres questions, mérite que je le traite plus en profondeur aujourd'hui afin de mettre en lumière l'exploitation poétique qui a été faite du sujet et de mieux comprendre les raisons d'une telle popularité. Ce sera l'occasion également de voir si les poètes ont su témoigner d'originalité ou d'inventivité dans le (re)traitement de ce thème, en faisant vivre et évoluer le catalogue de motifs et d'images à leur disposition selon les règles de l'imitation créatrice (*mimesis*)¹¹.

2. *Des débuts timides*

Accius

Selon l'état de nos sources, le premier poète à avoir évoqué la doctrine pourrait être le tragique Accius. Dans un des exposés qu'il

³ *Tusc.*, I, 45 et *Nat. deor.*, I, 24.

⁴ *Astr.*, I, 8, 2-3.

⁵ I, 4.

⁶ *Nat.*, II, 72.

⁷ *Comm.*, II, 5, 7-36 et 7, 17-21.

⁸ VI, 102 et VII, 735.

⁹ *Nat.*, X ; *Orig.*, III, 44 ; XIII, 6.

¹⁰ Suet. (?), fr. 125 Reifferscheid et *Epitoma disciplinarum* (*Fragmentum Censorini*), II, 1-4.

¹¹ À ce sujet, voir Knapp 1908 ; Guillemin 1924 ; Bardou 1963, 87-123 et 259-260 ; Williams 1968, 250-357 ; Thill 1979 ; les diverses contributions réunies dans West – Woodman 1979, en particulier Russell 1979.

consacre aux zones, Cicéron introduit en effet ainsi un fragment du *Philoctète* :

... *globum terrae eminentem e mari, fixum in medio mundi uniuersi loco, duabus oris distantibus habitabilem et cultum, quarum altera quam nos incolimus,*

Sub axe posita ad stellas septem, unde horrifer

Aquiloni' stridor gelidas molitur niues (= Trag., 242-243 Dangel),

altera australis, ignota nobis, quam uocant Graeci ἀντίχθονα (Tusc., I, 68).

Le contexte dans lequel figuraient les vers d'Accius ne ressort pas clairement de la citation et il est impossible à établir à partir de la trame du *Philoctète* de Sophocle¹². Néanmoins, il n'est pas douteux que le premier vers définit une position géographique dans l'hémisphère Nord (*stellas septem*, soit le Septentrion ou Grande Ourse) et débouche sur une brève description de la région polaire, saisissante et impressionnante (cf. *horrifer* / *stridor*) en dépit d'une relative économie de moyens : le vent (du nord-nord-est : *Aquiloni'*), le froid (*gelidas*) et les amas (*molitur*) de neige (*niues*). Dans l'hypothèse où l'Arpinate aurait conservé l'idée même du texte original en le reproduisant et où *posita* se rapporterait comme chez lui à *ora* ou un terme équivalent, nous tiendrions ici la plus ancienne attestation en poésie latine de la théorie des zones. On n'oserait cependant l'affirmer catégoriquement.

Varron de Réate et Lucrèce

Si tel n'est pas le cas et abstraction faite du fragment 31 Blänsdorf de Laevius¹³, il reviendrait alors à Varron ou Lucrèce d'avoir

¹² Sur l'environnement cicéronien de cette citation et de celle qui la suit, voir aussi Degl'Innocenti Pierini 2023, 114-117.

¹³ *Hac qua sol uagus igneas habenas / Immittit propius iugatque terrae*. À son propos, Courtney 1993, 143, écrit, mais sans étayer cette affirmation : "The torrid zone is referred to". J'hésite à suivre cette analyse aussi sommaire que catégorique car ni le texte même ni le contexte de sa citation par Macrobe (*Sat.*, I, 18, 16) ne paraissent indiquer avec certitude que le poète visait la zone en question ni – a fortiori – la théorie elle-même ; *hac qua* (v. 1) porte bien l'idée d'une localisation, mais reste assez vague pour convenir à différentes situations. Sur ce fragment, qui a

laissé pour la première fois en vers une trace de cette conception, l'un comme l'autre au travers d'une très brève mention. Le Réatin y fait une rapide allusion dans l'unique fragment conservé de la ménippée *Dolium aut seria* (92, 2-3 Astbury: *quinque altitonae... zonae / Cingunt*)¹⁴, tandis que l'auteur du *De rerum natura* y recourt succinctement dans le cadre d'une argumentation visant à étayer une thèse épicurienne essentielle à ses yeux, selon laquelle les dieux sont étrangers à l'origine du monde¹⁵ :

*Inde duas porro prope partis feruidus ardor
Adsiduusque geli casus mortalibus aufert* (V, 204-205).

Le portrait de la zone torride et des zones glaciales est elliptique, mais efficace : en dépit de sa relative simplicité, il prend du relief à la lumière de l'opposition fondamentale entre le chaud et le froid (cf. *feruidus ardor* et *adsiduusque geli casus*, respectivement en fin et en tête de v. 204 et 205), que le physicien se plaît à souligner régulièrement dans son oeuvre¹⁶. En Romain très pragmatique, Lucrèce constate que ces conditions insupportables conduisent à soustraire deux tiers des terres aux humains, qui devront se contenter du tiers restant pour produire – non sans efforts – de quoi subsister (cf. v. 206-209). La courte vignette marquera suffisamment les esprits pour assurer, comme l'ont noté Alfonsi 1978¹⁷ et Gale 2000¹⁸, la transmission du topos à d'autres poètes ultérieurs, qui pourront l'exploiter plus en profondeur.

Varron d'Atax

Le néotérique Varron d'Atax s'en saisira dans sa *Chorographia*, un poème à portée technique et didactique inspiré d'Alexandre d'Éphèse

fait couler beaucoup d'encre pour d'autres raisons, voir aussi De la Ville de Mirmont 1901, 31-32 ; Granarolo 1971, 410-414 ; Portuese 2017, 329-330 et 333.

¹⁴ De façon moins explicite, la même conception du monde sous-tend, dans sa production en prose, la narration de *Rust.*, I, 2, 3-4.

¹⁵ Cf. *nequaquam nobis diuinitus esse paratam / Naturam rerum*, v. 198-199 et aussi II, 646-648 ; voir Boyancé 1963, 218-219 et Gale 2000, 83.

¹⁶ Cf. II, 515-522 ; VI, 357-378 ; 840-847 ; voir Bollack 1978, 311-312.

¹⁷ Alfonsi 1978, 288-289.

¹⁸ Gale 2000, 81-83 et 116.

et d'Ératosthène, où cette thématique trouve assez naturellement sa place :

*At quinque aethereis zonis accingitur orbis;
Ac uastant imas hiemes mediamque calores;
Sic terrae extremas inter mediamque coluntur;
Qua solis ualido numquam uis ferueat igne* (fr. 13, 1-4 Blänsdorf)¹⁹.

Même si le développement dépasse en longueur ce que nous avons pu lire jusqu'ici, il reste assez sommaire dans sa présentation du sujet et plutôt avare d'images pittoresques. Le cœur même de l'énoncé est le contraste, au vers 2, entre les frimas des zones polaires et les chaleurs de la zone torride (*hiemes* > < *calores*), directement hérité de Lucrèce. Deux innovations se distinguent cependant, au sein d'une seule et même formule : l'ajout de la notion de désolation (*uastant*) et l'introduction d'une notation saisonnière (*hiemes*), la première dans un tel contexte chez un Latin, mais sans doute dérivée d'une mention de l'été (ἥρως) dans le fragment de l'*Hermès* d'Ératosthène (fr. 16, 16 Powell).

3. *Consolidation et expansion à l'époque augustéenne*

Virgile

La production poétique des temps augustéens va consolider ces acquis et construire sur une base désormais ferme une série de variations plus ou moins significatives. Virgile, tout d'abord, consacra dans ses *Géorgiques* un développement plus étendu et systématique à un sujet devenu progressivement un "classique" :

*Quinque tenent caelum zonae: quarum una corusco
Semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni;
Quam circum extremae dextra laeuaque²⁰ trahuntur*

¹⁹ Le texte du vers 4 est incontestablement corrompu dans les manuscrits ; je donne ici sans assurance aucune celui de Blänsdorf 1995, dont j'ai suivi l'édition, mais il existe diverses solutions alternatives tout aussi plausibles : voir Traglia 1974, 94 ; Blänsdorf 1995, 236 ; Frutuoso Mello 2019, 168 ; Hardy 2022, 4-5.

*Caeruleae glacie concretae atque imbris atris;
Has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris
Munere concessae diuom, et uia secta per ambas,
Obliquos qua se signorum uerteret ordo* (Georg., I, 233-239).

J'ai expliqué ailleurs²¹ combien ce morceau était aligné sur le modèle offert par le fragment de l'*Hermès* d'Ératosthène, mais aussi comment son auteur avait réussi à densifier le matériau d'emprunt, au point de ramasser en une poignée de vers seulement des éléments qui en occupent près de vingt dans l'original grec²². Les notations de couleur (*corusco*, v. 233, *rubens*, v. 234, *caeruleae* et *atris*, v. 236), absentes des versions latines antérieures, et l'accent mis sur les éléments (*torrida... ab igni*, v. 234 > < *glacie concretae atque imbris*, v. 236, soit sécheresse et chaleur contrastant avec froid et humidité), une composante majeure de la pensée et de l'art des *Géorgiques*²³, ont bel et bien été suggérés par la lecture de l'*Hermès*. Toutefois, Virgile a combiné ces indications à l'héritage de Lucrèce (l'opposition entre le chaud et le froid, v. 234 et 236, l'intérêt pour la condition humaine au milieu de l'univers, v. 237-238) et de Varron d'Atax (des formules telles que *extremae*, v. 235, qualifiant les zones polaires ou *has inter mediamque*, v. 237, définissant la position des zones tempérées, habitables) de façon à produire une version qui lui demeure propre et où il n'hésite pas à prendre le contrepied du *De rerum natura* en présentant la répartition des zones comme l'oeuvre des dieux (cf. *munere... diuom*, v. 238). Sur ce dernier point, il rejoint donc plutôt le propos du Cicéron des *Tusculanes* et du *De natura deorum* (*loc. cit.*).

Le Mantouan reviendra encore, plus brièvement, sur les zones dans un distique de l'*Énéide*, qui n'apporte pas grand-chose à un motif traité plus en profondeur dans son ouvrage didactique à destination des agriculteurs :

et siquem extenta plagarum

²⁰ Virgile écrit *dextra laeuaque* parce qu'il envisage les zones du point de vue de la course du soleil de l'est vers l'ouest : voir Mynors 1990, 55.

²¹ Dehon 1993a, 81-83.

²² Bien observé aussi par Mynors 1990, 54 : "his picture is much shorter and therefore more vivid".

²³ Voir Ross, Jr 1987, 66-74 et, sur notre passage, 120 et 235.

Quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui (*Aen.*, VII, 226-227).

Seule la zone centrale torride est ici un tant soit peu caractérisée par rapport aux quatre autres, et ce sans surprise aucune par ses chaleurs extrêmes matérialisées par l'influence d'un soleil implacable (*solis iniqui*, v. 227), image qui en rappelle une de l'*Atacinus* (cf. fr. 13, 4 Blänsdorf : *solis ualido... igne*). Une allusion aussi succincte dans un poème de dimension épique et visant un public plus large confirme le statut de topos revêtu par un thème bien ancré désormais dans la sagesse populaire. Au cours de la période considérée, celui-ci va continuer à s'émanciper progressivement de la poésie technique ou scientifique, comme en témoignent la production d'Horace, Propertius et Ovide, ainsi que le *Panegyrique de Messalla*.

Horace

Le poète de Venouse fait allusion aux zones dans une de ses *Odes* "en passant", comme on peut faire allusion à un sujet connu sur lequel il n'est pas nécessaire de s'étendre pour être compris du lecteur :

*Quid leges sine moribus
Vanae proficiunt, si neque feruidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi nec Boreae finitimum latus
Durataeque solo niues
Mercatorem abigunt...?* (*Carm.*, III, 24, 35-40)

L'emploi du terme *pars* (v. 37) au lieu d'autres mots tels que *zona*, *plaga* ou *ora* ne doit pas nous surprendre : nous l'avons rencontré chez Lucrèce et il est bien attesté comme doublon de ces vocables plus techniques²⁴; il est du reste tout à fait à sa place dans une composition lyrique touchant un public élargi. Horace se focalise sur la désormais traditionnelle opposition entre la zone médiane, insupportablement torride (cf. le pléonastique *feruidis* / ... *caloribus*, v. 36-37), et l'une des zones polaires, celle du nord en l'occurrence (ici

²⁴ Cf. aussi Cic., *Tusc.*, I, 69 ou *Paneg. in Mess.*, 152.

finitimum latus, v. 38), indirectement caractérisée par le froid (cf. *duratae*, v. 39), en tout cas soumise aux rafales du Borée (*Boreae*, v. 38) et aux chutes de neige (*niues*, v. 39), deux traits peut-être hérités d'Accius. Les images liées aux zones semblent déjà tirées d'un catalogue de lieux communs et ont pour fonction d'aider le moraliste à mieux illustrer l'absurdité du comportement de certains contemporains. Elles n'en demeurent pas moins vigoureuses et saisissantes de par leur concision et leur densité mêmes, typiques des paysages horatiens²⁵.

Peut-être, comme le suggère L. Alfonsi²⁶, le poète songeait-il également à la zone torride lorsqu'il écrivait dans une autre de ses pièces lyriques :

*Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis in terra domibus negata* (*Carm.*, I, 22, 21-22).

La prudence reste néanmoins de mise en l'absence de terme se référant directement ou indirectement aux zones. Si jamais c'est le cas, on pourrait considérer qu'Horace était conscient du fait que la chaleur intrinsèque de la partie médiane du globe la rend impropre à l'habitat humain, à l'inverse de la région tempérée, qui pourrait, elle, être visée par une autre formule tout aussi laconique utilisée ailleurs pour définir la partie du globe soumise à l'autorité d'Auguste :

*o qua sol habitabilis
Inlustrat oras maxime principum* (*Carm.*, IV, 14, 5-6).

À nouveau, nous avons affaire à de simples instantanés, qui peuvent rendre difficile à décrypter la portée exacte des images sous-jacentes.

²⁵ Voir Haight 1909-10, 247 ; Faguet 1914, 449-451 ; O'Brien 1961, 34 ; Dehon 2001, 77.

²⁶ Alfonsi 1952, 151.

Propertius

C'est au livre IV de ses élégies que Propertius manifeste son intérêt pour la théorie des zones. Il nous confirme d'abord dans la pièce d'ouverture qu'il en a connaissance en la plaçant dans la bouche de l'astrologue Horus, son interlocuteur fictif :

*Aspicienda uia est caeli uerusque per astra
Trames et ab zonis quinque petenda fides* (IV, 1, 107-108).

L'évocation ne pourrait guère être plus lapidaire et ne comporte aucun élément susceptible de caractériser ou distinguer tel ou tel segment du globe. Une preuve de plus de l'intégration progressive du motif dans l'arsenal de lieux communs à la disposition des poètes. La seconde occurrence est à peine plus longue, mais se révèle plus élaborée sur le plan des images : elle appartient à une section de la troisième élégie où Aréthuse décrit à Lycotas ses lectures nocturnes en l'absence de son bien-aimé. Elle a appris, dit-elle, à identifier sur la carte du monde (v. 35-40) les parties du globe terrestre (*tellus*) soumises à des régimes climatiques extrêmes, à savoir les pôles et la zone médiane torride :

Quae tellus sit lenta gelu, quae putris ab aestu (IV, 3, 39).

La structure anaphorique du vers, bien ancrée sur *quae...* // *quae...* (en tête d'hémistiche), de part et d'autre de la césure hephthémimère, concourt à marquer l'opposition profonde entre les deux blocs et les phénomènes qui en sont caractéristiques (en fin d'hémistiche) : le gel persistant d'un côté (*gelu*) et la chaleur étouffante de l'autre (*aestu*, avec homéotéleute). Nous retrouvons ici les fondamentaux de la thématique, opportunément mis en lumière par la composition du vers unique qui lui est dédié et d'autant mieux soulignés par le choix d'un vocabulaire très expressif (cf. *lenta* et *putris*). Le topos, ainsi perpétué, pourra continuer son oeuvre et poursuivre sa route dans les vers d'autres poètes.

Le Panégyrique de Messalla

Vers la même époque sans doute, on le rencontre dans un autre recueil élégiaque, le *corpus Tibullianum*²⁷. C'est toutefois dans une pièce qui ne relève pas du registre conventionnel de l'élégie qu'il se déploie : le *Panégyrique de Messalla*. Cet ouvrage en hexamètres dactyliques et d'auteur inconnu s'est vu inclure dans le *corpus* en tant que témoin de l'art des écrivains du cercle de Messalla, protecteur de Tibulle et de tant d'autres²⁸. Il comporte dans sa dernière section une digression sur les zones (v. 151-174) qui sort du cadre de l'éloge proprement dit et s'intègre de façon assez libre dans une évocation de la gloire promise à l'homme de guerre (v. 118-176). L'exposé constitue un excursus au vrai sens du terme puisque l'idée qui le relie au corps du *Panégyrique* est assez mince²⁹ : Messalla est appelé à conquérir la terre entière (cf. v. 150) et sa gloire, à s'étendre dans les deux hémisphères (cf. *utroque... in orbe*, v. 176) ; dès lors, l'auteur, à l'exemple peut-être de Lucrèce (V, 204-205), laissera de côté tout ce qui concerne les subdivisions du ciel pour ne dépeindre que les zones terrestres, sans même préciser, en dépit du caractère scientifique du propos, que ces dernières sont le reflet de la configuration céleste. Avec près de 25 vers, cette description est résolument la plus longue de celles dont nous disposons. Elle est composée de quatre parties nettement distinctes : à la suite de généralités (v. 151-152) se succèdent, dans le même ordre que chez Ératosthène (fr. 16 Powell)³⁰, les portraits des zones polaires (v. 153-157), torride (v. 158-164) et tempérées (v. 165-174).

Dans sa recherche approfondie des sources, Alfonsi 1952³¹ s'est efforcé de démontrer que, par le biais de divers intermédiaires précédemment cités, à savoir l'*Hermès* d'Ératosthène, le *Somnium*

²⁷ Sur le *corpus*, voir e.g. Cartault 1909, 3-147 ; Knox 2018 ; Gold – Liveley 2021, 100-121.

²⁸ Voir e.g. Cartault 1909, 78-80 ; van Berchem 1945 ; Funaioli 1952 ; Davies 1973, 28-29.

²⁹ Voir aussi Cartault 1909, 79 et Alfonsi 1952, 147-148.

³⁰ Mais le savant grec évoque à deux reprises les zones polaires (v. 4 et 9-12). Ordre identique chez Cic., *Rep.*, VI, 21.

³¹ Alfonsi 1952, sp. 154-155 pour les citations.

Scipionis cicéronien ou encore la *Chorographia* de Varron d'Atax, le contenu philosophique du passage remontait au *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας* d'Aristote ; après avoir défini ce contenu comme un "platonismo composito", il conclut à une "ispirazione platonico-aristotelica, più ancora che varroniana e poetica". Néanmoins, la description du *Panegyrique* n'est pas, sur un plan strictement littéraire, indépendante de celles qui l'ont précédée, Alfonsi ayant lui-même relevé plusieurs parallélismes entre celles-ci et notre texte.

On le constate en examinant de près le début de la digression, résumé de la théorie, et la section qui suit, consacrée aux zones polaires :

*Nam circumfuso consistit in aere tellus
Et quinque in partes toto disponitur orbe.
Atque duae gelido uastantur frigore semper :
Illic et densa tellus absconditur umbra,
Et nulla incepto perlabitur unda liquore,
Sed durata riget densam in glaciemque niuemque,
Quippe ubi non umquam Titan super egerit ortus* (*Paneg. in Mess.*, 151-157).

Le second des deux vers d'introduction (152) est très proche formellement du vers initial du fragment de l'*Atacinus* (cf. 13, 1 Blänsdorf: *At quinque... accingitur orbis* et noter les positions identiques dans l'hexamètre). Mais contrairement à Varron, l'auteur du *Panegyrique* y emploie, au lieu de la dénomination technique *zona*, le terme *pars*³², désormais installé comme substitut de ce dernier grâce à Lucrèce, Cicéron ou Horace, et hérité de l'un de ces prédécesseurs. Les zones polaires sont caractérisées par un froid exceptionnel (v. 153 et 155-156) et une forte obscurité (v. 154 et 157), tous deux constants (cf. *semper*, v. 153 et *non umquam*, v. 157), qui en font des terres de désolation (cf. *uastantur*, v. 153). La mention du froid n'a rien d'original, nous le savons, dans une évocation des pôles. L'idée d'obscurité vient vraisemblablement des *Géorgiques*, comme celle de l'absence de soleil, mais elles ont été puisées soit dans les vers suivant l'exposé con-

³² Après ce premier emploi au vers 152, le vocable revient deux fois dans l'exposé : cf. *exustas... partes* (v. 164) et *pars altera* (v. 166).

sacré aux zones par le Mantouan³³, soit dans sa peinture de l’“hiver en Scythie” (III, 349-383)³⁴, un morceau de bravoure devenu fameux pour son traitement de l’hiver permanent et sa postérité chez Ovide et Sénèque entre autres³⁵. L’influence virgilienne a dû peser également sur le choix d’expressions adverbiales catégoriques³⁶. À moins que le *semper* ne traduise le grec αἰεὶ répété par Ératosthène (v. 10) et que la formulation négative ne soit un souvenir du *numquam* de l’*Atacinus* (cf. v. 4) ; à ce dernier a au moins été repris le détail de la *uastatio* du paysage (cf. *uastant... hiemes*, v. 2), un élément introduit par Varron.

L’auteur du *Panegyrique* affiche un intérêt plus marqué que ses prédécesseurs latins pour les notations climatiques, ce qui tendrait à le rapprocher d’Ératosthène, mais, alors que le poète grec (v. 4 et 10-12) et Virgile (*Georg.*, I, 236) après lui avaient attribué aux pôles des traits plus proches de l’hiver méditerranéen (gel et pluie), il signale en outre, comme Accius (*Trag.*, 243 Dangel), Cicéron (*Nat. deor.*, I, 24) et Horace (*Carm.*, III, 24, 39), la présence de neige (*niuem*, v. 156)³⁷, il ajoute même quelques considérations, inspirées d’Ératosthène (v. 11-12)³⁸, sur l’impossibilité pour les eaux de rester liquides sous un tel climat (v. 155-156)³⁹. À cet hiver permanent des zones polaires, le panégyriste oppose l’été permanent de la zone médiane (cf. *semper... calori*, v. 158), en soulignant que la situation y reste inchangée durant

³³ Cf. *Georg.*, I, 247-248 (*Illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox / Semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebrae*) ; *densentur* paraît bien avoir suggéré, pour sa part, la répétition *densa* (v. 154) et *densam* (v. 156).

³⁴ Cf. *Georg.*, III, 356-357 (*Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri ; / Tum Sol pallentis haud umquam discutit umbras*).

³⁵ Voir Dehon 1993a, 72-80, 211-218 et 265-268.

³⁶ Cf. les passages cités aux notes précédentes et aussi le corps même de la description de la zone torride (I, 234 : *Semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni*).

³⁷ Lucrèce (V, 205) ne mentionnait que le gel ; Varron d’Atax (fr. 13, 13 Blänsdorf) ne faisait allusion à aucun phénomène météorologique précis ; Ovide (*Met.*, I, 50) ne caractérisera les zones polaires que par la neige.

³⁸ Le développement est introduit de manière comparable : Οὐ μὲν ὕδωρ (v. 11) et *Et nulla... unda* (v. 155).

³⁹ Cf. encore *rigentes* qualifiant ces mêmes zones un peu plus loin (v. 165).

toute l'année, lors de l'été météorologique comme lors de l'hiver météorologique :

*At media est Phoebi semper subiecta calori,
Seu propior terris aestiuum fertur in orbem
Seu celer hibernas properat decurrere luces* (v. 158-160).

Les vers 159-160 sont bâtis sur l'antithèse entre été (*aestiuum*) et hiver (*hibernas*), appuyée par la construction anaphorique *Seu... / Seu...*, qui reproduit habilement et met en abyme le contraste fondamental entre zones glaciales et torride : le diptyque évoque tour à tour le parcours du soleil à ces deux périodes de l'année et la longueur/brièveté des journées qui résulte de sa position, un trait assez conventionnel⁴⁰. L'introduction de ces notations saisonnières est un héritage d'Ératosthène (v. 16), de Varron d'Atax (*hiemes*, v. 2), voire de Cicéron (*Tusc.*, I, 69)⁴¹, et pour le poète une manière de démontrer sa capacité à développer un matériau désormais consolidé. La conséquence de ces anomalies climatiques pour les zones concernées est l'impossibilité d'y pratiquer une activité agricole quelconque (v. 161-164).

La suite et la fin de la digression apprennent au lecteur que les seules parties du globe fertiles, habitables et peuplées (v. 165-174) sont les deux zones tempérées, précisément parce que les extrêmes climatiques y atténuent mutuellement leurs effets (cf. *utrimque tenens uicinia caeli / Temperat*, v. 167-168) et parce qu'elles connaissent l'alternance des saisons :

Hinc placidus nobis per tempora uertitur annus (v. 169).

Cette insistance sur l'existence ou l'absence d'un régime saisonnier dans les différentes zones est le trait le plus remarquable de l'exkursus du *Panegyrique*, même si elle n'est pas exclusivement le

⁴⁰ Cf. en particulier Verg., *Georg.*, II, 481-482 = *Aen.*, I, 745-746 (*Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere / Hiberni, uel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet*) ; sur ce motif traditionnel, voir Dehon 1993b.

⁴¹ L'Arpinate y laissait entendre que la zone tempérée où se trouve l'Italie était soumise à l'alternance des saisons (*suo tempore*), contrairement aux zones aux climats extrêmes.

fruit des réflexions personnelles de son auteur. Pour le reste, ce nouvel exposé sur les zones se distingue surtout des versions antérieures par son ampleur et par son allure systématique et méthodique. Cela ne suffira pas sans doute à réhabiliter complètement aux yeux des critiques son auteur inconnu, mais en tentant de rivaliser avec les tableaux de ses prédécesseurs, il aura prouvé qu'il avait compris et appris à maîtriser dans une certaine mesure les règles qui doivent présider, selon les Latins, à un ἀγών littéraire bien senti⁴².

Ovide

Ovide clôturera notre revue de l'époque augustéenne⁴³, en livrant dans les *Métamorphoses* deux contributions à l'histoire de notre topos. La première, et la plus élaborée, intervient de façon assez naturelle dans le premier livre, puisqu'elle prend place dans l'exposé racontant comment un dieu démiurge a tiré le monde du chaos originel (v. 21-88)⁴⁴ et a donné sa forme à la terre (v. 32-51) :

*Vtque duae dextra caelum totidemque sinistra*⁴⁵
Parte secant zonae, quinta est ardentior illis,
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
Cura dei totidemque plagae tellure premuntur.
Quarum quae media est non est habitabilis aestu ;
Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locavit
Temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma (Met., I, 45-51).

⁴² L'ἀγών consiste à choisir le texte d'un autre auteur sur un sujet donné et à s'efforcer, en conservant ledit sujet, voire une partie du vocabulaire, de transformer le morceau, de le reproduire avec variations et touches personnelles ; la *retractatio* revient à rivaliser (*aemulari*) avec soi-même, en donnant une forme nouvelle à un passage que l'on a précédemment écrit. Voir Guillemin 1924, 46-49 et 1931, 125-133.

⁴³ Les *Astronomica* de Manilius, même s'ils mentionnent l'existence de deux régions habitables, l'une au nord, l'autre au sud, se répondant de part et d'autre de l'Océan (cf. I, 228-229 : *pars eius ad Arctos / Eminent, austrinis pars est habitabilis oris*), ne portent pas trace d'une division du globe terrestre en zones à proprement parler. Sur la description du monde selon ce traité en vers, voir Abry 2000.

⁴⁴ Sur l'épisode du démiurge, voir Solodow 1988, 214-215.

⁴⁵ En écrivant *dextra... totidemque sinistra*, Ovide se souvient vraisemblablement de Virgile (*Georg.*, I, 235), qui envisageait déjà les choses sous l'angle du parcours du soleil d'est en ouest.

Comme l'a observé Wheeler 1995a⁴⁶, cet extrait de la cosmogonie ovidienne en occupe la position centrale et lui sert littéralement de centre de gravité : il présente une tournure assez didactique et reflète de manière techniquement précise la doctrine des zones célestes et terrestres en miroir, désignées par deux de leurs dénominations scientifiques (*zonae*, v. 46, puis *plagae*, v. 48). Dans le sillage de Cicéron et de Virgile, le Sulmonais attribue cette division à une entité supérieure, qu'il appelle dans cette section "dieu" (*dei*, v. 48), mais ailleurs tantôt "dieu", tantôt "nature", "artisan" ou "créateur"⁴⁷ : ceci laisse planer un doute sur sa condition exacte et permet au poète de rester en définitive au-dessus de la mêlée et des débats philosophiques. Sa description a aussi le mérite, en dépit de sa technicité, de s'intégrer harmonieusement dans la narration par les différentes allusions à l'intervention de cet architecte dans la création du monde (cf. *distinxit... / cura dei*, v. 47-48 ; *locavit*, v. 50 ; *dedit*, v. 51) : après un début relativement statique (cf. *secant* et *est*, v. 46) et qui fait penser au tableau du *Panégyrique* (cf. *Vtque duae*, en tête de v. 45, et *Atque duae* en tête de v. 153), la scène reçoit un caractère dynamique que ne possédaient pas les versions antérieures. Ovide commence par les zones célestes (v. 45-46), dont il n'individualise que la plus torride par comparaison aux autres (cf. *ardentior illis*, v. 46). Après un rappel du principe du reflet (v. 47-48), il passe aux zones terrestres, présentées dans un schéma en trois temps : la zone médiane torride, bien caractérisée par la chaleur à nouveau (cf. *aestu*, v. 49), les deux zones polaires, recouvertes d'une épaisse couche de neige (*nix... alta*, v. 50), et les deux tempérées (v. 50-51), qui réalisent l'équilibre, la *temperies*, entre les extrêmes (cf. *mixta cum frigore flamma*, v. 51). Le poète n'omet ni l'opposition fondamentale entre chaud et froid (outre l'oxymore *frigore flamma*, cf. *aestu* > < *nix* se répondant en fin et début de vers) ni les conséquences de ces climats sur les conditions de vie (cf. *habitabilis*, v. 49), mais il demeure très sobre en matière de détails et n'apporte pas d'élément véritablement neuf : son propos

⁴⁶ Wheeler 1995a, 110-112.

⁴⁷ Cf. *deus et melior... natura*, v. 21 ; *quisquis fuit ille deorum*, v. 32 ; *mundi fabricator*, v. 57 ; *opifex rerum*, v. 79.

reste technique et se focalise sur l'essentiel, évitant ainsi, par exemple, les débordements du panégyriste de Messalla.

Lorsqu'il reprend le motif au deuxième livre de son grand poème mythologique, Ovide se montre moins expansif encore et confirme sa capacité à intégrer le topos dans son récit. Celui-ci intervient au sein de l'épisode de Phaéton et dans une explication du parcours que devra suivre son char sur la voûte céleste :

*"Nec tibi directos placeat uia quinque per arcus;
Sectus in obliquum est lato curuamine limes,
Zonarumque trium contentus fine polumque
Effugit australem iunctamque aquilonibus Arcton"* (Met., II, 129-132).

C'est le Soleil, père de Phaéton, qui parle et lui recommande de se déplacer en suivant la ligne oblique de l'écliptique plutôt que de couper en ligne droite à travers les zones. À nouveau, le propos est assez technique, comme le recours au terme *zonarum* (v. 131) pour préciser ou définir le plus poétique *arcus* (v. 129), initialement utilisé. Plus allusif que celui du livre I, le tableau échappe à toute tentative descriptive, et ce pour la raison même qu'il doit trouver une place naturelle au sein de la narration et ne pas trop la faire dévier de son cours pour préserver sa fluidité. Le Sulmonais se limite à rappeler le nombre des zones (v. 129) et à indiquer que l'écliptique, sur lequel se déploie le trajet régulier du soleil, ne couvre que trois d'entre elles, à l'exclusion des deux zones polaires (v. 131-132). Une observation scientifiquement exacte pour une vignette sommaire, mais qui contribue à la pérennisation du topos.

4. *Nouvel essor et banalisation aux temps néroniens*

À l'époque de Néron, ce sont Sénèque et Lucain qui assureront la survie du motif des zones. Unis par les liens familiaux, mais aussi par une très nette affinité de pensée, les deux hommes développent, le premier dans son corpus tragique, le second dans son ouvrage épique, des thématiques qui se recoupent, en particulier lorsqu'il s'agit d'évo-

quer des questions relevant de la physique⁴⁸. L'ombre du stoïcisme plane, au travers d'un vif intérêt pour les questions naturelles, sur les tragédies de l'oncle comme sur la *Guerre civile* du neveu. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne proposeront de description élaborée du topos ni d'exposé détaillé de la théorie, mais ils confirmeront par des allusions répétées leur familiarité avec cette dernière. Derrière ces références multiples se discerne en particulier l'influence de l'extension des frontières de l'Empire et l'ouverture croissante de la poésie aux thèmes géographiques, déjà visible sous Auguste.

Sénèque

Il est bien établi aujourd'hui que l'oeuvre tragique de Sénèque ménage une large place aux thèmes géographiques, mais aussi astronomiques⁴⁹. Sujet au confluent de ces deux préoccupations, les zones y font l'objet d'allusions toujours succinctes et qui apparaissent naturellement dans le cours de la narration. Elles sont bien identifiables par le recours à la terminologie usuelle (*plaga* surtout, *zona* ou encore *pars*) :

*Penetrare iussus solis aestiui **plagas***

Et adusta medius regna quae torret dies (Herc. f., 235-236).

*Quam tunc habebat, cum per arentem **plagam***

Et fluctuantes more turbati maris

Abiit arenas (Herc. f., 319-321).

*Ambit peremptus Cancer ardentem **plagam** (Herc. O., 67).*

Quis feruida

***Plaga** reuulsus Cancer infixus meas*

Vrit medullas ? (Herc. O., 1218-1220).

*Quae **plaga** igniferi poli*

*Vetans flagranti currere in **zona** diem ? (Herc. O., 1362-1363).*

Si quis minor Busiris aut si quis minor

*Antaeus orbem feruidae terret **plagae** (Herc. O., 1787-1788).*

*Has per arentes **plagas***

Tepidis Hydaspes gemmifer currens aquis (Med., 724-725).

⁴⁸ Voir entre autres Barrière 2019.

⁴⁹ Voir, pour les premiers, Cattin 1963, 686-688 et Syme 1987, 49-50 et 59-61 ; pour les seconds, Herrmann 1924, 513-514 ; Cattin 1960 ; Owen 1968 ; Opelt 1973.

La prédilection de l'écrivain pour la zone torride est tout à fait remarquable et ses représentations presque mécaniques contribuent à mettre en relief le climat extrême de cette partie du globe, littéralement brûlée par le soleil. Le poète y déploie toute la richesse de son vocabulaire pour échapper à la répétition d'expressions qui, sinon, pourraient paraître formulaires (cf. *adusta*, *torret*, *arentem*, *ardentem*, *feruida*, *igniferi*, *flagranti*, *tepidis*, mais aussi les doublons *feruidae* et *arentes*). Il y ajoute l'une ou l'autre image intéressante, comme celle des vagues de sable (*fluctuantes...* / *... arenas*) ou celle de la durée du jour ralentie par la chaleur même (*Vetans... currere... diem*). Par deux fois seulement et dans une même pièce, il établit un contraste avec le froid (celui des régions polaires, puis celui de la terre sarmate) pour mieux souligner encore la chaleur régnant sur la zone médiane :

*Siue glaciale polum,
Seu me tueri feruidam **partem** iubes (Herc. O., 89-90).
Non quae tela gerit Sarmata frigidus
Aut qui soliferae suppositus **plagae**
Vicino Nabatae uulnera dirigit
Parthus (Herc. O., 158-161).*

Dans ces courtes vignettes se distinguent deux couples d'adjectifs : la paire *glaciale* / *feruidam*, ce dernier mot offrant une nouvelle redite, et le duo inédit *frigidus* / *soliferae*.

Mais la mention la plus significative des zones figure dans un très long développement choral du *Thyeste* (v. 789-884), où le philosophe-physicien prend clairement le dessus sur le tragique :

*Hic qui sacris peruius astris
Secat obliquo tramite **zonas**
Flectens longos signifer annos,
Lapsa uidebit sidera labens (Thy., 844-847).*

La couleur stoïcienne de ce texte ne fait pas de doute⁵⁰ : ces vers annoncent la chute de l'écliptique entraînant avec lui le Zodiaque tout entier. Ils appartiennent à un passage où le chœur réagit aux manifestations étranges observées lors du repas de Thyeste et, indirectement, à son crime monstrueux. Il y prophétise et réfléchit sur la fin du monde (v. 827-884), qui prend la forme d'un retour au chaos originel (v. 829-834) et d'une perturbation des mécanismes astronomiques habituels (v. 835-874). Si la voûte céleste s'effondre, les zones, traversées par le chemin oblique de l'écliptique, ne sont elles-mêmes pas à l'abri. Partie intégrante de l'*ordo mundi* stoïcien au même titre que la bande zodiacale et les constellations, elles disparaîtront avec elles dans la catastrophe finale destinée à refléter l'énormité des actes véritablement contre nature posés par Thyeste. L'image de Sénèque rappelle bien évidemment, jusque dans ses choix lexicaux, celle proposée par Ovide dans l'épisode de Phaéton (cf. *Met.*, II, 130 : ***Sectus in obliquum est lato curuamine limes***), mais pour mieux la détourner ou la perturber en concordance avec la "chute" de la tragédie (cf. l'insistant polyptoton *lapsa / labens* qui encadre le v. 847). Cette évocation discrète, comme toutes les autres de son auteur, atteste que sa pensée était foncièrement imprégnée de la conception astronomico-géographique qui nous intéresse.

Lucain

Davantage encore que son oncle, Lucain ouvre ses vers à des ornements, développements, voire digressions de caractère technique, qui apparentent son épopée historique à de la poésie didactique⁵¹. À l'exemple de Sénèque, il fera des zones un motif particulièrement récurrent de son épopée, avec plus de dix occurrences. Sans surprise et comme chez le Cordouan toujours, l'accent est mis sur la zone torride, dépeinte à nouveau comme une terre brûlée par le so-

⁵⁰ À ce sujet et pour une analyse plus détaillée de cette intervention chorale, voir Owen 1968, 297-300 ; Boyle 1983, 219-220 ; Picone 1984, 106-108 ; Henry 1985, 40-42 ; Tarrant 1985, 204-216 ; Davis 1989, 431-434 ; Dehon 1993a, 254-260.

⁵¹ Voir Cizek 1972, 340 et Beaujeu 1979, 209-213.

leil, en particulier dans le récit, au livre IX, de l'avancée de Caton à travers l'Afrique, mais pas seulement :

*At, qua lata iacet, uasti **plaga** feruida regni
Distinet Oceanum **zonae**que exusta calentis (IV, 674-675).
Sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens
Aequora subduxit **zonae** uicina perustae (IX, 313-314).*

*Iam spissior ignis,
Et **plaga**, quam nullam superi mortalibus ultra
A medio fecere die, calcatur, et unda
Rarior (IX, 604-607).*

*Ire libet qua **zona** rubens atque axis inustus
Solis equis, iuuat aetheriis adscribere causis
Quod peream, caeloque mori (IX, 852-854).
Tu, quisquis superum commercia nostra perosus
Hinc torrente **plaga**, dubiis hinc Syrtibus orbem
Abrumpens (IX, 860-862).*

*Dare iussus iniquo
Temperiem caelo mediis aestatibus exit
Sub torrente **plaga**, neu terras dissipet ignis
Nilus adest mundo (X, 230-233).*

*illos rubicunda perusti
Zona poli tenuit (X, 274-275).*

À l'instar de son oncle toujours, Lucain tient aussi à souligner le contraste qui oppose cette partie du monde aux régions froides du globe ou aux zones polaires mêmes, caractérisées entre autres par la glace (cf. *glaciale* et *glacie*) :

*Sed neque in Arctoo sedem tibi legeris orbe,
Nec polus auersi calidus qua uergitur Austri (I, 53-54)⁵².*

⁵² À la lecture de ces vers, Lebek 1976, 89-92, a supposé à tort que Lucain attribuait au pôle Sud un climat chaud (*polus... calidus*, v. 54) et en conséquence adoptait une autre répartition du monde en zones. Or, comme bien noté par Beaujeu 1979, 219, *polus* ne désigne pas ici le "pôle", mais le "ciel" ou une "région du ciel" (et éventuellement la région terrestre correspondante), comme souvent dans la *Guerre civile* (cf. I, 47 ; 527 ; II, 459 ; III, 254 ; V, 424 ; IX, 13 ; 377 ; 867 ; 873 ; X, 258 et surtout 275). La partie du monde ainsi dépeinte est la zone torride, à l'opposé de la zone polaire arctique, évoquée au vers précédent (cf. *Arctoo... orbe*, v. 53) : Lucain en fait ici, comme ailleurs dans son épopée (VIII, 164 et IX, 877), la terre d'origine de l'Auster

*Nam uel Hyperboreae plastrum glaciale sub Vrsae
 Vel **plaga** qua torrens claususque uaporibus axis
 Nec patitur noctes nec iniquos crescere soles (V, 23-25).
 Extremum Scythici transcendam frigoris orbem
 Ardentisque **plagas** (VI, 325-326).
 Ac uelut inpatiens hominum uel solis iniqui
 Limite uel glacie, nuda atque ignota iaceres (VII, 866-867).*

Une vignette est même exclusivement dédiée à l'une des ou aux deux zones polaires (en cas de synecdoque) :

*Frigida Saturno glacies et **zona** niualis
 Cessit (X, 205-206).*

Le froid (*frigida*), la glace (*glacies*) et la neige (*niualis*) y figurent en bonne place (v. 205), comme dans certains tableaux des époques antérieures, mais Lucain, par le truchement du discours d'Acorée, y introduit une mention du patronage de Saturne.

L'on aura reconnu au passage la terminologie technique (*zona* et *plaga*) et, plus d'une fois, l'influence de Sénèque sur le vocabulaire relatif à la zone torride (cf. *feruida*, *exusta*, *perustae*, *ignis* répété, *inustus*, *torrente* répété, *perusti*, *torrens* et *ardentis*), mais Lucain s'est efforcé d'enrichir le matériau d'emprunt par un jeu sur les préfixes associés à *-ustus* et par un apport lexical, assez limité il est vrai (*calentis*). L'auteur de la *Guerre civile* s'est quand même montré plus pointu et détaillé que son parent dans certaines présentations du sujet: ainsi insiste-t-il sur les couleurs (*rubens* et *rubicunda*), la sécheresse (*unda rarior*), les vapeurs (*uaporibus*) ou la nature inhabitable des régions considérées (*quam nullam superi mortalibus...* et *inpatiens hominum*), éléments en partie puisés à des versions précédentes; il étoffe les images impliquant le soleil (*rapidus Titan*, *solis equis* et *solis iniqui*, la dernière formule étant empruntée à Virgile, *Aen.*, VII, 227) et rappelle dans l'une d'elles, avec la précision et l'exactitude astronomiques requises, le phénomène observable à l'équateur (*Nec patitur noctes nec iniquos crescere soles*); il fait également référence, comme Ovide, à l'intervention d'un ou de plusieurs dieux créateurs (cf. *superi... fecere* et *tu, quisquis superum... abrumpens*). Néanmoins,

(cf. *auersi... Austri*, v. 54), i.e. celle depuis laquelle souffle ce vent du sud. À ce sujet, voir Wuilleumier – Le Bonniec 1962, 24 et Dehon 1993a, 306-307.

toutes ces allusions ressemblent de plus en plus à des clichés et contribuent à l'occasion, de par leur tour devenu proverbial, à appuyer des figures rhétoriques et hyperboliques.

La peinture la plus élaborée intervient précisément dans une comparaison descriptive, qui mérite qu'on s'y arrête :

*Sic mundi pars ima iacet, quam **zona** niualis
Perpetuaeque premunt hiemes: non sidera caelo
Vlla uidet, sterili non quidquam frigore gignit
Sed glacie medios signorum temperat ignes* (IV, 106-109).

Elle concerne au premier chef la zone polaire australe (*mundi pars ima*, v. 106)⁵³, même si le poète ne manque pas de souligner son antagonisme avec la zone médiane (*medios... ignes*, v. 109), leur opposition et leur complémentarité permettant de créer, d'un point de vue global, un équilibre climatique (*temperat*, v. 109). Une idée et une image qui cadrent bien avec la représentation stoïcienne d'un monde fait de contrastes complémentaires (*concordia discors*), mais que n'auraient pas reniées non plus un Virgile très attaché à la balance entre les éléments contraires (cf. *Georg.*, I, 234 et 236), ni même l'auteur du *Panegyrique de Messalla* (cf. v. 168) ou encore Ovide (cf. *Met.*, I, 51), qui, tous deux, recouraient déjà au concept de *temperatio* ou de *temperies*. On retrouve chez Lucain, d'un côté, les habituels neige (*niualis*, v. 106), froid (*frigore*, v. 108) et glace (*glacie*, v. 109) et, de l'autre, le feu (*ignes*, v. 109). La mention de l'hiver (éternel : *perpetuae... hiemes*, v. 107) frappant la zone polaire nous renvoie, jusque dans l'emploi du pluriel, au portrait de Varron d'Atax (fr. 13, 2 Blänsdorf : *uastant... hiemes*), tandis que le verbe associé (*premunt*,

⁵³ Varron d'Atax (fr. 13, 2 Blänsdorf) utilise *imae (zonae)*, "les zones extrêmes", pour désigner les deux zones polaires. Cependant, le fait que Lucain signale l'absence de constellations dans le ciel (*non sidera caelo* / *Vlla uidet*, v. 107-108) confirme qu'il ne vise pas le pôle Nord, dont il connaît et cite ailleurs diverses constellations (e.g. I, 252 ; II, 722 ; III, 251-252 ; V, 23 ; VIII, 174-175 ; X, 289) ; il s'agit donc bien ici du pôle Sud, "zone inférieure", sise à l'opposé de la *pars summa*, "zone supérieure" ou "boréale" : pour ce sens de *imus*, cf. e.g. Manil., I, 446-447 et Calp., I, 83-84. Erreur à ce propos d'Isidore de Séville (*Nat.*, IX, 3 et *Orig.*, III, 41), mais interprétation correcte des modernes, tels que Housman 1950, 93 ; Morford 1967, 47 ; Luck 1985, 518.

v. 107) pointe en direction de la version ovidienne (*Met.*, I, 48 : *pre-muntur*). À côté de cela, Lucain insiste sur l'obscurité (*non sidera caelo / Vlla uidet*, v. 107-108) et la stérilité (*sterili... frigore*, v. 108) de cette région du globe, deux traits déjà consignés ailleurs, le premier chez Virgile (*Georg.*, I, 236) et dans le *Panegyrique de Messalla* (v. 154 et 157), le second, corollaire de l'inhabitabilité chez Cicéron (*Nat. deor.*, I, 10, 24 et *Tusc.*, I, 69), et exact opposé de la fertilité des zones tempérées telles que dépeintes dans le *Panegyrique* encore (cf. *fertilis*, v. 165). Néanmoins, le caractère très expressif de certaines formules montre que nous sommes bien chez Lucain : la terre, accablée par un climat littéralement inhumain, se présente comme une créature censée pouvoir donner la vie (*non quidquam... gignit*, v. 108), un être doué de vision (*uidet*, v. 108), voire de raison, qui souffre (*quam... / ... premunt*, v. 106-107) ou, pire, se meurt (*iacet*, v. 106). Cette animation, cette humanisation, cette personnification même donne un relief remarquable à l'ensemble d'un tableau qui évite de la sorte de sombrer dans la banalité de la répétition pure et simple. En définitive et même si Beaujeu 1979⁵⁴ a raison d'épingler le caractère sommaire des observations mises en avant, il n'est pas douteux que l'essai est transformé et l'ᾠών réussi pour un poète qui parvient, même sous influence, à demeurer créatif.

5. *Perte de vitesse sous les Flaviens*

Après sa dissémination à travers les genres littéraires à l'époque augustéenne et au lendemain d'une avalanche de références dans la production de Sénèque et Lucain, la théorie des zones peut être considérée comme totalement assimilée par les poètes latins. On en retrouve quelques traces dans la production de la fin du I^{er} siècle : elles sont réelles, mais plus limitées, comme si le sujet avait perdu de son intérêt et de son attrait au fil de ses traitements successifs.

⁵⁴ Beaujeu 1979, 214.

Valerius Flaccus

Valerius Flaccus l'intègre à une évocation de la géographie de l'hémisphère Nord qu'il attribue au Soleil au chant premier de ses *Argonautiques* :

Non mediae telluris opes, non improba legi

Diuitis arua plagae (I, 510-511).

sed nube rigens ac nescia frugum

*Stat super et nostros iam **zona** reuerberat ignes* (I, 515-516).

Ces très brèves allusions, où l'on reconnaît la terminologie usuelle (*plaga* et *zona*), sont subtilement insérées dans la narration épique, comme dans le récit ovidien de l'épisode de Phaéton ou dans certains morceaux de la *Guerre civile*. Il n'est pas question ici pour l'écrivain de présenter, exposer ou développer une quelconque doctrine, mais plus simplement de faire sienne une thématique désormais partie intégrante d'un catalogue de *loci* ou, si l'on préfère, de la sagesse populaire. C'est l'occasion pour lui de rappeler qu'il existe une région fertile (cf. *diuitis arua plagae*, v. 511), donc aisément habitable, et une zone enfouie sous la brume et le gel (cf. *nube rigens*, v. 515), mais aussi improductive (cf. *nescia frugum*, v. 515) et interdite aux feux du soleil (v. 516). Rien de très neuf, mais une parfaite adéquation entre ces touches ornementales et leur contexte : c'est Hélios même qui parle et évoque la partie du monde où il a cantonné le royaume de son fils Éétès, soit la Colchide, sise selon lui aux confins de la zone polaire.

Stace

Si Valerius se focalise sur les zones terrestres, Stace, sous les Flaviens toujours, évoquera très discrètement celles du ciel dans le cadre d'une comparaison avec la course de Phaéton :

*Nolentesque teri **zonas** mediamque polorum*

Temperiem (*Theb.*, VI, 323-324).

Le passage semble faire écho à l'épisode ovidien, mais il ramène à trois le nombre de zones (ici *zonas*). Deux d'entre elles, à savoir les pôles (*polorum*), demeurent inaccessibles (*nolentes teri*) au char du

héros ; la troisième, intermédiaire (*mediam*), est réduite à un bloc unique et se voit tout entière caractérisée par le concept familier de *temperies* alors qu'elle recouvre chez Stace l'intégralité de la section sur laquelle se détache l'écliptique, soit la zone médiane torride et les deux zones tempérées dans le schéma d'Ovide, habituel en poésie.

6. Sursaut et derniers feux aux IVe-Ve siècles

Claudien

La théorie complète des cinq zones fera un retour remarqué, avec une ultime apparition détaillée chez un Claudien très inspiré par ses modèles antérieurs de l'époque classique. La description intervient dans le cadre d'une ecphrasis du *Rapt de Proserpine*⁵⁵ consacrée à la tapisserie que l'héroïne brode à l'attention de sa mère et où elle représente le monde tel que résultant d'une mise en forme du chaos originel par Mère Nature (*Natura parens*, v. 250) :

Addit quinque **plagas**: *mediam subtegmine rubro*
Obsessam feruore notat; squalebat inustus
Limes et adsiduo sitiebant stamina sole ;
Vitales utrimque duas, quas mitis oberrat
Temperies habitanda uiris; tum fine supremo
Torpentes traxit geminas brumaque perenni
Foedat et aeterno contristat frigore telas (*Rapt. Pros.*, I, 259-265).

Selon les principes d'une saine *aemulatio*, le poète renoue avec la longueur des grands tableaux des zones (ici *plagas*, v. 259), dans l'esprit de Virgile, Ovide et l'auteur du *Panegyrique*. L'influence de la première peinture ovidienne des *Métamorphoses*, ne fût-ce que par le thème traité, est très présente, mais, comme l'indique le lexique employé dans le passage⁵⁶, Claudien intègre dans une création origi-

⁵⁵ Sur l'importance accordée aux descriptions dans ce poème épique, voir Galand 1987, 87-88 et Charlet 1999, 47-48.

⁵⁶ Cf. *rubro* (v. 259) et *rubens* chez Verg., *Georg.*, I, 234 et Lucan., IX, 852 ou encore *rubicunda* chez Lucan., X, 274 ; *feruore* (v. 260) et *ferueat* chez Varro At., fr. 13, 4 Blänsdorf et le récurrent *feruidus* chez Lucr., V, 204, Hor., *Carm.*, III, 24, 36, Sen., *Herc. O.*, 90, 1218, 1788 et Lucan., IV, 674 ; *inustus* (v. 260) et *inustus*

nale d'autres éléments qu'il se réapproprie tout en les mettant au service d'un motif-clef de son poème, de coloration stoïcienne⁵⁷: l'harmonie universelle, où chaque chose est (et doit rester) à sa place (cf. I, 248-251), sous peine de permettre au chaos et à l'anarchie de se réinstaller. Laissant de côté le concept de l'effet miroir terre-ciel, il propose en sept vers une synthèse d'éléments bien connus: le rappel du chiffre cinq en ouverture, puis le décompte détaillé, avec d'abord la zone médiane, incandescente (*subtegmīne rubro* / *Obsessam feruore*, v. 259-260), brûlée (*inustus*, v. 260), desséchée par un soleil constant (*adsiduo sitiēbant... sole*, v. 261), ensuite les deux zones tempérées, seules habitables (*habitanda uiris*, v. 263) ou plutôt "vivables" (*uitales*, v. 262) comme l'écrit le poète, et enfin les deux zones polaires, engourdis (*torpentes*, v. 264), "souillées" même (*foedat*, v. 265, terme fort, variante de *uastant/uastantur* chez Varron, fr. 13, 2 Blänsdorf et dans *Paneg. in Mess*, 153 ou encore de *putris* chez Properce, IV, 3, 39) par le froid éternel (*aeterno... frigore*, v. 265) d'un hiver qui l'est tout autant (*brumaque perenni*, v. 264, avec *uariatio* sur les adjectifs), comme déjà chez Lucain (IV, 107: *perpetuae... hiemes*). Une certaine surenchère caractérise l'ensemble, selon les habitudes descriptives de Claudien⁵⁸, témoin en cela des goûts artistiques de son temps, mais l'adéquation au contexte est bien réelle, au point qu'on croirait voir la toile s'animer sous nos yeux pour subir les effets de ses propres images⁵⁹. La véritable trouvaille consiste à allier les termes techniques indiquant que nous avons affaire à une tapisserie (*subtegmīne*, v. 259, *notat*, v. 260, *limes* et *stamina*, v. 261, *traxit*, v. 264⁶⁰, *telas*, v.

chez Lucan., IX, 852 ; *adsiduo... sole* (v. 261) et *adsiduus... geli casu* chez Lucr., V, 205 ; *temperies* (v. 263) et *temperiem* chez Ov., *Met.*, I, 51, Lucan., X, 231 ou Stat., *Theb.*, VI, 324 ; *habitanda* (v. 263) et *habitabilis* chez Hor., *Carm.*, IV, 14, 5 ou Ov., *Met.*, I, 49 ; *torpentes* (v. 264) et *lenta gelu* chez Prop., IV, 3, 39 ; *obsessam feruore* (v. 260), possible variation sur *subiecta calori* dans *Paneg. in Mess.*, 158. Comme l'indique la position identique dans le vers, la *iunctura contristat frigore* (v. 265) est empruntée à un autre passage virgilien (*Georg.*, III, 279 : *pluuio contristat frigore caelum*) et à un contexte bien distinct (météorologie des vents).

⁵⁷ Voir Gruzelier 1988, 67 ; von Albrecht 1989, 383 ; Charlet 1991, 123 ; Wheeler 1995b, 115-121 ; Gineste 2000, 53-54.

⁵⁸ Voir Galand 1987, 102-104 et Gruzelier 1988, 67.

⁵⁹ Voir Charlet 1991, 124 et Gineste 2000, 53.

⁶⁰ Le mot prend ici un double sens que n'avait pas l'équivalent *trahuntur* dans le parallèle virgilien (*Georg.*, I, 235) puisqu'il se réfère à la fois à l'extension

265 ou même *fine supremo*, v. 263, qui peut désigner les confins du monde, mais aussi les bords de la toile)⁶¹ à un vocabulaire impliquant, comme chez Lucain (cf. IV, 106-108), un ressenti humain (les verbes *squalebat*, v. 260, *sitiebant*, v. 261, *foedat* et *contristat*, v. 261). Le morceau combine ainsi trois niveaux de lecture : l'exposé géographique (scientifique), la description d'une oeuvre d'art et la réflexion sur la condition humaine, préoccupation récurrente de l'auteur du *Rapt*⁶². L'approche est suffisamment adroite et subtile pour y voir un *ἀγών* abouti et une contribution personnelle en dépit de son arrivée tardive dans un catalogue déjà riche.

Témoignages du Ve siècle

Avant de clôturer notre tour d'horizon, il vaut la peine de signaler encore trois allusions succinctes et à peu près contemporaines (fin du Ve s. après J.-C.). La première appartient à une épigramme funéraire (*C.L.E.*, 1411 Bücheler-Lommatsch) que Tantillo 1999⁶³ a pu dater avec précision de l'an 475: cet extrait se place dans le sillage du *Panegyrique de Messalla* et recourt à la thématique des zones pour illustrer, sur base de l'opposition traditionnelle entre une région froide et la zone torride (cf. l'anaphorique *Qua Scythicum frigus, qua feruens zona timetur*, v. 7), l'idée que la gloire oratoire du dédicataire, un aristocrate dénommé *Magnus*, a rayonné sur toute la surface du globe. Les deux autres figurent au livre I des *Louanges de Dieu* de Dracontius, la première dans une présentation générale du ciel et des éléments de la voûte céleste (*Quinque plagae septemque poli sol luna triones*, v. 5), la seconde dans une évocation de l'alternance naturelle des phénomènes climatiques (*Pro regione plagae... temperat*, v. 300)⁶⁴. Elles reprennent l'idée que les cinq zones et leur

géographique des zones et à l'opération de tissage conduisant à leur représentation sur la tapisserie.

⁶¹ Voir Gineste 2000, 49 et 53, qui souligne aussi tous les aspects symboliques et métaphoriques du motif du tissage (langage et création en particulier) ; cf. déjà Galand 1987, 103-104.

⁶² Voir Gineste 2000, 54-55.

⁶³ Sur cette pièce, voir aussi Cugusi 1996, 144-145, 153-155 et 336.

⁶⁴ Texte controversé : voir à ce sujet, Hudson-Williams 1947, 96-97 et Moussy – Camus 1985, 285.

équilibre global sont un élément de l'ordre du monde, mais dans un contexte chrétien cette fois. L'intérêt majeur de ces allusions tardives, même si elles n'apportent plus grand-chose au traitement thématique, est de témoigner de la persistance, de la survivance, voire de la banalisation du motif en dépit des évolutions qu'ont pu introduire dans les mentalités les changements d'époques. L'épigramme des *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* nous apprend en particulier que la théorie, aussi technique qu'elle ait pu être à l'origine, a acquis suffisamment de popularité pour devenir un lieu commun justifiant une mention dans une épitaphe et sur un monument funéraire, et ce bien après sa première occurrence attestée dans la littérature latine.

7. Conclusion : les raisons d'un succès

Plusieurs facteurs expliquent cet intérêt persistant des poètes latins pour un sujet à première vue technique et qu'on aurait pu croire davantage destiné à un public savant. Il est tout à fait à sa place, bien entendu, dans des écrits qui ont une portée scientifique, comme le *De rerum natura* lucrétien, la *Chorographia* de Varron d'Atax ou même les *Géorgiques* virgiliennes. On sait cependant que l'attachement au réel et la curiosité pour les matières techniques sont des caractéristiques profondes du génie latin⁶⁵ et se manifestent chez les écrivains en général, quel que soit leur genre de prédilection. Il n'est donc pas si surprenant de voir se multiplier dans l'épopée et les récits mythologiques (Virgile, Ovide, Lucain, Valerius Flaccus, Stace, Claudien), la tragédie (Accius, Sénèque) et même la poésie plus personnelle, comme la lyrique (Horace), l'élégie (Propertius) ou le panégyrique (*Messalla*, *C.L.E.*, Dracontius), des allusions, des évocations, voire des excursus abordant la question, le cas échéant en la dépouillant de ses aspects les plus arides, tels que la conception du miroir/reflet entre zones terrestres et célestes. Ramenée à ses fondamentaux, la théorie des zones n'est finalement qu'un thème géographique (et astronomique) parmi d'autres, or les poètes latins sont friands de ces derniers, en particulier aux époques où les frontières de l'Empire ne cessent de s'élargir

⁶⁵ Voir Grenier 1969, 425-426 ; Marouzeau 1954, 62-65 ; Bardon 1963, 260-261 ; Dehon 1993a, 327-328.

avec de nouvelles conquêtes. Dans la mesure où le spectre des zones couvre toute la surface du globe, d'un pôle à l'autre en passant par des régions moins connues ou réputées impropres à l'homme, le motif ouvre même la porte à l'inclusion d'éléments plus singuliers ou surprenants, où les écrivains peuvent faire preuve d'inventivité et de créativité : on y retrouve une autre composante fondamentale du génie latin, cette approche de l'inconnu, du mystérieux ou des mystères de l'univers mêlée d'angoisse et de curiosité⁶⁶.

Le topos se prête également fort bien à une exploitation philosophique, morale ou idéologique. À la manière, entre autres, de celui du cycle des saisons⁶⁷, il peut venir étayer ou illustrer une vision du monde (Lucrèce, Sénèque, Claudien) ou une thématique spécifique (les voyages sans limites des contemporains d'Horace, la gloire sans frontières de Messalla ou de Magnus) et, à ce titre, se fonde assez facilement dans un récit à première vue sans lien direct avec un sujet destiné essentiellement à mieux mettre en lumière le propos. Son côté résolument concret permet aux poètes qui y recourent de matérialiser et de donner vie à des concepts qui pourraient, à défaut, demeurer un peu trop abstraits.

Enfin et comme tous les thèmes ouverts à divers traitements et retraitements, il offre à chaque poète qui y revient l'opportunité de dialoguer avec ceux qui l'ont précédé, voire avec soi-même, et de se livrer à un *ἀγών* ou une *retractatio*, plus ou moins réussi(e) selon les tentatives, mais toujours en ligne avec les attentes des lecteurs romains en matière d'imitation (*mimesis*). La chaîne de transmission ainsi constituée, d'Accius, Varron ou Lucrèce à Dracontius, est une illustration de plus, par sa longueur et sa diversité, des méthodes de reprises, répétitions et variations qui ont écrit l'histoire de l'originalité de la poésie latine.

⁶⁶ Voir Bardon 1963, 132-137 et 248-255 et Dehon 1993a, 322 et 328.

⁶⁷ Voir Dehon 2020, sp. 147-148.

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CHARACTER, RIDICULOUSNESS AND SHAME IN THE LATIN SATIRE. THE USE OF PROPER NAMES AT MARTIAL*

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Keywords: *Martial, Epigrams, onomastics, satire, Roman society.*

Abstract: *Names and naming represent an important category for Martial's satirical construction of Roman society. The present study focuses on the origin of these names and the aims of their use. The main goal is to identify and discuss how and why names are selected or invented, following the geographical, historical, mythological, social, professional and/or etymological connotation of the onomastics in Martial's Epigrams.*

Mots-clés : *Martial, Épigrammes, onomastique, satire, la société romaine.*

Résumé : *Caractère, ridicule et honte dans la satire latine. L'usage des noms propres chez Martial. Les noms et les dénominations représentent une catégorie importante pour la construction satirique de la société romaine faite par Martial. L'étude vise l'origine de ces noms et la finalité de leur utilisation. L'objectif principal est d'identifier et de discuter comment et pourquoi les noms sont sélectionnés ou inventés, en suivant la connotation géographique, historique, mythologique, sociale, professionnelle et/ou étymologique de l'onomastique dans les Épigrammes de Martial.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Martial, Epigrame, onomastică, satiră, societatea romană.*

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Rezumat: Caracter, ridicol și rușine în satira latină. Folosirea numelor proprii la Marțial. Onomastica și alegerea numelor reprezintă categorii importante pentru construcția satirică a societății romane de către Marțial. Studiul de față se concentrează pe originea acestor nume și pe scopurile utilizării lor. Obiectivul principal este de a identifica și discuta cum și de ce sunt selectate sau inventate numele, urmând conotațiile geografice, istorice, mitologice, sociale, profesionale și/sau etimologice ale onomasticii din Epigramele lui Marțial.

Introduction

The fascination exerted by Martial's work lies far beyond the sphere of pure literary interest, constituting a study source for historians concerned with Roman society in all its aspects: social, political, economic, cultural and/or religious. There isn't a synthesis regarding any aspect of Roman daily life that hasn't appealed to the information offered by the Epigrams concerning garments, jewellery, diet, games and *thermae*. Life and death, family and clientelistic relations, disputes and trials, notoriety and plagiarism, urban turmoil and rural or provincial peacefulness, all find a place in Martial's universe.

On the other hand, through their biographical and social aspects, the Epigrams represent an X-ray, filled with irony, it's true, of the 1st century A.D. Urbs. *Non multa, sed multum* – this is how Martial's capacity for synthesis can be described, his spirit of observation and power of characterisation. His characters don't belong to a certain judicial or social category. Actual persons, from imperial figures to clerks, lawyers or famed authors of the time populate Martial's universe together with mythological heroes, but at the same time, many of the characters are fictitious. Thus, it is sometimes impossible to establish which names belong to real persons and which are pseudonyms.

Individual figures or personal vices, regarded as flaws of a certain type of character aren't all that attractive to Martial, they seem to be used rather as means of outlining certain typologies¹. In defining archetypes, as well as creating humorous effects, onomastics is an element of overwhelming significance. It seems that Martial was truly fascinated by names, by their meaningful etymology.

¹ On Martial's style, see Adams 1982; Watson 2002; Vallat 2008; Henriksen 2012; Augenti 2017 etc.; on onomastics, see Giegengack 1969; Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019 etc.

Going through the 12 books of epigrams, each containing around 100 such pieces, a little over 300 names can be identified, less than half of them being mentioned in no more than an epigram.

The names which are important for their meaning are used in many ways: puns as the main interest of the epigram; hints to the character or the profession of the subjects; significant names due to their mythological, social, geographical, historical, and literary connotations.

Geographical connotations

The use of some *cognomina* with geographic resonance doesn't represent a stylistic feature and is not limited to literary texts. Latin onomastics includes such names, in most cases, to indicate a certain origin for the designated individual², especially in the case of persons with subservient origin (slaves or freedmen)³. For this reason, the high incidence of names in this category is not surprising when it comes to Martial.

The most common such *cognomina* in the Epigrams are associated with certain provinces: Africa – *Afer*⁴, *Afra*⁵, *Africanus*⁶; Gallia – *Gallus*⁷/ *-a*⁸, *Gallicus*⁹; Baetica – *Beticus*¹⁰; Bythinia – *Bithinicus*¹¹; Greek provinces – *Atticus*¹² or the Pontic region – *Ponticus*¹³. If in the majority of cases we cannot suspect any intention of the author of carefully choosing these names, there are a few cases that deserve a discussion. Thus, a certain *Africanus*¹⁴ is exposed as an inheritance hunter, whose greed is his main trait of character, allowing, however, an association with the Carthaginians, by perfidy.

² For Roman naming conventions, see Salway 1994.

³ Kajanto 1965; Solin 1996; Solin, Salomies 1988.

⁴ IV, 37; IV, 78; VI, 77; IX, 6(7); IX, 25; X, 84; XII, 42.

⁵ I, 100.

⁶ XII, 10.

⁷ I, 108; II, 47; 56; III, 27; X, 56; 74; 82.

⁸ II, 25; 34; III, 51; 90; IV, 38; 58; V, 84; VII, 18; 58; IX, 4; 37; 78; X, 75; 95; XI, 19.

⁹ VIII, 22.

¹⁰ III, 77; 81.

¹¹ II, 26; IX, 8(9).

¹² II, 7; VII, 32.

¹³ II, 32; 82; III, 60; IV, 85; IX, 19; 41.

¹⁴ XII, 10.

Afer is the prototype of the extremely rich patron, but one that behaves badly with his clients¹⁵: he either avoids them, upon his return from Libya¹⁶, or customarily lists, in front of some customers, the debts that others have to him¹⁷. If in the first case, the connection to Northern Africa was obvious, in the second case the allusion may be understood by the association of the toponymical with the concept of luxury and large fortune¹⁸. The ridiculousness emerges from the onomastic opposition creditor-debtor, considering the latter all have typical Latin names: Mancinus, Titius, Albinus, Serranus. Afer¹⁹ the hypocrite forms part of the same register, who pretends to be rich without actually being, showing off, to the bystanders' amusement, carried around by five Cappadocian slaves.

In Martial, Gallus is both a common cognomen, and a symbol of emasculation and impotence. Thus, the name implicitly conveys religious connotations. The association refers to Cybele's priests, the Galli – "a name especially susceptible to playful treatment by Martial, for it is a common Roman cognomen but derives a meaning from Roman religion which is suitable to the Priapean bent of Martial's poetry"²⁰. The cult of Cybele – Magna Mater had been "imported" in Rome from Phrygia and was already enjoying notoriety in the days of Martial, so the public didn't need their memory refreshed as to the most obvious peculiarity of the priests: self-castration²¹. Martial's geographical allusion is revealed by opposition with Tuscus, an Etruscan haruspex, who wishes to sacrifice a goat to Bacchus. To this end he asks a boorish peasant – *agrestis et rudis vir* – to cut the animals' testicles with a sickle – *ut cito testiculos et acuta falce secaret*. But he accidentally transforms his beneficiary into a eunuch, hence the wordplay – *sic, modo qui Tuscus fuerat, nunc Gallus aruspex* (so, just lately a Tuscan soothsayer, now a Gaul).

¹⁵ Vallat 2008, 422; Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Afer*.

¹⁶ IX, 6(7).

¹⁷ IV, 37.

¹⁸ See also Henriksen 2012, 42.

¹⁹ VI, 77.

²⁰ Giegengack 1969, 27-28.

²¹ Latham 2012, 85.

I would include Rusticus²² in this category. Even though it only points to a vague geographical positioning – “from the countryside” – it isn’t a random choice for Martial. The cognomen, widespread in the Roman world²³, possesses, besides its primary meaning, some derogatory connotations, being synonymous with “rude”, “boor”, “gross”²⁴.

Mythological connotations

Using names with obvious mythological connotations, just like in the case of historical ones, helps Martial reach his goal without a special effort, given the resonance these have in the mindset of his contemporaries.

King Nestor of Pylos, of whose existence there is no historical evidence, is a symbol of wisdom and eloquence²⁵ in the *Iliad*. Being the eldest combatant in the Trojan war, his voice is heard and noticed in some of the tensest moments in the “backstage” of the conflict. Such is the dispute between Achilles and Agamemnon regarding Bryseis the slave or the emotional momentum of the Greeks following Achilles’ death. Martial evokes him, as a symbol of the glorious past, together with Peleus and Priam²⁶, or as an icon of longevity²⁷. The anthroponym is mentioned twice²⁸ at Martial, each time in contrast with one of the qualities of the Homeric character. In the first case, it comes to a character whose mouth smells awful, so that he transfers the stench to his listener’s ears. On the other hand, the halitosis can, in fact, be associated with a character feature²⁹: Nestor is an infamous gossip, as opposed to the king of Pylos. The second situation presents to the public a character that not only has nothing in common with the fortune

²² VIII, 23.

²³ Only in Rome, Rusticus and its derivatives record 145 occurrences in Latin inscriptions: https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_ergebnis.php.

²⁴ Augenti 2017, 217; Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Rusticus*.

²⁵ Kinsey 2012, 192.

²⁶ II, 64.

²⁷ IX, 29. See Augenti 2017, 281; Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Nestor*¹.

²⁸ III, 28; XI, 32.

²⁹ Fusi 2006, 256-257.

or presence of a king, but cannot even be named poor³⁰ – *non est paupertas, Nestor, habere nihil*.

Theodorus³¹ – the gift of God, has the misfortune of seeing his house burn down, but the good-luck, undeserved as it was, of not perishing in the fire. Plutia³² is a pun name, derived from the name of Pluto, the god of the dead, herself a “libidinous old hag, older than a catalogue of mythical characters”³³. Parthenopaeus, one of the seven that fought against Thebes, was well-known for his youth and beauty, but at the same time a symbol of arrogance and overvaluing. At Martial, the name covers an individual³⁴ with a weak character, sickly and with a sweet-tooth, most probably a slave or freedman.

Historical connotations

Although real characters, prior or contemporary to Martial, from the widest variety of categories, from kings or emperors to influential figures in the entourage of the imperial household or renowned professionals of his time are found in the Epigram books, most often these are neither the targets of irony, nor the providers of comic imagery.

Even though a “biter” with most of the social and judicial Roman categories, Martial wasn’t a “courageous”, and he wasn’t a part of what we would today call “opposition”. He witnessed no more than ten emperors from two dynasties succeeding to the throne and lived through an age of political assassination at the highest level as well as significant military rebellions, but preferred to fawn on *potentes*. And when he has something to say about the emperors, he is careful enough to do it after their deaths³⁵.

Still, the figure of King Numa, for instance, stands out as a symbol of wisdom and piety, considered the most religious of the kings of

³⁰ Kay 1985, 142-144; Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Nestor*².

³¹ XI, 93.

³² X, 67.

³³ Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Plutia*.

³⁴ XI, 86.

³⁵ After the death of Domitian, for example, he declares that “flattery no longer takes place in the city” (X, 72), but soon falls into the adoration of Nerva (XII 6, 15).

Rome. His name appears in two epigrams: as a voice of morality condemning the eunuch Thelys for wearing a *toga*³⁶, naming him *dam-nata moecha*; recovering on his death bed, to the disappointment of his wife and of all those preparing all elements of the funerary ritual, in the most traditional manner, worthy of the homonymous historical character³⁷.

Social connotations

Martial's carnival-like universe is often created by overturning the social order. His favourite targets are, on the one hand, the nobles whose only wealth is their name, so their legal status, and on the other hand, the most numerous, in fact, the ambitious ones, who aim for swift social ascension.

Nil novi. The Empire is full of enriched people who aim for the highest possible positions in the local or provincial hierarchy, or even in the *Urbs*³⁸. What Martial's art highlights is their unmasking by the use of eloquent names. Quirinalis, for instance³⁹, is undoubtedly associated with the name of the Sabine god Quirinus⁴⁰, and with the highest of the seven Roman hills, where Martial lived, right next to the temple of Quirinus. And yet, Quirinalis, who wants to be a genuine *pater familias* and have descendants of Roman citizenship, defies tradition by refusing marriage. As a result, his sons, born from ties to domestic slaves – *ancillae*, can only be “home-born slave-knights” – *equites vernae*. The same category includes Aemilius⁴¹, who “at the warm bath takes lettuce, eggs, lizard-fish, and says that he is not dining at home”. *Gens Aemilia*, who claimed to descend from Numa Pompilius, had representatives in the highest magistracies, both during the Republic and during the Imperial period⁴².

³⁶ X, 52.

³⁷ X, 97.

³⁸ Burnand 1992; Demougin 1996; Pelletier 1997; Serrano-Delgado 1996.

³⁹ I, 84.

⁴⁰ Kajanto 1965, 184.

⁴¹ XII, 19.

⁴² See, for example, Birley 1981, 242-244.

A pun that exemplifies the derivation of some names from others, in order to associate social prestige, is that of Cinnamus, who became Cinna⁴³. As the name could often be an indicator of a certain social and legal status⁴⁴, the application of a small correction to its form would have meant, in the view of a person concerned with his social ascension, an efficient means of satisfying his ambitions. Cinnamus/Cinnamis is a Greek surname quite common in Latin epigraphy, most often attributed to a person of libertine origin⁴⁵, even if benefiting from a superior economic status, such as a Cinnamus from Aquitaine, to whom a funerary monument is dedicated by a client⁴⁶. On the other hand, the name Cinna indicates, since the time of the Republic, a superior social status⁴⁷, and in the Imperial period are mentioned by this name a Stoic philosopher, who was active half a century after the death of Martial⁴⁸, and a *procurator Augusti*⁴⁹. Martial's Cinnamus demands that the others address him by the name of Cinna, imagining that, through contagion, he will be labelled another social standing. Through a pun, Martial at the same time denounces imposture, as theft, and also announces the real effect of such a falsehood: except for the ridiculous, nothing happens – *tu si Furius ante dictus esses, / Fur ista ratione dicereris*. In another epigram⁵⁰, another Cinnamus, a barber, manages to reach the equestrian rank, not by origin, by his own wealth, or by personal merits, but by the financial goodwill of his mistress – *dominae munere*, which is certainly significant, given the required *census equitum* of 400,000 sesterces⁵¹. The connection with the impostor Cinnamus / Cinna is obvious, as the barber is accused of not standing out through any personal quality or education. In other words, a Cinnamus neither can be, nor can become a Cinna.

⁴³ VI, 17; VII, 64.

⁴⁴ See Kajanto 2012 with bibliography.

⁴⁵ Cinnamus – *CIL* III, 4250; V, 7159; X, 4933; XI, 3996; XIV, 308 etc.; *AE* 1973, 159; Cinnamis – *CIL* II 5, 1157; XII, 5186.

⁴⁶ *CIL* XIII, 1096.

⁴⁷ Smith 1867, 754-756; https://romanrepublic.ac.uk/person/?praenomen=&nomen=&re_number=&f=&n=&tribe=&cognomen=Cinna&other_names=&era_from=&era_to=&q=

⁴⁸ Smith 1867, 754.

⁴⁹ *PIR* II, 546.

⁵⁰ VII, 64.

⁵¹ Wiseman 1970, 71.

Maximus – ‘the greatest’ – is another name that bears a special weight in the epigrams. The surname is a very common one in Roman onomastics⁵². In Martial, however, Maximus is chosen to create the prototype of the patron who is, in his turn, in a patron-client relationship⁵³ – “a *rex* of his own and simply *unus inter pares*, not the superlative his name implies”⁵⁴.

Professional connotations

Sometimes the choice of names and their meanings can be related to a particular professional milieu. Martial had the opportunity to choose, in order to build his characters and hilarious situations without much effort, from predefined onomastic groups, representative for certain professional categories.

It is known that in Martial’s time, most physicians, for example, were originally Greek, or at least bore Greek surnames⁵⁵; that the traders were mostly freedmen, rich freedmen, it is true, but still freedmen⁵⁶; that the gladiators were often named according to their origin or to the weapon they used in battle⁵⁷. That is why it is not surprising that in the Epigrams 16 doctors bear Greek names: Alcon⁵⁸, a real character⁵⁹, Cinna⁶⁰, Criton⁶¹, Dasius⁶², Diaulus⁶³, Eros⁶⁴, Euctus⁶⁵, Heras⁶⁶ –

⁵² https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi_ergebnis.php. There are over 9000 occurrences in the Latin inscriptions alone.

⁵³ II, 18; 53.

⁵⁴ II, 18.

⁵⁵ See Ángeles Alonso 2018 with bibliography.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Broekaert 2013.

⁵⁷ See Grant 2000; Jacobelli 2003.

⁵⁸ VI, 70; XI, 84.

⁵⁹ Plin. 29, 22.

⁶⁰ VI, 64. Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Cinnamus*¹.

⁶¹ XI, 60.

⁶² II, 52.

⁶³ I, 30; 47.

⁶⁴ X, 56.

⁶⁵ VIII, 6. See Watson 1998.

⁶⁶ VI, 78.

an ophthalmologist who considers the drink a cause of blindness (*vinum si biberis, nihil videbis*), and Herodes⁶⁷, which in turn recommends abstinence, Hermes⁶⁸, Hermocrates⁶⁹, Hippocrates⁷⁰, Hygia⁷¹, Hyginus⁷², Sotas⁷³, whose daughter, Labulla, suffers from an incurable diseases: adultery and fickleness, Symmachus⁷⁴. If some of the names are chosen from the onomastics specific to this profession, such as Hippocrates, Hygia or Hyginus, associated with salutary deities, in other cases Martial chooses or invents them in order to create suggestive puns. In almost all cases, Martial's doctors are impostors, who not only fail to alleviate their patients' suffering, but even make them feel worse. Diaulus, for example, changed his job from doctor to undertaker – *vespillo*, without changing his activities too much⁷⁵; Symmachus, a real character, apparently a famous doctor in Rome⁷⁶, consults Martial with great pomp, accompanied by disciples, but the only consequence is adding fever to the list of symptoms. Hermes and his derivative Hermocrates are used with the same purpose⁷⁷: “the doctor has the power of Hermes, and brings death to his patients immediately after appearing to them”⁷⁸. It is ridiculous for a patient to believe that salvation will come to him from a psychopompous deity. Hygia herself is helpless in the face of the illness of loving Chione, who does not need a doctor, but a man.

And another professional category for which Martial uses specific surnames can be included here, such as Phyllis, Lais, Lesbis, Ly-

⁶⁷ IX, 96.

⁶⁸ X, 56. Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Hermes*².

⁶⁹ VI, 53. Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, s.v. *Hermocrates*.

⁷⁰ IX, 94.

⁷¹ XI, 60.

⁷² X, 56.

⁷³ IV, 9.

⁷⁴ V, 9.

⁷⁵ Howell 2009, 98.

⁷⁶ Giegengack 1969, 64.

⁷⁷ Giegengack 1969, 65.

⁷⁸ Giegenback 1969, 65.

coris: courtesans and prostitutes, “assuming that the reader will mentally apply to them each time the basic characteristic of the prostitute”⁷⁹.

Identifying the characters in real life is not a goal *per se* of the Epigrams, but some names are loaded with meanings depending on the occupations of those who bear them.

Civis and Atestinus⁸⁰ are two lawyers from Rome, who, although talented, do not manage to earn their living from practice, a reason for discouragement for the aspiring Sextus. Their names become a source of humour in this context: ‘The citizen’ and ‘The one without a will’⁸¹ or ‘The one who proves’⁸² fail to impose themselves by law. The same cannot be said of Eulogus – ‘The good speaker’⁸³. As the name suggests, his main feature is *eulogia*, which is essential for his success as an auctioneer (*praeconius*). His old father-in-law gave him his daughter’s hand without hesitation, although his 23 rivals (two praetors, seven lawyers, four tribunes and ten poets) could have undoubtedly brought him more social prestige, but maybe not the same income. But Apollodotus lacks eloquence⁸⁴, which is ridiculous, given that he is a rhetorician, without taking into account that his name is derived from that of Apollo, god of the arts, protector of poetry⁸⁵. He has difficulties remembering the names of others, which he associates with completely opposite notions: Quintus – The Fifth instead of Decimus – The Tenth and Crassus – The Fat instead of Macer – The Thin.

Etymological connotations

Most of the names that mean something to Martial are the ones that can be translated, those which have an etymological meaning. Only through the onomastic element can the author’s intention be made clear. Thus, the name itself is often proof of a character’s nature or explains the motivation for his/her actions, even beyond or outside the context.

⁷⁹ Giegegack 1969, 117. See also Varone 1994; McGinn 2004; Younger 2005.

⁸⁰ III, 38.

⁸¹ Giegegack 1969, 88.

⁸² Vallat 2006, 133-134.

⁸³ VI, 8. Giegegack 1969, 89.

⁸⁴ V, 21.

⁸⁵ Vallat 2008, 527.

Martial's art is perfect in handling Greek names. **Names derived from adjectives** that suggest a certain trait or quality are used in Epigrams to outline characters or create hilarious images. Eutrapeλος⁸⁶ (εὐτράπελος means 'dexterous', 'nimble', an extremely important trait for the character's occupation, that of a barber) has a suitable "opponent", Lupercus – 'woolf-faced', whose beard grows again until Eutrapelos is done. Or maybe the latter is not so 'nimble'? Eutyclus⁸⁷ (from the Greek εὐτυχής – 'lucky', 'happy') drowns, to the despair of Castricus, to whom he had been both his lover and muse. Eutyclus / Eutyches is one of the most widespread Greek surnames in the Roman Empire, especially among slaves and freedmen⁸⁸. At Martial, however, the name has a special meaning: an individual who ends up so tragic can hardly be considered lucky. Eucleides⁸⁹, is derived from the Greek εὖ κλείς – 'well locked-up'⁹⁰. He poses in a well-positioned character, both socially and economically – *equitus superbus nobilis*, with divine origin and an annual income of 200,000 sesterces. However, he is exposed, and here is the main goal of using this surname, by a trivial key that escapes his pocket.

Another category of names is inspired by the **culinary and olfactory register**⁹¹. Myrtale⁹² is a drunkard who, in order to conceal the smell of wine that she exhales, routinely mixes bay leaves in the drink. From this custom derives her name, one, in fact, quite used in Rome⁹³. Μύρτος "was used for making dark and white wines and a myrtle powder for treatment of sores"⁹⁴. I should also mention Acerra, guilty of the same sin as Myrtale⁹⁵. *Acer* – 'censer' was "used to burn incense and other aromatic substances during sacrifices"⁹⁶. The name of Mystillos⁹⁷ is made up, but is associated with the area of activity of

⁸⁶ VII, 83; Augenti 2017, 152.

⁸⁷ VI, 68.

⁸⁸ Solin 1977, 1559.

⁸⁹ V, 35. Augenti 2017, 161; 254.

⁹⁰ Howell 2005, 119.

⁹¹ For associations with powerful and extremely unpleasant smell see Dumitrache 2007.

⁹² V, 4.

⁹³ See Solin 1982, 1095-1096.

⁹⁴ Called *myrtites*: Cato, *Agr.* 125; Plin. 14, 104; Giegengack 1969, 66.

⁹⁵ I, 28; Augenti 2017, 115.

⁹⁶ Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, Fernández Valverde 2019, *s.v. Acerra*.

⁹⁷ 1, 50.

the character who wears it (a cook) by etymology: μίστυλλον means ‘piece of meat’, and μιστύλλω ‘to cut up the meat’. Finally, Panaretus⁹⁸ is caught replacing the wine he drinks from the cup with his own urine, a gesture that totally contradicts his name: πανάρετος – ‘model of all virtue’.

Pun names are formed also in **connection with garments**. The poem on Sagaris⁹⁹ reveals Artemidorus – gift of Artemis, who’s cloak is very poor; as a consequence, he might be called Sagaris. That name derives from *sagum*, a rough military cloak, of the Gallic origin¹⁰⁰, synonym with “cloaky” or “barbarian”. Panniculus¹⁰¹, on the other hand, bears a name formed from *panni*, a clown costume, and is a cuckold personage, presented as a buffoon and dressed alike.

The last category of names I will refer to is **onomastics with sexual connotations**, quite consistent in the Epigrams. Telesilla¹⁰², diminutive derived from τέλεις– ‘event’ ‘fulfilment’, Telethusa¹⁰³ – ‘bringing fulfilment at her coming’ and Telesphorus¹⁰⁴ (τελεσφόρος – ‘bringing fulfilment’, ‘allpowerful’) have in common the allusion to sexual satisfaction. Telesilla has such a high sexual appetite and a fickleness worthy of mention that the ban on adultery by reintroducing lex Iulia makes her marry ten times in about a month¹⁰⁵, but in another epigram¹⁰⁶, she suggests the opposite: she fails to bring to climax even the most experienced of lovers. Telethusa is so lascivious that she can awaken the sexual instinct even in men who have long since passed the age of experimentation, represented by the old king of Troy, Priam, or by famous faithful husbands, such as Hector. In contrast, Aegle¹⁰⁷, whose name means ‘splendour’, ‘brightness’, is a sex-hungry woman, a *fellatrix* who refuses to believe she’s grown old. Phlogis and Chione¹⁰⁸ represent two different prototypes of sexual activity: Phlogis

⁹⁸ VI, 89.

⁹⁹ VIII, 58.

¹⁰⁰ Dumitrache 2018, 34-37.

¹⁰¹ II, 7; III, 86; V, 61.

¹⁰² VI, 7; XI, 97.

¹⁰³ VI, 71.

¹⁰⁴ X, 83; XI, 26; 58.

¹⁰⁵ VI, 7.

¹⁰⁶ IX, 97.

¹⁰⁷ I, 72; 94; XI, 81; XII, 55.

¹⁰⁸ III, 34.

“serves as the name of this prurient young thing, is but the Greek equivalent of the Latin *ulcus*, and means both ‘an opened wound’ and a *latentem pruriginem*”¹⁰⁹. Her sexual insatiability is almost pathological, since she can’t find a cure. On the other hand, Chione (from χιών – ‘snow’), although beautiful, is cold and passive, in other words frigid.

Telesphorus arouses the passion in its lovers, his ‘services’ and qualities being appreciated. Polycharmus¹¹⁰ (πολύχαρμος means equally ‘warlike’ and ‘the source of much joy’), Philomelus¹¹¹ (‘fond of apples’), Papyrus¹¹² (‘pustule’), who likes to be sodomized and practices self-fellatio, and Naevolus (‘little wart’)¹¹³, who is anally penetrated by a slave, are also associated with passive homosexuality and shameful sexual activity. Pannychus¹¹⁴ (‘the one who lasts all night’) is an active homosexual.

Summary

The onomastics of the *Epigrams* represent *per se* an important chapter in the interpretation of Martial’s work. No matter how they are selected or invented, the names are to rarely neutral. Even the most commonplace *cognomen* turns into a stylistic process. Selected from all social, legal or thematic categories, names come to life in epigrams, and can often be used as well as common nouns, as they relinquish designating people and dress up human categories.

The onomastic analysis of Martial’s world reveals real names, mythical names, made-up names; Latin names, Greek names; names that mean something by themselves or acquire meaning in context; simple names and compound names; individual or collective names; names that make you laugh; names that make you think, look for analogies; all of them, names that can drive historians, linguists or literary men alike into a corner.

¹⁰⁹ Giegengack 1969, 42.

¹¹⁰ IX, 69.

¹¹¹ III, 31; 93; IV, 5.

¹¹² IV, 48; 69; VI, 36; VII, 78; 94.

¹¹³ III, 71; 95.

¹¹⁴ II, 36; VI, 39; 67; IX, 47; XII, 7.

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HERODOTUS' ARTEMISIA AND VIRGIL'S CAMILLA

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Keywords: *Herodotus, Virgil, Artemisia, Camilla.*

Abstract: *Close study of the parallels between Herodotus' Artemisia and Virgil's Camilla reveals a number of striking intertextual connections between the characters, and a corresponding intricately fashioned web of Virgilian borrowings from Herodotus. Virgil's use of Herodotus as a significant source for his epic is shown to reflect both the poet's concern with the problem of Roman ethnicity, and the historical reality of Cleopatra's threat to the Augustan regime.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *Herodot, Vergiliu, Artemisia, Camilla.*

Rezumat: *Studiul atent al paralelelor dintre Artemisia lui Herodot și Camilla lui Vergiliu dezvăluie o serie de conexiuni intertextuale izbitoare între personaje și o rețea corespunzătoare, complicată, de împrumuturi virgiliene de la Herodot. Folosirea de către Vergiliu a lui Herodot ca sursă semnificativă pentru epopeea sa reflectă atât preocuparea poetului față de problema etnicității romane, cât și realitatea istorică a amenințării Cleopatrei la adresa regimului augustan.*

One of the more memorable personages to figure in Herodotus' account of the naval battle at Salamis is the Halicarnassian queen Artemisia I.¹ Introduced in the catalogue of Xerxes' forces at *Histories* 7.99,² she is accorded both a memorable vignette in the naval fight at Salamis (8.87-8), and appearances in framing admonitory scenes where she counsels the Persian king both before and after the

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¹ For an introduction to this character see E. Constantinides, *Amazons and Other Female Warriors*, CO, 59/1, 1981, 3-6; R. V. Munson, *Artemisia in Herodotus*, *ClAnt*, 7/1, 1988, 91-106; P. Loman, *No Woman No War: Women's Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare*, *G&R*, 51/1, 2004, 34-54.

² For commentary on passages from the last third of the *Histories*, R. W. Macan, *Herodotus: The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Books*, London, Macmillan, 1908, remains a valuable trove of information.

engagement (8.68 and 8.101-3).³ Herodotus accords particular respect and attention to Artemisia, indeed to a degree that Plutarch found culpable.⁴ Certainly those interested in the strategy and tactics of Salamis would welcome more information about the progress of the battle and less about the escape of Artemisia; Herodotus, for his part, may have been interested in offering special homage to a likely distant relative, a queen who was of paternal Halicarnassian descent, while maternally Cretan.⁵

We shall consider closely the possible influence of Herodotus' Artemisia on the depiction of the Volscian warrior queen Camilla in Books 7 and 11 of Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁶ While the scholarly tradition has acknowledged parallels between the two characters at least in a general sense, there has been no comprehensive study that has explored the extent and implications of any putative Virgilian evocation of Herodotus' queen.⁷ Our investigation will seek to demonstrate that Virgil made deliberate use of Herodotus' Artemisia as part of a complex web of intertextual allusions that serve to highlight various aspects of his epic narrative, not least the engagement of the *Aeneid* both with the problem of Roman ethnicity, and the reception of the Augustan naval victory at Actium over Cleopatra in his poem.⁸

Several points of affinity between Artemisia and Camilla may be enumerated. First and foremost concerns the matter of catalogues. Herodotus presents the array of the Persian allies arrayed at Salamis,

³ A. M. Bowie, *Herodotus: Histories Book VIII*, Cambridge, 2007.

⁴ *De malignitate Herodoti* 43.

⁵ On this see the excellent survey of K. Deligiorgis, *The Herodotean "Amazonic" Artemisia, Iris: Journal of the Classical Association of Victoria*, New Series, 15, 2015, 49-57.

⁶ Little study has been made of any intertextual relationship between Herodotus and Virgil (there are no entries on Herodotus, for example, in either the Italian or the English Virgil encyclopedias, undeservedly so).

⁷ B. W. Boyd, *Virgil's Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis* (Aeneid 7.803-17), *AJPh*, 113/2, 1992, 213-234, offers a fine introduction here, building on the work of E. Courtney, *Virgil's Military Catalogues and their Antecedents*, *Vergilius*, 34, 1988, 3-8 (who wonders if Virgil borrowed from some other Artemisian catalogue appearance, in an intermediate source). Foundational to the study of Virgilian catalogues is W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975.

⁸ On the topic more generally of the Roman reception of Persia, note M. Serena, *Achaemenid Persia: Images and Memory at Rome (205 BCE - 115 CE)*, Dissertation Reading, 2019.

and Virgil has a parade of Italian forces in league with Turnus. In the wake of these catalogues, in both authors the opposing side is depicted as having to search for allies of their own. The royal women Artemisia and Camilla appear as the final, climactic figures in their respective catalogues. Herodotus offers an interesting, brief portrait that emphasizes the sense of wonder that Artemisia inspires in him, alongside basic information about her identity, and salient details about her motivations:⁹

τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνηται ταξιάρχων ὥς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δὲ τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός· ἥτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίεω ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. [2] οὖνομα μὲν δὴ ἦν αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμισίη, θυγάτηρ δὲ ἦν Λυγδάμιος, γένος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλικαρνησοῦ τὰ πρὸς πατρός, τὰ μητρόθεν δὲ Κρήσσα. ἡγεμόνευε δὲ Ἀλικαρνησσέων τε καὶ Κῶων καὶ Νισυρίων τε καὶ Καλυδνίων, πέντε νέας παρεχομένη. [3] καὶ συναπάσης τῆς στρατιῆς, μετὰ γε τὰς Σιδωνίων, νέας εὐδοξοτάτας παρείχετο, πάντων τε τῶν συμμάχων γνώμας ἀρίστας βασιλεὶ ἀπεδέξατο. τῶν δὲ κατέλεξα πολίων ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτήν, τὸ ἔθνος ἀποφαίνω πᾶν ἐὼν Δωρικόν, Ἀλικαρνησσέας μὲν Τροιζηνίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἐπιδαυρίους. ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς εἴρηται (7.99).¹⁰

Artemisia was not compelled to fight; she came to war on account of youthful vigor and manliness (*νεηνίεω ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης*). She was noted for being the king's superlative counselor. And she fights for Xerxes, though her contingents are Dorian in origin – thus constituting one of many examples in Herodotus of ethnic Greeks fighting on opposing sides, a point to which we shall return.

⁹ For the wonder that Artemisia elicits see D. E. McCoskey, *The Great Escape: Reading Artemisia in Herodotus' Histories* and 300: Rise of an Empire, in A. Surtees and J. Dyer (eds.), *Exploring Gender Diversity in the Ancient World*, Edinburgh, 2020, 211–212, and I. de Jong, *Herodotus en het wonder van Salamis*, *Lampas*, 55.2, 2022, 103–118.

¹⁰ Passages from Herodotus are cited from N. G. Wilson, *Herodoti Historiae Libri V–IX*, Oxford, 2015.

Virgil's introduction of Camilla also underscores the amazement and wonder that the heroine engendered, this time for the audience of those who saw her enter Latinus' capital:¹¹

*illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis, ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.*¹²

Royal Camilla is an object of awe as she makes her way in procession. She has a Lycian quiver, from the region of Asia Minor that bordered Artemisia's Caria.¹³ The catalogue closes on a dramatic note of anticipation, with audience expectation that the female warrior will figure significantly in the battles to come.¹⁴

In both Herodotus and Virgil, catalogues of heroes occur in the respective seventh books of the author's works. Thus when we are introduced to Camilla, we recall Artemisia by the structural parallel of her appearance as another queen in the final position in an assembly of armed contingents, and perhaps by virtue of the Lycian quiver this Volscian maiden wields, an accoutrement that evokes diverse associations, not least the Asian provenance of her comparand Artemisia.¹⁵

¹¹ For a start on the bibliography for this colorful and challenging character, note A. Bruzzone, *Dia Camilla: Un personaggio virgiliano al di là dei limiti*, *Annali di Studi Umanistici*, 7, 2019, 45-68; cf. the same author's *Oltre i confini: Il destino della Camilla di Virgilio*, in C. Pepe and E. Porciani (eds.), *Sconfinamenti di genere: donne coraggiose che vivono nei testi e nelle immagini*, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 2021, 59-66.

¹² Quotes from the *Aeneid* are taken from G. B. Conte, *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum)*, Berlin-New York, Walter de Gruyter 2019 (*editio altera*).

¹³ For Artemisia's ethnicity, see especially S. E. Harrell, *Marvelous Andria: Politics, Geography, and Ethnicity in Herodotus' Histories*, in R. M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds.), *Andria: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003, 80-88.

¹⁴ For the *Aeneid* 7 passages note *ad loc.* the commentaries of C. J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII*, Oxford, 1977, and N. M. Horsfall, *Virgil: Aeneid 7*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000.

¹⁵ On Virgil's Lycia see G. Bonamente in F. Della Corte (ed.), *Enciclopedia virgiliana III*, Roma, Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1996, 212-213, and D. A. Secchi, *Lycia and the Lycians*, in R. F. Thomas and J. T. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Vir-*

Another Book 7 catalogue brings with it another female fighter, including a nod to Asia Minor and the general, neighboring environs associated with her intertextual comparand.

Both authors present the exploits of their respective final, female battle participants in the penultimate books of their works: Book 8 of the *Histories*, and Book 11 of the *Aeneid*.¹⁶ Further, the name of Herodotus' queen recalls the goddess Artemis; Virgil's Camilla is a devotee of the goddess Diana.¹⁷ Both Artemisia and Camilla are leaders of their respective contingents. Both queens counsel the leaders of their respective alliances: Artemisia in colloquy with Xerxes before and after Salamis, and Camilla both before the cavalry battle and at its close, as she gives her dying instructions for Turnus.

In contrast, significant differences between the women in question may be noted. Artemisia is a widow with a young son; Camilla is a virgin whose father Metabus had consecrated her to Diana.¹⁸ Artemisia survives Salamis; Camilla dies during the battle before the walls of Laurentum. Salamis was a naval conflict; the unnamed engagement outside Latinus' capital in which Camilla participates is an equestrian combat, with no literal connection to the sea.

Here, however, an interesting instance of affinity between the two seemingly disparate encounters may be adduced. Salamis was a decisive sea operation in the war between the Greeks and the Persians.¹⁹ There are no naval engagements in the narrative of the *Aeneid*,

gil Encyclopedia, Volume II, Malden, Massachusetts, Wiley-Blackwell, 2014, 768. Virgil offers Camilla's Lycian quiver as something of a confirming emblem of her reminiscence of Artemisia.

¹⁶ There are several commentaries on the *Camilla* from *Aeneid* 11; cf. especially K. W. Gransden, *Virgil: Aeneid XI*, Cambridge, 1991; M. Alessio, *Studies in Vergil: Aeneid Eleven, An Allegorical Approach*, Québec City, Montfort & Villeroy, 1993; N. M. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003; L. M. Fratantuono, *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid XI*, Bruxelles, Editions Latomus, 2009; I. Gildenhard and J. Henderson, *Virgil, Aeneid 11 (Pallas and Camilla)...*, Cambridge, Open Book Publishers, 2018; S. McGill, *Virgil: Aeneid Book XI*, Cambridge, 2020.

¹⁷ On Camilla's youthful consecration to Diana, note G. Capdeville, *La jeunesse de Camille*, *MEFRA*, 104.1, 1992, 303-338.

¹⁸ For Metabus and his complicated history see T. Duke, *Metabus of Pri-vernum*, *Vergilius*, 23, 1977, 34-38.

¹⁹ The bibliography on the battle is daunting; for a sound introduction note N. G. L. Hammond, *The Battle of Salamis*, *JHS*, 76, 1956, 32-54, and B. S. Strauss, *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter that Saved Greece – and Western Civilization*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2004. The many problems posed by

but certain elements of the cavalry battle in Book 11 recall the decisive encounter of the fleets of Octavian, Antony, and Cleopatra at Actium.²⁰ Actium is depicted on the shield of Aeneas that is presented by Venus to the Trojan hero (8.608 ff.). Vulcan's magical art is able to tell the story of the future history of Rome (images whose import is mysterious and obscure for Aeneas)²¹, in a fine instance of the poet relating past events in the future tense, as it were (just as he does in the revelation of the *Heldenschau* in the underworld). The shield offers a canvas on which the poet may offer illustration of that which cannot otherwise easily be inserted into the course of the epic narrative.²² Cleopatra is depicted on Aeneas' shield first as summoning her hosts to battle as the conflict rages, unaware of the serpentine end that awaits her (8.696-7 *regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro, / necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*), and secondly in flight back to the Nile (707 ff.).²³

The equestrian battle in *Aeneid* 11 offers the interesting parallel to Actium of another warrior queen, with Camilla standing in for Cleopatra. At Actium, the naval units on Octavian's side that faced Cleopatra were those of Lucius Arruntius.²⁴ In Virgil, Camilla's killer is Arruns, who is compared to a wolf in the aftermath of his killing of

the ancient testimonia of the battle (not least the problem of when the battle occurred) do not impinge on the arguments presented in this study.

²⁰ There are several monographs devoted to the Actian campaign, cf. *The Battle of Actium 31 B.C.*, Barnsley, Pen & Sword Books, Ltd., 2016; B. S. Strauss, *The War That Made the Roman Empire: Antony, Cleopatra, and Octavian at Actium*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2022. On the history of the period A. Goldsworthy, *Antony and Cleopatra*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2011, offers a superlative account.

²¹ Cf. 8.730, where Aeneas is depicted both in a state of wonder (a recurrence of that popular *topos*), and ignorance (*ignarus*) about the pictures he cannot understand, even as he rejoices in them.

²² For commentary on the shield and its complex images, cf. *ad loc.* K. W. Gransden, *Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, Cambridge, 1976; L. M. Fratantuono and R. A. Smith, *Virgil, Aeneid 8: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2018.

²³ The Cleopatra of the Virgilian shield thus in some ways embodies both the mysterious woman of Herodotus 8.84 who encourages the Greeks, and Artemisia in flight.

²⁴ On the fascinating career of this wily survivor (from proscription to Augustan admiral to historian), see R. S. Rogers, *Lucius Arruntius*, *CPh*, 26/1, 1931, 31-45.

his prey (11.809-15).²⁵ Here semantics and onomastics allow a contemporary Roman audience of Virgil's epic to appreciate a recollection of Actium, with the wolf Arruns defeating Camilla on land, just as Lucius Arruntius had successfully driven off Cleopatra at sea. It is one of the more intriguing allegorical images of the epic.

Here we may note, too, that Virgil metaphorically associates his cavalry engagement even from the start with the movement of the sea, in the simile by which he describes the commencement of combat:

*qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
nunc ruit ad terram scopulosque superiicit unda
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam,
nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens
saxa fugit litusque vado labente reliquit (11.624-8)*

Thus from the inception of the battle narrative, Virgil offers extended marine imagery, which takes on greater significance if we think of Arruntius facing Cleopatra at Actium in the narrative of Arruns and Camilla. While such similes may be merely conventional, poetic ornament for the narrative, this particular comparison is pointed if one recalls the decisive naval battle in which Cleopatra was defeated.

An additional detail of possible relevance may be appended here. We cannot be sure that Virgil knew of the tradition whereby Artemisia met her eventual death as a suicide at Leucas, a casualty of unrequited love.²⁶ If he did, we have another element of connection between Artemisia at Salamis and Cleopatra at Actium: Cleopatra survived Leucas/Actium, but she died as a suicide at Alexandria; Artemisia survived Salamis, but she perished as a suicide at Leucas.

²⁵ Is the death of Arruns in Virgil invested with a bit of dark humor, in reminiscence of Arruntius' near death in 43 B.C.? In any case, Virgil neatly recalls Lucius Arruntius by brilliant semantic play with the wolf image, and he alludes both to victory (as at Actium) and defeat (as Arruntius came close to suffering during the proscriptions).

²⁶ Photius, *Myrobiblion* 190, with reference to a work by Ptolemaeus Chennus. We cannot be sure of the origin of this lore. For text and commentary see R. Guiland (ed.), *Photius: Bibliothèque Tome III Codices 186-222*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1960.

We have noted that Artemisia's name recalls that of the goddess Artemis.²⁷ There is an additional, explicit allusion to Artemis in connection to Herodotus' narrative of Salamis. At 8.77, the historian recalls an oracle that mentions the goddess in connection with the ruin of Persia. The victory at Salamis would be won under the patronage of Artemis, as it were; Artemis Munychia would oversee the victory of the Greeks, with her full moon shining over the scene of triumph.²⁸ Indeed, there were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the coast of Attica.²⁹ Artemisia is fighting on the wrong side, but the woman named after Artemis will, fittingly enough, survive the battle that was won under the goddess' auspices.³⁰

What of Artemisia and Camilla giving advice to the leaders of their alliances? We have observed that at her introduction at 7.99, Herodotus asserts that Artemisia was considered to be the greatest of the king's counselors. Artemisia's wise suggestion is to avoid engaging the Greeks in a naval battle.³¹ Camilla's admonitions to Turnus offer a reversal of Artemisia's to Xerxes. Before the equestrian engagement, her principal thought is to be assigned to take charge of the cavalry feint operation, while Turnus manages the ambush plan to counter Aeneas' infantry (11.498 ff.). On the verge of death, her concerns likewise are not for retreat or passivity, but for action (11.820 ff.).³² The advice of both women is sound.

²⁷ Indeed, even the last reference to her in the *Histories* offers an allusive comment about Ephesus, a site long associated with the goddess.

²⁸ See further here G. P. Viscardi, *Artemis Munychia: Mythical-Ritual Aspects and Functions of the Piraeus Goddess*, *DHA*, 362/2, 2010, 31-60; C. Papadopolou, *Transforming the Surroundings and Its Impact on Cult Rituals: The Case Study of Artemis Mounichia in the Fifth Century*, in C. Moser and C. Feldman, (eds.), *Locating the Sacred: Theoretical Approaches to the Emplacement of Religion*, 2014, 111-127. Pausanias mentions the Mounichia shrine (1.1.4).

²⁹ Cf. Pausanias 1.36.1.

³⁰ Some aspects of Herodotus' references to Artemis have been mentioned in connection to the possibility of the historian's use of Aeschylus as a source for his account of Salamis; see further here V. Parker, *Herodotus' Use of Aeschylus' Persae as a Source for the Battle of Salamis*, *SO*, 82/1, 2007, 2-29.

³¹ On the *topos* see the classic study of R. Lattimore, *The Wise Adviser in Herodotus*, *CPh*, 34/1, 1939, 24-35, and T. C. Lockwood, *Artemisia of Halicarnassus: Herodotus' Excellent Counsel*, *CW*, 116/2, 2023, 147-172.

³² A. Carstairs-McCarthy, *Does Aeneas Violate the Truce in Aeneid 11?*, *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, 65/2, 2015), 704-13, provides a good analysis of the complicated battle narrative and strategic implications of the military situa-

Herodotus' Artemisia is credited with one noteworthy exploit at Salamis. In one sense it defies expectation. Rather than being depicted as vanquishing Greek naval forces, Artemisia is portrayed in flight, indeed to the extent of ramming an allied vessel in order to expedite her escape from the rout of the Persian fleet (8.87-8). The flight of a queen from a naval battle evokes what for Virgil's audience was a memorable occurrence from recent and decisive history: the departure of Cleopatra from Actium. For all the differences between Salamis and Actium, the situation of the two queens was similar, with successful escape from a lost cause. In contrast, Virgil's Camilla enjoys a noteworthy, indeed brilliant *aristeia* before she is vanquished. Herodotus' Artemisia is depicted as succeeding in sinking only one vessel, an allied one that stands in the way of her flight.

The scene is harrowing, as an Attic ship pursues Artemisia, and her escape is blocked by the ship of the Calyndian king Damasiythmus. Herodotus offers something of a weighted alternative: perhaps the hapless captain was merely in the wrong place at the wrong time, or perhaps Artemisia and he had had a quarrel before the battle. Whatever her rationale, Artemisia rammed and sank his vessel, a dramatic action that served not only to clear room for her flight, but also to convince the pursuing Attic ship that hers was an allied craft, either Greek or a deserter to the Greek cause.³³ Artemisia's action inspires a noteworthy reaction from Xerxes, about how his women are men, and his men women.³⁴ The passage deserves to be quoted in full:

tion in Virgil's penultimate book. Regardless of whether the Trojans break the burial truce, the strategic consideration of the book hinges on the cavalry battle being a feint to cover the infantry operations. Everything is suspended in the wake of Turnus' reaction to the news of Camilla's death, when he abandons his ambush plan. Camilla's dying, final instructions for him (11.826 *succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbi*) may be connected both to her concern about the collapse of the cavalry front, and to the maintenance of the infantry ambush plan. What matters is that Aeneas not suffer the ambush attack, and Turnus' emotional reaction to Camilla's death is the expedient that ensures the Trojan hero's survival.

³³ On the double boon secured by the queen see V. Zali, *The Shape of Herodotean Rhetoric: A Study of the Speeches in Herodotus' Histories with Special Attention to Books 5-9*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2015, 162.

³⁴ Cf. the attestation of the same sentiment in Justin's epitome of Trogus (2.12).

τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. [2] λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεῦμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων ‘δέσποτα, ὄρᾳς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νῆα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσσε;’ καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους: τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνην. [3] τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδὲνα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα ‘οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες.’ ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν. (8.88)

Xerxes had been watching the battle, hoping that his men would fight better knowing that the king was watching them. He sees Artemisia ram and sink a vessel, and his counselor claims that she destroyed an enemy vessel – an incorrect, though understandable assumption. Herodotus is clear: Artemisia was able to fool Xerxes in part because the Calyndian ship had no survivors to refute and indict the queen.

The Halicarnassian royal thus flees her Attic pursuer. We learn more about Artemisia’s would-be captor at 8.93. Ameinias of Pallene was one of the two greatest Greek captains at Salamis in Herodotus’ account; he chased Artemisia relentlessly in the hope of securing the ten thousand drachmas placed on her head.

In Herodotus, there is no question that Artemisia attacks one of her allies; the only mystery is the motivation of her action.³⁵ In Virgil, both Aeneas and Turnus have Etruscan allies. Camilla is stalked and slain by a worshipper of Apollo, the Etruscan Arruns, whose allegiance has been questioned. Is he one of Aeneas’ confederates, or does he attack one of his own partisans?³⁶ Virgil refrains (deliberately, one might think) from making the matter definitively clear. What the poet does make explicit is that Arruns has a deep disdain for Camilla. He refers to her as a *dira pestis* (11.792-3); unwilling to face

³⁵ Poinaeus 8.53.3 records that Artemisia would change the insignia of her ship to suit the particular circumstances in which she found herself. The effective stratagem invites consideration of the nature of ethnicity and allegiance, especially given that the queen was said to have been half Cretan and half Halicarnassian.

³⁶ L. M. Fratantuono, *Tros Italusque: Arruns in the Aeneid*, in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIII (Collection Latomus 301)*, Bruxelles, Éditions Latomus, 2006, 284-290.

her in open single combat, he stalks her at length before making his prayer to Apollo to guide his javelin cast.³⁷ He then quickly flees; even if he is not one of Camilla's allies, it seeks to escape at once – in this Virgil reverses Herodotus, where the queen is the one depicted as seeking refuge, not her stalker.

Virgil's Camilla inspires anger on account of the scenario she presents of a woman winning appreciable victories on the battlefield.³⁸ This same misogynistic reaction to female prowess in combat is mentioned in connection with Herodotus' Artemisia (8.93), where we learn of the aforementioned bounty on her head, and of resentment on account of her gender.

It is interesting to note at this juncture that Artemisia is technically not the only female figure to be mentioned by Herodotus in connection to Salamis. At 8.84 he records the story that at the commencement of the conflict, the Greek fleet saw a mysterious vision of a woman, who shouted commands and upbraided them for backing water and not engaging the Persian fleet. One might think here of Artemis most naturally, the patron deity of the Greek triumph.³⁹ A mysterious woman inspires the Greek fleet, while on the Persian side the most highlighted exploit will be a woman's dramatic flight: two women, one urging action and the other in vigorous, aggressive and confrontational retreat.

Herodotus is not our only extant source for evidence of Artemisia's life and exploits. She is referenced in Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 673-81),⁴⁰ where she is associated explicitly with Amazons who wage equestrian battles:

εἰ γὰρ ἐνδώσει τις ἡμῶν ταῖσδε κἄν σμικρὰν λαβήν,

³⁷ His stalking would be easier were he shadowing one of his own allies.

³⁸ The Etruscan Tarchon is stirred up by Jupiter, and he proceeds to berate his men for allowing a woman to defeat them (11.729 ff.).

³⁹ J. D. Mikalson, *Herodotus and Religion in the Persian Wars*, Charlotte, The University of North Carolina Press, 2003 is a good starting point for the study of the historian's description of supernatural phenomena. Herodotus' account thus offers the encouraging, mysterious female voice on the Greek side, and the warrior queen on the Persian whose name recalls the goddess associated with the Greek cause. We would argue that Virgil found in this depiction an ideal model for his reminiscence of Actium in *Aeneid* 11.

⁴⁰ For text and commentary see J. Henderson, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata*, Oxford, 1987.

οὐδὲν ἐλλείψουσιν αὐταὶ λιπαροῦς χειρουργίας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦς τεκτανοῦνται, κάπιχειρήσουσ' ἔτι
 ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πλεῖν ἐφ' ἡμάς ὥσπε, Ἀρτεμισία. 675
 ἦν δ' ἐφ' ἱππικὴν τράπωνται, διαγράφω τοὺς ἱππέας.
 ἱππικώτατον γάρ ἐστι χρῆμα κάποχον γυνή,
 κοῦκ ἂν ἀπολίσθοι τρέχοντος: τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,
 ἃς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' ἵππων μαχομένας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
 ἀλλὰ τούτων χρῆν ἀπασδὼν ἐς τετρημένον ξύλον 680
 ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

(*Lysistrata* 673-81)

In other words, Aristophanes is a virtual intertextual intermediary between Herodotus and Virgil. The comic poet provides a connection between the Artemisia of naval battle fame, and the Amazons with their equestrian battles.⁴¹ It is a natural next step for Virgil to associate Camilla explicitly with the Amazons,⁴² and with Artemisia by various allusive and structural mechanisms. The reference to the Amazonian painting of Micon is recalled by Virgil in his detail about Penthesilea and her Amazons in the artwork of Dido's temple to Juno, a mural that anticipates the advent of Camilla and her Amazonian retinue of *Italides* in the cavalry battle.⁴³ In short, we move from Herodotus' Artemisia at Salamis to Aristophanes' evocation of Artemisia alongside Amazons in cavalry combat, to Virgil's synthesis of all of the above in Camilla, where the reminiscence of Artemisia takes on special resonance in light of the memory of Cleopatra at Actium.

We may summarize and expand our arguments and thesis. Virgil inherited a tradition of the Halicarnassian queen Artemisia, both from Herodotus and from whatever other extant sources he had at his disposal.⁴⁴ Artemisia was noteworthy for her counseling Xerxes not to engage the Greeks in naval combat at Salamis. Her advice was

⁴¹ K. Deligiorgis, *The Herodotean 'Amazonic' Artemisia*, *EClás*, 150, 2016, 35-50, explores thoroughly the Amazonian connections of the queen.

⁴² Cf. 11.648-9.

⁴³ Cf. 1.490-3 *ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis / Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet, / aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae, / bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo* and 11.659-63 *quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis / pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis, / seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru / Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu / feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis*.

⁴⁴ For the study of the Virgilian employment of sources, N. M. Horsfall, *The Epic Distilled: Studies in the Composition of the Aeneid*, Oxford, 2016 is reliably insightful.

disregarded, and the queen in the end was compelled to flee the scene of a lost engagement, notably by the expedient of destroying the vessel of one of her own allies. For Virgil, recent Roman history similarly offered a story of an eastern queen on the losing side in a naval battle, another female royal who was noteworthy for a successful flight from the chaotic scene of combat at sea.

Virgil's *Aeneid* in part celebrates the Augustan settlement of the Roman civil wars. The climactic victory that secured said settlement was that naval battle at Actium, which is depicted in Book 8 of the *Aeneid* as the central image on the shield of Aeneas (8.675-713). Book 8 of Virgil's epic was the perfect place to recall such a triumphant victory at sea, in recollection of the Greek victory over the Persians at Salamis in Book 8 of Herodotus.⁴⁵ In the respective, parallel Book 8 accounts from the two works, eastern forces are destroyed at sea. Salamis was won in the shadow of a temple of Artemis, while the victory at Actium was achieved under the patronage of a temple of Apollo, Artemis' divine twin. Virgil was able to employ Aeneas' divine shield as a mechanism for including events relevant to his contemporary political and historical reality, events that would not naturally figure in the narrative progress of his post-Trojan War *nostos* tale.

But later in Virgil's epic, certain features of the naval engagement at Actium are recalled in the very different context of the cavalry battle before the walls of Latinus' city. Here, in some regards Camilla recalls Cleopatra, and her lupine killer Arruns stands in for Octavian's commander Lucius Arruntius. Like Herodotus' Artemisia, Virgil's Camilla is noteworthy for the counsel she offers to her superior, both before and in the wake of the decisive military encounter. Cleopatra survived Actium, even if one could argue that her fate was more or less sealed on that fateful September day; Camilla is the principal casualty of the cavalry battle, though her slayer Arruns also meets his doom, and by divine intervention. Herodotus' Artemisia narrative is imbued with respectful admiration for the queen even in

⁴⁵ The battles have been studied as parallel engagements in various respects of strategy and outcome; cf. B. Strauss, *Salamis and Actium: Lessons from Two Decisive Ancient Battles in Greek Waters*, in E. M. Economou, N. C. Kyriazis, and A. Platias (eds.), *Democracy and Salamis: 2500 Years After the Battle That Saved Greece and the Western World*, Cham, Springer, 2022, 131-45.

defeat, and so too is Virgil's depiction of Camilla.⁴⁶ Virgil defies expectations, at least in some regards: yes, his "Lucius Arruntius" slays his "Cleopatra," but Arruns soon after is struck down by Opis, and Camilla is given honorable burial by a goddess associated closely (like her brother) with the Augustan regime.⁴⁷ Virgil's Camilla is not Cleopatra *in fine*, any more than the Aeneas who was uncomfortably reminiscent of Mark Antony while he lingered with Dido in Carthage is always cast in the allegorical role of the disgraced triumvir.⁴⁸ Camilla is complicated: she is reminiscent of Cleopatra in the context of being a woman in a scene of war, and yet she is also on the Italian side that will prove to be both resilient and triumphant.

When an epic character is modeled on a range of literary and historical antecedents, both the commonalties and the contrasts between the figures merit consideration. Intertextual reminiscence invites the question of the implications of the poet's evocation of other famous personages in the composition of his character. These implications have greater resonance in the case of figures like Camilla that likely are authorial inventions, characters who afford the poet greater range for creative expression.⁴⁹ The image presented by Herodotus' Artemisia encompasses questions of royalty, femininity, the soundness of advice to one's superiors, and loyalty to the diverse elements in a military alliance. Onomastically, she recalls the goddess Artemis. Virgil's Camilla narrative echoes these themes and problems, with Diana as a key divinity of the story. It was a natural source of inspiration for Virgil, given the connection of Diana and Apollo to the Augustan religious program, beyond the attraction of inserting the memory of a figure of cyclic epic in his reinvention of the war at Troy (a point to which we shall return below): Camilla is a multivalent literary construct.

⁴⁶ Note here V. Viparelli, *Camilla: A Queen Undeclared, Even in Death*, *Virgilius*, 54, 2008, 9-23.

⁴⁷ For a start to a vast topic, note especially J. F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, Oxford, 2009.

⁴⁸ On the problem (popular since antiquity) of exploring possible historical allegories in Virgil's epic, see D. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1927.

⁴⁹ The problem is explored at length by N. M. Horsfall, *Camilla, o i limiti dell'invenzione*, *Athenaeum*, 66, 1988, 31-51; cf. L. M. Fratantuono, *Virgil's Camilla*, *Athenaeum*, 95, 2007, 271-286.

Artemisia was on the losing side at Salamis; the goddess whose name she virtually shared presided over the success of the queen's opponents. In Virgil likewise we have a queen who is connected to the goddess: Camilla is associated with Diana, and her name evokes the image of the devotion of votaries to deities and divine service.⁵⁰ In Herodotus, the woman whose name recalls Artemis is on the losing side in a battle won in the shadow of the goddess' temple; one might say that there is a certain element of propriety in Artemisia's survival of a battle won under the patronage of Artemis. In Virgil, Diana's servant is slain in large part thanks to the divine assistance Diana's brother Apollo offers to his votary, the priest Arruns. As at Actium, so at the cavalry battlefield outside Latinus' city, victory would be achieved under Apollonian auspices.⁵¹

Apollo oversaw Cleopatra's defeat, and he assists Arruns in killing Camilla, though he ignores his suppliant's request to return home (11.794-8).⁵² If there is a glaring contrast between Herodotus' Artemisia and Virgil's Camilla, it is the survival of the one and the death of the other. In exploring the implications of this decisive difference between the two figures, we may glean some additional hint as to why Virgil engaged in Herodotean intertextuality in composing his *Camilla*. When the epic poet departs from or contrasts with his intertextual predecessor, he thereby draws particular attention to the point of distinction. In the case of Camilla, there is no room in the future Rome for a warrior queen, and so she must be vanquished. But the situation is more complicated, and here we may consider a number of interrelated points and problems.

First, we may note that a principal theme of Herodotus' history of the Persian Wars is the question of the power of Greek unity. Near the opening of the last book of the *Histories* (9.2), Mardonius is counseled by the Thebans that if the Greeks were to remain united,

⁵⁰ Cf. Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 34, Macrobius 3.8.7, and Servius *auctus ad* 11.543, and see further L. Fratantuono, *Callimachean Camilla: An Unappreciated Literary Anagram in Virgil, LF*, CXLV/3-4, 2022, 100-118.

⁵¹ Phoebus is referenced by Virgil at the very end of Book 11 (913-5), in balance with dawn reference that opens the book.

⁵² Implicitly, the divine siblings are in agreement that Camilla's killer will die, devotion to Apollo notwithstanding. For an insightful study that associates Arruns with the epic's Trojan protagonist, see L. R. Kepple, *Arruns and the Death of Aeneas, AJPH*, 97.4, 1976, 344-360.

they could conquer the world – a sentiment that takes on particular resonance in light of the civil conflict of the Peloponnesian War. Artemisia's survival of Salamis was won by the expedient of a virtual act of civil war, in her attack on an allied vessel. Artemisia is half Hali-carnassian and half Cretan; she is pursued by an Athenian vessel, and she sinks a Carian, Calyndian one. The entire scene is fraught with the tensions of fractured relations in the Hellenic world.⁵³

In Virgil, there is no hint of Camilla slaying or attacking one of her own partisans, though the battlefield is complicated in terms of the diverse origins and allegiances of the various combatants. Given the future unity to be achieved at least ideally in the Augustan restoration, in an important sense the entirety of the war in Latium is overshadowed by the specter of civil war – Trojans and Ausonians (not to mention Etruscans) are destined to form one political entity. If there is any specific act of internecine violence in the cavalry battle, we have noted that it is on the part of Camilla's foe, the Etruscan Arruns. His people are most certainly divided in their loyalties, largely on account of the notorious king Mezentius and his expulsion from power.⁵⁴ If Arruns attacks one of his own allies, then Virgil has reversed Herodotus, with the queen this time being attacked by someone ostensibly on her own side. In the wake of Arruns' assault on Camilla, his principal concern is for flight (that is, exactly what Herodotus' Artemisia sought). Unlike Artemisia, Arruns does not succeed in his escape attempt.

In accord, one might think, with Artemisia's urgent wish to flee from the battle, in the wake of Salamis the queen offers Xerxes the commendation to return to Asia (8.101-3). In Virgil, the dying instructions of Camilla to Acca urge Turnus to maintain the struggle. In this regard, Virgil offers a definitive reversal of Herodotus' narrative, with his queen not envisioning a retreat from the battlefield, as it were. Strategically, one could analyze her logic as being at minimum

⁵³ For the intriguing thesis that Herodotus portrays Artemisia with Xerxes and in battle as if she were one of the Athenians she is ostensibly fighting, see N. Ackert, *Tyrannos, Rhētor, and Strategos: Herodotus' Athenian Artemisia*, *Berkeley Undergraduate Journal of Classics*, 5/2, 2017, n.p.

⁵⁴ Significantly, there is parallelism between Mezentius and Lausus on the one hand, and Metabus and Camilla on the other. On Virgil's Mezentius note in particular G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1979.

a concern for relieving the beleaguered and discomfited Latins, and possibly if not likely a reminder to Turnus that his ambush plan could still succeed (to the utter destruction of Aeneas and his infantry force), if the Rutulian does not surrender to emotional intemperance in the wake of the death of his favorite. Turnus does not follow her instructions, and Trojan Aeneas is saved, in accord, Virgil notes, with the savage will of Jupiter.⁵⁵

The cause of Turnus and Camilla (whose death lines, significantly, are identical, with Turnus' coming as the last verse of the epic),⁵⁶ is doomed in the sense that Aeneas will be victorious over his opponents. But their cause is victorious in that the future Roman polity that will emerge from a union of Trojan and Ausonian elements will not be Teucrian in *sermo* and *mores*.⁵⁷ The Italian element of Turnus and Camilla, in short, will predominate in the destined Roman commonwealth, with the Trojans contributing blood and naught else.⁵⁸ This emphasis of the climactic divine revelation of Virgil's epic is of a piece with the same sort of preoccupation in Herodotus' *Histories* with the essential, defining quality or qualities of Greek identity: language either above all, or at least in the first rank of particular characteristics.⁵⁹

Next, we may consider that the second half of Virgil's *Aeneid* offers a second *Iliad*, a reincarnation of Homer's martial epic in Latium.⁶⁰ Aeneas is viewed by Turnus as a second Paris, with Lavinia cast implicitly in the role of Helen. Herodotus opens his *Histories* with a reflection on the role of the abductions of women in the engendering of war between Europe and Asia, including Paris' absconding with Helen. Significantly, Herodotus' history closes with a reminiscence of the start of the Trojan War, with something of the quasi-divine vengeance of Protesilaus (the first Greek casualty of the conflict) over the Persian Artajctes, who had dared to desecrate his temple (9.116-20).⁶¹

⁵⁵ Cf. 11.901.

⁵⁶ 11.831 and 12.952.

⁵⁷ Cf. 12.791ff., especially 829 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. 12.835-6.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Histories* 8.144.

⁶⁰ K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: A Study in Epic Narrative*, Cambridge, 1984, is foundational here.

⁶¹ M. A. Flower and J. Marincola, *Herodotus: Histories Book IX*, Cambridge, 2002 offers essential commentary; cf. also W. Desmond, *Punishments and the Conclusion of Herodotus' Histories*, *GRBS*, 44.1, 2004, 19-40. More generally on the man-

The end of Herodotus invites the reader to cycle back in memory to the commencement of the war between the Greeks and Trojans, while the end of Virgil's epic offers a picture of the furious Aeneas as he kills Turnus, an act that invites comparison with Achilles' slaying of Hector in *Iliad* 22, even as it cycles back to the memory of Virgil's evocation of the wrath of Juno from the start of the *Aeneid* (that is, with Aeneas having in some sense at least inherited the goddess' fury).⁶²

Thus even apart from weighty considerations of Aeneas' wrath and the implications of the final scene of the poem, Herodotus' history of the struggle between Greece and Persia offered a natural model for influence on Virgil's account of the war in Latium between the Trojans and the Italians, with the Augustan epic offering yet another instance of a war occasioned by the question of the abduction (perceived or otherwise) of a girl.

Virgil's reimagined *Iliad* in *Aeneid* 7-12 does not rely only on Homer for its literary inspiration. Cyclic epic lore is also recalled, with Camilla evoking the memory of the Amazon queen Penthesilea from the *Aethiopis*.⁶³ In the Trojan War Penthesilea fought on the losing side, namely for Priam; in Virgil, his quasi-Amazon is also on the losing side, namely Turnus' Italian coalition. The distinction is that in the *Aeneid*, the losing side will be victorious in the final disposition of affairs in Rome: the question of victor and vanquished is more complicated than in Homer. Apollo and Artemis sided with Troy in Homer; in Virgil, matters are more complex, not least because the deities were associated closely with the religious program of the Augustan regime. Rome had Trojan origins, but the line from the Troad to Latium in many regards was not straightly drawn, and Rome would not be a new Troy. This future Roman reality explains why Virgil's Camilla is depicted with such respect and admiration – she is one of the *Italides*, as Virgil notes (11.657).

ner in which Herodotus closes his work, note C. Weiser, *Two Didactic Strategies at the End of Herodotus' Histories* (9.108-122), *ClAnt*, 28.2, 2009, 359-385.

⁶² Our comments here touch on a vast and controversial area of Virgilian studies. K. C. King, *Foil and Fusion: Homer's Achilles in Virgil's Aeneid*, MD, 9, 1982, 31-57 offers a non-polemical starting point for investigation.

⁶³ See further here M. Davies, *The Aethiopis: Neo-Neoanalysis Reanalyzed* (*Hellenic Studies Series* 71), Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 2016, with introduction to and commentary on the surviving fragments and testimonia.

Italian Camilla was dedicated to Diana. Artemis does not figure overmuch in Homer's *Iliad*,⁶⁴ while in Herodotus the goddess is associated with the decisive Greek victory at Salamis. This marks a shift of sorts from her Homeric depiction, where she is a divine partisan of Troy; in Herodotus she is implicitly on the Greek side.⁶⁵ The same question of the goddess' allegiance occurs in the *Aeneid*, where Diana is not depicted as a helper of the Trojans (in contrast to her Homeric role), but rather in association with Camilla, one of the most successful enemies of Troy. Diana and her sibling Apollo were patron deities of the Augustan regime; in *Aeneid* 11 they are at least in some regards at variance with each other on account of the question of Camilla and her fate.⁶⁶ Virgil's depiction of the war in central Italy comes with deliberate emphasis on its intermediary, transitional place in the movement from Troy to Rome. That movement comes amid violence and upheaval, and conflict both foreign and domestic. The horror of civil war is made especially vivid in the image of any possible conflict between siblings.

Camilla's side is destined to be the dominant partner in the future Rome, and yet, as we have briefly observed, in the Virgilian, Augustan context, the image of a queen in battle is uncomfortably reminiscent of Cleopatra, even beyond any gender prejudices that may have recoiled from the picture of women in war (especially for a Rome that had could remember Mark Antony's wife Fulvia as well as his Egyptian paramour). In *Aeneid* 4 Carthaginian Dido had uttered imprecations against Aeneas and the Trojans; while Camilla is very

⁶⁴ L. M. Fratantuono, *The Virgilian Metamorphosis of Homer's Artemis*, *Athenaeum*, CX/II, 2022, 429-43, surveys the Homeric appearances of the goddess and their reception in the *Aeneid*.

⁶⁵ The fact that Artemisia's name recalls Artemis is of particular significance given the goddess' association with the Greek victory. There is something of a parallel between how Herodotus' Artemisia is associated with victory even in defeat, as is Virgil's Camilla – one of the good reasons why the Augustan poet may have been inspired to employ the intertext. As for Herodotus, part of the seeming shift in Artemis' allegiances from Homer to the historian is on account of the fact that there was Greek migration and colonization in Asia Minor.

⁶⁶ It is significant that Diana does not seek to save Camilla; her interventions are connected to the honorable disposition of the girl's corpse, and to her instructions to the Thracian nymph Opis about seeking vengeance from whoever kills Camilla, *Tros Italusque* (11.592). Diana's comment is reflective of the ambivalence, ambiguity, and manipulation of questions of provenance discussed above.

different from Dido, she in some sense incarnates the sort of destruction of the Trojans that Dido had envisaged.⁶⁷ And Dido, too, is reminiscent of Cleopatra, not in battle as at Actium, but in the memory of the seductive queen at Alexandria with first Caesar and then Mark Antony. We have noted that Camilla recalls Amazonian lore, in particular the doomed Penthesilea of cyclic epic. There is no place for Amazons in the future Rome, any more than there is a place for an Egyptian queen at enmity with the center of Mediterranean empire. Artemisia can fight for Persia against Greece and survive a disastrous engagement; Camilla may be on the right side of history in her allegiance, but there is no place for an Amazonian warrior girl of bloodthirsty inclinations in Augustan Rome. Artemisia either disappears from the historical record, or died a suicide at Leucas; Virgil would craft a nobler ending for his heroine, as befitting her status as an Italian heroine.⁶⁸

Camilla, in short, has many faults, and her death is demanded by fate. But character flaws, questionable judgment, and battlefield demise do not erase the fact that her side proves superior in the final settlement secured by Jupiter and Juno, and that is enough to secure her the honor she is accorded, not least in the respectful, indeed divine honors she merits at her death – honors that are nothing less than harbingers of the place destined for Italy in the hierarchy that Jupiter and Juno will ratify in the epic's last book.

Virgil thus artfully performs a balancing act in *Aeneid* 11, with the doomed Camilla accorded more than a modicum of admiration and respect, as befitting a native Italian girl whose cause, one might say, will lose the battle and win the war. Camilla has many affinities with various figures from literature and history. But alongside such women as Penthesilea and even the early Roman heroine Cloelia,⁶⁹ Herodotus' Artemisia stands forth as a major antecedent for Virgil's

⁶⁷ Cf. 4.584 ff.

⁶⁸ Artemisia's suicide was associated with a failed love; while we cannot be sure if the tradition was extant in Virgil's time, we may recall that Cleopatra's end was embroiled in the disastrous consequences of her ill-fated union with Antony. Regardless, in the case of Camilla it is telling that together with Arcadian Pallas, she is among the few warriors in the epic to enjoy a noteworthy burial, in her case an otherworldly, divine tending to her corpse by Diana.

⁶⁹ For Cloelia see Livy 2.14.5 ff. and *Aeneid* 8.648 ff., and cf. Virgil's details about Camilla's crossing of the Amasenus at 11.547 ff.

Volscian warrior. History and lore connected Artemisia with war at sea, and with death at Leucas. She was thus an irresistible intertext for someone interested in alluding to the Augustan victory at Actium and the role of Cleopatra in that conflict. Artemisia called to mind the goddess Artemis, both by her name and by the locus of the Greek victory at Salamis. Sound in her advice to Xerxes both before and after battle, Artemisia would survive the Persian defeat at Salamis. Camilla is equally sound in her counsel to Turnus. Xerxes ignored Artemisia with respect to both sets of the queen's recommendations; Turnus listens to Camilla before battle, but makes the critical, fateful mistake of ignoring her second set of instructions. Artemisia's Virgilian literary comparand Camilla dies at dusk at the close of the Latin cavalry engagement; while warrior women have no future in Rome, Camilla's cause would endure, together with her memory. Artemisia was half Cretan and half Halicarnassian, a blend of Europe and Asia in one liminal figure. Camilla is Volscian, though she wields a Lycian quiver; she fights for Italy, even as she recalls Amazon allies of Asian Troy. By evoking Herodotus' Artemisia in the composition of his *Camilla*, Virgil thus deftly and economically painted a rich tapestry of relevant associations via one particularly effective intertext. Virgil's Camilla would be distinct from Artemisia not least by virtue of her death, an end that was both inevitable and altogether regrettable in view of the trajectory of history and Rome's destiny. And fittingly, like Herodotus with Artemisia, Virgil would present Camilla with an aura of wonder and enigma, a sense of awe and mystery that befits his heroic and tragic protomartyr of Italy, one of the most noteworthy figures in the *Aeneid* both in terms of the divine retribution exacted for her slaying, and the promise of a goddess to tend personally to her requiem.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ 11.593-4. Unlike Pallas, Camilla's body will not be despoiled or otherwise violated. The nymph Opis will secure vengeance for her death, and the goddess Diana will provide for a tomb.

TAPPI FITTILI DA *IBIDA* IN *SCYTHIA MINOR* (V-VI SEC.): RIFLESSIONI SU UNA TIPOLOGIA POCO NOTA DELL'*INSTRUMENTUM INSCRIPTUM**

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Keywords: *lids, Byzantium, society, officinae, commerce.*

Abstract: *Clay plugs from Ibida in Scythia Minor (5th-6th century): reflections on a little-known typology of the instrumentum inscriptum. In Dobrudja have been found among fifty lids and some matrices with Greek inscriptions or Christian symbols. Here we intend to introduce some unpublished pieces from Ibida and, at the same time, to reflect on the production and diffusion of these objects, which are indeed limited to Scythia Minor and Moesia Secunda, as well as on their practical purposes and on the society that these instrumenta used.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *capace, Bizanț, societate, officinae, comerț.*

Rezumat: *Capace de lut de la Ibida în Scythia Minor (sec. V-VI): reflecții asupra unei tipologii puțin cunoscute a lui instrumentum inscriptum. În Dobrogea au fost găsite printre cincizeci de capace și unele matrice cu inscripții grecești sau simboluri creștine. Ne propunem aici să introducem câteva piese inedite de la Ibida și, în același timp, să facem câteva reflecții asupra producției și difuzării acestor obiecte, care, într-adevăr, se limitează la Scythia*

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Minor și Moesia Secunda, precum și asupra scopurilor lor practice și asupra societății care folosea aceste instrumenta.

Come acutamente osservato, gli studi sugli *instrumenta inscripta*, per anni appannaggio esclusivo di antiquari e collezionisti, assumono invece un valore centrale nella ricostruzione e definizione della società antica, dell'economia e dell'organizzazione del lavoro, dei traffici e delle abitudini quotidiane, in sostanza di tutta una serie di aspetti della vita comune che pur distanti dalla *histoire évènementielle* non per questo sono meno interessanti e importanti¹.

Fra questi oggetti continuano a destare non pochi interrogativi una sessantina fra tappi e matrici di forma circolare, in un solo caso triangolare (*Cat.* 5), per lo più frammentari, in argilla o in pietra, già oggetto di ampi lavori di sintesi², rinvenuti quasi tutti in Dobrudja in contesti urbani di origine sia ellenistica (*Histria*, *Tomis*, *Callatis*) sia militare (*Axiopolis*, *Sacidava*, *Capidava*, *Ulmetum*, *Dinogetia*, per certi versi *Tropaeum Traiani*), ai quali dobbiamo aggiungere degli esemplari inediti dal territorio intorno a Niculițel³, uno dalla colonia greca di *Tyras* (*Cat.* 52), altri da *Gerania* (*Cat.* 29), *Odessos*⁴, *Marcianopolis*⁵ e *Augusta Traiana* in Bulgaria⁶ (**fig. 1**). Dei paralleli, di nuovo

¹ Buonopane 2017, 17-25.

² Per la bibliografia di riferimento, cfr. l'Appendice e in generale Barnea 1965; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 492; Barnea 1977a, 238-240; Barnea A. 1991, 232; Opriș 2003, 100-101; Opaî 2004, 68-69. Barnea ricorda anche dei non meglio precisabili tappi frammentari rinvenuti presso la basilica *extra moenia* di *Histria* nel 1954 ma di questi non mi è stato possibile verificare se e quando siano mai stati pubblicati.

³ Già esposti per un breve periodo nel museo di Tulcea, Romania (2016), sono ora conservati nel piccolo *Antiquarium* annesso all'area archeologica di Niculițel, senza che tuttavia sia stato possibile prenderne le misure. Sul sito e sugli insediamenti rurali intorno al *martirium*, cfr. Nuțu, Stanc, Paraschiv 2014, in particolare 17-19.

⁴ Barnea 1965, 411 e 413 nota 16; una matrice e un tappo, non meglio specificati.

⁵ Barnea 1965, 413 nota 16: la matrice, simile a quella di *Gerania* (*Cat.* 29) e a quella in pietra di *Callatis* (*Cat.* 6) era tuttavia priva di cerchi concentrici e aveva un pomello parallelepipedo; era decorata con una linea a zig-zag e con una piccola croce greca. Fu rinvenuta accanto a delle monete di Arcadio.

⁶ Barnea 1965, 408: a Stara Gora furono rinvenuti 4 tappi, 3 dei quali molto frammentari, ma ancora inediti nel 1965; nel museo sono attualmente esposti 10 esemplari, uno solo integro, alcuni dei quali senza iscrizione ma decorati con croci, stelle, pomoli, cordicella, motivo a zig-zag; un esemplare proviene dal territorio di Beroe [Колева 2015]. Ringrazio l'amico I. Topalilov per queste preziose informazioni.

privi di iscrizione, sono stati individuati a Sardi in Asia Minore e nell'isola di Chio, decorati talvolta con cerchi concentrici, linee ondulate, piccoli segni paralleli o con disegni estemporanei legati al mondo vegetale e animale, graffiti con un bastoncino o realizzati con pressione digitale *ante cocturam*; rispetto ai tappi della Dobrudja, quelli di Sardi sono caratterizzati da un alto pomello quadrangolare⁷.

A questo repertorio possiamo ora aggiungerne altri 11 esemplari molto frammentari e quasi tutti inediti, rinvenuti a Slava Rusă, l'antica *Ibida*, dove opera dal 2013 anche una missione archeologica italo-romena⁸, recuperati per il museo di Tulcea da Andrei Opaîţ negli anni Ottanta del secolo scorso dai contadini del villaggio o in seguito, durante le indagini condotte ininterrottamente dal 2001, in punti imprecisati del territorio o in edifici addossati alle mura della città. Decorazioni e iscrizioni sono tutte in rilievo⁹.

I) Frammento triangolare; visibile il bordo; sul campo epigrafico visibile una lettera o una decorazione a zig-zag; diametro: 16. Testo: [---]M[---] (?). Inv. 42375. Rinvenuto nell'agosto 1990, in un edificio 30 m a Nord-Est della basilica paleocristiana di *Ibida*¹⁰. Perduto (**fig. 2**).

II) Frammento quadrangolare; pasta arancio-chiara; visibile il bordo con taglio leggermente svasato verso l'esterno: (4,5) x (9,2) x 1,5;

⁷ Opaîţ 2004, 69 con bibliografia: si osservi che i coperchi di Sardi, con un diametro fra 18-28 cm, erano senza iscrizioni e solo il n. 297 era ornato con cerchi concentrici intorno al bordo; cfr. Crawford 1990, 63, 90, tav. E6, figg. 295-297, tav. E 14, fig. 498; per gli esemplari di Chio, cfr. Boardman 1989, 110-113 nn. 265-275, fig. 41-42: diametro di 15,6-40 cm.

⁸ La missione archeologica italiana, diretta da Alessandro Teatini (UNISS), opera a Slava Rusă sulla base di un progetto di ricerca "(L)*Ibida. Una città romana ai confini dell'impero, le sue necropoli, il suo territorio*" stipulato il 21 gennaio 2013 e rinnovato nel 2017 fra l'Università di Sassari e l'Istituto di Ricerche Eco-Museali di Tulcea; il progetto è coordinato per la parte italiana dallo scrivente e da Alessandro Teatini, per la parte romena da Mihaela Iacob e Dorel Paraschiv. Sulle indagini ivi condotte, cfr. Iacob *et alii* (2015); Iacob, Ibba, Paraschiv, Teatini 2015; Iacob *et alii* 2017.

⁹ Le dimensioni dei reperti sono in cm, nella sequenza diametro/spessore o altezza/larghezza/spessore.

¹⁰ Opaîţ 1991, 22-24, 26, 37 n. 81, 39: dal contesto, databile fra V-VI secolo.

diametro: 16; h. l. 2,9. Testo: [---]TAΘ[---]¹¹. Rinvenuto nel 2009 nel settore Curtina X¹². Inedito. (**fig. 3a-3b**).

III) Frammento quadrangolare; pasta arancio-chiara, visibile il bordo, con taglio rettilineo, e parte del pomello: (13) x 1,5; diametro: 17,5; h. pomello: (0,95). Decorato con una doppia raggiera separata da una cordicella quasi a metà del raggio; sono visibili 14 raggi. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. Ib2055. Inedito (**fig. 4a-4b**).

IV) Frammento triangolare molto usurato; pasta arancio-chiara; visibile il bordo, con taglio svasato verso l'esterno: (5,2) x (11,2) x 1,5; diametro: 16,56. Croce greca patente pomettata: 3,2 x 2,7. Rinvenuto nel 2014 nel settore Curtina D, US 108, all'interno di un edificio nei pressi della porta Ovest¹³. Inedito (**fig. 5a-5b**).

V) Frammento quadrangolare; pasta rossiccia con inclusi; visibile il bordo, con taglio svasato verso l'esterno: (5,2) x (4,2) x 1,25; diametro: 22,9. Il campo epigrafico è diviso in due registri, quello superiore alto 2,27, quello inferiore, decorato forse con pometti e aste verticali, alto (1,19); h. l. 1,7. Testo: [---]IZE[---] con Z reversa¹⁴. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40292. Inedito (**fig. 6a-6b**).

VI) Frammento quadrangolare; pasta arancio-chiara; visibile il bordo, con taglio svasato verso l'esterno, e il pomello: (7,1) x (10,2) x 1,5; diametro: 19,1; h. pomello: 2,22. La superficie è divisa da una cordicella in due registri concentrici e in un registro quadrangolare nei pressi del pomello; la decorazione a pometti e frecce, orientate verso il centro e che si intersecano fra loro, continua oltre il bordo. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40286. Inedito (**fig. 7a-7b**).

VII) Frammento triangolare, fratto in tre pezzi combacianti; pasta arancio-chiara; visibile il bordo, fessurato e con taglio svasato verso l'esterno, e un pomello costituito da un tassello parallelepipedo; tracce di manipolazione sul fondo; lavorazione rozza: (11) x (12) x 0,7; dia-

¹¹ Si potrebbe pensare ipoteticamente all'antroponimo Εὐστάθιος attestato in età cristiana su un capitello di *Callatis* (IGLR 88) e dipinto su due anfore di V-VI secolo da *Histria* (SEG XLIV, 625-626). L'antroponimo era ben noto nel mondo romano, cfr. Pape, Benseler (1911), 426: nei Balcani, oltre a questi esempi, se ne ricordano altri 4 in Macedonia, 1 in Tauride e 2 in Tracia (LGPN IV, 136); 4 casi in Asia Minore databili fra IV-V secolo (LGPN V.A, 183: Nicomedia di Bitinia, *Philadelphia* di Lidia, Pergamo).

¹² Iacob, Ibba, Paraschiv, Teatini 2015, 569.

¹³ Iacob, Ibba, Paraschiv, Teatini 2015, 569.

¹⁴ Non si può peraltro escludere una N reversa e capovolta e/o un Θ.

metro: 16; pomello: 2,42 x 2,42 x 2,1. La superficie è divisa da una cordicella: nel registro inferiore è presente una decorazione a stella con piccoli pomoli che cadono al centro dei triangoli o dei rombi, talora nell'intersezione di cordicelle oblique e verticali. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio; nel registro superiore si notano dei pomoli lungo il limite della cordicella e probabilmente delle rozze lettere forse retrograde di modulo differente (se non si tratta di una decorazione); h. l. 2,1-2,5. Testo: [---]+APN[---] *vel* [---]NPA+[---]?¹⁵. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40285. Inedito (**fig. 8a-8b**).

VIII) Frammento quasi triangolare molto usurato; pasta arancio-chiara; visibile il bordo, con taglio svasato verso l'esterno. Lettere forse retrograde con pomoli all'estremità delle aste: (3,8) x (10,4) x 1,5; diametro: 16; h. l. 2. Testo: [---]MN[---] *vel* [---]NM[---]¹⁶. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40290. Inedito (**fig. 9a-9b**).

IX) Frammento quadrangolare; pasta arancio-chiara con inclusi; visibile il bordo, con taglio vagamente tondeggiante e delimitato da una cordicella esterna; h. del campo epigrafico visibile: 2,81; potrebbe avere una lettera in rilievo o una decorazione a zig-zag con pomoli: (5,4) x (5,2) x 1,73; diametro: 17,19; h. l. (?) 2,39. Testo: [---]M[---] (?). Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40293. Inedito (**fig. 10a-10b**).

X) Frammento quasi triangolare, conservato per oltre la metà, molto usurato e con superficie assai usurata e ricoperta in gran parte da cemento; pasta arancio-chiara con inclusioni; visibile il bordo, con taglio svasato verso l'esterno, e il pomello quadrangolare; sulla superficie si intuiscono tre registri separati da due cordicelle; i registri, di larghezza differente, parrebbero decorati con motivi geometrici non meglio definibili o più difficilmente contenevano un testo: (15) x (11,5) x 1,5; diametro: 18; pomello: 3,16 x 3,16 x 1,58. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40289. Inedito (**fig. 11a-11b**).

XI) Frammento triangolare, fratto in due pezzi combacianti; molto usurato; pasta arancio-chiara; visibile il bordo, con taglio svasato verso l'esterno, e il pomello: (12) x (10,5) x 1,5; diametro: 16,67;

¹⁵ Per quanto visibile sul reperto, pare difficile pensare a un antropónimo come Φαρνάκης ricordato a *Histria* (*IScM* I, 196), *Callatis* (*IScM* III, 74) e *Odessos* (*IGBulg* I², 40, 64), o Βαρνάβας (*SEG* XLIX, 885: *Maroneia* di *Thracia*).

¹⁶ Difficile dire se vi fosse un riferimento alla comune formula [A]μ(ή)ν, cfr. *infra*.

pomello: 3,7 x 3,9 x 1,88. Rivenuto in punto imprecisato del territorio. Inv. 40287. Inedito (**fig. 12a-12b**).

I motivi decorativi, talora accompagnati da testi, sembrerebbero in linea con quelli di altri manufatti della Dobrudja¹⁷. I bordi sono leggermente rialzati, verticali come in alcuni esemplari da *Axiopolis* (*Cat.* 3-4) e *Ulmetum* (*Cat.* 53 e 55), talora con tracce della decorazione; il diametro varia fra i 16-19 cm (ma nel n. V è di quasi 23 cm), lo spessore è comunemente di 1,5 cm¹⁸. I pomelli sono dei tasselli parallelepipedi tozzi e non molto regolari, talora delimitati da una cordicella circolare (n. III) o quadrangolare (n. VI).

Rispetto ai tappi per anfora rinvenuti in Occidente¹⁹, gli esemplari della *Scythia Minor* parrebbero tutti prodotti in età bizantina, fra la fine del V e l'inizio del VI secolo²⁰, e di dimensioni maggiori, con un diametro fra 10-16 cm²¹ e con uno spessore compreso fra 1,2-1,6 cm²² mentre completamente fuori scala perché presumibilmente destinati a dei *dolia* sono due coperchi frammentario di *Capidava* e *Histria* (*Cat.* 17 e 36), presumibilmente come quelli già ricordati da Chio. Se alcuni coperchi furono ritagliati da laterizi (*Cat.* 53 e 55) o pietre (*Cat.* 52) o modellati a mano (*Cat.* 17 e probabilmente 36), la maggior parte fu ricavata da matrici in pietra o in argilla²³, rinvenute a *Callatis* (*Cat.* 6, 8

¹⁷ *Infra*.

¹⁸ Si vedano tuttavia i nn. V, VII, IX con differenti misure.

¹⁹ Una panoramica in Mayer 2008; Buora, Magnani, Ventura 2012; Cipriano, Mazzochin 2016, 825-834.

²⁰ Il dato parrebbe confermato dalla paleografia dei testi incisi sui tappi, in particolare la forma delle A con traversa spezzata (cfr. anche il n. II di *Ibida*), di Λ e Ω quasi corsive, forse rinviabili al dominio di Anastasio I (491-518) e all'episcopato di *Paternus* da *Tomis* (498-520) [Barnea 1960, 365-369, in particolare 367-368 e fig. 2; Barnea 1965, 410, 413 e 414; Barnea 1977a, 76; cfr. anche *IGLR* 7-9, 12, 64, 113, 246; Barnea I. 1991, 278; Popescu 1994, 381; Opaiț 2004, 89; Haarer 2006, 109-112, in particolare 111]. Allo stesso orizzonte cronologico rinviano i labili dati archeologici [Barnea 1965, 414, 416] e il confronto con le produzioni di area egea e microasiatica [Opaiț 2004, 69]; in questo senso, le monete di Arcadio associate ai tappi di *Marcianopolis* (*supra* nota 5 e *Cat.* 43) potrebbero rappresentare solo un *terminus post quem*.

²¹ Tuttavia a *Ulmetum* abbiamo tappi con 8 cm di diametro (*Cat.* 53 e 55), ad *Augusta Traiana* di 20,2 (*Cat.* 2).

²² Non mancano esemplari più spessi (2 cm, *Cat.* 2 e 29; 2,5 cm, *Cat.* 19) e più sottili (1 cm, *Cat.* 13, 53-55).

²³ Opriș 2003, 100-101: di dimensioni ovviamente maggiori rispetto ai coperchi, hanno un labbro molto spesso e rialzato, che delimita la superficie destinata

10 e forse 12)²⁴, *Histria* (Cat. 39), *Tropaeum Traiani* (Cat. 50), *Capidava* (Cat. 18); matrici, non dissimili da quella in pietra di *Callatis* (Cat. 6), furono rinvenute a *Gerania*, *Odessos* e *Marcianopolis* in Bulgaria²⁵.

Come a Slava Rusă, molti esemplari conservano un piccolo e tozzo pomello vagamente troncoconico, troncopiramidale, parallelepipedo, di solito alto fra 2-2,5 cm²⁶; la base del pomello poteva essere a sua volta delimitata da una cordicella circolare²⁷ o più raramente quadrangolare²⁸. Si noterà inoltre un labbro leggermente rialzato, rettilineo nei tappi ritagliati (e nel n. III da *Ibida*), arrotondato in due esemplari da *Axiopolis*²⁹, negli altri casi svasato verso l'esterno e dunque con un andamento contrario rispetto a quello che ci si attenderebbe da un tappo che normalmente ha la faccia inferiore di diametro minore rispetto a quella superiore³⁰. Ion Barnea attribuiva questa caratteristica a un'imperezia dei figulini, che preferivano realizzare stampi dai quali era più agevole distaccare l'argilla fresca dopo l'impressione anche a costo di

a iscrizioni o a motivi decorativi; erano inoltre rinforzate in corrispondenza del pomello.

²⁴ Normalmente indicata come tappo, Cat. 12 è più verosimilmente una matrice, giacché lettere (?) e cordicelle sono incise e non a rilievo, come in tutti gli altri esempi di tappi, con l'esclusione di quelli graffiti *ante cocturam*. (Cat. 17 e 36) o a secco ma su tappi lapidei (Cat. 52-53, 55). In Cat. 6-7 e 8-9 la matrice è associabile a un coperchio ugualmente indentificato nella colonia; il testo di Cat. 6 ha andamento da sinistra verso destra e di conseguenza il Cat. 7 mostra lettere retrograde.

²⁵ Barnea 1965, 411 e 413, cfr. Cat. 29, 43, 47 e *supra* note 4-5.

²⁶ Fra i pochi conservati ricordiamo tuttavia anche pomelli da 1,7 cm (Cat. 16), 1 cm (Cat. 53), 0,5 cm (Cat. 55), questi ultimi invero ritagliati da una tegola, cfr. *infra*. Nel pesante tappo di *Histria* (Cat. 36) il pomello era sostituito da un foro attraverso il quale passava un cordino con il quale si poteva sollevare il coperchio [Barnea 1977a, 87 n. 57]. Come ricordato, i tappi di Sardi, pur di dimensioni simili a quelli della Dobrudja, erano invece caratterizzati da un alto tassello quadrangolare (*supra* nota 7).

²⁷ Cat. 3-4, 10-11, 13, 30-32, 39, 44, 46, 49-50, 54, 57, 58, cfr. 21-22.

²⁸ Cat. 7, 33-34, 37, cfr. n. VI. Si noterà il predominio delle testimonianze da *Histria*, senza che tuttavia questo motivo decorativo possa da solo determinare l'origine del tappo da Slava Rusă.

²⁹ Cat. 3-4; lo stesso profilo presumibilmente anche nel n. IX da Slava Rusă.

³⁰ Uniche eccezioni il tappo di *Tyras* (Cat. 52) che, privo di pomello, nella faccia inferiore mostra un pronunciato dente a L che evidentemente serviva a rendere il coperchio solidale con il recipiente, e il coperchio di *Histria* (Cat. 36, cfr. *supra* nota 26), leggermente svasato verso l'esterno.

sacrificare la chiusura ermetica³¹: è invece più credibile che questi coperci servissero a coprire il recipiente e non a sigillarlo (operazione per altro rischiosa se consideriamo lo spessore esiguo di questi manufatti, poco adatti a subire forti pressioni) e che quindi fossero destinati a una rimozione frequente se non addirittura quotidiana, per proteggere liquidi o sostanze che evidentemente non correvano il rischio di rovinarsi per un prolungato contatto con l'aria. Poste queste premesse, possiamo ragionevolmente supporre che il recipiente ad essi associato non fosse destinato a lunghi spostamenti ma che (probabilmente in posizione rigorosamente verticale) fosse facilmente disponibile in uno spazio delimitato e protetto, di uso pubblico o privato; in alternativa si potrebbe pensare che questi contenitori come le anfore fossero dotati di due tappi, uno realizzato con resine impermeabili e meno rigide, eliminato quando il prodotto era giunto a destinazione e se ne era iniziato il consumo.

Oltre al pomello, la faccia superiore dei tappi e quella inferiore delle matrici era caratterizzata da decorazioni con o senza iscrizione³² che intorno al pomello si sviluppano a raggiera oppure concentrici su uno o più registri: croci³³, stauogrammi (*Cat.* 36), stelle (*Cat.* 23), pomoli, motivi geometrici che talora rimandano al mondo vegetale³⁴, animali³⁵. Laddove presenti, i testi erano brevi e rigorosamente in greco, con lettere spesso rozze e irregolari, talora retrograde, capovolte o corsiveggianti³⁶, frequenti abbreviazioni ormai di non semplice interpretazione, talora lettere isolate forse con valore esclusivamente decorativo³⁷.

³¹ Barnea 1965, 407.

³² Mostrano una superficie liscia solo i *Cat.* 5 e 19; non ci sono informazioni per i tappi e le matrici di *Odessos* (*Cat.* 47).

³³ *Cat.* 1-4, 6-7, 13-15, 18, 20-22, 25, 32, 40, 42-43, 48, 51, 59; cfr. anche il n. IV da *Ibida*.

³⁴ P.e. rametti (*Cat.* 8-9), palmette (*Cat.* 21-28, 30, 35, 37, 45, 58), tralci (*Cat.* 8-9, 57), riccioli (*Cat.* 7, 13-14).

³⁵ Si intravede forse una colomba (*Cat.* 10) e un cavallo o una pecora (*Cat.* 17).

³⁶ Cfr. anche *supra* nota 20. Lettere retrograde forse nel n. VII e p.e. in *Cat.* 3, 7 e 46, forse 23; lettere capovolte p.e. in *Cat.* 7; lettere corsive p.e. *Cat.* 16.

³⁷ L'ipotesi è in Barnea 1965, 413 nota 18 con riferimento al *Cat.* 8-9 (ma vedi *infra* nota 41); su quest'uso lo stesso Barnea rinvia a Gentili 1956, 115 fig. 9.1, 116, 117 nn. 5-6 fig. 1.5-1.6 [*non vidi*].

Quando è possibile ricostruire l'iscrizione, questa spesso invoca genericamente la protezione divina su chi si servirà del recipiente oppure sollecita l'utente a bere quanto in essi contenuto, in una commistione fra sacro e profano che la dice lunga sulla natura di questi messaggi³⁸. Troviamo così formule semplici come $\pi\acute{\iota}\epsilon, \omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ (*Cat.* 52 e 55) o $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon \pi\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\iota}\epsilon$ (*Cat.* 56), quest'ultima forse presente anche in forme più articolate che supplicano l'aiuto divino: $\text{Κύριε βοήθι, Ἀμήν. Λάβε πῶμα}$ (*Cat.* 6)³⁹, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon \pi\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\iota}\epsilon. \text{Ἐλέησον Κύριε Ἀμήν}$ (*Cat.* 49, forse 15).

Κύριε oppure $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \beta\omicron\eta\theta\iota$, talora associata ad Ἀμήν o ad altre espressioni, è l'invocazione più frequente su questi coperchi⁴⁰; più particolari sono gli appelli a Cristo Pantocrate (*Cat.* 21-22), forse Signore e Salvatore⁴¹, e a Maria santa⁴² e forse madre di Cristo⁴³; infine, sul coperchio di un *dolium* da *Histria* (*Cat.* 36) fu inciso *ante cocturam* uno staurogramma accompagnato dalla formula [--- Βοηθήσο]ν (?), Κ(ύρι)ε o meno verosimilmente Κ(ύριε) Ἐ(λέη)σον ⁴⁴.

³⁸ Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 492: "invocații creștine sau formule bacchice".

³⁹ Barnea 1977b, 277 n. 11. La corretta interpretazione della matrice, appartenuta a una collezione privata e ora perduta, si deve a Emil Popescu (*IGLR* 98); pare meno convincente la proposta $\kappa\tilde{\upsilon}\beta\delta\alpha \lambda\epsilon\phi\alpha\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha$, di Tafrali (1925), 273 e fig. 4; Tafrali (1927), 37-38 n. 7, dove Κύβδα era inteso come un antroponimo e $\lambda\epsilon\phi\alpha\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha$ come derivato da $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma \pi\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$. La formula potrebbe parzialmente ritrovarsi anche in *Cat.* 15 e 44.

⁴⁰ *Cat.* 2, 23-24, 31, 35, 45, 53-54.

⁴¹ Così a nostro giudizio si potrebbe intendere la sigla dei *Cat.* 8-9: $\text{X(ριστὲ) Κ(ύριε) ν(ικᾶ?) σ(ωτήρ)}$, cfr. p.e. *Agora* XVII 1095 e *IG* II², 13309 da Atene, *SGLIBulg* 137 da *Odessos*, *IGLR* 53 da *Tomis*, *SEG* XLIV, 620 da *Histria*, *IGLR* 186 da Păcuiul lui Soare. Invocazioni a Cristo potrebbero forse leggersi anche nei *Cat.* 1, 22, 40, purtroppo molto frammentari e rovinati; per *Cat.* 11 cfr. *infra* nota 43.

⁴² *Cat.* 25, cfr. Diaconu (1981), 374; Diaconu (1984), 166-167 n. 11, fig.7 (= *SEG* 34, 749): si noterà $\omega > o$ nel termine $\phi\omicron\varsigma$, frequente in età tarda. Per un confronto <https://epigraphy.packhum.org> [14/05/2018] (una trentina di testi provenienti in particolare dalla Siria, dall'Arabia e dalle Nubia; si veda inoltre *IGLR* 344 da *Sucidava*).

⁴³ *Cat.* 11: la proposta di lettura differisce da quella fornita dai primi editori; per un confronto cfr. *IGLR* 139-144, 187, 243 su frammenti di anfora da *Histria*, *Altinum* e *Dinogetia*; si osservi anche *IGChrEg* 66, conservato al museo del Cairo. Pare meno credibile un legame con gli antroponimi $\text{Παχούμιος, Παχύμιος o Παχοῦμις}$, noti in Egitto nel II-III secolo (Pape, Benseler 1911, 1153 e <https://epigraphy.packhum.org> [22/05/2018]) e a Chiusi (*NSA*, 1928, 80).

⁴⁴ La soprallineatura della K rende più probabile la prima proposta, cfr. anche *AE* 2012 1768; meno convincente Parvan 1925, 247-248 n. 44, che interpretava

La presenza di queste formule, accompagnate spesso da simboli che rinviano al mondo cristiano, è stata posta in rapporto a un uso culturale dei coperchi e dei corrispondenti recipienti⁴⁵ o alla loro produzione in *figlinae* appartenute al clero⁴⁶. In realtà è più probabile che frasi e segni avessero una funzione più didascalica che istituzionale, volte ad augurare la buona sorte dell'utente piuttosto che a palesarne la fede o a indicare la proprietà del contenitore e dei prodotti che conservava⁴⁷.

Su alcuni coperchi appaiono infine degli antroponimi, isolati o più spesso associati all'apparato sopra descritto, che presumibilmente indicavano il nome dell'artigiano o del responsabile dell'*officina* che realizzò il tappo (e verosimilmente il suo contenitore), infine del *dominus* che possedeva la *figlina* o dell'imprenditore che ne smerciava i prodotti⁴⁸: oltre al possibile Εὐστάθιος di *Ibida*⁴⁹, troviamo a *Callatis*

[--- οἶνο]ν *vel* [--- ἔλαιο]ν KE' «contiene 25 sextarii = 18,65 litri di vino (o olio)», una quantità invero assai ridotta per un *dolium* e curiosamente indicata non sulla spalla del contenitore ma sul suo coperchio [Barnea 1977a, 88]; non condivisibile la lettura di Tudor 1980, 244 n. 15 e fig. 3.2: [---]N (?) / FE (con curiosa alternanza di lettere latine e greche).

⁴⁵ In realtà i pochi contesti noti rinviano a magazzini o abitazioni private o edifici pubblici di uso civile, come i depositi non lungi dal *praetorium* di *Dinogetia* [Barnea 1966, 242-243, 251, 253], la piazza centrale (*Cat.* 36), il quartiere delle terme (*Cat.* 33) o la basilica cimiteriale *extra moenia* di *Histria* [Barnea 1965, 411], una *domus* a *Tropaeum Traiani* [Talmačchi, Šova 2015, 165-166], un vano di servizio accanto a un ambiente absidato a *Ulmetum* [Barnea 1965, 410], probabilmente degli *horrea* per il tappo n. II di *Ibida* (non precisabile l'edificio presso il quale fu rinvenuto il n. IV).

⁴⁶ L'ipotesi in particolare è stata proposta per lo staurogramma di *Cat.* 36, per la matrice di *Cat.* 6 [Tafrali 1927, 38] e per l'invocazione di *Cat.* 53 [Netzhammer 2005, 137-138]. Sull'uso delle croci, *supra* nota 33 alle quali si potranno aggiungere lo staurogramma di *Cat.* 36 e la colomba (?) di *Cat.* 10. Invero alcuni reperti da *Histria* (*Cat.* 30-31, 35) provengono dal "quartiere delle *domus*", alle spalle della basilica paleocristiana e nei pressi della c.d. "Residenza del Vescovo": sull'area da ultimo Bounegru, Lungu 2003-2005.

⁴⁷ Si osservi che Κόριε βοήθι è un'invocazione diffusa nel Mediterraneo orientale almeno sin dal III secolo d.C. a imitazione di analoghe formule indirizzate a divinità pagane; la loro applicazione non è esclusiva dei coperchi ma si può notare su oggetti ed edifici pubblici o privati, legati alla sfera civile militare, ecclesiastica e addirittura alle transazioni commerciali, cfr. Jalabert, Mouterde 1926, 687; Rădulescu, Lungu 1989, 2569-2570; Fulghum 2001, 141.

⁴⁸ Sull'organizzazione del lavoro nelle *officinae* e sul valore del bollo, cfr. De Donno 2005, 169-173, 179-180; Malafitana 2006, 150-153, 159-164.

⁴⁹ N. II; è più difficile la restituzione per il tappo n. V.

Ἰωάννης Κυρᾶδος⁵⁰, [---]α Κυρᾶδος⁵¹ e forse Θεσυφός⁵², ad *Axiopolis* Τίμιδος⁵³, a Niculițel Ἀκύλι[---?]⁵⁴, a *Capidava* forse Εὐκλείδης ο Θεοκλείδης⁵⁵. Di natura diversa un esempio da *Capidava*, dove a fresco furono incisi la figura di un quadrupede (un cavallo o una pecora) e il

⁵⁰ *Cat.* 6. Si noterà l'inusitata abbreviazione Ἰωάν(νι) e l'uso come patronimico di un antroponimo rarissimo (nota seguente). Su *Iohannes*, molto diffuso in età cristiana, cfr. *LGNP* IV, 179-180: attestato ben 44 volte nell'area del Basso Danubio, p.e. a *Tomis* (*IGLR* 32 e 37) ma soprattutto in Tracia.

⁵¹ *Cat.* 7, cfr. Barnea 1965, 413. I due esempi di *Callatis* sono i soli noti dell'antroponimo (*LGNP* IV, 204), forse ricollegabile al femminile Κυραδία, attestato ancora in età bizantina in Bitinia (*LGNP* V.A, 260); più difficile che lo stesso nome unito all'invocazione Κύριε sia ricordato anche in *Cat.* 8-9 (ipotesi di E. Popescu, commento a *IGLR* 100, ma cfr. *supra* nota 41). Sui frequenti rapporti della Dobrudja con l'Asia Minore, cfr. Curcă, Zugravu 2005; Avram 2013 e più in generale Avram 2014.

⁵² Così si potrebbe interpretare il *Cat.* 13; per un confronto, *Tesifon* da *Terreste* nella *regio X* (*CIL* V, 500 = *IIt* X.3, 20 = *EDR*007646 [22/04/2018, F. Mainardis]); lo stesso antroponimo potrebbe leggersi in *Cat.* 14 (i due coperchi potrebbero essere prodotti dalla medesima officina, cfr. E. Popescu, commento a *IGLR* 104).

⁵³ *Cat.* 3: attestato per la prima volta in Dobrudja, era tuttavia noto nel mondo greco, cfr. <https://epigraphy.packhum.org> [22/05/2018] e Pape, Benseler 1911, 1528. Al nome, probabilmente preceduto dalla K (abbreviazione di Κύριε?), seguiva forse il patronimico ΨΑ[---] come in *Cat.* 6-7, cfr. Pape, Benseler 1911, 1696-1697, p.e. Ψάμμυς, ricordato a *Callatis* e *Histria* su anfore da Sinope del III-II secolo a.C. e a *Abdera* in un momento anteriore al II secolo d.C. (<https://epigraphy.packhum.org> [23/05/2018]); in alternativa si potrebbe pensare a un aggettivo come ψαφεός, riferito al contenuto del recipiente, o al verbo ψαύω, in parallelo dunque con i testi visti *supra*. Sembra invece più difficile integrare con ψάλτης, come proposto da Ion Barnea 1965, 414, con riferimento alla professione del personaggio.

⁵⁴ *Cat.* 46, cfr. Pape, Benseler 1911, 50. Trascrizione greca del latino *Aquila* o *Aquilinus* [Kajanto 1965, 330], continuò a essere utilizzato sino all'età tarda (cfr. *LGNP* IV, 13; V A, 15-16). In particolare si ricorda un Ἀκυλεῖνος a *Tomis* nel III secolo (*IScM* II, 121, cfr. 173 per una donna di età flavia), Ἀκυλῖνος a Bisanzio nel VI-VII secolo (*SEG* XXXVI, 666) e a *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (*IGBul* II, 722), Ἀκυλῖνα a *Edessa* in Macedonia (V-VI secolo) e ad *Augusta Traiana* (320-324 d.C.); Ἀκυλῖνα e Ἀκυλῖνος ad *Amastris* nel Ponto in età bizantina; meno probabile un riferimento al *nomen* Ἀκυλῖος, non attestato in *Scythia Minor*. Per i rapporti con l'Asia Minore cfr. *supra* nota 51.

⁵⁵ *Cat.* 18. Su questi antroponimi, cfr. Pape, Benseler 1911, rispettivamente 410, 492. Εὐκλείδης, molto diffuso e ben noto in Asia Minore (*supra* nota 51), è ricordato a Bisanzio nel IV secolo (*LGNP* IV, 132; *LGNP* V.A, 177) e su un bollo d'anfora da *Callatis* (*SEG* XLVIII, 975bis, 162); un Θεοκλείδης è menzionato nel III secolo (*LGNP* IV, 165); sulla loro frequenza cfr. <https://epigraphy.packhum.org> [23/05/2018].

nome Σούλας, forse pertinente al padrone dell'animale o a un operaio che lavorava nel centro abitato⁵⁶.

In pochi casi le dimensioni hanno fatto ragionevolmente supporre che questi coperchi fossero associabili a dei *dolia*⁵⁷ mentre la forma trilobata di un tappo di *Axiopolis* potrebbe far pensare a una *hydria*⁵⁸. Per i restanti esemplari è più difficile fare delle ipotesi: in alcuni casi si potrebbero immaginare delle anfore di importazione ma con coperchi prodotti *in loco*⁵⁹, destinati a proteggere il contenuto delle stesse dopo che questa aveva perduto l'originario tappo sigillante⁶⁰; non si

⁵⁶ *Cat.* 17, cfr. *LGNP* IV, 312: unica attestazione, forse ricollegabile al Σούλος di *Perinthos* in Tracia nel II secolo d.C. Non si può per altro escludere la forma [Bp]ι-σούλας, noto in Macedonia nel II secolo d.C. (*LGNP* IV, 175, cfr. *IGBulg* IV, 2251). Difficile dire se nella città stazionasse ancora in età bizantina un *cuneus* di cavalieri come durante il Basso Impero, cfr. Barnea A. 1991, 210, 212, 220; Lungu 2015, 100-103: in questo caso l'identificazione di un cavallo potrebbe suggerire che Σούλας era un soldato della cavalleria accampata nella fortezza.

⁵⁷ *Cat.* 17 e 36 ai quali dobbiamo aggiungere per Opreș 2003, 100 il *Cat.* 18, per Tudor 1980, 247 n. 34 il *Cat.* 40. Per queste produzioni locali, cfr. Opaît 2004, 2-3.

⁵⁸ *Cat.* 5, cfr. Barnea 1965, 414; su queste, cfr. Opaît 2004, 68.

⁵⁹ L'origine locale dei tappi è innegabile grazie al rinvenimento delle matrici (*supra* note 23-25), cfr. Barnea 1965, 408, 410; Barnea A. 1991, 232 e nota 369; Opreș 2003, 100. Ion Barnea pensava di individuare altre *officinae* a *Tomis*, *Axiopolis*, *Dinogetia*, *Augusta Traiana* e infine *Ulmetum*, dove a suo giudizio si sarebbe passati dai tappi ritagliati a quelli a matrice solo in un secondo momento, ipotesi tuttavia al momento non dimostrabile.

⁶⁰ Su questa linea Scorpan 1973, 318 a proposito di *Cat.* 48. Sulle caratteristiche dei tappi presentati in questo lavoro, cfr. *supra*; sulle anfore che circolavano in Dobrudja nel V-VI secolo, cfr. Scorpan 1977, 269-286 con carte di distribuzione; Opaît 2004, 8-43; più in generale http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora_ahrb_2005/cat_amph.cfm con ricca bibliografia di riferimento. Tenendo conto della cronologia e della dimensione di questi contenitori, dei luoghi e della frequenza dei rinvenimenti, si potrebbe pensare p.e. ad anfore di produzione iberica (forse le rare Dressel 23), tunisina (Keay 62Q e R, che ben si potrebbero adattare ai tappi di *Ibida* e *Tomis*, Keay 8B, compatibili con le matrici di *Capidava* e *Histria*, *Cat.* 18 e 39, e forse con i tappi di *Ibida*; meno probabili le Keay 27B, Keay 35A, Keay 34, Keay 62A, tutte rinvenute a *Tomis* ma difficilmente associabili al *Cat.* 49), oppure prodotte in area pontica (Mid Roman Amphora 5, molto frequente nelle regioni del Mar Nero e conciliabile con i *Cat.* 19-, 21-24, 26, 28, 37; le piccole e comuni Kuzmanov 15, che si adatterebbero ad alcuni esemplari di *Dinogetia* e *Ulmetum*) o egea (Late Roman Amphora 1, il contenitore più comune in Dobrudja, compatibile con i *Cat.* 37, 53, 55; Late Roman Amphora 2, associabile ipoteticamente ai *Cat.* 13, 19, 28, 37). Difficile invece pensare ad anfore prodotte *in loco* giacché la serie Telița, pur con caratteristiche vicine a quelle dei nostri coperchi, parrebbe essere cesata prima che questi si diffondessero in Dobrudja.

possono d'altronde escludere anforette da tavola⁶¹, brocche per il vino⁶² e piccoli crateri⁶³ mentre paiono da scartare legami con ceramica da cucina o casseruole di produzione locale, per le quali sono stati ritrovati anche in Dobrudja gli specifici coperchi⁶⁴.

In questo articolato panorama, si inseriscono dunque pienamente i reperti di *Ibida* che, come visto, pur anomali per le loro dimensioni (ma si vedano anche i *Cat.* 2 e 18), presentano caratteristiche funzionali, iconografiche, paleografiche in linea con i reperti della *Scythia Minor*. Non sappiamo a quali contenitori fossero associati e possiamo solo ipotizzare anche per loro un legame con anfore di importazione, piccoli *dolia* o altri contenitori di produzione locale. Difficile inoltre stabilire se i tappi furono realizzati nelle *figlinae* intorno alla città⁶⁵ o acquistati (parzialmente o *in toto*) in centri relativamente vicini come *Histria* e *Dinogetia*, lungo quelle direttrici commerciali che interessarono il sito di Slava Rusă per tutto l'evo antico: solo il proseguo delle indagini nell'insediamento e le opportune analisi su argille e impasti potranno confermare o smentire questa ipotesi.

⁶¹ Opaïț 2004, 5, Tipo 1b.

⁶² Opaïț 2004, 62-63; Tipo I.

⁶³ Opaïț 2004, 66-68: in uso fra IV-VI secolo, per le dimensioni potrebbero rimandare ad alcuni tappi di *Callatis*, *Dinogetia* e *Ulmetum*.

⁶⁴ Opaïț 2004, rispettivamente 46-50, 54; per i coperchi Opaïț 2004, 57.

⁶⁵ Queste vengono ipotizzate in relazione al restauro delle imponenti mura della città, in un momento compreso fra la metà del V secolo e il dominio di Giustiniano [cfr. le differenti opinioni di Iacob, Ibba, Paraschiv, Teatini 2015, 562, 569; Carboni, Iacob 2017, 18, 29-39; sulle mura, cfr. la sintesi di Lungu 2015, 100, 119-122].

Appendice

Tabella riassuntiva dei tappi già editi

Le attestazioni sono elencate per località di rinvenimento. M = matrice; T= Tappo. Le dimensioni sono date in cm nella sequenza diametro/spessore o altezza/larghezza/spessore.

N.	località	Riferimento	M/T	dim. tappo	dim. pomello	Iscrizioni o decorazioni notevoli
1.	<i>Augusta Traiana</i>	Barnea 1965, 408 nota 4	T	-	-	⊕ X(ριστός) ? Si segnalano altri tre esemplari inediti (?), con decorazioni generiche (linee, punti, anelli), senza iscrizione
2.		Beševliev 1964, n. 196	T	20,2 x 2	-	⊕ Κύριε β[οή]θει / ε]ὐτύχε(ι) π[ι]ε] <i>vel</i> π[ιστέ]
3.	<i>Axiopolis</i>	<i>IGLR</i> 199, cfr. <i>supra</i> nota 53	T	14,5 x 1,6	2,5 x 2,9 x 2,9	[---]K(?) ΤιμίϠδου ΨΑ[---]
4.		<i>IGLR</i> 200.	T	14,5 x 1,6	-	⊕ AEIMO[---] <i>vel dubie</i> NEIMO <i>vel</i> ZEIMO con Z capovolta
5.		Barnea 1965, 414 e fig. 3.7	T	(10) x (9,2) x 1,6-1,5	2 x 2,4 x 2,8	Anepigrafe
6.	<i>Callatis</i>	<i>IGLCR</i> 98 = Barnea 1977a, 84-85 n. 53, cfr. <i>supra</i> nota 39	M	14 x 6	-	⊕ Ἰωάν(νι) ⊕ Κυρᾱδος // Κύ(ριε) β(οή)θ(ι), Ἀμήν. Λάβε πόμα (!) <i>vel nimis dubie</i> κύβδα λεφάαπομα. Decorazione a zig-zag e punti

7.		<i>IGLCR</i> 99 = Barnea 1979, 104, 105 fig. 34.2 = Barnea 1977a, 85-86 n. 54, fig. 24.54, cfr. Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.3	T	14,2 x 1,6	-	[---]Α ⁂ Κυρᾶδος // [---]Ο ΠΑ(?)ΡΚΛΙ[---]. Decorazione a riccioli; iscrizione retrograda
8.		<i>IGLR</i> 100a cfr. <i>supra</i> note 41 e 52	M	(18,8) x (8,99) x 4,1	-	[--- Χ(ριστε?) Κ(ύριε?) ν(ίκα?) σ(ωτήρ?) [---] se non sono decorazioni; nel registro esterno rametti, tralci, lettere decorative (?)
9.		<i>IGLR</i> 100b cfr. <i>supra</i> note 41 e 52	T	-	-	[--- Χ(ριστε?) Κ(ύριε?) ν(ίκα?) σ(ωτήρ?) [---] se non sono decorazioni; nel registro esterno rametti, tralci, lettere decorative (?)
10.		<i>IGLR</i> 101 cfr. Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.4	M	21,5 x 4,7		[---] ((uccello)) ΑΑ [---]
11.		<i>IGLR</i> 102, cfr. <i>supra</i> nota 43	T	(10) x (6,5) x 1	-	[---]+[---]/[---]ΧΥΜΙ[---], <i>fortasse</i> [---] Χ(ριστο)ὺ (?) Μ(αρία) γ(εννᾶ) [---]
12.		<i>IGLR</i> 103	M?	-	-	[---]+ΣΡ[---]. La prima lettera potrebbe essere Σ; nel registro esterno decorazioni non precisabili (?)
13.		<i>IGLR</i> 104	T	13 x 1	-	[---]⁂ ΘΕΣΥΦ+[---] (?) <i>vel dubie</i> [---]ΘΕΣΙΦΣ. Registro esterno decorato con riccioli
14.		<i>IGLR</i> 105	T	(10) x ? x 1,5	-	[---]⁂ ΘΕ [---] <i>vel dubie</i> [---]+ΘΧ[---] <i>vel</i> [---]ΣΕΧ[---]. Registro esterno decorato con riccioli

15.		IGLR 106	T	(6,5) x ? x 1,5	-	Cfr. $\text{†}\Lambda\mu[\eta\nu\text{---}]\text{+}\Omega\text{I}$ // $[\text{'E}]\lambda\epsilon(\eta)\sigma[\text{ov K}(\acute{o}\rho\iota\epsilon)]?$ <i>vel dubie</i> nel registro centrale $[\text{---}\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\ \pi]\tilde{\omega}[\mu]\alpha\ \Lambda\Delta\text{†}$. Decorazione nel registro esterno a zig-zag e pomoli
16.		Sauciuc-Saveanu 1935-1936, 305 n. 70, fig. 16	T	(10) x (6,5) x 1	1,7 x 1,7	$\Omega \bullet$ (se non è una semplice decorazione). Decorazione a cerchi concentrici
17.	<i>Capidava</i>	IGLR 227, cfr. <i>supra</i> nota 56	T	(47) x (27) x 5	-	((quadrupede)) / $[\text{---}] \Sigma\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$
18.		Opriş 2003, 119 n. 249, tav. XXXVII, cfr. <i>supra</i> nota 55	M	(21) x 7,7	-	$\text{†}\ \Theta$ <i>vel</i> $\text{E}[-\text{c. 1-}]\text{K}\ \Lambda$ <i>vel</i> $\Lambda[-\text{c. 3-}]$
19.		Barnea 1965, 414 e fig. 3.9	T	12 x 2,5	2,5 x 3,1	Anepigrafe
20.		Florescu, Cheluţă-Georgescu 1975, 85	T	-	-	$[\text{---}] \text{†} [\text{---}]$
21.	<i>Dinogetia</i>	IGLR 251° = Barnea 1977a, 98-99 n. 67b, fig. 30.67b cfr. Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.5	T	10-16 x 1,5-2	-	$\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\upsilon)\ \text{Y}(\iota\acute{o}\varsigma)\ \acute{o}$ $\Pi(\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho) / \text{†}$ $\beta\omicron\eta/\theta[\epsilon(\iota)]$ <i>vel difficile</i> $\beta\omicron\eta/\theta[\eta]$ ((palma))
22.		IGLR 251a' = Barnea 1977a, 98-99 n. 67a, fig. 30.67a = Barnea 1979, 108, 109 fig. 36.3, cfr. Diaconu 1981, 375	T	10-16 x 1,5-2	-	$\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\upsilon)\ \text{Y}(\iota\acute{o}\varsigma)\ \acute{o}$ $\Pi(\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho) / \text{†}$ $\beta\omicron\eta/\theta\epsilon(\iota)$ ((palma)) <i>vel</i> / † $\beta\omicron\eta(\theta\epsilon\iota) / \Theta\epsilon(\acute{o}\varsigma)\ \text{X}(\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma) ?$ ((palma))
23.		IGLR 251b = Barnea 1977a, 98-99 n. 67c, fig. 30.67c	T	10-16 x 1,5-2	-	$\text{EI}\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta/\epsilon\iota$ ((stella))+ $[\text{---}/\text{---}]\text{NH}\Theta / [\text{---}]\text{+EYX}$ ((palma)) <i>vel dubie</i> $\text{EI}\ \beta\omicron\eta\theta/\iota$

						KI Ω OHT EH ((palma)), forse anche retrogade
24.		<i>IGLR</i> 251d = Barnea 1977a, 98-99, n. 67e, fig. 30.67e = Barnea 1979, 108, 109 fig. 36.2 cfr. Diaconu 1981, 374-375, cfr. Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.6	T	10-16 x 1,5-2	-	Θ[εός] // [---- // βοή]θι <i>vel</i> Θ[εέ] // [---- // βοή]θι. Registro diviso da 4 palmette intervallate da un pomolo
25.		<i>IGLR</i> 251c = Barnea 1977a, 98-99 n. 67d, fig. 30.67d = Barnea 1979, 108, 109 fig. 36.1 = <i>SEG</i> 34, 749; cfr. <i>supra</i> nota 42	T	(10) x 1,6	2 x 3,2	Θε(ός) ⚡ / Θε(ός) // (ή) ἄγία Μα(ρία) / φος ((palma)) <i>vel</i> Θε(ός) ⚡ / Θε(ός) // Α(μήν?) Μαρία / ΠΙΠΟΕ ((palma))
26.		<i>IGLR</i> 251e	T	10-16 x 1,5-2	-	[---]//T/H//[---]. Registro diviso da palmette (1 visibile)
27.		Barnea 1965, fig. 4.5 = Barnea 1966, 242 fig. 5.5, 243	T	-	-	Anepigrafe? Decorazione con palmette disposte a raggiera (3 ben visibili)
28.		Barnea 1965, fig. 2.6 = Barnea 1966, 245-246 fig. 8.9	T	12 x ?	-	Anepigrafe? Decorazione con palmette disposte a raggiera (3 visibili)
29.	<i>Gerania</i>	Barnea 1965, 411 e nota 16	M	-	-	Anepigrafe? Matrice d'argilla con cerchi concentrici e decorazione geometrica simile a <i>Cat.</i> 6 ma senza pomoli
30.	<i>Histria</i>	<i>IGLR</i> 119	T	-	-	[---]ΦΥΟΖΟ[---] Decorazione con 4 palmette

31.		<i>IGLR</i> 120	T	-	-	[---] Αμ[ήν ? ---] // [--- Κ(ύριε) βοή]θη (?) Α[μήν ---]
32.		<i>IGLR</i> 121 cfr. Tudor 1980, 247 n. 33 e fig. 3/4	T	-	-	[---]ΘΣΙ+[---/---]ΕΣΗ <i>vel</i> ϙ ⁺ [---]
33.		<i>IGLR</i> 122	T	(8,5) x (12,1) x ?	-	[---]Η <i>vel</i> ΝΥΛΑΥΙ + [---]
34.		<i>IGLR</i> 123	T	-	-	[---] + ΚΑ+[---]
35.		<i>IGLR</i> 124	T	-	-	[---] // Κ(ύριε?) // [---]. Decorazione con palmette
36.		<i>IGLR</i> 128 = Barnea 1977a, 87-88 n. 57 fig. 25.57, cfr. <i>supra</i> note 26, 30, 44	T	(23) x (20) x 0,5; d. faccia superiore 48; d. faccia inferiore 47	assente	[--- Βοηθήσο]ν (?) ((staurogramma)) / Κ(ύριε) <i>vel</i> Κ(ύριε) Έ(λέησον) [---]
37.		Barnea 1965, 410-411 e fig. 3.4	T	10,8 x 1,2	2,4 x 2,9 x 2,3	Anepigrafe. Decorazione con 4 palmette, motivi geometrici e pomoli intorno a una cordicella quadrangolare
38.		Barnea 1965 411 e fig. 1.5	T	-	-	Anepigrafe? Decorazione a cerchi concentrici, pomoli, linee a zig-zag e ramoscelli
39.		Barnea 1965, 410 e fig. 3.3.	M	(17,3) x (11,12) x 6,8; d. 18,56	-	Anepigrafe. Piccoli ma profondi raggi che partono dal cerchio interno
40.		Tudor 1980, 247 n. 34 e fig. 3.5	T	-	-	ϙ ⁺ <i>vel</i> Χ(ριστός) ?
41.		Tudor 1980, 247 n. 35 e fig. 3.7	T	-	-	[---] ΥΟΣ[---//---]+Υ(?) [---]//.

						Il registro interno potrebbe essere semplicemente decorato.
42.		Tudor 1980, 247 n. 36 e fig. 3.1	T	-	-	[---]H†•†•H[---//---]+OΘ vel Ω[---]
43.	<i>Marcianopolis</i>	Barnea 1965, 413 nota 16	M	-	-	† Decorazione simile a <i>Cat.</i> 6 e 29, con linea a zig-zag ma senza cerchi concentrici.
44.	Niculitel	Inedito?	T	-	-	[Κύριε βοή]θι ? • Λάβε π[ῶμα]
45.		Inedito?	T	-	-	[---] βο[ήθι ? ---] (se non sono motivi geometrici); 4 (?) palmette intervallate da pomoli
46.	4	Inedito?	T	-	-	[---]ς Ἀκύλι[---?]. Testo retrogrado; pomoli
47.	2n	<i>Odessos</i>	Barnea 1965, 411 e 413 nota 16	M e T	-	-
48.	<i>Sacidava</i>	Scorpan 1973, 318 fig. 38.1, 320	T	-	-	[---]†•XΓ [- c. 2-] H [---] vel [---]†•†•† +[- c. 2-] H [---]
49.	<i>Tomis</i>	<i>IGLR</i> 63, cfr. Barnea 1965, 411 e fig. 1.6 e 3.5; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.2; Barnea 1977a, 75 fig. 19.45, 76 n. 45	T	16 x 0,9-1,3	2 x 3,2 x 2,46	[Λ]άβε πῶ[μα καὶ πίε // Ἐλέη]σον Κ(ύριε) [Ἀμήν]. Cfr. <i>Cat.</i> 39 (?)
50.	<i>Tropaeum Traiani</i>	Barnea <i>et al.</i> 1979, 191 n. 7.3, tav. 169.7.3	M	23 x ?	3 x ?	Anepigrafe. Decorazione con linee parallele e oblique, convergenti verso il centro e fra loro secanti

51.		Talmaçchi, Şova 2015, 166, fig. 25.3	T	(5,3) x (10,3) x ?	-	[---]⊕[---]
52.	<i>Tyras</i>	Tafrali 1935-1936, 54, 56 fig. 81 = Barnea 1965, 408 nota 5	T	-	assente	Πίε, οἶνος καλός
53.	<i>Ulmetum</i>	IGLR 214 = Barnea 1977a, 109-110 n. 77, fig. 33.77	T	8 x 1	1 x 5	Κ[ύρ]ιε βοήθι
54.		IGLR 215	T	15 x 1-1,2	-	Κ[ύριε βοή]θι
55.		IGLR 216 = Barnea 1977a, 110-111 n. 78, fig. 33.78, cfr. Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.1	T	8 x 1	0,5 x 2,5	Πίε, οἶνος καλός
56.		IGLR 217 = Barnea 1977a, 110-111 n. 79, fig. 33.79	T	(9,5) x (7) x 2	-	[Λ]άβε [πῶμα καὶ πίε]
57.		IGLR 218	T	-	-	[---] A vel Δ H (?) M(?) se non è anepigrafe con disegni geometrici, tralci o lettere decorative
58.	Loc. sconosciuta	Barnea 1965, fig. 2.8	T	-	-	Anepigrafe. Decorazione con palmette (12?) a raggiera
59.		Barnea 1965, fig. 2.10, cfr. Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 542 fig. 53.7	T	-	-	Anepigrafe. Decorazione a raggiera e 10 ⊕

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DIDASCALIE

- Fig. 1:** Carta di distribuzione dei rinvenimenti (disegno di S. Ganga).
- Fig. 2:** Tappo n. I [da Opaît (1991), 39 nr. 81].
- Fig. 3:** Tappo n. II (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: foto di A. Ibba).
- Fig. 4:** Tappo n. III (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: snapshot di S. Ganga).
- Fig. 5:** Tappo n. IV (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: foto di A. Ibba).
- Fig. 6:** Tappo n. V (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: foto di A. Ibba).
- Fig. 7:** Tappo n. VI (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: foto di A. Ibba).
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- Fig. 11:** Tappo n. X (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: snapshot di S. Ganga).
- Fig. 12:** Tappo n. XI (a: disegno di S. Ganga; b: snapshot di S. Ganga).

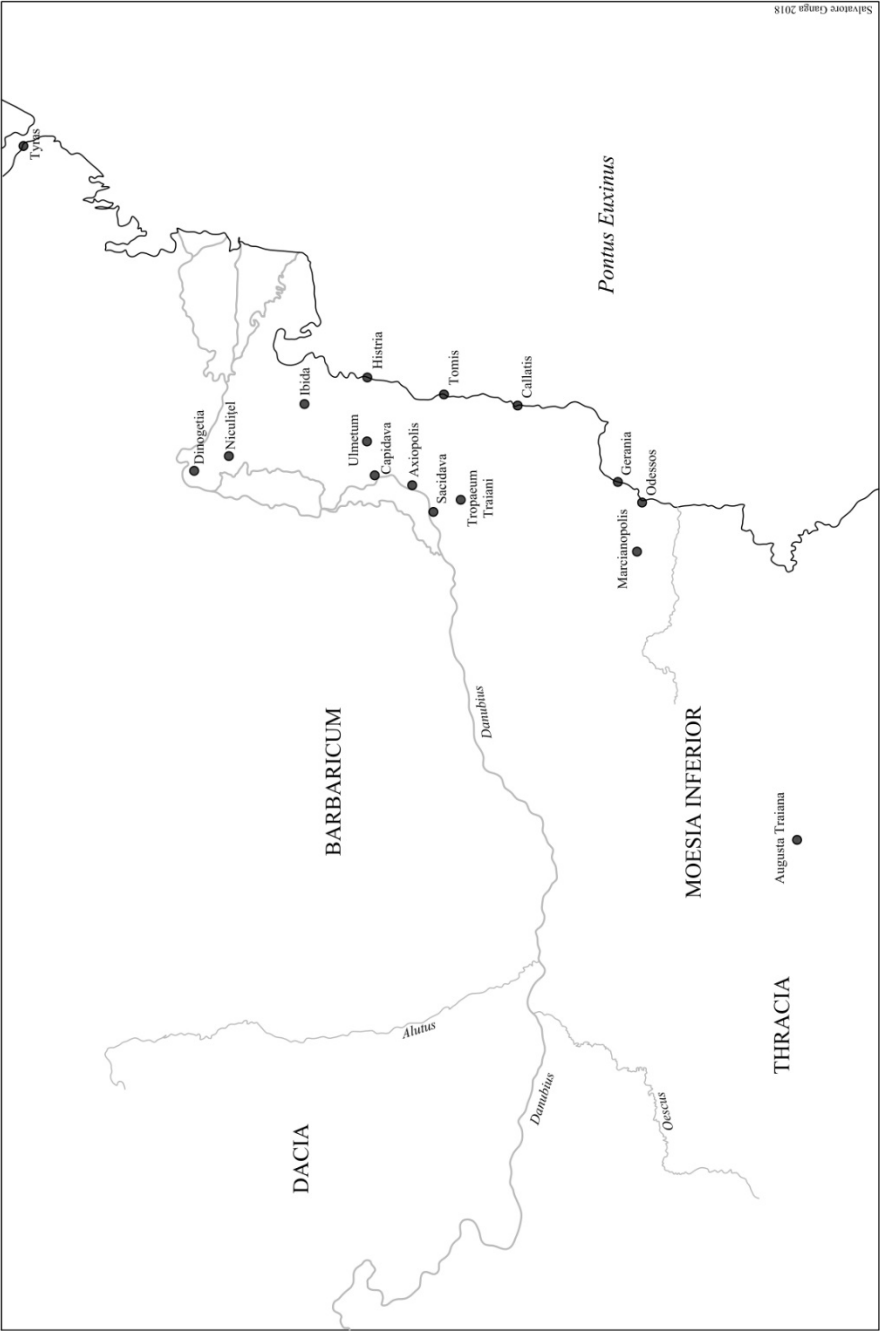


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

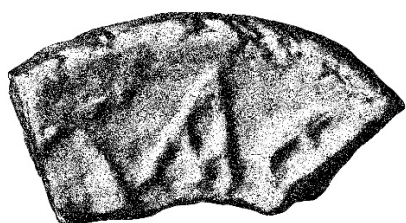


Fig. 3a



Fig. 3b

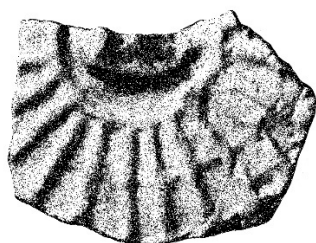


Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b

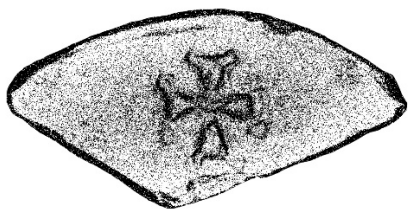


Fig. 5a



Fig. 5b



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b

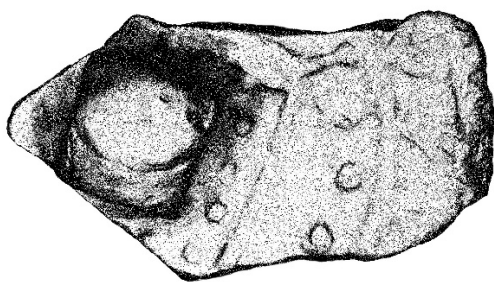


Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b

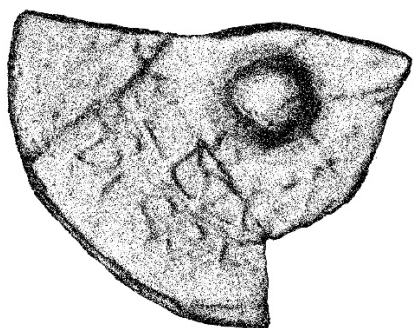


Fig. 8a



Fig. 8b



Fig. 9a



Fig. 9b

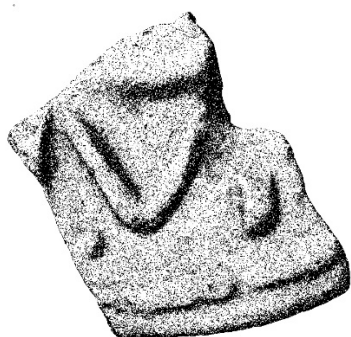


Fig. 10a



Fig. 10b

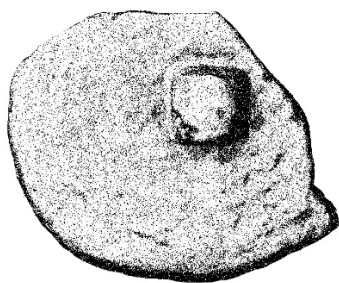


Fig. 11a



Fig. 11b

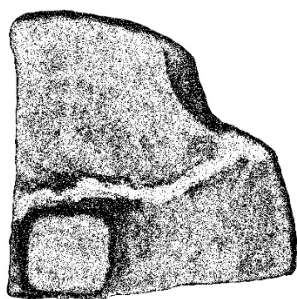


Fig. 12a



Fig. 12b

CHALLENGES IN THE LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SELF. CASE STUDY: ACCIDIA (*SECRETUM*, PETRARCH)

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Key-words: *accidia, aegritudo, pestis, metaphor, conscience.*

Abstract: *The treatise Secretum proposes a type of literary representation of the conflicted, sick self, whose reactions are antagonized, distorting, through exaggeration or minimization, the evanescent data of reality. In the process of healing those parts of the soul through which the connection with God is restored, the assumption of destiny is a necessary stage. Positioning the self at the center of one's own drama, recognizing one's wounds, discovering one's own resources that prevent its destructuring and dissolution are, from a Christian perspective, signs of concern for salvation, of love for the destiny of the soul after death.*

Cuvinte-cheie: *accidia, aegritudo, pestis, metaforă, conștiință.*

Rezumat: *Tratatul Secretum propune un tip de reprezentare literară a sinelui conflictual, bolnav, ale cărui reacții sunt antagonizate, distorsionând, prin exagerare sau minimizare, datele evanescente ale realității. În procesul de vindecare a acelor părți ale sufletului prin care se restabilește legătura cu Dumnezeu, asumarea destinului constituie o etapă necesară. Poziționarea sinelui în centrul propriei drame, recunoașterea rănilor lui, descoperirea resurselor proprii care previn destructurarea și disoluția lui constituie, dintr-o perspectivă creștină, semne ale grijii pentru mântuire, ale iubirii față de destinul sufletului de după moarte.*

“By the end of the Middle Ages, the literary approach to the self occupies as important a place as the venerable concern with the self as an aspect of soul or mind. Petrarch plays a major role in the last phase of this development, which takes place between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries”¹. In the 14th century, in *Secretum*, Pe-

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¹ Brian Stock, *Reading, Writing, and the Self: Petrarch and His Forerunners*, *New Literary History*, 226/4, *Philosophical Resonances*, 1995, 717.

trarch showed an increased interest in revealing his contrasting, lucidly disarming inner experiences. Perhaps the fear of being perceived as a spirit demanding for compassion was one of the reasons why he did not want to make the manuscript public, but keep it for himself, considering that he would find solace in simply returning and re-reading it anytime life would have put him in trouble. After the first stages of composing the verses of the *Canzoniere* had offered the image of a dreamy author, who deals with the theme of unfulfilled love with fleeting sorrow, without the rancor of a temperamental character, Petrarch found himself in the situation of talking about himself for himself, offering himself a helping hand, to which his sick spirit could return in case of necessity, through his lifetime. From this perspective, the act of writing and re-reading become the liberators of a troubled conscience, which can only be healed by words.

The autobiographical treatise *Secretum* represents one of the most sincere and painful Humanist testimonies about man's inability to rise from the abyss of a destructured self, whose parts no longer form a whole, but survive on their own, in an exhausting latency. Through a dialogue with Augustine, Petrarch (the author's *alter ego*) tries to find out both the cause of his mental suffering and the possibilities of remedying the situation in order to once again enjoy the advantages of an intact self, which consist primarily in the unity of feelings and thoughts untouched by the relativity of the uncontrollable course of existence. After Augustine places the cause of Petrarch's suffering in connection with Petrarch's wandering away from God, the reasons why he got there are examined and it is concluded that the winding course of such an unfortunate adventure was the attachment to things (fortunes) or the fleeting ideals (glory, love) of life. Augustine warns that the state of impotence that characterizes Petrarch is a sign of an illness, which the ancients called *aegritudo* and the moderns *accidia*: *A. Habet te funesta quedam pestis animi, quam accidiam moderni, veteres egritudinem dixerunt* (*Secretum*, II, 49). This statement opens the door to a visual digression, in which the images of falling and rising from the ground become emblematic of the state of illness and of the impulse to return to the state of health: *F. 'Cadere' igitur et 'iacere' unum atque idem esse diffinis?* (*Secretum*, I, 11). The prevalence of the visual sense at the expense of the other senses, in images like this, as well as Petrarch's declaration of not being able to remain steadfast in his elevation, of not being able

to reach and remain in balance, despite his burning desire, is a mark of Neoplatonic influence, especially a reminiscence of the thesis related to the chaining of the spirit in the body. Happiness resides, in fact, in a state of functional balance that can be reached, in Augustine's opinion, by intertwining decision, that is, the speech centered on a single objective, with action, that is the natural consequence of the speech; it represents the Christian habitual state of being, the state of the one who, putting his trust in the future life, assumes the hardships of this world.

The description of the disease and its related symptomatology constitute in *Secretum* the expressive background on which the debate regarding the problems of a destructured self takes shape. Starting from the definition offered to the self, which, according to Irving Howe², represents "a construct of mind, an hypothesis of being, socially formed even as it can be quickly turned against the very social formations that have brought it into birth", we deduce that this manifestation is the distinctive element, the mark, the imprint of our being in this world, but that it is neither immutable (it is a "hypostasis",) nor easily decipherable by others. Being a posture of our being, therefore of its passage through this world, in distinct spatio-temporal contexts, it is subject to an attitude of reaction to the social stimuli that describe our dynamics in this world. From this angle, we can say that a sick self is, first of all, non-reactive, that is unable to respond to the demands of an environment that constantly challenges it. The voluntary seclusion of the subject, which stands under the sign of a programmatic solitude in *De vita solitaria*³, and which is invoked by Petrarch as a potential remedy to soul sickness in *Secretum*, is however not an idea shared by Augustine. For the latter, healing does not depend on circumstances external to the being, but primarily on a certain mental climate, on an inner atmosphere that involves the restoration of order in an existential chaos and that can only be acquired

² Irving Howe, *The Self in Literature, Salmagundi*, 90/91, 1991, 56.

³ In *De vita solitaria*, solitude is a condition for: the literary creation (*otium literatum*): *Nam de otio quidem illud Ciceronis notum: «Quid dulcius otio literato?»* (I, 3); the philosophical meditation: (...) *non minus illud Senece vulgatum: Otium sine literis mors est, et hominis vivi sepulture* (I, 3); the Christian monasticism: *Solus oravit, in solitudine ieiunavit, in solitudine tentantem vicit adversarium* (II, 10).

through a type of channeled energy towards the fulfillment of a single objective, spiritual and strictly related to God; this type of inner, creative energy, capable of changing the course of human life, is the will. Thus, Augustine transcends the message of Stoic philosophy, which theorizes the value of resignation to fate; however, he retains a small part of it when he speaks, for example, in his sermons, about the value of humility as one of the most precious theological values. In *Secretum*, solitude is connotated more negatively than positively: a) it should be avoided until the sick soul recovers: *Restat unum, quod pene iam oblitus eram: tam diu cavendam tibi solitudinem scito, donec sentias morbi tui nullas superesse reliquias* (*Secretum*, III, 52); b) it is connected to ambition and the desire for vain literary glory: *Multis namque viis ad unum terminum pervenitur, et tu, michi crede, licet calcata vulgo deserueris viam, tamen ad eandem, quam sprevisse te dicis, ambitionem obliquo calle contendis; ad quam otium, solitudo* (*Secretum*, II, 36); it is a sign of unrequited love: *rerum omnium contemptus viteque odium et desiderium mortis, tristis et amor solitudinis atque hominum fuga* (*Secretum*, III, 30).

Augustine's speech brings to the attention of the readers of the treatise a type of interesting optics from three points of view: a) the treatment of the soul through a volitional act is universally valid, applicable and accessible to all categories of people, in the sense in which it does not take into account the singularity of the affected being, it does not depend on the social status of the subject, Augustine referring to Petrarch as a pagan and less as an intellectual (when he does, it is to hyperbolize the skills obviously born or acquired by him throughout his life) b) the treatment of the soul can begin at any stage of the disease, the personal decision-making factor being endowed with a huge creative power c) the treatment prescribed by Augustine is implicitly guaranteed; the text does not provide details that would lead the reader to believe there is even the slightest possibility that the healing could not take place. While describing the causes of the anarchy of a destructured self, Augustine mentions the "soul" as the center of the problem. Although the connection between the self and the soul is philosophically paradigmatic for the transformations that can irreversibly endanger the becoming of the being, in the philosophical practice it is customary to talk about diseases of the soul and not of the self, focusing attention on the fact that between the self and the soul there is not a relationship of perfect overlap, of identity: the

soul carries peculiarities that inexorably belong to our energetic imprint with which we were endowed from the moment of birth, while the self belongs to the way we relate to ourselves based on data recorded as a result of our dynamics with our peers (alterity plays an important role here) and with the environment. The therapeutic process that a sick soul must go through is described by Augustine with the meticulousness of a mentor who has gone through this experience himself. This technique of teaching, of transmitting information is part of an authorial strategy that increases the credibility of the discourse and attests the act of healing. The short questions, the acid answers (containing advice: *A. (...) quid autem nunc probati consilii michi sit, breviter accipe* – *Secretum*, III, 36, accepted by Petrarch: *F. Credo ita esse* – *Secretum*, II, 44; *Sprevisse nequeo, cuius, et sepe alias et his presertim proximis diebus, sana consilia sum expertus* – *Secretum*, III, 8; or contested: *F. Difficillima quidem persuasio* – *Secretum*, II, 54), the acid answers, the acuity of observation and the interest in detail make Augustine look like a doctor, while the digressions meant to give weight to the discourse, taking it into the area of humanistic knowledge (philosophy, theology, literature), bring him closer to the Medieval prototype of the scholar. Augustine uses the terms *aegritudo*, *accidia* or *pestis animi* in order to name Petrarch's spiritual problems: *Habet te funesta quedam pestis animi, quam accidiam moderni, veteres egritudinem dixerunt* (*Secretum*, II, 49). For Petrarch, the name is not as important as the object to which it refers, that is, an affection of the soul: *Hanc sive egritudinem, sive accidiam, sive quid aliud esse diffinis haud magnifacio; ipsa de re convenit* (*Secretum*, II, 52).

The term *accidia* appears accepted in the common consciousness only in the 4th century AD and has its origins in the tribulations of Egyptian monasticism⁴. Evagrius Ponticus and Cassian are the authors who used this term in their writings, referring to a state of mind involving several types of experiences, including physical weakness, indolence and apathy, which kept the monks away from the obligations of ascetic life. Because these states distracted them from meditation and prayer, they were often likened to demons or temptations. In

⁴ Stanley W. Jackson, *Acedia, the Sin and its Relationship to Sorrow and Melancholia in Medieval Times*, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55/2, 1981, 172.

Evagrius Ponticus and Cassian, *accidia* is among the capital sins, but it is no longer mentioned, for example, in Gregory the Great⁵. Stanley W. Jackson shows that, in the 11th century, the emphasis falls on the physical limitations that *accidia* causes, weakness, a certain state of drowsiness and inability to carry out physical work, and in the 12th century, the emphasis falls on the inner state of the subjects. That is why we should not be surprised by the fact that in the 12th century, the terms *accidia* and *tristitia* are used interchangeably⁶.

If the theological writings attest such an evolution of the meaning of *accidia*, its symptomatology makes us think of melancholy, a state of mind that Hippocrates considered a disease, and which he explained by the excess of black bile in the human body. However, a first complex approach to this condition is made by Rufus of Ephesus in his treatise on melancholia published in the 2nd century. Even if it has not been preserved, a number of elements were used and passed on by Galenus. The researcher Thomas Rüten names three original elements in Rufus's observations regarding melancholy: a) the link between this state and the prototype of the intellectual (a category which, among all other social categories, would be the most affected); b) the theory according to which this state can be caused both of the yellow bile as well as the black bile, thus dismantling the Hippocratic theory of the excess of black bile; c) the connection between hypochondria and melancholy⁷, which will last until the 17th century, when Robert Burton composes *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621).

In *Secretum*, the meaning of the term *accidia* is a happy twinning of the two directions, the theological and the medical one. The theological one is supported by the fact that Augustine refers to *accidia* emphasizing Petrarch's distance from fulfilling the spiritual duties that every Christian has in relation to God. The medical one is supported by establishing the fact itself that the subject is affected by a "disease", but especially by indicating a treatment, which involves reading philosophical literature. In the prologue of the book, the female character Veritas mentions that Petrarch is affected by a dange-

⁵ *Ibidem*, 175.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ Thomas Rüten, *Rufus' Legacy in the Psychopathological Literature of the (Early) Modern Period*, in *On Melancholy: Rufus of Ephesus*, Mohr Siebeck GmbH and Co. KG, 2008, 245. The link between hypochondria and melancholy had already been intuited since the 4th century BC, by Diocles of Carystus, cf. *ibidem*, 247.

rous and long-lasting illness: *periculosa et longa egritudine tentus sit* (*Secretum*, Pr., 7). This disease is described by means of three metaphors: a) metaphor of the chains: *F. Quid igitur censes esse faciendum, ut integer animus, discussis terre compedibus, tollatur ad supera?* (*Secretum*, I, 17); *A. Duabus adhuc adamantinis dextra levaeque premeris cathenis, que nec de morte neque de vita sinunt cogitare* (*Secretum*, III, 2); metaphor of the battle with the self: *F. (...) Veluti siquis ab innumeris hostibus circumclusus, cui nullus pateat egressus, nulla sit misericordie spes nullumque solatium sed infesta omnia, erecte machine, defossi sub terram cuniculi: tremuntque iam turres* (*Secretum*, II, 51); metaphor of the fallen asleep soul: *A. Profecimus aliquantulum; en incipis expergisci* (*Secretum*, I, 16). These metaphors either present a latent state of the soul, or a state of restlessness, this ambivalence being suggestive for the image of a split self. Augustine points out that that several literary works treat about the disease, giving information on how it can be overcome: *habes Seneca de hac re non inutilem epistolam; habes et librum eiusdem De tranquillitate animi; habes et de tota hac mentis egritudine tollenda, librum M. Ciceronis egregium, quem ex tertie diei disputationibus in Tusculano suo habitis ad Brutum scripsit* (*Secretum*, II, 66)⁸.

In *Ad Lucilium* (6, 56), an epistle that probes in a Stoic manner the theme of soul balance and the ways in which it can be lost or gained, *aegritudo* records only one occurrence and is used with the meaning of “care”, “concern”, with reference to the one who cannot fall asleep despite the silence surrounding him: *Aspice illum cui somnus laxae domus silentio queuriti, cuius aures ne quis agitet sonus, omnis servorum turba conticuit et suspensum accedentium propius vestigium ponitur: huc nempe versatur atque illuc, somnum inter aegritudines levem captans; quae non audit audisse se queritur (...) Animus illi obstreperit*. In *De tranquillitate animi*, Seneca talks about the state of a soul lacking full health, which is neither fully freed nor fully subject to vices, *nec aegroto, nec valeo* (I, 2), but also about how important it is to change habits as remedies in the treatment of diseases, *qualis ille homericus Achilles est, modo pronus, modo supinus*,

⁸ Seneca and Cicero are among Petrarch's ancient favourite writers, cf. B. L. Ullman, *Petrarch's Favorite Books, Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 54, 1923, 26-27.

in uarios habitus se ipse componens, quod proprium aegri est, nihil diu pati et mutationibus ut remediis uti (II, 12). The disease can also appear as a result of interacting with people suffering from soul sickness: *ita in amicorum legendis ingeniis dabimus operam ut quam minime inquinatos assumamus: initium morbi est aegris sana miscere* (VII, 4). It is very possible that the theme of change, in the abandonment of old habits and the adoption of a new lifestyle, was taken from here by Petrarch and introduced in *Secretum: turpius ad iuvenilia ista rediretur* (II, 43); *nec in tergum verti, nec assueta respicere* (III, 46).

In the aforementioned Ciceronian work, *Tusculanae disputationes*, III, Cicero uses the term *aegritudo* with the generic meaning of “sadness”, not associating it with a disease, but rather with a “state”. He offers a panoramic approach to the most common types of human passions, but does not mention the way in which such a state can be overcome, although the imaginary journey through Greek philosophy (Epicureism, Stoicism, the Cyrenaic school) is endowed with this finality. Cicero states, however, that a relatively easy way to overcome the state of sadness consists in reorienting attention away from adverse situations, as the Epicureans use to do (*Tusculanae disputationes*, III, 31, 76). For this, it is necessary to apply three Epicurean principles, two of which are attributed directly to Epicurus, and the third to his disciple, Metrodorus of Lampsacus: the first refers to the fact that the sadness associated with death is not justifiable, because those who have passed away don’t feel pain; the second refers to shifting attention from the unfortunate circumstances of life to remembering the beautiful moments of the past, realizing that the past can no longer be changed; and the third to the fact that there is no pure sadness, but in every sadness there is a certain type of pleasure⁹.

The disease of the soul can be cured by reading, but on the condition that the patient looks for the moral meaning in literary works, not for the beautiful and deceptive form of expression: *Lectio autem ista quid profuit? Ex multis enim quae legisti, quantum est quod inheerit animo, quod radices egerit, quod fructum proferat tempestivum?* (*Secretum*, II, 5); *Comunis legentium mos est, ex quo monstrum illud execrabile, litteratorum passim flagitiosissimos errare greges et*

⁹ C. E. Manning, *The Consolatory Tradition and Seneca’s Attitude to the Emotions*, *G&R*, 21/1, 1974, 79.

de arte vivendi, multa licet in scholis disputentur, in actum pauca converti. Tu vero, si suis locis notas certas impresseris, fructum ex lectione percipies (*Secretum*, III, 67); *Nunquam, ex quo pueritiam excessi, scientiarum flosculis delectatus sum* (*Secretum*, III, 75). Petrarch insists on the parenetic dimension of literature, depriving it of its aesthetic character and thus shattering the classic binomial of the harmonious and functional unity between form and content. If man, in order to heal his soul, must give up old morals, vicious habits, then literature must also renew its main objective, that of educating generations of readers, since it comes into contact with that “undisguised” part of their being, which is the self. By combining the theme of the illness of the soul with the pedagogical dimension of literature, Petrarch shows that vulnerability (intrinsic human trait) and education (cultural accessory acquired by one’s own will) represent the pillars of the Humanist definition of man.

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E UESTRIS CODICIBUS ERADENDUM. NOTA A HIER. *Ep.* 106, 73

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Keywords: *Jerome, Epistle 106, Jerome as philologist, textual criticism.*

Abstract: *E uestris codicibus eradendum. Note about Hier. Ep. 106, 73.* It is proposed an emendation in Hier. Ep. 106, 73 from *e vestris codicibus eradendum* to *de vestris codicibus eradendum* in light both of Jerome's *usus scribendi* and indirect tradition.

Cuvinte-cheie: *Iernonim, Epistula CVI, Ieronim ca filolog, critică de text.*

Rezumat: *E uestris codicibus eradendum. O notă despre Hier. Ep. 106, 73.* Ne propunem o emendare a fragmentului din Ep. 106, 73, din *e vestris codicibus eradendum*, în *de vestris codicibus eradendum* atât în lumina lui *usus scribendi* ieronimian, cât și a tradiției indirecte.

Nel corso di uno studio sull'uso dei verbi *radere* ed *eradere* nella loro accezione "filologica" all'interno della produzione geronimiana, vagliando l'ipotesi che la preferenza di volta in volta accordata all'uno o all'altro dei due vocaboli potesse dipendere da ragioni foniche (magari dal desiderio di produrre qualche figura di suono o di evitare al contrario il generarsi di spiacevoli successioni consonantiche¹), la mia attenzione è stata attirata da un passo dell'*Epistola* 106, che, rispetto agli altri luoghi dello Stridonense, presenta una costruzione anomala del verbo composto:

Ep. 106, 73 (CSEL 55; Hilberg, 285): Centesimo quarto decimo: *et in diebus meis inuocabo te. dicitis, quod in Graeco non sit 'te', et bene; e uestris quoque codicibus eradendum est.*

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¹ Sulla speciale attenzione riposta da Gerolamo traduttore, in particolare all'interno dell'*Ep.* 106, da una parte nella ricerca dell'*εὐφωνία* e dall'altra nello scansare ogni contrapposto effetto di *κακοφωνία*, vd. Gamberale 2021, 21-29.

Nell'intento di chiarire i dubbi avanzati rispetto al *Sal* 114, 2 dai monaci goti Sunnia e Fretela, il Nostro riferisce qui la discordanza tra le diverse versioni scritturistiche in loro possesso, ossia una traduzione latina (verosimilmente quella del *Salterio gallicano*), dove essi avrebbero letto un *te*, e una copia greca della Settanta, nella quale invece l'equivalente di quel pronome sarebbe stato omesso. Lo Stridonense, sulla scorta degli *Hexapla* origeniani, esorta con decisione i suoi interlocutori a espungere dai loro codici latini quell'elemento aggiuntivo².

L'ammonimento ad attuare tale intervento sui manoscritti che i destinatari hanno per le mani è affidato da Gerolamo, sia secondo l'edizione di I. Hilberg³ sia secondo quelle più recenti⁴, alle parole *e vestris quoque codicibus eradendum est*. Nutro tuttavia delle riserve, per le ragioni che esporrò, sulla presenza qui della preposizione *e*.

Senz'altro non mancano attestazioni, nella produzione latina, di *eradere* costruito con *e* o *ex* seguiti dall'ablativo⁵; tuttavia, per quanto concerne l'accezione specifica di "espungere" riscontrabile in questo passo, paiono di gran lunga più frequenti le soluzioni con ablativo semplice, rilevate per lo più in ambito epigrafico e nelle opere degli storici tardi⁶. Si distinguono, tuttavia, rispetto a tale tendenza, gli scritti degli

² Per chiarimenti in merito alle differenti traduzioni scritturistiche usate da Gerolamo e dai suoi interlocutori e alle varie definizioni con le quali ad esse il Nostro si riferisce, nonché in generale per un esame più accurato del passo, vd. Scardia 2024 e la bibliografia lì indicata. Un ulteriore commento a questo luogo geronimiano, con una riflessione specifica sul problema testuale ivi discusso dallo Stridonense, ricorre anche in Graves 2022, 289.

³ Vd. Hilberg 1912, 285. Il testo è presentato così già nelle precedenti edizioni di J. Martianay, J.-P. Migne e D. De Bruyne; vd. Martianay 1690, 70; *PL* 22, 864; De Bruyne 1920, 61.

⁴ Mi riferisco, in particolare, all'edizione che fu curata dai monaci della "Pontificia Abbazia di San Girolamo in città" nel 1953 e che fu premessa alla loro edizione critica dei Salmi (a tale edizione in generale, qui e oltre, in assenza di un curatore unico, farò riferimento con la dicitura "r 1953", sulla scorta dell'edizione della *Vulgata* di Weber - Gryson 2007, dove essa è indicata, nell'*Index editionum*, proprio con la lettera gotica r) e a quella di J. Labourt. Vd. r 1953, 38-39; Labourt 1955, 140.

⁵ Cf., ex. gr., Sen. *Ep. Luc.* 104, 20 (Hense, 501): *Omnem ex animo erade nequitiam*. Ma, soprattutto, per accezioni affini a quella riscontrabile nel passo geronimiano, cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae VII: (Commodus) Antoninus Aeli Lampridi* 20, 5 (Hohl I vol., 114): *nomenque ex omnibus privatis publi<ci>sque monumentis eradendum*; Macr. *Sat.* 1, 12, 37 (Willis, 60): *sed ubi infaustum vocabulum ex omni aere vel saxo placuit eradi*. Vd., in generale, Groth 1931-1953, coll. 742-744.

⁶ Mi limito a citare alcuni esempi riportati da Groth 1931-1953, col. 743 ll. 30-56: Tac. *Ann.* 4, 42, 3 (Borzsak, 116): *Merulam, quod in acta divi Augusti non*

autori cristiani, dove si apprezza invece la consuetudine di far seguire a tale verbo il sintagma con *de* e l'ablativo⁷; Gerolamo non è estraneo a questa prassi degli scrittori cristiani, visto che, se si eccettua il passo qui in esame, nell'accostare al verbo *eradere* nell'accezione qui considerata il complemento di allontanamento, in tutti i casi, che riporto di seguito, fa ricorso al medesimo costruito sintagmatico con *de*⁸:

Hom. Orig. Hiez. (transl.) 10, 1 (SC 352; Borret, 328):
*infamia decurioni **eradi de albo** curiae*

C. Tit. praef. (CCSL 77C; Bucchi, 3):
*Vt enim de ceteris epistulis taceam, **de quibus** quidquid contrarium*
*suo dogmati uiderant **eraserunt***

C. Mich. 2, 5, 2 (CCSL 76; Adriaen, 483):
*siue **de ueteribus libris erasum sit** malitia Iudaeorum*

Ai fini dello studio qui condotto, risultano significativi due altri dati. In primo luogo occorre osservare la tendenza (o per meglio dire la costanza), negli scritti dello Stridonense, alla costruzione sistematica con il sintagma *de* + ablativo, oltre che di *eradere*, anche di un altro

iuraverat, albo senatorio erasi; Svet. Vit. Caes. Claud. 16, 2 (Ihm, 210-211): non modo albo iudicum erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit; Scriptores Historiae Augustae XIX: Maximini duo Iuli Capitolini 26, 3 (Hohl II vol., 22-23): Maximini nomen olim erasum nunc animis eradendum.

⁷ Cf., ex. gr., Tert. Adv. Marc. 2, 17, 1 (CCSL 1; Kroymann, 494): *hoc quoque testimonium Christi in creatorem Marcion de euangelio eradere ausus est*; 4, 43, 7 (CCSL 1; Kroymann, 662): *Et Marcion quaedam contraria sibi illa, credo, industria eradere de euangelio suo noluit*; Lact. Mort. pers. 52, 3 (CSEL 27, 2; Brandt-Laubmann, 237): *ubi sunt modo magnifica illa et clara per gentes Ioviorum et Herculi-orum cognomina, quae primum a Dioclete ac Maximiano insolenter adsumpta ac postmodum ad successores eorum translata viguerunt? nempe delevit ea dominus et erasit de terra*; Ruf. Apol. adv. Hier. 2, 29 (CCSL 20; Simonetti, 105): *in ipsis Chronicis suis scripserat, post id de exemplaribus suis erasit.*

⁸ Nel complesso, nella produzione dello Stridonense *eradere* ricorre, nell'accezione qui considerata, solo cinque volte, quindi nel passo in esame dell'Ep. 106 e nei tre casi su citati, ai quali si deve aggiungere un breve estratto dell'Ep. 9 (CSEL 54; Hilberg, 34: *non praepeti litura, sed imis, quod aiunt, ceris erasisti*), dove però l'ablativo *imis ceris* non sembra legato direttamente a *eradere*, quanto alla *litura*, che non deve essere praticata solo *praepeti* (in superficie), ma appunto in profondità nella cera.

verbo spesso associato all'idea dell'espunzione, *subtrahere*⁹. In secondo luogo, poi, alla luce dell'uso anche di *radere* nella medesima accezione della sua forma composta e di conseguenza dell'interscambiabilità e sinonimia dei due verbi negli scritti del Nostro¹⁰, assume un certo rilievo il fatto che, ogniqualevolta *radere* ricorra (peraltro ben più frequentemente del suo composto) nelle pagine geronimiane nel senso di "espungere", lo si trovi anch'esso sempre costruito con *de* e l'ablativo¹¹.

Il passo qui considerato dell'*Ep.* 106 rappresenta, allora, un'eccezione, essendo il solo luogo del Nostro dove *eradere* sia accompagnato da *e* seguito dall'ablativo. La tradizione manoscritta, così come ci viene descritta dall'edizione di I. Hilberg¹², sembra supportare tale anomalia, giacché, su un totale di otto manoscritti che trasmettono il passo in esame, ben cinque riportano *e*¹³, lezione affine a quella riscontrabile anche nel *Casinensis* E. 247 (XI sec.) e nel *Berolinensis lat.* 17 (IX sec.), che recano rispettivamente *et ex e* e *et e* (dove la congiunzione è aggiunta da una seconda mano). Il *Palatinus lat.* 39 (XI sec.)

⁹ Lo spunto per tale osservazione mi è stato offerto da un revisore anonimo di C&C, che ringrazio. Tra i luoghi geronimiani nei quali il verbo *subtrahere* compare in un'accezione affine al tecnicismo filologico qui in esame ed è regolarmente costruito con *de* e l'ablativo, è possibile ricordare, *ex. gr.*, Hier. *C. Hiez.* 10, 32, 17-32 (CCSL 75; Glorie, 458): *si aliquid de Septuaginta interpretum translatione subtraxero, me sacrilegum et absque timore Domini uociferantur*; Apol. *adv. Ruf.* 2, 15 (CCSL 79; Lardet, 49): *Quamuis de Eusebii libro multa subtraxerit [...] tamen multa in illo scandala repperiuntur et apertissimae blasphemiae*.

¹⁰ Vd. Scardia 2024.

¹¹ Di seguito le occorrenze di *radere* costruito con il sintagma *de* con ablativo: Hier. *C. Gal.* 1, 2, 11-13 (CCSL 77A; Raspanti, 56): *infinita de Scripturis erunt radenda diuinis quae ille, quia non intellegit, criminatur*; *Ep.* 84, 10 (CSEL 55; Hilberg, 132): *omnis ueritas uno die de uoluminibus illius raderetur*; 112, 19 (CSEL 55; Hilberg, 389): *non legas ea, quae sub asteriscis sunt, immo rade de uoluminibus*; *Dial. adv. pelag.* 2, 4 (CCSL 80; Moersch, 59): *Tolle ergo sententiam et rade de libro tuo: facilia Dei esse mandata*. Il dato che emerge, in merito alla sistematica costruzione con *de* e l'ablativo, da parte di Gerolamo, sia di *eradere* sia della relativa forma base del verbo, risulta significativo ai fini della presente indagine dato che la tradizione manoscritta del passo considerato registra talora anche la forma *radendum*. Si noti, per inciso, che questo è l'unico caso, in tutta la produzione dello Stridonense, nel quale, secondo gli apparati delle moderne edizioni critiche, si evidenzia un'oscillazione, nei vari manoscritti, tra *radere* ed *eradere*, almeno per quel che concerne l'uso di tali verbi nella loro accezione filologica.

¹² Vd. Hilberg 1912, 285.

¹³ Il *Cenomanensis* 126 (IX sec.), il *Duacensis* 247 (XI sec.), il *Remensis* 15 (XI sec.), il *Sessorianus* 71 (XI sec.) e l'*Oxoniensis Balliolensis* 229 (XII sec.).

risulta il solo testimone ove sia leggibile il *de*, preposizione dunque che non solo è attestata nella tradizione manoscritta ma, come s'è visto, è conforme all'*usus scribendi* di Gerolamo. Sebbene l'edizione del *CSEL* risulti la più completa, per numero di manoscritti collazionati e per ricchezza dell'apparato critico, assume un certo valore, in questo frangente, anche la successiva edizione dei monaci benedettini¹⁴, poiché essa è stata approntata sulla base di sei codici, tre dei quali ignoti a Hilberg. Il quadro che da quest'ultima edizione emerge è abbastanza differente, giacché da essa si evince, oltre alla presenza del solo *et* nel *Vaticanus Reg. lat.* 11 (VIII sec.)¹⁵, che *e* è lezione di due soli manoscritti (uno già noto all'editore ucraino); *de* invece si legge non solo nel *Palatinus lat.* 39, già collazionato da Hilberg, ma anche nel *Caroliruhensis*, Aug. XXXVIII (IX sec.), che, non considerato nella precedente edizione, rappresenta uno dei testimoni più antichi del testo¹⁶.

In sintesi, dunque, incrociando i dati desumibili dalle edizioni, è possibile descrivere una situazione meno rigida, nella quale senz'altro *e* è la lezione maggiormente registrata, ma non mancano attestazioni anche per quella rappresentata da *de*.

Un contributo utile, inoltre, giunge anche dalla tradizione indiretta, costituita dalla sola testimonianza di Bernone, abate di Reichenau agli inizi dell'XI secolo, il quale scrive:

'Quia inclinavit aurem suam mihi et in diebus meis inuocabo te', dicit beatus Hieronymus in epistola sua ad quosdam: Dicitis quod in Graeco non sit 'te', et bene de uestris codicibus radendum est¹⁷.

Egli riporta qui in maniera sostanzialmente fedele le parole di Gerolamo, nonostante l'omissione di *quoque*, che si registra però anche in alcuni manoscritti della lettera geronimiana¹⁸. Poiché, almeno sulla base di un'analisi sommaria, tale comportamento scrupoloso risulta costante nelle pagine in cui l'abate cita lo Stridonense, la pre-

¹⁴ Vd. r 1953, 38.

¹⁵ Lezione segnalata già in De Bruyne 1920, 61.

¹⁶ Si precisa che, ove possibile, si è provveduto alla verifica dei dati desumibili dalle edizioni critiche tramite la consultazione diretta dei codici disponibili online.

¹⁷ Berno Augiensis *De varia psalmorum modulatione* 1, ad Ps. 114 (CCCM 297; Parkes, 123).

¹⁸ Nonostante esuli dagli obiettivi di questo lavoro, è necessario rilevare, almeno incidentalmente, alla luce di quanto osservato nella nota 10, che il passo riferito da Bernone presenta *radendum* al posto di *eradendum*.

senza dell'espressione *de vestris codicibus*, in luogo di *e vestris quoque codicibus*, nel passaggio citato pare significativa.

In conclusione, constatata l'esistenza di almeno due manoscritti che contengono la lezione *de* (di cui uno tra i più antichi testimoni di questa lettera geronimiana), tenuto conto della citazione di Bernone e, soprattutto, alla luce dell'*usus scribendi* dello Stridonense mi pare che nel passo in questione sia da preferire, al posto di *e*, la lezione *de*¹⁹.

Edizioni

De Bruyne 1920 = D. De Bruyne, *Préfaces de la Bible Latine*, Namur [= reprint in D. De Bruyne, *Prefaces to the Latin Bible*, Introductions by P.-M. Bogaert and T. O'Loughlin, Turnhout, 2015 (*Studia Traditionis Theologiae. Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology* 19)].

¹⁹ Come si è visto, il più antico codice in nostro possesso è il *Vaticanus Reg. lat.* 11, databile all'VIII sec.; esso reca la lezione *et*, attestata unicamente in questo manoscritto in onciale. Le lezioni *de* ed *e* sono invece attestate (tralasciando le attestazioni più tarde) rispettivamente da uno (*Caroliruhensis*, Aug. XXXVIII) e da due manoscritti (*Cenomanensis* 126 e *Londinensis Harl.* 2793) ascrivibili al IX sec. Con una certa cautela si può provare ad avanzare l'ipotesi che, a monte di questa situazione confusa, possa esserci stato qualche manoscritto in minuscola, recante la lezione *de*, che fu preso a modello per copie successive e il cui legamento per *de* possa essere stato frainteso con quello per *et* (generando così esemplari con *et* e poi con *e* e altre lezioni affini). In Cappelli 1929, 87, è attestato un legamento frequente per *de*, nei manoscritti medievali, che presenta forti somiglianze con alcuni esempi di legamento usati per *et* nel periodo delle scritture latine diversificate, dunque quello della fase precedente alla diffusione della minuscola carolina (in generale sulla fase della diversificazione delle scritture latine, vd. il quadro sintetico tracciato in Bertolo *et al.* 2004, 54-65): in alcune forme di legamento di *de* riportate da Cappelli è infatti possibile osservare la presenza di un'asta con inclinazione verso sinistra e di due occhielli, uno di dimensioni maggiori in basso e uno di dimensioni inferiori nella parte superiore; medesima soluzione presenta il nesso per *et*, per esempio, nell'insulare rotonda irlandese o nelle scritture minuscole altomedievali dell'Italia centro-settentrionale (vd., ex. gr., Cherubini - Pratesi 2010, rispettivamente 174 e 277-278). Ancora, poi, il disegno della preposizione *de* con un elemento verticale in posizione centrale con occhiello a destra e a sinistra presenta indubbiamente somiglianze simili al legamento usato per *et*, per esempio, nella curialesca documentaria o nella curiale romana, che reca appunto un'asta centrale molto alta, una pancia piuttosto ampia a sinistra e un occhiello più piccolo in basso a destra (vd. Petrucci 1992, 101 e 107).

- Hilberg 1912 = *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Opera (Sect. I Pars II). Epistularum pars II: Epitulae LXXI–CXX*, recensuit I. Hilberg, Vindobonae-Lipsiae (CSEL 55).
- Labourt 1955 = *Saint Jérôme. Lettres, Tome V*, texte établi et traduit par J. Labourt, Paris.
- Martianay 1690 = *Divi Hieronymi prodromus, sive Epistola Domni Johannis Martianay Ad omnes viros doctos ac studiosos cum Epistola Sancti Hieronymi ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, opera et studio eiusdem Domni Johannis Martianay, Lutetiae Parisiorum.
- r 1953 = *Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem, iussu PII PP. XII*, cura et studio monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti edita, X: *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione Sancti Hieronymi cum praefationibus et Epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, Romae.
- Weber - Gryson 2007 = *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, adiuvantibus B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele, recensuit et brevi apparatu critico instruxit R. Weber, Editionem quintam emendatam retractatam praeparavit R. Gryson, Stuttgart.

Volumi e contributi

- Bertolo *et al.* 2004 = F. M. Bertolo, P. Cherubini, G. Inglese, L. Miglio, *Breve storia della scrittura e del libro*, Roma (2^a rist. 2005).
- Cappelli 1929 = *Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane. Usate nelle carte e codici specialmente del medio-evo riprodotte con oltre 14000 segni incisi. Con l'aggiunta di uno studio sulla brachigrafia medioevale, un prontuario di Sigle Epigrafiche, l'antica numeraz. romana ed arabica ed i segni indicanti monete, pesi, misure, etc.*, per cura di A. Cappelli, terza edizione riveduta e corretta, Milano.
- Cherubini - Pratesi 2010 = P. Cherubini, A. Pratesi, *Paleografia latina. L'avventura grafica del mondo occidentale*, Città del Vaticano (*Littera antiqua* 16).
- Gamberale 2021 = L. Gamberale, *Come tradurre i salmi. Teoria e metodo nell'epistola 106 di Gerolamo*, in *Filologia e letteratura in san Gerolamo (nel XVI centenario dalla morte)*. Atti della XII

Giornata Ghisleriana di Filologia classica, a cura di F. Gasti, Campobasso (*Echo* 35), 7-53.

Graves 2022 = M. Graves, *Jerome, Epistle 106 (On the Psalms)*, Atlanta (*Writings from the Greco-roman World* 47).

Groth 1931-1953 = P.-M. Groth, *erado*, in *ThlL*, vol. V/2, Lipsiae, coll. 742-744.

Petrucchi 1992 = A. Petrucci, *Breve storia della scrittura latina. Nuova edizione riveduta e aggiornata*, Roma.

Scardia 2024 = D. Scardia, *Radere/eradere nel lessico esegetico e filologico di Gerolamo*, in *Atti del convegno Hieronymus und die Bibel. Schrift - Texte - Kontexte. Konstanz, 2. und 3. Dezember 2021*, in corso di stampa.

RECENZII ȘI NOTE BIBLIOGRAFICE / RECENSIONI E SCHEDE BIBLIOGRAFICHE

M. TULLI CICERONIS *Actionis secundae in C. Verrem: Liber V*, Luigi PIACENTE recognouit, adnotationes criticas et indices adiecit, Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU Dacoromanice uertit, notis atque commentariis instruxit, Luigi PIACENTE et Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU praefationem composuerunt = M. TULLIUS CICERO, *A doua acțiune împotriva lui Verres: Cartea a V-a*, restabilirea textului latin, apparatus criticus, indici de Luigi PIACENTE, traducere în limba română, note și comentarii de Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU, introduce de Luigi PIACENTE și Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU, Editura Universității din București, 2023, 180 p., ISBN 978-606-16-1317-5

Cicéron – une personnalité exceptionnelle. Durant ses études, il avait tellement épaté ses camarades par son intelligence et ses connaissances que les enfants disaient à leurs parents que dans leur classe il y avait quelqu'un qui sortait complètement de l'ordinaire ; les éloges étaient si chaleureux et si surprenants que les parents venaient à l'école pour s'en rendre compte par eux-mêmes¹. En l'année 70 av. J.-C., le jeune Cicéron remporte la victoire devant le *rex judiciorum*, dans la personne de Quintus Hortensius Hortalus, l'orateur le plus célèbre de l'époque, et entre dans les rangs des avocats couronnés de succès. Ce qui a valu cette renommée au jeune orateur, c'est le triomphe que lui a valu la toute première action du procès intenté par les Sicules contre l'ex-gouverneur spoliateur de la province de Sicile, Caius Verrès, procès dans lequel Cicéron a assumé le rôle d'accusateur.

Dans l'admirable apparition éditoriale de cette année, intitulée Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Seconde action contre Verrès, Livre cinquième*, les réputés philologues classiques Luigi Piacente et Claudia Tărnăuceanu se sont arrêtés sur ce moment retentissant de la carrière de Cicéron, en restaurant et en dotant d'un impressionnant appareil critique et d'une traduction en roumain l'un des sept discours juridiques où l'Arpinate plaide contre Verrès. Plus précisément, les deux spécialistes ont retenu le dernier discours de l'*Actio secunda* contre Verrès, intitulé *De suppliciis*, qui est, comme le souligne Claudia Tărnăuceanu, « le discours probablement le plus troublant de la série des *Verrines* »². Le titre latin de cette édition bilingue tant attendue

¹ Plut., *Cic.* 2.

² Marcus Tullius Cicero, *A doua acțiune împotriva lui Verres: Cartea a V-a* [*Seconde action contre Verrès, Livre cinquième*], restauration du texte latin, appareil critique,

est *Marci Tullii Ciceronis Actionis secundae in C. Verrem : Liber V*. Le volume a été publié cette année par les Presses de l'Université de Bucarest, dans une exemplaire collection savante appelée *Éditions de textes*, visant à publier « des éditions de textes appartenant à diverses périodes, de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne, avec des thèmes à l'intersection de plusieurs disciplines, qui peuvent intéresser à la fois les spécialistes et le grand public » (p. 2).

Les index, *Index nominum* et *Index auctorum*, les notes de bas de pages, accompagnant pertinemment le texte latin, l'examen des éditions, je me réfère ici au *Conspectus Editionum quae in apparatu critico commemorantur*, les sigles et les abréviations, à savoir *Sigla philologorum*, *Conspectus siglorum*, *Abbreviationes*, et la restauration du texte latin sont signés par le distingué classiciste italien Luigi Piacente, professeur à l'Università degli Studi di Bari. Il serait difficile d'énumérer toutes les réalisations scientifiques et culturelles de Luigi Piacente. Nous nous contenterons de mentionner le fait que l'étude des œuvres de Cicéron tient une place importante parmi les préoccupations de l'érudit barésien, ce qui se reflète dans les nombreuses études et articles consacrés à l'auteur romain, ainsi que dans son travail méticuleux de philologue et d'éditeur des œuvres cicéroniennes.

Ainsi, Luigi Piacente a classifié les manuscrits des *Verrines*, a analysé la numérotation et les titres des sept discours contre Verrès et a identifié de nouveaux fragments cicéroniens dans les œuvres de certains auteurs d'expression latine. Voici quelques titres : Un tal Cicerone ? (*Aug., Conf. 3, 4, 7*), dans *Auctores nostri*, 2010 ; *Le epistole di Cicerone nella biblioteca di Frontone*, dans *Aufidus*, 2006 ; *Cicerone a riflettóri spenti. Episodi della tradizione testuale di orazioni ed epistole*, dans *Invigilata Lucernis*, 2014, *Un nuovo frammento ciceroniano in Beda*, Herder, 1986. D'autre part, la traduction en roumain du dernier discours de la série des *Verrines*, la note sur l'édition, ainsi que les annotations et les commentaires ajoutés appartiennent à Claudia Tărnăuceanu, exceptionnelle philologue classique de Iași, maître de conférences à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza », vice-présidente de la Société d'Études Classiques – Filiale de Iași – et membre du Centre d'Études Classiques et Chrétiennes.

Outre ses nombreuses préoccupations philologiques, telles que les articles et les livres consacrés à la syntaxe ou à la morphologie de la langue latine ou les ouvrages dédiés à l'œuvre du savant moldave Dimitrie Cantemir, Claudia Tărnăuceanu n'a cessé d'étudier, de traduire et d'éditer les discours cicéroniens. La récente traduction du dernier livre de l'*Actio secunda*

index par Luigi Piacente, traduction roumaine, notes et commentaires par Claudia Tărnăuceanu, introduction par Luigi Piacente et Claudia Tărnăuceanu, Presses de l'Université de Bucarest, 2023, p. 12. Veuillez noter que pour les références futures dans la présente édition, nous indiquerons la page entre parenthèses.

du discours *In Verrem orationes septem* vient donc compléter certaines préoccupations scientifiques en ce sens ; *exempli gratia* : deux autres éditions de la série des *Verrines* : Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In C. Verrem actio prima/ Premier discours contre Verrès*, Iași, 2014 ; et Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In Q. Caecilius oratio quae divinatio dicitur/ Le discours contre Quintus Caecilius appelé „divinatio”*, Iași, 2013, ou bien Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In L. Catilinam orationes quatuor / Les quatre oraisons contre Catiline*, 2013, dont Claudia Tărnăuceanu a traduit le premier discours des *Catilinaires*.

Ces efforts de notre collègue Claudia Tărnăuceanu voués à la traduction des discours cicéroniens font partie d'un domaine d'intérêt plus large, correspondant à l'édition et à la traduction de l'œuvre monumentale de Cicéron, un domaine brillamment représenté, depuis longtemps, par les spécialistes et aux chercheurs de Iași, dont Traian Diaconescu, Mihaela Paraschiv, Nelu Zugravu, Constantin Răchită ou Constantin-Ionuț Mihai, qui ont contribué à la publication des textes de Cicéron dans des éditions bilingues de haute qualité scientifique. Ainsi, sous la direction de ces spécialistes, ont vu le jour : les *Philippiques*³, les *Catilinaires*⁴, les ouvrages de philosophie à caractère métaphysique : *De divinatione*⁵, *De Fato*⁶, *De natura deorum*⁷, *Topica*⁸, *Partitiones oratoriae*, *De optimo genere oratorum*⁹, *Paradoxa*

³ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Philippicae/ Filipice [Les Philippiques]*, Volume I, édition bilingue, traduction et index par Mihaela Paraschiv, note sur l'édition par Mihaela Paraschiv et Nelu Zugravu, notes et commentaires par Nelu Zugravu, étude introductive par Constantin Sălăvăștru, Iași, Presses de l'Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » de Iași, 2019.

⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *In L. Catilinam orationes quatuor/ Cele patru cuvântări împotriva lui L. Catilina [Les quatre discours contre L. Catiline]*, édition bilingue, coordonnée par Mihaela Paraschiv, traduction, note historique, notes et commentaires par Claudia Tărnăuceanu (*Catilinara I = La Première Catilinaire*), Constantin Răchită (*Catilinara II = La Deuxième Catilinaire*), Constantin Ionuț Mihai (*Catilinara III = La Troisième Catilinaire*), Mihaela Paraschiv (*Catilinara IV = La Quatrième Catilinaire*), index par Claudia Tărnăuceanu, étude introductive par Constantin Sălăvăștru, Iași, Presses de l'Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » de Iași, 2013.

⁵ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Despre divinație [De divinatione/ De la divination]*, édition bilingue, traduction de Gabriela Haja et Mihaela Paraschiv, étude introductive et notes de Mihaela Paraschiv, Iași, Polirom, 1998.

⁶ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Despre destin [De fato/ Le destin]*, édition bilingue, étude introductive, traduction, notes et commentaires de Mihaela Paraschiv, Iași, Polirom, 2000.

⁷ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Despre natura zeilor [De natura deorum/ La nature des dieux]*, édition bilingue, traduction, étude introductive, notes et index par Mihaela Paraschiv, Iași, Presses de l'Université „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” de Iași, 2016.

⁸ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Topica. Despre argument [Topica/ Les topiques]*, Texte bilingue latin-roumain, traduction, préliminaires, notes, commentaires et index par Traian Diaconescu, étude introductive par Constantin Sălăvăștru, Iași, Presses de l'Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza » de Iași, 2010.

⁹ Les traités de rhétorique *Partitiones oratoriae* et *De optimo genere oratorum* sont parus, en traduction, dans : Cicéron, *Arta oratoriei [L'art oratoire]*, édition bilingue,

*Stoicorum*¹⁰ et bien d'autres. Tout cela confirme l'existence, à Iași, d'une véritable orientation de recherche visant à publier des éditions critiques rigoureuses des œuvres de Cicéron.

Nous précisons que nous n'avons pas utilisé ici le terme « scientifique » à la légère, mais pour souligner les mérites réels de ces éditions minutieuses et solides, qui, comme celle d'aujourd'hui, ont été présentées au public dans leur version bilingue, avec des études liminaires approfondies, un appareil critique, des notes et des commentaires attentivement élaborés, des index et des acronymes, ainsi qu'une bibliographie rigoureusement mise à jour. Il faut également rappeler le fait que, dans notre pays, les auteurs classiques n'ont pas toujours été édités de manière adéquate ; les maisons d'édition ont parfois tout misé sur la traduction en roumain d'un texte classique, sans joindre, en miroir, le texte latin, voire, pire encore, elles ont parfois omis d'inclure l'appareil critique, l'étude liminaire, les notes et les commentaires ou la bibliographie qui s'imposent afin d'assurer une réception avisée du corpus et de le contextualiser de manière adéquate.

Pour revenir à la récente édition dont il est question aujourd'hui, nous souhaitons mettre en évidence le sérieux de la démarche, ainsi que l'ampleur du résultat : le texte latin de la dernière oraison de l'*Actio secunda* des *Verrines* a été non seulement reproduit, mais intégralement restauré par le professeur Luigi Piacente, étant doté d'un considérable *apparatus criticus*, revu et enrichi par rapport à celui de l'édition *M. Tulli Ciceronis Actionis secundae in C. Verrem. Liber V*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1975, dirigée par le même Luigi Piacente et dont le texte original latin a d'ailleurs été suivi par Claudia Tărnăuceanu en vue de l'équivalence philologique en roumain. La traduction à la fois naturelle et subtile que cette philologue classique roumaine propose du texte cicéronien témoigne d'un véritable talent littéraire et d'une érudition enrichissant la version roumaine de notes et de commentaires aidant le lecteur – spécialiste ou non en la matière – à mieux saisir le contexte historique et juridique où a été composé le discours, ou encore les aspects linguistiques de celui-ci. Nous tenons à préciser, en outre, que, dans la culture roumaine, les *Verrines* apparaissent pour la première fois dans une édition critique bilingue.

Jusqu'à présent, le cinquième livre de l'*Actio secunda* des *Verrines* a connu seulement deux traductions : l'une, très ancienne et dépassée, du dé-

texte latin et traduction, accompagnés d'une étude introductive, de notes et d'un index par Traian Diaconescu, Bucarest, Saeculum I.O., 2006.

¹⁰ Cicéron, *Paradoxurile stoicilor* [*Paradoxa Stoicorum*/ *Les Paradoxes des stoïciens*], édition bilingue, traduction, note sur l'édition, notes et commentaires, index et postface par Traian Diaconescu, préface par Gheorghe Vlăduțescu, Bucarest, Saeculum Vizual, 2011.

but du XX^e siècle¹¹, appartenant à I. Suchianu, et l'autre, incomplète, de Daniel Ganea, incluse il y a un demi-siècle dans un choix de textes extraits de l'œuvre de Cicéron¹².

Nous saluons donc vivement la publication de cette édition critique, intégrale et de parfaite actualité, réunissant tous les éléments d'un appareil critique rigoureux. Périodiquement, les nouvelles générations de philologues classiques devraient se pencher sur les grands textes des auteurs classiques afin de surpasser et de doter de nouveaux éclairages les versions de leurs prédécesseurs. L'édition dont il est ici question atteste sans réserve que cela est déjà une réalité.

J'aimerais m'arrêter maintenant sur l'étude liminaire bipartite. Dans la première partie, consacrée à l'ensemble des *Verrines*, Luigi Piacente rappelle le contexte dans lequel eut lieu le procès de l'année 70 av. J.-C. Verrès avait commis de nombreux actes de pillage en Sicile entre 73 et 70 av. J.-C. Cicéron l'accusa, à la demande des Sicules. En 77, suivant la mort de Sylla, Cicéron revint à Rome après un voyage en Orient (en Asie Mineure, dans l'île de Rhodes, à Athènes) et, en 75 av. J.-C., il devint *quaestor* en Sicile, à Lilybée, où il se fit remarquer comme un administrateur des finances juste et averti. L'incorruptibilité que Cicéron avait montrée à l'époque détermina, plus tard, les Sicules à l'élire en tant que *patronus*, le défenseur de leurs intérêts à Rome. Après ce procès, Verrès fut exilé, mais il repartit avec toute sa fortune.

L'attention que Luigi Piacente accorde aux détails est en tous points remarquable. Nous apprenons, par exemple, que : Verrès fit un usage abusif de la *Lex Cornelia de imperio*, en prolongeant sa période de gouvernement au-delà de la limite fixée (p. 7) ; que Cicéron remplit, en 75 av. J.-C., l'office de *quaestor* auprès du préteur Sextus Peducaeus (p. 7) ; ou encore que, pour éviter la condamnation, Verrès fit semblant d'être malade et partit en exil volontaire à Marseille, où il resta jusqu'à ce qu'il devînt à son tour victime d'un abus, car Antonius, envieux des œuvres d'art volées par Verrès en Sicile, inclut celui-ci sur ses listes de proscrits (p. 8). En même temps, Luigi Piacente fait des allusions pertinentes à la structure composite du corpus des *Verrines*, qui pourrait être la même que celle des originaux cicéroniens (p. 8), et souligne, par exemple, que, pendant l'Antiquité tardive, seuls certains grammairiens préfèrent la numérotation « heptadique », tandis que la plupart adoptent le système de citation « pentadique ». Luigi Piacente aborde aussi la question des titres des sept discours du corpus des *Verrines*,

¹¹ M. Tullius Cicero, *Verrinele* [*Les Verrines*], Tome II, traduit par I. Suchianu, Bucurest, Casa Școalelor, 1925.

¹² Cicero, *Despre torturi* [*De suppliciis/ Des supplices*], trad. par Daniel Ganea, dans *Opere alese* [*Œuvres choisies*], Tome I, éd. par Gh. Guțu, Bucurest, Univers, 1973, 202-248.

qui ne peuvent vraisemblablement pas être attribués à Cicéron (p. 9), ou bien il analyse la tradition manuscrite des discours prononcés par Cicéron contre Verrès (p. 10), reposant, aujourd'hui, sur 80 codex, dont le plus ancien remonte au IV^e s. apr. J.-C. (*Palimpsesti Vaticani fragmenta, Reginensis 2077*). En conclusion, Luigi Piacente souligne que cette dernière oraison des *Verrines* est « une merveilleuse synthèse de tous les méfaits commis par le gouverneur de Sicile » ou bien « une sorte de *peroratio* de tous les discours » (p. 10).

Dans la seconde partie de l'introduction, consacrée surtout à la Cinquième *Verrine*, Claudia Tărnăuceanu signale l'unicité de cette série de discours destinés à accuser le préteur Verrès : « Suivirent les *Verrines*, qui, parmi toutes les oraisons du rhéteur, tiennent une place à part, représentant ses seuls discours juridiques d'accusation publiés. » (p. 11). Claudia Tărnăuceanu note également que, dans la Rome antique, le rôle du défenseur était apprécié, alors que celui de l'accusateur, *actor causae*, était quelque peu dédaigné (p. 11). Cicéron met cependant en évidence, très adroitement, l'essence de son positionnement : il ne souhaitait pas particulièrement devenir l'accusateur de Verrès, mais avait plutôt l'intention de défendre les Sicules et de leur rendre justice (p. 11). De toute évidence, accessoirement, Cicéron profita de l'occasion, selon Claudia Tărnăuceanu, pour affronter une fois de plus l'orateur le plus titré de l'époque, à savoir Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (p. 11). Dans la dernière oraison des *Verrines*, précise Claudia Tărnăuceanu, Cicéron chercha à sensibiliser les lecteurs « par la véhémence de son langage, l'abondance des détails émotionnels, la négation de toute qualité de l'accusé et la caractérisation de celui-ci reposant exclusivement sur des vices » (p. 12). La philologue classique roumaine observe que l'Arpinate joint les éléments juridiques aux éléments de nature morale et affective, en insérant parmi les preuves relatives à l'accusation de concussion des témoignages liés à la moralité de Verrès qui ne sont pas étroitement liés à l'affaire (p. 12). L'orateur insiste sur les actes de cruauté dirigés en particulier envers les citoyens romains. Verrès n'était pas seulement responsable d'une punition abusive des coupables, il bafouait la qualité même de citoyen romain. L'excellente version roumaine fournie par Claudia Tărnăuceanu dans l'édition qui nous occupe permet une analyse détaillée de ces épisodes, surtout si l'on y parcourt les notes de référence, qui mettent au clair de nombreux aspects d'ordre littéraire, linguistique, juridique, historique ou rhétorique. Un premier obstacle que doit surmonter Cicéron est « la réputation de bon général » / *boni nomen imperatoris* (p. 27) de Verrès. Progressivement, en utilisant divers procédés rhétoriques tels que la *sustentatio* (le « maintien en suspens » (p. 139) ; les notes de bas de page présentent Quintilien citant des passages de Cicéron pour exemplifier les procédés rhétoriques d'usage) ou l'*amplificatio* (« amplification, grossissement »), Cicéron démontre que Verrès est « un général d'une nouvelle espèce » (p. 43) / *novo quodam ex genere im-*

perator (p. 42), qui, au lieu de se faire distinguer dans les guerres, comme Paulus, Scipion et Marius (p. 32 et 33), se fait remarquer pendant « la bataille de la luxure à Cannes » (p. 43)/ *Cannensem pugnam nequitiae* (p. 42). Si Hortensius Hortalus devait agir comme l'orateur grec Hypéride et déchirer les vêtements de Phryné, ou bien comme Marcus Antonius, le grand-père du triumvir homonyme, qui coupa la tunique du consul Marcus Aquilius « pour que le peuple romain et les juges voient ses traces de blessures au visage » (p. 27)/ *ut cicatrices populus Romanus iudicesque adspicerent aduerso corpore exceptas* (p. 26), alors, à propos de Verrès, une fois le torse de celui-ci mis à nu, l'avocat de la défense ne trouverait, dit Cicéron, que « les cicatrices des morsures de femmes, des traces de la débauche et de la méchanceté » (p. 45)/ *cicatrices [...] ex mulierum morsu vestigia libidinis atque nequitiae* (p. 44). De même, Verrès n'est pas « un préteur ordinaire » (p. 35) / *mediocris praetor* (p. 34), mais un préteur abusif et injuste, qui, au lieu de suivre le traditionnel *mos maiorum* (p. 36-37) et d'agir « avec gravité et sévérité » (p. 39) / *graviter severeque* (p. 38) à l'égard des vrais coupables, libère « des esclaves condamnés par ce crime qui menace la tête et la vie de tous les hommes libres. » (p. 33) / *eius facinoris damnatos servos quod ad omnium liberorum caput et sanguinem pertineret* (p. 32). Au lieu de condamner des coupables avérés, Verrès élève sur la croix des citoyens romains. Le rôle de l'épisode tragique de Gavius de Consa est souligné tant par Luigi Piacente, que par Claudia Tărnăuceanu à travers l'introduction, la traduction, les notes de bas de page ou l'index des noms/ *Index nominum* : « Sur la croix as-tu osé crucifier quelqu'un qui disait être citoyen romain ? » (p. 121) / *In crucem tu agere ausus es quemquam qui se civem Romanum esse diceret ?* (p. 120) ou « Mais que <dire> de plus au sujet de Gavius ? [...] Vous étiez, dis-je, l'ennemi non pas de cet homme, mais de la cause commune de la liberté. » (p. 125) / *Sed quid ego plura de Gauio? [...] Non illi, inquam, homini, sed causae communi libertatis inimicus fuisti.* (p. 124).

De nombreux passages de la traduction reflètent les gestes oratoires de Cicéron, son habileté à manier l'ironie et les procédés rhétoriques. Il y a d'ingénieuses transpositions des questions répétées et abruptes qui harcèlent l'auditeur : « Que dis-tu ? » (p. 29)/ *Quid dicis ?* (p. 28) ; « Que dis-tu, bon gardien et défenseur de la province ? » (p. 33)/ *Quid ais, bone custos defensorque provinciae ?* (p. 32) et d'éloquentes versions des impressionnantes images plastiques évoquées par Cicéron. Le texte en roumain laisse voir l'attitude incisive, tourmentée, transportée de Cicéron l'orateur. Le phrasé en roumain bouleverse, frappe, incite et stimule le lecteur. La dernière oraison de Cicéron ne fut plus jamais prononcée. Toutefois, rien que sous sa forme écrite, elle vibre et nous touche, dans son expression latine aussi bien que dans sa transposition roumaine.

Sur ce, nous vous invitons à prendre contact avec la première édition critique bilingue du Cinquième livre du corpus des *Verrines* et à lire cette émouvante oraison dans la version proposée par Luigi Piacente et Claudia Tărnăuceanu.

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AURELIO VITTORE, *De Caesaribus*, traduzione, introduzione e commento a cura di Mario IERARDI, Amazon Fulfillment, Wrocław, 2023, 219 p., ISBN 9798398123869

Ocupându-ne de peste un deceniu și jumătate de breviarul latin din veacul al IV-lea Sextus Aurelius Victor, am constatat cu surprindere că, spre deosebire de mediul cultural francez, german, englez, spaniol, rus, românesc, în cel italian nu există nicio ediție integrală bilingvă sau doar tradusă a scrierii acestuia *Historiae abbreviatae* sau *Liber de Caesaribus* (*De Caesaribus*, *Caesares*), deși exegeza dedicată istoriografiei Antichității târzii din peninsula îl pomenește adesea. Foarte recent, însă, un pasionat incurabil de civilizația romană, Mario Ierardi, venit dinafara mediului universitar, a oferit, pe speze proprii, prima traducere italiană a lucrării amintite – fapt pe care trebuie să-l salutăm cu toată bucuria și recunoștința, gândindu-ne că poate fi un stimulent pentru realizarea unei întreprinderi științifice, de nivel academic. După o *Premessa* (p. 3) ce precede Cuprinsul (p. 5), ediția are următoarele secțiuni: *Introduzione* (p. 7-13), *Abbreviazioni* (p. 15), textul italian al breviarului (p. 17-105), *Cronologia* extrem de utilă (p. 107-123), *Bibliografia* (p. 125-129), *Note* ce conțin explicații utile și corecte despre personalități, evenimente politice, militare, religioase, instituții, monumente, precum și trimiteri la alte izvoare sau scurte indicații bibliografice (p. 131-204), *Mappe* (p. 205-208), *Cartine* (p. 209-212), *Appendice* (p. 213-217).

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Fanny DEL CHICCA, *L'importanza di nascere clarissimus: per l'interpretazione dell'oratio VIII di Simmaco*, Morlacchi Editore U.P., Perugia, 2023, 194 p., ISBN: 978-88-9392-448-1

Exegeza operei lui Symmachus este inegală¹. Cercetătorul interesat poate consulta în limba franceză ediția completă a lucrărilor sale – *Epistulae, Relationes* și *Orationes*, realizată de Jean-Pierre Callu²; corespondența sa personală și administrativă este accesibilă, fie și parțial, în limbile engleză³, germană⁴ și italiană⁵. De asemenea, remarcăm existența unor traduceri ale discursurilor lui Symmachus – mai puțin riguroase, concepute în scop didactic, în spațiul academic nord-american⁶. Cu totul altfel se prezintă acest bilanț dacă avem în vedere comentariile istorice care au apărut în ultimele decenii. În acest sens, putem menționa proiectul istoriografic italian de *commenti storici* dedicat corespondenței personale⁷ și administrative⁸ ale autorului tardoantic.

Din colecția de opt discursuri ale lui Symmachus, doar prima *oratio* s-a bucurat de o astfel de inițiativă⁹. La patru decenii distanță, Fanny Del Chicca semnează o nouă lucrare, de această dată despre *Or. VIII Pro Valerio Fortunato*, un izvor de o importantă „valore di testimonianza storico-istituzionale” (p. 21) pentru perioada postconstantiniană. Pe baza sa, editorul își propune să cerceteze unele probleme specifice pe care le ridică exercitarea magistraturilor inferioare din *cursus honorum* senatorial (*quaestor, praetor*), păstrarea rangului de *clarissimus* sau accederea în Senat în a doua parte a secolului IV.

Lucrarea cuprinde patru capitole, fiind precedate de o scurtă prefață (*Premesso*, p. 9-11).

Primul capitol, intitulat *L'autore e l'opera* (p. 11-36), are o structură clasică, autorul împărțind materialul introductiv în mai multe subcapitole dedicate vieții și operei lui Symmachus. În prima parte, biografia este prezentată pe scurt, aproape didactic, urmărind îndeaproape cariera sa politică (principalele magistraturi deținute, raporturile cu Curtea imperială); punctul culminant al activității publice a senatorului – implicarea în controversa

¹ Seeck 1883 a rămas pentru mult timp singura ediție critică modernă.

² *Epistulae* – Callu 1972-2002; *Orationes, Relationes* – Callu 2009.

³ *Relationes* – Barrow 1973. *Epistulae*: cartea I – Salzman and Roberts 2011.

⁴ *Orationes* – Pabst 1989.

⁵ *Epistulae*, cartea VIII – Ruta 2023.

⁶ *E.g.*, *Or. I-VII*, translated by Barbara Saylor Rodgers – <https://www.uvm.edu/~bsaylor/>

⁷ Cartea I – Vera 1981; Cartea II – Cecconi 2002; cartea III – Pelizzari 1998; cartea IV – Marcone 1987; cartea V – Rivolta Tibergera 1992; cartea VI – Marcone 1983; cartea IX – Roda 1981.

⁸ Vera 1981.

⁹ Del Chicca 1984.

altarului zeiței Victoria, este tratat superficial, inclusiv printr-o trimitere bibliografică puțin relevantă (n. 43, p. 20), în care Del Chicca discută nuanțele toleranței sale religioase față de creștinism (e.g., F. Canfora – „tolleranza repressiva”). În partea a doua, noțiunile introductive despre *Orationes* sunt judicios sistematizate, Del Chicca prezentând informații utile despre tradiția scrisă a *corpus*-ului encomiastic, mărturii ale discursurilor pierdute – inclusiv cel susținut în onoarea uzurpatorului Magnus Maximus în 388, conținutul tematic al celor opt *orationes* fragmentare care s-au păstrat – în fine, o caracterizare generală a stiliului oratorului tardoantic („eloquenzia symmachiana”, p. 35-36), marcat prin concizie (*brevitas*) și varietate lexicală (*copia dicendi*).

Capitolul al II-lea, intitulat *Le condizione per l'ammissione al Senato nel IV secolo D.C.* (p. 37-86), ocupă cea mai importantă parte a cărții. Del Chicca își propune să investigheze aici cele mai importante probleme pe care le ridică procesul de accedere în Senatul tardoantic. În ciuda unor studii speciale, semnate de A. Chastagnol sau P. Garbarino, nu au putut fi clarificate satisfăcător toate detaliile acestui subiect istoric complex. Prin urmare, Del Chicca are dificila sarcină de a propune noi soluții sau corecta opinii deja încetățenite în istoriografie. În acest sens, istoricul italian a reluat lectura principalelor izvoare ale vremii, în special edictele imperiale, adăugând însă și *testimonia* inedite oferite de discursul VIII al lui Symmachus sau unele *epistulae* și *relationes* din opera sa. În analiza pe care a făcut-o, autorul nu se limitează doar la spațiul occidental al Imperiului, ci urmărește și evoluția noului Senat constantinopolitan, care este bine reflectată în izvoarele perioadei.

Dintre cele mai importante concluzii la care a ajuns Del Chicca, menționăm: 1. din punct de vedere terminologic, în mărturiile perioadei, termenul *clarissimus* nu este sinonim cu *senator*; 2. obligativitatea asumării de către *clarissimi* din naștere a magistraturii de *quaestor* sau *praetor* pentru admiterea în Senat; 3. *sumptus* obligatoriu impus pentru candidați, care este însă atent reglementat de autoritatea imperială în funcție de *dignitas* a candidatului, inclusiv pentru cazuri speciale (cei aflați în imposibilitatea de a și le permite financiar); 4. vârsta medie a fiilor de senatori care își asumă primele magistraturi, plecând de la *epigraphic habit* al perioadei, este în jur de 20 de ani; 5. Senatul își afirmă dreptul de a ratifica primirea oricărui candidat din afara ordinului senatorial (*adlectio*), cu mențiunea că cei admiși trebuiau să asigure jocuri publice (*munia publica*).

Un alt capitol, intitulat *Un onere peculiare: la functio glebalis* (p. 87-106), este circumscris unei singure problematici, cea a taxei funciare (*gleba*) (având la bază „proprietă fondiară” – p. 88) plătită de membrii ordinului senatorial tezaurului imperial începând cu domnia lui Constantin I. Del Chicca prezintă evoluția sa, remarcând că era o „onere personale, strettamente connesso al rango” (p. 89). Analiza este completată de mai multe

cazuri specifice privind aplicarea sa pe parcursul secolului IV, în principal exempțiuni, dar și erori birocratice (dublă taxare). La mijlocul veacului V, această obligație fiscală este desființată în Imperiul răsăritean, de către împăratul Marcian, dispariția sa în *pars Occidentalis* fiind presupusă mai târziu, în secolul VI.

În fine, ultimul capitol, *Testo critico, traduzione e commento dell' Oratio VIII* (p. 109-148), cuprinde textul, traducerea și comentariul discursului VIII. Textul latin al discursului, al cărui început s-a pierdut, din păcate, este reprodus după ediția critică a lui Otto Seeck și cea mai recentă semnată de Jean-Pierre Callu; în aparatul critic sunt menționate coruptelele, emendările propuse de autorul italian. Traducerea este însoțită de un bilanț al receptării discursului în istoriografie (*I nodi della vicenda*, p. 112-116); soluțiile propuse de istorici de-a lungul timpului subliniază importanța unei interpretări istorice adecvate, care are în vedere prefacererile legislative care au afectat ordinul senatorial în secolul IV. Comentariul propus de Del Chicca (p. 117-148) aduce astfel necesare clarificări textului symmachian, precum cea referitoare la obținerea titlului de *clarissimus* în această perioadă și implicațiile sale, la care face aluzie un fragment din paragraful 1 al textului – *quod mater familias in usum vertit suorum* (p. 119-122).

Cartea se încheie cu *Bibliografia* (p. 149-184) și *Indice dei nomi delle cose notevoli* (p. 185-193). Din bibliografia de la final lipsesc unele articole semnate de John Weisweiler, utile pentru înțelegerea Senatului în secolul IV, mai ales că fac trimitere frecvent la opera lui Symmachus¹⁰.

Lucrarea semnată de Fanny Del Chicca continuă tradiția istoriografică italiană de *commenti storici* dedicate operei autorului tardoantic. Regăsim în acest tom aceeași preocupare pentru acribia istorică și filologică, eleganța stilistică, inclusiv în contexte polemice (*e.g.*, p. 38-40). Volumul recenzat se impune ca o lucrare extrem de utilă pentru cei interesați în mod particular de anumite aspecte ale ordinului senatorial tardoantic în *pars Occidentalis* și de discursurile lui Symmachus. În continuare, așteptăm o astfel de cercetare și pentru celelalte *orationes*, a căror relevanță istorică, ideologică, retorică pentru această perioadă este întrecută doar de *Panegyrici Latini*.

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PAUL N. PEARSON, *The Roman Empire in Crisis, 248-260. When the Gods Abandoned Rome*, Pen & Sword Military, South Yorkshire, 2022, 312 p., ISBN 978 1 39909 097 1

Paul N. Pearson holds the position of Professorial Research Associate at University College London and serves as an Honorary Professor at Cardiff University in Wales, UK. Stratigraphy, paleobiology, micropaleontology, and paleoclimatology are among his fields of interest. In 2016, Paul N. Pearson commenced his academic career within the realm of historians by publishing the volume *Maximinus Thrax: From Common Soldier to Emperor of Rome* under the banner of the British publishing house Pen & Sword. We presented the book in the context of a scientific meeting organized on November 14, 2019 by the Center for Classical and Christian Studies and the Ancient History and Archeology Student Circle, Faculty of History, “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University from Iasi; using a review format, our conclusions were published in Romanian, in issue 15/2020 of *Classica et Christiana* (ISSN: 1842 – 3043 / e-ISSN: 2393 – 2961), as well as in English, in issue 26/1, 2020 of *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* (ISSN 1224-2284 / ISSN-L 1224-2284).

Sword & Pen published *The Roman Empire in Crisis, 248-260. When the Gods Abandoned Rome* in 2022, and it is divided into two parts: part I, *Philip to Decius, 248-251*, comprised of the chapters 1-6: Chapter I: *Empire at the Millennium* (p. 3-17); Chapter II: *Rebels* (p. 18-32); Chapter III: *The Forces of Conservatism* (p. 33-42); Chapter IV: *Escalation of the Gothic War* (p. 43-57); Chapter V: *Ostrogotha Takes the Initiative* (p. 58-81); Chapter VI: *The Road to Atritus* (p. 82- 105); part II, *Gallus to Valerian, 251-260*, comprised of the chapters 7-12: Chapter VII: *Gallus* (p. 109-126); Chapter VIII: *253: World in Flames* (p. 127-155); Chapter IX: *Restorers of the Human Race* (p. 156-175); Chapter X: *Turbulence* (p. 176-193); Chapter XI: *Nadir* (p. 194-211); Chapter XII: *Disintegration* (p. 212-230); the chapters are preceded by *Acknowledgements* (p. vi), *List of Plates* (p. vii-viii), *List of Maps* (p. ix-xii), *Introduction* (p. xiii-xiv), *Prollogue: Millennium* (p. xv-xxi) and are followed by *Epilogue: Rome Abandons the Gods* (p. 231-236), *Literature Cited* (p. 237-255), *Notes* (p. 256-294) and *Index* (p. 295-312).

In the introductory section, Paul N. Pearson **underscores that, notwithstanding his scholarly credentials, his objective is not directed exclusively towards the academic community**. Rather, he aims to engage a broader audience encompassing individuals with an interest in ancient history (p. xiii). Consequently, the present publication encapsulates a synthesis of pivotal events shaping Roman society over a 12-year timeframe, spanning from 248 to 260. This period is integral to what is historically denoted as the Crisis of the Third Century or the era of Military

Anarchy. The era marked by socio-political instability, spanning from 235 to 284, commenced under the rule of Emperor Maximinus Thrax (235-238). While some researchers posit the roots of this instability reaching back to an earlier phase, its resolution unfolded within the context of the ascendancy of Emperor Diocletianus (284-305). Over a span of 50 years, Roman society witnessed the governance of 27 emperors and grappled with destabilization caused by approximately 33 usurpers. It confronted a series of barbarian invasions, engaged in military campaigns against its perennial adversary, the Persian Empire led by the Sassanid dynasty. Furthermore, the Roman Empire confronted a myriad of challenges, including natural disasters, such as epidemics (the notorious Plague of Cyprian), which afflicted numerous provinces between 249 and 270. Additionally, the epoch was marked by the impact of climate change. In addition to the aforementioned challenges, it is imperative to note that commencing from the year 260, the Roman world underwent a political fragmentation into three distinct entities. The first among these was the Gallic Empire, consolidating the provinces of *Gallia*, *Britannia*, and *Hispania*. Notable figures who assumed the imperial mantle during this period include Postumus (260-269), Marius (269), Victorinus (269-271), Victoria (271), Tetricus I (271-274), and his son Tetricus II (273-274). This political landscape was further complicated by the presence of usurpers such as Laellianus (269), Domitianus II (271), and Faustinus (273/274). In the eastern domains, specifically spanning the provinces of *Syria* and *Aegyptus*, the Palmyrene Empire emerged as a distinct political entity. The orchestrator of the state affairs during this period was the noteworthy female figure, Zenobia (272-274). Intermediate to these two entities stood the Roman Empire, with its seat of governance located in *Urbs Aeterna*.

According to Pearson, delving into the historical period ahead poses a formidable challenge in terms of research, because “events are fast-moving and intricate and the historical sources are particularly patchy and challenging to interpret”; however, “significant archaeological finds have been made that are directly relevant to the period” (p. xiii-xiv); an archaeological discovery of significant importance is the battlefield at *Abritus*, a site that the author personally visited, as detailed in the provided information (p. xiv). According to Pearson, this period in the evolution of Roman society is deemed “of extreme crisis”, marked by military, political, economic, social, and spiritual conflicts. However, unequivocally, it also signifies “the most extraordinary phase of its history” (p. xxi).

Continuing from the biography of the first soldier-emperor, Maximinus Thrax, the book is skillfully written by the author, ensuring a reader-friendly experience. Within its pages, readers encounter two predominant categories of characters. On one hand, the protagonists of the book are the Romans, led by key figures including Philippus Arabs (244-249), Traianus

Decius (249-251), Trebonianus Gallus (251-253), Valerianus (253-260), and Gallienus (253-268). On the other hand, the antagonists in the present work are the Goths, represented by figures such as Ostrogotha and Cniva (p. 14-16, 18, 20-21, 27-29, 34, 43-48, 57-61, 66-69, 71-75, 78-83, 85, 90, 92-94, 97, 99-100, 103-105, 109-110, 117, 120-123, 127, 141, 145, 151-153, 155, 160-162, 164, 167, 172, 174, 178-181, 187, 194-195). Additionally, the Persians play a significant antagonistic role (p. 3, 12-15, 25, 117-120, 127-130, 132, 134-137, 139-142, 144, 152, 165, 181-186, 199-200, 202-207, 209-211, 213-214, 216-218, 228, 233). Armenians make occasional appearances in the narrative (p. 117-120, 142). Moreover, the book features additional "special guests", including Roman emperors such as Severus Alexander (222-235) (p. 138, 202), Gordianus III (238-244) (p. 12, 25), Aurelianus (270-275) (p. 166, 170-171, 233), Probus (276-282) (p. 166, 171). The narrative also introduces various usurpers like Pacatianus (p. 20-22, 25-27, 29, 46, 52, 227), Iotapianus (p. 22-26, 34, 185, 227), Iulius Valens Licinianus (p. 61-62), Titus Iulius Priscus (p. 71-72, 75, 81, 83), Marcus Aemilius Aemilianus (p. 115, 122-123, 127, 141-148, 160, 162, 164), Mariades (Myrades/Mariades/Mariadnes/Cyriades/Kyriades) (p. 127-129), Uranius (p. 138-141, 164-165, 185), Silbannacus (p. 147-150), Ingennus (p. 187-189, 192, 212, 224), Aureolus (p. 188-189, 212), Cecrops (p. 212, 223), Antoninus (p. 212), Ballista (p. 213-216), Regalianus (p. 224-225, 228, 232), Sponsianus (p. 225-228, 232), Macrianus (p. 228-229, 232-233), the rebel Faraxen (p. 201-202), and rulers from the Gallic and Palmyrean sphere of influence such as Septimius Odenathus (p. 184-186, 193, 217, 228, 232-233), Zenobia (p. 233), Postumus (p. 189, 200, 219, 221-223, 228-229, 231-233).

In evaluating the worth of this book, a **threefold perspective** emerges. Firstly, the author's writing approach accommodates readers unfamiliar with ancient/Roman history, as well as prospective students venturing into the realm of knowledge to better grasp this era. Secondly, the book's value is accentuated by the application of a scientific methodology in presenting historical events, ensuring a thorough and scholarly examination of the subject matter. Lastly, the writing style of the author contributes to the overall appeal and comprehension of the narrative, enhancing the reader's engagement with the material.

Concerning **readers**, Pearson assumes the role of a professor who, with understanding, patience, and compassion, cultivates an atmosphere akin to attending a history seminar. He adeptly imparts information and explanations that span diverse areas of interest, fostering an enriching and engaging learning experience:

a) the author employs toponymy, incorporating both ancient and contemporary names of cities or regions in the narrative; this inclusive approach provides a comprehensive perspective that acknowledges historical as well as modern geographical designations (p. 21, 23, 27, 34, 37, 39, 41-2, 46-47,

50, 52, 55, 59, 67, 74-75, 85, 94, 118, 123, 134-135, 139, 142, 145, 150-151, 153, 162, 169, 174-175, 178-179, 189, 195, 197-198, 201, 209, 212, 221-222, 282-283 (note 16));

b) the author delves into etymology, offering insights into the origins and meanings of certain words: *palimpests* (p. 43); *ostrogoths* (p. 44-45) etc.;

c) the author engages in elucidating the significance of certain ancient phrases: 1) **miscellaneous**: *ludi saeculares* (p. xvi); *senectus mundi* (p. xvi); *via sacra* (p. xvi); *thermoperipatos* (p. 67); *oikonomos* (p. 121); *arena* (p. xix); *officinae* (p. xix); *provincia* (p. xx); *mare nostrum* (p. xxi); *pax romana* (p. xxi); *stipendium militum* (p. 5); *religio licita* (p. 8); *superstitio* (p. 8); *barbaricum* (p. 14); *classis moesica* (p. 18); *alae* (p. 20); *cohortes equitata* (p. 20); *cohors equitata sagittariorum* (p. 20, 58); *cohors sagittariorum* (p. 20); *frumentarii* (p. 21, 192); *via diagonalis* (p. 21); *sacramentum* (p. 26, 29); *equites singulares augusti* (p. 31); *via postumia* (p. 31); *censor* (p. 36); *libellus* (p. 36); *thermae decianae* (p. 55); *porticus* (p. 55); *principia* (p. 66); *valetudinarium* (p. 66); *tubicen* (p. 86); *cornicen* (p. 86); *lorica hamata* (p. 87); *lorica squamata* (p. 87, 97); *gladius* (p. 87, 97); *pileus* (p. 88); *tarabostes* (p. 89); *falx* (p. 89); *adventus* (p. 111); *classis pontica* (p. 121, 178); *theatrum caesaris* (p. 128); *drafsh* (p. 130); *gund* (p. 130, 135); *yazards* (137); *gund-salar* (p. 139); *vexilla* (p. 145); *propugnator* (p. 149); *optio principis* (p. 151); *archon* (p. 152); *classis germanica* (p. 157); *terrae motus* (p. 281, note 9); *mutatio* (p. 164); *bullae praetexta* (p. 172); *toga virilis* (p. 172); *rationibus* (p. 177); *damnatio ad metalla* (p. 177); *clibanarii* (p. 185); *ornamenta* (p. 186); *limes* (p. 195); *massa candida* (p. 288, note 23); *medici* (p. 199); *cardo* (p. 218); *decumanus* (p. 218); *foederati* (p. 220); *cubicularius* (p. 226); *basileus* (p. 266-267, note 5); 2) **titles indicative of social status**: *rector orientis* (p. 14); *dux ripae* (p. 132, 181); *strategos* (p. 185); *decurion* (p. 186); *eques romanus* (p. 201); *patronus provinciae* (p. 202); *praeses* (p. 219); 3) **titles indicative of imperial status**: *Augustus* (p. xvi, xix, 24, 78); *pontifex maximus* (p. xvii, 10); *augusta* (p. xx), *imperator* (p. 24); *invictus* (p. 25); *optimo princeps* (p. 33); *caesar* (p. 36); *restitutor sacrorum* (p. 36); *princeps iuventutis* (p. 41); *mater castrorum* (p. 87); *Chrysogone* (p. 161); *restitutor gener humani* (p. 165); *germanicus max ter* (p. 170); *germanicus max v* (p. 174); 4) **words (legend) engraved on coins**: *saeculares augg* (p. xix); *saeculum novum* (p. xx); *romae aeternae* (p. xx); *pax fundata cum persis* (p. 14); *victoria persica* (p. 14); *victotria carpica* (p. 15); *fortuna redux* (p. 22); *romae aeter(nae) an(nus) mil et primo* (p. 25); *felicitas saeculi* (p. 56); *victoria augg* (p. 78, 148); *victoria germanica* (p. 78); *marti pacifero* (p. 112); *fecunditas aug* (p. 141); *concordia augustorum* (p. 174); *adventus augg* (p. 174); *victoria parthica* (p. 186); *Gallienus cum exer(citus) suo* (p. 188); *pax augg* (p. 193); *virtus augg* (p. 193); *conservat aug* (p. 193); *iovi conservat* (p. 193); *religio augg* (p. 193); *salus provinciarum* (p. 222); 5) **proper**

nouns: Christ (p. 8); Iotapianus (p. 23); Argaitus (p. 49); Guntheric (p. 49); Cniva (p. 59) etc.; 6) **names of Roman divinities:** *Iupiter Optimus Maximus* (p. xvii); 7) **names of monuments:** *Colosseum* (p. xix); *Philippeion* (p. 11-12); 8) **names of military settlements:** *Sexaginta Prista* (p. 20); 9) **names of military units:** *cohors II flavia brittonum equitata* (p. 20); *legio II fulminata* (p. 23); *ala I thracum victrix* (p. 71); *cohors I thracum syriaca* (p. 71); *cohors I thracum sagittaria* (p. 71); *cohors XX palmyrenorum* (p. 185); *cohors I asturum* (p. 201); *vexillationum equitum Maurorum* (p. 201); 10) **names of judicial sources:** *codex iustinianus* (p. 31); 11) **names of chronicles:** *Chronicon Paschale* (p. 42); 12) **names of battlefields:** *Thermopylae* (p. 153); 13) **translation of latin quotes:** *vae victis* (p. 110);

d) the author provides comprehensive information on various aspects of Roman culture and civilization: 1) religion, society, urban planning and administration (p. xv-xxi, 3-8, 11-12, 20-23, 33-35, 49-50, 52, 55, 58-59, 67, 75, 102, 134, 140, 150, 153, 156-157, 166-167, 171, 197, 218); 2) the transition from the regal period to republic and finally the establishment of the empire (p. xv-xvi); 3) military organization (p. 5, 18, 20-21, 23, 31, 33-34, 49-50, 59, 66, 74, 89, 99-100, 128, 132, 136, 139, 142, 157, 160-162, 222);

e) the author presents insightful information about pivotal moments in ancient history, particularly within Roman society: 1) the Jewish revolt of 66 against the Roman administration, leading to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in 70 (p. 8); 2) the Roman conquest of the kingdom of Decebalus (87-106) by Emperor Traianus (98-117) and its subsequent transformation into the province of *Dacia* (p. 15, 33-34, 49, 67, 88-89, 102, 224); 3) the rise of Vespasianus (69-79) and Septimius Severus (193-211), initially perceived as usurpers (p. 26); 4) the author also suggests a potential link between the Marcomannic wars and the migration of the Goths (p. 46); 5) the historical significance of the renowned Battle of *Thermopylae* in 480 BCE, where courageous hoplites fought under Spartan king Leonidas I (489-480 BCE), aided by other Greek allies, against the armies of Persian king Xerxes I (486-465 BCE); the significance of the *Thermopylae* battlefield extended beyond this famous clash, influencing other conflicts such as the Lamian War of 323 BCE; additionally, it became a notable site during the battle of 191 BCE between the Roman army under consul Manius Acilius Glabrio and the Seleucid king Antiochus III; furthermore, the significance of *Thermopylae* persisted into modern times, as demonstrated during the invasion of Greece in 1941, when the Allies successfully delayed the German army (p. 153-154); 6) the geographical locations of the kingdoms of Cimmerian Bosphorus and Colchis along the Black Sea coastline are subjects of inquiry; additionally, an examination is made into instances where the Romans provided military assistance to fortify the defense of these regions; furthermore, Colchis is characterized as a region enveloped in an aura of

mystery and romance, notably recognized as the reputed destination of Jason and his Argonauts in their legendary quest for the Golden Fleece (p. 167-168); 7) the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325 (p. 179-180); f) the author furnishes insights into the social standing and accomplishments of numerous historical figures: 1) **Greek and Latin ancient historians**: Cassius Dio (p. xvi); Asinius Quadratus (p. xx); Dexippus (p. xx, 43, 46, 80-81); Tacitus (p. 10); Aelius Aristides (p. 12); Zosimus (p. 31, 93, 101); Strabo (p. 42); Jordanes (Gothic descent) (p. 44); Cassiodorus (p. 44); Herodotus (p. 46); Gregory Thaumaturgus (p. 114); Orosius (p. 256, note 8); Lactantius (p. 264, note 12); 2) **Byzantine historians**: Zonaras (p. 93); George Cedrenus (p. 65, 113), George the Monk (p. 113); 3) **clerical figures**: Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (p. 10-11); Fabian, bishop of Rome (p. 38, 64); priests Moyses and Maximus and the deacon Nicostratus (p. 38); Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem (p. 38); Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, bishop of Chartage (p. 39); Origen of Alexandria (p. 40, 65, 114); deacon Felicissimus (p. 63-65); Novatian, Cornelius, Fortunatus, Maximus (p. 64-65); 4) **others**: Egyptian philosopher Plotinus (p. 7); sage Apollonius of Tyana (p. 7); Agathangelos (p. 117); Eutychius of Alexandria (p. 119); Lucian of Samosata (p. 134); Firdawsi, an Iranian national poet juxtaposed with Homer and Virgil by the author (p. 204-205); g) the author offers succinct portrayals of diverse barbarian nations: Carpi (p. 14, 41, 59, 89, 167); tribes from *Nubia*: Blemmyes, Megabaroï, Noubai, and Troglodytes from the Red Sea coast (p. 42, 46, 57); Marcommani (p. 46, 50, 170, 194, 220, 232); Heruls (p. 47); Vandals (p. 47, 195, 198); Ter-vingi (p. 47); Bastarnae (p. 47, 59); Sciri (p. 47); Sarmatians (p. 47); Alans (p. 47); Taifali (p. 47); Peucini (p. 48); Gepids (p. 54-55); Borani (p. 167-169, 172, 178); Franks (p. 195, 212); Allemani (p. 195, 197-198) etc.; h) the author provides comprehensive information about Christianity: 1) its development and ascent as a favored religion (p. xxi, 8-10); 2) historical occurrences of persecutions of Christians (p. 36-40, 62-65, 109, 116, 123-124, 176-178, 189-192, 194, 200, 235); 3) the schisms within Christianity (p. 63-65, 123-124, 176-177); i) the author provides information regarding various philosophical movements, highlighting the following: stoicism (p. 6-7, 62); neoplatonism (p. 7); neopythagorans (p. 7); j) the author provides details about Cyprian's plague, offering insights into the characteristics, consequences, and historical context of this pandemic (p. 16-17, 31-32, 35, 42, 90-93, 111-116, 120, 127, 156, 188, 199, 204, 206, 213, 224, 234); k) the author provides explanations regarding ancient numerical estimates of army sizes (p. 269, note 4).

Pearson's **research approach** places a distinct emphasis on analytical and comparative methods. In the examination of various historical

phenomena within the defined chronological period of 248-260, the author adopts a systematic methodology. Initially, Pearson presents the perspectives of ancient historians and Byzantine chroniclers, delving into primary historical accounts. Subsequently, he evaluates the viewpoints of contemporary researchers, engaging in a comparative analysis of modern interpretations. Finally, Pearson offers his own insights, thereby contributing a synthesized perspective to the broader discourse on the historical events under consideration. For students engaged in historical research, Pearson's scientific approach stands as a benchmark. His methodology serves as a guiding example. In the exemplification of our perspective, the inquiry into Philip-pus Arabs' religious affiliation, as manifested in the subtitle *Was Philip a Christian?* (p. 10), serves as a notable illustration. Pearson initiates the discussion by highlighting that certain ancient authors, notably influenced by Eusebius of *Caesarea*, portrayed Philip as a Christian ruler. Eusebius, through his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, incorporates a commentary attributed to Dionysius, the bishop of Alexandria, affirming that the Roman emperor was "a ruler who had been not unfavourable to us". The narrative further unfolds with depictions of Philippus' desire to pray in the Church, constrained only by the requirement to confess his sins. Pearson underscores alternative versions presented by John Chrysostom, adding complexity to the historical narrative. Drawing from Eusebius' work, Pearson cites other ancient authors like Hieronymus, Jordanes, and Bede the Venerable, who perceived Philippus as a Christian emperor (p. 10-11, 257 /note 14/). Subsequently, the author draws attention to contemporary historians such as I. Shahîd and I. Syvânne, who endorse this episode as historical reality, while others like C. Körner find it implausible (p. 11, 257 /note 14/). In conclusion, Pearson offers his own stance on the matter, asserting that the tradition cannot be entirely dismissed. He posits that Christian authors likely presented a version rooted in truth, suggesting that Philippus, in his role, either respected and tolerated the emerging religion or held beliefs that did not inherently conflict with his societal role within the Roman Empire (p. 11).

Building upon the aforementioned example, Pearson articulates his perspectives on various historical topics within the context of the examined period (248-260). These viewpoints encompass the following: 1) Pearson posits that factors such as the non-payment of troops and participation in festivities in Rome contributed to the revolts of Pacatianus and Iotapianus. He underscores the absence of key regional leaders, Iulius Priscus and Otacilius Severianus, as critical elements in these usurpations (p. 20-22); 2) regarding Traianus Decius' edict, Pearson asserts that the emperor aimed to assess the realm in terms of population, wealth, and resources; the author believes that citizens were informed about the ascent of a new leader (p. 36-37); 3) in analyzing the Roman authorities' response to the spread of disease, particularly the "plague of Justinian", Pearson believes that measures

were taken, including a focus on hygiene, limitations on gatherings, and restrictions on movement from infected areas (p. 35); 4) Pearson proposes that Ostrogotha attacked Roman *Dacia* concurrently with the military campaigns of his subordinates south of the Danube (p. 54-55, 265 /note 25/); 5) Pearson suggests that in January 251, the Gothic forces were organized into three divisions, each with its own objectives (p. 59, 266-267 /note 5/); 6) regarding the revolt of Valens, Pearson challenges the conventional view placing it in Rome, arguing against the likelihood of a usurper revealing intentions in the capital; he explores alternative perspectives, referencing the *Historia Augusta's* account that places Valens briefly leading in *Illyricum* (p. 61-62, 267 /notes 7-8/); 7) Pearson examines an episode during the siege of *Philippopolis* where Cinva allegedly promised 500 coins to the first man to scale the city wall, discussing various interpretations of the origin of these coins (p. 79, 268 /note 31/); 8) the circumstances of a potential battle at *Romula* are elucidated by Pearson (p. 82-90); 9) Pearson questions whether Silbannacus should be perceived as a usurper or a legitimate emperor (p. 149-150); 10) the role of climate in the unfolding of events is emphasized by Pearson (covered on pages (p. 158-159, 281 /note 9/) etc.

Certainly, Pearson's approach, as reflected in his commitment outlined in the *Introduction* section, demonstrates a dedication to engaging with a diverse array of questions actively studied by specialists: "I have engaged with a wide range of questions that are actively being studied by many specialists. Occasionally I have made what I believe to be proposals that may be worthy of broader consideration by scholars. I have made copious use of footnotes to try to do justice to the wide range of primary and secondary literature and so that none of my suggestions or inferences stands unsupported" (p. xiii).

In terms of **writing style**, Pearson emerges as a masterful wordsmith, skillfully immersing the reader in the vivid and dynamic scenes of Roman military confrontations. The narrative evokes a sense of being a soldier enlisted in the Roman army, actively participating in the significant military engagements recounted in the book. Notably, the campaign orchestrated by Traianus Decius against the Goths is depicted with a cinematic quality, capturing the intensity of events. The reader is taken through gripping episodes, such as the siege of *Marcianopolis*, the victorious battle of *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, the harrowing sacking of *Philippopolis* by the Goths, the hypothetical battle of *Romula*, and the catastrophic Roman military defeat at *Abritus*. Drawing inspiration from the works of ancient authors, Pearson skillfully invites the reader to traverse the realms of imagination and bear witness to pivotal moments. For instance, the tragic death of Herennius Etruscus, son of Decius, on the battlefield is portrayed as a poignant event, followed by his ascension to the ranks of the gods. The narrative also

explores the consequences of Decius' desire for revenge, which, despite numerous sacrifices made to the gods, ultimately leads to his abandonment.

Pearson, in the *Prologue* section, sets the tone for an engaging and immersive journey through time by establishing a friendly rapport with the reader. He assumes the role of a guide, leading the reader through the significant moments of the historical narrative: "Let us, then, attempt to relive those years when to many people it must have seemed that the gods had abandoned Rome" (p. xxi). Given that the central themes of the work are anchored in the dramatic events of the historical era – ranging from conflicts between factions and calamities such as plague epidemics to persecutions of Christians – which constitute a significant portion of the narrative, the author's deliberate strategy of intermittently disengaging the reader from this overarching narrative thread is commendable. Indeed, Pearson leverages his cinematic expertise, a practice previously demonstrated in his work dedicated to Emperor Maximinus Thrax, to incorporate what is commonly referred to as "comic relief" in Anglo-Saxon language. This involves the inclusion of brief descriptions wherein the author establishes entertaining associations, seeking to provide moments of relaxation and amusement for the reader.

An illustrative example of Pearson's use of cinematic knowledge and "comic relief" can be observed when he introduces the cities of *Marcianopolis* and *Philippopolis*, both besieged by the Goths. In this portrayal, Pearson establishes an antithetical relationship between the Roman citizens and the Goths, particularly in terms of clothing and grooming practices. Roman citizens are vividly depicted as adorned in quality attire, with the ladies showcasing fashionable hairstyles and the men sporting well-groomed beards. In contrast, the Goths are humorously characterized as shaggy and wild-eyed individuals resembling desperados, a trope commonly associated with negative characters in Western films (p. 50). Additionally, Pearson brings attention to the tumultuous life of Anak, an oriental character believed to be of Armenian descent with Parthian origins. According to the narrative, Anak engages in discussions with the Sassanid sovereign and, enticed by promises to regain his ancestral lands, agrees to embark on a perilous mission – the assassination of the Armenian King Khosrov II. After successfully carrying out the promised deed, Anak meets a tragic end, being killed by Armenian nobles along with his entire family. Notably, two sons manage to escape, with one sent to Rome and the other to Persia. In a cinematic twist, Pearson interjects, highlighting the speculative nature of the fate of these children. He suggests that if Hollywood were to adapt works related to this historical episode, it would likely craft a dramatic film. This hypothetical adaptation, according to Pearson, would undoubtedly culminate in a gripping confrontation between the two brothers—one aligned with the interests of the Persian world, and the other embracing Roman ideals (p. 118).

Finally, in the depiction of the persecutions of Christians orchestrated by Emperor Valerianus, Pearson introduces an intriguing element. He notes that, according to certain ancient authors, Fulvius Macrianus “managed to turn him to the dark side”, employing a well-known phrase from the Star Wars cinematic universe (p. 177). Furthermore, Pearson employs the phrase “game of thrones” when elucidating the ascent of Traianus Decius and his endeavor to deceive Philippus Arabs. This reference draws from the renowned series of books by G. R. R. Martin, adding a contemporary cultural touch to the historical narrative (p. 29). Simultaneously, in his discourse on the plague, Pearson employs another phrase, namely “zombie apocalypse”, a term that has become entrenched in the contemporary collective consciousness through various films (p. 32). Further interventions aimed at providing relaxation and amusement to the reader include the following instances: Pearson notes that the year 251 was the “third year of the millennium, if anyone was still counting” (p. 55); additionally, he highlights Apostle Paul’s instruction that a woman who “prayed with her head uncovered should have it cut off”, followed by an open parenthesis to clarify that it pertains to hair (p. 65).

We believe that Pearson has skillfully employed certain strategies at pivotal moments in the book to engage the readers’ imagination, ensuring they won’t “turn to the dark side of the force”. One of Pearson’s strategic approaches involves crafting subheadings that are tailored to capture attention and ready the reader for the unveiling of historical moments laden with profound psychological and emotional significance: 1) regarding the plague: *The monster wakes* (p. 16); *Death on the Nile* (p. 32); *Pestilence strikes Carthage* (p. 90); *Universal pestilence* (p. 112); 2) regarding battles: *Ostrogotha invades* (p. 18); *Five hundred darics* (p. 78); *Treachery in Armenia* (p. 117); *Surprise attack on Antioch* (p. 127); *Duel at Tower 19* (p. 181); 3) regarding the persecutions of Christians: *Cyprian to the lions* (p. 38); *Qitmir* (p. 40) etc.

Another effective strategy employed by the author involves the strategic use of phrases such as “one can imagine”, “we can imagine”, “one imagines” and “one cannot help imagining”. Notably, the emphasis on the collective “we” underscores a shared journey of time travel during the Crisis of the Third Century, creating a dynamic interaction between the professor and the reader(s). Certainly, this approach serves to stimulate the imaginative faculties, and its application is evident in various contexts throughout the book: 1) when Traianus Decius received the decomposing head of the usurper Iotapianus (p. 34); 2) when it was highlighted that Traianus Decius, seated in his palace in Rome, contemplated the challenges ahead (p. 35); 3) when the victorious Roman troops acclaimed Traianus Decius after the battle of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (p. 71); 4) when *legio XII fulminata* swiftly mobilized in response to the Persian forces attacking Armenia (p. 119); 5)

when Silbannacus was briefly proclaimed emperor (p. 148); 6) when Valerianus and Gallienus devised a joint “strategy for asserting their authority and protecting it against multiple threats being faced” (p. 161); 7) when considering the fate of the rustic population during barbarian raids (p. 197); 8) when describing a ceremony involving traditional sacrifices (p. 219); 9) when discussing the challenging situations faced by the people of that era (p. 230).

Certainly, the author employs a third strategy, which involves providing physical and personality descriptions of the Roman emperors. This approach aims to acquaint the reader with the key characters around whom the narrative revolves. By offering insights into the emperors’ physical attributes and personality traits, Pearson enhances the reader’s engagement with these historical figures, making them more vivid and relatable: Traianus Decius (p. 33-34, 36, 46, 57, 69, 90, 99); Herennius Etruscus (p. 36); Trebonianus Gallus (p. 48, 111-112); Valerianus (p. 159, 281 /note 11/); Gallienus (p. 170, 187, 200) etc.

Certainly, the fourth strategy involves the graphic description of historical events. Whether depicting the outbreak of the plague in cities, narrating the persecution of Christians, or detailing the intense battles between Romans and various adversaries such as Goths or Persians, Pearson employs detailed language (p. 16-17, 31-32, 38-39, 52-54, 78-81, 93-103, 181-184 etc.). The reader is placed in the center of these situations, but the author ensures that the former is not overwhelmed by the hardships experienced by the people of those times. Later, the author returns to the tense situations when he considers that the reader is ready to discover the continuation of the stories or their resolution. For instance, when describing the persecution of Christians, Pearson states: “At this point in the narrative, we must leave Dionysius and Cyprian in hiding, and poor Origen with his tormentors, shut in an iron collar with his flesh subjected to flying claws. Sadly, he was to remain in that miserable state for some time” (p. 40). After several pages, the author returns to Origen: “he was still being kept alive under appalling conditions by his tormentors in *Caesarea*, Palestine. The Roman governor there had decreed that Origen was to be released only if he publicly renounced his faith, of course, he refused to do” (p. 65). After another several pages, we find out that Origen “was still in grim detention” (p. 114). Finally, at page 160, we discover that he was “released from his prolonged imprisonment”. Another example of this technique is the use of the phrase “meanwhile” when the author wants to direct the reader’s attention from military conflicts to the plague, then, again, from the plague to the problems encountered by the Romans in their confrontation with the Goths. This transitional phrase helps maintain a dynamic narrative flow and keeps the reader engaged in multiple storylines (p. 90-93).

Another noteworthy aspect of Pearson's writing style is the introduction of small stories that serve to corroborate the ideas stated in the text: 1) the story of the so-called "seven sleepers of Ephesus"; according to the scenario of this story, in the context of the persecutions of Traianus Decius, seven devout youths gave up their fortunes and took refuge in a cave; 250 years later, they woke up during the reign of Theodosius II (402-450) and were amazed and delighted at the triumph of Christianity (p. 40-41); 2) the story of the meeting between Giovanni Battista De Rossi and Pope Pius IX (p. 125-126) etc.

Furthermore, Pearson informs us that he visited *Oescus*, about which he mentions that "he knows no better place to open a copy of Gibbon and contemplate the glory that was Rome" (p. 59, 266 /note 3/), but also the battlefield at *Abritus* (p. xiv, 97).

Lastly, the author draws parallels between ancient monuments, battles, and demography and their counterparts in the contemporary period to help readers better comprehend the concepts presented: 1) he notes that the enormous statue of the goddess Roma in the Eternal City had a comparable impact on the population as the modern Lincoln Memorial does on contemporary people. (p. xviii); 2) he draws a parallel between the military disasters of *Abritus* (for Traianus Decius) and Waterloo (for Napoleon), emphasizing the shared aspect of defeat in both historical events (p. 100-101); 3) he describes a subterranean chemical warfare reminiscent of the tactics employed on the Western Front in 1917 (p. 181-184); 4) regarding the population of the Roman Empire in 240, the author notes that estimates suggest it probably stood at around 65 million people; he draws a contemporary comparison, stating that this is equivalent to the current population of France or the United Kingdom, with a slightly better comparison being the population of the United States around the year 1900 (p. 3).

We have identified some minor oversights; however, they do not impact the overall quality of the volume: 1) on page 42, the author mentions that Pliny the Elder and Strabo provided different perspectives on the Nubian Blemmyes tribe; however, on page 265 (note 22), only the second ancient author, Strabo, is cited; 2) on page 42, the author makes a reference to the seventh-century Byzantine source known as *Chronicon Paschale*, but on page 263 (note 23), this source is not cited; 3) On page 66, the author argued that in modern times, a desecrated bronze head of Gordianus III, with ears cut off, was found in a river, but on page 267 (note 16), he wrote the name Claudius; 4) On page 266 (note 29), he points out that Emperor Commodus (180-192), despite his actions, was "deified by a successor, presumably to underline the fact that whatever his deeds, his right to rule was absolute"; it's correct that the note itself is consistent, and the author likely aimed to avoid burdening the reader with extra information; additionally, we can supplement the author's information by noting that the rehabilita-

tion of Commodus was carried out by Septimius Severus (193-211); after defeating Pescennius Niger (193-194) and Clodius Albinus (193-197), Septimius Severus secured his power; in a surprising move, he declared himself the adopted son of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and the brother of Commodus; subsequently, he orchestrated the Senate's approval for Commodus' apotheosis, a turn of events that surprised many, given the Senate's previous condemnation of the tyrant (Dio Cass., LXXV, 7; 8; LXXVI, 9; Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 20, 30; *SHA, Comm.*, XVII, 11-12; *Seu.*, XI, 4; XII, 8; XIX, 3; *Get.*, II, 2).

In conclusion, we firmly believe that Paul N. Pearson's work – *The Roman Empire in Crisis, 248-260: When the Gods Abandoned Rome* – deserves a prominent spot in the libraries of students and professors intrigued by Roman history or delving into the complexities of the Crisis of the Third Century. We also encourage the author to continue his scholarly pursuits, so that the entire academic community, including professors and students, as well as those new to the field of history but eager for knowledge, can benefit from and anticipate a third volume dedicated to the period from 260 to 284.

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CRONICA ACTIVITĂȚII ȘTIINȚIFICE A CENTRULUI DE STUDII CLASICE ȘI CREȘTINE (2023-2024)

CRONACA DELL'ATTIVITÀ SCIENTIFICA DEL CENTRO DI STUDI CLASSICI E CRISTIANI (2023-2024)

Comunicări, conferințe

27 aprilie 2023, Liceul cu Program Sportiv Iași:

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Roma – urbs venerabilis. Percepția Cetății Eterne în Antichitatea târzie*¹

29 aprilie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Litere, Colectivul de Limbi Clasice, Italiană, Spaniolă – Societatea de Studii Clasice din România – filiala Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine: Simpozionul Național Studentesc *Colloquium Antiquitatis*, ediția a V-a, 27-29 aprilie 2023²:

- drd. Claudiu-Costel LUCA (Facultatea de Istorie), *Cronologia istoriei Romei în breviarul lui Festus*

16 mai 2024, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine (ședință lunară de comunicări):

- prof. univ. dr. Gelu FLOREA (Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie, Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca), *Religica dacică. Aspecte metodologice*³

18-20 mai 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Centrul de Studii Biblico-Filologice „Monumenta linguae Dacoromanorum”: Simpozionul Internațional *Explorări în tradiția biblică românească și europeană*, ediția a XII-a, Iași, 18-20 mai 2023⁴:

- lect. univ. dr. Florin CRÎȘMĂREANU (Facultatea de Filosofie și Științe Social-Politice), prezentare de carte Sfântul Dionisie al Alexandriei, (Pseudo) Maxim Mărturisitorul, (Pseudo) Ioan Gură de Aur, *Comentarii și catene la Ecclesiast*, traducere din greaca veche de monahia Parascheva Enache, introducere, note, bibliografie, indici, ediție îngrijită de Dragoș Bahrim și Florin Crîșmăreanu, Editura Doxologia, Iași, 2023

- lect. univ. dr. Florin CRÎȘMĂREANU (Facultatea de Filosofie și Științe Social-Politice), *Despre un sens uitat al Scripturii*

24 mai 2024, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine (ședință lunară de comunicări):

¹ <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100043344773595> ; <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ; <http://history.uaic.ro/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/conferinta-27apr23.jpg>

² <https://www.facebook.com/Limbi.Clasice.AL.I.Cuza>

³ <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiiasi> ; <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ;

<https://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/manifestari-stiintifice/>

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/centrulmld>

- drd. Claudiu-Costel E. LUCA (Facultatea de Istorie), *Cronologia istoriei Romei în istoriografia latină păgână din a doua jumătate a secolului al IV-lea*⁵

25 mai 2023, Universitatea „Dunărea de Jos” din Galați, Facultatea de Istorie, Filosofie și Teologie: Hard Book Café FIFT Cărți grele din sfera științelor „slabe”, ediția a VI-a⁶:

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Motive utopice în istoriografia latină târzie. Glose pe marginea scrierii lui Sextus Aurelius Victor, Liber de Caesaribus*

Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași: Școala de vară în domeniul teologiei ortodoxe și istoriei pentru îmbunătățirea oportunităților de participare la învățământul universitar a elevilor cu risc de abandon – TEOIST (17-30 iulie 2023): prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie) a susținut cursurile:

24 iulie: *Monumentele Romei imperiale*

27 iulie: *Columna lui Traian – monument artistic și document istoric*

28 iulie: *Figuri de împărați romani între fals și adevăr*

26-28 septembrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine: XIII CONVEGNO ROMENO-ITALIANO Tradizione e innovazione tra antichità classica e medioevo: forme, strumenti e modelli di comunicazione letteraria e artistica⁷

- Iulian-Gabriel HRUȘCĂ (Facultatea de Litere, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași) prezenta: M. TULLI CICERONIS *Actionis secundae in C. Verrem: Liber V*, Luigi Piacente recognovit, adnotationes criticas et indices adiecit, Claudia Tărnăuceanu Dacoromanice uertit, notis atque commentariis instruxit, Luigi Piacente et Claudia Tărnăuceanu praefationem composuerunt = M. TULLIUS CICERO, *A doua acțiune împotriva lui Verres: Cartea a V-a*, restabilirea textului latin, apparatus criticus, indici de Luigi Piacente, traducere în limba română, note și comentarii de Claudia Tărnăuceanu, introducere de Luigi Piacente și Claudia Tărnăuceanu, Editura Universității din București, 2023

- Luigi PIACENTE (Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro) prezenta: Federica CALABRESE, *Il sito di Glastonbory. Fonti letterarie e indagini archeologiche sul 'primo' contesto cristiano di Britannia*, Aracne, Roma, 2022

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Continuită lessicali – continuită e discontinuită semantice e simboliche nelle Historiae abbreviatae di Aurelio Vittore*

- dr. Federica CALABRESE (Ministero della Cultura, Italia), *San Barbato di Benevento. Passaggio dal paganesimo al cristianesimo in terra campana*

- conf. univ. dr. Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU (Facultatea de Litere), Ana-Maria GÎNSAC (Departamentul de Științe Socio-Umane, Institutul de Cercetări Interdisciplinare, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași), *Innovation et nouveauté dans la traduction biblique du latin au roumain. Les Psaumes de la Bible de Blaj (1760-1761) versus des versions antérieures* [Travail réalisé dans le cadre du projet de recherche roPsalt – CNCS-UEFISCDI, code PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-2939]

5-6 octombrie 2023, Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău, Simpozionul Național „Vasile Pârvan”⁸:

⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ; <http://history.uaic.ro/> ; <http://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/centre-de-cercetare-2/centrul-de-studii-clasice-si-crestine/> ; <https://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/manifestari-stiintifice/>

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/fift.galati>; <https://www.facebook.com/geo.enache> ; <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi>; <http://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/centre-de-cercetare-2/centrul-de-studii-clasice-si-crestine/>

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiiasi> ; <https://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/manifestari-stiintifice/> ; <https://uiaic.academia.edu/NeluZugravu>; http://www.accademiafiorentina.it/?pg=notiziario_italiano_di_antichistica

⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100057615392637> ; <https://cmiabc.ro/>

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Un enciclopedist latin – Plinius cel Bătrân. La 2000 de ani de la naștere*

- drd. Pavel-Flavian CHILCOȘ (Facultatea de Istorie), *Abolitio memoriae a împăratului Severus Alexander (222-235) în provincia Dacia*

- drd. Cozmin-Valerian BROȘTEANU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Vocabularul deținătorilor puterii suverane din timpul crizei de la mijlocul veacului al III-lea în breuiaria istoriografice latine târzii*

18-19 octombrie 2023, Accademia di Romania in Roma: La romanità orientale e l'Italia dall'Antichità fino al secolo XX. Convegno italo-romeno di studi – V edizione⁹:

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Alcune considerazioni sulla frontiera danubiana nella tarda Antichità*

27 octombrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie: Zilele Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași. Simpozion. Sesiunea de comunicări a profesorilor¹⁰:

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Continuități lexicale - continuități și discontinuități semantice în Historiae abbreviatae ale lui Aurelius Victor*

27 octombrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Filosofie și Științe Social-Politice: Colocviul național Receptarea Părinților Bisericii în textele autorilor occidentali din secolul al XII-lea¹¹:

- lect. univ. dr. Florin CRÎȘMĂREANU (Facultatea de Filosofie și Științe Social-Politice), *Poate fi considerat Maxim Mărturisitorul printre sursele lui Isaac de Stella?*

8-9 November 2023, Accademia di Romania in Roma: On the Fringe of the Empires. Society, Economy and Artefacts in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. 3rd – 15th c. AD¹²:

- drd. Pavel-Flavian CHILCOȘ (Facultatea de Istorie), *Abolitio memoriae of Maximinus Thrax in the settlements from limes Moesiae*

- drd. Cozmin-Valerian BROȘTEANU (Facultatea de Istorie), *The Roman boundaries during the crisis of the 3th century, in the light of 4th century historical sources*

9-11 noiembrie 2023, Arhiepiscopia Iașilor, Facultatea de Teologie Ortodoxă, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași: Simpozionul Internațional Dimitrie Cantemir (300 de ani de la trecerea la cele veșnice a marelui cărturar român)¹³:

- conf. univ. dr. Claudia-Dorina TĂRNĂUCEANU (Facultatea de Litere), *„Filii Aesculapii et medicamina” în opere cantemiriene de limbă latină*

16-18 noiembrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Sala H₁: Receptarea Romei și a Imperiului roman în cultura română modernă¹⁴:

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Crochiuri de portrete imperiale în istoriografia de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea*

⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/AccademiaDiRomania> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiasi>

¹⁰ <https://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/manifestari-stiintifice/> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiasi>

¹¹ <https://www.fssp.uaic.ro/departamente/filosofie/evenimente/colocviul-national-receptarea-parintilor-bisericii-in-textele-autorilor-occidentali-din-secolul-al-xii-lea>

¹² <https://www.facebook.com/AccademiaDiRomania> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiasi>

¹³ <https://cantemir300.mmb.ro/>

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/csccias> ; <https://history.uaic.ro/26985/16-18-noiembrie-2023-receptarea-romei-si-a-imperiului-roman-in-cultura-moderna/> ;

<https://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/centre-de-cercetare-2/centrul-de-studii-clasice-si-crestine/> ;

<https://uiaic.academia.edu/NeluZugravu> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiasi> ;

<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100063487093027> ;

<https://www.facebook.com/Limbi.Clasice.AL.I.Cuza>

- conf. univ. dr. Claudia-Dorina TĂRNĂUCEANU (Facultatea de Litere), cerc. șt. dr. Ana-Maria GÎNSAC (Departamentul de Științe Socio-Umane, Institutul de Cercetări Interdisciplinare, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași), *Strategii de traducere în cartea Psalmilor din Vulgata de la Blaj (1760-1761)* [lucrare realizată în cadrul Proiectului de cercetare roPsalt – CNCS-UEFISCDI, cod PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-2939]

4 decembrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Sala H₁¹⁵:

- dr. Yanko HRISTOV (South-West University „Neofit Rilski” Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria), *Legal and social impact of the family and matrimony according to the Digest of Emperor Justinian I (527-565)*

8-9 decembrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Litere – Institutul de Cercetări Interdisciplinare – Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Societatea de Studii Clasice – filiala Iași: Simpozionul *Antichitatea și moștenirea ei spirituală*, ediția a XIX-a¹⁶:

- drd. Flavian-Pavel CHILCOȘ (Facultatea de Istorie), *Un exemplu de abolitio memoriae în Moesia Inferior: Maximinus Thrax (235-238)*

- conf. univ. dr. Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU (Facultatea de Litere), prezentare de carte: NICOLAUS OLAHUS, *Opere*, I, II, editarea textului latin, aparat critic și indice de Florentina NICOLAE și Dorin GAROFEANU, traducere din limba latină de Maria CAPOIANU, Ioana COSTA și Florentina NICOLAE, studii introductive de acad. Ioan-Aurel POP și Maria CAPOIANU, dosar de receptare critică de Laura BĂDESCU, Academia Română, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, București, 2022

- drd. Flavian-Pavel CHILCOȘ (Facultatea de Istorie), Paul N. Pearson, *The Roman Empire in Crisis, 248-260. When the Gods Abandoned Rome*, Pen & Sword Military, Barnsley, 2022

11 decembrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Sala H₁: Colocviul național *Thesaurus naturae. 2000 de ani de la nașterea enciclopedistului latin Plinius cel Bătrân* (format mixt)¹⁷:

- prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Facultatea de Istorie), *Plinius cel Bătrân despre greci*

- prof. dr. Ovidiu-Iulian SANDU (Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine), *Arta în opera lui Plinius cel Bătrân*

15 decembrie 2023, Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, Facultatea de Istorie, Centrul de Studii Clasice și Creștine (online)¹⁸:

- prof. dr. Prof. dr. Pablo C. DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ (Universidad de Salamanca, Facultad de Geografía e Historia, Departamento de Prehistoria, Historia Antigua y Arqueología, Área de Historia Antigua, Grupo de Investigación en Antigüedad Tardía y Alta Edad Media en Hispania), *Tacitus' Germania. Otherness in the service of Roman imperialism*

Publicații

COZMIN-VALERIAN BROȘTEANU:

- *Vocabularul deținătorilor puterii suverane din timpul crizei de la mijlocul veacului al III-lea în breuiaria istoriografice latine târzii, Carpica, LII, 2023, 128-138*

¹⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiiasi>

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/Limbi.Clasice.AL.I.Cuza>

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ; <https://www.facebook.com/Limbi.Clasice.AL.I.Cuza> ; <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100063487093027> ; <https://history.uaic.ro/> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiiasi>

¹⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ; <https://www.facebook.com/istorieiiasi> ; <https://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/manifestari-stiintifice/>

FLORIN CRÎȘMĂREANU:

- *Creație, mișcare, îndumnezeire. Perspective metafizico-teologice asupra libertății în primele secole ale creștinismului* [Creation, movement, deification. Metaphysical-theological perspectives on freedom in the first centuries of Christianity], C&C, 18/2, 2023, 381-398 (DOI: 10.47743/CetC-2023-18.2.381)

- Sfântul DIONISIE AL ALEXANDRIEI, (PSEUDO) MAXIM MĂRTURISITORUL, (PSEUDO) IOAN GURĂ DE AUR, *Comentarii și catene la Ecclesiast*, traducere din greaca veche de monahia Parascheva ENACHE, introducere, note, bibliografie, indici, ediție îngrijită de Dragoș BAHRIM și Florin CRÎȘMĂREANU, Editura Doxologia, Iași, 2023

CLAUDIA TĂRNĂUCEANU:

- M. TULLI CICERONIS *Actionis secundae in C. Verrem: Liber V*, Luigi PIACENTE recognovit, adnotationes criticas et indices adiecit, Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU Dacoromanice uertit, notis atque commentariis instruxit, Luigi PIACENTE et Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU praefationem composuerunt = M. TULLIUS CICERO, *A doua acțiune împotriva lui Verres: Cartea a V-a*, restabilirea textului latin, apparatus criticus, indici de Luigi PIACENTE, traducere în limba română, note și comentarii de Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU, introducere de Luigi PIACENTE și Claudia TĂRNĂUCEANU, Editura Universității din București, 2023

NELU ZUGRAVU:

- *Introduzione*, C&C, 18/1, 2023, 13-24 (DOI: 10.47743/CetC-2023-18.1.13)

- *Metafore ale ciumei în surse latine târzii* [Metaphors of the plague in late Latine sources], C&C, 18/2, 2023, 509-532 (DOI: 10.47743/CetC-2023-18.2.509).

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Începând cu semestrul I al anului universitar 2018-2019, prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU a inițiat un seminar facultativ dedicat doctoranzilor, masteranzilor și studenților interesați de istoria antică, al cărui scop este însușirea elementelor de tehnică a editării și comentării din punct de vedere istoric și filologic a surselor greco-latine. În anul universitar 2022-2023, au fost organizate următoarele activități:

XIII. 25 aprilie 2023: *Decret onorific al atenienilor pentru regele bosporan Spartokos III* (IG II³¹, 870 = IG II² 653 = Syll. 3 370)¹⁹

Prezintă: cerc. șt. I dr. Victor Cojocar (Academia Română, Institutul de Arheologie)

Susțineri de teze de doctorat

28 septembrie 2023, ora 11, Facultatea de Istorie: dl. Claudiu-Costel E. LUCA a susținut teza de doctorat ***Cronologia istoriei Romei în istoriografia latină păgână din a doua jumătate a secolului al IV-lea*** în fața unei comisii formate din: prof. univ. dr. Liviu PILAT (Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași) – președinte, prof. univ. dr. Nelu ZUGRAVU (Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași) – conducător științific, prof. univ. dr. Ecaterina-Gabriela LUNG (Universitatea din București), CS dr. I Dumitru-Dănuț APARASCHIVEI (Academia Română – Institutul de Arheologie Iași), conf. univ. dr. Dan RUSCU (Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca) – membri, obținând titlul de **Doctor în ISTORIE**²⁰.

¹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/csciciasi> ; <https://www.facebook.com/Limbi.Clasice.AL.I.Cuza> ; <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100063487093027> ; <http://history.uaic.ro/cercetare/centre-de-cercetare-2/centrul-de-studii-clasice-si-crestine/> ; <http://history.uaic.ro/25630/25-aprilie-2023-seminar-de-tehnica-editarii-si-interpretarii-istorico-filologice-a-izvoarelor-greco-latine-xiii-cerc-st-i-dr-victor-cojocar-academia-romana-institutul-de-arheologie-iasi/>

²⁰ <http://history.uaic.ro/studenti/scoala-doctorala/sustinerea-tezei-de-doctorat/>

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