

**ENTRETIENS
SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ
CLASSIQUE**
TOME LXIV



LA NUIT IMAGINAIRE ET RÉALITÉS NOCTURNES DANS LE MONDE GRÉCO-ROMAIN

Neuf exposés suivis de discussions

Entretiens préparés par Angelos Chaniotis

*Volume édité par Angelos Chaniotis
avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron*

Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique

Derniers volumes parus

- LIII. *Rites et croyances dans les religions du monde romain* 2006 (2007)
- LIV. *Sécurité collective et ordre public dans les sociétés anciennes* 2007 (2008)
- LV. *Eschyle à l'aube du théâtre occidental* 2008 (2009)
- LVI. *Démocratie athénienne – démocratie moderne : tradition et influences* 2009 (2010)
- LVII. *Entre Orient et Occident : la philosophie et la science gréco-romaines dans le monde arabe* 2010 (2011)
- LVIII. *L'organisation des spectacles dans le monde romain* 2011 (2012)
- LIX. *Les Grecs héritiers des Romains* 2012 (2013)
- LX. *Le jardin dans l'Antiquité* 2013 (2014)
- LXI. *Cosmologies et cosmogonies dans la littérature antique* 2014 (2015)
- LXII. *La rhétorique du pouvoir. Une exploration de l'art oratoire délibératif grec* 2015 (2016)
- LXIII. *Économie et inégalité : ressources, échanges et pouvoir dans l'Antiquité classique* 2016 (2017)
- LXIV. *La nuit. Imaginaire et réalités nocturnes dans le monde gréco-romain* 2017 (2018)

La plupart des volumes de la série sont disponibles chez les dépositaires.

Dépositaire en Suisse

Librairie Droz S.A.
Rue Firmin-Massot 11
CH -1206 Genève

Tél. : (+41-22) 346 66 66
Fax: (+41-22) 347 23 91
E-mail: droz@droz.org
www.droz.org

Distribution in North America

ISD LLC
70 Enterprise Drive, Suite 2
Bristol, CT 06010
USA

Tel: (+1) 860 584-6546
Fax: (+1) 860 516-4873
E-mail : info@isdistribution.com
www.isdistribution.com

Dépositaire en Allemagne

Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH
Am Buchenhang 1
D-53115 Bonn

Postfach 150104
D-53040 Bonn

Telefon: (+49-228) 923 83-0
Telefax: (+49-228) 923 83-6
E-mail: info@habelt.de
www.habelt.de

FONDATION HARDT
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

ENTRETIENS

TOME LXIV

LA NUIT
IMAGINAIRE ET RÉALITÉS NOCTURNES
DANS LE MONDE GRÉCO-ROMAIN

ENTRETIENS SUR L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE

TOME LXIV

LA NUIT
IMAGINAIRE ET RÉALITÉS NOCTURNES
DANS LE MONDE GRÉCO-ROMAIN

NEUF EXPOSÉS SUIVIS DE DISCUSSIONS
par

Angelos Chaniotis, Andrew Wilson,
Renate Schlesier, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge,
Ioannis Mylonopoulos, Sergio Casali, Koen De Temmerman,
Leslie Dossey, Filippo Carlà-Uhink

Entretiens préparés par Angelos Chaniotis
et présidés par Pierre Ducrey
21-25 août 2017

Volume édité par Angelos Chaniotis
avec la collaboration de Pascale Derron

FONDATION HARDT
POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ANTIQUITÉ CLASSIQUE
VANDŒUVRES
2018

Illustration de la jaquette : Luminaire à trois lampes de verre (*polycandelon*).
Provenance : Méditerranée orientale, 6^e siècle ap. J.-C. Corning Museum of Glass,
Corning, NY, inv. 63.1.30. Publié avec l'autorisation du Corning Museum.

© Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, NY.

Réalisation de la jaquette et des planches : Alexandre Pointet, Shaolin-Design,
Lausanne.

ISSN 0071-0822
ISBN 978-2-600-00764-1

TOUS DROITS RÉSERVÉS
© 2018 by Fondation Hardt, Genève

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Préface par Pierre DUCREY	VII
I. ANGELOS CHANIOTIS	
<i>Nessun dorma! Changing nightlife in the Hellenistic and Roman East</i>	1
Discussion	50
II. ANDREW WILSON	
<i>Roman nightlife</i>	59
Discussion	82
III. RENATE SCHLESIER	
<i>Sappho bei Nacht</i>	91
Discussion	122
IV. VINCIANE PIRENNE-DELFORGE	
<i>Nyx est, elle aussi, une divinité : la nuit dans les mythes et les cultes grecs</i>	131
Discussion	166
V. IOANNIS MYLONOPoulos	
<i>Brutal are the children of the night! Nocturnal violence in Greek art</i>	173
Discussion	201

VI.	SERGIO CASALI	
	<i>Imboscate notturne nell'epica romana</i>	209
	Discussion	238
VII.	KOEN DE TEMMERMAN	
	<i>Novelistic nights</i>	257
	Discussion	286
VIII.	LESLIE DOSSEY	
	<i>Shedding light on the Late Antique night</i>	293
	Discussion	323
IX.	FILIPPO CARLÀ-UHINK	
	<i>Nocturnal religious rites in the Roman religion and in early Christianity</i>	331
	Discussion	361
	ÉPILOGUE	371
	TABLE DES ILLUSTRATIONS	375
	ILLUSTRATIONS	377
	INDEX	389

PRÉFACE

Voici quelques années, Angelos Chaniotis créa la surprise au sein de la Commission scientifique de la Fondation Hardt avec sa proposition d'organiser une série d'*Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique* autour du thème “La nuit”. À la surprise succédèrent l'intérêt, la curiosité et finalement l'enthousiasme. Comme pour tout projet d'*Entretiens*, la gestation fut longue : il fallait transformer le thème en une problématique articulée, prévoir une dizaine de sujets spécifiques et les faire correspondre à des orateurs compétents. Selon des règles imposées par la Fondation aux organisateurs et devenues de plus en plus contraignantes avec les années, plusieurs pays et plusieurs langues devaient être représentés, afin qu'un équilibre soit trouvé entre genre et âge des auteurs.

Le résultat concret de ce long processus est le volume que l'on tient entre ses mains, le 64^e de la série, sous le titre “La nuit. Imaginaire et réalités nocturnes dans le monde gréco-romain”. Il réunit le texte des conférences prononcées par les personnalités invitées dans la semaine du 21 au 25 août 2017 et des discussions qui ont suivi.

Rappelons que chaque participant dispose d'une heure pour présenter sa communication et que les discussions qui suivent s'étendent sur une heure pleine aussi. La formule actuelle est en vigueur depuis les premiers *Entretiens* organisés par le baron Kurd von Hardt en 1952 déjà. Les interventions qui font suite aux communications sont aujourd'hui rédigées et mises en forme par les auteurs eux-mêmes. À l'origine, elles étaient enregistrées, puis retranscrites, enfin éditées.

Le thème général “La nuit” englobe toutes les disciplines traditionnelles des sciences de l'Antiquité et implique donc une large gamme de sources : textes littéraires, inscriptions, papyrus, archéologie au sens large du terme, y compris l'iconographie.

Il relève en premier lieu de l'histoire, de la sociologie, de l'étude des mentalités, mais aussi de l'histoire de l'art, de la poésie et de la littérature.

Le recueil de textes ci-dessous s'ouvre sur une synthèse rédigée par Angelos Chaniotis lui-même et se poursuit par une série d'incursions dans les domaines les plus divers : la poétesse Sapho voisine avec les divinités nocturnes, la vie quotidienne s'étend aux scènes de violence dans la guerre et la prise des villes, les rites païens débouchent sur ceux du monde chrétien. L'ensemble des contributions et des discussions forme un tout original et fascinant.

Depuis une quinzaine d'années, la série des *Entretiens* de la Fondation Hardt a connu une évolution sensible. Celle-ci n'apparaît pas dans la forme des volumes reliés ni dans la qualité de leur impression, qui continuent à viser l'excellence, ni dans le niveau du contenu. En outre, les volumes se sont enrichis d'un cahier de planches et d'une élégante jaquette ornée d'une illustration.

C'est dans le choix des sujets que l'évolution se fait le plus nettement sentir. Fidèle à l'esprit du temps, la Commission scientifique a choisi au cours de la décennie écoulée de sélectionner un certain nombre de thématiques visant à répondre à des questions bien définies ou à des problèmes dictés par des attentes contemporaines. Les *Entretiens* ambitionnent d'atteindre ainsi une plus grande "pertinence sociale" (*social relevance*). La Fondation n'oublie pas pour autant que certains des ouvrages qu'elle a publiés sont devenus de véritables manuels d'usage courant, comme les volumes dédiés aux grands écrivains de la littérature grecque et romaine ou, au contraire, à certains auteurs moins souvent lus et étudiés. Professeurs, chercheurs et étudiants seront heureux d'apprendre que l'ensemble de la série des *Entretiens* est maintenant accessible en ligne grâce à un programme réalisé et financé par la Confédération suisse, cela pour soutenir la diffusion commerciale des volumes.¹

¹ Dans le cadre d'une convention intervenue entre la Fondation Hardt et la Bibliothèque nationale suisse (BN), la série des *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique* (dès 1952) a été numérisée et est aujourd'hui accessible en ligne avec une barrière mobile de trois ans sur le site de la Fondation Hardt et les plateformes *e-periodica.ch* et *E-Helvetica Access*.

Tous les domaines, tous les auteurs de l’Antiquité gréco-romaine n’ont pas encore fait l’objet d’une série d’*Entretiens*, tant s’en faut. On peut mentionner en particulier l’absence de volumes consacrés à certains auteurs ou groupes d’auteurs importants. La Fondation entend poursuivre sa mission d’aborder des sujets divers, dans la tradition inaugurée en 1952 par le baron Kurd von Hardt.

Les *Entretiens* 2017 ont été conçus par Angelos Chaniotis, professeur à l’Institute for Advanced Study de Princeton et membre de la Commission scientifique de la Fondation Hardt, et présidés par le soussigné. Le volume paraît sous la direction scientifique d’Angelos Chaniotis. Il a été édité par ce dernier en collaboration avec Pascale Derron, qui a notamment assuré la mise aux normes et la réalisation des index. La jaquette et les planches sont dues à Alexandre Pointet, Shaolin-Design à Lausanne. Les éditeurs expriment leur reconnaissance à Emyr Dakin (City University of New York), qui a revu les textes anglais de Filippo Carlà-Uhink, Angelos Chaniotis, Koen De Temmerman et Ioannis Mylonopoulos.

Nous remercions les acteurs qui ont contribué au succès des 64^e *Entretiens*, Gary Vachicouras, secrétaire général de la Fondation, Pascale Derron, qui assure l’édition des *Entretiens* depuis 2010, Heidi Dal Lago, gouvernante, Patricia Burdet, secrétaire administrative et tous les autres collaboratrices et collaborateurs de la Fondation, sans oublier les auditeurs qui ont fidèlement suivi et en partie animé les *Entretiens*, André Hurst, Paul Schubert, Damien Nelis, Jocelyne Nelis-Clément, André-Louis Rey, Lavinia Galli Milic, Sophie Gällnö et Véronique Dasen. Mais l’essentiel du mérite revient à Angelos Chaniotis.

Pierre DUCREY,
directeur de la Fondation Hardt

I

ANGELOS CHANIOTIS

NESSUN DORMA!

CHANGING NIGHTLIFE IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN EAST

1. The night in historical research¹

Let me begin with the good news. Unlike the definition of so many other subjects studied by historians that of the ‘night’ is clear and unambiguous: it is the period between sunset and sunrise, between twilight and dawn. This definition is consistent and unalterable, regardless of culture and time. It holds true for Pharaonic Egypt and 21st-century Helsinki alike. To be sure, the duration of the night may differ depending on the season and location — from Hadrian’s Wall to Dura-Europos and from Chersonesos in Tauris to Oxyrhynchus — but not its definition.

And now the bad news: beyond this clear and simple definition, everything that fills the night with life, from the economic, political, social, cultural, and religious activities of humans to the behavior of animals, everything that stimulates the senses, from shadows, street illumination, the moonlight, the odor of night flowers, or the touching of a naked body in the darkness

¹ For epigraphic publications I use the abbreviations of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. I am grateful to Matthew Peebles (Columbia University) and Emyr Dakin (CUNY) for correcting the English text. I have discussed some aspects of this subject in various articles: CHANIOTIS (2017), (2018a), and (2018b). Some overlaps and repetitions were unavoidable.

to the barking of dogs, the rhythmical call of the owl, the noise of revelers, the snoring of an old man, or the blaring of a car alarm, and everything that humans experience during the night, from dreams or the unwelcome visit of ghosts to pirate attacks, all of this differs depending on a vast array of factors including species, ecology, age, gender, social position, occupation, and historical context.

A nocturnal banquet is experienced differently by the host and his guests, the slave who serves, and the flute girl who entertains; waking up late in the morning is often a privilege of the higher social strata; religious faith may lead to interruptions of sleep for prayer. Mannerisms may also play a significant role in differentiating the experience of the night — for instance, it is somehow believed that insomnia leads to good poetry or original PhD dissertations.

The activities that unfold and the experiences that are sustained during the night depend on constantly changing factors that may range from technology and the organization of labor to religion. As examples of the former: the invention of electricity revolutionized night-life; 24-hour TV and radio have had a tremendous impact on our lives since their inception; and the development of aviation, radars, and infrared have increased the horrors of warfare. The obligatory nocturnal prayers in Christianity and Islam have had an impact on behavior during the night. Such diverse factors explain why nightclubs have only existed since the 19th century; why some societies have evening dresses and others do not; why segmented sleep prevailed in preindustrial European culture;² why specific forms of music, literature, and visual art are associated with the night — such as the nocturne and *Nachtmusik*, the Gothic novel and the sympathetic dialogue, the film noir and the horror movie.

That nightlife differs depending on the historical context is not surprising. All human experiences and actions are subject to change, regardless of whether they take place during the day

² EKIRCH (2005) 300-323.

or during the night. With this in mind, is there any reason for separating the history of the night from the rest of history? Historical research has answered the first question in an affirmative way, studying significant aspects of the night in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe, in the Ottoman Empire, and in the modern world.³ Although the relevant studies have not radically changed our understanding of the past, viewing European, Ottoman, and modern societies from the perspective of the night has made the contours of certain phenomena sharper and even illuminated them (if you allow me this apparent oxymoron). Such phenomena include crime, policing and the maintenance of order,⁴ witchcraft and Christian piety,⁵ debating, feasting, and entertaining at the royal court,⁶ the rise of street lighting,⁷ differences between city and countryside,⁸ the emergence of new forms of entertainment,⁹ the relation between gender and nocturnal activities,¹⁰ and of course the impact of technology.¹¹ These studies have taken a more or less synchronic approach, examining the various parameters that differentiate the way that the night is experienced within a community or a group of similar communities.

The Graeco-Roman world offers not only the possibility of another synchronic examination within one cosmopolitan culture, but also of multiple comparative and diachronic studies.

³ SCHIVELBUSCH (1988); EKIRCH (2005); CABANTOUX (2009); KOSLOFSKY (2011); BOURDIN (2013); WISHNITZER (2014).

⁴ DELATTRE (2000) 136-143, 268-324, 454-467; EKIRCH (2005) 75-84; CABANTOUX (2009) 159-190, 229-244; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 128-156.

⁵ CABANTOUX (2009) 69-82, 135-137, 191-227; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 28-90, 247-251.

⁶ EKIRCH (2005) 210-217; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 90-127.

⁷ SCHIVELBUSCH (1988) 79-134; DELATTRE (2000) 79-119; EKIRCH (2005) 67-74; CABANTOUX (2009) 249-262; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 128-156.

⁸ CABANTOUX (2009) 245-249; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 198-235.

⁹ SCHIVELBUSCH (1988) 191-221; DELATTRE (2000) 147-204; EKIRCH (2005) 213-217 (masquerades); CABANTOUX (2009) 282-289; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 93-103; TRIOLAIRE (2013).

¹⁰ EKIRCH (2005) 65-66, 220-222; KOSLOFSKY (2011) 174-197.

¹¹ SCHIVELBUSCH (1988) 3-78 (various forms of lamps); DELATTRE (2000) 85-88, 112-115 (gas and electricity).

Of course, within the limits of this study, I cannot present a short history of the night in the Graeco-Roman world — *eine kleine Nachtgeschichte*, as it were — but I will attempt to historicize ancient nights by focusing on the social and cultural factors that shaped nightlife in the Hellenistic World and the Roman East in a period of approximately 500 years, from Alexander the Great to the Severan dynasty, a period that I call ‘the Long Hellenistic Age’. If this overview is very selective and at times impressionistic, this is not only because of the enormous breadth of the subject and the limited space allowed for this study, but also because of the lack of an extensive corpus of scholarly inquiries on the subject, with the exception of diachronic studies on dreams and of research on banquets, many of which typically continued after sunset.¹²

Exactly forty years ago, Murray Melbin expressed the hypothesis that in the modern world the night has become a new frontier, inviting humans to occupy and colonize it.¹³ Since the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ is a period of continually expanding frontiers, both in a literal and in a metaphorical sense, it is legitimate to ask whether the night was also treated like a frontier. To answer this question, I will briefly discuss certain universal and more or less perennial aspects of human perceptions of the night, and explain how such perceptions influence its representation. I shall argue that the association of the night with a relatively standard set of concepts and feelings determines how it is represented in the textual evidence, leading in part to its misrepresentation. After briefly addressing this methodological issue, I will examine the impact of social, political, and cultural factors on the night.

¹² A general collection of essays: SCIOLI / WALDE (2010). Dreams: HARRIS (2009); JOHNSTON (2010); HARRISON (2013); RENBERG (2015) and (2017a). Sleep: MONTIGLIO (2016). Banquets: MURRAY (1990); DUNBAIN (2003); VÖSSING (2004); STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP (2005); NADEAU (2010); SCHNURBUSCH (2011); KÖNIG (2012); WECOWSKI (2014). See also BECKER (2013).

¹³ MELBIN (1978).

2. Universal perceptions of the night

One of my favorite songs is Cole Porter's *Night and Day* (as performed by Ella Fitzgerald):

“Night and day, you are the one | Only you 'neath the moon or under the sun. | Whether near to me or far, | It's no matter, darling, | where you are. | I think of you night and day.”

What this song (and our linguistic usage more generally) expresses is the polarity of day and night — an opposition that has prevailed for millennia and has not been defeated even by modern technology. Because of this polarity, ‘night’ is a marked word, as the linguists would say: a term that carries special social and cultural connotations, giving emphasis to a statement and, in this case, enhancing an emotional display. In Porter's song, the intensity of desire can only be really expressed when the partition of day and night is lifted, and the two become a continuum. To say “I love you” is one thing; to follow the statement “I love you” with the words “by day” would probably fail to generate much enthusiasm, but to say “I love you by day and night” is an emphatic, unconditional profession of emotion. This usage, appearing in a variety of contexts, has not changed for millennia. “Misfortune by day, misery by night” is an ancient Egyptian curse formula.¹⁴ And in a letter written in Egypt 1900 years ago, a man implores the wife who had abandoned him: “I want you to know that ever since you left me I have been in mourning, weeping at night and lamenting during the day”.¹⁵ A writer's employment of “the night”, in all its markedness, can also underline the weight of a commitment or a wish. This is why we often find the expression “by day and by night” in ritual texts such as oaths, charms, and curses.¹⁶

¹⁴ HUGHES (1969) 46 and 48.

¹⁵ BGU III 846 (Arsinoite nome, 2nd cent. CE): γνώσκειν σε θέλω ἀφ' ὡς ἐξῆλθες ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πένθος ἥγονύμην νυκτὸς κλαίων ἡμέρας δὲ πενθῶν.

¹⁶ Oaths: e.g. *I.Cret.* I.ix.1 (Lyttos, ca. 220 BCE): μὴ μὰν ἐγώ ποκα τοῖς Λυττίοις καλῶς φρονησεῖν μήτε τέχναι μάχαναι, μήτε ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε πεδ' ἡμέραν. Charms: e.g. *IGLS* 1, 220: λύσατε τὴν Τούλιανήν ἀπὸ πάσης φαρμακίας

If ‘night’ is marked as a word, this is partly because the night as an interval of time has been marked since the dawn of humanity. From primeval times — when artificial light was provided by fire burning in a cave or a shelter, giving warmth and protecting from wild animals — humans engaged in a limited repertoire of nocturnal activities. The night provided time for recreation; for sex and sleep; for the joint consumption of food; for storytelling, singing and dancing around the fire; and for watching the stars and observing the phases of the moon. Furthermore, it offered the opportunity for dreaming and the experience of supernatural phenomena. Finally, the night was connected with dangers and the increased need for security measures. Although life in many historical periods has reached high levels of sophistication — through urbanization, technological advancement, and increased social complexity, among other factors — the principal activities, experiences, and perceptions of the night have demonstrated surprising persistence. The night never ceased to require defense measures. It has remained the privileged time for supernatural phenomena — people continue dreaming of dead relatives (although dreaming of the gods has somehow gone out of fashion),¹⁷ and they still believe that the position of the stars and the phases of the moon influence their fortune and behavior. Perennially, the night provides the setting for conviviality in small groups — the family, the members of exclusive associations, conspirators — and on special occasions, it gathers masses of the like-minded in all-night celebrations and vigils. So, the night has been enduringly associated with a certain set of perceptions. It plays a great part in the creation of a sense of togetherness — initiation rites

... νύκτας καὶ ἡμέρας ἥδη ταχὺ ταχὺ ἄρτι ἄρτι. Curses: e.g. SEG XXXVIII 1838 (*Oxyrhynchus*, 3rd cent. CE: κατάδησον καὶ ἀγρύπνησον Ματρώναν, ἦν ἔτεκεν Ταχένη, ἡς ἔχις τὴν οὐσίαν, ἡς ἔχι ἐν νόῳ Θεόδωρος, δὸν ἔτεκεν Τεχώσις, φιλοῦσα<> αὐτὸν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις, πάσῃ ὥρᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος αὐτῆς, [κ[αὶ μηδένα]]έκκτός Θεοδώρου ἥδη ἥδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, ἄρτι ἄρτι.

¹⁷ On epiphanic dreams, see HARRIS (2009) 23-90; for their equivalent in early modern Greece (dreaming of saints), see STEWART (2012).

in secret societies usually take place in the night; it is intimately linked with fear and anxiety but also with erotic desire; and as the night commonly occasions sleep and dreaming, it is associated with death and is regarded as the most effectual time for the communication between mortals and the gods, the living and the dead.

3. Ancient stereotypes

Moving to the ancient world, the fact that the night is a marked time period and that the word ‘night’ is marked can easily be recognized in ancient texts whose authors chose to mention the fact that an incident took place in the night because this enhanced emotional arousal. For instance, the explicit reference of the authors of Hellenistic decrees to the fact that an enemy attack occurred during the night amplified the feeling of danger and increased the gratitude toward those who had averted it.¹⁸ Because of the association of the night with fear — the expression ‘nocturnal fear’ is proverbial —¹⁹ it is more likely that we will be told that a dangerous or frightful event occurred during the night than, for example, that a fisherman spread his net in the calm sea in the moonlight²⁰ or that a sailor followed the stars; because the night is oversexed, we get more information about erotic desire and the composition of love poetry in the night by sleepless men²¹ than about resting

¹⁸ E.g. *IG II²* 1209 (Athens, ca. 319 BCE); *IG V 2*, 412 (Thelphousa, ca. 300 BCE). Further examples in CHANIOTIS (2017) 103-105.

¹⁹ *Orphic Hymn to the Night* 3, 14 ed. QUANDT: φόβους νυχαυγεῖς; *Psalm 90*: οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ.

²⁰ Nocturnal fishing: AYODEJI (2004); SEIDEL (2012) 241-242.

²¹ E.g. MELEAGROS, *Greek Anthology* 5, 8, 151, 155, 165, 166, 191, 197; 6, 162; 12, 125, 127, 137; Anonymous, *Greek Anthology* 5, 101; ASKLEPIADES, *Greek Anthology* 5, 150, 164, 167, 189. Cf. a graffito in Nymphaion: SEG LVIII 894 (3rd cent. BCE): [Θ]εοδώρα | Πιτθωνι χαι[ρειν] καλῶς | ποήσεις με, ἀγρυπνίσεις με (“Theodora to Pithon, greetings; you shall treat me well, you shall keep me awake all night”).

after toilsome work in the fields; because the night is full of dangers, alertness and sleeplessness become favored qualities of leaders in command.²² From Homer on, according to a literary *topos*, the military leader remains armed and awake the whole night long, while the ordinary soldiers sleep.²³

Too often, explicit references to the night function as enhancers of emotional responses and magnifiers of the emotional impact of a narrative. This is why we have direct references to the fact that an earthquake occurred during the night. A late Hellenistic grave epigram for three victims of an earthquake states, for instance, that they were buried under the roof of their domicile and sent to the house of Persephone immediately after their supper.²⁴ That three members of a family were killed during an earthquake is bad enough; that this occurred in the darkness of the night underlines the special tragedy of this fate (though the fact that the victims died in their sleep offers some consolation). The night is further exploited to highlight the outstanding character of an achievement. For instance, the honorific inscription for the pankratiast Tiberius Claudius Rufus²⁵ stresses his laudable motivation in the pursuit of victory by mentioning the fact that “he endured to continue the fight until the night, until the stars came out, as his hope of victory encouraged him to fight more vigorously”. Another reason for explicit

²² Sacerdoti (2014).

²³ Hom. Il. 2, 24: οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εῦδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα; SILIUS 3, 174: *uigili stant bella magistro;* 1, 245-246: [Hannibal] *somnum negabat naturae noctemque uigil ducebat in armis.*

²⁴ IG XII 8, 92 (Imbros, 2nd/1st cent. BCE: ὅρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα | τοὺς τρισσοῖς νέκυας σταθμὸς ἔθαψε δόμου. ... νύκτα δὲ πικροτάτην μεταδόρπιον ὑπνώσαντες | οἰκοῦμεν μέλαθρον Περσεφόνης ζοφερόν) (“in the dark night the roof of the house buried the three dead ... We slept a bitter night after dinner, and now we inhabit the dark palace of Persephone”). Cf. CIL VIII 17970a = An.Ép. 2009, 1771, Bessieriani / Ad Maiores (Numidia), 267 CE: *{post terrae motum} quod [patria]e Pate[r]no et] / Arcesilao co(n)s(ulibus) hora noc[ti]s - - somno fessis contigit;* cf. CIL VIII 2481.

²⁵ IVO 54 (early 2nd cent. CE): ὅτι μέχρι νυκτός, ὡς ἀστρα καταλαβεῖν, διεκαρτέρησε, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν νείκην ἐλπίδος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀγωνίσξεσθαι προτρεπόμενος.

references to the night is the occurrence of something extraordinary. We do not often find descriptions of people sleeping in the night; it was preferable to record the fact that their sleep was interrupted — by a dream, anxiety, grief, or erotic desire — or that they passed from sleep to death.

Consequently, by simply collecting references to the night in literary sources, inscriptions, and papyri, it is unlikely that we will completely grasp the complexity and specificity of the night in a given historical setting, since these references may be influenced by the function of the night as an intensifier. An author's decision to explicitly mention the night as the background of an event or to create a nighttime setting for a fictional narrative is intrinsically connected with widespread perceptions of the night and with the function of the night as an intensifier of empathy.²⁶ The image that we will construct based on such sources will be distorted. Some phenomena — sex and violence — will be over-represented. Night stories, of which we have plenty, are valuable as sources of information, but the sum of night stories does not constitute a history of the night.

For a diachronic, historical study of the night in the Hellenistic world and the Roman East, we need a different approach. We need to recognize significant developments over a relatively long historical period — even longer than the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ that I will be discussing here — and to examine their impact on the night. As I shall argue, from roughly the mid-4th century BCE onwards, we may observe in the world of the Greek cities an increase in nocturnal activities, mainly religious activities and ‘free time activities’, such as visiting baths and gymnasiums, and attending private and public dinners. The problem of providing safety during the night was addressed in a more systematic manner. This general trend culminated in the Imperial period, if we are to judge from the abundance of evidence for measures that made the night brighter, safer, and

²⁶ See the contribution by Koen DE TEMMERMAN in this volume.

more efficient.²⁷ In German, we might call this slow, gradual process an “*Entnachtung*”. Important factors that set this process in motion include continuous wars (from the late 4th to the late 1st century BCE), the greater mobility of persons, stronger urbanization, the growth of voluntary associations, the wider diffusion of mystery cults than ever before, the dependence of cities on benefactors, changes in the position of women, and advancements in technology, science, and technical literature.²⁸ The aim of this study is not to discuss every aspect of the night in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods — e.g., I do not discuss travel, economic activities, and production —, but to highlight changes in nightlife and identify the most significant socio-cultural factors that contributed to these changes.

I am not claiming that any of the nighttime activities that I will be discussing appeared *for the first time* in the 4th century BCE, in the Hellenistic world, or during the Imperial period. We do, however, observe an unprecedented diffusion of phenomena and institutions that were only sporadically attested in the Archaic and Classical period. Although it is not possible to have quantitative studies for most aspects of ancient history — the available data do not allow this — this does not mean that we cannot observe trends or that we cannot determine whether certain phenomena are more common in one place than in another or that they occur more often in one period than in another.

4. Factors that shaped nightlife in the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ I: Security

Since the night is associated with dangers, real or imaginary, private and public, any individual will take some measures for the protection of a private house during the night, most

²⁷ As the contributions by Andrew WILSON and Leslie DOSSEY make clear, this trend reached its peak in Late Antiquity.

²⁸ For the impact of these factors in the Hellenistic period see CHANIOTIS (2018a).

communities will try to guard settlements, walls, gates, and forts, and sentries will be the priority of any cautious military commander. A strong awareness of the nocturnal dangers is revealed as early as the Solonian legislation, which provided for more severe punishments for crimes committed during the night than for those committed at daytime.²⁹ Similar laws existed in Hellenistic cities.³⁰ The priority given to protection during the night is also evidenced by a letter sent by Augustus to Knidos in 6 BCE. It concerns a man accused of the death of an enemy who, alongside some companions, had been harassing him three nights long; when a slave tried to empty a chamber pot on the assailants who were besieging the house, the pot fell and killed one of them. When Augustus was confronted with this case, he expressed his indignation that someone was put on trial for defending his own house during the night.³¹

Given the frequency of wars from the 4th century BCE to the establishment of *pax Romana*, including sieges and direct attacks against cities, it is hardly surprising that we have more textual evidence for the defense of cities than in earlier periods.³² The measures that were recommended by the authors of military handbooks from the mid-4th century BCE on, especially keeping night-watches, night-guards, and dogs, are also

²⁹ DEM. 24, 113; cf. a law proposed by PL. *Leg.* 874 bc. For early Rome see *Lex XII Tab.* 2 and the contribution of Filippo CARLA-UHINK in this volume. For early modern Europe see EKIRCH (2005) 86-87.

³⁰ CHANIOTIS (2018a) 191-192. *IPArk* 17 (Stymphalos, ca. 300 BCE); *P.Halenensis* 1 II. 193-195 (Alexandria, 259 BCE).

³¹ *I.Knidos* 34: ἐθαύμαζον δ' ἄν, πῶς ... μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀξέιων πᾶν ὅτιοῦν παθεῖν, ἐπ' ἀλλοι[τρίαν] οἰκίαν νύκτωρ μεθ' θύρεως καὶ βίας τρὸς ἐπεληγλυ[θό]των καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ὑμῶν ἀσφάλειαν [ἀναι]ρούντων ἀγανακτοῦντες ("I am amazed that you do not show indignation against those who deserved to suffer every punishment, since they attacked another's house three times at night with violence and force and were destroying the common security of all"). For an analysis of the legal aspects of this text, see KARABATSOU (2010).

³² On Hellenistic wars see CHANIOTIS (2005). I discuss measures for the protection of cities during the night in CHANIOTIS (2017) and (2018a) 89-193. Here, I only summarize the evidence.

found in contemporary inscriptions,³³ but the fact that recommendations were necessary shows that such measures were not to be taken for granted. It was only during a military emergency around 100 BCE that Tomis created a special guard of 40 men, who patrolled the city, guarded the gates during the day, and spent the night near them (see note 33). The office of the *nyktostratēgos* (“general of the night”) existed in Ptolemaic Alexandria,³⁴ and it is conceivable that analogous offices that are attested in Asia Minor in the Imperial period (see below), already existed in Hellenistic times and were introduced under the influence of the Ptolemaic administration.

A new impetus for policing measures after sunset came from Augustus’ responses to safety challenges. He may have introduced night-guards as early as 36/35 BCE,³⁵ and certainly established a regular service of *uigiles* in 6 CE, replacing the earlier system of *tresuiri nocturni*.³⁶ *Nyktophylakes* are often found in the eastern provinces, especially in Asia Minor and Egypt, and night watchmen are noted in Rabbinic sources from Roman Palestine.³⁷ We do not have relevant epigraphic evidence from Greece, but Apuleius mentions a *praefectus nocturnae custodiae* in Hypata, who allegedly inspected the town quite methodically, moving from house to house.³⁸

³³ Measures in military handbooks: AEN. TACT. 22, 3 (mid-4th cent. BCE): νυκτοφυλακεῖσθαι; 22, 14 (watchdogs). PH. BYZ. D 94 ed. GARLAN 1974 (3rd/2nd cent. BCE): τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκκοιτίαι. Measures in inscriptions: *IGBulg* I² 324; V 5103 (Mesambria, late 2nd and 1st cent. BCE); φύλακες ἀμερινοί, φύλακες νυκτερινοί, περίδοι; *Syll.*³ 731 = *I. Tomis* 2 ll. 14-16 (Tomis, ca. 100 BCE): παρακοιτήσοντας τὰς νύκτας; see also BRÉLAZ (2005) 83. Watchdogs: *SEG* XXIV 154 ll. 14-15; XXVI 1306 ll. 19-20; XLI 76; cf. PLUT. *Arat.* 7, 5 and 24; see CHANIOTIS (2005) 35, 121, 140.

³⁴ STRAB. 17, 1, 12; HENNIG (2002) 288-289 with note 34; BRÉLAZ (2005) 80.

³⁵ APP. *BCiv.* 5, 132, 547; cf. FUHRMANN (2012) 101-102.

³⁶ SABLAYROLLES (1996); FUHRMANN (2012) 116-118.

³⁷ Asia Minor: BRÉLAZ (2005) 82-83. Egypt: HENNIG (2002) 285-295; HOMOTH-KUHS (2005) 66-67, 76-77; FUHRMANN (2012) 67 and 77-78, 85-86, 130-131. Palestine: SPERBER (1970).

³⁸ APUL. *Met.* 3, 3; FUHRMANN (2012) 57.

That safety measures during the night are an obvious necessity, diachronically, does not mean that they were taken everywhere and always. The fact that such measures are more often attested from the Hellenistic period on does not mean that they did not exist earlier. The emergence of written evidence more likely reflects changes in the ‘epigraphic habit’, that is, the greatest diffusion of inscribed decrees from the 3rd century BCE on. Things are different in the case of two phenomena that one may more plausibly associate with social and cultural changes: measures for the protection of sanctuaries during the night and measures for the supervision of women.

Exiles, refugees, runaway slaves, and suppliants are known to have sought accommodation in sanctuaries for long periods of time already in the Classical period.³⁹ In the early Hellenistic period, a law from Samos (ca. 245 BCE) refers to these groups of people, and also to unemployed mercenaries, as unwelcomed guests in the sanctuary of Hera.⁴⁰ After the pacification of the eastern Mediterranean and the establishment of the Principate exiles and refugees no longer presented a problem, but runaway slaves and suppliants continued to seek protection in sanctuaries in numbers so large that the senate had to intervene in 22/23 CE and review the asylia rights of Greek sanctuaries.⁴¹ Although the encampment of people in sanctuaries, sometimes in large numbers, is an old phenomenon, two new factors obliged the authorities to address the related safety issues: first, nighttime religious activities became more frequent, and second, the number of sanctuaries in which incubation was practiced increased (see below). Safety measures include prohibitions against keeping valuable objects in tents and thus attracting the attention of thieves, and prohibitions against the accommodation of visitors in porticos with the exception of those who had come to offer a sacrifice.⁴²

³⁹ E.g. SINN (2003).

⁴⁰ *IG XII* 6, 169 ll. 9-10 and 21 (ca. 235 BCE); CHANIOTIS (2108a) 193.

⁴¹ RIGSBY (1996) 580-586.

⁴² *IG V* 1, 1390 ll. 34-39 (Andania, 1st cent. BCE or CE); cf. GAWLINSKI (2012) 143-149; *SEG XXXVIII* 1478 (Xanthos, 3rd/2nd cent.).

In the case of the office of the *gynaikonomoi* the interplay between social developments, safety issues, and nocturnal activities is clearer. The great diffusion of the office of the ‘supervisors of women’ truly is a Hellenistic innovation, directly connected with two significant developments: the increased visibility of women in public space⁴³ and the frequency of nocturnal religious celebrations (see below). The rape of a girl during a nocturnal religious festival, a *topos* in New Comedy,⁴⁴ exemplifies the threats that nighttime celebrations presented for the safety and honor of women of citizen status. *Gynaikonomoi* are already attested in the first half of the 4th century BCE but only in Thasos and Samos.⁴⁵ They were introduced in Athens in the late 4th century BCE and later in various cities in the Aegean, the Peloponnese, Crete, Asia Minor, and Alexandria. Their principal duty was the supervision of women during religious celebrations and funerals, which often took place before sunrise.⁴⁶

As this overview shows, although nighttime safety issues are a perennial feature of Greek history, and probably as old as humanity, a variety of factors — the emergence of a technical literature, the frequency of military events affecting urban settlements, the increased mobility of women, the frequency of nocturnal activities in sanctuaries, and the introduction of policing measures in capitals (Alexandria, Rome) — strengthened the interest of civic authorities in nocturnal safety and their efforts to achieve it.

⁴³ E.g. VAN BREMEN (1996); STAVRIANOPOULOU (2006); GÜNTHER (2014).

⁴⁴ BATHRELOU (2012).

⁴⁵ Thasos: *SEG* LVII 820 (ca. 360 BCE). Samos: *IG XII* 6, 461 (ca. 400-350 BCE).

⁴⁶ For the evidence and bibliography see CHANIOTIS (2018a) 191-193 and below note 130.

5. Factors that shaped nightlife in the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ II: Voluntary associations

Private clubs are already attested in Athens in the early 6th century BCE.⁴⁷ But we have to wait until the Hellenistic period to find significant evidence for private voluntary associations in many urban centers beyond Athens.⁴⁸ They spread especially in cities in which large numbers of foreign immigrants lived. In large urban centers of Greece, the shores of the Black Sea, and Asia Minor such as Athens, Kos, Delos, and Ephesos, later also Thessalonike, Smyrna, and Sardeis, private clubs served as a basis for communal identity; but they are also attested in small cities in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and in the Near East.⁴⁹ In the main urban centers guilds became a primary mediator of social and economic interaction especially in the Imperial period. Finally, private associations were the basis of religious worship for larger groups within the urban populations than before the conquests of Alexander in the East. Private associations were not an invention of the Hellenistic period, but they were far more common and diverse in the cities of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods than they had ever been before. Several factors contributed to this: the mobility of people, the desire of immigrants to experience forms of community,⁵⁰ and

⁴⁷ USTINOVA (2005) 183-185; ISMARD (2010) 44-57.

⁴⁸ A selection of recent studies, in which earlier bibliography can be found: KLOPPENBORG / WILSON (1996); PARKER (1996) 333-342; VAN NIJF (1997); DITTMANN-SCHÖNE (2001); EGELHAAF-GAISER / SCHÄFER (2002); ZIMMERMANN (2002); ARNAOUTOGLOU (2003); HARLAND (2003); BASLEZ (2004); GABRIELSEN (2007); NIGDELIS (2010); ARNAOUTOGLOU (2011a); FRÖHLICH / HAMON (2013); GABRIELSEN / THOMSEN (2015); VERBOVEN (2017). For representative collections of texts from the Roman East, see KLOPPENBORG / ASCOUGH (2011); HARLAND (2014); for Egypt see SAN NICOLÒ (1972).

⁴⁹ Athens: PARKER (1996) 334-342; ISMARD (2010) 146-404; ARNAOUTOGLOU (2003) and (2011a). Kos: MAILLOT (2013). Delos: BASLEZ (2013). Thessalonike: NIGDELIS (2010). Smyrna and Sardeis: HARLAND (2009) 145-160. Lydia: ARNAOUTOGLOU (2011b). Syria: GATIER / SEIGNE (2006); cf. SEG LVI 1920; POSID. *FGrH* 87 F 10. Egypt: CENIVAL (1972); SAN NICOLÒ (1972); MONSON (2006).

⁵⁰ GABRIELSEN (2007); HARLAND (2009) 63-122.

the diffusion of cults that were based on initiation and exclusivity (see below).

Although the criteria for membership varied across the different voluntary associations, regular banqueting and convivial drinking was common to them all.⁵¹ Greek inscriptions and papyri use a very diverse terminology for this practice: ἔστιασις, ἔστιᾶν, εὐωχία, οἰνοπόσιον, οἰνοποσία, οἶνος, πόσις, συμπόσιον.⁵² Sometimes, this convivial drinking took place only once a month, on a particular day from which the association derived its name (e.g. *noumeniastai*, *dekatistai*).⁵³ Not all gatherings occurred after sunset, but conviviality in the night is sometimes explicitly mentioned in the sources.⁵⁴ Maintaining order was a serious problem, as we learn from the club of the Athenian Iobakchoi. An inscription of the second half of the 2nd century CE preserves detailed rules to be followed during the drinking sessions that were held on the ninth day of every month and on the festive days dedicated to Dionysos.⁵⁵

As we can infer from member lists of associations, membership was often open to representatives of the lower social strata — that is, the social groups that in the past were excluded from the nocturnal drinking parties typically held by the wealthy elite.⁵⁶ Voluntary associations accepted foreigners, craftsmen,

⁵¹ E.g. POSID. *FGrH* 87 F 10; PARKER (1996) 335-336; HARLAND (2003) 57-61, 74-83; GABRIELSEN (2007) 184; HARLAND (2014) 53-54, 271; CHANIOTIS (2018a) 194.

⁵² A few examples: *I.Délos* 1520 (Delos, 2nd cent. BCE); *P.Lond.* VII 2193 (Philadelphia, Egypt, 1st cent. BCE); *P.Mich.* V 243-244 (Tebtynis, 1st cent. CE); *IG* X 2, 1, 259 (Thessalonike, 1st cent. CE); *SEG* XXXI 122 (Athens, 121/122 CE); *I.Histria* 57 (2nd cent. CE); *SEG* IV 598 (Teos, 2nd cent. CE); *I.Ephesos* 2115 (3rd cent. CE).

⁵³ CHANIOTIS (2018a) 194.

⁵⁴ For references see CHANIOTIS (2018a) 194.

⁵⁵ *IG* II² 1368. Discussions: BASLEZ (2004) 118-120; JACCOTTET (2011); ARNAOUTOGLOU (2016). For similar problems see e.g. *P.Lond.* VII 2193 (Philadelphia, 1st cent. BCE); *P.Mich.* V 243 (Tebtynis, 1st cent. CE); *IG* IX² 1, 670 (Physkos, ca. 150 CE).

⁵⁶ On the aristocratic nature of pre-Hellenistic symposia in Greece, see most recently WECOWSKI (2014), esp. 303-336.

slaves, and in some cases women as members,⁵⁷ and, naturally, professional *koina* consisted of craftsmen and the representatives of various trades. For instance, foreigner residents and craftsmen formed voluntary associations in Kos and Rhodes.⁵⁸

With the diffusion of private associations, an activity of the later part of the day and the evening typically associated with the propertied classes was opened on specific days to larger groups of the population. The diffusion of the regular nocturnal conviviality of the private clubs coincides with — and was probably influenced by — conviviality in the Hellenistic royal courts and, later, in the imperial court.⁵⁹ The public banquet is a specific form of conviviality that in the cities of the Imperial period was far more common and open to larger groups of the population than in the past — including women, slaves, and foreigners — thanks to the contributions of benefactors (see below).

6. Factors that shaped nightlife in the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ III: Benefactors

As private clubs extended the nightlife of large groups of the urban populations, the contributions of wealthy benefactors augmented nocturnal activities in other ways. The wealthy elite’s benefactions to nightlife are primarily connected with the opening hours of baths and gymnasia, and the provision of public banquets.

⁵⁷ On the expanded membership, see POLAND (1908) 328-329; GABRIELSEN (2007) 179; ARNAOUTOGLOU (2011a); cf. HARLAND (2003) 28-53; MAILLOT (2013) 208.

⁵⁸ Rhodes: PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (1939-1940); MAILLOT (2009). Kos: MAILLOT (2013).

⁵⁹ Banquets in Hellenistic and imperial courts: VÖSSING (2004); STEINHÖLKESKAMP (2005); GRANDJEAN / HUGONIOT / LION (2013); esp. CAPDETREY (2013).

In the Imperial period, supervisors of the gymnasia (*gymnasiarchoi*) — an important liturgical position reserved for the elite — are sometimes praised for having abundantly supplied oil night and day (*νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας*) or for a large part of the night (*τὸ πλεῖστον/έπι πολὺ μέρος τῆς νυκτός*), thus expanding the operation of these facilities.⁶⁰ Such generosity, attested sporadically in Asia Minor from the 1st century CE, was exceptional — which is why it is explicitly mentioned in honorific and commemorative inscriptions. For instance, Tiberius Claudius Flavianus Eudemos, a great benefactor at Patara in Lykia, kept the gymnasium open for all age classes during his service as *gymnasiarchos*.⁶¹ The largesse of some *gymnasiarchoi* became a model and inspiration for their successors. For instance, the first time that the gymnasium in Herakleia Salbake was open day and night was during the *gymnasiarchia* of Statilius [- -], son of Tryphon (73/74 CE).⁶² His example was followed by another member of his family, Marcus Statilius Tryphon, in 124/125 CE,⁶³ and there may have been other emulators of this generosity in the fifty years that separate the one Tryphon from the other. In Aphrodisias, a priestess of the emperors offered oil to the gymnasium, probably in connection with a festival of the imperial cult, “also for the greatest

⁶⁰ *I.Magnesia* 163: ἀδιαλείπτως θέντα τὸ ἔλαιον ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς (Magnesia on the Maeander, 1st cent. CE); *SEG* LVII 1364: ἀλείψαντα δραχτοῖς[ε] νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκ τῶν ὕδων ἀναλωμάτων (Hierapolis, 2nd cent. CE); *MAMA* VI 105: [ε]τούς ἡμέρας καὶ [ν]υκτὸς δραχτοῖς [ἀ]σαλεύτοις (Herakleia Salbake, 2nd cent. CE). More examples in notes 61–65.

⁶¹ *SEG* LXIII 1344 ll. 9–12: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα π[ά]σης ἡλικίας ἐκ τῶν ὕδων, ἀλε[ι]ψαντα δι' ὅλων ἡμερῶν καὶ ν[υ]κτῶν (early 2nd cent. CE).

⁶² ROBERT / ROBERT (1954) 169–170 no. 56: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους δραχτοῖς ἀσαλεύτοις ἡμέρας πάσης καὶ νυκτὸς πρῶτον καὶ μόνον (“who served as *gymnasiarchos* for the entire year, providing olive oil through vases that were not removed, all day and night, first and only”).

⁶³ ROBERT and ROBERT (1954) 190–191 no. 94; *MAMA* VI 105: γυ[μ] νασιαρχου τοῦ θεού [ε]τούς ἡμέρας καὶ [ν]υκτὸς δραχτοῖς [ἀ]σαλεύτοις. A good example of how priests followed the model of their predecessors and sought to surpass them in generosity is offered by the list of priests of the imperial cult in Galatia (*I.Ancyra* 2).

part of the night" (late 2nd cent. CE).⁶⁴ In the 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE, the gymnasium (and the baths) at Stratonikeia, remained open night and day during the great festivals of the Heraia and the Panamareia, for 10 to 22 days, thanks to the generosity of benefactors.⁶⁵ It is noteworthy that on these occasions access was provided to people of every age and property class (*πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ*), to citizens and foreigners, free individuals and slaves, men and women.

Also the bathing culture, which was significantly enlarged, diffused, and transformed in the eastern provinces during the Imperial period,⁶⁶ profited much from *euergetism*. Local benefactors made the greatest contribution towards the construction, upkeep, and improvement of bathing facilities.⁶⁷ Although baths were typically visited before sunset and dinner,⁶⁸ there were exceptions. Thanks to the generosity of benefactors in Stratonikeia during the second and early 3rd centuries CE, the baths of men and women remained open for a significant part of the night during the festivals of Zeus and Hera.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ MAMA VIII 492b; *I.Aphr.* 12, 29 ii.

⁶⁵ *I.Stratonikeia* 281 (2nd cent. CE): γυμνα[σιαρχήσαντες πάσῃ τύχῃ καὶ ἡ] λικίᾳ ἀπὸ νυκτὸς μέχρι νυκ[τός]; 1050 + 1034 (2nd cent. CE): [ἔθηκαν ἔλ]αιον ἐλακυστὸν ἐ[γ] λουτήρων δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας [τὸ πλεῖστον] μέρος τῆς [νυκτός]; 1325A (late 2nd/3rd cent. CE): οὐ[το]ς ἔλαιον ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βαλανείοις καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμναστῷ ἀπαρατηρήτως καὶ πολυτελῶς καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς νυ[κτός]; 245 (late 2nd/early 3rd cent. CE): ἐγυμνασιάρχησαντες ... ἡμέρας δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας; 222 (3rd cent. CE): γυμνασιαρχήσαντες ... ἡμέρας [ι' ἐκ νυκτὸς εἰς νύκτα]; 224 (3rd cent. CE): γ[υμνασιαρχήσαντες καὶ] ἡμέρας καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς ις νύκτα[ι ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γυμνασίοις (3rd cent. CE). See also *I.Stratonikeia* 203, 205, 244, 246-248, 311, 312, 345. WILLIAMSON (2013) has studied how the competition among priests increased the glamour of these festivals.

⁶⁶ On the spread of Roman bathing in Italy and the provinces, see NIELSEN (1999); FAGAN (1999) 40-74; FARRINGTON (1999), with earlier bibliography.

⁶⁷ FAGAN (1999) 104-175.

⁶⁸ FAGAN (1999) 22-24. Greek inscriptions sometimes explicitly state that baths (and gymnasia) were open from sunrise to sunset: e.g. *IG IV* 597, 606 (Argos, Imperial period).

⁶⁹ *I.Stratonikeia* 254: text and translation in note 77; *I.Stratonikeia* 324: [ἐ]θηκαμεν δὲ κ[αὶ] τῶν γυναικῶν π[ά]σῃ τύχῃ καὶ ἡλ[ι]κίᾳ ἐν τοῖς γυναικίοις βαλαν[ι]οις ἀπὸ νυκτό[ις]. Cf. *I.Stratonikeia* 205, 245, 248, 311, 312, 324.

Public dinners (*deipnon*, *dēmothoinia*) for the entire population — to be distinguished from the joint dinners of magistrates and state guests — had a long tradition in Greek culture.⁷⁰ Apart from special cases, such as the Spartan and Cretan *syssitia*,⁷¹ public *deipna* were typically held in connection with religious festivals and commemorative celebrations, and from the Imperial period onwards also in connection with the imperial cult.⁷²

From the late Hellenistic period on, banquets were among the events that offered members of the elite an opportunity to show off their generosity. In addition to increasing the funds spent and the services offered (food, wine, entertainment), the benefactors also increased the number of participants by extending invitations to a broad cross-section of the population beyond the male citizens: married and unmarried women, freedmen and slaves, Romans resident in a city, and the people of the countryside. This trend continued in the Imperial period.⁷³ The popularity of public municipal banquets in the Imperial period is reflected by the introduction of the offices of the *εὐποσιάρχης* (“in charge of good drinking”) and the *οἰνοποσιάρχης* (“in charge of wine-drinking”) in Thrace and

⁷⁰ Greek public banquets: SCHMITT PANTEL (1992), esp. 260-289, for the vocabulary of public dining (γλυκισμός, δεῖπνον, δημοθονία, ἐστίασις, ξενισμός).

⁷¹ Sparta and Crete: SCHMITT PANTEL (1992) 60-81. Sparta: SINGOR (1999). Crete: TALAMO (1987); LAVRENCIC (1988).

⁷² E.g., religious festivals: *IG XII* 5, 129 (Paros, 2nd cent. BCE); XII 7, 33, 389 (Amorgos, 2nd cent. BCE); *SEG XXXIX* 1244 ll. 35-46 (Kolophon, late 2nd cent. BCE). Commemorative celebration for Aleximachos: *IG XII* 7, 515 (Amorgos, late 2nd cent. BCE). Imperial cult: *I.Ancyra* 2 (late 1st cent. BCE - early 1st cent. CE).

⁷³ Examples from the late Hellenistic period (ca. 150-50 BCE): *IG XII* 5, 721 (Andros); XII 5, 863-865 (Tenos); XII 7, 33, 389, 515 (Amorgos). See also SCHMITT PANTEL (1992) 380-408. Imperial period: e.g. Pagai: *IG VII* 190; Akraiphia: *IG VII* 2712; Syros: *IG XII* 5, 660, 662, 668; *IG XII Suppl.* 238; Ephesos: *I.Ephesos* 4330; Kolophon: *SEG XXXIX* 1244; Stratouikeia: *I.Stratouikeia* 192, 222, 254, 262, 295, 311, 312, 318, 664, 705. See also STAVRIANOPOULOU (2009).

Asia Minor⁷⁴ as well as by the construction of special facilities (*deipnistēria*).⁷⁵ Although these inclusive events could momentarily create the illusion of equality, they ultimately confirmed social barriers by explicitly referring to the participants' unequal social and legal statuses, making special spatial arrangements, and providing varied portions to different groups.

Traditionally, public banquets took place in the afternoon and were completed before sunset, however, the continuation of festivities into the night was possible, especially in the context of religious celebrations.⁷⁶ In the mid-2nd century CE, a priest and his wife in Stratonikeia

“offered a complete banquet in the gymnasium to all the citizens, the foreigners, and the slaves and [- -]; they also offered a banquet to all the women, those of citizen status, the free women, and the slaves [- -]; they organized a contest at their own expense, paying for the most celebrated shows, throughout the day and for a large part of the night; and [- -] they offered olive

⁷⁴ *Euposiarchēs* as a public function (not an office of a voluntary association) in the Imperial period: *IG XII* 8, 526 (Thasos, 2nd cent. CE); *IGBulg I²* 51, 111, 131, 167, 186, 204, 254, (Odessos); *I.Kallatis* 32 (1st cent. CE); *I.Tomis* 79, 298; *SEG XL* 602; *I.Erythrai* 105; *I.Pergamon* III 35; *I.Smyrna* 244. *Oinoposiarchēs* is attested as a public office only in Bithynia: *I.Iznik* 726 (Kios), 1071 (Nikaia); *SEG LXII* 978 (Nikaia); *TAM IV* 1, 20 (Nikomedea).

⁷⁵ Mantinea: *IG V* 2, 268 (ca. 10 BCE-10 CE). Chalkis: *IG XII* 9, 906 (3rd cent. CE). Aphrodisias: *MAMA VIII* 413d (2nd cent. CE); cf. CHANIOTIS (2008) 64-65. Side: *I.Side II* no. 153 I.26 (3rd cent. CE). Tymbriada (Pisidia): *SEG LV* 1448 (2nd cent. CE).

⁷⁶ STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP (2005) 112-116. On the usual time of the *deipnon*, around sunset, see e.g. MERKELBACH / STAUBER (1998) 365-366 no. 03/05/04 (Notion, Imperial period): ἡνίκα δ' ἡέλιος μὲν ἔδυ πρὸς δώματα [νυκτός] | δειπνήσας, ἥλον μετὰ τοῦ μῆτρω λο[έσασ]θαι (“when the sun was setting towards the chambers of the night, after I had taken my supper, I came together with my maternal uncle to bathe”). Cf. PL. *Resp.* 328a7-8: ἐξαναστησόμεθα γὰρ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν παννυχίδα θεασόμεθα. See also DOSSEY (this volume). However, ritual meals often took place during the night; see PARISINOU (2000) 147-148. E.g. a cult calendar in Kos (ca. 350 BCE) stipulates that after the sacrifice to Zeus Polieus, the priest and the heralds go to the public building, where they are offered a reception by the *hieropoioi* “during that night”: *IG XII* 4, 278 ll. 39-41: τοιτῶ δὲ ἵντω πάρ τοὺς ἱαροποιοῖ[λο]ς ἔς τὸ οἴκημα τὸ δαμόσιον ἴχ[ρε]υτος καὶ κάρηκες, ἱαροποιοὶ δὲ ξενίζογτι τὸν ιερὴν καὶ τὸς κάρυκας τα[ύ]ταν νύκτα.

oil to every property and age class in both baths, both day and night, to all the people, both to the locals and to the foreigners who had arrived as visitors".⁷⁷

In 2nd-century-CE Bithynia, inscriptions listing benefactors regularly include the purposes for which money had been offered: drinking parties (*oinoposion*) and concerts (*sympônia*). The lighting of lamps (*lychnapsia*) suggests nocturnal feasts.⁷⁸ Nonnus, writing on Kadmos' visit to Samothrace, mentions a gold statue holding a torch, with the light of the flame falling on those who dined in the evening.⁷⁹ This mythological narrative reflects actual practices (see below). During celebrations for Artemis and Commodus in Ephesos, banquets of the *gerousia* were held under torchlight (ca. 180-192 CE).⁸⁰

Admittedly, such services by benefactors, unattested in Greece and Asia Minor before the late Hellenistic period, were extraordinary and limited to certain festive days. But this immense generosity was only yet another piece in a great mosaic that filled the night with activities. Cult was one of the most important panels of this mosaic.

⁷⁷ *I.Stratonikeia* 254: ἐδεξιώσαντο ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντας τούς τε πολείτας καὶ ξένους καὶ δούλοις δείπνῳ τελείῳ καὶ τοὺς [- -]αν, ἐδείπνουσαν δὲ ὄμοιως [- - τὰς γυναικας πᾶσας] τάς τε πολειτίδας καὶ ἐ[λευθέρας καὶ δούλας - -] ἐπετέλε[σαν δὲ ἀγῶνα ἐν τῷ ίδιων μετά] καὶ πρωτευόντων ἀκροαμάτων δι’ δῆτας ἡμέρας ἔχοι πολ[λο]ῦ μέρος τῆς νυκτός, ἐν δ[ε] - - ἔθεσαν ἔλαιον πάσῃ τύχην καὶ ἡλικίαν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν βαλανείοις καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς τῷ σύνπαντι πλήθει τῶν τε [έντοπίων καὶ τῶν ἐπι]δημητράντων ξένιον.

⁷⁸ Οἰνοπόσιον: *TAM* IV 1, 16 ll. 7, 9; 17 ll. 4, 11, 15, 16, 21; cf. note 74 on the office of the *oinoposiarχēs*; συμφωνία: *TAM* IV 1, 16 l. 14; 17 ll. 6, 12; λυγχαψία: *TAM* IV 1, 16 l. 4; 17 ll. 5, 21.

⁷⁹ NONNUS *Dion.* 3, 169-171: καὶ πολὺς εὐποίητος ἐρεισάμενος πόδα πέτρῳ | χρύσεος ἵστατο κοῦρος ἀνατία δαιτυμονήων | λαμπάδος ἐσπερίης τανύων ἐπιδόρπιον αἴγλην.

⁸⁰ *I.Ephesos* 26 l. 15: ἐν μὲν τοῖς δε[ίπνοις λαμ]παδουχε[ι]ν. It is possible that a regulation concerning the sale of the priesthood of Sarapis in Magnesia on the Maeander obliged the priest to keep the *deipnistérion* accessible night and day; but the text is heavily restored: *I.Magnesia* 99 ll. 28-31 = *LSAM* 34: [τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιμελόμ]ενος καὶ τῆς [ἥ]μέρας τὸ δ[ειπνιστήριον πᾶσιν τ]ῶν συνόντων ἐν τῷ [ι]τεμένει ἀνεωιγμένον παρέχειν].

7. Factors that shaped nightlife in the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ IV: Rituals

Nocturnal religious celebrations are not an innovation of the Hellenistic period. They have existed since the Bronze Age, and presumably earlier. In urban settings there have always been public festivals and private celebrations (e.g. weddings) that took place during the night.⁸¹ Also the worship of deities associated with the moon and the night was connected with nocturnal rites.⁸² Four interrelated phenomena contributed to making nocturnal religious activities more diffused in the Hellenistic world, especially in cosmopolitan urban centers: first, the rise of private associations, more specifically of Dionysiac associations, associations of worshippers of the Egyptian gods, and later associations of worshippers of the so-called Oriental deities; second, the diffusion of cults with a soteriological or initiatory aspect, in which nocturnal rites traditionally played an important part; thirdly, the influence of festivals organized by the Hellenistic kings on the nocturnal celebrations of cities and associations; and fourthly, the institutionalized direct communication between mortals and gods through *enkoimēsis* (incubation in sanctuaries in expectation of an epiphanic dream) and staged epiphanies.⁸³

These trends continued in the Imperial period. Mystery cults — especially the Isiac mysteries and the mysteries celebrated by the associations of Dionysiac *mystai* — spread throughout the Roman East and with them also nocturnal rituals. Nocturnal rites are a recurring element in mysteries because they enhanced emotional arousal, engendering feelings of exclusivity and a

⁸¹ CHANIOTIS (2018a) 196-197, with bibliography. On nocturnal rituals in Greek religion from ca. 600 to ca. 300 BCE, see PARISINOU (2000).

⁸² CHANIOTIS (2018a) 197; see also the contribution by Vinciane PIRENNE-DELFORGE in this volume.

⁸³ Discussion of these factors in the Hellenistic period in CHANIOTIS (2018a) 200-202.

sense of identity.⁸⁴ The importance of the night in Isiac initiation is, for instance, reflected by Apuleius' narrative in the 11th Book of the *Metamorphoses*, despite the potential exaggerations and inaccuracies of this account.⁸⁵ Waking during the night, seeing the full moon, and realizing that "cloaked in the silent mysteries of nocturnal darkness, the supreme Goddess exercises her greatest power", Lucius purified himself in the sea, prayed to Isis, and experienced her epiphany. His proper initiation took place in the evening.

"The sun was setting, bringing twilight on, when suddenly a crowd flowed towards me, to honor me with sundry gifts, in accord with the ancient and sacred rite. All the uninitiated were ordered to depart, I was dressed in a new-made robe of linen and the high-priest, taking me by the arm, led me into the sanctuary's innermost recess."

After the completion of the nocturnal ceremony, Lucius appeared in front of the crowd at dawn dressed like the Sun. A second initiation into the "nocturnal mysteries of the Supreme God" followed. Finally, Lucius received the instructions for a third initiation in his dreams.

Nocturnal ceremonies of an orgiastic nature have traditionally been part of the worship of Dionysos.⁸⁶ In the Imperial period, nocturnal rites are sometimes directly mentioned in inscriptions; in other times, they can only be inferred, for instance through references to artificial light, to the office of the *archilampadephoros* (chief torch-bearer), and the *lychn(o) aptria* (the woman who lit the lamps), or to the personification of the night (Nyx).⁸⁷ The statutes of an association of Dionysos

⁸⁴ Samothracian mysteries: COLE (1984) 36-37. Dionysiaca celebrations: PARISINOU (2000) 71-72, 118-123. Cf. PODVIN (2011), for light in the cult is Isis. On the importance of emotional arousal in mystery cults see CHANIOTIS (2011) 267-272; MARTZAVOU (2012).

⁸⁵ APUL. *Met.* 11, 1-7; 11, 20-21; 11, 23-24. Cf. GRIFFITHS (1975) 278.

⁸⁶ E.g. KERENYI (1976) 204-237; e.g. EM 609, 20, s.v. Νυκτέλιος.

⁸⁷ *Archilampadephoros*: IG X 2, 1s. 1077 l. 25 (Thessalonike, early 3rd cent. CE). *Lychnoaptria*: IGBulg III 1, 1517 l. 30 (Philippopolis, ca. 241-244 CE).

worshippers in Physkos (Lokris) from the 2nd century CE include provisions for nocturnal ceremonies: the association should provide three lamps, and the *mainades* were to be fined if they failed to fulfill a certain obligation during the “sacred night” — the nature of this obligation is not preserved in the fragmentary passage of the inscription.⁸⁸ An instructive example of nocturnal rites is found in an inscription from Thessalonike concerning a private endowment for a cult association of initiates of Dionysos in the 1st century CE.⁸⁹ The sponsor’s declared aim was to ensure the continuation of the rites that were performed on three nights of different months. The members of the association took an oath that they would preserve the ritual of bread distribution at midnight on those days.

As the mobility of people and ideas increased, the nocturnal ceremonies of one cult could easily become trendsetters that influenced another.⁹⁰ Philo gives a vivid description of nocturnal spiritual activities and wine consumption among the Jewish *therapeutai* in Egypt in the early 1st century CE, explicitly associating these practices with Dionysiac worship.

“After the supper they hold the sacred vigil... They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory (*symposion*) form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women... Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies, sometimes chanting together, sometimes taking up the harmony antiphonally, hands and feet keeping time in accompaniment, and rapt with enthusiasm reproduce sometimes the lyrics of the procession, sometimes of the halt and of the wheeling and counter-wheeling of a chorric dance. Then... having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God’s love they mix and both together

Cult of Nyx and Telete in Pergamon: STRINGER (2007) 25; see also the contribution of Vinciane PIRENNE-DELFORGE in this volume.

⁸⁸ *IG IX²* 1, 670; *LSCG* 181. Discussed by JACCOTTET (2003) no. 153.

⁸⁹ *IG X* 2, 1, 259. Recent discussion: NIGDELIS (2010) 15-16, 30, and 38 no. 12 (with the earlier bibliography). On bread distribution cf. *SEG LX* 329 (Kenchreai, 1st/2nd cent.: θίασος ἀρτονρεωνικός).

⁹⁰ Examples of the trendsetters for rituals in the Roman Empire: CHANIOTIS (2009).

become a single choir... Thus they continue till dawn, drunk with this drunkenness in which there is no shame.”⁹¹

The cult of the snake god Glykon New Asklepios introduced by Alexandros at Abonou Teichos in the 140s CE, is another example of ritual transfer. Alexandros synthesized elements drawn from healing, divinatory, and mystery cults.⁹² The highlight of the mystery cult was the performance of a sacred drama:⁹³

“The third day was called the Day of Torches, and torches were lighted. Finally, the love of the Moon and Alexander was represented and the birth of Rutilianus’ daughter. Alexander, the new Endymion, served as torchbearer and mystical expounder. While he lay as if he were asleep, there came down to him from the roof, as if from heaven, not the moon goddess but a certain Rutilia, a most beautiful woman, wife of one of the emperor’s stewards, who was truly in love with Alexander and he with her. And before the eyes of that rascal, her husband, they engaged in kisses and embraces in public. And if there had not been that many torches, very quickly copulation would have occurred.”

Although it is not explicitly stated, the context (torches, the Moon, and Endymion) makes it clear that this spectacle unfolded at night. This staged epiphany, exactly as the mysteries’ officials (*hierophantes, dadouchos*) and the ritual of *prorrhēsis* certainly imitated Eleusinian practices.⁹⁴

Such evidence concerning nighttime religious activities needs to be assessed with great caution. First, the fact that for certain nighttime rituals and celebrations we only have evidence from the Hellenistic period on, sometimes only from the Imperial period, does not mean that they did not exist earlier. For instance, in the whole of Asia Minor *pannychides*

⁹¹ *On the Contemplative Life* 83-89 (transl. F.H. COLSON, Loeb); quoted by HARLAND (2003) 72-73.

⁹² SFAMENI GASPARRO (1996) and (1999); CHANIOTIS (2002).

⁹³ LUCIAN. *Alex.* 38-39.

⁹⁴ See SFAMENI GASPARRO (1999) 299-302; CHANIOTIS (2002) 78-79. For nocturnal rites in the Eleusinian mysteries see PARISINOU (2000) 67-71.

are epigraphically attested only in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods;⁹⁵ but it is very likely that the availability of evidence is the result of changes in the epigraphic habit and not of the introduction of new practices. That Lykian Termessos regularly sent an embassy consisting of members of the city's elite to the moon goddess in the Imperial period⁹⁶ may be the result of broader contemporary trends, but the cult of Selene certainly was much older.

Second, a lot of the evidence concerns celebrations that took place on a few specific dates; they, therefore, only had a limited impact on the nocturnal cityscape. The Delian inventories (3rd/2nd cent. BCE) regularly mention torches that were provided for choral performances, presumably in the evening or the night, in connection with nine festivals and also on the occasion of the visit of sacred envoys (*theôroi*); most of these festivals were new, added to the festive calendar of Delos; but still, these celebrations only took place on a few nights during the year.⁹⁷ This also applies to nocturnal rituals in the cult of the Samothracian Great Gods (see note 84). The office of the *lychnaptria*, the female cult servant who lit the lamps in

⁹⁵ *I.Ephesos* 10 (Ephesus, 3rd cent. BCE); *I.Erythrai* 207 + *SEG XXX* 1327 (Erythrai, 2nd cent. BCE); WILHELM (1913) 43-48 (Hyllarima, Imperial period); RAMSAY (1895) 143 no. 31 (Thiounta, 2nd cent. CE); *MAMA III* 50 (Cilicia, 2nd cent. CE).

⁹⁶ *SEG LVII* 1482 (ca. 212-230 CE): δωδεκάκ[ις σὺν τοῖσδε πρεσ]βευταῖς Θεᾶς Σελήνη συνεπέρεσθευσεν...

⁹⁷ The standard expression is χορῶι τῶν γενομένωι + name of a festival λαμπάδες. The following festivals are mentioned in the best preserved accounts: Antigoneia, Aphrodisia, Apollonia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Demetrieia, Philokleia, Ptolemaia, Soteria, and celebrations on the occasion of the visits of *theôroi*. See *IG XI 2*, 159 ll. 73-75 (282 BCE): Apollonia, Artemisia, Britomartia, and a celebration on the occasion of the visit of Rhodian *theôroi*; *IG XI 2*, 287 ll. 47-48, 56, 72-76 (250 BCE): Antigoneia, Apollonia, Artemisia, and celebration on the occasion of the visits of *theôroi* from Karystos, Kos, and Siphnos; *I.Délos* 290 ll. 58-59, 67-68, 82, 91 (246 BCE): Apollonia, Antigoneia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Aphrodisia, Ptolemaia. *I.Délos* 316 ll. 78-80, 87, 99 (231 BCE): Antigoneia, Demetrieia, Ptolemaia, Artemisia, Aphrodisia; *I.Délos* 338 ll. 23-25, 31-32, 41 (224 BCE): Ptolemaia (twice), Demetrieia, Antigoneia, Artemisia, Britomartia, Philokleia, Aphrodisia, Soteria.

temples, suggests rites in the darkness — but not necessarily during the night. This office is well attested for the cult of the Egyptian gods,⁹⁸ from where it was introduced to other cults. A *lychnaptria* is attested for the cult of the Meter Theon at Leukopetra, near Beroia (193/194 CE), but this service was limited only to certain festive days.⁹⁹ The carrying of lit torches, presumably in nocturnal processions and processions leading to the altar at dawn (see note 100), was, again, limited to a few days.

Finally, the same applies to a very popular component of festivals: the torch-race (*λαμπταδηδρομία* or *λαμπταδηφορία*). Typically associated with young men, the torch-race was spectacle, ritual, and team competition at the same time. The contestants run from an altar, where they lit their torches, to another altar or a shrine, where the winners' torch was used to light the fire for the sacrifice.¹⁰⁰ Depending on the time of the sacrifice, the torch-race could take place in the early morning or the afternoon.¹⁰¹ But there were also torch-races organized

⁹⁸ For *lychnaptrai* in the cult of Isis see *IG II²* 4771 (Athens, 120 CE); cf. the service of *λαμπτηροφόροι* in the cult of Sarapis in Delos (early 1st cent. BCE): *I.Délos* 2619. Lamps in the cult of Isis: PODVIN (2011) and (2014).

⁹⁹ *I.Leukopetra* 39. That service at the sanctuary was limited to certain festive days is explicitly stated in many texts: *I.Leukopetra* 12, 16-23, 29, 33-34, 43, 52, 55-56, 58, 61-62, 74-76, 79, 81, 83, 98, 113, 120, 128, 131-132, 136, 143. Lamps also played a part in the cult of Theos Hypsistos: e.g. *TAM V 2*, 1400; see FRANKEN (2002). I do not discuss the office of the *pyrphoros* here, since he was concerned with maintaining the sacrificial fire of altars and hearths; see ROBERT (1966) 746-748; CLINTON (1974) 95; his office is, therefore, not primarily connected with nocturnal rites.

¹⁰⁰ *F.Delphes III* 3, 238 ll. 15-16 (Delphi, Eumeneia, 169 BCE): ὁ δ[ὲ] δρόμος γινέσθω ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἄχρι ποτὶ τὸν βωμόν, ὁ δὲ νικέων ὑφαπτέτω τὰ ιερά. *Schol. Plat. Phaedr.* 231e (Athens, Panathenaia): ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἐρωτος ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἀψάμενοι οἱ ἔφηβοι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθεον, καὶ τοῦ νικήσαντος τῇ λαμπάδι ἡ πυρὰ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ ιερῶν ἐφήπτετο; cf. PLUT. *Sol.* 1, 7; PAUS. 1, 30, 2. Cf. *IG IV²* 1, 44 (Epidaurus): [α]πὸ τοῦ β[ω]μοῦ τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ εἰς τὸ Ἀπόλλωνιον. Cf. the expression *λαμπτάς* ἡ πρὸς βωμόν καὶ λαμπτάς ἡ ἀπὸ βωμοῦ in Delos (*I.Délos* 1956) and Didyma (*I.Didyma* 185-191). On this ritual: NILSSON (1906) 173.

¹⁰¹ In Delphi, the procession of the Eumeneia, in which the *λαμπταδισταῖ* (the contestants in the race) participated, started in the second hour (after sunrise): *F.Delphes III* 3, 238 l. 9.

as nocturnal spectacles. This is explicitly attested for the torch-race on horseback at the Bendideia in Athens, established in the late 5th century BCE.¹⁰² Originally, torch-races were limited to a few festivals in Athens,¹⁰³ but from the Hellenistic period on, they became the most important contests in gymnasia¹⁰⁴ and an integral part of numerous festivals, both in Athens¹⁰⁵ and elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Following the model of the torch-races on horseback of the Bendideia, similar contests were introduced to festivals in Larisa (ἀφιππολαχμάς).¹⁰⁷

Apart from these activities that took place only on days of festivals, the evidence of regular, nocturnal ceremonies on a daily basis is limited. Pliny describes the custom of the Christians to assemble before dawn, sing hymns, and partake of food.¹⁰⁸ These gatherings probably were frequent, but they were not visible and in the period under discussion here they were limited to the areas in which significant Christian communities existed. A similar custom of prayer at dawn is attested for the worshippers of Theos Hypsistos. An oracle of Apollo Klarios, associated with this cult, pronounced “that aether is god who sees all, gazing upon whom you should pray at dawnlooking

¹⁰² Pl. *Resp.* 328 a 2: λαμπάς ἔσται πρός ἐσπέραν ἀφ' ἵππων τῇ θεῷ (followed by a pannychis).

¹⁰³ According to Istros (*FGrH* 334 F 2) only three festivals (Panathenaia, Prometheia, and Hephaisteia) included a torch-race. Cf. DEUBNER (²1966) 211-213.

¹⁰⁴ Gymnasia: GAUTHIER (1995); D'AMORE (2017) 117.

¹⁰⁵ Aianteia: DEUBNER (²1966) 228; Anthesteria: DEUBNER (²1966) 116; Diogeneia and Ptolemaia: *SEG* XLIII 68; Epitaphia: DEUBNER (²1966) 230; Hermaia: *IG* II² 2980; Theseia: DEUBNER (²1966) 225. Cf. PARKER (1996) 254 with note 127.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Epidaurus: *IG* IV² 1, 44 (introduced in the late 3rd cent. BCE or later). Boiotia: *IG* VII 176, 2781 l. 17 (2nd cent. BCE). Rhodes: *SEG* XXXIX 761. Keos: *IG* XII 5, 647 (3rd cent. BCE). Samos: *IG* XII 6, 173, 180, 1004 (Hellenistic). Pergamon: *OGIS* 764. Sardeis: *IGR* IV 1521 (introduced in the 3rd cent. CE). Termessos: *TAM* III 1, 166. Xanthos: *FdXanthos* VII 21.

¹⁰⁷ *IG* IX 2, 528, 531-532, 534; *SEG* LIII 550; LIV 559 (Larisa, 2nd cent. BCE - 1st cent. CE).

¹⁰⁸ PLIN. *Ep.* 10, 96.

towards the sunrise".¹⁰⁹ Daily service after sunset and before sunrise in a civic temple is only attested for the sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus (2nd or 3rd cent. CE). A fragmentary regulation refers to the services that the torchbearer had to perform in the shrines of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite, to duties involving lamps (*lychnoi*) and the 'sacred lamp' (*hiera lychnia*), and to rituals at dusk (*ὅταν ἐσπέρας αἱ σπον[δαὶ] γίνωνται*) and dawn ([*ό έω]θεν ἀνατέλλωγ*).¹¹⁰

That the only evidence that we have about daily religious service at dusk and dawn is limited to the cult of Asclepius may be connected with the practice of incubation (*enkoimēsis*) at Epidaurus. *Enkoimēsis*, only sporadically attested in the 5th century BCE in connection with divination,¹¹¹ became a prominent feature of religious experience in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Numerous sanctuaries of healing gods acquired special facilities (*enkoimēteria*) that allowed worshippers suffering from illness and anxieties to spend the night there, expecting to be visited by a god in their dream and be cured or given instructions.¹¹²

In the same period in which incubation in sanctuaries of Asclepius and other gods became frequent, we find an unprecedented abundance of references to dreams in the epigraphic record. It is only from the 3rd century BCE that the habit of setting up dedications with the formula *κατ’ ὄναρ, κατ’ ἐπιταγήν et sim.* becomes common, explicitly stating that the dedicants had communicated with a god in their dreams.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ SEG XXVII 933: *αἱ[0]έ[ρ]α πανδερκ[ῆ] θε]ὸν ἔννεπεν, εἰς ὃν ὁρῶντας | εὔχεσθ’ ἡώους πρὸς ἀνατολήν ἐσορῶ[ν]τα[ζ]*. BUSINE (2005) 35–40, 203–208, 423, with further bibliography.

¹¹⁰ IG IV² 1, 742. In Teos the priest of Tiberius was responsible for libations, the burning of incense, and the lighting of lamps when the temple of Dionysos was opened and closed, i.e. probably at dusk and dawn: LSAM 28 ll. 11–13 (early 1st cent. CE).

¹¹¹ PIND. *Ol.* 13, 61–82; HDT. 8, 133–134; see RENBERG (2017a) 100–106.

¹¹² RENBERG (2017a); CHANIOTIS (2018a) 200–201.

¹¹³ RENBERG (2010). The epigraphic evidence for dedications made upon a dream will be presented by G. Renberg in a forthcoming book.

An interesting example of the new custom of publicly memorializing a dream is provided by an inscription from Termessos from the early Imperial period.¹¹⁴ The text consists of the heading ‘Dream’ (ὄναρ), followed by a distich from the *Iliad* (11, 163-164): “But Hector did Zeus draw forth from the missiles and the dust, from the man-slaying and the blood and the dust”. An individual — possibly a priest — dreamed of these Homeric verses, interpreted them as an oracle pronouncing his salvation from a danger,¹¹⁵ and had them publicly inscribed. Two centuries later, Cassius Dio dreamed of exactly the same verses, similarly taking them to mean that he would safely return to his hometown.¹¹⁶ Dreaming is as old as humankind; dreaming of specific gods and Homeric verses is a cultural phenomenon. Also going to a sanctuary in order to receive an answer to a very specific question through an epiphanic dream is a cultural phenomenon. In the 1st century CE, a man, wishing to find out if Mandoulis is the Sun (ἰδέναι θέλων εἰ σὺ ἦ δῆλιος), made his pilgrimage to Mandoulis’ temple in Talmis in Egypt, spent the night there ([τῇδε τῇ νυκ]τὶ θείας εὔσεβίας ἕνεκ[εν] ἐπε[κοιμήθηγ]), and experienced the god’s power at dawn.¹¹⁷

To publicly declare in a stone inscription that an individual was visited by a god in his or her dream is a phenomenon that peaks in the Imperial period. A funerary epigram in Athens (3rd cent. CE) mentions, for instance, that a man had chosen his final resting place following instructions he had received in a dream.¹¹⁸ An inscription from Miletos (2nd cent. CE) shows

¹¹⁴ CLUZEAU (2014), with commentary.

¹¹⁵ RENBERG (2017b) associates this dream with the Antonine plague.

¹¹⁶ CASS. DIO 80, 3-5; CLUZEAU (2014) 165-167.

¹¹⁷ BERNAND (1969) no. 166; RENBERG (2017a) 558-561. Cf. PERDRIZET / LEFEBVRE (1919) no. 238: ἔγώ Αχιλλεύς ἔ<ο>χομαι θεάσασθαι ὄνιρον σημένοντά μοι περὶ ὃν εὔχομαι (Achilleus visited the ‘Memnoneion’ in Abydos in the 2nd cent. CE specifically in order to see a dream that would reveal to him the things he was praying for); RENBERG (2017a) 491.

¹¹⁸ SEG LIX 286: μοῦνον γάρ ἔχρηζε με θεῖος Ὄνειρος | καὶ χρησμὸς εἰς τόνδε τόπον βιότου παυσθέγτα | οἰκησαι.

how the intense dream experience of a few individuals can become a trend-setter. The inscription contains the inquiry of a priestess of Demeter, Alexandra, who was startled at the fact that people of every gender and age in her city suddenly had epiphanic dreams:

“for the gods had never been so apparent through dreams as from the day she received the priesthood, both in the dreams of girls and in those of married women, both in the dreams of men and in those of children. What is this? And is it auspicious?”¹¹⁹

Presumably, when some people talked about dreaming of the gods, other people also started having similar dreams and soon a wave of epiphanic dreams had afflicted the community.¹²⁰ That we have such information starting with the Hellenistic period is not the result of an increased number of dreams but of the awareness of the importance of dreams and the strong interest in communicating dream experiences to others. When some dedicants proudly stated that they had been visited by a god in their dreams, others were quick to follow. It is this change in mentality that the ‘epigraphic habit’ reflects.

People have always sought explanations for their dreams and interpreters of dreams predate the Hellenistic period.¹²¹ However, the professional interpretation of dreams reached its peak during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods; no people designated themselves as specialized dream-interpreters (*oneirokritai*) before the Hellenistic period,¹²² no systematic handbook on the interpretations of dreams (*oneirokritika*) is known

¹¹⁹ *I.Didyma* 496: ή ίέρεια τῆς Θεσμοφόρου Δήμητρος Ἀλεξάνδρα ἐρωτᾷ: ἔπει τέξότε τὴν ιερατείαν ἀνείληφεν, οὐδέποτε οὕτως οἱ θεοὶ ἐνφανεῖς δι’ ἐπιστάσεων γεγένηται· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δι’ ἀρρένων καὶ νηπίων· τί τὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ αἰσιώι. Also published by MERKELBACH / STAUBER (1998) 82-83 no. 01/19/05, but with wrong translation.

¹²⁰ For similar phenomena in Naxos in the 1830s and 1930s see STEWART (2012).

¹²¹ HARRIS (2009) 134-139.

¹²² The epigraphic evidence for *oneirokritai* in CHANIOTIS (2018a). On dream interpreters in the Roman Empire, see RENBERG (2015), with the earlier bibliography.

before around 200 CE,¹²³ and magical formulas for the induce-
ment of dreams are only attested in magical handbooks of the
Imperial period.¹²⁴

We encounter a similar interplay between mentality and ‘epigraphic habit’ when we consider magical rituals, which were mostly preformed during the night. Although we do not have detailed descriptions of magical rituals earlier than Theocritus’ *Second Idyll* (ca. 270 BCE),¹²⁵ references to magic, magical formulas, magical potions, and magicians exist since the begin-
nings of Greek literature,¹²⁶ and curse tablets are common in the 5th century BCE. The number of curse tablets significantly increases in the 4th century BCE.¹²⁷ This does not necessarily mean that more people used magic in general; it only means that one particular type of magical ritual, the deposition, presumably during the night, of inscribed lead tablets in the graves of people who had died young or violently, became more frequent. Apart from increased literacy, the circulation of magical handbooks and, therefore, the diffusion of a standard set of formulas and rituals must have contributed to this.¹²⁸ Much as handbooks on sieges and tactics (attested from the mid-4th century BCE on; see note 33) responded to the challenges of dark-
ness and took advantage of the strategic possibilities it offered,

¹²³ On Artemidoros’ *Oneirokritika* as an example of technical literature see HARRIS-MCCOY (2012) 40–41. On Artemidoros’ work, see more recently: DU BOUCHET / CHANDEZON (2012); HARRIS-MCCOY (2012).

¹²⁴ GRAF (1996) 177; JOHNSTON (2010).

¹²⁵ For an analysis see PETROVIC (2007) 1–56.

¹²⁶ GRAF (1996) 24–36; FARAOONE (1999); FARAOONE / OBBINK (2013).

¹²⁷ The exact dating of curse tablets is a notoriously difficult enterprise and the dates given in old publications are not reliable. Therefore, it is not possible at this point to present accurate distribution charts. For these we have to wait for the completion of a database currently being prepared by Martin Dreher at the University of Magdeburg (*Thesaurus Defixionum Magdeburgensis*: <http://www-e.uni-magdeburg.de/defigo.wordpress/>). But the chronological distribution of *defixiones* in the surveys by JORDAN (1985) and (2000) is indicative: Archaic period (late 6th cent. BCE): 5. Early Classical period (5th cent.): 42. Late Classical period (4th cent. BCE): 77. Hellenistic period (3rd to 1st cent. BCE): 29. Imperial period (1st to 3rd cent. CE): 84.

¹²⁸ For magical handbooks in the Hellenistic period see FARAOONE (2000).

technical treatises about curses tapped the potential of the night for communication with supernatural powers. This technical literature of the night was designed to improve the lives of those who used it, making the lives of their enemies miserable. Another significant change is the emergence in the 4th century of a peculiar category of curse tablets: the ‘prayers for justice’.¹²⁹ Their authors used rhetorical devices — alluding to acts of injustice that they had suffered, addressing the gods with flattering attributes, and using emotional language — in order to make their communication with the chthonic gods more efficient.

As already stated, the evidence for nocturnal rituals and celebrations needs to be cautiously assessed. The repertoire of nocturnal religious celebrations and rites did not change; and although the number of nights in which cult communities, both private and public, came together to worship gods or perform initiations must have gradually increased in the period under discussion here, this does not seem to have generated any significant shifts in the repertoire of rituals, in the nature of worship, or in the perception of the divine. But although the overwhelming majority of nocturnal religious events did not occur regularly or on a daily basis, we cannot overlook an important change: after the late 4th century BCE more people than ever before in Greek history had nocturnal religious experiences by being initiated into mysteries, practicing incubation, attending spectacular festivals, and reflecting on their dreams. It is now time to see if these experiences, together with the other phenomena that I discussed here, had an impact on the way the night was lived, evaluated, and discussed in the ‘long Hellenistic Age’.

¹²⁹ See more recently VERSNEL (2009) and (2012); cf. CHANIOTIS (2012) 133–135.

8. Conclusions: Nessun dorma!

The cities of the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ were sites of diverse activities and complex interactions. Many activities took place after sunset, during the night, or before sunrise, as they had taken place for centuries before Alexander: attending dinners for magistrates and private banquets, satisfying sexual urges, feeding babies, escorting brides to their new home after sunset and the dead to their graves before dawn, writing letters and love poetry, sailing following the stars, leaving the house before dawn to go to the fields, or bringing foodstuff to the market before sunrise, dreaming, preparing conspiracies, worshipping the gods, and committing crimes.¹³⁰ If we have more information about activities between sunset and sunrise in this period than in any prior one, this is in part due simply to the nature of our sources: for instance, we have more inscriptions and papyri than ever before, and dramatic narratives of incidents occurring at night were very popular in novels.¹³¹ But it would be wrong to think that the strong presence of the phenomena that I have mentioned in this study should be attributed solely to shifting documentary practices, and not at all to the changing reality of life.

We cannot claim with certainty that there were more dinner parties organized by the wealthy elite, the nouveaux riches, and the intellectuals, often followed by erudite discussions, of which Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* is an exaggerated reflection,¹³² but it

¹³⁰ A few examples for themes that are not discussed elsewhere in this study. Feeding babies: LYS. 1, 9-14. Pre-dawn burial processions: O’SULLIVAN (2009) 48. Nocturnal sailing: BERESFORD (2013) 204-209. Leaving at dawn for the fields: *P. Würz.* 8 (Antinoopolis, 158/159): ὅρθου διὰ θύρας τῆς ιδίας οἰκίας ἔξιόντα τε καὶ μέλοντα ἀν[αβα]ίνειν εἰς Πέσλα ἀνω τῆς νομαρχ[ίας] ἐνεκα κ[ατ]ασπορᾶς δῶν ἔχω ἐν μισθώσει. Leaving before sunrise for the market: SEG XV 517 col. II.i ll. 23-27: πεμφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Τελεσικλέους | εἰς ἀγρόν, εἰς τὸν δῆμον, δὲς καλεῖται Λειμῶνες, | φέστε βοῦν καταγαγεῖν εἰς πρᾶσιν, ἀναστάντα | πρωΐτερον τῆς νυκτός, σελήνης λαμπούσης, | [ά]γειν τὴν βοῦν εἰς πόλιν.

¹³¹ See the contribution by Koen DE TEMMERMAN in this volume.

¹³² For this phenomenon in the Imperial period see KÖNIG (2012).

is undeniable that there were more voluntary associations, and this increased the volume of nocturnal conviviality. Undeniable is also that there were more frequent nighttime celebrations sponsored by civic benefactors. Also Roman practices, such as the presence of women in the banquets and the use of the triclinium, were introduced in Greek areas.¹³³ There were stronger and more systematic efforts to provide safety between sunset and sunrise.¹³⁴ And because of the spread of mystery cults and incubation sanctuaries, more religious rituals took place during the night than in any previous period of recorded Graeco-Roman history.

The increased amount and frequency of nocturnal entertainment, social interaction, and religious worship was not the result of coordinated efforts; as I have argued, it originated in the convergence of social, political, and religious developments. The intensification of nighttime life that the available sources allow us to observe clearly is of a particular kind: it primarily concerns celebrations, leisurely activities, and rituals, and not the ordinary activities of everyday life. But this intensification of nightlife gradually affected other areas as well. As we have seen, it enhanced the awareness for the need to systematically address security issues; it must have had an impact on small trade; it generated the need to improve the technology of measuring the time and artificial illumination; and although there was no such thing as a systematic or theoretical approach to the night in Antiquity, human behavior during the night became the object of observation and discourse in the Roman East. In these final considerations, I will briefly address the two issues of discourse and technology.

In Seneca's times, a certain Sextus Papinius was known as *lychnobius* ("living under the light of the lamp"). The use of a Greek word to describe the life of a man who had reversed the functions of day and night, suggests the existence of a Greek

¹³³ NADEAU (2010).

¹³⁴ CHANIOTIS (2017) 106-110; (2018a) 189-193.

discourse on this subject. We find some reflections of this discourse in Paul's comment that we are all "children of the day; we are not of the night".¹³⁵ His comment was based precisely on the observation that many of his contemporaries thought otherwise. Such behavior was noticed because it was extreme. In his novel *The Incredible Things Beyond Thoule*, written in the Imperial period, Antonius Diogenes regarded an imaginary city in Iberia, in which people could see during the night and were blind during the day, as an abnormality.¹³⁶ Although the reversal of the functions of day and night was met with disapproval by some intellectuals, it was subject to observation and evaluation.

There were, however, also positive evaluations of nighttime activities. The proverb ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή ("deciding during the night") highlighted the possibilities offered by the night for calm reflection on important matters;¹³⁷ and the proverb νυκτοπλοεῖν ("sailing during the night") had its origin in the recognition that sailing following the stars offered secure orientation.¹³⁸ The personal names Pannychis, Pannychios, and Pannychos, which consider nighttime activities (celebration, revelry, conviviality) in a positive manner, are only found in the Imperial period.¹³⁹ Admittedly, these names refer to the festive aspects of the night; what about everyday life? In his recommendations to orators, Lucian alludes to the necessity of nighttime work, when he writes that the Classical statues reveal sleepless nights, toil, abstinence from wine, and simple food

¹³⁵ *Thessalonians* 5, 5-8.

¹³⁶ A summary is provided by PHOT. *Bibl.* 166. On the possible date see MORGAN (1985). I owe this reference to Jonathan Price.

¹³⁷ *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I 82 edd. LEUTSCH / SCHNEIDEWIN: ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή ... ἐπειδὴ ἡ συχίαν ἔχει ἡ νύξ καὶ δίδωσι κατὰ σχολὴν λογισμοὺς τοῖς τῶν περὶ τῶν ὀναγκαῖων βουλευομένοις.

¹³⁸ *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* I 123 edd. LEUTSCH / SCHNEIDEWIN: οὐ νυκτιπλοεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ ἀκριβώς τι ποιούντων· ἡ γάρ νύξ ἀκριβεστέρα τῆς ἡμέρας τοῖς πελαγοδρομοῦσι, διὸ τὰς τῶν ὀστρων σημειώσεις.

¹³⁹ See the evidence in *LGPN* I-Vb. For Pannychis, there exists an isolated, possibly Hellenistic attestation in Cyprus.

(πόνον δὲ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ὑδατοποσίαν καὶ τὸ ἀλιπαρές).¹⁴⁰ The *Paedagogus* of Clemens of Alexandria (ca. 200 CE) prescribes to the Christians a nocturnal behavior that is contrasted to what we must regard as a common practice. Clemens did not recommend continuous sleep, but rather to fill the night with activities other than banquets accompanied by music and excessive drinking. His readers should often rise by night and bless God, and devote themselves to literature and art; women should turn to the distaff. People should fight against sleep, in order to partake of life for a longer period through wakefulness.¹⁴¹

As the nights in the cities of the Roman East were filled with life, we observe an interest in thoroughly exploiting the potential of the night. The awareness of the possibilities offered by the night for the communication between humans and superhuman powers is reflected by newly popular handbooks on magic and the inducement or the sending of dreams (see note 124). Also astrologers must have existed in Greece since the Bronze Age, but that an astrologer could give lectures on the subject of his profession in a gymnasium, as a Roman astrologer did in Delphi in the late 1st century BCE,¹⁴² is a phenomenon that I am tempted to associate both with the increased interest in technical literature and with a new evaluation of the night.

The interest in nightlife is reflected by material culture and technology as well. The Antikythera mechanism, used *inter alia* for observing the stars, and the water clock of Ktesibios,¹⁴³ are two examples of advanced technology connected with the night. Far more widespread among the population was the improved technology of artificial light, with the development of elaborate

¹⁴⁰ LUCIAN. *Rh. Pr.* 9.

¹⁴¹ CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 4 and 2, 9. On the Christian approach to the night see the contribution by Filippo CARLA-UHINK in this volume.

¹⁴² *Syll.*³ 771 (Delphi, ca. 29 BCE).

¹⁴³ Antikythera mechanism: JONES (2017). Water clocks: see the contribution of Andrew WILSON in this volume.

types of lamps and lanterns.¹⁴⁴ Although we have direct textual references to street lighting in large urban centers such as Ephesos and Antioch only in Late Antiquity,¹⁴⁵ there is some earlier archaeological and literary evidence for the lighting of torches and lamps by the owners of shops and houses, as well as the administrators of baths and temples. It is reasonable to assume that the colonnaded streets that become a common feature of urban centers in the East from the 1st century BCE on were illuminated in the night with torches.¹⁴⁶ There is also some evidence that torch-bearing statues shed some artificial light in public spaces. This is directly attested by Nonnus (see note 79), who mentions the golden statue of a young man holding a torch and illuminating a banquet in Samothrace. Some inscriptions of the late Hellenistic and Imperial period may in fact refer to such statues. In the 1st century BCE, a certain Demetrios dedicated in the theater of Miletos an unspecified number of λαμπαδηφόροι ἀνδριάντες in the temple of Apollo and another two in the theater. Unlike the other statues that he dedicated (Apollo and the statue of an Ethiopian), the text does not state what these (bronze) statues depicted; they are simply identified by the fact that they held torches.¹⁴⁷ In Aphrodisias, one Artemidoros covered the expense for the erection of statues in a palm grove that was being constructed

¹⁴⁴ See the collection of studies in CHRZANOVSKI (2012) and the material collected by SEIDEL (2012). For lamps made of glass see ENGLE (1987). On the subject of artificial light see also the contributions of Andrew WILSON and Leslie DOSSEY in this volume.

¹⁴⁵ SEIDEL (2012) 108-115. Antioch (mid-4th cent. CE): AMM. MARC. 14, 1, 9; LIB. OR. 11, 267; 16, 41; 22, 6; 33, 35-37. Ephesos (ca. 400 CE): *I.Ephesos* 557 and 1939. See the contributions by Andrew WILSON and Leslie DOSSEY in this volume.

¹⁴⁶ Shops, houses, baths, temples: SEIDEL (2012) 100-108. Colonnaded streets: SEIDEL (2012) 115-116, 278. See also the contribution by Andrew WILSON in this volume.

¹⁴⁷ *I.Didyma* 346 ll. 10-17: προφῆτεύων ἀνέθηκε τοὺς λαμπαδηφόρους ἀνδρ[ι]άντας καὶ περιραντήρια δύο ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέως, στέφανηφορῶν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Δελφείνιον καὶ τὸν αἰθίοπα τὸν χάλκηο[ν] καὶ ἐν τῷ θηράῳ λαμπαδηφόρους ἀνδριάντας δύο.

in the city park. Artemidoros dedicated “the (statue of) Hermes and the gilded Aphrodite and the (two) torch-bearing Erotes on either side (of Hermes and Aphrodite), as well as the marble statue of Eros standing in front of him (in front of Hermes or in front of Artemidoros’ own statue)”.¹⁴⁸ Such statues may have had in public spaces the function that the statue in Nonnus had in Samothrace. Also the supports for torches (*λαμπαδηφόροι, δάχδοῦχοι*) that were occasionally dedicated by magistrates in public spaces, e.g. by two former *astynomoi* in Bostra in the early 3rd century CE and by a former priest in a town in Hauran (Imperial period), must have been used for the illumination of public spaces.¹⁴⁹

In his *True History*, Lucian narrates how he visited a city in the skies, between the Pleiades and the Hyades: *Lychropolis*. It was exclusively inhabited by lamps, some small and humble, others large and resplendent.¹⁵⁰ Lamps had been serving people for centuries; but to make them the inhabitants of ‘a city of lights’ is not only to be attributed to Lucian’s genius but also to an awareness of the importance of illumination that was possible in the late 2nd century CE, unthinkable in the past. Perhaps the equivalent of this imaginary state in our contemporary world would be a city inhabited by smartphones.

In many disparate areas of life, we observe a clear trend: the night is made safer, brighter, more efficient, and more full of life; this trend culminated in Late Antiquity.¹⁵¹ As I have argued, in addition to the role played by technology, the historical

¹⁴⁸ MAMA VIII 448 (1st/2nd cent. CE): ἀνέθηκε τὸν Ἐρμῆ καὶ τὴν ἐπίχ[ρυ]-σον Ἀφροδείτην καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα Ἔρωτας λαμπαδηφόρους καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ἔρωτα μαρμάρινον. On the city park of Aphrodisias and its role in nocturnal ceremonies see the contribution by Andrew WILSON in this volume. Five silver statues of Artemis donated by Vibius Salutaris in Ephesus in 104 CE carried torches: *I.Ephesos* 28 B 164, 168, 173, 186, and 194 (Ephesos, 104 CE): “Ἄρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος.

¹⁴⁹ IGLS XIII 1, 908 and 909 (Bostra, early 3rd cent. CE): τὸν δάχδοῦχον. CIG 4555a (Hauran. Imperial period): τέσσαρες[ες] λαμπαδηφόρους[ες].

¹⁵⁰ LUCIAN. *Vera historia* 1, 29; for an analysis, see SABNIS (2011).

¹⁵¹ See the contributions by Andrew WILSON and Lesley DOSSEY in this volume.

dimension of the night is much determined by social and cultural factors. Indeed, one may be tempted to ask whether the impact of technology on the night in the modern period has been overestimated. Do we have nightlife because of technology, or do we have technology in order to have nightlife?

Works cited

- ARNAOUTOGLOU, I.N. (2003), *Thusias heneka kai sunousias. Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens* (Athens).
- (2011a), “Status and Identity in Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens”, in O.M. VAN NIJF / R. ALSTON (eds.), *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*, (Leuven), 27-48.
- (2011b), “Craftsmen Associations in Roman Lydia – A Tale of Two Cities?”, *Ancient Society* 41, 257-290.
- (2016), “Θέρυθος, εύστάθεια καλ τὸ κανονιστικὸ πλαίσιο τῶν ἀθηναϊκῶν λατρευτικῶν σωματείων”, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Έρευνας τῆς Ἰστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου* 46, 23-78.
- AYODEJI, K. (2004), “A Day in the Life of Cyron the Fisherman”, in J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES / C. DENDRINOS / J. HARRIS (eds.), *The Greek Islands and the Sea. Proceedings of the First International Colloquium Held at The Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway, University of London, 21-22 September 2001* (Camberley), 1-14.
- BASLEZ, M.-F. (2004), “Les notables entre eux: recherches sur les associations d’Athènes à l’époque romaine”, in S. FOLLET (ed.), *L’hellenisme d’époque romaine. Nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (I^{er} s. a. C. – III^e s. p. C.). Actes du colloque international à la mémoire de Louis Robert*, Paris, 7-8 juillet 2000 (Paris), 105-120.
- (2013), “Les associations à Délos”, in FRÖHLICH / HAMON (2013), 227-249.
- BECKER, M. (2013), “Nacht (Dunkelheit)”, in *RAC* 25, 565-594.
- BERESFORD, J. (2013), *The Ancient Sailing Season* (Leiden).
- BERNARD, É. (1969), *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris).
- BOURDIN, P. (ed.) (2013), *Les nuits de la Révolution française* (Clermont-Ferrand).
- BRÉLAZ, C. (2005), *La sécurité publique en Asie Mineure sous le Principat (I^{er}-III^e s. ap. J.-C.). Institutions municipales et institutions impériales dans l’Orient romain* (Basle).

- BUSINE, A. (2005), *Paroles d'Apollon. Pratiques et traditions oraculaires dans l'Antiquité tardive (II^e-VI^e siècles)* (Leiden).
- CABANTOUS, A. (2009), *Histoire de la nuit (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris).
- CAPDETREY, L. (2013), “La ‘table du roi’: une institution hellénistique?”, in GRANDJEAN / HUGONIOT / LION (2013), 173-198.
- CENIVAL, F. DE (1972), *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques* (Cairo).
- CHANIOTIS, A. (2002), “Old Wine in a New Skin: Tradition and Innovation in the Cult Foundation of Alexander of Abonouteichos”, in E. DABROWA (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient World* (Krakow), 67-85.
- (2005), *War in the Hellenistic World. A Social and Cultural History* (Malden).
- (2008), “Twelve Buildings in Search of a Location: Known and Unknown Buildings in Inscriptions of Aphrodisias”, in C. RATTÉ / R.R.R. SMITH (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments* (Portsmouth), 61-78.
- (2009), “The Dynamics of Rituals in the Roman Empire”, in O. HEKSTER / S. SCHMIDT-HOFNER / C. WITSCHEL (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007)* (Leiden), 3-29.
- (2011), “Emotional Community Through Ritual: Initiates, Citizens, and Pilgrims as Emotional Communities in the Greek World”, in A. CHANIOTIS (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean. Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation* (Stuttgart), 264-290.
- (2012), “Greek Ritual Purity: from Automatisms to Moral Distinctions”, in P. RÖSCH / U. SIMON (eds.), *How Purity is Made* (Wiesbaden), 123-139.
- (2017), “Violence in the Dark: Emotional Impact, Representation, Response”, in M. CHAMPION / L. O’SULLIVAN (eds.), *Cultural Perceptions of Violence* (London), 100-115.
- (2018a), “The Polis After Sunset: What is Hellenistic in Hellenistic Nights?”, in H. BÖRM / N. LURAGHI (eds.), *The Polis in the Hellenistic World* (Stuttgart), 181-208.
- (2018b), “The Epigraphy of the Night”, in N. PAPAZARKADAS / C. NOREÑA (eds.), *From Document to History. Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden, forthcoming).
- CHRZANOWSKI, L. (ed.) (2012), *Le luminaire antique* (Montagnac).
- CLINTON, K. (1974), *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Philadelphia).

- CLUZEAU, F. (2014), “An Homeric Dream Oracle from Termessos”, *Adalya* 17, 159-179.
- COLE, S.G. (1984), *Theoi Megaloi. The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden).
- D’AMORE, L. (2017), “*Nel fiore dell’amabile giovinezza*”. *Antologia di epigrammi greci sul ginnasio e l’efebia* (Cassino).
- DELATTRE, S. (2000), *Les douze heures noires. La nuit à Paris au XIX^e siècle* (Paris).
- DEUBNER L. (1966), *Attische Feste* (Berlin).
- DITTMANN-SCHÖNE, I. (2001), *Die Berufsvereine in den Städten des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasiens* (Regensburg).
- DU BOUCHET, J. / CHANDEZON, C. (eds.) (2012), *Études sur Artémidore et l’interprétation des rêves* (Nanterre).
- DUNBABIN, K.M.D. (2003), *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge).
- EGELHAAF-GAISER, I. / SCHÄFER, A. (eds.) (2002), *Religiöse Vereine in der römischen Antike. Untersuchungen zu Organisation, Ritual und Raumordnung* (Tübingen).
- EKIRCH, A.R. (2005), *At Day’s Close. Night in Times Past* (New York).
- ENGLE, A. (1987), *Light. Lamps and Windows in Antiquity* (Jerusalem).
- FAGAN, G.G. (1999), *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor).
- FARAONE, C.A. (1999), *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA).
- (2000), “Handbooks and Anthologies: The Collection of Greek and Egyptian Incantations in Late Hellenistic Egypt”, *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2, 195-214.
- FARAONE, C.A. / OBBINK, D. (eds.) (2013), *The Getty Hexameters. Poetry, Magic, and Mystery in Ancient Selinous* (Oxford).
- FARRINGTON, A. (1999), “The Introduction and Spread of Roman Bathing in Greece”, in J. DELAINE / D.E. JOHNSTON (eds.), *Roman Baths and Bathing. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths Held at Bath, England, 30 March–4 April (1992). Part 1, Bathing and Society* (Portsmouth), 57-66.
- FRANKEN, N. (2002), “Lampen für die Götter: Beobachtungen zur Funktion der sogenannten Vexillumaufsätze”, *MDAI(I)* 52, 369-381.
- FRÖHLICH, P. / HAMON, P. (eds.) (2013), *Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques (II^e siècle av. J.-C. -II^e siècle apr. J.-C.)* (Geneva).
- FUHRMANN, C.J. (2012), *Policing the Roman Empire. Soldier, Administration, and Public Order* (Oxford).
- GABRIELSEN, V. (2007), “Brotherhoods of Faith and Provident Planning: the Non-Public Associations of the Greek World”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22.2, 176-203.

- GABRIELSEN, V. / THOMSEN, C.A. (eds.) (2015), *Private Associations and the Public Sphere. Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9-11 September 2010* (Copenhagen).
- GARLAN, Y. (1974), *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque* (Paris).
- GATIER, P.-L. / SEIGNE, J. (2006), “Le hammana de Zeus à Gérasa”, *Electrum* 11, 171-189.
- GAUTHIER, P. (1995), “Du nouveau sur les courses aux flambeaux d’après deux inscriptions de Kos”, *REG* 108, 576-585.
- GAWLINSKI, L. (2012), *The Sacred Law of Andania. A New Text with Commentary* (Berlin).
- GRAF, F. (1996), *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber. Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Munich).
- GRANDJEAN, C. / HUGONIOT, C. / LION, B. (eds.) (2013), *Le banquet du monarque dans le monde antique* (Rennes).
- GRIFFITHS, J. G. (1975), *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI). Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Leiden).
- GÜNTHER, L.-M. (2014), *Bürgerinnen und ihre Familien im hellenistischen Milet. Untersuchungen zur Rolle von Frauen und Mädchen in der Polis-Öffentlichkeit* (Wiesbaden).
- HARLAND, P.A. (2003), *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations. Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis).
- (2009), *Dynamics of Identity in the World of Early Christians* (New York).
- (2014), *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor* (Berlin).
- HARRIS, W.V. (2009), *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA).
- HARRIS-MCCOY, D. (2012), *Artemidorus' Oneirocritica. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford).
- HARRISON, J. (2013), *Dreams and Dreaming in the Roman Empire. Cultural Memory and Imagination* (London).
- HENNIG, D. (2002), “Nyktophylakes, Nyktostrategen und die παραφυλακή τῆς πόλεως”, *Chiron* 32, 281-295.
- HOMOTH-KUHS, C. (2005), *Phylakes und Phylakon-Steuer im griechisch-römischen Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Sicherheitswesens* (Munich).
- HUGHES, G.R. (1969), “The Cruel Father: A Demotic Papyrus in the Library of G. Michaelides”, in J.A. WILSON (ed.), *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago), 43-54.
- ISMARD, P. (2010), *La cité des réseaux. Athènes et ses associations, VI^e-I^r siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris).

- JACCOTTET, A.-F. (2003), *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du Dionysisme* (Zurich).
- (2011), “Integrierte Andersartigkeit: Die Rolle der dionysischen Vereine”, in R. SCHLESIER (ed.), *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism* (Berlin), 413-431.
- JOHNSTON, S.I. (2010), “Sending Dreams, Restraining Dreams: Oneiropompeia in Theory and Practice”, in SCIOLI / WALDE (2010), 1-18.
- JONES, A. (2017), *A Portable Cosmos. Revealing the Antikythera Mechanism, Scientific Wonder of the Ancient World* (Oxford).
- JORDAN, D. (1985), “A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora”, *GRBS* 28, 151-197.
- (2000), “New Greek Curse Tablets (1985-2000)”, *GRBS* 41, 5-46.
- KARABATSOU, E.D. (2010), “Απὸ τὴν Ρώμη στὴν Ἀστυπάλαια. Μιὰ ἀθωωτικὴ ἀπόφαση τοῦ Αὐγούστου”, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ερεύνης τῆς Ἰστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου* 42, 95-109.
- KERENYI, K. (1976) *Dionysos. Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life*. Translated by R. MANNHEIM (Princeton).
- KLOPPENBORG, J.S. / ASCOUGH, R.S. (2011), *Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations, and Commentary. I, Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace* (Berlin).
- KLOPPENBORG, J.S. / WILSON, S.G. (eds.) (1996), *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (London).
- KÖNIG, J. (2012), *Saints and Symposiasts. The Literature of Food and the Symposium in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Culture* (Cambridge).
- KOSLOFSKY, C. (2011), *Evening’s Empire. A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge).
- LAVRENCIC, M. (1988), “Ἀνδρεῖον”, *Tyche* 3, 147-161.
- MAILLOT, S. (2009), “Une association de sculpteurs à Rhodes au 2^e siècle avant J.-C.”, in L. BODIOU et al. (eds.), *Chemin faisant. Mythes, cultes et société en Grèce ancienne. Mélanges en l’honneur de Pierre Brûlé* (Rennes), 39-57.
- (2013), “Les associations à Cos”, in FRÖHLICH / HAMON (2013), 199-226.
- MARTZAVOU, P. (2012), “The Aretalogies of Isis as a Source for the Socio-cultural Construction of Emotions in the Greek World”, in A. CHANIOTIS (ed.), *Unveiling Emotions. Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World* (Stuttgart), 267-291.
- MELBIN, M. (1978) “Night as Frontier”, *American Sociological Review* 43, 3-22.

- MERKELBACH, R. / STAUBER, J. (1998), *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*. Band 1, *Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion* (Leipzig).
- MONSON, A. (2006), “The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations”, *AncSoc* 36, 221-238.
- MONTIGLIO, S. (2016), *The Spell of Hypnos. Sleep and Sleeplessness in Ancient Greek Literature* (London).
- MORGAN, J.R. (1985), “Lucian’s True Histories and the Wonders Beyond Thule of Antonius Diogenes”, *CQ NS* 35, 475-490.
- MURRAY, O. (ed.) (1990), *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposium* (Oxford).
- NADEAU, R. (2010), “Les pratiques sympotiques à l’époque impériale”, *Ktema* 35, 11-26.
- NIELSEN, I. (1999), “Early Provincial Baths and their Relations to Early Italic Baths”, in J. DELAINE / D.E. JOHNSTON (eds.), *Roman Baths and Bathing. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Roman Baths Held at Bath, England, 30 March–4 April (1992)*. Part 1, *Bathing and Society* (Portsmouth), 35-43.
- NIGDELIS, P.M. (2010), “‘Voluntary Associations’ in Roman Thessalonike: In Search of Identity and Support in a Cosmopolitan Society”, in L. NASRALLAH / C. BAKIRTZIS / S.J. FRIESEN (eds.), *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonike. Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA), 13-47.
- NILSSON, M.P. (1906) *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluß der attischen* (Leipzig).
- O’SULLIVAN, L. (2009), *The Regime of Demetrios of Phalerum in Athens, 317–307 BCE* (Leiden).
- PARISINOU, E. (2000), *The Light of the Gods. The Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek Cult* (London).
- PARKER, R. (1996), *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford).
- PERDRIZET, P. / LEFEBVRE, G. (1919), *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d’Abydos* (Nancy).
- PETROVIC, I. (2007), *Von den Toren des Hades zu den Hallen des Olymps. Artemiskult bei Theokrit und Kallimachos* (Leiden).
- PODVIN, J.-L. (2011), *Luminaire et cultes isiaques* (Montagnac).
- (2014), “Illuminer le temple: la lumière dans les sanctuaires isiaques à l’époque gréco-romaine”, *REA* 116, 23-42.
- POLAND, F. (1908), *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig).
- PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, G. (1939-1940), “Per la storia delle associazioni in Rodi antica”, *ASAA* 22, 147-200.
- RAMSAY, W.M. (1895), *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*. I, *The Lycos Valley and South-Western Phrygia* (Oxford).
- RENBERG, G. (2006), “Was Incubation Practiced in the Latin West?”, *ARG* 8, 105-147.

- (2010), “Dream-Narratives and Unnarrated Dreams in Greek and Latin Dedicatory Inscriptions,” in SCIOLI / WALDE (2010), 33-61.
- (2015), “The Role of Dream-Interpreters in Greek and Roman Religion”, in G. WEBER (ed.), *Artemidor von Daldis und die antike Traumdeutung. Texte – Kontexte – Lektüren* (Berlin), 233-262.
- (2017a), *Where Dreams May Come. Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden).
- (2017b), “Homeric Verses and the Prevention of Plague? A New Inscription from Roman Termessos and its Religious Context”, in K. COLEMAN (ed.), *Albert’s Anthology* (Cambridge, MA), 165-171.
- RIGSBY, K. (1996), *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley).
- ROBERT, J. / ROBERT, L. (1954), *La Carie. II, Le plateau de Tabai et ses environs* (Paris).
- ROBERT, L. (1966), “Inscriptions de l’Antiquité et du Bas-Empire à Corinthe”, *REG* 79, 733-770.
- SABLAYROLLES, R. (1996), *Vigiles. Libertinus miles. Les cohortes de vigiles* (Rome).
- SABNIS, S. (2011), “Lucian’s Lychnopolis and the Problems of Slave Surveillance”, *AJPh* 132, 215-242.
- SACERDOTI, A. (2014), “*Quis magna tuenti somnus?* Scenes of Sleeplessness (and Intertextuality) in Flavian Poetry”, in A. AUGOUSTAKIS (ed.), *Flavian Poetry and its Greek Past* (Leiden), 13-29.
- SAN NICOLÒ, M. (1972), *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und der Römer* (Munich).
- SCHIVELBUSCH, W. (1988), *Disenchanted Night. The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*. Trans. from the German by A. DAVIES (Oxford).
- SCHMITT PANTEL, P. (1992), *La cité au banquet. Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques* (Paris).
- SCHNURBUSCH, D. (2011), *Convivium. Form und Bedeutung aristokratischer Geselligkeit in der römischen Antike* (Stuttgart).
- SCIOLI E. / WALDE, C. (eds.) (2010), *Sub imagine somni. Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture* (Pisa).
- SEIDEL, Y. (2012), *Künstliches Licht im individuellen, familiären und öffentlichen Lebensbereich* (Vienna).
- SFAMENI GASPARRO, G. (1996), “Alessandro di Abonutico, lo ‘pseudo-profeta’ ovvero come costruirsi un’identità religiosa: I, Il profeta, ‘eroe’ e ‘uomo divino’”, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 62 (1996) [1998], 565-590.
- (1999), “Alessandro di Abonutico, lo ‘pseudo-profeta’ ovvero come costruirsi un’identità religiosa: II, L’oracolo e i misteri”, in C. BONNET / A. MOTTE (eds.), *Les syncrétismes religieux dans*

- le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du colloque international en l'honneur de Franz Cumont* (Brussels), 275-305.
- SINGOR, H.W. (1999), “Admission to the Syssitia in Fifth-Century Sparta”, in S. HODKINSON / A. POWELL (eds.), *Sparta. New Perspectives* (London), 67-89.
- SINN, U. (2003), “Das Poseidonheiligtum auf Kalaureia: ein archäologischer Befund zum antiken Asylwesen”, in M. DREHER (ed.), *Das antike Asyl. Kultische Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion* (Cologne).
- SPERBER, D. (1970), “On Pubs and Policemen in Roman Palestine”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 120, 257-263.
- STAVRIANOPOULOU, E. (2006), “*Gruppenbild mit Dame*”: *Untersuchungen zur rechtlichen und sozialen Stellung der Frau auf den Kykladen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart).
- (2009), “Die Bewirtung des Volkes: Öffentliche Speisungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit”, in O. HEKSTER / S. SCHMIDT-HOFNER / C. WITSCHEL (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire* (Heidelberg, July 5-7, 2007) (Leiden), 159-185.
- STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP, E. (2005), *Das römische Gastmahl. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Munich).
- STEWART, C. (2012), *Dreaming and Historical Consciousness in Island Greece* (Cambridge, MA).
- STRINGER, C. (2007), “Nicea, Dioniso e figli: il mito e la città”, *Acme* 60.1, 3-36.
- TALAMO, C. (1987), “Il sissizio a Creta”, *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* XII (Roma), 9-26.
- TRIOLAIRE, C. (2013), “Faire la nuit: révolution de jeux de lumières sur les scènes théâtrales”, in BOURDIN (2013), 269-289.
- USTINOVA, Y. (2005), “*Lege et consuetudine: Private Cult Associations in the Greek Law*”, in V. DASEN / M. PIÉRART (eds.), *Ίδια καὶ δημοσίᾳ. Les cadres “privés” et “publics” de la religion grecque antique* (Liège), 177-190.
- VAN BREMEN, R. (1996), *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam).
- VAN NIJF, O.M. (1997), *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam).
- VERBOVEN, K. (2017), “Guilds and the Organization of Urban Populations during the Principate”, in K. VERBOVEN / C. LAES (eds.),

- Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World* (Leiden), 173-202.
- VERSNEL, H.S. (2009), “Prayers for Justice, East And West: New Finds And Publications Since 1990”, in F.M. SIMÒN / R.L. GORDON (eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West* (Leiden), 275-356.
- (2012), “Response to a Critique”, in M. PIRANOMONTE / F.M. SIMÒN (eds.), *Contesti Magici – Contextos Magicos* (Rome), 33-45.
- VÖSSING, K. (2004), *Mensa regia. Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser* (Munich).
- WECOWSKI, M. (2014), *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet* (Oxford).
- WILHELM, A. (1913), *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde III* (Vienna).
- WILLIAMSON, C.G. (2013), “Civic Producers at Stratonikeia: The Priesthoods of Hekate at Lagina and Zeus at Panamara”, in M. HORSTER / A. KLÖCKNER (eds.), *Cities and Priests. Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period* (Berlin), 209-245.
- WISHNITZER, A. (2014), “Into the Dark: Power, Light, and Nocturnal Life in 18th-Century Istanbul”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, 513-531.
- ZIMMERMANN, C. (2002), *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum* (Mainz).

DISCUSSION

P. Ducrey: Dans le cours de votre exposé, vous avez mentionné la prise de Troie grâce à la ruse du cheval: les soldats grecs dissimulés dans le flanc de l'animal en bois ont attendu que la nuit soit tombée pour sortir de leur cachette et ouvrir les portes de la ville au gros de l'armée grecque. On peut songer à d'autres prises de ville intervenues de nuit, comme la tentative des Thébains à Platées en 431 (Thuc. 2, 2-4) ou le coup de main réussi des Romains en 199 à Chalcis (Liv. 31, 23). Quelles réflexions vous inspire ce type d'opérations militaires nocturnes?

A. Chaniotis: Such nocturnal operations are continually mentioned in literary sources from the *Iliad* on; e.g. the *Doloneia* or the killing of the Thracian king Rhesus were nocturnal military operations; Aratos liberated Sikyon during the night (*Plut. Arat.* 7, 2 - 9, 1). I discuss such incidents in a recently published article (Chaniotis [2017]). What is important in the context of my study is the fact that from the 4th century BCE on nocturnal military operations became the subject of treatment in military handbooks, handbooks on siege, and collections of *stratègemata*.

I. Mylonopoulos: You did emphasize in your paper that most of the elements that appear to have a strong presence in the period that you call the “long Hellenistic Age” (ca. 330 BCE to the Severans), such as associations and clubs, private involvement in financing public life, etc., are not an invention of that time. I was wondering whether you could address the continuity and perhaps even stress the importance of the 4th century BCE as the period that seems to connect what we seem to

know about the Archaic and Classical Period and what appears — at least superficially — as a novelty in the Hellenistic Period. I am thinking about the significance of the private symposia or public (religious) meals that could perhaps be seen in connection with the conviviality you described in association with associations and clubs.

A. Chaniotis: The process that I described is a process dominated by continuities and gradual changes, not leaps. There is a clear continuity in institutions and structures, but there is also a clear change in quantity. The private symposia and the public religious banquets that you mention — and to these two I would also add the public banquets (*syssitia*) and the banquets in the royal court of Macedonia — are a case in point. Such institutionalized occasions of conviviality are continually attested since the Bronze Age. However, there are significant differences with regard to space (e.g. between the symposia of Archaic Athens and the *syssitia* of Archaic Crete), time (e.g. between the aristocratic *symposion* of the Archaic and Classical period and the Hellenistic banquets), and structure (form of funding, participation, etc.). What gradually changes from the 4th century BCE onward, affecting, as I argue, nightlife, is the latter, that is, the structure. Yes, wealthy men continued to organize symposia for their friends, but in the Hellenistic period, especially in its later phases, their private funds replaced the public funds spent on public banquets. Benefactors in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods competed among themselves for extravagant celebrations that recall anecdotes about celebrations of Archaic tyrants. Yes, the Macedonian kings hosted drinking parties for their royal friends; but after Alexander the royal symposia are not limited to Pella or Aigai; they also take place in Alexandria, Pergamon, Syracuse, Seleukeia, Antioch, Nikomedeia, and so on, and the stories narrated about them provided new models to be imitated. Yes, private symposia continued to be important, at least to judge from the evidence of the New Comedy, but there is an unprecedented

number of symposia organized by voluntary associations. All this is not the result of a ‘revolution’ but of an evolution.

I. Mylonopoulos: I would like to stress that darkness is not temporally exclusively associated with the night. In this respect, I was wondering whether you could elaborate on spaces that are ‘nocturnal’ in their very nature, that is, they are dark. I am thinking here of caves and their use as religious spaces that can be nocturnal in regard to the atmosphere they create, even during daytime. In connection with this, I would also like to ask what you think about spaces that are constructed as dark, quasi ‘night spaces’, such as most of the Mithraea in the Western part of the Roman Empire.

A. Chaniotis: This is correct, although I cannot believe that the darkness of a cave was not at least instinctively associated with the darkness of the night, exactly as the darkness of the Underworld is associated with an eternal sleep. Again, in this regard, I do not see any novelty whatsoever in the Hellenistic period: sacred caves, subterranean chambers, and other dark structures are continually attested since the Minoan period. The novelty after Alexander is not the use of dark spaces but the introduction of new cults that used them (there are no Mithras caves in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and the Greek version of the Isiac mysteries did not exist before the Hellenistic period); a second novelty is the spread of old cults associated with dark spaces (the *antra* of the Dionysiac worshippers and the *adyta* and *enkoimêtēria* of Asclepius) in areas where these cults did not exist before the Hellenistic period. Apart from the Mithraea, that are attested wherever there was a Roman army, e.g. in Doura-Europos, I should mention the information provided by inscriptions about caves and subterranean chambers in Dionysiac cults.

I. Mylonopoulos: Are we certain that gymnasia in the entirety of the Greek world were closing by sunset, at least until the late

4th century BCE? If this holds true how can we interpret the admittedly weak evidence for the use of lamps in such spaces before the period in which you are interested?

A. Chaniotis: Although we have a lot of archaeological evidence for gymnasia, the information concerning their opening hours is limited and it usually concerns boys and ephebes. Aeschines (*Against Timarchos* 10) explicitly says that the Athenian law did not allow the *palaistra* to be open before sunrise and after sunset; the recently published ephebarchical law of Amphipolis obliges the *ephebarchos* to make sure that the ephebes do not leave their home before day-break and return before sunset; they clearly were not allowed to be at the *gymnasion* after sunset;¹ and in Magnesia on Sipylos someone was honored for providing oil to all until the night, not during the night (*TAM V* 2, 1367). I am not familiar with all the archaeological evidence about gymnasia, but I do not think that I have ever read about lamps found in gymnasia dating to the 4th century BCE or earlier. I would, therefore, tentatively suggest that visiting the *gymnasion* during the night is not a phenomenon that predates the Hellenistic period. Of course, one of the main activities of the *gymnasion*, the torch-race, must have taken place at dusk or dawn, not during the day. The benefactors who were honored for leaving the gymnasia open during the night or not raising and lowering the sign that indicated the opening hours were honored for having done something that went beyond tradition or custom.

R. Schlesier: Wenn die Erfahrung der Nacht nicht allein eine anthropologische Universalie, sondern auch etwas historisch Veränderbares ist — und davon gehen wir alle aus —, dann stellt sich die Frage, welche Veränderungen tatsächlich festzustellen sind und wovon sie abhängen. Damit hängen auch

¹ M.B. HATZOPoulos (2016), *Νεότης γεγνυμασμένη. Macedonian Lawgiver Kings and the Young* (Athens), 27.

methodologische Probleme zusammen. Wie lassen sich quantitative von qualitativen Differenzen — nicht zuletzt auf dem Gebiet der Mentalität — unterscheiden? Wie steht es dabei mit der Chronologie? Welches Material können wir zugrundelegen, um eine Entwicklung zu rekonstruieren?

A. Chaniotis: Das ist eine berechtigte Frage. Dringend ist vor allem die Frage nach der Methode, die uns erlauben würde, qualitative Differenzen und somit auch eine Entwicklung festzustellen. Gerade aus diesem Grund habe ich mich in meinen Ausführungen auf Phänomene beschränkt, die relativ gut belegt sind: den Euergetismus, das Vereinswesen und einige religiöse Phänomene. Vereinzelte Wohltäter sind seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. belegt (z.B. Kimon in Athen); private Vereine werden in der solonischen Gesetzgebung erwähnt; nächtliche Rituale gibt es seit der frühesten Zeit. Wenn wir aber in diesen drei Bereichen seit der hellenistischen Zeit mehr Informationen haben, auch Informationen über Erweiterung nächtlicher Aktivitäten, so ist dies nicht ausschließlich eine Folge der Tatsache, dass wir seit dem späten 4. Jh. v. Chr. generell mehr Quellen und aus mehreren Orten haben. Es gibt andere Gründe: das Gewicht der Euergeten wächst aus Gründen, auf die ich hier nicht eingehen kann; die privaten Vereine, eine verbreitete Erscheinung im klassischen Athen, sind erst seit der hellenistischen Zeit in Orten wie Delos, Rhodos und Kos in großer Zahl belegt. Da private Vereine oft nach ihren Gründern benannt sind, kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass es sich um neu gegründete Vereine handelt. Und schließlich waren einige Kulte, die nächtliche Feiern organisierten, vor der hellenistischen Zeit oder der Kaiserzeit nicht weit verbreitet — manchmal existierten sie schlicht und einfach nicht. In anderen Bereichen, z.B. auf dem Gebiet der Sicherheitsmaßnahmen stehen wir methodologisch auf weniger sicherem Boden. Aber auch hier gibt es hin und wieder explizite Belege. Tomis und Messambria führten in der späten hellenistischen Zeit Nachtwachen ein, weil es sie früher nicht gegeben hat.

Das ist sicher. Es ist viel schwieriger, wirkliche Veränderung in anderen Gebieten zu festzumachen, wie etwa Schlafen, Träumen und Arbeiten.

F. Carlà-Uhink: In your paper you have distinguished neatly between the ‘stereotypes’ and the night activities that are ‘beyond the stereotypes’, and have clearly highlighted that the stereotypes show an extraordinary stability and continuity, even when the ‘practice of night-life’ changes. So, my first question would be why, in your opinion, the discourses and stereotypes on the night do not change in spite of the changed circumstances and practices. My second question deals with the difference between Greek and Roman visions of the night in the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’. You referenced Seneca’s *lychnobius*, for instance, as an example — but I am not sure whether this is indicative of the existence of a Greek discourse, or rather, of a Roman way of considering an intense night-life as ‘typically Greek’, with negative connotations, as nocturnal religious rites for women are, for Cicero, absolutely Greek in nature. Is that man, from Seneca’s perspective, just ‘going Greek’, and therefore deserves a Greek nickname?

A. Chaniotis: Well, stereotypes are conservative and hard to change because of their very nature; but this is the short answer. The long answer is connected with the type of sources in which we encounter the stereotypes; primarily, these sources are literary sources, in which the night, as I argued, serves as an intensifier of emotion. With regard to your second question, I agree with you that what Seneca writes reflects the response of a Roman conservative intellectual to undesirable novelties. I entirely agree that the Roman and the Greek discourses were shaped by different traditions. My only point is that the word *lychnobios*, clearly a Greek neologism, attests to a Greek discourse of which we only have very little direct evidence. I find it hard to imagine that the word *lychnobios* was created to praise; it was more likely created as an ironical comment.

L. Dossey: At the beginning of your paper, you suggest that part of the ‘Long Hellenistic Age’ was a colonization of the night with the activities of the day. I think that what you are really showing is the intensification of the activities typical of the night. The Greek night is associated with pleasure (*hēdonē*) and the day with *ponos*. You convincingly show that the convivial and pleasurable uses of the night intensify — drinking, singing, dancing, banquets, sex, and (perhaps) dreaming (to the degree that dreaming was considered a pleasurable activity). This does not seem to be a change in the fundamental character (*mentalité*) of the night.

A. Chaniotis: I have borrowed the metaphor of colonization from Murray Melbin’s study of the night as a frontier. You rightly point out that most of the evidence concerns the expansion and intensification of activities that are typical of the night: entertainment and leisurely activities. Although, generally, in Greek perceptions the night is associated with *hēdonē* and the day with *ponos*, the reality is quite different. Neither nocturnal fishing and sailing nor watering the fields after sunset are pleasure; worshipping the gods is neither *hēdonē* nor *ponos*; training in the gymnasium during the night is *ponos*; having night watches patrol the city and conspiring during the night are not pleasure, and so on. You are also right that there is no change in the fundamental character of the night; what I tried to show is that there was a change in the reality of the night, not in its perception. For clear changes in perceptions we have to wait until Late Antiquity.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Un tout grand merci pour cette remarquable fresque qui fait de la nuit un véritable objet d’histoire. J’ai été particulièrement intéressée par les différentes formes que prennent les activités religieuses dans un cadre nocturne. Une première réflexion touche au type de communication avec les dieux qu’implique un tel contexte: peut-on vraiment affirmer que “night... is regarded as the most effectual time for the

communication between mortals and the gods”? Si c’était le cas, on ne comprendrait pas qu’une large majorité de sacrifices aient lieu pendant la journée alors que l’opération sacrificielle est une forme de communication importante entre les mortels et les dieux. Est-il possible d’être plus précis sur ce point?

A. Chaniotis: I am glad that you raise this point, so that I can clarify and stress the fact that I am only referring to individual, not collective, communication between a mortal and the divine. What I have in mind are epiphanic dreams, prayers (also magical prayers), and initiation — to the extent that initiation in some cults is an individual experience.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Une deuxième réflexion concerne les ordres des dieux par le biais des rêves que l’on trouve surtout à partir du ‘Long Hellenistic Age’. Il s’agirait d’un “change of epigraphic habits, which reflects change of mentality”. Mais que signifie “mentalité” dans ce cadre? S’agit-il de la mise en évidence d’un contact plus individuel avec les dieux? S’agit-il d’une “mode” dans la manière de rédiger une dédicace? Ou s’agit-il d’autre chose?

A. Chaniotis: I use the word “mentality” in its literal meaning: a characteristic attitude or way of thinking. Until the 3rd century BCE people who had epiphanic dreams, with very few exceptions, did not make dedications explicitly stating this cause of the dedication. The fact that they start doing it in increasing numbers is in my view not just a *mode*, but part of a more general religious phenomenon that one observes in the Hellenistic period, and even more strongly in the Imperial period: people felt the need to individually experience the presence of god. To write that the god appeared in their dream is a public declaration of the fact that a god visited them.

L. Dossey: One thing your paper clearly shows is the greater importance of private clubs and private mystery cults during

the Hellenistic period. This is a key part of your argument that the opportunity to participate in nocturnal activities was extended to a *broader social group* than in the Classical period. But could this switch from public (civic) to private (small group) celebrations be part of the Roman (and possibly Hellenistic) government's desire to better control the night, especially given the negative Roman attitude towards night rituals, as shown by Filippo Carla-Uhink's paper?

A. Chaniotis: This is a justified question but I do not see in the sources any connection between the desire for security and the increased number of convivial gatherings in small groups. This is also a trend that clearly predates Roman expansion.

II

ANDREW WILSON

ROMAN NIGHTLIFE

1. Introduction

This paper discusses a combination of written and archaeological evidence for nocturnal activities in the Roman world. It considers methods of measuring the night, where the means of measuring time had to advance beyond the sundial: water clocks, and Ktesibios' improvements to them, are important here. Lighting is of course essential to many activities taking place at night, and the paper considers the effectiveness and limitations of available lighting technology — both in domestic settings, and in public. The humble oil lamp is a leitmotif in this paper, but we will also consider the rarity or otherwise of urban street lighting, and the infrastructure and organisation required for it.

Lighting in public places enabled other nocturnal activities, both routine and exceptional. Several inscriptions provide evidence for the opening of some public baths at night, and distributions of oil for gymnasiums both night and day. Some festivals occurred at night, notably the *maiouma*, whose popularity spread in Late Antiquity.

Finally, the paper considers questions of the length of the productive working day, and the extent to which the availability of daylight neither did nor did not limit economic performance. This includes the evidence for night shifts and round-the-clock working — textual evidence for shift work in mines, iconographic evidence for milling by lamplight; nocturnal traffic in cities, and the question of 24-hour navigation at sea.

2. Measuring the night

The sundial was the obvious means of measuring the time during daylight hours, but equally obviously, did not work at night. (One of the earliest moondials is to be seen in the quad of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, dating to the 16th century.) The progress of the night could be measured by the stars, but this required complex astronomical knowledge. A revolution in measuring the night therefore came with the invention, in the 3rd century BC, of Ktesibios' water-clock.

Water-clocks were known from c. 1400 BC in Egypt, and were used in Classical Greece, for example to time speeches in Athenian lawcourts; they were outflow *klepsydrai*, consisting of a vessel with a stopper which emptied in a particular time.¹ But while they may have been useful for measuring a fixed unit of time, they were not precise over subdivisions of that unit, as the outflow rate varied, slowing down as the level of water in the vessel, and thus the head of pressure, dropped. Nor could they handle seasonal hours, which of course varied as the lengths of days and nights changed throughout the year. Around 270 BC, though, Ktesibios, working at Alexandria, developed a constant-head inflow clock. In this clock, water flowed *into* a container, and the inflow rate was kept constant by coming from a reservoir which was kept full; i.e. water flowed into the reservoir at a faster rate than from the reservoir into the clock, so that the level in the reservoir never dropped, and the surplus was disposed of via an overflow. As the water flowed into the clock, an ascending float drove a rack-and-pinion gear to mark the time on a vertical scale. The scale could be replaced by a cylinder with a graduated scale to reflect the different length of the hours at different seasons of the year.²

¹ LEWIS (2000) 361-362; HANNAH (2008) 752-753.

² VITR. *De arch.* 9, 8, 4-7, describing Ktesibios' clock; LEWIS (2000) 363-364.

A generation later, Archimedes invented an elaborate clock based on an outflow *klepsydra*. A description survives in the *Kitab Arshimadas fi ‘amal al-binkamat*, *The Book of Archimedes on the Construction of Water Clocks*, an Arabic translation of a work probably by Philo of Byzantium, describing Archimedes’ clock, with some later additions. The apparently original parts detail an outflow water clock, where the steady escape of water from a constant-head vessel lowers a float which unwinds a cord around a drum that drives various pieces of jackwork. These include the release of a bronze ball every hour into a metal vessel, making a clang; figures that descend or rise against the columns of the front of the clock, as they point to a graduated scale of hours; and other automata, including snakes that emerge from a cavern in a mountain and scare birds on a tree, who sing in alarm (this is done by forcing air to escape through a whistle or flute). Gears, tipping spoons that fill with water until they overbalance, are used to drive elements of the jackwork.³

In the 2nd century BC the invention of the anaphoric clock enabled a mechanised representation of the risings (*anaphorai*) of constellations which worked both by day and by night. A constant-head inflow *klepsydra* with an ascending float linked via a cord around an axle to a counterweight equal to the float caused the axle to rotate once every 24 hours, turning a bronze disc engraved with a map of the constellations in stereographic projection. On the disc a circle of 365 holes (or a fraction of that number) marked the ecliptic, or path of the sun across the constellations; a peg inserted into one of the holes marked the sun’s position on that day, and had to be moved manually each day. In front of the disc an arrangement of bronze rods or wires marked the curved lines of the hours, the equator and the tropics, and the horizon. The anaphoric clock thus represented the turning heavens, with automatic seasonal adjustments, requiring only the manual advancing of the peg by one hole.

³ HILL (1976); LEWIS (2000) 364-366.

each day.⁴ The clock in the Tower of the Winds at Athens (*c.* 50 BC) was probably an anaphoric clock, and fragments of bronze discs from anaphoric clocks have been found at Salzburg (*c.* AD 170) and Grand in Lorraine (2nd century AD).⁵

We see perhaps a development of this idea with Varro's description of his aviary at Casinum (*De re rustica* 3, iv. 2, 8-17):

"Beneath the interior of the dome, the stars Lucifer by day and Hesperus by night revolve and move about the lower part of the hemisphere, in such a manner as to show the time of day. In the middle of this same hemisphere there is a compass of eight winds, just as there is in the clock-tower at Athens built by the man of Cyrrhus: a hand extends from the axis to the circumference, and is moved so as to touch that wind which is blowing at the time, in such a manner that you can tell it when you are inside." (trans. van Buren and Kennedy [1919])

The revolving dome was very probably driven by water-power, at a constant rate maintained perhaps by a large version of a constant-head *klepsydra*; and the design perhaps anticipates Nero's rotating dining room which stood in the same tradition. Hellenistic and Roman mechanical automata were not mere toys: they elaborated, developed and illustrated mechanical principles. Their development was closely related to the jack-work of clocks such as Archimedes' clock, and planetaria.

Of course, the elaborate clocks were limited largely to the elite, and sometimes also to the public, sphere. For many ordinary people, the night continued to be measured (if they were awake) by natural phenomena; the stars, and birds and roosters heralding the dawn. This is exemplified by the New Testament narratives of the crucifixion, of Jesus telling Peter he will deny him thrice before cock-crow (dawn).⁶

⁴ VITR. *De arch.* 9, 8, 8-15; LEWIS (2000) 366.

⁵ LEWIS (2000) 366-367.

⁶ MATTHEW 26: 34; MARK 14: 30; LUKE 22: 34; JOHN 13: 38.

3. The night is dark, and full of terrors

In a brightly lit and highly urbanised modern world, with copious light pollution even in the countryside, we can easily forget how dark and terrifying ancient cities could be at night. The night was the province of robbers and miscreants, and the dangers and terrors of the night were a stock theme in ancient literature. At the start of Plautus' *Amphitryon*, Sosius is sent on a night errand by his master Amphitryo, just landed in harbour, to tell his wife he is home. Sosius is worried about being attacked, or arrested by the night watch. In *Elegy 3, 16*, Propertius, summoned by a letter from Cynthia at midnight to come from Rome to her at Tivoli, is wracked by anguish, weighing the (in his mind overwhelming) risk of being attacked and killed, against the prospect of sex, and of being dumped by her if he doesn't go. Unless you were a thief or an assassin, the night was usually not your friend. What could be done about it?

4. Light up the night

The obvious answer is of course artificial lighting. Oil lamps had existed in the ancient Near East, the early ones, Canaanite or Phoenician lamps, being saucer-shaped with a pinched wick-holder, developing apparently from an earlier use of tridachna and scallop shells as lamps.⁷ It was the Greeks who reduced the risk of spilling oil when carrying the lamp about by making lamps with a closed reservoir and nozzle for the wick, and sometimes a handle at the back. Roman lamps continued this basic design — closed reservoir, nozzle, and handle as standard —, adding decorative motifs on the discus (top of the reservoir), and sometimes including a reflector at the back to cast

⁷ TOUTAIN (1904) 1321; ROBINS (1939) 39-49; FORBES (2nd 1966) 142-144.

more light.⁸ The decoration ranged from the erotic to the religious (both pagan and, later, Christian), through every conceivable walk of life between — gladiatorial scenes, animals, artisanal activities — and might even extend to playful shapes for the lamp itself: animals, birds, a snail, a sandaled foot, or even a Priapic statuette with the phallus as nozzle.⁹ Wicks were made of fibrous material such as linen, papyrus, or plant fibres.¹⁰

Ceramic oil lamps are ubiquitous in assemblages from Greek and Roman sites, and were clearly the most common form of domestic lighting. A small ordinary lamp will provide enough light to illuminate a fair-sized room at least for the purposes of socialising — as experiments using a Hellenistic lamp excavated at Euesperides (Benghazi), with modern Cyrenaican olive oil as the fuel, demonstrated. A single lamp was enough to light (not brightly) the excavation dining room, seating twelve people, although for an organised social gathering one would prefer to have several lamps. Some dual-nozzle lamps allow twice the light from a single source (consuming, of course, twice as much oil); and multiple-nozzle lamps are also known, some Roman examples with up to twenty nozzles.¹¹ Some lamps — and especially multiple-nozzle lamps — had suspension loops to allow them to be hung from the rafters, and used as a fixed ceiling light rather than a portable lamp. Three suspension loops are the usual number found, the minimum needed to ensure that the lamp hangs level. Lamps were also made in

⁸ TOUTAIN (1904); ROBINS (1939) 50-69; CHRZANOVSKI (2015).

⁹ TOUTAIN (1904) 1325; ROBINS (1939) 58-59; BAILEY (1975); (1980a); (1988); phallic statuette: PERLZWEIG (1963) fig. 71.

¹⁰ TOUTAIN (1904) 1322.

¹¹ Twenty nozzles, lamp in the shape of a ship: BAILEY (1980b) Q 2722, c. AD 70-120. 16 nozzles: TOUTAIN (1904) 1324, fig. 4580. For other multi-nozzle examples see TOUTAIN (1904) figs 4579 and 4593; BAILEY (1980a) Q1121-1123; (five and seven nozzles; 1st and 2nd centuries AD). Multiple-nozzle lamps go back at least to the Hellenistic period: 3rd-c. BC lamp with nine nozzles from the Athenian agora: PERLZWEIG (1963) fig. 17. BAILEY (1975) lamps Q 292-294, 2nd-c. BC lamps with twelve nozzles from sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus. MART. *Epigr.* 14, 41 refers to a multi-nozzle lamp, a *lucerna polymyxos*, lighting an entire banquet.

bronze, often slightly larger than the ceramic lamps, so they would burn for longer, and their reflectors might have reflected more light than the ceramic ones. Again, double and multiple-nozzle bronze lamps, with suspension rings, are known.¹²

Our impression that the oil lamp was the most common lighting device is based to a large extent on the widespread survival of ceramic lamps, and to a lesser extent on the survival of bronze lamps, found in the archaeological record. There is some potential for evidence bias here, although frequent references in ancient literature to lamps — e.g. the *conscia lucerna* (“knowing lamp”) as a witness of what lovers get up to together¹³ — suggest that the humble oil lamps was the default mode of domestic lighting. This impression is reinforced by the episode in Lucian’s *True History* (1, 29), in which the narrator, on his way back from the Moon, stops at the Planet of the Lamps, inhabited by anthropomorphised versions of the Platonic archetypes of lamps on earth, and even meets his own household lamp walking around. But why just one household lamp? This is a mystery. Moreover, we should not forget that the Roman world knew other sources of lighting too, principally candles, and torches. Torches, long wooden sticks with a rag around the end dipped in pitch, or sulphur mixed with lime, were a common form of lighting, used in nocturnal processions, or fixed in brackets or sconces indoors. They leave little archaeological trace, but have however been found in recent excavations in several of the galleries of the 2nd-century AD gold mine at Roşia Montană in Romania, in the form of wooden laths with one end burned.¹⁴

In the mid-4th century, the invention of glass lamps, cone-shaped, goblet-formed, or bowls of glass that could be suspended from ceilings or hooks, and shed light downwards as well as upwards and sideways, enabled a more efficient form of lighting,

¹² For metal lamps, BAILEY (1996).

¹³ MART. *Epigr.* 14, 39.

¹⁴ CAUET / TAMAS (2012) 226.

as is well discussed by Leslie Dossey in her contribution to this volume; they were used both in churches and for public street lighting in Late Antique cities.¹⁵

Candles were made of tallow or wax rolled in papyrus, with a reed wick; Martial in the late 1st century AD mentions both tallow and wax candles.¹⁶ Constantine is said to have used beeswax candles for church services, transforming night into day with “pillars of wax” (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4, 22); he was merely using a widely available technology, as Eusebius also describes his rival Licinius lighting wax candles to pagan idols. Again, direct archaeological material is scarce, but a 5th- or 6th-century candle-holder from the northern Black Sea region indicates their use there in Late Antiquity. The Jewish menorah, often referred to as a seven-branched “candlestick”, and the *hanukkahiah*, its nine-branched counterpart used for celebrating the feast of Hanukkah, originally burned olive oil in metal cups at the top of the holders, and not candles; the originals were thus a descendant of the Canaanite open-saucer lamps, and menorahs or menorah iconography do not necessarily imply the use of candles in them.¹⁷

Artificial lighting was not confined to indoors. By the 4th century AD there is good evidence for some public street lighting in the major cities of the eastern empire — Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, and perhaps others. How far back this phenomenon can be retrojected before the 4th century is unclear. The famous passage of Tacitus’ *Annals* about Nero burning Christians as human torches, as scapegoats for the fire at Rome in AD 64, which is sometimes adduced as an early form of street lighting, actually locates the event in Nero’s gardens, apparently as a spectacle for the crowd:

¹⁵ DOSSEY (this volume); see also O’HEA (2008), who focuses’ chiefly on their use in churches. Cf. ROBINS (1939) 75-77.

¹⁶ ROBINS (1939) 16; FORBES (1966) 134-142; O’HEA (2008). MART. *Epigr.* 14, 40 — a candle, evidently not wax, since *Epigr.* 14, 42 explicitly describes a wax candle.

¹⁷ ROBINS (1939) 80-81.

"First, then, the confessed members of the sect were arrested; next, on their disclosures, vast numbers were convicted, not so much on the count of arson as for hatred of the human race. And derision accompanied their end: they were covered with wild beasts' skins and torn to death by dogs; or they were fastened on crosses, and, when daylight failed were burned to serve as lamps by night. Nero had offered his Gardens for the spectacle, and gave an exhibition in his Circus, mixing with the crowd in the habit of a charioteer, or mounted on his car. Hence, in spite of a guilt which had earned the most exemplary punishment, there arose a sentiment of pity, due to the impression that they were being sacrificed not for the welfare of the state but to the ferocity of a single man."

(*Annals* 15, 44, 2-5; Loeb trans. J. Jackson)

We encounter hard evidence of street lighting as more than an occasional phenomenon only from the 4th century onwards, in the larger and more important cities of the eastern empire. It is unclear whether that is because the phenomenon only really developed in Late Antiquity (which is generally the default assumption), or because we have more lawcodes and sources describing daily civic life from this period. At Ephesus an inscription on the wide colonnaded street from the harbour to the theatre, known as the Arkadiane, refers to street lighting, with fifty lamps in the two colonnades.¹⁸ Street lighting is also attested at Antioch and Alexandria, and, in the 5th century, at Constantinople.¹⁹ Leslie Dossey insightfully observes, in her chapter in this volume, that the development of glass lamps, which would not only shed light downwards would have provided a better means of outdoor lighting; she is surely right to connect this with the spread of Late Antique street lighting. Indeed, glass lamps would also shield the flame from the wind, and thus enable a more reliable form of outdoor illumination. The development of glass hanging lamps therefore provides an attractive technological explanation for why street lighting

¹⁸ *I.Ephesos* 557; *I.Ephesos* 1939; GRÉGOIRE (1922); Foss (1979) 56; FEISSEL (1999).

¹⁹ Foss (1979) 56.

appears to have become common only in Late Antiquity. Dossey argues that a shift to later evening hours in Late Antiquity meant a greater need for lighting, “bringing about change in both lighting technology (glass lamps) and people’s habits”. But one might in fact wonder whether it was in fact the invention of the glass hanging lamp, and its far greater efficiency as a lighting method for large public buildings (baths, churches) and spaces, and its greater reliability as an outdoor street lamp that *enabled* the shift to later hours.

Ammianus Marcellinus (14, 1, 9), writing about events at Antioch between AD 351 and 354, mentions street lighting in the context of Gallus Caesar’s nocturnal inquiries about public opinion about himself:

“taking with him a few followers secretly armed, he [Gallus] used to rove in the evening through the streets and among the shops, making inquiries in the Greek language, in which he was well skilled, what were the feelings of individuals towards Caesar. And he used to do this boldly in the city, where the brilliancy of the lamps at night often equalled the light of day.” (trans. Yonge [1862]).²⁰

Libanius gives us more detail on the street lighting at Antioch, stressing that “night differs from day only in the kind of light” — the same activities, whether for work or leisure, go on by night and by day (*Or. 11, 267; AD 360*):

“Here he [Sleep] is not ‘lord of men’, neither does he draw men to himself against their will, or lull them to rest by force, but we alone of all people have shaken off his tyranny over our eyelids, and to the torch of the sun there succeeded other torches which surpass the festival of the lamps in Egypt, and among us night differs from day only in the kind of the light. Night is the same as day for the handicrafts, and some work vigorously while others laugh gently and give themselves up to song. The night is

²⁰ *adhibitis paucis clam ferro succinctis uesperi per tabernas palabatur et compita, quaeritando Greco sermone, cuius erat impendio gnarus, quid de Caesare quisque sentiret. Et haec confidenter agebat in urbe, ubi pernoctantium lumen claritudo dierum solet imitari fulgorem.*

shared indeed by Hephaestus and Aphrodite, for some work at the forge and others dance; but in other cities Endymion is more honoured.” (trans. Downey [1959] 681)

Yet of course that oration is a speech in praise of Antioch, and elsewhere Libanius assumes a different viewpoint to suit a different argument — three years later, in a speech urging civic humility to curb the emperor Julian’s anger against the city, he advises reducing the amount of street lighting (*Or. 16, 41*; March AD 363):

“This extravagant lighting, this indication of idle luxury that hangs over the entrances to our baths — let us make it a fraction of what it now.” (trans. Loeb)

And in another speech, in AD 386, against the governor Tisamenos, he singles out the cost of Tisamenos’ initiative to treble the amount of street lighting, which falls on the shopkeepers who are supposed to keep lamps burning outside their shops or workshops (*ergastēria*) at night (presumably, if we follow Dossey, three times as many glass lamps rather than triple-nozzle ceramic or metal lamps instead of single-nozzle lamps?). He imagines the protests of the shopkeepers at having to provide three times as much olive oil, and says (*Or. 33, 33-38*):

“Yet why all this eagerness on this point, for so much lighting in the city while it sleeps? No good results from it for the sleeping populace, and the lighting that existed before was good enough for the watch. You can’t tell me that there has been any decrease in the number of criminals now, or that there were more of them previously. All this business reeks of drunken insolence and disregard of the folk who live in poverty.” (trans. Loeb, adapted)

Political orator that he was, Libanius contradicts himself again in a speech the following year, where this time he does seem to value the street lighting, and implies that its removal contributes to disorder (*Or. 22, 6*; AD 387). Speaking of rioters protesting against a tax levy to fund celebrations for the emperor’s 10th anniversary, he says:

“They proceeded to the bath nearby, and used their knives to cut the ropes, from which were suspended the lamps that give us our light of a night time, and they made it plain that good order in the city must give place to their own whims, and that their decisions were the ones to count.” (trans. Loeb)

As with any politician picking a topic for rhetorical advantage, it is difficult to say what Libanius truly believed about the benefits or the extravagance of street lighting at Antioch, but we may establish the following conclusions: (1) Antioch had a street lighting programme that was unusual at the time, and made it an object of civic pride; (2) the oil, if not the lamps, was paid for/provided by shopkeepers who were responsible for keeping lamps lit outside their shops; and this might be enforced by the city night watch; (3) lamps were also provided in or outside the public baths, and these at least were hanging lamps; (4) there was some public perception that the presence of street lighting (if not its intensity) reduced nocturnal crime.

The inhabitants of Alexandria referred to other cities as “lampless”, inferior to their own, indicating that they had, and were proud of, their street lighting; but that it was not a universal phenomenon.²¹ St Basil of Caesarea seems to imply that Caesarea had had street lighting at one point: in *Epistle* 75, bemoaning the state of Caesarea c. AD 371, he says “Our distress prevents our paying any attention to locked gymnasia and lampless nights” — the gymnasia (baths) are closed and the lamps cannot be lit because of the lack of publicly financed oil.²² At Constantinople, c. AD 440, the prefect Cyrus, “contrived for the evening lamps to be lit in the shops, and likewise the night-time lamps”.²³ Clive Foss sees this as referring to the introduction of street lighting,²⁴ but as we shall shortly see, since at least AD 424 the Baths of Zeuxippus had been lit at night, and Cyrus may have been extending a scheme that had

²¹ FOSS (1979) 56.

²² BASIL. *Ep.* 75, 2; REMIJSSEN (2015) 265, n. 52.

²³ PRISCUS fr. 3a, *FGH* iv.73 = *Chronicon Paschale* 588.

²⁴ FOSS (1979) 56.

originally applied to the public baths, or to parts of the city only. The main obstacle to be overcome was presumably the cost of the oil. While at Antioch, as we have seen, shopkeepers had to provide lighting outside their shops and pay for or provide the oil consumed, in some other cities, the oil may have been provided not as a contribution in kind but out of municipal funds, since (according to Procopius) after Justinian confiscated municipal revenues, “the public lamps were not kept burning in the cities”.²⁵ This implies that by the 6th century street lighting was widespread in the Byzantine world.

We may perhaps flesh out this picture of these major Late Antique cities — Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus, and apparently also Caesarea — having street lighting with some archaeological evidence from Asia Minor. This comes from a colonnaded portico at Aphrodisias, and is a tentative suggestion. Several of the columns of the north portico of the so-called South Agora (in fact, not an agora at all, but “The Place of Palms”, an urban park with a large ornamental pool and a palm grove) have holes cut in them in Late Antiquity for hooks or brackets (Fig. 2.1). These were of iron, as rust staining within the holes shows. They face the open space of the park, and are located at heights from 1.55-1.64 m above the stylobate, but rather higher therefore than the original ground level of the park, and of the seat running along the portico just below the stylobate, which forms a step up to the stylobate from the ground level of the park. Lamps hanging from hooks, or set on a metal bracket, would have been a little above eye level, and at a convenient height for filling without having to lower the lamp with an arrangement of ropes and pulleys. The holes for the iron fittings (hooks or brackets) are associated with personal names inscribed just above them, and lamps hung from hooks or set on brackets here would also have illuminated the names. Might we imagine a situation where stallholders trading from within the portico in Late Antiquity

²⁵ PROC. *Arc.* 26, 6-7; FOSS (1979) 56.

were also required to keep lamps lit outside their stall at night, to provide lighting in this park at the heart of the city? Other interpretations of the structural/archaeological evidence here may of course be possible, but this one is at least consistent with the evidence, and deserves, I think, some consideration in the context of an enquiry into Roman nightlife.

5. Night swimming

In fact, providing street lighting (after the development of glass lamps) is not conceptually or technically terribly different from providing lighting in the public baths for nocturnal bathing. Before the development of glass lamps, a large bronze lamp, from the Harbour Baths at Ephesus, shows how, for indoor lighting, the basic lamp design could be enlarged, multiplied, and put on a large stand to light a public building. In one of the passages of Libanius just quoted, the public lighting at the baths is the target for attack by rioters. Once glass lamps became widespread, the main challenge in providing ancient lighting at night lay not with the technology *per se*, but in ensuring that somebody would provide the oil and light the lamps. In the case of municipal street lighting, this was either devolved onto shopkeepers with properties on major colonnaded thoroughfares, as at Antioch, or, at some cities in the 6th century, apparently provided from municipal funds. Public baths were however a simpler proposition: whether run directly by the municipality, or operated by a contractor, the cost of lighting in nocturnal hours could be offset by the entrance fees charged for the baths. At the mining settlement of Vipasca (Aljustrel in Portugal), one of the early 2nd-century laws governing the assignation of monopolies at the settlement stipulates that the *conductor* of the baths is to keep the baths open from first light to the seventh hour of the day for women, and from the eighth hour of the day to the second hour of the night for men.²⁶ The baths must thus have been lit.

²⁶ CIL II 5181 = *An.Ép.* 2001, 1128 = *An.Ép.* 2013, 129.

At Rome, Alexander Severus is said to have donated oil for lighting the public baths at night, where previously they had not opened before dawn and had closed at sunset.²⁷ The emperor Tacitus reverted to the earlier closing hours to avoid disturbances or unrest at night.²⁸ At Constantinople, in AD 424, the baths of Zeuxippus were lit at night, the cost being covered from the revenues of the shops and workshops that had been built the portico of the baths.²⁹ It is probable that ancient street-lighting in the larger cities of the late antique eastern Mediterranean evolved from systems used to light the public baths at night in many cities, at an earlier date, but with the introduction of glass lamps enabling the transfer to outdoor lighting, as they would not be blown out by gusts of wind in the way that ceramic or metal oil lamps would.

Night swimming, or at least, cavorting around in water, appears also to have been a feature of the *maiouma* festival, originally an eastern water festival but which in the Roman west, at least, seems to have become conflated with the month of May (Maia). It incorporated torchlight processions and nocturnal theatrical performances recalling the mysteries of Dionysus and Aphrodite, following by banquets — in other words, the main themes were closely linked to drinking and eroticism, and the nocturnal nature of the celebrations will have assisted these elements. The festival became particularly popular in the 4th and early 5th centuries, spreading from its origin in Syria around the Roman Mediterranean. It had a

²⁷ *SHA, Alexander Severus* 24, 6.

²⁸ *SHA, Tacitus* 10.

²⁹ *Cod. Iust* 8, 11, 19 = *Cod. Theod.* 15, 1, 52: *Imp. Theodosius A. Seuerino praefecto urbi. quia plurimae domus cum officinis suis in porticibus Zeuxippi esse memorantur, reditus memoratorum locorum pro quantitate, quae placuit, ad praebenda luminaria et aedificia ac tecta reparanda regiae huius urbis lauacrum sine aliqua iubemus excusatione conferri. dat. u id. ian. uiuctore u. c. cons.* (424 jan. 9). “The Emperor Theodosius, Augustus, to Severinus the Prefect of the City. Because there are said to be very many houses with their shops in the Portico of Zeuxippus, we order that the revenues from the aforesaid places, in the amounts fixed for them, be used for providing lighting, and for repairing the buildings and the roof of the hall of the baths of this city, without any exemptions (9 January 424).”

particular connection with water, and many theatres and odea were converted to host aquatic performances, by deepening and water-proofing the orchestra.³⁰ It was banned in the late 4th century because of its licentious nature, then the ban was lifted in 396 on condition that the festivals be conducted with decorum; they clearly were not, and the festival was banned again in 399 as a *foedum adque indecorum spectaculum* ("a foul and indecorous spectacle"), but apparently with little effect, as there are various references to the *maiouma* through the 5th century, and even as late as the eighth.³¹ The early Church fathers got very exercised about it, and St John Chrysostom (*Homilia VII in Matthaeum*) raged against those who flock to watch lascivious performances of naked women swimming in the theatre when they should be going to church on Sundays. At Aphrodisias, the large 168-m long pool in the so-called "South Agora" appears to have been the locus for the *maiouma* festival there in late antiquity, as the governor Dulcitius, who restored the surrounding colonnades and buildings after an earthquake c. AD 500, is honoured in an inscription from the "South Agora" as *maioumarches*, leader of the *maiouma* festival.³² We have already seen how the North Portico of the colonnades surrounding the pool has evidence possibly suggestive of provision for lighting, enabling us to imagine more clearly how a nocturnal festival in this palm-girt pool might look.

6. All night long

Effective illumination extended the useful hours of the day, and thus also allowed for extending the working day. We have seen how artificial illumination enabled night bathing and

³⁰ TRAVERSARI (1960) lists some 40 sites, but does not fully explore the relationship with the *maiouma* festival.

³¹ See BELAYCHE (2004) 18.

³² WILSON (2016).

festivals; but it also enabled longer working hours, or night working, and thus had an economic impact that could have permitted greater productivity per capita. There is evidence for round-the-clock working both by individuals and groups.

Most detailed evidence from working at night comes from writers talking about their own habits. Writing at night, or *lucubratio*, is portrayed as a lone activity, a hallmark of the studious scholar or literary author. References occur from Callimachus in the mid-3rd century BC onwards,³³ with a flurry in the 1st century AD: Seneca in AD 62 claims part of the night for his studies (*partem noctium studiis uindico*, *Ep.* 8, 1); and Pliny says that he wrote his *Natural History* in his spare time, that is at night (*subsidiisque temporibus ... id est nocturnis*, *NH* *praef.* 18). In the 2nd century, Aulus Gellius entitled his work *Attic Nights* to reflect the fact that he had begun preparing it at night (*NA* *praef.* 4).³⁴

Quintilian dilates at some length on the practice; he says that orators should develop fluency in their writing by working at night (*lucubratio*): you are not distracted by the view around you or from the window (*Inst.* 10, 3, 22-25); busy people have no alternative but to work at night (*occupatos in noctem necessitas agit*, 10, 3, 27). Distractions are fewer and concentration better: *ideoque lucubranti silentium noctis et clausum cubiculum et lumen unum uelut rectos maxime teneat* (“And so one should burn the midnight oil and let the silence of the night and a closed room and a single lamp especially hold one’s eyes, as it were, free from swerving.” 10, 3, 26; trans. Murgia, apud Ker 2004, 214). So long as we do not overtire ourselves, and give sleep its due place, nocturnal working gives the best kind of privacy (10, 3, 27).

The theme continues through antiquity; in the 4th century AD, Ausonius attempts a self-deprecating *captatio benevolentiae* by opening his *Address to his Paper* by wondering if all his hard work late at night has been a complete waste of time:

³³ CALL. *Epigr.* 27, 4 Pfeiffer = 56, 4 Page; KER (2004) 227-228.

³⁴ See, on all this, KER (2004).

*ast ego damnosae nolo otio perdere Musae.
 iacturam somni quae parit atque olei.
 “utilius dormire fuit quam perdere somnum
 atque oleum.”*

“But I do not want to throw away the leisure devoted to the prodigal Muse who makes me waste sleep and oil. ‘It would have been more useful to sleep than to waste sleep and oil.’”
 (Ausonius, *Address to his Paper* 5-8; trans. McGill, adapted)

And that becomes the stereotype of the hard-working lone scholar. In late antiquity, if not before, it was extended to administrators and government officials; late antique provincial governors are described as “unsleeping”, “untiring”, and portrayed as drawn and unshaven, testimony to spending half the night attending to administrative business.³⁵

Beyond the individual writer, or administrator, there is also plentiful evidence for working into the evenings, shift working, and round-the-clock working in a variety of walks of life. The most obvious, but also one of the most rhetorical, is a passage of Libanius that we have already encountered, in his speech in praise of Antioch:³⁶

“among us night differs from day only in the kind of the light. Night is the same as day for the handicrafts, and some work vigorously while others laugh gently and give themselves up to song. The night is shared indeed by Hephaestus and Aphrodite, for some work at the forge and others dance.”

Libanius’ picture of craftsmen working at night may be foreshadowed by a milling relief from Rome, showing a pair of animal-driven mills working by lamplight.³⁷ One might perhaps object that this could simply show a mill in a windowless indoor environment, but the conventions of Roman iconography strongly suggest that a night-time scene is intended here.

³⁵ SMITH (1999) 183-188.

³⁶ LIBAN. *Or.* 11, 267.

³⁷ From the Vigna delle Tre Madonne, now in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican: see WILSON / SCHÖRLE (2009) 115 fig. 17.

Night working was not confined to cities; it applied anywhere where artificial illumination could be provided. Pliny recounts the story of a small-holder, Chresimus, whose farm was so much more productive than his neighbours', and who was accused by his neighbours of using potions to move their crops onto his own property. When the case came to trial he

"brought all his agricultural implements into court (*instrumentum rusticum omne in forum attulit*) and produced his farm servants, sturdy people and also according to Piso's description well looked after and well clad (*adduxit familiam suam ualidam atque ... bene curatam ac uestitam*), his iron tools of excellent make, heavy mattocks, ponderous plough-shares, and well-fed oxen. Then he said: 'These are my magic spells, citizens, and I am not able to exhibit to you or to produce in court my midnight labors and early risings and my sweat and toil' (*beneficia mea, Quirites, haec sunt, nec possum uobis ostendere aut in forum adducere lucubrations meas uigiliasque et sudores*).'" (trans. Rackham)³⁸

In mines, where the underground galleries needed illumination at any time of the day or night, it seems that round-the-clock working was natural; Pliny (*NH* 33, 70) refers to shifts measured out by lamps. Lamp-niches in mine galleries are found every few yards, and are almost a signature of Roman-period mining (Fig. 2.2); in a gallery at Rosia Montană in Romania a lump of clay with the impression of the base of a lamp shows how these lamps were kept in place,³⁹ as by lumps of blu-tac. Diodorus (3, 12, 6) refers to lamps mounted on miners' heads; one can see the advantages of this, but it is unclear how the risks of being scalded by hot oil were avoided. But night working was essential; when it came to pumping out water as one mined below the water table, nature is pitiless and does not respect daylight hours; de-watering of deep mine galleries had to be kept going by night and by day. This was usually accomplished by men either treading drainage wheels, or working Archimedes screws.

³⁸ PLIN. *NH* 18, 41-43; see KER (2004) 225-226.

³⁹ CAUDET / TAMAS (2012) 230 fig. 5b.

Night working also extended of course to night driving and sailing, and indeed in the city of Rome, where Julius Caesar had forbidden most vehicles between sunlight and the tenth hour, deliveries by cart necessarily took place in the last two hours of daylight, and at night.⁴⁰ How the vehicles were illuminated we can only guess — torches rather than oil lamps would have given better light, and might be easier to mount in brackets on the cart or carriage, without the attendant problems of spilling the oil. In the *Life of St Andrew the Fool*, a hagiography of a fictitious saint, set in Constantinople in the reign of Leo (AD 457-474) but actually written either in the late 7th century or even the 10th, Andrew escapes from some drunken youths who have been abusing him, and falls asleep on a dunghill by the side of the street, where he is run over by a drunken carter driving along in the small hours of the morning.⁴¹

Navigation, both by sea and by river, might also have taken place on a 24-hour basis, unless prohibited by contract to reduce risk. Colin Adams notes that the export of Roman Egypt's grain harvest could involve a very intensive period of loading grain onto Nile river boats to get it to the ports of the Nile delta, particularly Alexandria, and that one 1st-century AD papyrus refers to the round-the-clock loading of ships.⁴² That night sailing along the Nile was a not uncommon occurrence may be inferred from a shipping contract dated c. AD 63, from Oxyrhynchus, which engages one Anoubas son of Hermias to transport a cargo of 500 artabas of *arakos* (chickling vetch) from harbours in the Hermopolite Nome to Acanthon and Lile in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. Among the terms of the contract is the stipulation: “He is not to be permitted to sail by night nor (to weigh anchor) in foul weather (and?) he is to lay up daily at the safest harbours”.⁴³ For sea-going ships, round-the-clock sailing

⁴⁰ LIV. 34, 1, 3; LAURENCE (2013).

⁴¹ *Life of St Andrew the Fool*, ed. RYDÉN (1995); on the controversy about the date of the text, see CESARETTI (2016).

⁴² SB XIV 11, 371; ADAMS (2017) 179.

⁴³ XLV 3250, translated and discussed by ADAMS (2017) 190-191.

was normal in the Roman period, with ships undertaking open-water voyages involving sailing at night, navigating by the stars; this was a distinct contrast from practice in the 7th and 8th centuries, where it was normal to sail along the coast and put into shore to lay up at night, before a resurgence of 24-hour sailing in the ninth century.⁴⁴

7. Conclusions

Roman nightlife relied on technologies of artificial illumination. In themselves, they were simple, and were replicable and multipliable; to illuminate a larger area, or more brightly, one simply used more, and larger, oil lamps. They could be suspended, or mounted on brackets or stands. The main challenges to public lighting, indoors or outdoors, were organisational — who was going to pay for the oil, and organise the refilling of the lamps? In the case of public baths it seems to have been the contractors who organised this; while for public street lighting the problem was largely solved by a form of public taxation, falling chiefly on shopkeepers along the streets concerned, and may imply some after sunset opening hours of the shops concerned. Both public and private lighting had the effect of enabling longer working days, and thus potentially an increase in *per capita* production, as well as enabling a wide variety of leisure activities after sunset.

Works cited

Abbreviations

ALA = ROUECHÉ, C. (1989), *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions* (London).

⁴⁴ WILSON (2011) 53; cf. McCORMICK (2001) 481-500.

- ADAMS, C. (2017), “Nile River Transport under the Romans”, in A. WILSON / A. BOWMAN (eds.), *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman world* (Oxford), 175-208.
- BAILEY, D.M. (1975), *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. Vol. 1, *Greek, Hellenistic, and Early Roman Pottery Lamps* (London).
- (1980a), *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. Vol. 2, *Roman Lamps Made in Italy* (London).
- (1980b), “Some Beechey Plans of Buildings at Apollonia”, *LibSt* 12, 61-74.
- (1988), *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. Vol. 3, *Roman Provincial Lamps* (London).
- (1996), *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum*. Vol. 4, *Lamps of Metal and Stone, and Lampstands* (London).
- BELAYCHE, N. (2004), “Pagan Festivals in Fourth-Century Gaza”, in B.B. ASHKELONY / A. KOFSKY (eds.), *Christian Gaza In Late Antiquity* (Leiden), 5-22.
- CAUDET, B. / TAMAS, C.G. (2012), “Les travaux miniers antiques de Rosia Montana (Roumanie) : apports croisés entre archéologie et géologie”, in A. OREJAS / C. RICO (eds.), *Minería y metalurgia antiguas. Visiones y revisiones* (Madrid), 219-241.
- CESARETTI, P. (2016), “The life of St Andrew the Fool by Lennart Rydén: vingt ans après”, *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2, 31-51.
- CHRZANOVSKI, L. (2015), Ex Oriente Lux. *Des lampes phéniciennes aux lumières de l'Islam. Chefs-d'œuvre de la Collection Bouvier. Catalogue de l'exposition (Université de Genève, Salle des Moulages, 3-27 novembre 2015)* (Sibiu-Genève).
- DOWNEY, G. (1959), “Libanius’ Oration in Praise of Antioch (Oration XI)”, *PAPS* 103.5, 652-686.
- FEISSEL, D. (1999), “Öffentliche Straßenbeleuchtung im spätantiken Ephesos”, in P. SCHERRER et al. (eds.), *Steine und Wege. Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna), 25-29.
- FORBES, R.J. (1966), *Studies in Ancient Technology*. Vol. 6 (Leiden).
- FOSS, C. (1979), *Ephesus after Antiquity. A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge).
- GRÉGOIRE, H. (1922), *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*. Vol. 1 (Paris).
- HANNAH, R. (2008), “Timekeeping”, in J.P. OLESON (ed.), *Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford), 740-758.
- HILL, D.R. (1976), *On the Construction of Water-Clocks. Kitab Arshimidas Fi'amal al-binkamat* (London).

- KER, J. (2004), "Nocturnal Writers in Imperial Rome: The Culture of Lucubratio", *CP* 99.3, 209-242.
- LAURENCE, R. (2013), "Traffic and Land Transportation in and Near Rome", in P. ERDKAMP (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome* (Cambridge), 246-261.
- LEWIS, M.J.T. (2000), "Theoretical Hydraulics, Automata and Water Clocks", in Ö. WIKANDER (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (Leiden), 343-369.
- MCCORMICK, M. (2001), *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300-900* (Cambridge).
- O'HEA, M. (2008), "Glass in Late Antiquity in the Near East", in L. LAVAN / E. ZANINI / A. SARANTIS (eds.), *Technology in Transition A.D. 300-650* (Leiden), 233-248.
- PERLZWEIG, J. (1963), *Lamps from the Athenian Agora. Excavations of the Athenian Agora. Picture books* (Princeton).
- REMILSEN, S. (2015), *The End of Greek Athletics in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge).
- ROBINS, F.W. (1939), *The Story of the Lamp (and Candle)* (London).
- RYDÉN, L. (1995), *Vita Sancti Andree sali* (Stockholm).
- SMITH, R.R.R. (1999), "Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, A.D. 300-600", *JRS* 89, 155-189.
- TOUTAIN, J. (1904), "Lucerna, lychnus", in C.V. DAREMBERG / E. SAGLIO (eds.), *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments*. Vol. 3(2) (Paris), 1320-1339.
- TRaversari, G. (1960), *Gli spettacoli in acqua nel teatro tardo-antico* (Rome).
- VAN BUREN, A.W. / KENNEDY, R.M. (1919), "Varro's Aviary at Casinum", *JRS* 9, 59-66.
- WILSON, A.I. (2011), "Developments in Mediterranean Shipping and Maritime Trade from the Hellenistic Period to AD 1000", in D. ROBINSON / A.I. WILSON (eds.), *Maritime Archaeology and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean* (Oxford), 33-59.
- (2016), "Water, Nymphs, and a Palm Grove: Monumental Water Display at Aphrodisias", in R.R.R. SMITH *et al.* (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 5. Excavation and Research at Aphrodisias, 2006-2012* (Portsmouth, RI), 100-135.
- WILSON, A.I. / SCHÖRLE, K. (2009), "A Baker's Funerary Relief from Rome", *PBSR* 77, 101-123.
- YONGE, C.D. (1862), *The Roman History of Ammianus Marcellinus*. Trans. by C.D. YONGE (London).

DISCUSSION

I. Mylonopoulos: A rather secondary remark concerning the first part of the paper and the measuring of the night: There is a rather recent monographic publication by a German archaeologist, Eva Winter, that deals with this subject and, in particular, its practical and material aspects.¹ And now the question. Do we know anything about the use of mirrors or other devices in closed spaces that could explicitly enhance (through reflection) the light offered by a lamp? Suetonius does speak of mirrors in Horace's bedroom.

A. Wilson: I am not aware of evidence that confirms that mirrors were deliberately used to enhance the light of a lamp, though of course they may have been and probably were. That the principle was clearly understood, at least, is evident from the use of ceramic and especially metal reflectors on lamps; a mirror, even more highly polished, would have served even better. A suggestion that mirrors were used in the ancient Egyptian turquoise mines at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai peninsula to reflect daylight into the mine galleries has been convincingly rebutted.²

I. Mylonopoulos: A rather detailed iconographic question about the *Vigna Tre Madonne* relief: there is indeed a lamp depicted on the milling relief, but I was wondering whether or not there is any evidence for flames shown — either in relief or painted — coming out of the nozzle of the lamp. The lamp does point to nocturnal use of the mill, but if there are no

¹ E. WINTER (2013), *Zeitzeichen. Zur Entwicklung und Verwendung antiker Zeitmesser* (Berlin).

² KNAUF (1988); BEIT-ARIEH (1990).

flames shown, then the actual narrative of the relief is probably not a nocturnal one.

A. Wilson: There is something above the nozzle of the lamp, which appears too thick to be the wick; it is damaged, but is quite possibly the base of the flame, the upper part of which is broken away.

F. Carlà-Uhink: You mentioned the *topos* of the sleepless and unshaved governor as a typical form of Late Antique praise of officials, and I would like to ask you two questions on this. On the one hand, I was wondering if you could explain in more detail what is the connection between sleeplessness and ‘unshavenness’, and whether the two aspects are ever explicitly mentioned together, maybe even in the form of a causal relationship, or if it is just a recurrent, simultaneous appearance. On the other hand, this *topos*, which is well attested epigraphically, is not always and not solely positive: in Procopius’ *Secret History*, for example, Justinian’s nights of work are definitely not meant to praise him as a careful and attentive governor. How do you combine the positive and the negative side of such descriptions of sleepless political men?

A. Wilson: The portrait sculptures of Late Antique governors, with their stubble, furrowed brows and drawn features, are well discussed by Bert Smith, who shows that they recall the stubble of the portraits of 3rd-century military emperors and are intended to evoke the sense of “being on service outside the capital — administration as *militia*”, without the time or leisure to shave. He notes that epigrams inscribed on the bases of such honorific portrait statues talk of “tireless work and unremitting labour”; and the inscription on a bust of a civic benefactor, Eutropius, at Ephesus, thanks him specifically for his sleepless labours.³ The twin phenomena of stubble beards and tireless working far into the night clearly co-occur

³ SMITH (1999) 183–185 and note 109 (Eutropius), 187.

to suggest a busy governor, the sleeplessness mentioned explicitly in the inscriptions, and the hard work suggested in the images through the stubble beards and lined brows.

As to the associations of sleeplessness, you can spin anything both ways, depending on how you contextualise it. Procopius (*Secret History* 12, 27) describes Justinian prowling around the Palace at all hours of the night — and not necessarily working; the associated comment that Justinian was devoted to the joys of Aphrodite is clearly indicated to hint to the reader what he might have been up to. By contrast, the Monastery of the Unsleeping (*Akoimēton*), with monks chanting prayers in shifts around the clock was clearly thought to be a good thing in the Christian world of 5th-century Constantinople. In the context of honorific statuary, the associations are evidently positive.

A. Chaniotis: This was a fascinating contribution with an abundance of evidence. And it is precisely the abundance of evidence especially about artificial light that I am concerned with. To what extent is the existence of evidence the result of the focus of archaeological research on certain types of settlements or of a historical development?

A. Wilson: It is a combination both of differential archaeological survival (rather than differential focus on different types of site, I think) and of historical development. We have far more evidence for ceramic lamps than for metal lamps, a result both of the greater affordability of ceramic lamps and of the propensity for metal lamps eventually to be melted down and recycled to make something else; we have less evidence for glass lamps than for ceramic lamps also because glass is less durable, and can be recycled. Of course we have almost no archaeological evidence for candles and torches again because of problems of material durability. So our evidence for different types of lighting, which may have different functional or social associations, is unequal. When it comes to literary evidence, of course, we are at the mercy of an anecdotal record — the occasional

sidelights on everyday life or practice that happen to occur in poetry, narrative political history, and the other mainstream genres of the literary canon. But despite an imperfectly distributed dataset, I think we can see from the sheer quantity and ubiquity of Roman ceramic lamps, compared to earlier periods, for example, that there was more artificial illumination in the Roman period than in the Classical Greek or Hellenistic periods (perhaps facilitated in part by a larger long-distance trade in olive oil).

L. Dossey: All of your evidence for government initiatives to set up street lighting in Roman cities comes from the late Roman period (and the eastern Mediterranean). Why don't you think we have clear evidence for public street lighting for 1st-century Rome? One would think Rome's very size and economic importance would have produced the need for it (and indeed the high density of lamps in the private shops and doorways of the much smaller city of Pompeii suggests that private initiative may have filled the void). How would you explain the absence of evidence for government-initiated street lighting in early imperial Rome?

A. Wilson: We assume that there was no street lighting at Rome in the 1st century BC and AD, as there is no positive evidence for it. If this assumption is accurate, as it probably is, one possible reason might be the lesser political will to provide such infrastructural services, and the lesser organisational capability of the late Republican state compared to the Roman imperial period. In the Republic, if anyone thought of providing street lighting, this is the kind of measure that would presumably have been proposed by the tribunes of the people (but we have no evidence that they actually did so). The upper classes had slaves who could light them along the streets, bearing torches, and may therefore have been less interested in providing lighting for everyone. Under autocratic rule, it perhaps became more important for the state (i.e. the emperor) to be

seen to be providing a range of services in return for taxation (and oppression). But on reflection I think that the argument in your own paper about the superior illumination provided by hanging glass lamps, and — I would argue — also their greater reliability in an outdoor context, may well be the key factor in precipitating the growth of street lighting in Late Antiquity.

L. Dossey: As a continuation of the previous question, your paper gives evidence from Latin sources for work — *ponos* — at night (suggesting a certain degree of colonization of the night by daytime activities). In addition to your example from Pliny the Elder, Columella discusses nightwork on farms by lamplight; Apuleius nightwork at mills; Petronius night watchmen and messengers; and Cicero describes night carters in the early predawn. However, this is mostly night work among the lower social classes. Among the aristocracy, the work by lamplight (*lucubratio*) that you discuss (from Quintilian, for example) is private study in one's own cubiculum. My question is whether this association of *public* nightwork with the lower classes, and not the aristocracy, partly explains the absence of systematic street lighting in the early imperial period? Was it that the people who mattered in the Roman world didn't need it?

A. Wilson: Writing can be both *ponos* (toil) and leisure; in the case of Quintilian's advice to orators, he is talking about work rather than leisure. It is of course an affectation on Ausonius' part that he describes the writing he does in his *otium* in terms appropriate to *ponos*. The presentation by aristocratic writers of their own activity, and whether it is work or leisure, is often ambivalent and may vary according to the rhetorical effect they are trying to create. But arguably if the aristocracy didn't need outdoor lighting for work, they might have wanted it for leisure (going to the baths, or to dinner) — as you show that they in fact did in late antiquity. So I am not sure that this is the explanation; I like your emphasis on glass lamps better.

A. Chaniotis: There are certain activities that take place during the night without leaving much, if any, archaeological evidence. For instance, to judge from the Solonian regulation about funerals, a funeral should take place before sunrise but this is neither reflected in the iconography of the *ekphora* nor can it be deduced from archaeological finds, except perhaps for the deposition of lamps in graves. Could you comment on analogous phenomena that may influence the general picture that we draw about nocturnal activities?

A. Wilson: There is a difficulty in ancient iconography in depicting night-time scenes — vase paintings or sculptured reliefs can hardly convey a sense of dusk or night through colour, and so if a scene is depicted as being a night-time one it must be done through the depiction of lamps, torches, or the moon; and sometimes the composition does not allow for this. The problem with inferring activity at night from the finds of lamps lies in knowing whether the lamps have been deposited effectively in their usage context (if they are, they are more likely to be whole or at least fully reconstructable from fragments; although most whole lamps in fact come from burials where they have been deposited as grave offerings), or are residual material in some other deposit (construction fill, dump, etc.). In the latter case they merely reflect some kind of activity requiring light, probably nocturnal but possibly also in windowless spaces, somewhere on the site.

K. De Temmerman: I have a question regarding your argument about around-the-clock navigation. It reminds me of a passage in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (5, 17, 5) where nighttime sailing is explicitly presented as a safe alternative for (the more dangerous) docking at night: a ship at dusk lowers its sails so that it catches just enough speed to spend the entire night at sea and reach its destination at daybreak. Do we have any evidence on the practice of nocturnal docking?

A. Wilson: I don't believe that we have much positive evidence for it; what evidence we do have, as in the *Aethiopica*, or the Egyptian contracts I mentioned, suggests that it was a practice to be discouraged because of the attendant dangers of running aground on underground reefs on the approach to harbour, or docking by the light of torches. No doubt it did happen from time to time (and in the *Aethiopica*, although the captain advises against it, the ship does in fact approach the harbour during the night and drops anchor in the harbour just as the sun comes up), and the fact that some contracts prohibit it tells us that people were sometimes inclined to do it; but I am not aware of evidence for the specific techniques of nocturnal docking.

A. Chaniotis: Since nighttime sailing was mentioned, a question arises — a question that cannot be answered: I wonder how many shipwrecks happened during the night.

But I have a question on an entirely different phenomenon and its connection with artificial lighting: the existence of certain types of buildings that are dark even by day and for this reason might have required artificial illumination during both night and day. I am thinking of the *cryptoporticu*s of the Smyrna basilica with its numerous graffiti, recently published by Roger Bagnall and his collaborators.⁴ One of them explicitly mentions the dedication of a lamp by a man whose eyes had been healed.

A. Wilson: Indeed: *cryptoporticu*s in forum complexes; rooms in warehouses or *horrea* built for security purposes without external windows; cellars and underground strongrooms; fortifications and towers in city wall circuits illuminated only by narrow arrow-slits; even the bedrooms of Roman town houses, which often had no windows at all, would all require artificial illumination by day or night.

⁴ R.S. BAGNALL *et al.* (2016), *Graffiti from the Basilica in the Agora of Smyrna* (New York).

A. Chaniotis: In connection with graffiti, I should also mention that a large number of domestic graffiti and *dipinti* on wall-plaster (in Ephesus, Zeugma, Delos and elsewhere) can be associated with nocturnal activities (conviviality and sex). I treat these texts in my forthcoming study “The Epigraphy of the Night”.

R. Schlesier: Können wir tatsächlich aus der Dokumentation über die raffiniertere Technologie von Lichtquellen schliessen, dass die Arbeitstage länger waren?

A. Wilson: Certainly the possibility of longer working days now existed; but for how long anyone actually worked each day, we have very little evidence. Doubtless some people did work longer, for example slaves whose masters compelled them, or perhaps some craftsmen in order to maximise earnings from piece-work. But certainly better artificial lighting enabled round-the-clock shift-working in ways not previously possible.

III

RENATE SCHLESIER

SAPPHO BEI NACHT

δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα
καὶ Πληγάδες· μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὥρα,
ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.¹

„Untergegangen ist der Mond,
auch die Pleiaden. Mitte aber
der Nacht, vorbei geht die Stunde,
und ich bin eine, die alleine schläft.“

Die neuzeitliche Sappho-Rezeption beginnt in der Renaissance mit diesem Vierzeiler, bei dem die Nacht buchstäblich im Zentrum steht. Es handelt sich um eines von zwei in antiken Handbüchern zitierten Gedichten, die der französische Philologe und Drucker Henri Estienne (alias Henricus Stephanus) 1554 als Erstdruck von Sappho-Texten publizierte, und zwar im Anhang seiner Edition des *Anakreon* und der *Anacreontea*.² Dieses Nocturne wurde jahrhundertelang geradezu emblematisch mit der berühmtesten antiken Dichterin verbunden, jedoch moderne

¹ SAPPH. *fr.* 168B V. (überliefert ohne Verfasserangabe bei HEPH. *Ench.* 11, 5). Die Fragmente von Sappho und Alkaios werden im Folgenden zitiert nach VOIGT (1971), wenn nicht anders angegeben. Alle Übersetzungen stammen von der Verfasserin. Vgl. auch die Edition (mit englischer Übersetzung) von CAMPBELL (1982). Der Text fungiert als SAPPH. *fr.* 52 in BERGK (1882) und als SAPPH. *fr.* 94 in DIEHL (1925). Er fehlt in LOBEL / PAGE (1955).

² Zur Erstpublikation siehe SCHLESIER (2013b) 844-845 (das zweite Gedicht in Estiennes Erstdruck war SAPPHO *fr.* 1, zitiert bei DION. HAL. *Comp.* 23; in den Anhang der 2. Auflage seiner Anakreon-Edition hat Henri Estienne dann als drittes Gedicht auch SAPPH. *fr.* 31 aufgenommen, aus [LONGINUS] *Subl.* 10, 1-3).

Philologen gingen dazu über, massiv zu bestreiten, dass Sappho es verfasst haben könnte.³ Denys Page druckte das Gedicht 1962 in seiner kanonischen Ausgabe der *Poetae Melici Graeci* als Fragmentum Adespotum No. 976,⁴ nachdem er und Edgar Lobel es 1955 autoritativ aus ihrer Edition der *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* ausgeschlossen hatten. Seit 1971, als Eva-Maria Voigt es in ihre Edition *Sappho et Alcaeus Fragmenta* aufnahm, besteht indessen wieder ein weitgehender Konsens über die Berechtigung der Zuschreibung an Sappho.

Nun ist dies keineswegs der einzige Text, bei dem Sapphos Autorschaft umstritten war oder noch ist.⁵ Der Umgang mit dem emblematischen Nachtgedicht ist allerdings außerordentlich instruktiv dafür, welche Interpretationsmodelle auf die Bewertung der Sappho angewendet wurden oder werden und welche methodischen und historischen Probleme dabei entstehen. Besonders deutlich wird dies bei Wilamowitz, der diesen Vierzeiler mehrfach vehement und folgenreich der Sappho abgesprochen hat, zunächst 1886 in seiner Monographie *Isylos von Epidaurus* am Ende einer Fußnote zum Kapitel über das ionische Versmaß bei den frühgriechischen Lyrikern:

„übrigens ist es eine sünde, das reizende volkslied der Sappho zuzuschreiben. überliefert ist es nicht, und wenn das gedicht unter ihren werken gestanden haben sollte, so würde das nichts

³ Siehe dazu kurorisch CLAY (1970) und (2011), der für die Authentizität und Vollständigkeit des Textes (also kein Fragment) plädiert. Die Zuschreibung an Sappho geht auf den aus Kreta stammenden und nach Italien geflohenen Gelehrten Arsenios (1465-1535) zurück, als Randnotiz zu dem Vierzeiler in der Sprichwörtersammlung seines Vaters Michael Apostolios.

⁴ PAGE (1962). Zur Begründung der Ablehnung von Sapphos Autorschaft: PAGE (1955) 128-129, n. 4 und (1958). *Contra*: GOMME (1957) 265-266 und (1958). Ausführliche Argumentation für die Zuschreibung an Sappho: MARZULLO (1958) 1-60; TZAMALI (1996) 518-522. Nach REINER / KOVACS (1993) 155-159 könne der Text nur dann von Sappho sein, wenn nicht die Dichterin die Sprecherrolle einnimmt und es sich um ein Fragment handelt. Wenn er aber komplett ist, handele es sich um ein hellenistisches Kurzgedicht.

⁵ Vgl. z.B. LOBEL / PAGE (1955) 292-297 (*inc. auct. fr. 1-27*); VOIGT (1971) 359-376 (*inc. auct. fr. 1-42*).

verschlagen. dies mädchen harrt bei offener kammertür auf den geliebten: das soll Sappho sein?“⁶

Entscheidend ist hier nicht, dass in dem Text nirgends von einem Geliebten und vom Warten eines Mädchens auf ihn die Rede ist. Entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass Wilamowitz seiner phantasievollen Paraphrase eine Reihe von impliziten Kriterien zu Grunde legt, die eine Zuschreibung an Sappho unmöglich machen. Ausschlaggebend dafür ist eine bestimmte psychologisch-sozialhistorische Auffassung ihrer Dichtung: Für Wilamowitz sind die Werke der Sappho autobiographische Aussagen über die praktischen Erfahrungen und darauf bezogenen Seelenzustände, die sich aus ihrer vermeintlichen gesellschaftlichen Stellung im realen Leben der Insel Lesbos im frühen 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ergeben. Der Dichterin — nach Wilamowitz eine Lehrerin und Chorleiterin, die junge Mädchen auf die Ehe vorbereitete⁷ — sei nun aber nicht zuzutrauen, dass sie auf einen Geliebten wartete.

Ob die von der späteren Forschung auf Sappho angewendeten Deutungsmuster grundsätzlich von Wilamowitz' Position abweichen oder eher daran anknüpfen, kann hier nicht im

⁶ WILAMOWITZ (1886) 129-130, n. 7. Siehe dazu auch WILAMOWITZ (1900) 33, n. 1 („am besten als Volkslied betrachtet“) und WILAMOWITZ (1913) 75, n. 1 („wirkliches Volkslied“, und nicht „individuell“ von Sappho, auch dann, „wenn die alten Ausgaben es ihr gegeben haben sollten [woran man nicht zweifeln darf]“). Vgl. auch hinsichtlich der Frage der Zuordnung zu Sappho das Schwanken der Wilamowitz-Schüler SCHADEWALDT (1950) 45 („wohl gar nicht von Sappho“) sowie 185 („bei Sappho“), und FRÄNKEL (1969) 205, n. 28. Die Volkslied-Deutung hat weiterhin Anhänger gefunden, siehe z.B. TREU (1955) 208 und (1960) 744: „das bekannte Mitternachtsliedchen“, KIRKWOOD (1974) 128; TSAGARAKIS (1977) 76; TREU (1979) 148; *contra*: STEIN (1990) 115 (fragwürdig ist allerdings dort die alternative Deutung als „pointierte Selbstaussage Sapphos“). Vgl. REINER / KOVACS (1993) 147: „its *Volkslied* character is unmistakable“. Auf der Basis dieser *petitio principii* emendieren sie dann den Text in v. 2 und 3 (ebd. 153), was sie wie folgt erläutern: „These changes restore the proper *Volkslied* style and remove difficulties of sense“. Siehe auch FERRARI (2007) 134, n. 3.

⁷ So v.a. WILAMOWITZ (1913) 75-78. Diese Auffassung ist bis heute kanonisch geblieben (nun allerdings nur noch selten mit individualpsychologischen, sondern eher mit sozialanthropologischen und -historischen Spekulationen verbunden. Siehe kritisch dazu SCHLESIER (2013a) und (2014).

Detail verfolgt werden. Die modernen Auffassungen der Sappho und ihrer Dichtung sind jedenfalls paradigmatisch für die Problematik biographischer Deutung und für die Schwierigkeiten, antike poetische Texte auf den Kontext zu beziehen, in dem sie entstanden sind (zumal, wenn über den kulturellen und realhistorischen Kontext kaum Quellen existieren). Der umstrittene Vierzeiler, von dem ich ausgegangen bin, lässt vermuten, dass die Thematik der Nacht bei Sappho als ein exemplarischer Testfall anzusehen ist, um über einige dieser generelleren Schwierigkeiten genauer nachzudenken.

Die folgenden Überlegungen basieren deshalb auf der methodischen und sachlichen Vorentscheidung für ein induktives Verfahren:⁸ Die Interpretation soll möglichst nicht deduktiv von vorgegebenen Deutungsmodellen abgeleitet werden, wie etwa von einem individualpsychologischen oder von einem sozialanthropologischen. Anders gesagt, durch die Interpretation soll nicht versucht werden, eine vorausgesetzte pragmatische Funktionalität von Sapphos Dichtung oder eine für die Person Sappho vorausgesetzte psychische und soziale Realität zu bestätigen, wie dies viele bisherige Forscher auf spekulative Weise getan haben, ohne sich dabei auf Faktisches und Nachweisbares stützen zu können. Statt dessen soll im Folgenden die poetische Machart der Texte und deren eigene artistische Referentialität im Mittelpunkt stehen, also die Bezüge zu poetischen, religiösen, künstlerischen und gesellschaftlichen Traditionen und Erfahrungen, die in den Texten selbst angedeutet oder ausformuliert sind. Vor diesem Hintergrund soll nun die Aufmerksamkeit darauf gelenkt werden, dass die Nacht und nächtliche Aktivitäten in der sicher bezeugten fragmentarischen Überlieferung von Sapphos Dichtung auffällig prominent sind, bevor am Schluss noch einmal auf das zu Beginn zitierte sapphoische Nocturne zurückgekommen wird.

⁸ Zur Anwendung dieses Verfahrens bei der Sappho-Interpretation siehe auch u.a. SCHLESIER (2015) und (im Erscheinen a).

Die quantitative und qualitative Prominenz der Nacht bei Sappho unterscheidet sie markant von anderen frühgriechischen Dichtern.⁹ Dies betrifft einerseits bei Nacht praktizierte rituelle, musiche und erotische Handlungen weiblicher Akteure, und andererseits aus einer Ich-Perspektive formulierte Reflexionen über die Phänomene Schlaf und Traum, und ebenso über Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Menschenfrauen und nächtlichen Himmelskörpern. Als Modelle fungieren dabei neben den Sternen vor allem die Göttinnen Selene (äol. Σελάννα, Mond) und Eos (äol. Αὔως, Morgenröte). Dabei zeigt sich, dass Sappho die traditionellen Darstellungen und Imaginationen der Nacht und nächtlicher Erfahrungen neu kontextualisiert und ihnen eine spezifische Valorisierung abgewinnt.

Wie partikular, wenn nicht gar unverwechselbar, Sapphos poetische Behandlung nächtlicher Bezüge ist, kann gerade ein Vergleich mit dem Werk ihres Landsmanns und Zeitgenossen Alkaios verdeutlichen, der ebenso wie sie sich vorwiegend äolischer Dialekt- und Versformen bediente. Dabei muss allerdings bedacht werden, dass auch die poetische Produktion des Alkaios wie die der Sappho (und aller anderen frühgriechischen Dichter) nur äußerst fragmentarisch tradiert ist und verallgemeinernde Aussagen darüber nur mit Vorbehalt gemacht werden können. Um so bemerkenswerter ist der Kontrast, der auf der Grundlage der vorhandenen Überlieferung festzustellen ist: Anders als bei Sappho ist bei Alkaios an keiner Stelle vom Mond und von Sternengruppen oder von

⁹ In der Forschungsliteratur ist dies meines Wissens bislang fast nicht beachtet worden, auch nicht in einschlägigen Monographien und sonstigen Überblicksdarstellungen zum Themenfeld von Nacht, Mond und Schlaf in der antiken Tradition, z.B. RAMNOUX (1986); WÖHRLE (1995); BUFFIÈRE (1999); STROBL (2002); STAFFORD (2003); WALDE (2014). Knappe Bemerkungen zu Sappho (unter dem Aspekt des Lichts): TREU (1965) 89-90, 92; BREMER (1976) 223-230; MAGGEL (2010) sowie (unter dem Aspekt der Schlaflosigkeit) MONTIGLIO (2016) 171-172. Im Folgenden werden alle zweiundzwanzig Fragmente untersucht, in denen eine auf die Nacht bezogene Thematik bei Sappho belegt ist (mit über dreißig Wörtern des dazugehörigen Vokabulars).

der Morgenröte die Rede.¹⁰ Ebensowenig werden bei Alkaios der Traum und der Schlaf erwähnt. Im Unterschied dazu personifiziert Sappho den Traum sogar als göttlichen Adressaten und umschreibt den Schlaf mit verschiedenen nominalen und verbalen Ausdrücken, wie noch detailliert zu zeigen ist.

Die Nacht selbst wird zwar auch bei Alkaios thematisiert, ist jedoch in den Zusammenhängen, in denen auf sie verwiesen wird, anders als bei Sappho immer mit negativen Vorzeichen ausgestattet. Dies geschieht durch ein abwertendes Beiwort oder durch einen abwertenden Handlungszusammenhang: In Alkaios' Anrufung der Dioskuren als Retter aus Seenot werden sie aufgefordert, dem bedrohten Schiff „in bedrückender Nacht“ (ἀργαλέαι δ' ἐν νύκτι)¹¹ Licht zu bringen. In einem von Alkaios' Schmähgedichten wird ein Mann angeprangert, weil er sich exzessiven Praktiken beim Trinkgelage überlassen habe, und zwar, wie extra betont wird, „bei Tag und Nacht“ (ἀμέρα[.] ... καὶ νύκτι) und zudem „ganze Nächte lang“ (πατσαὶς ... νύκτας).¹²

Eine solche negative Bewertung der Nacht oder gänznächtlicher Aktivitäten ist nun bei Sappho nicht zu finden. Den beiden äolischen Dichtern ist jedoch gemeinsam, dass sie die Nacht als wahrnehmbare Zeitstruktur, als ein prinzipiell durch Dunkelheit qualifiziertes Naturphänomen in Opposition zum Tageslicht behandeln, wie dies in der Regel auch bei Homer

¹⁰ Auch bei anderen frühgriechischen Dichtern (z.B. Archilochos, Anakreon, Ibykos) sind der Mond (Selene) und die Morgenröte (Eos) nicht belegt. Zur Erwähnung von Sternengruppen vgl. ALCM. fr. 1, 60 *PMG* (Pleiaden: Sterne? Tauben? Chormädchen?). Ein einzelner Stern: ALCM. fr. 3, 66 (ἀστήρ), Sirius (der Hundsstern): ARCHIL. fr. 107 W., ALCM. fr. 1, 62, vgl. ALC. fr. 347, 1 und 5, fr. 352. Die Mondgöttin Selene genealogisch: ALCM. fr. 57. Die schlafende Natur: ALCM. fr. 89, vgl. dazu ELLIGER (1975) 185-188; WÖHRLE (1995) 52-53; MONTIGLIO (2016) 171.

¹¹ ALC. fr. 34, 11.

¹² ALC. fr. 72, 4-5 und 9, vgl. auch fr. 298, 35: παννυχις (ebenfalls wohl negativ konnotiert). Anders (und ähnlich wie bei SAPPHO wohl positiv in erotisch-musischem Kontext): ANAC. fr. 346 frr. II+3+6, 4 und 16 (πάννυχος πετόμην, „die ganze Nacht lang möge ich fliegen“) *PMG*, vgl. außerdem die Testimonia in fr. 500 *PMG*.

der Fall ist. Die Nacht als Göttin, wie an einer Stelle bei Homer,¹³ und ihre kosmologisch-genealogische Funktion, darunter als Mutter des Schlafes wie bei Hesiod,¹⁴ ist weder bei Alkaios noch bei Sappho belegt, und ebensowenig die im Epos betonte Verbindung von Schlaf und Tod. Bereits bei Homer ist nun der Schlaf keineswegs das prototypische oder gar das einzige Exemplum für eine Tätigkeit, welche die ganze Nacht lang ($\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\omega\varsigma$ bzw. $\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\omega\varsigma$) dauert.¹⁵ In der nachhomerischen Tradition ist dann für eine solche Praxis eher die Abwesenheit des Schlafes kennzeichnend, wie dies auch in dem zitierten Alkaios-Fragment zum Ausdruck kommt.

Hinsichtlich der poetischen Produktion der Sappho gilt dies nun in ganz besonderem Maße. Bei ihr findet sich auch erstmals das Verbum $\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu$, „die ganze Nacht lang etwas tun“ bzw. „die ganze Nacht lang feiern“, das in zwei Papyrusfragmenten belegt ist. Eines dieser Fragmente¹⁶ ist sogar an einer besonders exponierten Stelle der Sappho-Überlieferung dokumentiert, nämlich als Schluss des ausschließlich aus Gedichten mit sapphischen Strophen bestehenden ersten Buches der alexandrinischen Sappho-Ausgabe. Leider sind nur die letzten beiden Strophen teilweise überliefert, gemeinsam mit dem Wort für Nacht in der letzten Zeile der vorausgehenden Strophe:

¹³ HOM. *Il.* 14, 259: Νύξ. Zur Göttin Nyx siehe PIRENNE-DELFORGE in diesem Band.

¹⁴ HES. *Theog.* 212 (dort sind Tod und Schlaf Brüder). Zur Relation von Hypnos, Thanatos (und Eros) seit der epischen Tradition vgl. WÖHRLE (1995) 25–41; MONTIGLIO (2016) *passim*.

¹⁵ Siehe v.a. die semantisch gegensätzliche Verwendung des Terminus für das Nicht-Schlafen während einer ganzen Nacht: HOM. *Il.* 7, 476 ($\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\omega\colon$ die Achaier bei Gastmahl und Trinkgelage vor Troja) und 478 ($\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\omega\varsigma$: Zeus, der gleichzeitig ihnen Schlimmes sintt).

¹⁶ SAPPH. *fr.* 30 LP/V (= *fr.* 39 D). Vgl. den Ergänzungsvorschlag ὡς ἐλάσσω („damit weniger“) zu *v.* 7 in LOBEL / PAGE (1955) *ad loc.*, mit der Übersetzung „dass grad soviel“ bei TREU (1979) 47. In *v.* 8 ist wohl ὄρνις („Vogel“) zu ergänzen, womit hier nur die Nachtigall gemeint sein kann. Alternativ könnten *vv.* 7–9 so übersetzt werden: „damit wir noch weniger Schlaf sehen als sogar die hellstimmige Nachtigall“.

1

νύκτ[...].[
 πάρθενοι δ[ι]
 παννυχίσδοι[σ]αι[
 σὰν ἀείδοισ[ι]ν φ[ιλότατα καὶ νύμ-
 φας ἰοκόλπω.
 5
 ἀλλ' ἐγέρθεις ήϊθ[ε]
 στεῖχε σοὶς ὑμάλικ[ας
 ἥπερ ὅσσον ἢ λιγύφω[νος
 ὕπνον [ι]δωμεν.

„Nacht ...

und Mädchen ...
 die ganze Nacht lang feiernden ...
 deine Liebe besingen, auch die der
 Braut, der veilchenbusigen.

Doch wach auf, Jüngling, ...
 geh zu deinen Altersgenossen, ...
 so dass wir nur soviel wie die hellstimmige ...
 Schlaf sehen.“

Über das Verständnis dieser Strophen besteht in der Forschung ein weitgehender Konsens. Es handelt sich offenbar um ein Lied, das sich selbstreferentiell auf Lieder bezieht, die während einer Nachtfeier von Mädchen als Preislied gesungen werden. Das chorische Wir beendet sein Lied mit der ironischen Volte eines Vergleichs mit einer nächtlichen Sängerin (womit wohl die Nachtigall gemeint ist), die in der Nacht „ebensoviel“, also ebensowenig, schläft, wie der Chor es für sich selbst wünscht. Unklar bleibt nur, worauf genau sich die Aufforderung an den jungen Mann zu Beginn der letzten Strophe bezieht.

Es ist allerdings fraglich, ob dieses Lied realiter im Ablauf antiker griechischer Hochzeitssitten verortet werden kann, wie oft versucht wurde.¹⁷ Die Evokation der Nachtigall im Zusammenhang der spöttisch gewünschten nächtlichen Schlaflosigkeit würde jedenfalls dagegen sprechen, dass es sich um ein morgendliches Wecklied nach der Hochzeit handelt. Sicher ist zwar, dass von einer Nachtfeier die Rede ist und wohl auch,

¹⁷ So z.B. CONTIADES-TSITSONI (1990) 41, n. 25 mit 100-101.

dass die im Lied genannten Lieder von der Liebe zwischen einem jungen Mann und einer *nymphê* (Braut)¹⁸ handeln, woraus jedoch nicht zwingend folgt, dass es sich hier um ein Hochzeitslied handelt.

Dasjenige Fragment,¹⁹ das als letztes überliefertes Wort den zweiten Beleg für das Verb παννυχίζειν bietet, ist noch schlechter bezeugt. Hier sind zwar etwas mehr als zwei Strophen teilweise überliefert, aber sowohl der Schluss als auch der Anfang des wiederum aus sapphischen Strophen bestehenden Gedichts fehlen:

] ἔρωτος ἡλπ[] αν]τιον εἰσὶδωσ[] Ἐρμιόνα τεσν[τα] ξάνθαι δ' Ἐλέναι σ' ἐίσ[κ]ην]κες	1
].ις θνάταις, τόδε δ' ἵσ[θι] τὰι σᾶι]παίσαν κέ με τὰν μερίμναν]λαισ' ἀντιδ[..]'[.]αθοις δὲ]	5
]τας ὥχθοις]ταιν παν]νυχίσ[δ]ην]	10
.... von der Liebe (<i>eros</i>) (erhofft haben) frontal sehe ich dich an Hermione, eine solche mit der blonden Helena aber dich vergleichen sterbliche Frauen, das aber wisse, mit deiner ... wäre mir von den ganzen Sorgen ... dagegen ... aber ...	

¹⁸ Die zweite Hälfte von v. 4 ist allerdings ergänzt, darunter die erste Silbe von *nymphas*.

¹⁹ SAPPH. fr. 23.

... die Ufer

...
... die ganze Nacht lang feiern“

...

Nicht zuletzt wegen des Ausdrucks „die ganze Nacht lang feiern“ haben viele Forscher dieses Fragment ebenfalls als Hochzeitslied klassifiziert und dann unterstellt, dass der Vergleich der angeredeten weiblichen Person mit Helena statt mit ihrer Tochter Hermione sich auf eine nicht mehr junge Braut bezieht.²⁰ Die Plausibilität einer solchen Deutung ist allerdings gering. Die Sprecherrolle in diesem Gedicht wird von einem Ich wahrgenommen, das seinen eigenen äußereren und inneren Bezug zu der Adressatin kommentiert und mehrfach explizit betont. Die Nennung der großen Zahl von „Sorgen“ des Ich, von denen die Adressatin „wissen“ soll (und zu denen vielleicht auch erotische Hoffnungen der sprechenden Persona gehören, falls diese im ersten überlieferten Vers angedeutet werden), wäre in einem Hochzeitslied fehl am Platze. Der Vergleich mit Helena hat wohl gerade mit der Modellhaftigkeit göttlicher Frauen für sterbliche zu tun, die bei Sappho auch anderswo — und zwar niemals in einem Hochzeitszusammenhang — vorkommt, und kann sich durchaus auf das reife Alter der Adressatin beziehen.²¹ Traditionell verweist die Erwähnung der Helena aber vor allem auf ihre sprichwörtlich überragende Schönheit.²² Als Modell einer normativen Ehefrau wäre sie ungeeignet. Und das am Ende des Fragments mit der Lokalität von „Ufern“ in Verbindung gebrachte gänznächtliche Agieren

²⁰ So z.B. SCHADEWALDT (1950) 46; TREU (1979) 190-191. Eher kein Hochzeitslied: FERRARI (2007) 107-109. Siehe auch HAGUE (1983), die zu Recht darauf verweist, dass die poetische Technik preisender Vergleiche zwar im Hochzeitskontext zu finden ist, aber gerade auch zum Symposion gehört.

²¹ Zur Modellhaftigkeit göttlicher Frauen siehe auch z.B. SAPPH. fr. 96, 21-22. Helena als Modell, zu bevorzugen vor dem Modell ihrer Tochter Hermione im lasziven Liebespiel: OV. *Ars am.* 2, 699. Nach WILAMOWITZ (1914) 228, n.1 kann diese Ovid-Stelle keine Sappho-Reminiszenz sein: „Hoffentlich wird niemand an Abhängigkeit von Sappho denken.“

²² So auch in SAPPH. fr. 16.

ergibt vor diesem Hintergrund keinen zwingenden pragmatischen Bezug zur Hochzeit.

Ein solcher Bezug lässt sich auch aus einem weiteren Gebrauch der *πάννυχος*-Terminologie bei Sappho nicht ableiten. Er ist in einem zehnsilbigen Fragment²³ aus vier Wörtern bezeugt, das einem antiken Grammatiker dazu diente, die äolische Form des Personalpronomens der dritten Person Plural zu belegen: ὅτα πάννυχος ἄσφι κατάγγει („wenn die ganze Nacht lang sie ganz und gar erfasst“). Leider lässt sich dieser Satz nur spekulativ vervollständigen. Daher bleibt offen, woraus die Gruppe von Personen besteht, von der hier die Rede ist (mehrere Frauen? mehrere Männer? ein Liebespaar?), und ebenso, was das — wohl habituelle — Satzsubjekt ist, das diese Gruppe gänzlich dominiert. Dass dies der Schlaf ist, wäre nicht auszuschließen, doch aktivere gemeinsame Zustände, die den Wachzustand voraussetzen,²⁴ sind ebenfalls möglich, wenn nicht gar wahrscheinlicher.

Auf die letztgenannten Zustände verweist auch ein anderes Papyrusfragment,²⁵ in dem zwar ein *πάννυχος*-Terminus nicht überliefert ist, jedoch zweifellos eine kollektive gänzliche Aktivität, hier eindeutig von Frauen, thematisiert wird. Dieses Fragment trägt aber bedauerlicherweise ebensowenig dazu bei zu verstehen, was für ein Agieren genau gemeint ist:

] αἱ.]] λεται] [[x]] αλος]. ἀκαλα κλόνει] κάματος φρένα] ε κατισθάνε[ι]] ἀλλ' ἄγιτ', ὁ φίλαι,], ἄγχι γάρ ἀμέρα.	1 5
---	--------

²³ SAPPH. *fr.* 149.

²⁴ Wie etwa in SAPPH. *fr.* 30 und *fr.* 23 (siehe oben).

²⁵ SAPPH. *fr.* 43.

”...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ... still verwirrt
 ... die Anstrengung den Sinn
 ... heruntersetzt
 ... doch auf, o Freundinnen,
 ... denn nah der Tag.“

Hiermit endete das Gedicht, was durch eine Markierung auf dem Papyrus gesichert ist. Allerdings ist von dem Gedicht nur jeweils ungefähr die zweite Hälfte der fünf letzten Verse lesbar. Die vom die Sprecherrolle einnehmenden Ich als „Freundinnen“ ($\varphi\imath\lambda\alpha\iota$) angeredeten Frauen werden demnach kurz vor Tagesanbruch zum Aufbruch aufgefordert. Der schlechte Erhaltungszustand des Papyrus erlaubt jedoch nicht zu rekonstruieren, wer oder was diese Frauen bei ihrem nächtlichen Agieren „still verwirrt“ hat und welcher (physischen und/oder psychischen) „Anstrengung“²⁶ ihr „Sinn“ ausgesetzt war. Indizien dafür, dass hier auf Hochzeitslieder oder Hochzeitsriten Bezug genommen wird, wie oft spekulativ vermutet wurde, fehlen komplett. Gewiss scheint nur zu sein, dass dieses Fragment²⁷ sich auf eine von Frauen praktizierte Nachtfeier bezieht, deren Form und Inhalt jedoch unklar bleiben.

Der Ausdruck *pannychis* ist in der späteren Überlieferung bezeugt als *Terminus technicus* für rituelle Tätigkeiten, welche

²⁶ Zum Ausdruck *kamatos* in v. 6 vgl. die Selbstcharakteristik des Chors der lydischen Mänaden durch eine lustvolle und zugleich mühevolle, ekstatische „Anstrengung“ in EUR. *Bacch.* 66-68: Βρομίω πόνον ἡδὺν / κάματόν τ’ εὐχάματον, Βάκ-ιχιον εὐχαῖομένα („für Bromios eine süße Mühe / und eine Anstrengung, eine wohlanstrengende, als Bak-/chios Bejubelnde“), dazu SCHLESIER (1998) 45 und *passim*. — Nach WILAMOWITZ (2014) 229 ist in SAPPH. *fr.* 43 „vielleicht eine Hochzeit“ gemeint: „Die Mädchen sind müde“. LASSERRE (1989) 39-40 hat dies spekulativ ausgemalt (er übersetzt *kamatos* mit „fatigue“) und rückhaltlos mit SAPPH. *fr.* 30 kurzgeschlossen: „l’exhortation que la poétesse adresse à ses ‚amies‘ ne peut être que celle de chanter les refrains de l’hyménée jusqu’au point du jour“.

²⁷ Wie der Schluss von SAPPH. *fr.* 23.

die ganze Nacht lang dauern. Die weit verbreitete Forschungsmeinung, dass eine *pannychis* ein regulärer Bestandteil von Hochzeitsriten war,²⁸ kann sich nun allenfalls auf eine einzige Quelle berufen, nämlich auf Sapphos oben zitiertes Fragment 30, nicht aber, wie häufig geschehen, auf die im Anschluss daran zitierten drei Fragmente.²⁹ Auffälligerweise wird ein Hochzeitsbezug in den antiken Zeugnissen zu den terminologisch als *pannychides* bezeichneten Nachtfeiern nicht erwähnt. Was dort betont wird, ist der oft ausschweifende Charakter dieser von Frauen dominierten, jedoch Männer nicht ausschließenden Feste, die besonders zu Ehren von Göttinnen (wie etwa das Aphrodite-Fest der Adonia) veranstaltet wurden.³⁰ Wie nahe dabei die sprachlich und performativ vermittelte Assoziation zu erotischen Lustbarkeiten lag, wird auch daran deutlich, dass als Synonym für nächtelangen Geschlechtsverkehr das Verbum $\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu$ ³¹ und das Substantiv *pannychis*³² verwendet werden konnten.

Bei Sappho finden sich nun nicht allein die ersten Zeugnisse für gänznächtliche Riten und das dazugehörige Verbum $\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu$, sondern auch für das Adonisfest.³³ Den darauf bezogenen Fragmenten lässt sich allerdings nicht entnehmen, ob dort dieses Fest (wie in späteren Zeugnissen) als *pannychis* dargestellt wurde und mit sexuellen Ausschweifungen assoziiert

²⁸ So z.B. WEST (1970/2013) 43: „A wedding was an occasion for girls to stay up all night making merry“, mit Verweis auf SAPPH. fr. 30 (sowie auf fr. 43 und fr. 23, wo allerdings weder von „wedding“ noch von „girls“ oder „making merry“ die Rede ist). Vgl. auch FERRARI (2007) 107 (ohne Beleg): *pannychides* u.a. bei „cerimonia nuziali“.

²⁹ SAPPH. fr. 23, fr. 149 und fr. 43.

³⁰ Siehe PIRENNE-DELFORGE (1994) 395 (*pannychis* zu Ehren von Aphrodite in Korinth), BRAVO (1997) u.a. zu den Adonia sowie zu symposiastischen und dionysischen *pannychides*, DILLON (2002) 165 (Adonia), 329 n. 98: „Such night festivals, pannychides, seem to be particularly but not peculiarly associated with women“, PARKER (2005) 166 („All nighters“, *pannychides* in attischen Kulten), 182-183 (zum Problem der Rekonstruierbarkeit).

³¹ So z.B. AR. *Nub.* 1069, vgl. THGN. 1063 W: $\pi\alpha\nu\nu\chi\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu$ (päderastisch).

³² So z.B. ANTH. *Pal.* 5, 201, 4. Vgl. Pannychis als Hetärenname: LUCIAN. *Dial. meret.* 9.

³³ Adonia: SAPPH. fr. 140, fr. 168, fr. 117B(b).

war. Dass Sappho ein ganznächtliches Feiern durchaus mit Erotik in Verbindung gebracht hat, wurde bereits deutlich.³⁴ Die Frage, ob die evozierten Nachtfeste bei Sappho der Aphrodite oder einer anderen Gottheit gewidmet sind, lässt sich aber auf der Basis der fragmentarischen Überlieferung nicht entscheiden.

Allerdings fällt auf, dass der Mond, besonders der die Nacht erleuchtende Vollmond, ein zentrales Element der thematisierten nächtlichen Szenarien ist. In einem Fall handelt es sich dabei explizit um eine rituelle Situation, die auf ein von Frauen praktiziertes Opfer zu verweisen scheint: $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\varsigma \mu\grave{e}n \acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\acute{v}\eta\acute{v}$ $\& \sigma\acute{e}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\alpha / \alpha\acute{i} \delta' \omega\acute{s} \pi\acute{e}\rho\acute{i} \beta\acute{w}\mu\acute{o}n \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{a}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\acute{n}$ („voll erschien der Mond, / wie sie [fem. plur.] sich um den Altar stellten“).³⁵ Leider geht aus den beiden Versen (die als Gedicht-Anfang gesichert sind) nicht hervor, welcher Gottheit hier ein Opfer gebracht und was genau auf dem Altar geopfert wird. Ein anderes Fragment,³⁶ das aus einer fast vollständigen sapphischen Strophe besteht, illustriert die überragende Leuchtkraft des Vollmonds dadurch, dass die Sterne neben ihm verblassen:

ἀστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν
ἀψ ἀπυκρύπτοισι φάεννον εἰδος,
ὅπποτα πλήθοισα μάλιστα λάμπη
γᾶν ...

„Die Sterne rings um den schönen Mond
wieder verbergen das glänzende Aussehen,
wann immer er als voller am meisten beleuchtet
die Erde ...“

³⁴ Siehe oben, SAPPH. *fr.* 23.

³⁵ SAPPH. *fr.* 154. Dies ist eines von zahlreichen Beispielen für Sapphos Transposition epischer Formeln, vgl. HOM. *Il.* 1, 448 (um den Altar gestellte Opfertiere).

³⁶ SAPPH. *fr.* 34. Dazu ELLIGER (1975) 190; vgl. BROGER (1996) 51, mit Hinweis auf die sich in *fr.* 34 überlagernden „homerischen Syntagmata“. Die spekulative Behauptung von MERKELBACH (1957) 10, dass hier „Sappho die Braut mit dem Mond vergleicht“, ist nicht zu belegen.

Da das Repetitive dieses Naturphänomens geradezu analytisch unterstrichen wird, also nicht bloß eine Naturerfahrung dargestellt ist, könnte auch hier von einer rituellen, also ebenfalls repetitiven Situation die Rede gewesen sein, die den Vollmond zur Voraussetzung hat. Weitere Strophen dieses Gedichts sind nicht bekannt, und so ist ebenso ein weniger rituell konnotiertes Szenario denkbar, bei dem die Sterne und der Mond als göttliches Exemplum dienen, um die überragende Strahlkraft einer bestimmten Frau gegenüber anderen Frauen zu demonstrieren, wie dies in einem ausführlich überlieferten, spätantiken Pergament-Fragment³⁷ der Fall ist, das zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts bekannt wurde und in Berlin aufbewahrt wird:

νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναῖ-
κεσσιν ὡς ποτ' ἀελίω
δύντος ἢ βροδοδάκτυλος <σελάννα>
πάντα περ[ρ]έχοισ' ἄστρα· [...]

„Und jetzt unter lydischen Frauen ragt sie hervor,
so wie nach Sonnen-
untergang der rosenfingrige Mond,
alle Sterne übertreffend. [...]“

Die eindrucksvolle Qualität dieser deskriptiven Imagination ist oft bewundert worden.³⁸ Die poetisch-analytische Raffinesse der Darstellung besteht darin, dass nicht allein der im Griechischen weibliche Mond, die Göttin Selene, zum Modell einer Menschenfrau wird, sondern dass im weiteren Verlauf des Gedichts diese Mondgottheit mit einem von ihr dominierten Landschaftsszenario geradezu verschmilzt.

Selene erhält hier ein Beiwort, *βροδοδάκτυλος* („rosenfingrig“), das traditionell seit Homer die Göttin der Morgenröte, Eos, charakterisiert. Mit der Wahl dieses Beiworts betont

³⁷ SAPPH. *fr.* 96, 6-9. Siehe dazu ausführlicher SCHLESIER (im Erscheinen a).

³⁸ Siehe z.B. SAAKE (1971) 163-178; MACLEOD (1974) 219-220; u.a. in Abgrenzung vom Kommentar bei PAGE (1955) 92-96. Vgl. auch ELLIGER (1975) 190-192; CAREY (1978).

Sappho auf unerwartete (und übrigens viele moderne Forscher verstörende)³⁹ Weise, dass zwischen beiden Göttinnen Gemeinsamkeiten bestehen. Deren entscheidende mythische Gemeinsamkeit hat Sappho ebenfalls poetisch reflektiert: Beide Göttinnen liebten sterbliche Jünglinge, Selene den Endymion,⁴⁰ Eos den Tithonos,⁴¹ und sind daher auch mit der bei Sappho zweifellos wichtigsten Göttin, Aphrodite, vergleichbar, die den ebenfalls sterblichen Adonis liebte. Analog zu Aphrodite ist nun für die zur Nacht gehörenden Göttinnen nicht allein ihre Beziehung zu sterblichen Liebhabern bezeichnend, sondern auch die damit verbundene Leidenserfahrung, die diesen Göttinnen ermöglicht, selbst menschliche Erfahrungen zu erleben und als Liebende die sonst auf Menschen beschränkte Amplitude der Umschwünge von Lust zu Leid, von Leid zu Lust emotional zu realisieren.

Diese Göttinnen, denen in der Regel mehr als ein sterblicher Liebhaber traditionell assoziiert wird, eignen sich jedoch nur als Modelle für eine bestimmte Kategorie von Menschenfrauen.⁴² Zum Vorbild für eine seriöse Ehefrau — und damit zur Anwendung auf einen normkonformen Hochzeitskontext — taugen sie nicht, genausowenig wie Helena, die ihrerseits bei Sappho immer wieder modellhaft zum Vergleich herangezogen wird, einmal⁴³ ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit einer Nachtfeier und

³⁹ Z.B. HINDLEY (2002). Vgl. aber zur Begründung von βροδοδάκτυλος und zur Ersetzung des (unmetrisch) überlieferten μύνα durch σελάννα: HEITSCH (1967) 390-392.

⁴⁰ SAPPH. fr. 199.

⁴¹ SAPPH. fr. 58, 19. Vgl. zur Version des Fragments in einem neuen Kölner Papyrus: GREENE / SKINNER (2009). Zur Polyandrie der Göttin Eos vgl. WEST (1966) 426 *ad Hes. Theog.* 986-991: „She was one of the most predatory of goddesses; besides Tithonus and Cephalus she also carried off Orion (*Od.* 5, 121) and Cleitus (*Od.* 15, 250)“. Bei Sappho ist Eos (Auos) außer in fr. 58 (und in fr. 104a, 1, siehe unten, mit Anm. 45) in vielen weiteren (aber nur aus einem Wort oder einer nominalen Formel bestehenden) Fragmenten belegt: fr. 103[10], fr. 123, fr. 157, fr. 175 (sowie evtl. in fr. 6, 10).

⁴² In SAPPH. fr. 160 adressiert als *hetairai* („Gefährtinnen“). Siehe auch unten, Anm. 44.

⁴³ SAPPH. fr. 23 (siehe oben). Andere Rekurse auf Helena: SAPPH. fr. 16, vgl. auch fr. 161.

ganznächtlichen Aktivitäten, wie Sappho dies vor allem für Selene, die Mondgöttin, demonstriert hat.

Nicht etwa keusche Bräute oder treue Gattinnen können sich an diesen von Sappho poetisch reflektierten Modellen ein Beispiel nehmen. In dem Maße, in dem die Nacht und das Durchwachen der Nacht den Schauplatz von Sapphos Liedern bildet, der nicht selten von erotisch freizügigen Göttinnen bevölkert wird, ist ein Ambiente aufgerufen, das kaum mit einem gesitteten Hochzeitskontext vereinbar ist. Dieses Ambiente entspricht vielmehr am ehesten der Symposionskultur,⁴⁴ deren zentrale Funktion für die poetische Produktion der männlichen fruhgriechischen Dichter heute allgemein anerkannt ist, die jedoch als pragmatischer Bezug von Sapphos Dichtung meist rigoros ausgeschlossen wird. Symptomatisch hierfür ist der Umgang mit einem Zweizeiler, der in einem antiken Stil-Handbuch zitiert wurde:⁴⁵

Ἐσπερε, πάντα φέρης δόσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' Αὔως,
φέρης οἶνον, φέρης αἶγα, φέρης ἄπι μάτερι παιᾶδα.

„Hesperos, alles bringst du, was als erscheinende zerstreut hat Eos, du bringst den Wein, du bringst die Ziege, du bringst weg von der Mutter das Kind.“

⁴⁴ Argumente für Sapphos Beziehung zur musisch-erotischen Symposionskultur und zur Luxuswelt der Hetären v.a. in SCHLESIER (2013a), (2014), (2015).

⁴⁵ SAPPH. *fr.* 104a: so die Textfassung bei VOIGT (mit Ausnahme von δύν statt οἴνον in *v.* 2). Bei DEMETR. *Eloc.* 141 ist jedoch οἴνον überliefert (so von mir zitiert). Die Metrik des Zweizeilers ist komplex: *v.* 1 ist ein Hexameter, nicht aber *v.* 2, was die zahlreichen Emendationsversuche erklärt, darunter die von VOIGT übernommene Ergänzung ρῖπυ durch BERGK (⁴1882), *fr.* 52 B. (wodurch allerdings die ohne Präposition überlieferte Textaussage — „du bringst der Mutter das Kind“ — ins Gegenteil verkehrt wird). Zur Rechtfertigung dieser Ergänzung (gegen PAGE [1955] 121 n.1): PISANI (1957); TREU (1964) 294. BOWRA (1935) 240 plädierte für Wortumstellung in *v.* 2, um auch dort durchgängig Daktylen herzustellen. Zur Emendationsgeschichte siehe außerdem FLOYD (1968), der die (seit Manutius kanonisch gewordene) Emendation δύν durch ein seltenes Wort für Widder bzw. schafswollig (ἐπερος) ersetzt, vgl. BONARIA (1973-1974) 176-177.

Bereits in der Renaissance wurde das Wort für Wein (*acc.* οἶνος), in der zweiten Zeile, durch ein Wort für Schaf (ὤν) ersetzt, das bis heute in den kanonischen Sappho-Editionen an dieser Stelle zu finden ist. So bot es sich an, das Fragment als Beispiel für Hochzeitslieder,⁴⁶ die in Sapphos Werk angeblich besonders häufig seien,⁴⁷ zu benutzen und es zugleich als Zeugnis für die vermeintlich beim nächtlichen Hochzeitsmahl verzehrten Fleischsorten aufzufassen. Die poetische Machart⁴⁸ des Fragments, inklusive der hier vierfachen Wiederholung der Tätigkeit des Bringens, entspricht jedoch deutlich dem Stil der Symposionslyrik, wie er etwa in den *Theognidea* und bei Anakreon zu finden ist.⁴⁹ Insofern ist gerade der Wein (und nicht das Schaf) für die Pragmatik dieses Gedichts unverzichtbar.

Den göttlichen Abendstern, Hesperos, der hier die von der Göttin der Morgenröte bewirkte Zerstreuung rückgängig macht, hat Sappho an anderer Stelle⁵⁰ auch als ἀστέρων πάντων ὁ κάλλιστος („von den Sternen allen der Schönste“) bezeichnet, womit zugleich seine Modellhaftigkeit für attraktive Menschenmänner und damit seine Einordnung in die Kategorie eines Liebhabers von Göttinnen ermöglicht war, die als Modelle für

⁴⁶ Als vermeintliche Parallele häufig angeführt: CATULL 62 (*Vesper adest*). Nach FRAENKEL (1955) 8 ist dieses Lied aber nicht in einem pragmatischen Hochzeitskontext zu lokalisieren, sondern als eine freie poetische Erfindung anzusehen. Vgl. LOBEL / PAGE (1955), *inc. auct. fr.* 24, 1: † † ὑμήναν, bei VOIGT (1971) ediert als SAPPH. *fr.* 117B(a): "Εσπερός" ὑμήναν.

⁴⁷ So die seit WILAMOWITZ (1913) 75 ständig wiederholte Forschungsmeinung. Dabei besteht die anhaltende Tendenz, möglichst viele der überlieferten Sappho-Fragmente einem Hochzeitskontext zuzurechnen, siehe z.B. SCHADEWALDT (1950) 32-58 und *passim*, MUTH (1954) 38-40; LASERRE (1989) 17-106; CONTIADES-TSITSONI (1990) 68-109; MUTH (1993); TSOMIS (2001) 231-246; FERRARI (2007) 114-128. Eine dabei oft – z.B. bei MERKELBACH (1957) 19-23 – angeführte angebliche Parallel: THEOC. *Id.* 18 (das Epithalamion für Helena).

⁴⁸ Siehe dazu CLAY (1980), mit Skepsis „about the epithalamic character of the poem“ und dem Nachweis, dass hier ein Wortspiel vorliegt, das sich allusiv auf HES. *Op.* 578-581 bezieht.

⁴⁹ ANAC. *fr.* 396 *PMG* (dreifache Wiederholung des Imperativs φέρε, „bring“), vgl. z.B. THGN. 984 und 1001 W.

⁵⁰ SAPPH. *fr.* 104b. Die Formulierung reproduziert fast wörtlich HOM. *Il.* 22, 318 (dort: Vergleich von Achills glänzender Lanzenspitze mit dem Abendstern).

sexuell freizügige Menschenfrauen dienen konnten. Der Abendstern signalisiert dabei, nicht anders als der Vollmond, dass die Nacht am besten schlaflos, und zwar in Gemeinschaft, als *pannychis* zu verbringen ist. Gerade die Abwesenheit des Schlafes, kombiniert mit der Ermöglichung erotischer Erfahrungen, gehört ja zum *παννυχίζειν* dazu. Dementsprechend wurde dieses Verb in einem Scholion⁵¹ wie folgt glossiert: δι' ὁλῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιτελεῖν ἀφροδίσια („die ganze Nacht hindurch Aphrodisisches vollbringen“), λαγηεύειν („koitieren“).

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist signifikant, dass Wörter für Schlaf und schlafen bei Sappho besonders häufig vorkommen, dass diese Wörter jedoch meist gerade nicht die Erfahrung des Schlafens, sondern das Nicht-Schlafen konnotieren. Dies zeigt bereits das als erstes zitierte Beispiel für *παννυχίζειν*, in dem das gängigste griechische Wort für Schlaf, *hypnos*, ausdrücklich genannt ist,⁵² aber ironisch der Wunsch artikuliert wird, „ebensoviel“ — das heißt hier: ebensowenig — bei ganznächtlichen Aktivitäten zu schlafen wie die Nachtigall.

Zwei weitere von Sappho gebrauchte Substantive, die mit der Bedeutung „Schlaf“ in Verbindung stehen, sind schwieriger zu interpretieren. In einem Fall handelt es sich um den in einem einzeiligen Fragment⁵³ überlieferten Ausdruck ἄωρος: ὁφθάλμοις δὲ μέλαις νύκτος ἄωρος („die Augen aber der schwarze Schlummer [?] der Nacht“). Dieser Ausdruck wird nun von antiken Grammatikern widersprüchlich glossiert, zum einen im Sinne von „Schlaf“, zum anderen im Sinne von „Schlaflosigkeit“. Da der Einzeler keinen vollständigen Satz enthält und ein Verb fehlt, bleibt der gemeinte Sinn ungewiss.⁵⁴ Auffällig ist darüber hinaus, dass das Adjektiv „schwarz“,

⁵¹ *Schol. Ar. Nub.* 1069b.

⁵² SAPPH. *fr.* 30, 9, vgl. auch *hypnos* in *fr.* 63, 2 (siehe unten) und *fr.* 97, 18.

⁵³ SAPPH. *fr.* 151.

⁵⁴ Es sei denn, dass hier bei Sappho die für Methymna auf Lesbos dokumentierte Bedeutung „Schlaflosigkeit“ (ὕπνος) zutrifft, HESYCH. A 5683, vgl. CAMPBELL (1982) 162.

das seit Homer traditionell besonders die Nacht qualifiziert,⁵⁵ hier von der Nacht auf den χώρος verschoben ist.⁵⁶

Das zweite Substantiv, das ebenfalls oft mit „Schlaf“ übersetzt wird, lautet κῶμα und ist in einem aus sapphischen Strophen bestehenden Fragment, dem berühmten Ostrakon in Florenz, belegt. Das Wort bezeichnet einen Zustand zwischen Trance und Traum, eine Benommenheit,⁵⁷ die (bei Tag oder bei Nacht?)⁵⁸ in der Atmosphäre des alle Sinne anregenden Gartens eines Aphrodite-Heiligtums erzeugt wird:⁵⁹

1

†δευρυμεκρητεσπ[.]ρ[].† ναῦον
 ἄγνον ὅππ[αι] χάριεν μὲν ἀλσος
 μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δ' ἔ<ν>ι θυμιάμε-
 νοι, [λι]βανάτω<ι>.
 5
 ἐν δ' ὕδωρ ψύχρον κελάδει δι' ὕσδων
 μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς δ' χώρος
 ἐσκίαστ', αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων
 κῶμα †καταιριον.

„Her für mich aus Kreta zum [] Tempel,
 einem heilig-reinen, wo [] ein reizender Hain
 von Apfelbäumen, und Altäre, dampfend
 mit Weihrauch.“

Und darin Wasser, kühles, tönt zwischen Zweigen
 von Äpfeln, und durch Rosen der ganze Ort
 beschattet ist, und von bebenden Blättern
 Benommenheit herabkommt.“

⁵⁵ Wohl ebenfalls in SAPPH. *fr.* 63, 1 (siehe unten): „Nacht“ als Ergänzung von μελαινα.

⁵⁶ WILAMOWITZ (1913) 124 verweist auf ein Beispiel für die „raffinirte Künstlichkeit“ solcher Verschiebungen von Beiörtern bei Ibykos (IBYC. *fr.* 286 PMG). Zu SAPPH. *fr.* 151 als Enallage mit Anklang an Homer siehe BROGER (1996) 128-129.

⁵⁷ Zum Ausdruck *kôma* in SAPPH. *fr.* 2, 8: RISCH (1962); WIESMANN (1972).

⁵⁸ SCHADEWALDT (1950) 31 und 78 begründet nicht, warum er SAPPH. *fr.* 2 als Nachgedicht auffasst, obwohl dort keine auf die Nacht verweisenden Termini zu finden sind.

⁵⁹ SAPPH. *fr.* 2, 1-8.

Die erotische Qualität dieses Zustands der Benommenheit ist nicht zu erkennen, auch unabhängig davon, dass dieses an Aphrodite adressierte Gedicht in der übernächsten und letzten Strophe mit der Aufforderung an die Göttin endet, in goldenen Trinkschalen Nektar als Wein zu servieren.

Die besondere Prominenz von Ausdrücken für den Schlaf und für das Schlafen, die aber signifikanterweise fast alle in erster Linie das Nicht-Schlafen bezeichnen, zeigt sich auch an einem Verbum, das sehr selten, vielleicht nur bei Sappho bezeugt ist und dem deshalb ein einziges Fragment zu verdanken ist, das antike Grammatiker als Beleg dafür zitiert haben: δαύοις ἀπάλας ἐτάρας ἐν στήθεσιν („mögst du schlafen an einer zarten Gefährtin Brüsten“).⁶⁰ Es ist kaum anzunehmen, dass dieser Wunsch hier auf etwas anderes zielt als darauf, mit dieser Gefährtin (*hetaira*) eine Liebesnacht zu verbringen. Ob dies jedoch einer Frau oder einem Mann gewünscht wird, lässt sich dem Fragment nicht entnehmen. Dies gilt auch für den nur als Paraphrase überlieferten Wunsch in einem weiteren Sappho-Gedicht, dass die Nacht doppelt so lang sein möge,⁶¹ ein Wunsch, mit dem nicht etwa die Verlängerung nächtlicher Einsamkeit ersehnt wird, sondern die Verdoppelung nächtlich gemeinsam genossener erotischer Lust.

⁶⁰ SAPPH. *fr.* 126 LP, siehe auch VOIGT (1971) *ad loc.* Die Verbform wurde entweder generisch als zweite Person Singular verstanden, ohne die Möglichkeit, die adressierte Person als weiblich oder männlich zu identifizieren (δαύοις), oder als elidiertes weibliches Partizip (δαύοισ'). Letzteres scheint diejenigen Forscher zu bestätigen, die Sapphos Lyrik als Zeugnis für die angeblich rein weibliche Welt eines von der realen Sappho als Lehrerin geleiteten realen „Mädchenkreises“ — im Sinne von MERKELBACH (1957) — deuten, siehe z.B. FERRARI (2007) 42, 133-134, 178 (mit Rekurs auf *fr.* 126). Mir scheint die grammatische Zweideutigkeit dagegen instruktiv für eine spezifische poetische Technik zu sein, denn Sappho operiert auch anderswo experimentell mit der Potentialität, dieselbe Aussage auf das weibliche oder das männliche Geschlecht zu beziehen. Vgl. dazu SCHLESIER (im Erscheinen b). Zu *fr.* 126 = *fr.* 134 D siehe auch DIEHL (1925) 383; Verweis auf CATULL. 61, 104-105.

⁶¹ SAPPH. *fr.* 197. Vorbild ist die von der Göttin Athene für das wiedervereinigte Paar Odysseus und Penelope verlängerte Nacht (HOM. *Od.* 23, 241-246). Vgl. MONTIGLIO (2016) 102 mit 275, n. 160.

Die Empfindung, dass eine auf diese Weise verbrachte Nacht nicht lang genug sein kann, bestimmt wohl auch den Gedanken, der in folgendem einzeiligen Fragment⁶² zum Ausdruck kommt: $\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\,\Pi\alpha\nu\delta\iota\o\nu\zeta,\,\text{}`\Omega\rho\alpha\nu\alpha,\,\chi\varepsilon\lambda\iota\delta\omega\ldots;$; („warum mich Pandions Tochter, o Eirana, die Schwalbe ...?“). Der unvollständige Fragesatz bezieht sich auf die reale Erfahrung, dass das Ende der Nacht, deren optisches Signal die Morgenröte ist, auch bei geschlossenen Augen akustisch durch das pünktlich am Morgen beginnende Gezwitscher der Schwalbe wahrnehmbar ist. Die Frage an die Adressatin ist rhetorisch so formuliert, als ob das Sprecher-Ich sich seltsamerweise über die Ankunft des Morgens und deren bekanntes akustisches Signal wundert. Was dabei suggeriert wird, ist jedoch vor allem ein Protest gegen den Zeitpunkt, der dem Ich zufolge die Nacht offensichtlich viel zu früh beendet hat.

Auch eine lustvoll gemeinsam verbrachte Nacht kann also, zumindest was ihre Zeitdauer betrifft, hinter den Erwartungen zurückbleiben. Dass aber die nächtliche Abwesenheit eines Liebespartners nicht mit nächtlicher Abwesenheit von Kommunikation gleichzusetzen ist, zeigt die immer selbstbezogene und dennoch kommunikative Erfahrung des Träumens. Diese kommunikative Qualität wird bei Sappho dadurch betont, dass sie den Traum als personalen Gott zum Adressaten macht, und zwar in einem Gedicht, das papyrologisch komplett als Zehnzeiler in fünf zweizeiligen Strophen belegt ist, wobei aber leider nur die jeweiligen Versanfänge im Umfang von drei bis neun Silben (von wohl insgesamt sechzehn) erhalten sind.⁶³

⁶² SAPPH. fr. 135 LP (vgl. Voigt [1971]). Siehe dazu PAGE (1955) 145-146 n. 1 (das Schwalbengezwitscher entspricht hier dem sprichwörtlichen Hahnen schrei), CLAY (1970) 128: „earliest Greek aubade“ (vgl. die Lerche, analog zur Schwalbe, in Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, act 3, scene 5: „It was the nightingale, and not the lark“, so die Worte der Julia zu Romeo). Die divergierende Lesart von fr. 135 bei TZAMALI (1996) 467-468 („Was (?) / Warum (?) ... mich das Dach, o Schwalbe, Pandions Tochter, ...?“) ist semantisch nicht nachzu vollziehen.

⁶³ SAPPH. fr. 63.

Ὀνοιρε μελαινα[
 φ[ο]ίταις, ὅτα τ' ὑπνος [1
 γλύκυς θ[έ]ρις, ἥ δεῖν' ὀνίας μ[
 ζά χῶρις ἔχην τὰν δυναμ[
 ἔλπις δέ μ' ἔχει μὴ πεδέχη[ν
 μηδὲν μακάρων ἐλ[
 οὐ γάρ κ' ἔον οὔτω[..'
 ἀθύρματα κα. [5
 γένοιτο δέ μοι[
 τοὶς πάντα[10

„O Traum, schwarze ...
 du schweifst umher, wenn der Schlaf ...
 süßer Gott, gewiss von schrecklichem Kummer mich ...
 getrennt davon besitzen die Kraft ...
 die Hoffnung aber mich besitzt, nicht mitzubesitzen ...
 nichts von den Seligen ...
 denn nicht wäre ich so ...
 Schmuckstücke ...
 es geschehe aber mir ...
 diejenigen, die alles ...“

Da keiner der zehn Verse ganz überliefert ist, bleibt rätselhaft, ob es sich bei dem Kummer, von dem in der dritten Zeile die Rede ist, um Liebeskummer handelt, oder ob es nicht vielmehr, was die Zeilen fünf und sechs nahezulegen scheinen, um etwas noch Existentielleres geht, das mit göttlicher Teilhabe zu tun hat. Das Fragment ist jedenfalls ein weiteres Zeugnis dafür, wie kunstvoll Sappho mit der Transformation epischer Sprachformeln umgeht: Hier etwa ist es nicht — wie oft seit Homer — der Schlaf, der durch das Beiwort „süß“ qualifiziert wird, sondern der Traum. Angesichts der bei Sappho festzustellenden Positivierung nicht so sehr des Schlafes, sondern eher der Schlaflosigkeit und gänznächtlicher gemeinsamer Aktivitäten ist dies durchaus nicht überraschend. Die hier an den göttlichen Traum gerichteten Reflexionen über Zustände, Wünsche und Hoffnungen des Ich werden auch sonst in Sapphos Dichtung häufig artikuliert, wobei

meist Aphrodite Adressatin solcher Reflexionen ist.⁶⁴ Ein weiteres Fragment,⁶⁵ ein einzeiliger Gedichtanfang, zeigt, dass Gegenstand eines Dialogs mit dieser Göttin auch das gemeinsame Reflektieren über einen Traum sein kann, dessen Inhalt das Sprecher-Ich wohl in den nicht erhaltenen Resten des Gedichts vorgetragen hat: ζὸ < . > ἐλεξάμαν ὄναρ Κυπρογενηά („Ich habe einen Traum durchdacht, Kyproceneia“).

*

Nach diesem Parcours durch sämtliche auf die Nacht oder nächtliche Aktivitäten verweisenden Fragmente, die sich im überlieferten Werk der Sappho finden, kann nun schließlich noch einmal auf das Nocturne zurückgekommen werden, von dem ich ausgegangen bin und gefragt werden, wie es sich zu den hier zur Sprache gekommenen Nachtstücken der Sappho verhält. In keinem davon wird die Nacht als etwas Bedrohliches oder Abzuwertendes betrachtet, wie dies bei anderen frühgriechischen Dichtern vor und nach ihr häufig der Fall ist. Dies hängt eng damit zusammen, dass in Sapphos Dichtung die Nacht primär und buchstäblich ein Schauplatz ist, bei dem etwas zu sehen ist und der auch für andere sinnliche Erfahrungen, nicht zuletzt musiche und erotische, prädestiniert ist. Die Nacht ist bei Sappho nicht ein Zeitraum der Ruhe und der Kommunikationslosigkeit, sondern eine bewegte Periode, die das παννυχίζειν, das über die Dauer der ganzen Nacht sich erstreckende dynamische Tun privilegiert. Deshalb gehört zur Nacht auch nicht so sehr der Schlaf, sondern gerade die Schlaflosigkeit, und zwar als etwas Lustvolles, das gemeinsam erlebt wird, und nicht als etwas Negatives, unter dem ein Individuum

⁶⁴ Siehe dazu SCHLESIER (2011) und (2016). In den überlieferten Sappho-Fragmenten ist Aphrodite allerdings nirgends spezifisch mit der Nacht assoziiert (wie etwa in EUR. *Hipp.* 106).

⁶⁵ SAPPH. *fr.* 134. Dieses und das oben zitierte *fr.* 63 haben keine Beachtung in Überblicksdarstellungen von Traum und Traumdeutung in der Antike gefunden, wie etwa BJÖRCK (1946); LATAZZI (1984); MANUWALD (1994); WALDE (2001). Ausnahmen sind NÄF (2004) 41 und HARRIS (2009) 38, die allerdings auch nur in je einem einzigen Satz darauf eingehen.

leidet oder das selbst ein Leidenssymptom ist. Voraussetzung des *παννυχίζειν* ist aber, dass die Nacht nicht dunkel ist, sondern ohne menschliche Einwirkung erhellt wird, und zwar durch das Leuchten der Sterne und vor allem durch den sie noch überstrahlenden Vollmond. In diesem Ambiente werden auch die Menschen zu göttergleichen, sich gemeinsam bewegenden Gestalten, wie dies bei Sappho besonders die Mondgöttin Selene als Modell für Menschenfrauen demonstriert.⁶⁶ Ein solches Modell ist aber eines, das auf Kommunikation angewiesen ist und das zwar nicht Konkurrenz und Wandelbarkeit ausschließt, wohl aber Isolation. In diesem Sinne ist auch zu verstehen, dass Sappho das erotische Modell der Mondgöttin mit den Modellen der Göttin der Morgenröte und der Liebesgöttin selbst in Verbindung bringt, die alle durch lust- und leidvolle Erfahrungen mit menschlichen Liebhabern, auch wechselnden, gekennzeichnet sind.

Lassen sich aus diesen Beobachtungen Konsequenzen für das Nocturne ziehen, das jetzt erneut betrachtet werden soll?

δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα
καὶ Πληταδες· μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὄρα,
ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.

„Untergegangen ist der Mond,
auch die Pleiaden. Mitte aber
der Nacht, vorbei geht die Stunde,
und ich bin eine, die alleine schläft.“

Zunächst fällt eine entscheidende Differenz auf, die diesen Vierzeiler von den bisher behandelten Nachtstücken unterscheidet: Die Nacht ist hier, nach dem Untergang des Mondes und sogar der Pleiaden, des besonders hellen Siebengestirns, wirklich dunkel. Das aber zeigt eben gerade durch den Kontrast zu den ununterbrochen von Mond und Sternen erhellen Nächten, dass die Dunkelheit dieser Nacht kein *παννυχίζειν*

⁶⁶ Nach CLAY (1970) 125-127 enthält *fr. 168B* ein „secret“, mit dem die mythische Konstellation von Selene und Endymion als (erwünschtes?) Modell der Dichterin Sappho gemeint sei. Diese Deutung erscheint mir fragwürdig.

erlaubt, keines jedenfalls, das auf künstliche Beleuchtung nicht angewiesen wäre und vor allem keines, das, wie sonst immer bei ganznächtlichen Aktivitäten, auf gemeinsame lustvolle, auch physisch anstrengende Erfahrung zielt. Solche Aktivitäten verweisen nun in der Überlieferung von Sapphos Dichtung, wie deutlich werden konnte, besonders oft auf kollektives Feiern von Gruppen, vor allem, doch nicht allein von Frauen. Dass das *παννυχίζειν* aber auch eine Liebesnacht zu zweit betreffen kann, wird angedeutet in der an eine namentlich adressierte Frau gerichteten, protestierenden Frage nach dem die Nacht zu früh beendenden Schwalbengezwitscher.⁶⁷ In dem Gedicht vom untergegangenen Mond jedoch ist nun im Unterschied dazu eine Liebesnacht gerade nicht zustande gekommen, sonst müsste die weibliche Sprecherin nicht betonen, dass sie alleine schläft.⁶⁸ Aber erst als die Nacht ganz finster wurde und das Sehen unmöglich machte, war der für die erotische Begegnung bestimmte Zeitpunkt verstrichen.⁶⁹

Ex negativo bestätigt sich also hier, was sich aus der Untersuchung der Reflexionen in Sapphos Nachtstücken ergeben hat: In dem Maße, in dem die Nacht sinnenfreudige gemeinsame Erfahrungen und nicht zuletzt erotisches Kommunizieren räumlich und zeitlich möglich macht, kann sie buchstäblich gefeiert werden, in der realen Praxis und in der Poesie.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Siehe oben (mit Anm. 62), SAPPH. *fr.* 135.

⁶⁸ Nach LONGO (1953) spielt AR. *Eccl.* 877 *passim* darauf an. Siehe auch LANATA (1966) 75. Eine direkte Anspielung auf *v. 4* von SAPPH. *fr.* 168B: THEOC. *Id.* 20, 45 (*μώρα δ' ἀνὰ νύκτα καθέεύδοι*, „alleine möge sie die Nacht hindurch schlafen“). Mit diesen Worten wird hier abschließend eine städtische *hetaira* (*v. 18*) namens Eunika von dem (namenlosen) Rinderhirten verflucht, den sie ausgelacht und abgewiesen hatte, ohne sich Aphrodite und Selene oder andere Gottheiten zum Vorbild zu nehmen, die sich in Hirten verliebten.

⁶⁹ Vgl. zur Deutung des in *v. 3* von SAPPH. *fr.* 168B verwendeten Ausdrucks *ώρα* („Stunde“) HOFFMANN-LOSS (1968) 356 und *passim* als „die bestimmte, weil wohl gar ausgemachte Stunde“, so auch CLAY (2011) 6. Anders FERRARI (1983), für den mit der Stunde die Schlafenszeit gemeint ist und der daher das Gedicht als Klage über Schlaflosigkeit versteht. Vgl. mit Rekurs darauf MONTIGLIO (2016) 284, n. 49.

⁷⁰ Den vielen einzelnen Gesprächspartnerinnen und -partnern, die sich die Zeit nahmen, während der Entstehung dieses Aufsatzes im Mai und Juni 2017

Literaturverzeichnis

- BERGK, T. (Hrsg.) (4th edition 1882), *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*. Vol. III (Leipzig) [= B].
- BJÖRCK, G. (1946), “ONAP ΙΔΕΙΝ: de la perception de rêve chez les anciens”, *Eranos* 44, 306-314.
- BONARIA, M. (1973-1974), “Note critiche al testo di Saffo”, *Humanitas* 25-26, 155-183.
- BOWRA, C.M. (1935), „Zu Alkaios und Sappho“, *Hermes* 70, 238-241.
- BRAVO, B. (1997), *Pannychis e simposio. Feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto* (Pisa).
- BREMER, D. (1976), *Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Bonn).
- BROGER, A. (1996), *Das Epitheton bei Sappho und Alkaios. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung* (Innsbruck).
- BUFFIÈRE, F. (1999), “Séléné: la lune dans la poésie, la science et la religion grecques”, *BLE* 100, 3-18.
- CAMPBELL, D.A. (Hrsg.) (1982), *Greek Lyric*. I, *Sappho Alcaeus* (Cambridge, MA).
- CAREY, C. (1978), “Sappho fr. 96 LP”, *CQ* 28, 366-371.
- CLAY, D. (1970), “Fragmentum Adespotum 976”, *TAPhA* 101, 119-129.
- (2011), “Sappho, Selanna, and the Poetry of the Night”, *GIF* 2, 3-11.
- CLAY, J.S. (1980), “Sappho’s Hesperus and Hesiod’s Dawn”, *Philologus* 124, 302-305.
- CONTIADES-TSITSONI, E. (1990), *Hymenaios und Epithalamion. Das Hochzeitslied in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart).
- DIEHL, E. (Hrsg.) (1925), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*. Vol. I (Leipzig) [= D].
- DILLON, M. (2002), *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London).
- ELLIGER, W. (1975), *Die Darstellung der Landschaft in der griechischen Dichtung* (Berlin).
- FERRARI, F. (1983), “Il tempo del sonno: Saffo, fr. 168b V.”, *CCC* 4, 329-332.
- (2007), *Una mitra per Kleis. Saffo e il suo pubblico* (Pisa).
- FLOYD, E.D. (1968), “Sappho’s Word for ‘Sheep’, 104A. 2 (L.-P.)”, *CR* 18, 266-267.
- FRAENKEL, E. (1955), “Vesper adest (Catullus LXII)”, *JRS* 45, 1-8.

mit mir stundenlang über das sapphische Nocturne nachzudenken, sei ganz besonders gedankt.

- FRÄNKEL, H. (³1969), *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums. Eine Geschichte der griechischen Épik, Lyrik und Prosa bis zur Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts* (München).
- GOMME, A.W. (1957), "Interpretations of Some Poems of Alkaios and Sappho", *JHS* 77, 255-266.
- (1958), "ΔΕΔΥΚΕ MEN 'Α ΣΕΛΑΝΑ: A Reply", *JHS* 78, 85-86.
- GREENE, E. / SKINNER, M.B. (Hrsg.) (2009), *The New Sappho on Old Age. Textual and Philosophical Issues* (Cambridge, MA).
- HAGUE, R.H. (1983), "Ancient Greek Wedding Songs: The Tradition of Praise", *Journal of Folklore Research* 20, 131-143.
- HARRIS, W.V. (2009), *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA).
- HEITSCH, E. (1967), „Zum Sappho-Text“, *Hermes* 95, 385-392.
- HINDLEY, C. (2002), "Sappho's 'Rosy' Moon", *CQ* 52, 374-377.
- HOFFMANN-LOSS, H. (1968), „Die Bedeutung von ὄψα in ΔΕΔΥΚΕ MEN Α ΣΕΛΑΝΝΑ“, *Mnemosyne* 21, 347-356.
- KIRKWOOD, G.M. (1974), *Early Greek Monody. The History of a Poetic Type* (Ithaca).
- LANATA, G. (1966), "Sul linguaggio amoro di Saffo", *QUCC* 2, 63-79.
- LASSERRE, F. (1989), *Sappho, une autre lecture* (Padova).
- LATACZ, J. (1984), „Funktionen des Traums in der antiken Literatur“, in T. WAGNER-SIMON / G. BENEDETTI (Hrsg.), *Traum und Träumen. Traumanalysen in Wissenschaft, Religion und Kunst* (Göttingen), 10-31.
- LOBEL, E. / PAGE, D. (Hrsg.) (1955), *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford) [= LP].
- LONGO, V. (1953), "Aristofane e un'interpretazione di Saffo", *Maia* 6, 220-223.
- MACLEOD, C.W. (1974), "Two Comparisons in Sappho", *ZPE* 15, 217-220.
- MAGGEL, A.-A. (2010), "Tithonus and Phaon: Mythical Allegories of Light and Darkness in Sappho's Poetry", in M. CHRISTOPOULOS / E.D. KARAKANTZA / O. LEVANIOUK (Hrsg.), *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion* (Lanham), 121-132.
- MANUWALD, B. (1994), „Traum und Traumdeutung in der griechischen Antike“, in R. HIESTAND (Hrsg.), *Traum und Träumen. Inhalt, Darstellung, Funktionen einer Lebenserfahrung in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Düsseldorf), 15-42.
- MARZULLO, B. (1958), *Studi di poesia eolica* (Firenze).
- MERKELBACH, R. (1957), „Sappho und ihr Kreis“, *Philologus* 101, 1-29.

- MONTIGLIO, S. (2016), *The Spell of Hypnos. Sleep and Sleeplessness in Ancient Greek Literature* (London).
- MUTH, R. (1954), „Hymenaios“ und „Epithalamion“, *WS* 67, 5-45.
- (1993), Rezension von CONTIADES-TSITSONI (1990), *Gnomon* 65, 585-588.
- NÄF, B. (2004), *Traum und Traumdeutung im Altertum* (Darmstadt).
- PAGE, D.L. (1955), *Sappho and Alcaeus. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Lesbian Poetry* (Oxford).
- (1958), „ΔΕΔΥΚΕ MEN ‘Α ΣΕΛΑΝΑ“, *JHS* 78, 84-85.
- (Hrsg.) (1962), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford) [= *PMG*].
- PARKER, R. (2005), *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford).
- PIRENNE-DELFORGE, V. (1994), *L’Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l’étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique* (Athènes).
- PISANI, V. (1957), „Zu Sappho 104 L.-P., 120 D.“, in H. KRONASSER (Hrsg.), *MNHMHΣ XAPIN. Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer 2. Mai 1866 – 9. März 1956* (Wien), 78-82.
- RAMNOUX, C. (?1986), *La nuit et les enfants de la nuit dans la tradition grecque* (Paris).
- REINER, P. / KOVACS, D. (1993), „ΔΕΔΥΚΕ MEN Α ΣΕΛΑΝΝΑ: The Pleiades in Mid-Heaven (*PMG* Frag. Adesp. 976 = Sappho, Fr. 168 B Voigt)“, *Mnemosyne* 46, 145-159.
- RISCH, E. (1962), „Der göttliche Schlaf bei Sappho: Bemerkungen zum Ostrakon der Medea Norsa“, *MH* 19, 197-201.
- SAAKE, H. (1971), *Zur Kunst Sapphos. Motiv-analytische und kompositionstechnische Interpretationen* (Paderborn).
- SCHADEWALDT, W. (1950), *Sappho. Welt und Dichtung, Dasein in der Liebe* (Potsdam).
- SCHLESIER, R. (1998) „Die Seele im Thiasos: Zu Euripides, *Bacchae* 75“, in J. HOLZHAUSEN (Hrsg.), *Psyche – Seele – Anima* (Stuttgart), 37-72.
- (2011), „Presocratic Sappho: Her Use of Aphrodite for Arguments about Love and Immortality“, *Scientia Poetica* 15, 1-28.
- (2013a), „Atthis, Gyrinno, and Other *Hetairai*: Female Personal Names in Sappho’s Poetry“, *Philologus* 157, 199-222.
- (2013b), *s.v. „Sappho“*, in P. VON MÖLLENDORFF / A. SIMONIS / L. SIMONIS (Hrsg.), *Historische Gestalten der Antike. Rezeption in Literatur, Kunst und Musik* (Stuttgart), 835-860.
- (2014), „Symposion, Kult und frühgriechische Dichtung: Sappho im Kontext“, in O. DALLY *et al.* (Hrsg.), *Medien der Geschichte. Antikes Griechenland und Rom* (Berlin), 74-106.
- (2015), „Unsicherheiten einer poetisch-erotischen Welt: Anreden und Konstellationen von Personen bei Sappho“, in R. FRÜH *et al.*

- (Hrsg.), *Irritationen. Rhetorische und poetische Verfahren der Verunsicherung* (Berlin), 297-321.
- (2016), “Loving, but not Loved: The New Kypris Song in the Context of Sappho’s Poetry”, in A. BIERL / A. LARDINOIS (Hrsg.), *The Newest Sappho (P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, Frs. 1-4)* (Leiden), 368-395.
- (im Erscheinen a), „Sapphos aphrodisische Fauna und Flora“, in T. SCHEER (Hrsg.), *Nature – Myth – Religion* (Berlin).
- (im Erscheinen b), “Gendering, not Gendering, and Genre in Sappho”, in L. KURKE / N.A. WEISS / M.C. FOSTER (Hrsg.), *The Genres of Archaic and Classical Greek Poetry. Theories and Models* (Leiden).
- STAFFORD, E. (2003), “Brother, Son, Friend, and Healer: Sleep the God”, in T. WIEDEMANN / K. DOWDEN (Hrsg.), *Sleep* (Bari), 71-106.
- STEIN, E. (1990), *Autorbewußtsein in der frühen griechischen Literatur* (Tübingen).
- STROBL, P. (2002), *Die Macht des Schlafes in der griechisch-römischen Welt. Eine Untersuchung der mythologischen und physiologischen Aspekte der antiken Standpunkte* (Hamburg).
- TREU, M. (1955), *Von Homer zur Lyrik. Wandlungen des griechischen Weltbildes im Spiegel der Sprache* (München).
- (1960), Rezension von MARZULLO (1958), *Gnomon* 32, 744-747.
- (1964), „Die Struktur von Sappho fr. 48,3 und 120 D.“, *RhM* 107, 289-294.
- (1965), „Licht und Leuchtendes in der archaischen griechischen Poesie“, *Studium Generale* 18, 83-97.
- (Hrsg.) (1979), *Sappho, griechisch und deutsch* (München).
- TSAGARAKIS, O. (1977), *Self-Expression in Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry* (Wiesbaden).
- TSOMIS, G. (2001), *Zusammenschau der frühgriechischen monodischen Melik (Alkaios, Sappho, Anakreon)* (Stuttgart).
- TZAMALI, E. (1996), *Syntax und Stil bei Sappho* (Dettelbach).
- VOIGT, E.-M. (Hrsg.) (1971), *Sappho et Alcaeus Fragmenta* (Amsterdam) [= V].
- WALDE, C. (2001), *Die Traumdarstellungen in der griechisch-römischen Dichtung* (München).
- (2014), „Explorationen: Schlaf – Traum – Traumdeutung und Gender in der griechisch-römischen Antike“, in C. WALDE / G. WÖHRLE (Hrsg.), *Gender Studies in den Altertumswissenschaften. Schlaf und Traum* (Trier), 1-42.
- WEST, M.W. (Hrsg.) (1966), *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford).

- (1970), “Burning Sappho”, *Maia* 22, 307-330 = *Hellenica. Selected Papers on Greek Literature and Thought*. Vol. II (Oxford, 2013), 28-52.
- (Hrsg.) (1989), *Iambi et elegici Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati. Editio altera*. Vol. I (Oxford) [= W].
- WIESMANN, P. (1972), „Was heißt κῶμος? Zur Interpretation von Sapphos ‚Gedicht auf der Scherbe‘“, *MH* 29, 1-11.
- WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, U. VON (1886), *Iyllos von Epidauros* (Berlin).
- (1900), *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Berlin).
- (1913), *Sappho und Simonides. Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker* (Berlin).
- (1914), „Neue lesbische Lyrik (Oxyrhynchos-Papyri X)“, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 33, 225-247.
- WÖHRLE, G. (1995), *Hypnos, der Allbezwinger. Eine Studie zum literarischen Bild des Schlafes in der griechischen Antike* (Stuttgart).

DISCUSSION

I. Mylonopoulos: Despite all the differences between the so-called nocturne (fr. 168B Voigt) and the other Sapphic poems that you yourself pointed out in your paper, you nonetheless attributed it to Sappho. Couldn't we use the differences that you emphasized as an argument against the poem's attribution to Sappho?

R. Schlesier: Eine letzte Gewissheit darüber ist nach unserem heutigen Kenntnisstand nicht zu erreichen. Das gilt aber ebenso für zahlreiche andere Fragmente äolischer Lyrik, die ohne Verfassernamen tradiert sind, aber von Editoren seit der Renaissance entweder Sappho oder Alkaios zugeordnet wurden. Viele dieser Zuschreibungen bleiben weiterhin umschritten und müssten erneut geprüft werden. Mir ging es hier nicht zuletzt darum zu zeigen, dass die Gründe gegen eine Zuschreibung von fr. 168B an Sappho primär auf rein spekulativen Vorannahmen über die Person der Dichterin beruhen, dass jedoch dieses Gedicht gerade in seiner Differenz und *ex negativo* durchaus im Kontext der sonstigen Behandlung der Nacht in Sapphos überliefelter Dichtung lokalisierbar ist.

I. Mylonopoulos: With respect to fr. 126, could we claim that it is not a subtle reference to a sleepless night with one's lover, but rather that the poet addressed here in a quite literal sense the 'sweet' sleep right after the conclusion of sexual intercourse?

R. Schlesier: Der Phantasie sind hier in dieser Hinsicht tatsächlich keine Grenzen gesetzt. Sapphos Formulierung zielt jedoch, so scheint mir, hier (wie auch sonst meistens) nicht auf eine bestimmte Konkretion, sondern eher auf ein situatives Ambiente, das für mehrere Möglichkeiten offen ist.

A. Chaniotis: Ich frage mich, ob eine andere Übersetzung des Verses ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω (fr. 168B, 4 Voigt) möglich oder gar vorzuziehen wäre: statt „und ich bin eine, die alleine schläft“ also „und allein/nur ich schlafe“. Μόνα hat ja diese Bedeutung. Der Kontrast bleibt auch bei dieser Übersetzung der gleiche, nämlich zwischen jenen, die eine erotische Begegnung genießen, und der (allein) schlafenden Sprecherin. Bei dieser zweiten Deutung könnte man vermuten, dass das Gedicht mit einer Aufforderung weitergeht: Lass mich nun aufstehen! Das nächste Gedicht (fr. 30 LP/V) bietet hierfür eine Parallel: ἀλλ’ ἐγέρθης, ἡϊθ[ε]!

R. Schlesier: Mit meiner Übersetzung des Verses 4 von fr. 168B bin ich selber nicht sehr glücklich, weil dadurch eine Abgrenzung der Sprecherin von anderen Menschen, die nicht alleine schlafen, suggeriert werden könnte. Nur durch den Relativsatz aber ist es im Deutschen (anders als im Griechischen oder in romanischen Sprachen) möglich, die — mit dem vorletzten Wort dieses Gedichts betonte — weibliche Identität der Ich-Persona explizit zu machen. Soll hier wirklich an eine Abgrenzung von anderen Personen gedacht werden, die im Unterschied zur Sprecherin eine erotische Begegnung genießen? Das erscheint mir fraglich, und ebenso, dass das fr. 30 (mit der Aufforderung an den Jüngling, aufzustehen) als eine Parallel angesehen werden kann, die erlauben würde, den Gedankengang des Gedichts fortzusetzen. Das fr. 168B betont vielmehr, wie mir scheint, die Selbstbezogenheit der Ich-Persona, deren Alleine-Schlafen auf den Vergleich mit anderen nicht angewiesen ist und nicht dadurch schlimmer wird, dass andere nicht alleine schlafen. Spätere Dichter haben es jedenfalls so aufgefasst, dass (nächtliches) Alleine-Schlafen einfach bedeutet, ohne einen erotischen Partner im Bett zu liegen (Theokrit, *Id.* 20, 45) oder jedenfalls dieses Allein-Sein gegenüber einem eifersüchtigen Partner zu behaupten (*Anth. Pal.* 5, 184, 3-4 [Meleager]).

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Le fragment 154 met en scène des jeunes filles ou des femmes (*αἱ* comme féminin pluriel non autrement

déterminé) qui se placent autour d'un autel quand la pleine lune apparaît. Comme tu le dis, le cadre rituel de la démarche est garanti par la présence de l'autel. Mais peut-on aller plus loin? L'autel est-il simplement un marqueur d'espace sacralisé ou bien fait-il référence à un sacrifice?

R. Schlesier: Ja, auf diese Möglichkeit habe ich selber in meinem Vortrag hingewiesen und halte sie für eine vertretbare Vermutung. Denn die Formulierung bei Sappho scheint auf Homer (*Il.* 1, 448) anzuspielen (siehe meine Anmerkung 35). Dort sind es aber Opfertiere (eine Hekatombe), die die Opferer „um den Altar stellten“ (ἐστησαν ... περὶ βωμόν). Falls auch der in *fr.* 154 erwähnte Altar ein Opferaltar ist, wäre dies eines der wenigen überlieferten Beispiele für einen Bezug zu (Tier-)Opferpraxis bei Sappho. Das einzige weitere Beispiel ist vielleicht das noch knappere, einzeilige *fr.* 40, das aus einem einzigen unvollständigen Satz besteht und wohl als Opfer einer weißen Ziege für eine anonym bleibende Gottheit durch die sprechende Persona zu deuten ist. Andererseits muss der Altar in *fr.* 154 nicht unbedingt einen Tieropfer-Altar bezeichnen. Das Wort *bômos* kommt in der Sappho-Überlieferung sonst nur in *fr.* 2, 3 vor (im Plural): Dort ist es Weihrauch, der auf den Altären verbrannt wird.

A. Chaniotis: Ich kann nicht der Versuchung widerstehen, ein Szenario über den festlichen Kontext des Fragments 154 vorzuschlagen, unter Berücksichtigung dessen, was man über Opferpraktiken kennt oder vermutet. Der Vollmond ($\pi\lambda\hbar\rho\eta\varsigma$ μὲν ἐφαίνετ' ἀ σελάννα) verweist auf ein monatliches Fest bei Vollmond; C. Trümpy hat beobachtet, dass viele Feste um die Mitte des Monats stattfinden, und vermutet, dass dies eine alte Tradition widerspiegelt, Feste bei Vollmond zu veranstalten.¹

¹ C. TRÜMPY (1998), „Feste zur Vollmondszeit: Die religiösen Feiern Attikas im Monatslauf und der vorgeschichtliche attische Kultkalender“, *ZPE* 121, 109–115.

Wenn das Opfer am späteren Nachmittag stattfindet, gefolgt vom Bankett, dann sind die Frauen, die sich um den Altar stellen ($\omega\varsigma\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\beta\ddot{\omega}\mu\omega\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$), die Mitglieder eines Mädchenchors, der um den Altar tanzen und singen wird.

R. Schlesier: Das Fragment 154 wurde von bisherigen Forschern generell so gedeutet, dass es sich hier um die Perspektive von Tanz und Gesang eines Mädchenchors um einen Altar herum handelt. Dies ist nicht auszuschließen, doch auch nicht belegbar. Aus dem Fragment selbst jedenfalls lässt sich erstens nicht entnehmen, ob der weibliche Artikel im Plural sich auf Mädchen oder auf erwachsene Frauen bezieht. Beides ist möglich und auch anderswo bei Sappho belegt. Zweitens bleibt unklar, warum sich diese weiblichen Personen um den Altar stellen. Dies muss nicht notwendigerweise zum Zweck von Tanz und Gesang sein. In einem anonym überlieferten äolischen Zweizeiler (*inc. auct. fr. 16 Voigt*) ist zwar der Tanz von Kreterinnen um einen Altar dokumentiert, doch ob diese sogenannte Parallelstelle erlaubt, das Fragment 154 zu deuten, halte ich für fraglich. Im Übrigen erscheint es mir sehr spekulativ, in das Gedicht einen zeitlichen Ablauf hineinzulesen — erst Opfer vor Sonnenuntergang, dann Bankett, dann Tanz und Gesang bei Vollmond. Dies lässt sich auch durch den verdienstvollen Aufsatz von Catherine Trümpy nicht stützen, zumal es dort nur um Material über Attika geht.

I. Mylonopoulos: Could we read the second line of your text no. 13 (fr. 104a) in a more literal way? Hesperos brings back the wine (or the sheep) that Eos stopped from flowing (wine) or send out in the fields, he brings back the goats that were also out in the fields, and the child back to its mother after a whole day of dealing with the household for the mother and of playing, learning, etc. for the child? I fail to see any religious connotations associated with this fragment solely based on the reference to the goat.

R. Schlesier: Natürlich ist es für einen modernen, z.B. von christlicher Kultur geprägten Leser naheliegend, diese beiden Zeilen ganz unreligiös aufzufassen. Für einen antiken Rezipienten war dies wohl anders. Man sollte nicht vergessen, dass im Kontext des antiken griechischen Polytheismus Hesperos, der Abendstern, und Eos, die Morgenröte, göttliche Mächte sind, und dass der Wein — und Opfertiere wie die Ziege — als etwas aufgefasst wurden, das die Menschen den Göttern verdanken und das auch als Gabe an die Götter fungiert.

K. De Temmerman: Ich finde den Vergleich mit Alkaios sehr interessant. Sind Aspekte in der Repräsentation der Nacht von Alkaios repräsentativ für archaische Lyrik?

R. Schlesier: Diese Frage lässt sich nur mit großen Vorbehalten beantworten, da die Überlieferung der gesamten frühgriechischen Lyrik äußerst fragmentarisch und oft verstümmelt ist. Ähnlich wie bei Sappho wird gänznächtliches Tun aber oft durchaus positiv konnotiert, wie z.B. bei Anakreon (siehe meine Anmerkung 12). Dies erklärt sich auch durch den vorherrschenden performativen Kontext dieser Dichtung, das Symposium, bei dem der Genuss von Wein und Erotik favorisiert war.

L. Dossey: We tend to assume that the night is frightening, because of its darkness. To me, an important part of your talk was your conclusion that Sappho's night was neither dark nor frightening. It wasn't dark because of the brightness of the moon and (to a lesser extent) the stars (the image of the rosy-fingered moon is especially lovely). This comfort with the natural night sky seems to me to be an important part of the ancient Greek night, connected to the choice to use very little artificial light. There is no mention of lamps in Sappho, because she didn't see the need for them to protect her against the dark.

R. Schlesier: Die Abwesenheit von Lampen in Sapphos Lyrik kann auch ein Zufall der Überlieferung sein. Bei ihrem Zeitge-

nossen und Landsmann Alkaios jedenfalls sind Lampen durchaus thematisiert, und zwar als etwas, das gewöhnlich zum nächtlichen Trinkgelage gehört (Alkaios, fr. 346, 1 Voigt: πάνωμεν· τί τὰ λύχν’ ὀμένομεν; δάκτυλος ἀμέρα·, „Trinken wir. Was warten wir auf die Leuchter? Ein Finger Tag [ist übrig].“).

L. Dossey: My second question has to do with the *mentalité* of the night. As in Angelos Chaniotis's paper yesterday, the night in Sappho is associated with pleasure (sex, wine) and the gods (dreams, ritual), not with *ponos*. Fr. 104a especially relates to this (evening brings what the day takes away: wine, the goat (returning from the fields — i.e. the end of the workday), and (to my mind) sex (the separation of the mother from her children in the marital bed at night). You might not agree with my specific interpretation of fr. 104a, but would you agree with my general point that Sappho's night is associated with pleasure and the gods, not *ponos*?

R. Schlesier: Yes, I would, in principle. But for Sappho (as for other Greek poets), pleasure is not something that is necessarily devoid of pain and strain.

A. Chaniotis: The nocturnal activities of women during the night, especially in the liminal times of dusk and dawn, but still in the moonshine, remind me of a passage in the *Vita* of Archilochos, preserved in an inscription in Paros (*SEG XV* 517 col. II.i ll. 23-27). The boy Archilochos wakes up early in the morning, sent by his father to the city in order to sell a cow. It is explicitly stated that the moon was still shining; it is the time before dawn, when the moon still shines. The rest is history — or rather legend: Archilochos encounters three merry women, who greet him with jokes and teasing; not before long, they persuade him to exchange the cow for musical instruments. The initiation of Archilochos into poetry takes place in the wake of the night, when he encounters three joyful women with musical instruments, as if they are returning from a *pannychis*.

F. Carlà-Uhink: Die gerade zitierte Archilochos-Vita sagt explizit, dass die nächtliche Tätigkeit von dem jungen Archilochos darin besteht, dass er sehr früh aufsteht und schon vor dem Sonnenaufgang tätig ist. Dies scheint mir aber eine ganz andere Bedeutung zu haben als nächtliche Tätigkeiten, von denen wir Beispiele in den Sappho-Fragmenten gesehen haben, die in einer Fortsetzung des Abends bestehen. Kann man in den griechischen archaischen Texten feststellen, ob der Nacht unterschiedliche Bedeutungen zugeschrieben werden, wenn diese als Fortsetzung des Tags davor oder als Antizipation des Tags danach charakterisiert wird, eventuell im Zusammenhang mit der schon erwähnten Differenzierung zwischen Nacht als *ponos* und Nacht als *hēdonē*?

R. Schlesier: In dem von mir untersuchten kompletten Dossier zur Nacht in der Sappho-Überlieferung wird dieser Zeitabschnitt niemals mit Mühe und Arbeit in Verbindung gebracht. Das bedeutet aber nicht, dass in ihren Gedichten ausschließlich von nächtlichen Lustbarkeiten und Feiern die Rede ist. Zur Nacht (bzw. zum Wachen oder Träumen bei Nacht) können auch Sorgen gehören (siehe z.B. fr. 23, 8). Aber auch die Erwähnungen der Nacht bei anderen frühgriechischen Dichtern reflektieren, soweit ich sehe, nicht die Frage, ob die nächtliche Tätigkeit den vorhergehenden Tag fortsetzt oder den folgenden Tag antizipiert.

L. Dossey: My third question relates to the timing of the sacrifice in Sappho's poems — whether fr. 154 (the full moon shining while women stand around the altar) implies a night sacrifice. Is there really no evidence for nocturnal sacrifices in the Archaic and Classical Greek world? What about Ioannis Mylonopoulos's vase painting showing Hercules sacrificing in between the Night and the Dawn? In Imperial period Greek sources (Aelius Aristides, Achilles Tatius, Julian), the night (including early predawn) would have been a suitable time for sacrifice. As for whether women ever sacrificed in groups, in a much later

source, Achilles Tatius 2, 18 (2nd century CE), kidnappers dress up as women and pretend to make a nocturnal sacrifice on the seashore. The whole point is that they are trying to seem normal and non-threatening by pretending to be women.

R. Schlesier: Ob Sappho in *fr. 154* auf bei Nacht opfernde Frauen verweist, lässt sich auf der existierenden Textgrundlage nicht entscheiden, aber auch nicht, ob es in diesem Fragment überhaupt um Opfer geht.

A. Chaniotis: Wie ich bereits gesagt habe, vermute ich, dass es sich um ein Opfer vor Sonnenuntergang handelt, nicht vor Sonnenaufgang.

IV

VINCIANE PIRENNE-DELFORGE

NYX EST, ELLE AUSSI, UNE DIVINITÉ.

LA NUIT DANS LES MYTHES ET LES CULTES GRECS*

1. Introduction : une offrande à la Nuit

Au début de la période hellénistique, en Étolie, dans la “belle cité” de Kallipolis, une offrande a été dédiée par une femme du nom de Nikô dont le vœu avait été exaucé. Les destinataires divines de cette démarche sont juxtaposées au datif juste après le nom de la dédicante au nominatif :¹

Nικώ Νυκτὶ Ἀρτέμιδι λυσίπονα τυχοῦσα τᾶς εὐχῆς.

Le bloc inscrit portait sans doute l’offrande proprement dite, même s’il ne présente pas de trace de mortaise.² Il s’agit d’un “ex-voto” au sens strict, ainsi que l’atteste l’expression *τυχοῦσα τᾶς εὐχῆς*, “pour avoir obtenu son vœu”. Quant au terme *λυσίπονα*, si l’on suit Denis Rousset, l’éditeur de l’inscription,³ il désigne à l’accusatif neutre pluriel (les offrandes) “qui délivrent de la peine”, à l’instar des *παυσοτοκεῖα*, “ceux qui font cesser les douleurs de l’accouchement”, dédiés par une

* Outre les participants aux *Entretiens*, je tiens à remercier aussi Jan-Mathieu Carbon et Gabriella Pironti dont la relecture attentive m’a permis de clarifier plusieurs points de l’argumentation.

¹ ROUSSET (2006) 421-423; SEG LVI 601.

² *Ibid.* 421 et fig. 9.

³ *Ibid.* 423 et n. 72.

femme thessalienne à Artémis Ilithyie à la même période.⁴ Le verbe ἀνέθηκε serait dès lors sous-entendu dans l'inscription étolienne. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, l'absence de l'offrande elle-même empêche d'identifier ce que la dédicante a désigné de la sorte. Une autre possibilité serait d'interpréter λυσίπονα comme une épiclese d'Artémis au datif dont l'iota souscrit serait implicite (λυσιπόνα pour λυσιπόνη).⁵ Quelques parallèles épigraphiques attestent que des dieux peuvent être ainsi qualifiés aux III^e et IV^e siècle de notre ère. Toutefois, on aurait alors attendu une forme λυσιπόνω puisque des Nymphes “qui délivrent des peines” sont bel et bien λυσίπονοι.⁶ Il est dès lors prudent de se rallier à la solution privilégiée par l'éditeur et de voir dans les λυσίπονα étoiliens un équivalent des παυσοτοκεῖα thessaliens.

La délivrance des peines dont il est question dans l'inscription d'une femme à Artémis laisse peu de doute sur le contexte de la démarche votive : Nikô a fait une offrande d'action de grâce car son accouchement s'est bien terminé, accomplissant ainsi le voeu qu'elle avait prononcé. Qu'Artémis apparaisse dans ce contexte n'a rien qui doive étonner. En revanche, le datif νυκτὶ qui précède le nom de la déesse est moins attendu. L'éditeur a raison de rejeter l'idée d'une référence à l'heure de l'offrande (“de nuit” ou “nuitamment”) qui est inusitée et imposerait de toute façon le génitif. La Nuit est ici envisagée comme une divinité à part entière, sur le même plan qu'Artémis. Mais comment comprendre une telle association que

⁴ HELLY (1973) n° 175bis : Ἀρτέμιδι Ιλιθύαι Μενέπολις | Ἐπίνου παυσοτοκεῖα ἀνέθηκε (Gonnoi, III^e s. av. J.-C.).

⁵ C'est la discussion à l'issue de la présentation de cette communication et surtout une question d'Angelos Chaniotis qui m'a conduite à préciser ce point.

⁶ IG IV² 1, 424 (Épidaure, 297 de notre ère) : [Ζ]ηνὶ καὶ Ἡελίῳ | καὶ πᾶσιν ἀειγενέεσσιν, | [δ]λαβοδόταις καὶ | ἐλευθεροῖς καὶ | λυσιπόνοισιν, κτλ. ; *Studia Pontica* III 26, 1, 5 (Therma Phazimoniton, IV^e s. de notre ère) : ... λυσιπόνοις Νύμφαισιν ... Cf. l'épithète λυσίζωνος qui est, elle, explicitement attribuée à Artémis notamment par des lexicographes et scholiastes, et toujours avec la double terminaison : HESYCH. s.v. λυσίζωνος: ... ἐπίθετον Ἀρτέμιδος ; *Souda*, s.v.; *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1, 288 : ... καὶ Λυσίζώνου Ἀρτέμιδος ἵερὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις. Voir aussi Ilithyie chez THEOC. *Id.* 17, 60 : Εἰλεύθιαν ... λυσίζωνον.

n’explique aucune coordination ? Denis Rousset choisit de la sous-entendre et traduit : “Nikô à la Nuit et à Artémis...”. C’est une option raisonnable, mais la juxtaposition de deux théonymes exprimant ensemble une entité divine complexe est bien attestée : qu’il suffise de mentionner, à ce stade, l’Artémis Ilithyie juste évoquée. On reviendra, en fin de parcours, sur le sens de cette association de la Nuit et d’Artémis. Mais il convient d’interroger d’abord la figure divine de la première car, pour paraphraser Hésiode parlant de la Rumeur (*Phêmê*), la Nuit “est, elle aussi, une divinité”.⁷

Pour ce faire, il convient de convoquer à la fois les traditions narratives et les cultes associés à la Nuit,⁸ même si ces derniers sont très peu nombreux et que la dédicace de Nikô est à bien des égards un document exceptionnel. Une telle interrogation sur le statut de la Nuit avec majuscule doit permettre d’affronter la problématique de ce que l’on appelle de façon globale et approximative “les divinités cosmiques”. Avec les divinités dites “morales” ou “abstraites”, les divinités cosmiques forment une partie non négligeable du monde supra-humain des Grecs, mais ces entités présentent, pour nous modernes, une difficulté concrète et immédiate : leur nom transparent peut être affecté d’une majuscule comme d’une minuscule selon nos conventions typographiques. À une oreille grecque, l’ambiguïté était de mise. Et nombre d’éditeurs, de traducteurs et de chercheurs se sont déjà interrogés sur le fait de savoir s’il fallait choisir entre les deux. Ce point reviendra de façon récurrente dans mon propos et je commencerai par lui.

⁷ HES. *Op.* 764 : θεός νύξ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή.

⁸ La perspective ici adoptée se situe dans la lignée des travaux que je mène depuis plusieurs années en collaboration avec Gabriella Pironi sur la représentation du divin. Sur Ilithyie : PIRONTI / PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2013) ; sur les Moires : PIRENNE-DELFORGE / PIRONTI (2010) ; sur Aphrodite : PIRENNE-DELFORGE / PIRONTI (2011) ; sur Héra : PIRENNE-DELFORGE / PIRONTI (2016).

2. “Personnifications”, “abstractions” et autres...

En première instance, je placerai sur le même pied les divinités cosmiques et les divinités “abstraites” dans la mesure où ces deux ensembles sont intéressants au même titre pour comprendre la manière dont les Grecs ressentaient et exprimaient la présence des dieux et la puissance qu’ils manifestaient. En outre, si l’on adopte un point de vue historiographique, on trouve l’une et l’autre de ces catégories de dieux sous l’appellation moderne de *personnifications*.⁹ La distinction s’opère en revanche quand on détermine le statut de ces diverses entités dans le monde : les divinités cosmiques sont des composantes du cadre de vie concret des communautés grecques, tandis que les divinités dites “morales” sont — du moins de notre point de vue — des notions abstraites.

Ce sont surtout ces dernières — lesdites abstractions divinées ou personnifiées — qui n’ont cessé de stimuler la curiosité et l’intérêt des antiquisants. En outre, la présence de telles entités dans la peinture de vases et la sculpture explique qu’à la “personnification” se soit ajoutée la notion tout aussi problématique d’“allégorie”. C’est pourquoi nombre de travaux sur ces divinités sont le fait d’historiens de l’art.¹⁰ Parallèlement, les réflexions du XX^e siècle sur l’émergence de la rationalité grecque ont elles aussi convoqué ces entités, censées refléter “l’évolution mentale et spirituelle des Grecs, qui tendent davantage à la rationalité”.¹¹

⁹ Le terme n’a pas d’équivalent en grec avant l’usage de *προσωποποίία* dans la réflexion sur la rhétorique à la période hellénistique. Voir entre autres STAFFORD (2000) 5-9 ; MESSERSCHMIDT (2003).

¹⁰ HINKS (1959) ; SHAPIRO (1993) ; AELLEN (1994) ; STAFFORD (2000) ; BORG (2002) ; SMITH (2011).

¹¹ AELLEN (1994) 20, qui cite, en note, HINKS (1939) 106 : “At the outset we must again insist that the capacity of the mind to form personifications, in the strict sense of the word, depends on the consciousness of its own individuality and on the power to analyse its separate feelings”. Cf. aussi USENER (1896) 364-365 (avec, sur les *Sondergötter* dont font partie les abstractions, les commentaires anciens mais à bien des égards encore pertinents de FARRELL [1907a] et puis ceux de SCHEID / SVENBRO [2005]).

Sans entrer dans le débat sur cette prétendue évolution et ses ressorts supposés,¹² deux remarques suffiront dans le cadre présent. La première tient à la chronologie. Dès le moment où la documentation écrite est disponible, nous sommes en présence de ce genre de personnifications, qu'elles concernent les divinités cosmiques ou abstraites. L'épopée homérique et l'œuvre hésiodique les convoquent à des titres divers. Certes, les attestations de cultes rendus à ces divinités sont surtout avérées à partir de la fin du V^e siècle et aux siècles suivants, mais la compréhension de ce phénomène requiert une analyse précise. Pour rendre compte de ces divinités, il ne suffit pas d'invoquer une prétendue rationalisation du monde divin ou même le scepticisme progressivement manifesté à l'égard des dieux traditionnels.¹³ En effet, tant le petit livre de Jean Rudhardt sur *Thémis et les Hôrai* que celui d'Emma Stafford intitulé *Worshipping virtues* ont rappelé, chacun à sa manière, que ces entités au nom transparent étaient bel et bien considérées comme des divinités à part entière, au point qu'un certain nombre d'entre elles recevait un culte.¹⁴

Revenons ainsi à la réflexion hésiodique sur *phêmê* évoquée précédemment : "La Rumeur est, elle aussi, une divinité". Aux vers précédents, le poète enjoignait son interlocuteur de ne pas s'attirer la rumeur négative, celle qui forge une réputation mauvaise, car la *phêmê* ne meurt jamais tout à fait (v. 762-763). L'immortalité de la rumeur est donc traduite en une qualité divine qui ne relève pas de la simple figure de style ou de la métaphore. Après tout, au début du poème, c'est Zeus lui-même qui accorde à l'homme la honte ou la gloire,¹⁵ et les Athéniens iront jusqu'à éléver un autel au nom de Phêmê sur leur agora,

¹² En 1907, le génial Lewis Farnell écrivait déjà, dans le troisième volume de sa somme sur les cultes des cités (1907b) 13 : "Such personified abstractions are doubtless early in the religious thought of the Greeks as of other races".

¹³ E.g. NILSSON (1952) 39 ; BURKERT (1985) 185-186 ; HUMPHREYS (2004 [1986]) 55, 65-66.

¹⁴ RUDHARDT (1999) ; STAFFORD (2000) 2.

¹⁵ HES. *Op.* 3-4 : [Zeus] ὅν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἀνδρες ὄμως ἔφατοι τε φατοί τε, | ὥητοι τῷ ἔρρητοι τε Διὸς μεγάλοιο ἔκητι.

attesté au milieu du IV^e siècle et rapporté à une décision ancestrale.¹⁶ À l'instar d'Éris, qui peut être tantôt la saine émulation, tantôt le conflit destructeur tels qu'Hésiode les définit juste après cette invocation préliminaire à Zeus,¹⁷ la R/rumeur est ambivalente et immortelle.

Sur ce point comme sur d'autres, la transcendance divine des systèmes religieux monothéistes a tendu un écran opaque entre l'expérience religieuse des Grecs et la nôtre. La conception grecque de l'immanence des puissances divines permettait d'exprimer la complexité du réel par le biais de l'action de dieux, quels qu'ils fussent. Il ne s'agit pas d'"abstractions" au sens où les entités qu'elles désignent resteraient abstraites, ni de "personnifications" au sens où l'on aurait conféré à des notions morales le statut de personnes.¹⁸ Comme tous les dieux, ce sont avant tout des puissances dont les Grecs ressentaient la force et les effets. Cette sensibilité, cette intuition et cette expérience trouvaient à s'exprimer par un nom propre et passaient aussi, le cas échéant, par des images, des traditions narratives, voire des cultes.¹⁹ L'argument d'une rationalisation progressive de la réflexion sur le monde pour justifier l'apparente multiplication des "personnifications" ne tient pas suffisamment compte de ces caractéristiques inhérentes au fonctionnement du polythéisme. Quand on tente l'exercice de la compréhension interne de ce système, la question des minuscules et des majuscules se fait déjà moins lancinante, même si elle ne disparaît pas entièrement pour les entités cosmiques comme la nuit sur laquelle il faut maintenant se pencher.

Les historiens de l'art ont, pour elle aussi, trouvé un matériau adapté à leurs investigations puisqu'on sait, par Pausanias, qu'une des vignettes du célèbre coffre de Kypselos dédié à Olympie la représentait comme une femme "portant un enfant blanc

¹⁶ AESCHIN. *In Tim.* 1, 128-130 : [...] καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους φήμης ὡς θεοῦ μεγίστης βωμὸν ἴδρυμένους [...], et PAUS. 1, 17, 2. Cf. DETIENNE (1982) ; STAFFORD (2000) 10-11.

¹⁷ HES. *Op.* 11-29.

¹⁸ De ce point de vue, les images ont joué un rôle déterminant dans la conception moderne de la "personnification".

¹⁹ VERNANT (1965) ; RUDHARDT (1999).

endormi sur son bras droit et sur l'autre un enfant noir, semblable à un enfant qui dort ; l'un et l'autre ont les pieds divergents".²⁰ Le visiteur précise que la représentation est assortie d'inscriptions limpides sur l'identité des protagonistes, tout en soulignant que, même sans elles, il est évident qu'il s'agit de Thanatos et d'Hypnos, avec Nyx comme nourrice (*trophos*) de l'un et l'autre.²¹ Quant au statut de ces figures — et d'autres sur le même coffret —, on y a vu autant d'allégories. Mais la notion ne rend pas compte de la puissance divine dont Hésiode se fait le chantre dans la *Théogonie*, car la Nuit est, elle aussi, une divinité.

Pour traiter la question de la dimension divine de la Nuit, il s'agira tout d'abord d'explorer certaines traditions narratives archaïques qui parlent de la Nuit — avec majuscule — comme entité divine inscrite dans les généalogies constitutives du cosmos, mais aussi de la nuit — avec minuscule — qui encadre de façon significative certaines actions des héros de l'épopée.²² Ensuite, on convoquera les quelques rares attestations de la Nuit recevant un culte, à l'instar de la démarche rituelle de Nikô de Kallipolis. Même s'il a fallu renoncer à aborder cet aspect ici, les célébrations nocturnes auraient eu quelque droit à figurer au menu de cette étude car la nuit vouée au culte des dieux peut être considérée comme divine.²³ En est-elle pour autant conçue comme déesse ? Toute l'ambiguïté du thème se trouve concentrée dans cette alternative sur laquelle la conclusion reviendra.

²⁰ PAUS. 5, 18, 1 (trad. J. POUILLOUX) : πεποίηται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ ἐπέρφα μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα καθεύδοντι ἐοικότα, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας.

²¹ Sur le point de savoir lequel des deux est de couleur blanche et lequel de couleur noire, le consensus n'est pas atteint parmi les interprètes du passage : Thanatos blanc et Hypnos noir : SHAPIRO (1992) 132. Contra BORG (2002) 117-119.

²² Je laisse de côté les représentations tragiques de la Nuit dans l'*Orestie*. Sur ce point, voir RAMNOUX (1959) 109-154.

²³ PLUT. *Mor.* 501-502. Selon WILAMOWITZ (1931-32) 253, la qualité de "sacrée", *hiera*, conférée à la nuit serait le signe qu'elle n'est pas considérée comme une déesse puisque les dieux ne sont pas ainsi qualifiés. L'affirmation est incontestablement trop préemptoire au vu du dossier ici rassemblé.

3. Nuit cosmique et nuit épique

La Nuit fait partie des entités divines cosmiques qu'Hésiode met en scène dans la *Théogonie*. Dans ce cas précis, le genre de l'œuvre induit la majuscule : Nyx est la déesse Nuit, née de Chaos, la Béance originelle, en même temps qu'Érébos, l'Air obscur (v. 123). Avant eux, Chaos lui-même était venu au jour, suivi de Gaia, la large Terre allant des cimes de l'Olympe aux étendues brumeuses du Tartare, ainsi qu'Éros “le plus beau d'entre les dieux immortels, celui qui rompt les membres et qui, de tous les dieux et les humains, dompte au fond des poitrines l'esprit et le sage vouloir” (v. 115-122).²⁴

Ces trois entités primordiales sont certes venues à l'existence : le verbe γένετο du vers 115, dont le sujet est Chaos, est sous-entendu dans le cas de Gaia et d'Éros. Mais elles n'ont pas de géniteur et/ou de génitrice. À ce stade très préliminaire de la mise en place du cosmos, Érébos et Nuit sont les premières entités à naître d'un géniteur divin, en l'occurrence de Chaos qui les engendre seul (123 : ἐκ Χάος … ἐγένετο). Les deux divinités sorties de la Béance originelle s'unissent l'une à l'autre, et Nuit donne naissance à Aithêr, l'Air lumineux, et à Hémérê, le Jour (v. 124-125).²⁵ C'est la présence d'Éros dans le monde qui permet à la fois la manifestation des potentialités du Chaos et cette première union sexuelle (v. 125 : φιλότητι μιγεῖσα) avec l'engendrement qui la suit.²⁶

Le Chaos primordial, abîme ou béance originelle, forme le matériau brut et encore indistinct de ce qui devient, avec ses enfants et ses petits-enfants, certains des paramètres fondamentaux de l'espace et du temps : l'air obscur et la durée obscure qui sortent du Chaos engendrent l'air lumineux et la durée lumineuse. Dans la logique cosmogonique mise en œuvre par

²⁴ Traduction A. BONNAFÉ (1993).

²⁵ Le vers 125 de la *Théogonie* a longtemps été considéré comme interpolé. Nous n'adoptons pas ce point de vue, fondé sur des arguments de cohérence interne qui ont fait long feu. J'emprunte les traductions d'air obscur pour Érébos et d'air lumineux pour Aithêr à Gabriella PIRONTI ([2008] 15, n. 26).

²⁶ RUDHARDT (1986) 10-13 ; PIRONTI (2007) 38.

Hésiode, c'est donc l'obscurité qui génère le lumineux et les composantes de cet “espace-temps” contrasté sont indissolublement liées les unes aux autres.

Plus loin dans le poème thégonique, Hésiode en offre une confirmation dans la description des espaces de confins où sont enfermés les Titans vaincus par Zeus au terme du combat pour le pouvoir sur le cosmos. L'alternance de Journée et de Nuit est décrite concrètement sous la forme de la rencontre fugace des deux entités divines au seuil de la demeure qu'elles partagent mais sans jamais y résider ensemble. La première apporte la lumière aux êtres qui vivent sur terre, tandis que l'autre tient dans ses bras Hypnos, d'une douceur apaisante pour les humains, même s'il est le frère de Thanatos qui fait sa proie des mêmes humains.²⁷ La primauté de Nuit sur Hémerê au début de la *Théogonie* se trouve confirmée dans la configuration spatiale de leur activité divine car c'est bien le terrible séjour de Nuit qui accueille Journée, sa fille.

Au stade des débuts du monde, l'alternance des jours et des nuits est donc en place à la suite d'un processus généalogique. Mais la *Théogonie* n'est pas qu'une généalogie : elle est ponctuée de mises en intrigue qui enrichissent le propos et forment autant d'étapes du processus qui amènera Zeus à recevoir le pouvoir souverain sur le cosmos. Or, la première ouverture narrative s'opère dans un cadre nocturne. Gaia, la Terre, a engendré Ouranos, le Ciel, un être égal à elle-même pour qu'il l'enveloppe entièrement. L'extension spatiale de ces deux entités cosmiques fait de l'une comme de l'autre “le séjour à jamais stable des dieux bienheureux” (v. 116-117, 128). L'immanence du divin ne peut être plus clairement exprimée. Quant à la nuit, elle réapparaît de façon incidente au moment de la dernière union du Ciel et de la Terre (v. 176-178). Ouranos s'en vient, “amenant la Nuit”, et dans le désir de l'union sexuelle (*philotês*) qui le pousse vers Gaia, il l'enveloppe de toutes parts.²⁸

²⁷ HES. *Theog.* 744-766.

²⁸ HES. *Theog.* 176-178 : ἦλθε δὲ νύκτ' ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαῖην | ἴμείρων φιλότητος ἐπέσχετο, καὶ δὲ τανύσθη | πάντη.

L'épisode est bien connu : cette ultime approche de la Terre par le Ciel est assortie d'une ruse qui aboutit à la castration de ce dernier par son fils Kronos et à la délivrance des enfants du couple qui étaient enfermés au sein de la Terre.²⁹ Or, dans le même mouvement qui rapproche Ouranos de Gaia, le dieu amène la nuit (*νύκτ^τ ἐπάγων μέγας Οὐρανός*, à laquelle aucun éditeur n'impose cette fois de majuscule à l'initiale). La tombée de la nuit est donc concomitante du désir de *philotès* d'Ouranos. La notation pourrait n'être qu'incidente, voire anecdotique, si l'on ne retrouvait Philotês (avec majuscule, cette fois) dans la cohorte des enfants de la Nuit. Le poète ne dessine donc pas une atmosphère nocturne au hasard : c'est le cadre approprié à l'union sexuelle qui pousse Ouranos vers Gaia.

Une fois décrit le forfait de Kronos et les fruits qui en résultent, dont les Érinyes et Aphrodite, Hésiode expose la lignée de la Nuit, à savoir les entités que la déesse tire d'elle-même sans union sexuelle avec un partenaire.³⁰ Les trois premières sont le Lot-Fatal (*Moros*), la Mort (*Kēr*), le Trépas (*Thanatos*), immédiatement suivies du Sommeil (*Hypnos*) et des Songes (*Oneiroi*). En deuxième lieu, nous dit le poète, viennent Sarcasme (*Mômos*) et Lamentation de souffrance (*Oizus alginoessa*). Puis les Hespérides, les Nymphe du Soir qui se situent au-delà de l'Océan, à savoir en bordure du monde, aux marges occidentales du cosmos. C'est alors le tour des Moires, déesses de la part qui revient à chaque mortel, dans l'alternance des biens et des maux, et les *Kêres*, les Mortifères. Puis la réprobation vengeresse (*Némésis*), "fléau pour les humains mortels", ainsi que la Tromperie (*Apatê*), l'Union sexuelle (*Philotês*) et la

²⁹ On a beaucoup glosé cette prétendue version grecque de la séparation du Ciel et de la Terre, et la copulation permanente qu'Ouranos aurait imposée à Gaia enceinte de ses œuvres : *e.g.* RUDHARDT (1986) 15 ; VERNANT (1989) 155 ; BONNAFÉ (1985). Voir PIRONTI (2007) 27-28, 32-34 ; (2008) 20, n. 36, qui met ces différents points en perspective et critique à bon droit les interprétations antérieures. Cf. aussi LORAUX (1989) 32-33.

³⁰ HES. *Theog.* 211-225.

Vieillesse funeste (*Gēras oulomenon*), suivies de la Lutte (*Ēris*) qui s’empresse d’enfanter à son tour d’autres calamités.

Dans la seule monographie consacrée à la Nuit et à ses enfants, Clémence Ramnoux écrivait, en 1959 : “Dans la *Théogonie* d’Hésiode [...] Nuit et ses enfants sont devenus le principe du mal”.³¹ Comme souvent, la réflexion moderne transforme en notion singulière, voire en concept, ce que les anciens évoquaient essentiellement au pluriel et de manière concrète. Parler d’un “principe du mal” est anachronique : ce que les enfants de la Nuit traduisent dans la *Théogonie*, ce sont les caractéristiques de la condition humaine énoncées dans une trame narrative déterminée. À défaut d’une anthropologie proprement dite, le poème parle d’abord des humains par le biais des limites qui sont les leurs. En regard des dieux “bienheureux qui toujours sont”, les hommes voient leurs forces progressivement décliner et connaissent les maladies, la vieillesse et la mort. Dans *Les Travaux & les Jours*, où le poète procède au même constat par d’autres voies, ce sont les maux enfermés dans la jarre de Pandora qui peuplent la terre après que la première femme en a soulevé le couvercle.³² Le constat initial est explicite et sans appel : “Les tribus des humains vivaient jadis sur la terre à l’écart des maux et à l’abri de la peine cruelle et des maladies douloureuses” qui mènent à la mort.³³ La Nuit assume dès lors dans la *Théogonie* le rôle que remplit Pandora dans *Les Travaux & les Jours* : elles sont, chacune à leur manière, le vecteur de la définition de la condition humaine dans le cadre narratif spécifique qui les accueille : la mise en place du cosmos, d’un côté, et, de l’autre, l’évocation didactique et gnomique des travaux agraires et de la vie des hommes qui en dépendent.

³¹ RAMNOUX (1959) 15.

³² HES. *Op.* 86-100.

³³ *Ibid.* 90-92 : πρὸν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ’ ἀνθρώπων | νόσφιν ἔτερ τε κακῶν καὶ ἔτερ χαλεποῖς πόνοιο | νούσων τ’ ἀργαλέων, αἱ τ’ ἀνδράσι κῆρυξ ἔδωκαν.

Quant au désir sexuel (*Philotès*), à la tromperie (*Apatê*) et au sommeil (*Hypnos*), ils ne sont pas l'apanage des humains mortels puisque les dieux font l'amour, se trompent les uns les autres et s'endorment. Toutefois, les effets de ces puissances sur les hommes ne sont pas comparables à ce qu'elles induisent chez les dieux. En effet, ces derniers ne connaissent pas l'épuisement des forces vitales dans l'acte sexuel,³⁴ ni la dimension potentiellement mortifère des contextes de tromperie. Ils connaissent le sommeil, puisque les dieux dorment, mais c'est un sommeil qui n'a rien à voir avec Thanatos.

En conséquence, la Nuit “cosmique” est profondément ambiguë — et en cela, elle est bien une divinité. Elle est génératrice de l'espace-temps : sans elle, pas de Jour ni d'Air lumineux. Sa nature ne lui permet pas d'être, comme le Ciel et la Terre, “le séjour à jamais stable des Immortels”, mais elle est bien l'entité qui crée les conditions du temps qui passe, sous la forme de l'alternance entre la lumière et l'obscurité. C'est dans ce cadre que s'inscrivent les processus théogoniques et toute l'histoire des dieux et des hommes. Par ailleurs, elle est génératrice des maux qui accablent spécifiquement les hommes, mais elle produit également Philotès, les Moires, Hypnos, qui reflètent l'ambiguïté de leur mère par leur oscillation continue entre effets positifs et négatifs sur la vie des humains. En ce sens, elle rejoint les effets contrastés de l'Éros primordial qui rompt les membres et “de tous les dieux et de tous les humains, dompte, au fond des poitrines, l'esprit et le sage vouloir”.³⁵

C'est d'ailleurs en termes de “domptage” des dieux et des hommes que la Nuit comme entité divine agissante apparaît dans l'*Iliade*, ce qui nous fait passer de la *Théogonie* à l'épopée. En effet, au chant XIV, le célèbre épisode de la tromperie de Zeus par Héra fait intervenir le dieu Hypnos qu'Héra sollicite pour endormir son époux après l'amour. Mais Hypnos craint la colère de Zeus, dont il a naguère éprouvé les effets et dont seule

³⁴ PIRONTI (2007) 88-94.

³⁵ HES. *Theog.* 120-121.

sa mère, la Nuit “dompteuse des dieux et des hommes”, l’a sauvé en s’interposant entre son fils et le roi des dieux (v. 256-262). Divinité primordiale et puissante, la Nuit fait reculer Zeus lui-même. Quant à Héra, pour séduire et endormir ensuite son époux, elle s’arme de la ceinture d’Aphrodite, déesse qui, elle aussi, dompte mortels et immortels (v. 199). Héra finit par convaincre Hypnos de l'aider par la promesse qu'il fera sienne Pasithéa, l'une des Charites (v. 264-276). C'est un désir de *philotês* — même si l'expression n'apparaît pas dans ce passage — qui a dompté le dieu Hypnos en effaçant sa peur.

Sans entrer dans le détail de ce texte, plus complexe que la simple grivoiserie ludique à laquelle on l'a souvent ramené,³⁶ on peut y percevoir en filigrane certains des thèmes que l'on a décelés jusqu'ici. Pour avoir raison de la vigilance de Zeus, Héra se munit de deux atouts divins qui ancrent leur pouvoir dans les forces primordiales du cosmos, antérieures au maître de l'Olympe : le pouvoir du Sommeil, enfant de la Nuit, et celui d'Aphrodite qui assume dans l'ordre olympien les effets contraignants de l'Éros primordial de la *Théogonie*.³⁷ Certains éléments de la *Dios Apatê* peuvent donc être analysés, entre autres, comme la mise en intrigue de ce que la *Théogonie* exprime à sa manière dans une construction généalogique. À ceci près que l'intrigue impose à l'union de Zeus et d'Héra d'avoir lieu en plein jour, sous la nuée d'or déployée par le dieu pour les dissimuler au sommet de l'Ida.³⁸

En ce chant XIV, les éditeurs affectent la Nuit d'une majuscule puisqu'elle intervient dans une intrigue qui la fait agir. Toutes les autres occurrences du mot dans l'*Iliade* portent une minuscule et sont donc censées renvoyer au phénomène de la nuit de tous les soirs, ainsi distingué de la déesse par les éditeurs. C'est au fil des jours et des nuits qui se succèdent que l'intrigue épique met en scène la colère d'Achille, entre l'enlèvement de

³⁶ Cf. l'analyse pertinente de PIRONTI (2016).

³⁷ Sur ce point, les analyses de RUDHARDT (1986) restent d'actualité.

³⁸ Pour une autre interprétation, voir PIRONTI (2007) 47-48.

Chryséis et la mort de Patrocle, puis celle d'Hector. Pourtant, certaines des épithètes qui affectent le phénomène naturel qu'est la nuit peuvent autant s'appliquer à l'entité divine, ce qui brouille toute distinction tranchée. Comme l'avait remarqué Clémence Ramnoux : "... les épithètes restent les mêmes pour chanter la litanie de la conjuration de la divinité redoutable et pour décrire la nuit de tous les soirs".³⁹ La Nuit/nuit est redoutable ($\delta\lambdaοη$ ⁴⁰), noire, ténébreuse ($\muέλαινα$,⁴¹ $\epsilon\rhoε\betaεννή$ ⁴²), rapide ($\thetaόη$ ⁴³). En outre, dans un certain nombre de cas où l'on privilégié pourtant la minuscule, la nuit est incontestablement une divinité agissante. Certes, le contexte de cette action n'est plus celui du chant XIV où les effets divinisants de l'intrigue sont indéniables. Mais la nuit qui "enveloppe" un guerrier agonisant sur le champ de bataille⁴⁴ est davantage qu'une simple métaphore de la mort qui arrive : l'image s'enracine aussi dans les accointances entre la condition mortelle et la Nuit primordiale.

Une épithète mérite que l'on s'y arrête, même brièvement : celle d'*ambrosiē*. La *Théogonie* ne qualifie pas la nuit d'"ambrosienne". En revanche, l'épithète lui est attribuée dans les vers de l'*Iliade*,⁴⁵ dans des discours directement émis par l'un des protagonistes du récit. Pour en comprendre la portée, voyons tout d'abord ce que recouvre l'épithète elle-même. Elle ne s'y applique pas aux dieux comme tels, mais bien à des éléments divins : la chevelure de Zeus (1, 529), le péplos d'Aphrodite (5, 338), la robe d'Héra, celle d'Artémis et les sandales d'Hermès (14, 178 ; 19, 507 ; 14, 340-341), la pâture des chevaux divins

³⁹ RAMNOUX (1959) 13. J'ai limité ici la liste aux épithètes qui se retrouvent à la fois dans l'*Iliade* et la *Théogonie* car l'affirmation de Clémence Ramnoux était quelque peu généreuse.

⁴⁰ HOM. *Il.* 16, 567 ; HES. *Theog.* 757.

⁴¹ HOM. *Il.* 8, 486, 502 ; 9, 65 ; 10, 297, 394, 468 ; 14, 439 ; 15, 324 ; 24, 363, 366, 653 ; HES. *Theog.* 20, 123, 481, 788.

⁴² HOM. *Il.* 5, 659 ; 8, 488 ; 9, 474 ; 13, 425 ; 13, 580 ; 22, 466 ; HES. *Theog.* 213 ; *Op.* 17. Cf. aussi la nuit $\epsilon\rhoεμνή$: HES. *Theog.* 744, 758 ; $\delta\varphiνωτη$: HOM. *Il.* 10, 83, 276, 386.

⁴³ HOM. *Il.* 10, 394, 468 ; 12, 463 ; 14, 261 ; 24, 366, 653 ; HES. *Theog.* 481.

⁴⁴ E.g. HOM. *Il.* 14, 439 ; 5, 310.

⁴⁵ HOM. *Il.* 2, 57 ; 10, 41, 142 ; 14, 78 ($\nu\nu\xi \alpha\mu\betaρότη$) ; 24, 363.

(5, 369 ; 5, 777 ; 8, 434 ; 13, 35) ou les chevaux eux-mêmes (16, 866-867), les vêtements dont Zeus ordonne à Apollon de vêtir le cadavre de Patrocle (16, 670) et l'onguent dont Aphrodite enduit le cadavre d'Hector (23, 186-187). Ce qui est qualifié d’“ambroisien” est incontestablement de nature divine. De la même manière, le sommeil qui s'est emparé d'Agamemnon est qualifié d’“ambrosien” au début du deuxième chant de l'*Iliade* et le contexte permet d'en comprendre la raison. Zeus envoie Oneiros, le “funeste songe”, qui va tromper le roi des Achéens sur l'issue des combats du jour suivant. Le “divin sommeil versé sur lui”⁴⁶ est le cadre imposé par l'intervention de Zeus et de son émissaire. Agamemnon l'a bien compris, même s'il se laisse abuser : au réveil, il convoque le Conseil et s'adresse à lui en ces termes (v. 56-58) : “... le Songe divin (*θεῖος Ὀνειρός*) est venu à moi, dans mon somme, à travers la nuit ambrosienne (*ἀμβροσίγυ διὰ νύκτα*), tout à fait pareil au divin Nestor (*Νέστορι δίω*) pour les traits, la taille, le port”⁴⁷. Cette première occurrence de la “nuit ambrosienne”, associée au rêve, fait partie du discours d'Agamemnon. Trois autres apparaissent dans le discours de guerriers achéens et dessinent ainsi le cadre temporel d'une réflexion ou d'une action incertaine,⁴⁸ tandis qu'au dernier chant, c'est Hermès sous des traits humains qui s'adresse à Priam en lui demandant ce qu'il fait à cette heure nocturne sur la plaine troyenne quand les autres se reposent (24, 362-365).

Ainsi, la nuit qui couvre les yeux d'un guerrier mort ou la nuit comme cadre temporel d'une action décrite par le poète lui-même n'est jamais “ambrosienne”. En revanche, dans le discours des protagonistes du poème, elle le devient. Néanmoins, les discours directs qui, seuls, accueillent cette dimension de la nuit laissent entendre qu'il y a du divin dans “la nuit de tous les soirs”, telle que peuvent la ressentir les acteurs du poème, un peu comme une invocation qui exprimerait les espoirs ou les

⁴⁶ HOM. *Il.* 2, 19 : περὶ δ' ἀμβρόσιος κέχυθ' ὅπνος.

⁴⁷ Traduction P. MAZON (CUF) légèrement adaptée.

⁴⁸ Cf. note 45.

craines qu'elle génère en eux. De la même manière, le “sommeil ambrosien” épandu sur Agamemnon n'est pas indépendant d'Hypnos, fils de Nyx, et les songes qu'il charrie confèrent à la Nuit et à certains de ses enfants une potentialité mantique que les cultes vont nous permettre d'aborder à présent.

4. Honorer la Nuit ?

4.1. *Cultes des entités cosmiques et mantique nocturne*

Le corpus des cultes rendus à la Nuit est très limité, comme l'est aussi celui d'autres entités divines primordiales telles que le Ciel ou les Astres. La Terre et Éros sont un peu mieux pourvus en sanctuaires, mais ceux-ci restent peu nombreux.⁴⁹

Les Grecs étaient conscients de la rareté des hommages accordés chez eux à des entités cosmiques ou astrales, comme l'attestent les distinctions qu'Hérodote opère à cet égard avec les pratiques religieuses des Perses. Ceux-ci n'honorent pas les dieux en leur élevant des statues, des temples ou des autels, et ils sacrifient de toute antiquité à l'étendue céleste au sommet des montagnes, ainsi qu'à la lune, à la terre, au feu, à l'eau, aux vents.⁵⁰ Aristophane le dira sur un mode comique, en imaginant que la Lune et le Soleil conspirent pour livrer la Grèce aux Barbares afin de recevoir désormais les offrandes destinées aux autres dieux.⁵¹ Cette plaisanterie vient confirmer, par l'absurde, la distinction conçue par les Grecs entre un culte rendu de manière récurrente à ce type de divinités par les Perses, en regard de leurs propres pratiques.

Dans sa comparaison, Hérodote introduit une remarque intéressante pour notre propos. Évoquant les hommages rendus par les Perses à l'étendue circulaire du ciel au sommet des

⁴⁹ Sur la Terre, voir GEORGUDI (2002) ; sur Éros, voir PIRENNE-DELFORGE (1998).

⁵⁰ HDT. 1, 131.

⁵¹ AR. *Pax* 406-416.

montagnes, il précise qu'ils l'appellent Zeus.⁵² La traduction grecque de l'hommage des Perses n'est donc pas mécanique, auquel cas Ouranos eût été un meilleur candidat. Si Zeus est ici choisi, c'est à la fois pour ses accointances avec le ciel physique et ses manifestations, mais aussi en raison de sa fonction de souverain du panthéon grec. En cela, Hérodote produit une transposition sémantiquement riche du dieu perse Ahura Mazda qu'il évoque de manière implicite. Ce n'est donc pas le ciel en tant qu'entité cosmique qui est ici privilégié, alors même que le propos d'Hérodote sur les sacrifices aux entités physiques du monde aurait pu, voire dû, l'induire. L'historien témoigne indirectement du fait qu'en Grèce, les prérogatives des entités cosmiques primordiales sont en quelque sorte cristallisées dans des dieux aux fonctions plus précisément définies.⁵³ Et ce sont surtout de tels dieux qui reçoivent les hommages des hommes.

En cela, les panthéons des cités entrent en résonance avec le propos des cosmogonies, dans un registre évidemment différent. Cosmogonies et théogonies expriment la complexité croissante du monde par l'intermédiaire de divinités qui traduisent en les spécifiant les qualités plus génériques de leurs parents.⁵⁴ Les panthéons locaux, quant à eux, s'inscrivent dans le présent du règne de Zeus, où les entités primordiales n'ont qu'un rôle limité.⁵⁵ La théogonie installe le règne de Zeus au terme d'un processus évolutif dont la narration généalogique et les intrigues marquent la chronologie. En revanche, même si ce

⁵² HDT. 1, 131 : τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες.

⁵³ Sans qu'il soit ici question d'une quelconque 'évolution' comme l'ont conçue nombre d'interprètes des systèmes religieux antiques au cours des XIX^e et XX^e siècles. Cf. *infra*, le cas de Delphes.

⁵⁴ RUDHARDT (1986).

⁵⁵ Parmi les entités primordiales, c'est sans doute la Terre qui compte le plus d'occurrences cultuelles dans notre documentation textuelle, mais le dossier reste maigre. La situation n'a guère évolué depuis le constat de FARRELL (1907b) 7 : "The catalogue of local worships of which record remains is scanty, and only some of them are worth special comment".

genre d'explication a pu être invoqué naguère,⁵⁶ les panthéons ne sont pas forcément le fruit d'une évolution depuis des entités cosmiques vagues (du type "Grande déesse" ou "Terre mère") jusqu'aux divinités personnalisées sous des noms qui ne sont plus transparents, même si certaines traditions narratives transposent à l'échelle locale les rythmes de l'histoire poétique du monde. C'est ce qu'avait déjà montré Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood à propos de la succession présumée des propriétaires divins de l'oracle de Delphes,⁵⁷ avec Gê et Thémis censées avoir précédé Apollon sur le site de la faille mantique.⁵⁸ Ce genre de discours des origines exprime les qualités particulières de ce qu'il projette ainsi dans un passé plus ou moins reculé, que ce soit un dieu, un sanctuaire ou même une coutume. Mais il ne parle pas d'histoire. Les récits et l'histoire des cultes ne sont pas mécaniquement superposables,⁵⁹ et la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode ne dit rien d'une évolution présumée de la représentation du divin depuis la préhistoire jusqu'à la Grèce des cités.

L'exemple de Delphes n'est pas pris au hasard. En effet, parallèlement aux figures féminines ancestrales de Gê et de Thémis, une tradition rapportée par un scholiaste de Pindare et par Plutarque substitue la Nuit à la Terre ou, pour le dire en grec, Nyx à Gê.⁶⁰ Les potentialités mantiques de la Nuit sont déjà induites par la maternité d'Hypnos et des Oneiroi que lui accordent les traditions archaïques, même si, comme pour toute révélation mantique en Grèce, c'est la *boulê* de Zeus qui s'y révèle en dernière instance. Là encore, une tradition des origines

⁵⁶ Un exemple récent : HAARMANN (1996).

⁵⁷ SOURVINOU-INWOOD (1991), surtout 227-234 sur le mythe.

⁵⁸ AESCH. *Eum.* 1-8. Cf. aussi EUR. *IT* 1234-1283 ; EUR. *Or.* 163-165, et les sources citées par SOURVINOU-INWOOD (1991) 236, n. 1.

⁵⁹ Même s'il est important de les étudier en parallèle, en tant que langages différents qui résonnaient ensemble dans l'esprit de ceux qui les utilisaient. Sur ce type de méthode d'approche des dieux grecs, voir PIRENNE-DEFORGE / PIRONTI (2016).

⁶⁰ Hyp. PIND. *Pyth.* a, 22 (Drachmann) : εἴτα [Apollon] ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐν φί πρώτη Νύξ ἐκρησμόδησεν, εἴτα Θέμις. Cf. PLUT. *De ser. num.* 28 (*Mor.* 566c).

telle que la rapporte Euripide est éclairante. Dans l'*Iphigénie en Tauride*, le chœur évoque l'éviction de Thémis par Apollon.⁶¹ La déesse est dite "enfant de la terre" ($\gamma\alpha\zeta \dots \pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha$) et c'est une "chthonienne colère" ($\chi\theta\omega\nu\alpha\dot{\iota}\alpha\dot{\iota} \dots \mu\tilde{\eta}\nu\nu$) qui s'abat puisque Chthôn envoie de manière erratique des visions oniriques qui révèlent "le passé, le présent et tout ce qui [advient] ensuite, à beaucoup de mortels, dans les sombres couches de leur sommeil".⁶² Cette Chthôn n'est rien d'autre qu'une déclinaison spécifique de Gê elle-même, l'humus noir et fertile où s'enracine la végétation, mais qui accueille aussi les morts. Finalement, Zeus intervient à la demande d'Apollon et il le rétablit dans ses honneurs en mettant fin aux oracles nocturnes.⁶³ La tragédie d'Euripide associe ainsi très habilement, dans un même mouvement, Gê/Chthôn et Nyx aux origines de l'oracle delphique, en soulignant du même coup la primauté de la parole apollinienne sur l'oniromancie qui est essentiellement nocturne.⁶⁴

La construction mythique est limpide et y chercher la trace d'une querelle ancestrale entre différents types de mantiques reste une entreprise hasardeuse, sans véritable fondement sur le plan de l'histoire.⁶⁵ Il existe pourtant bien un sanctuaire oraculaire de la Nuit dans la cité de Mégare. Le contexte cultuel dans lequel il s'inscrit devrait permettre d'en comprendre la portée.

⁶¹ EUR. IT. 1260-1273 ; v. 1268-1269 : Γαῖα δὲ τὰν | μαντείων ἀφείλετο τιμᾶν | Φοῖβον, φθόνῳ θυγατρός. Cf. 1289-1290 : καὶ τιμᾶς πάλιν θῆκε Λοξία.

⁶² EUR. IT. 1263-1265 : ... νύχια | Χθῶν ἐτεκνώσατο φάσματ' δένειρων}, | οἱ πολέσιν μερόπων τά τε πρῶτα τά τ' | ἔπειθ' ὅστα τ' ἔμελλε τύχειν | ὑπνοῦ κατὰ δνοφεράς εὐνάς φράζον. Dans toutes les éditions consultées, l'adjectif νύχια est proparoxyton et détermine dès lors φάσματα. Ce sont les visions qui sont qualifiées de nocturnes et non Chthôn elle-même (sans doute pour des raisons métriques que je n'ai pas pu éprouver). Mais la proximité de l'adjectif et de Chthôn devait résonner à l'oreille et renvoyer, peu ou prou, à une "Terre nocturne".

⁶³ EUR. IT. 1270-1281.

⁶⁴ Cf. DETIENNE (2009) 160-169.

⁶⁵ Le livre de Clémence RAMNOUX est, de ce point de vue, un produit de son temps : (1959) 19-23.

4.2. *L'acropole sombre de Mégare*

Visitant la cité au II^e siècle de notre ère, Pausanias y décrit les deux acropoles qui s'y élèvent en leurs configurations cultuelles contrastées. Il gravit tout d'abord la Karia, l'acropole orientale :⁶⁶

ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου,
πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης
Ἐπιστροφίας ἑρόν καὶ Νυκτὸς
καλούμενόν ἔστι μαντεῖον⁶⁷ καὶ Διὸς
Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον. τοῦ
δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις
καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν Ὑγείαν ἐποίησεν.
ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ
καλούμενον μέγαρον. ποιῆσαι δὲ
αὐτὸς βασιλεύοντα Κᾶρα ἔλεγον.

Il y a un temple de Dionysos Nyktelios et l'on a construit aussi un sanctuaire d'Aphrodite Epistrophia. Il y a également un sanctuaire oraculaire dit "de la Nuit", ainsi qu'un temple de Zeus Konios, qui n'a pas de toit. La statue d'Asclépios est l'œuvre de Bryaxis ainsi que celle d'Hygie. C'est là aussi que se trouve ledit "megaron de Déméter". On disait que Kar l'avait construit sous son règne.

Sur l'acropole occidentale, dite d'Alkathoos, l'environnement cultuel se décline en d'autres figures :⁶⁸

φύκιδόμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς
ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα
δέ ἔστιν ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ
ἄκρων ποδῶν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ
πρόσωπόν ἔστιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ
ἔτερον ἐνταῦθα ἑρόν Ἀθηνᾶς
πεποίηται καλούμένης Νίκης καὶ
ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸς
Μεγαρέων μὲν παρεῖται τοῖς
ἔγγηταῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω

Au sommet de l'acropole, on a construit un temple d'Athéna ; il s'y trouve une statue, dorée, sauf pour les mains, et l'extrémité des pieds. Ces parties, ainsi que le visage sont en ivoire. En cet endroit, on a construit un second sanctuaire d'Athéna, appelée Nikè, et un autre d'Athéna Aiantis. Les guides de Mégare laissent de côté ce qui

⁶⁶ PAUS. 1, 40, 6.

⁶⁷ Le manuscrit β présente la leçon ἐπιμαντεῖον corrigée en ἔστι μαντεῖον par Calderini. Cette correction a été adoptée par la plupart des éditeurs, mais l'édition italienne de MUSTI / BESCHI (4^e1995) a choisi de conserver la leçon du manuscrit, même s'il s'agit d'un *hapax legomenon*, en arguant du fait que le verbe ἐπιμαντεύομαι existe. Nous conservons la correction parce que le substantif *manteion* est bien attesté dans la *Périégèse* et que l'auteur recourt à une formulation exactement parallèle en 2, 11, 3 (Πυραία καλούμενόν ἔστιν ἄλσος) et en 3, 16, 6 (πλησίον δὲ Ἀστραβάκου καλούμενόν ἔστιν ἥραφον).

⁶⁸ PAUS. 1, 42, 4-6.

γενέσθαι γράψω. Τελαμὸν δὲ Αἰλακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκάθου Περιβοίᾳ συνάψκησεν. Αἴσαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκάθου διαδεξάμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἡγεῦμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν δὲ ἀρχῖτος ναός. Ὅστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς φύοδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ. δὲ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ δὲ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα ἐοίκασι ξόδνοις, δὲν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν, Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος. ἐβένου δὲ πάντα δόμοις πεποίηται [...] ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρου.

concerne ce sanctuaire et j'écrirai donc ce que j'en pense. Télamon, le fils d'Ajax, épousa Péribœa, fille d'Alkathoos. Ajax, qui succéda à Alkathoos fit faire, selon moi, cette statue d'Athéna. L'ancien Apollon était de brique. Par la suite l'empereur Hadrien le fit construire en marbre blanc. L'Apollon appelé Pythien et l'Apollon Dekatēphoros sont tout à fait semblables aux statues des Égyptiens. L'Apollon que l'on nomme Archégète est semblable aux œuvres d'Égine. Toutes ces statues sont pareillement faites en bois d'ébène [...] Il y a aussi un sanctuaire de Déméter Thesmophoros.

Athéna et Apollon sont manifestement les divinités tutélaires de la cité, et leurs sanctuaires en occupent le sommet le plus élevé avec différents sanctuaires. La référence à l'*archê* d'Alkathoos dont aurait hérité Télamon dans l'explication personnelle de Pausanias atteste que le visiteur a perçu la relation des sanctuaires d'Athéna avec l'exercice du pouvoir, fût-il militaire dans le cas de la Nikê. L'Apollon Pythios et Dékatēphoros est le dieu oraculaire de Delphes,⁶⁹ tandis que l'Archégète est le fondateur de la cité, qui a contribué à la mise en place des remparts de la cité et contribue à la stabilité de l'ensemble.⁷⁰ Enfin, la Déméter Thesmophoros est la législatrice, celle qui a apporté aux hommes les attributs de la vie civilisée : l'agriculture et la continuité normée des communautés via la fécondité des femmes légitimement épousées.

En face, on trouve un Dionysos de la nuit, le dieu célébré dans un cadre nocturne comme dans la cité voisine de Sicyone où, une nuit par an, on transportait ses statues à la lumière des

⁶⁹ ANTONETTI (1999).

⁷⁰ DETIENNE (2009) 92-96.

torches.⁷¹ La tonalité nocturne du dieu est renforcée par la présence de l'oracle de la Nuit. Quant au Zeus Konios, il s'agit d'un dieu "poussiéreux". S'agit-il d'une référence au vent qui soulève la terre ou à l'absence (peut-être fortuite) du toit de son temple ?⁷² L'épiclèse pourrait tout autant renvoyer au lieu "poussiéreux" par excellence, à savoir les enfers et faire de ce Zeus un équivalent local de son frère Hadès. Un argument en faveur de cette hypothèse est la présence, au flanc de cette acropole, d'un lieu où Déméter aurait appelé sa fille enlevée par Hadès aux enfers.⁷³ Quant à l'Aphrodite locale, elle est "celle qui tourne", "celle qui incite", la déesse de la *philotés*, le désir sexuel dont Hésiode disait que celui d'Ouranos amenait la nuit avec lui.

Si le contraste entre les deux acropoles n'est pas seulement un effet des choix effectués par le Périégète, il est tellement marqué qu'il en deviendrait presque caricatural. Cette construction en deux ensembles antinomiques a conduit les interprètes à y projeter les différents jeux d'opposition qui ont scandé l'historiographie de la religion grecque : obscurité dionysiaque *versus* lumière apollinienne, sphère chthonienne *versus* sphère olympienne, cultes du passé "créto-mycénien" *versus* cultes civiques de la période archaïque.⁷⁴ Le problème central de ce dossier est l'absence de chronologie, hormis pour les statues du sculpteur Bryaxis dont l'activité se situe au IV^e siècle. Selon les principes interprétatifs évoqués tout à l'heure, l'oracle de la Nuit a été considéré comme un culte "ancien". Or, rien ne permet d'être aussi affirmatif et l'arc chronologique est vaste puisque le *terminus ante quem* est la visite de Pausanias.

Au-delà des questions de chronologie qui sont largement insolubles, la concentration de cultes en relation plus ou moins

⁷¹ PAUS. 2, 7, 5 (sous les épichées Bacchios et Lysios). Cf. EUR. *Bacch.* 485-486 ; EM 609, 20, s.v. Νυκτέλιος· ὁ Διόνυσος, ἢ νύκτωρ τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται.

⁷² MUSTI / BESCHI (1995) 424.

⁷³ PAUS. 2, 43, 2. Cf. PIRENNE-DELFORGE (1994) 87.

⁷⁴ E.g. ANTONETTI / LÉVÉQUE (1990) 206-209, où se trouve synthétisé un florilège de toutes ces hypothèses.

appuyée avec les tonalités nocturnes de la Nuit et l'obscurité du monde des morts est frappante et semble être le fruit d'un "programme cultuel" sciemment élaboré par les Mégariens. En outre, sur l'agora qui s'étend au pied des acropoles, on retrouve un Dionysos *Patrōos* et *Dasyllios*, gentilice et barbu, et une Aphrodite *Praxis*, dont on a montré ailleurs les relations avec la persuasion nécessaire dans l'espace public qu'administrent les magistrats.⁷⁵ Si contraste il y a, il ne s'opère pas seulement entre les deux acropoles, mais aussi entre la Karia "nocturne" et l'activité de l'agora. De part et d'autre se retrouvent Dionysos et Aphrodite,⁷⁶ qui déclinent leurs compétences selon une grille d'interprétation qui met en regard la nuit et le jour.

Mais comment comprendre la présence d'Asclépios et d'Hygie dans l'ensemble des cultes de la Karia ? Comme souvent, Pausanias est notre seul témoin, ce qui limite les possibilités d'interprétation. Il ne fait référence qu'à des statues, mais ce ne serait pas le seul exemple du recours à la syncedoque dans ses descriptions : il est quelques cas où, derrière la seule mention

⁷⁵ PIRENNE-DELFORGE (1994) 90-91. La déesse *Praxis* est la déesse de l'efficacité, pourrait-on dire. La *praxis* peut aussi être entendue au sens de "consommation" sexuelle. Les statues de Peitho, d'Éros, de Pothos, d'Himeros et de Parégoros qui se trouvent dans le sanctuaire de l'agora attestent que les champs d'intervention de la déesse y sont potentiellement pluriels.

⁷⁶ Ces cultes de l'agora semblent avoir fait partie des éléments du patrimoine religieux que les colons mégariens ont emmenés avec eux pour fonder des cités au bord de la mer Noire. Ainsi, à Kallatis (fondée par Héraclée du Pont, colonie mégarienne), Dionysos appelé *Patrōos* et *Dasyllios*, Aphrodite (peut-être *Pandémōs*) en lien avec Peitho semblent bien faire écho, au IV^e siècle, aux cultes rendus à ces dieux sur l'agora de Mégare : ISM, III, 40. Cf. AVRAM / LEFÈVRE (1995). – À Mégara Hyblaea, une statue de 60 cm de haut représentant une figure féminine assise (acéphale) allaitant deux enfants a été mise au jour dans la nécropole nord-ouest de la cité. Publiée en 1954, elle est stylistiquement associée au contexte artistique de Samos et de Milet, et datée du premier tiers du VI^e siècle (MERTENS-HORN [2010] 113). En 1975, R.R. Holloway avait fait l'hypothèse qu'il pouvait s'agir d'une représentation de la Nuit, à l'instar de la vignette du coffre de Cypselos. Récemment, M. Mertens-Horn a poussé plus loin cette hypothèse en rapportant la représentation au culte de la Nuit à Mégare, la métropole de Mégara Hyblaea. Si elle a raison, cela confirmerait le caractère 'archaïque' du culte de la Nuit en ce lieu. Mais, pour séduisante qu'elle soit, cette analyse est par trop spéculative pour être intégrée comme telle à la présente réflexion.

de statues, se cache probablement un sanctuaire.⁷⁷ Afin d'élargir notre champ de vision, observons le culte du dieu dans la cité voisine de Sicyone, comme nous l'avons fait pour le Dionysos nocturne. Dans le sanctuaire local d'Asclépios, Pausanias a vu un bâtiment double comprenant, à l'avant, une tête d'Hypnos, et un espace intérieur pour Apollon Karneios dont l'entrée était réservée aux prêtres. Il décrit ensuite un portique accueillant notamment “une statue d'Oneiros et un Hypnos, surnommé Épidôtès, ‘Dispensateur’, en train d'endormir un lion”.⁷⁸ Certains interprètes ont considéré que la présence du Songe et du Sommeil attestait la pratique de l'incubation en ce lieu.⁷⁹ Dans une toute récente monographie sur ce thème, Gil Renberg se montre très critique à l'égard de cette option qu'il relègue au placard des “fantômes” de l'incubation.⁸⁰ Ses arguments sont les suivants : 1/ on n'a pas de mention de ces entités dans d'autres sanctuaires incubatoires ; 2/ d'autres dieux présents dans le sanctuaire, comme Pan, Artémis, Apollon, peuvent être honorés avec Asclépios alors qu'ils n'ont pas de lien avec l'incubation “or could be displayed in sculpted form for esthetic reasons” ; il n'y a donc pas de raison, selon lui, de conclure à une relation nécessaire entre les statues d'Hypnos et d'Oneiros, et la pratique de l'incubation dans le sanctuaire.⁸¹

Les deux types d'arguments sont discutables, notamment le second qui invoque le caractère purement décoratif des statues. Ce genre de considération masque davantage nos incompréhensions qu'elle ne les résout. Si l'on observe, par exemple, la proximité des statues d'une Aphrodite Ambologêras (“Qui repousse la vieillesse”), d'Hypnos et de Thanatos à Sparte,⁸² a-t-on vraiment progressé en y voyant la trace d'un aimable

⁷⁷ PAUS. 1, 19, 1 ; 1, 44, 4 ; 3, 18, 4.

⁷⁸ PAUS. 2, 10, 2.

⁷⁹ RIETHMÜLLER (2005) I, 130-133, et 131 pour l'hypothèse de l'incubation (qui n'est pas reprise dans le volume II, 63-68).

⁸⁰ RENBERG (2017) 180-181, n. 152 ; 679-680 ; 686-688.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 687.

⁸² PAUS. 3, 18, 1. Cf. les analyses de PIRONTI (2007) 92-93, sur lesquelles je m'appuie ici.

divertissement esthétique sur l'amour, le sommeil et la mort ? C'est faire l'économie du constat qu'il s'agissait d'un culte à une divinité dont les figures d'Hypnos et de Thanatos expriment certains aspects de la puissance : les forces vitales qu'Aphrodite est appelée à protéger — elle "repousse la vieillesse" — s'épuisent aussi sous les effets du désir douloureux, comme l'atteste la figure de Pandora dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Les trois statues spartiates s'inscrivent dans un réseau sémantique où l'ambiguïté d'Aphrodite passe par la proximité avec les enfants de la Nuit.

Dans le cas de Sicyone, il est évident que jamais on n'aurait fait l'hypothèse de la pratique de l'incubation à Sicyone sans la référence à Hypnos et à Oneiros. Ils sont toutefois bien présents dans cet Asclépieion. Le lien avec Asclépios n'est pas fortuit ou décoratif, pas plus que ne l'était celui de l'Aphrodite spartiate avec Hypnos et Thanatos. Sans qu'on en connaisse les termes rituels exacts à Sicyone, Oneiros et Hypnos expriment l'une des voies possibles de la communication avec le dieu : un sommeil peuplé de songes.

Munis de tous ces éléments, revenons à Mégare. Dans la description de l'acropole Karia, le *manteion* de la Nuit apparaît comme une structure indépendante, et le terme signifie bien, dans la *Périégèse*, un sanctuaire dont le propriétaire divin émet des oracles.⁸³ En outre, comme on l'a vu plus haut, les potentialités mantiques de la Nuit passent essentiellement par les rêves et cet arrière-plan — certes narratif mais néanmoins explicite — permet de faire l'hypothèse que l'oracle était lié à l'oniromancie.⁸⁴ Dès lors, si l'assemblage des sanctuaires de la Karia fait bien partie d'une construction signifiante et relationnelle, les figures d'Asclépios et d'Hygie pourraient avoir été, d'une manière ou d'une autre (qui nous échappe), autant associés à la Nuit mégarienne que le Dionysos des célébrations nocturnes et l'Aphrodite de la *philotês*.

⁸³ PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2008) 175-176. Voir aussi la discussion avec Ioannis Mylonopoulos, ci-dessous, sur ce point.

⁸⁴ Cf. FRIESE (2010) 53-54, 75, 377.

4.3. Deux dédicaces à la Nuit : voyage à Pergame et retour en Étolie

En ce milieu du II^e siècle où Pausanias visitait l'acropole de Mégare, une jeune femme procédait à une dédicace à Pergame. Elle est conservée sur un autel rond qui a été mis au jour dans le sanctuaire de Déméter dans la cité :⁸⁵

Νυκτὶ καὶ Τελετῆ | καὶ τῷ Αὐτομάτῳ | Κλαυδίᾳ Τελεσφοριανίᾳ
| ὑμνήτριᾳ κατ’ ὄναρ.

À la Nuit et à Télété ainsi qu'à Automatos, Claudia Telesphoriania, la chanteuse d'hymnes, à la suite d'un rêve.

La dédicace effectuée par la chanteuse d'hymnes à la suite d'un rêve est destinée à trois entités respectivement appelées "Nuit", "Célébration mystérique" et "Hasard spontané". J'ai eu l'occasion de me pencher sur ce document dans une petite étude sur la Télété divinisée,⁸⁶ mais c'est évidemment comme ensemble articulé qu'il faut considérer ces trois entités honorées par la chanteuse d'hymnes Claudia Telesphoriania. L'expression *κατ’ onar* identifie clairement le vecteur d'une injonction divine, probablement nocturne.⁸⁷ Dès lors, la Nuit honorée peut être soit le cadre de cette expérience onirique ou celui de la "révélation spontanée" que désigne la coordination de Télété et Automatos. Dans ces deux cas, qui ne sont pas exclusifs l'un de l'autre, ce sont des forces conçues comme divines que la chanteuse d'hymnes de Pergame a ressenties et qu'elle honore d'un autel. La Nuit est ici destinataire de la démarche en tant que puissance divine au même titre que les deux autres entités : elle fournit le cadre propice à la "révélation spontanée" et/ou au rêve qui l'a accompagnée.

⁸⁵ ROBERT (1977) 4-5 = OMS VII 572-573.

⁸⁶ PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2016) 37-38.

⁸⁷ Sur de telles injonctions, voir l'important article de VAN STRATEN (1976) et, plus récemment, RENBERG (2010).

Il s'agit assurément d'une dédicace élaborée, dans le cadre d'une cité qui a également vu, à la même période, le développement des hymnes orphiques et leur réflexion poussée sur les multiples manières d'exprimer les facettes chatoyantes de la puissance des dieux.⁸⁸ Dès les débuts du recueil, le troisième hymne honore la Nuit, dont la parodie d'Aristophane dans les *Oiseaux* attestait déjà l'importance dans les théogonies orphiques de son temps.⁸⁹ Louis Robert avait émis l'hypothèse que le répertoire de la dédicante incluait des hymnes orphiques.⁹⁰ La présence conjointe de Nyx et de Télété soutient assurément cette identification.

La deuxième dédicace — et je peux dire la seconde car on n'en connaît pas d'autre⁹¹ — est celle de Nikô évoquée à l'entame de cette étude. Nous sommes désormais mieux armés pour interpréter la présence de la Nuit aux côtés d'Artémis dans ce document dont l'arrière-plan est très certainement une parturition. Or, la grossesse et l'accouchement étaient des circonstances à haut risque pour les femmes. Au péril d'y laisser la vie s'ajoutait la perspective de souffrances aiguës au moment du travail. Les parallèles que les auteurs anciens ont dessinés entre les risques encourus par les hommes sur le champ de bataille et ceux des femmes sur leur lit d'accouchement remontent à l'*Iliade* et ne se cantonnent pas à la glorification des seules mères des Spartiates.⁹² Dans la tragédie d'Euripide qui porte son nom, Médée dira les peines des femmes et sa préférence à se retrouver en première ligne sur le champ de bataille par trois

⁸⁸ Sur ces hymnes, voir RUDHARDT (2008) 165-326.

⁸⁹ AR. *Av.* 693. Cf. aussi ARIST. *Metaph.* 1071b 26-27. Voir BRISSON (1985) 390-392 et RUDHARDT (2008) 188-189.

⁹⁰ ROBERT (1977) 4-5 [= *OMS VII* 572-573]. L'hypothèse que ces pièces ont été composées à Pergame à l'entour du II^e siècle de notre ère (KERN [1910] 89-102) n'est pas contestée.

⁹¹ La "Mère de Némésis", qui pourrait être la Nuit selon la généalogie hésiodique, apparaît à l'accusatif sur un petit monument de la Lesbos impériale : ROBERT (1977) 3 [= *OMS VII* 571 : les lettres ne sont "pas antérieures au milieu du II^e siècle de notre ère"].

⁹² HOM. *Il.* 11, 267-272. Cf. LORUAUX (1989) 29-31, 44, *et passim*.

fois, bouclier au flanc, plutôt que d'enfanter une seule fois.⁹³ C'est à Artémis qu'est généralement rapportée cette violence que subit la femme en couches. *L'Iliade* en fait "un lion pour les femmes"⁹⁴ et ses flèches sont intensément redoutées,⁹⁵ à l'instar des coups de lance et d'épée qui transpercent le guerrier. Ce dernier, quand il meurt, voit la nuit recouvrir progressivement ses yeux et les accointances épiques de la nuit et de la mort s'enracinent, on l'a dit, dans les qualités spécifiques de la Nuit primordiale. On ne dispose pas d'un même type de description pour évoquer la mort d'une parturiente, mais la dédicace de Nikô nous donne l'opportunité d'explorer les ressorts de ce thème.

En effet, si Nikô a fait un vœu, avant son accouchement, voire au cœur même du travail, c'est pour se protéger de la souffrance et du risque d'en mourir ou de voir mourir son enfant. Il est intéressant de constater que le prénom masculin Lysiponos, qui est particulièrement attesté en Grèce centrale à partir de la période hellénistique, pourrait avoir un lien avec la délivrance ressentie au moment de la naissance de l'enfant ainsi dénommé.⁹⁶ On se prend alors à rêver que Nikô offrant des *lysipona* a donné à son nouveau-né le nom de Lysiponos ! Quoi qu'il en soit de cette échappée imaginative, le choix de prier Artémis dans ce genre de circonstance répond à une attente bien attestée à l'égard de la déesse.⁹⁷ Elle peut être alors qualifiée de *Lochia*⁹⁸ ou d'*Eulochia*.⁹⁹ Le nom-même d'Ilithyie peut s'ajouter

⁹³ EUR. *Med.* 248-251. Cf. ELLINGER (2009) chapitre III.

⁹⁴ HOM. *Il.* 21, 483.

⁹⁵ *Anth. Pal.* 6, 271 et 273.

⁹⁶ À l'instar des anthroponymes théophores et qui, pour une part au moins, devaient être fondés sur un vœu effectué par les parents. Ce sens premier a pu être progressivement atténué et un prénom peut aussi répondre à un effet de mode, mais n'oublions pas qu'un Isidore ou un Artémidore ont pu être considérés comme respectivement "donnés" par Isis et par Artémis. Sur les noms théophores, voir PARKER (2000).

⁹⁷ Voir notamment COLE (2004) chapitres 6 et 7.

⁹⁸ SEG XVI 341 (Delphes, 362/361) ; SEG XXXVII 487 (Larisa, III^e s. av. J.-C.) ; HELLY (1973) n° 174 (Gonnos, II^e-I^{er} s. av. J.-C.).

⁹⁹ HELLY (1973) n° 173 (1^{re} moitié III^e s. av. J.-C.). Cf. HESYCH. s.v. εὐλογία: Ἀρτεμις.

au sien, notamment en Béotie¹⁰⁰ et à Gonnos en Thessalie.¹⁰¹ Arrêtons-nous un moment sur ce cas de la juxtaposition Artémis/Ilithyie puisque, si l'on ne sous-entend pas de coordination, c'est à ce type de construction paratactique que l'on a affaire avec Nuit/Artémis.

Placer ainsi côté à côté deux divinités ne gomme pas la distinction entre elles, mais accentue ce qui les rapproche : une Artémis Ilithyie signifie une Artémis sous l'aspect par lequel elle ressemble le plus à Ilithyie.¹⁰² Il en va de même pour une Athéna Nikê, par exemple. Et les différents cas de dénominations de ce type paraissent bien attester le prestige des "grands dieux", avec la divinité "panhellénique" qui reçoit la place d'honneur.¹⁰³ Mais il peut aussi arriver que deux divinités "panhelléniques" soient ainsi juxtaposées, comme Aphrodite-Héra désignant, à Sparte, une antique statue de bois que les mères honoraients au moment du mariage de leur fille.¹⁰⁴ Il s'agissait alors d'opérer une intégration particulièrement puissante des compétences respectives des deux déesses puisque chacune se voyait ainsi honorée sous l'aspect par lequel elle ressemblait le plus à l'autre.

Est-ce à une telle structure dédicatoire que répond l'inscription de Kallipolis ? Si l'on applique l'interprétation que l'on vient d'évoquer, la Nuit-Artémis signifie Nyx sous l'aspect par lequel elle ressemble à Artémis. C'est la Nuit d'Hésiode qui se profile ainsi : la mère du Lot-Fatal (*Moros*), de la Mort (*Kér*), du Trépas (*Thanatos*), et de Lamentation de souffrance (*Oizus alginoessa*). Mais la mortalité et la souffrance ne sont pas génératrices comme dans la *Théogonie* : la juxtaposition d'Artémis atteste que c'est dans le registre de la parturition que ces maux

¹⁰⁰ *IG VII* 1871-1872 = *I.Thespiai* 250-251 (Thespies, I/II s. ap. J.-C.) ; *IG VII* 4174-4175 (Anthédon, s.d.). Cf. SCHACHTER (1981) I, 94-106.

¹⁰¹ Plus d'une vingtaine de dédicaces s'échelonnant du milieu du III^e siècle au I^{er} siècle avant notre ère : HELLY (1973) n^os 175-196.

¹⁰² PARKER (2005) 225.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁰⁴ PAUS. 3, 13, 9. La phrase du Périégète ne permet pas d'exclure qu'il s'agisse d'Héra-Aphrodite.

étaient menaçants. Ce pourrait donc bien être à la Nuit-Artémis et pas seulement “à la Nuit et à Artémis” que s'est adressée Nikô, en un syntagme polythéiste qui stipule le rapport des forces divines en présence, celles que la dédicante a précisément identifiées au moment de son accouchement.

Ces deux dédicaces, tant celle de Pergame que celle de Kallipolis, par le caractère exceptionnel de la référence à la Nuit en tant que destinataire d'un rituel, attestent que l'entité primordiale de la *Théogonie* pouvait être ressentie comme une puissance divine à l'œuvre dans le monde. Mais le caractère exceptionnel d'une telle référence atteste aussi que ce sont des dédicaces théologiquement élaborées qui explicitent plus que d'autres une expérience religieuse. Dans la plupart des cas, il n'était nul besoin d'ancre un voeu dans le champ de compétence des entités primordiales : d'autres dieux y pourvoyaient.

Le fait que les dédicaces à la Nuit soient respectivement datées du début de la période hellénistique et de la période impériale ne permet pas de revenir vers l'acropole de Mégare avec davantage de précision chronologique puisque ces textes maintiennent parfaitement l'écart entre la fabrication des statues de Bryaxis et la visite de Pausanias. En revanche, la relative préciosité de ces documents nous conforte dans l'idée que le *manteion* mégarien de la Nuit est le fruit d'une élaboration sciemment opérée avec les autres cultes de l'acropole Karia, quelles qu'en soient les dates respectives. Nous n'en connaissons pas le détail, mais ce cas, fût-il exceptionnel, atteste une fois encore que le polythéisme grec est profondément relationnel.

5. Conclusion

Hérodote et Aristophane en étaient parfaitement conscients : les Grecs n'honoraien guère les entités cosmiques primordiales comme telles. Même s'il ne fait pas partie des dieux visés par la remarque de ces auteurs, l'exemple de l'Éros de la *Théogonie* est tout aussi éloquent. Venu à l'existence aux tout débuts du

cosmos, Éros est ensuite subordonné à Aphrodite une fois que le processus proprement théogonique est enclenché.¹⁰⁵ La déesse, en tant que première figure véritablement anthropomorphe du cosmos,¹⁰⁶ prend en charge la puissance divine “qui rompt les membres”. De la même manière, maints aspects de Gaïa sont cultuellement assumés par Déméter, par les Charites et d’autres divinités encore, selon ce qui est attendu dans le cadre du domaine “chthonien” — au sens strict de ce qui relève de l’humus fécond —, pour ne rien dire de ce que Zeus doit à Ouranos.¹⁰⁷

C'est dans ce cadre que se dessine la figure de la Nuit avec majuscule. Elle est divine et donc susceptible d'émerger dans le registre cultuel. Il faut dès lors éviter de reléguer trop rapidement les actualisations de la Nuit, qu'elles soient iconographiques ou dédicatoires, dans le registre des simples allégories. Mais le dossier est très mince et l'élaboration théologique qu'attestent les quelques témoignages disponibles s'ancre dans des réflexions qui ont beaucoup à voir avec la théogonie orphique dans le cas de la Claudia de Pergame et peut-être même la théogonie hésiodique dans celui de la Nikô de Kallipolis.

En arrière-plan de ces surgissements cultuels rares se situe le phénomène quotidien de la nuit, celle que l'*Iliade* qualifiait d'*ambrosié* pour dire sa relation avec la sphère divine et les ambiguïtés potentielles de tout ce qui est divin. Le temps de la nuit est celui des peurs décuplées par l'obscurité, mais aussi des enchantements, celui des rêves qui peuvent tromper, mais aussi

¹⁰⁵ C'est à RUDHARDT (1986) que l'on doit l'analyse la plus pertinente de ce thème.

¹⁰⁶ Sur ce point, voir PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2001) 90.

¹⁰⁷ Il est tentant d'appliquer un même raisonnement aux relations entre Artémis et Séléna, ainsi qu'entre Apollon et Hélios. Mais il s'agit essentiellement d'associations allégoriques qui se multiplient à la période romaine (cf. CORNUTUS *Theol. Graec.* 65 et la note 255 de l'édition de RAMELLI [2003] 396-397) et dont on peine à percevoir d'éventuels fondements plus anciens, sauf peut-être dans certaines accointances entre Artémis, Hécate et des forces nocturnes, voire infernales. Cf. déjà les intéressantes remarques de Wernicke dans la *Realencyclopädie* ([1895] 1338-1339, 1341, 1344, 1354), critiquant les interprétations faisant d'Artémis une “déesse-lune” originelle.

accueillir la parole des dieux, celui de la transe bachique ou du plaisir érotique. Chacun à leur manière, Dionysos et Aphrodite, voire Artémis¹⁰⁸ et même Asclépios escorté par Hypnos et Oneiros, font partie des divinités qui peuvent assumer une part des prérogatives de Nuit, la fille de Chaos et la mère de tout ce qui enractive les humains dans leur condition mortelle.

Bibliographie

- AELLEN, C. (1994), *À la recherche de l'ordre cosmique. Forme et fonction des personnifications dans la céramique italiote*. 2 vol. (Zurich).
- ANTONETTI, C. (1999), “Le culte d'Apollon entre Mégaride et ses colonies du Pont”, in O. LORDKIPANIDZÉ / P. LÉVÈQUE (éd.), *Religions du Pont-Euxin. Actes du VIII^e Symposium de Vani (Colchide), 1997* (Besançon), 17-24.
- ANTONETTI, C. / LÉVÈQUE, P. (1990), “Au carrefour de la Mégaride : devins et oracles”, *Kernos* 3, 197-209.
- AVRAM, A. / LEFÈVRE, F. (1995), “Les cultes de Callatis et l'oracle de Delphes”, *REG* 108, 7-23.
- BONNAFÉ, A. (1985), *Éros et Éris. Mariages divins et mythe de succession chez Hésiode* (Lyon).
- (1993), *Hésiode*, Théogonie. *La naissance des dieux*. Traduction, présentation et notes (Paris).
- BORG, B. (2002), *Der Logos des Mythos. Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst* (Munich).
- BRISSON, L. (1985), “Les théogonies orphiques et le papyrus de Derveni : notes critiques”, *RHR* 202, 389-420.
- BURKERT, W. (1985), *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical*. Trans. J. RAFFAN (Harvard).
- COLE, S.G. (2004), *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space. The Ancient Greek Experience*, (Berkeley).
- DETIENNE, M. (1982), “La Rumeur, elle aussi, est une déesse”, *Le Genre humain* 5, 72-80 = *L'écriture d'Orphée* (Paris 1989), 135-145.

¹⁰⁸ PAUS. 10, 38, 6 évoque une image de femme (*γυναικὸς εἰκών*), parmi d'autres statues, à l'extrémité de la balustrade en marbre qui surplombe l'autel d'Artémis *Prōtothroniè* dans le sanctuaire de l'Artémis d'Éphèse. Il s'agit, selon lui, d'une œuvre du sculpteur Rhoikos (c'est-à-dire une statue ancienne, dont le contexte de la digression laisse entendre qu'elle était en bronze) et que les Éphésiens appellent “Nuit”.

- (2009), *Apollon le couteau à la main. Une approche expérimentale du polythéisme grec* (Paris).
- ELLINGER, P. (2009), *Artémis, déesse de tous les dangers* (Paris).
- FARNELL, L.R. (1907a), “The Place of the ‘Sonder-Götter’ in Greek Polytheism”, in *Anthropological Essays Presented to Edward Burnett Taylor* (Oxford), 81-100.
- (1907b), *The Cults of the Greek States III* (Oxford).
- FRIESE, W. (2010), *Den Göttern so nah. Architektur und Topographie griechischer Orakelheiligtümer* (Stuttgart).
- GEORGOUDI, S. (2002), “Gaia/Gê : entre mythe, culte et idéologie”, in S. DES BOUVRIE (éd.), *Myth and Symbol. Symbolic Phenomena in Ancient Greek Culture I* (Bergen), 113-134.
- HAARMANN, H. (1996), *Die Madonna und ihre griechischen Töchter. Rekonstruktion einer kulturhistorischen Genealogie* (Hildesheim).
- HELLY, B. (1973), *Gonnoi. II, Les inscriptions* (Amsterdam).
- HINKS, R. (1939), *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (Londres).
- HUMPHREYS, S.C. (2004), “Dynamics of the Greek ‘Breakthrough’: The Dialogue Between Philosophy and Religion”, in EAD., *The Strangeness of the Gods. Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion* (Oxford), 50-76.
- KERN, O. (1910), “Die Herkunft des Orphischen Hymnenbuchs”, in *Genethliakon Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910* (Berlin), 89-102.
- LAMER, H. (1928), “Lysiponoi theoi”, in *RE XIV.1*, 42.
- LORAUX, N. (1989), “Le lit et la guerre”, in EAD., *Les expériences de Tirésias. Le féminin et l'homme grec* (Paris), 29-53.
- MERTENS-HORN, M. (2010), “Das Manteion der Nyx in Megara und ihre Statue in Megara Hyblaea”, *MDAI(R)* 116, 105-117.
- MESSERSCHMIDT, W. (2003), *Prosopopoia. Personifikationen politischen Charakters in spätklassischer und hellenistischer Kunst* (Cologne).
- MUSTI, D. / BESCHI, L. (4^e1995), *Pausania. Guida della Grecia*. Vol. 1, *L'Attica* (Milan).
- NILSSON, M.P. (1952), “Kultische Personifikationen: ein Nachtrag zu meiner *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*”, *Eranos* 50, 31-40.
- PARKER, R. (2000), “Theophoric Names and the History of Greek Religion”, in S. HORNBLOWER / E. MATTHEWS (éd.), *Greek Personal Names. Their Value as Evidence* (Oxford), 53-79.
- (2005), “Artémis Ilithyie et autres : le problème du nom divin utilisé comme épiclese”, in N. BELAYCHE et al. (éd.), *Nommer les dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épicleses dans l'Antiquité* (Turnhout), 219-226.
- PIRENNE-DELFORGE, V. (1994), *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique* (Athènes).

- (1998), “Quand Éros a les honneurs du culte”, *Uranie* 8, 11-31.
- (2001), “Prairie d’Aphrodite et jardin de Pandore”, in É. DELRUELLE / V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE (éd.), *Kῆποι. De la religion à la philosophie. Mélanges offerts à André Motte* (Liège), 83-99.
- (2008), “Le lexique des lieux de culte dans la *Périégèse de Pausanias*”, *ARG* 10, 143-178.
- (2016), “Teletê peut-elle être déesse ? Note épigraphique (*SEG* 50, 168)”, *Métis* 14, 35-48.
- PIRENNE-DELFORGE, V. / PIRONTI, G. (2010), “Les Moires entre la naissance et la mort : de la représentation au culte”, in V. DASEN / M. HENNARD DUTHEIL (éd.), *Des Fata aux fées. Regards croisés de l’Antiquité à nos jours* (Lausanne), 93-113.
- (2011), “Greek Cults of Aphrodite”, in C. KONDOLEON / P. SEGAL (éd.), *Aphrodite and the Gods of Love* (Boston), 41-62.
- (2016), *L’Héra de Zeus. Ennemie intime, épouse définitive* (Paris).
- PIRONTI, G. (2007), *Entre ciel et guerre. Figures d’Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne* (Liège).
- (2008), *Hésiode. Théogonie*. Introduction et notes (Paris).
- (2016), “Dall’Eros al racconto: Zeus e la sua sposa”, in G. PIRONTI / C. BONNET (éd.), *Gli dèi di Omero. Politeismo e poesia nella Grecia antica* (Rome), 85-110 [trad. franç. 2017].
- PIRONTI, G. / PIRENNE-DELFORGE, V. (2013), “Ilithyie au travail : de la mère à l’enfant”, *Métis* 11, 71-91.
- RAMELLI, I. (2003), *Anneo Cornuto. Compendio di teologia greca*, saggio introduttivo e integrativo, traduzione e apparati di I. RAMELLI (Milan).
- RAMNOUX, C. (1959), *La Nuit et les enfants de la Nuit dans la tradition grecque* (Paris).
- RENBERG, G. (2010), “Dream-Narratives and Unnarrated Dreams in Greek and Latin Dedication Inscriptions”, in E. SCIOLI / C. WALDE (éd.), *Sub imagine somni. Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture* (Pise) 33-61.
- (2017), *Where Dreams May Come. Incubation Sanctuaries in the Greco-Roman World*. 2 vol. (Leyde).
- RIETHMÜLLER, J. (2005), *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*. 2 vol. (Heidelberg).
- ROBERT, L. (1977), “Deux poètes grecs à l’époque impériale”, in *ΣΤΗΛΗ. Mélanges Nicolas Kondoléon* (Athènes), 1-20 = *Opera Minora Selecta VII* (Amsterdam, 1990), 569-588.
- ROUSSET, D. (2006), “Les inscriptions de Kallipolis d’Étolie”, *BCH* 130, 381-434.
- RUDHARDT, J. (1986), *Le rôle d’Éros et d’Aphrodite dans les cosmogonies grecques* (Paris).

- (1999), *Thémis et les Hôrai. Recherche sur les divinités grecques de la justice et de la paix* (Genève).
- (2008), *Opera inedita. Essai sur la religion grecque & Recherches sur les Hymnes orphiques* (Liège).
- SCHACHTER, A. (1981), *Cults of Boiotia. 1, Acheloos to Hera* (Londres).
- SCHEID, J. / SVENBRO, J. (2005), “Les *Götternamen* de Hermann Usener : une grande théogonie”, in N. BELAYCHE *et al.* (éd.), *Nommer les dieux. Théonymes, épithètes, épicleses dans l'Antiquité* (Turnhout), 93-103.
- SHAPIRO, H.A. (1993), *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 BC* (Kilchberg).
- SMITH, A.C. (2011), *Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art* (Leyde).
- SOURVINOU-INWOOD, C. (1991), “Myth as History: The Previous Owners of the Delphic Oracle”, in *EAD.*, ‘Reading’ Greek Culture. *Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* (Oxford), 217-243.
- STAFFORD, E. (2000), *Worshipping Virtues. Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (Londres).
- (2003), “Brother, Son, Friend and Healer: Sleep the God”, in T. WIEDEMANN / K. DOWDEN (éd.), *Sleep* (Bari), 71-106.
- STAFFORD, E. / HERRIN, J. (éd.) (2005), *Personification in the Greek World, from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Aldershot).
- USENER, H. (1896), *Götternamen. Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung* (Bonn).
- VAN STRATEN, F.T. (1976), “Daikrates’ Dream: A Votive Relief from Kos and Some Other *kat’ onar* Dedications”, *BABesch* 51, 1-26.
- VERNANT, J.-P. (1965), “Aspects de la personne dans la religion grecque”, in *ID.*, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs. Études de psychologie historique* (Paris), 355-370.
- (1989), *L’individu, la mort, l’amour. Soi-même et l’autre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris).
- WERNICKE, K. (1895), “Artemis”, in *RE* II 1, 1336-1440.
- WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, U. VON (1931-1932), *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin).

DISCUSSION

R. Schlesier: À propos de la dédicace de Nikô, je ne vois pas pourquoi il faut suivre l'interprétation de Rousset (2006) qui pense que *λυσιπόνα* comme épithète de Nyx (et) Artémis se réfère ici à un accouchement (heureux). Le terme ne pourrait-il pas se référer à une autre peine (*πόνος*) — de bon gré non spécifiée, peut-être — de laquelle la dédicante se trouve délivrée ? En tous cas, les (rares) occurrences du mot *λυσίπονος* (uniquement chez Pindare, avant cette inscription ?) n'imposent en rien le sens favorisé par Rousset.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Il est évident que l'adjectif *lysiponos* renvoie à la dissolution d'un labeur ou d'une souffrance générique. Le terme n'inscrit pas explicitement l'offrande de Nikô dans la sphère de la parturition comme le font l'épiclèse *Locheia* et le terme *pausitokeia* de l'inscription thessalienne. Les attestations épigraphiques de l'adjectif *lysiponos* qualifiant des dieux, on l'a vu, concernent Zeus, Hélios et les Nymphes, auxquels on peut ajouter Dionysos (*SEG* XXX 563, Thrace, III^e siècle de notre ère). Néanmoins, la convergence des trois éléments que sont le sexe féminin de la dédicante, le vœu à Artémis et l'arrière-plan culturel qui fait de l'accouchement le *ponos* par excellence assumé par les femmes laisse peu de doute sur la référence à une parturition.

I. Mylonopoulos: I cannot but agree that Niko is thanking Nyx Artemis and not Nyx [and] Artemis and that she is addressing Nyx Artemis after having survived giving birth to a child. I was, however, wondering about this extremely unusual hierarchical combination of divine names. It is not Artemis Nyx, but Nyx Artemis that Niko is thanking? Could it be that

the childbirth took place during the night, which prompted the reference first to Nyx? Even if I ask you to speculate, could you try and push your interpretation even further?

V. Pirenne-Delforge: En effet, c'est Nyx Artémis et l'ordre n'est pas indifférent. Je pense que Nyx évoque les terreurs inhérentes à la condition mortelle auxquelles Hésiode l'associait déjà par le biais du cortège de ses enfants. Elle est donc l'entité divine globalisante de la dédicace, tandis qu'Artémis vient préciser l'orientation de la démarche dans le cadre d'un accouchement. Puisque vous me demandez de spéculer en poussant l'interprétation plus avant, je dirais qu'il est particulièrement tentant de faire l'hypothèse que Nyx renvoie aussi à la nuit de tous les jours, et donc aux circonstances nocturnes de l'accouchement de la dédicante. Mais quoi qu'il en soit de ce point précis, le jeu de miroir entre Νυκτὶ et Ἀρτέμιδῃ confère bel et bien un statut divin à la Nuit.

A. Chaniotis: I think that we can go a step further in reconstructing the context of Niko's dedication. Niko had made a vow to Artemis ($\tauυχοῦσα \tauᾶς εὐγῆς$); she probably made the vow during a difficult night. This is why her dedication is addressed to Artemis Nyx. Her vow was not a prayer to the night but a prayer to survive the night.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Ce n'est pas Artémis Nyx, mais Nyx Artémis, et ce n'est pas indifférent, comme je le disais en réponse à la question précédente. Il s'agissait en effet pour la mère de survivre et peut-être de survivre à la nuit, mais la Nuit est destinataire du vœu ! On ne peut faire l'économie de cette mise en forme polythéiste en rabattant simplement la démarche sur le cadre temporel du vœu. Il est intéressant de constater que, dans le cas de dédicaces à Artémis Ilithyie, c'est Artémis qui est invoquée en premier, comme divinité qui accompagne en général la vie intime des femmes, mais ajouter Ilithyie pointe vers le moment précis où l'enfant doit se libérer des membranes

qui le retiennent dans le ventre de sa mère.¹ Dans le cas présent, c'est Nyx qui est invoquée en premier, comme divinité qui met en exergue la condition mortelle des humains et traduit la peur de mourir, mais ajouter Artémis pointe vers le moment le plus aigu où cette peur se manifeste dans la vie intime des femmes, à savoir l'accouchement. Ce genre de dédicace peut être vu comme une 'formulation polythéiste' qui exprime des nuances spécifiques à l'aide d'une configuration choisie de divinités.

I. Mylonopoulos: In Pausanias' text about the *manteion* of Nyx in Megara (1, 40, 6), I am puzzled by the use of *kaloumenos*. Pausanias usually makes use of this way of addressing a structure, if he is not certain or entirely comfortable about how exactly to categorize it (it's not clearly a temple, it's not clearly a treasury, it's not clearly something he can explicitly name). How would you interpret the use of *kaloumenos* in this context?

V. Pirenne-Delforge: C'est le seul emploi de *manteion* qualifié de *kaloumenon* et associé au génitif de la divinité propriétaire du sanctuaire oraculaire. Dans le cas du *manteion* d'Inô en Laconie, on trouve simplement la formule ἐρόν ἔστιν Ἰνοῦς καὶ μαντεῖον (3, 26, 1) et pour celui de la Terre à Olympie, Pausanias écrit μαντεῖον τῆς Γῆς (5, 14, 10). Néanmoins, je ne pense pas qu'il s'agisse d'une manière de signaler une structure architecturale particulière et ce, pour deux raisons. La première est qu'un sanctuaire oraculaire n'implique pas de structure spécifique qui soit immédiatement reconnaissable et dont le *manteion* de Mégare marquerait l'exception. Le terme est employé par Pausanias pour une large palette de sanctuaires oraculaires, allant du sanctuaire delphique au modeste monticule du Gaion d'Olympie, en passant par Didymes. Il désigne ainsi simplement le fait qu'un sanctuaire — quelle qu'en soit l'apparence — accueille une divinité dont la fonction locale est oraculaire.

¹ À ce sujet, cf. PIRONTI / PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2013).

La deuxième raison tient aux nombreuses formules parallèles du type γυμνάσιον Ἐρμοῦ καλούμενον (1, 2, 5), καλούμενον ἥρων Αἰγέως (1, 22, 6), βωμὸν καλούμενον Ἀντέρωτος (1, 30, 1), ὕδωρ … καλούμενον Σιθνίδων νυμφῶν (1, 40, 1), etc. que l'on trouve dans la *Périégèse*. Dans ces différents cas (et d'autres encore), le *kaloumenon* introduit simplement le génitif du propriétaire du lieu, sans qu'il faille y voir une quelconque réserve dans l'identification de la structure, et *a fortiori* quand il s'agit de l'eau des Nymphes Sithnides ! On pourrait traduire cet emploi de *kaloumenon* par “nommément attribué à”.

I. Mylonopoulos: In addition, is it even possible that he is not referring to a *manteion* of Nyx (*Nυκτός καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον*), but rather to a *manteion* used at night (*νυκτός καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον*)?

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Pour les raisons évoquées auparavant, je ne le pense pas.

R. Schlesier: N'y a-t-il pas un certain risque de traiter Hésiode comme grille d'interprétation applicable à la tradition postérieure ? Pour Hésiode, il est vrai, la nuit est une puissance cosmique avec une généalogie impressionnante qui lui est propre, mais faut-il conclure que cette conception d'Hésiode s'impose et reste dominante ?

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Quand je me réfère à Hésiode pour comprendre l'inscription de Kallipolis, je ne fais rien d'autre qu'obéir à Hérodote qui considérait qu'Homère et Hésiode avaient structuré les représentations que les Grecs se donnaient de leurs dieux (2, 53). Il ne s'agit évidemment pas d'une référence dogmatique, mais bien d'un arrière-plan de représentation partagé entre ce qu'on lit dans la *Théogonie* et ce que l'on voit apparaître dans une dédicace des débuts de la période hellénistique en Grèce centrale. Le caractère exceptionnel de la mention de la Nuit comme destinataire du vœu me conforte

dans l'idée que, associée à Artémis, elle permet d'énoncer une 'phrase polythéiste' élaborée.

A. Chaniotis: When one considers the children of the Nyx in Hesiod, one notices that they mostly represent the negative aspects of the night. Moros, the fatal fate, *Kêres* and *Thanatos* (Dying and the condition of Death), *Nemesis* (retribution), and suffering (*Oizys*), deception (*Apatê*), and Old Age (*Gêras*), in addition to sleep and dreams; even *Mômos*, which probably alludes to jokes in the nocturnal sympotic context, highlights the aggressive, sarcastic character of jokes. Only sexual desire (*Philotês*) alludes to the more pleasant aspects of the night. Can we attribute this to Hesiod's thought?

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Tout d'abord, il faut souligner qu'à côté d'entités intégralement maléfiques dans le registre de la souffrance et de la mort, d'autres enfants de la Nuit sont plus ambigus — et donc potentiellement positifs — comme les Moires, qui font alterner le mal et le bien dans la vie des hommes ; comme Némésis, qui est un fléau, mais donne également la juste rétribution des actes mauvais ; comme Philotès, dont j'ai évoqué l'ambiguïté bien mise en lumière par Gabriella Pironti ; comme Éris, dont Hésiode dit dans *Les Travaux et les Jours* qu'il existe une bonne et une mauvaise Éris. Ensuite, comme je l'ai dit peut-être trop rapidement, il convient de replacer ce catalogue dans le cadre narratif auquel il appartient. Avec la castration d'Ouranos, le cosmos en formation voit surgir la ruse et le crime, ce qui justifie que la trame narrative du poème intègre alors la généalogie de Nuit, qui déploie toutes les potentialités des maux inaugurés par le forfait de Kronos. En outre, à ce stade de la *Théogonie* intervient une première détermination de la condition humaine qui se verra approfondie lors de la crise prométhéenne. Je ne sais si Hésiode peut être tenu pour responsable de cette tonalité négative — ou plutôt profondément ambiguë — des enfants de la Nuit, mais la structure même du poème permet d'en rendre compte.

L. Dossey: This question relates to the discussion of the negative (Hesiodic) versus positive portrayals of the night. The Hesiodic view of the night, as you discuss, is one of the night as a conqueror. When gods such as Zeus sleep, it is the primordial gods overwhelming the Olympian ones. Silvia Montiglio has recently addressed the question of why the Greek gods sleep in a different way. Her argument is that they do so because sleep is pleasurable (“sweet” as in Homer).² Why would *you* say that Greek gods sleep?

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Hésiode ne fait pas explicitement de la nuit une “conquérante” même s'il la dépeint comme redoutable. En revanche, ainsi qu'on l'a vu, le chant XIV de l'*Iliade* la qualifie de “dompteuse des dieux et des hommes”. Et il est évident qu'Hypnos traduit concrètement un aspect du pouvoir de “domptage” de sa mère en conduisant au sommeil les dieux comme les hommes. L'idée que les dieux dorment car le sommeil est agréable est une idée intéressante et probablement assez juste. Mais ce que l'on trouve essentiellement dans cette représentation, c'est une manifestation de plus de la propension des Grecs à anthropomorphiser leurs dieux et à leur attribuer une large palette de leurs propres comportements, surtout quand ils sont agréables !

A. Chaniotis: Since we mention sleep and dream, it is noteworthy that the gods sleep, but they do not dream — at least, I cannot recall any dreams of gods.

² S. MONTIGLIO (2015), *The Spell of Hypnos. Sleep and Sleeplessness in Ancient Greek Literature* (London), 23-26.

V

IOANNIS MYLONOPOULOS

BRUTAL ARE THE CHILDREN OF THE NIGHT!

NOCTURNAL VIOLENCE IN GREEK ART*

*Finstre, schwarze Riesenfalter
Töteten der Sonne Glanz.
Ein geschlossnes Zauberbuch,
Ruht der Horizont - verschwiegen.

Aus dem Qualm verlorner Tiefen
Steigt ein Duft, Erinnerung mordend!
Finstre, schwarze Riesenfalter
Töteten der Sonne Glanz.

Und vom Himmel erdenwärts
Senken sich mit schweren Schwingen
Unsichtbar die Ungetüme
Auf die Menschenherzen nieder...
Finstre, schwarze Riesenfalter.¹
“Nacht”, Pierrot lunaire, A. Schoenberg, 1912*

* I would like to thank Angelos Chaniotis and Pierre Ducrey for the organization of the conference, the staff of the Fondation Hardt in Geneva for their wonderful hospitality, and Bernhard Blattmann for his musicological insights.

¹ Heavy, gloomy giant black moths / massacred the sun's bright rays / like a close-shut magic book / broods the distant sky in silence / From the mists in deep recesses / rise up scents, destroying memory / Heavy, gloomy giant black moths / massacred the sun's bright rays / And from heaven earthward bound / downward sink with somber pinions / unperceived, great hordes of monsters / on the hearts and souls of mankind.../ Heavy, gloomy giant black moths.

Albert Giraud's *Pierrot lunaire: rondels bergamasques* (1884) is, strangely enough, best known not in the French original,² but rather in the German translation by Otto Erich Hartleben (1892)³ thanks to a work that Arnold Schoenberg composed for the actress Albertine Zehme in 1912. For his *Dreimal sieben Gedichte aus Albert Girauds "Pierrot lunaire"* (op. 21), better known under its abbreviated title *Pierrot lunaire*, Schoenberg chose very carefully twenty-one poems from the fifty of which Giraud's work consisted and arranged them in three groups of seven.⁴ Interestingly, the poem *Nacht* ("Night") initiates the second group in which violence and crime dominate as general themes. The poem *Rote Messe* (Red Mass) that structurally stands in the very center not only of this group but of the entire composition could be even called aggressively and violently blasphemous.

Although the original title of the above-cited poem in French was *Papillons noirs*, Hartleben chose to call it *Nacht*; paradoxically, there is no single explicit reference to the night, neither in the French nor in the German text. It is the strong images captured in a few words that create an almost bloodcurdling atmosphere of the dangerous black night and justify the altered German title. Accompanied by Schoenberg's music, the text forces the listener into a world of black butterflies that massacre the bright light of the sun, scents that rise from deep recesses and annihilate memories, and hordes of monsters that sink on the hearts of men. There is no need to be literal and define in words the time in which these horrific incidents take place, monsters haunt us during the night, after the sun has died, when smell becomes more reliable than sight.

Schoenberg's and Hartleben's sound-paintings are reminiscent of Francisco Goya's almost a century earlier *Pinturas Negras*, one of the most powerful groups of paintings that thematize a fearful

² MARSH (2007).

³ GOUVAND (2004); TACK (2004).

⁴ DUNSBY (1992); VILAIN (2004); PUFFETT (2006).

lunar dark atmosphere, although the night as a temporal framework is not a unifying element.⁵ In general, however, night in Western painting is a rather desirable and often qualitatively neutral time setting, since it primarily gives painters the opportunity to experiment with light, colors, and shades. The night as the preeminent time of horrors and deadly danger, as exemplified in the *Nacht*, does not seem to dominate the imagination of artists: the night can be the temporal frame of Holofernes' decapitation, but it is also the time associated with the Nativity.⁶ Hieronymus Bosch' grotesque world can exist under a blue sky or in the darkness of night.

In the present paper, I will focus on the night within the context of ancient Greek art and place particular emphasis on acts of violence committed during the night. It will become obvious that ancient Greek artists — very much like their Western successors from the early Renaissance on — did not consider the night as the exclusive time frame for violence. However, depictions of nocturnal brutality often achieved a fascinating level of explicit goriness and cruelty.

1. Nyx personified

One can easily observe a shadowy presence or more accurately a prominent absence of the Night in the ancient Greek world of images, especially when it comes to a Greek particularity, the personification of abstract ideas, landscape elements, and geographical units in the form of male or more often female figures. If this were a study on personifications of the Night, it would have been a very short one: The most prominent example of Nyx in a narrative context, the female figure fighting a Giant with a vessel around which a snake is 'wrapped'

⁵ ARNAIZ (1996).

⁶ For reasons that go beyond the scope of the present paper, I avoid here the term 'nocturne paintings'.

from the North side of the so-called Pergamon Frieze is almost certainly not a representation of the personified Night. Whether or not she is one of the Moirai (Klotho) is not the subject of this paper.⁷ Thus we are left with several rather ambiguous and two certain examples of which only one is preserved.

On two red-figure lids of pyxides, both in the British Museum, a female charioteer is represented in a non-narrative temporal context. On the one lid, the female rider has been convincingly identified as Selene, while the winged charioteer could be Eos — very often shown winged — or Nyx.⁸ On the other example, a female charioteer is associated with Helios and Selene.⁹ Here too, the identification is not clear, it could be Eos, it could be Nyx, although the absence of the wings from the physique of the female charioteer could point to the latter identification.

A female bust in profile — in most cases on squat lekythoi — and accompanied by a crescent moon has been equally or even more problematic in its identification: Selene, Eos, Nyx and even Artemis have been suggested.¹⁰ The crescent moon has been used as an argument for the identification of female winged charioteers on a small number of red-figure column craters¹¹ and the tondo of a kylix in Berlin¹² as Nyx, but Eos is in my view a much better candidate, since her iconography as one of the winged mixanthropic personifications is well established.¹³ What seems important here is the fact that, if the

⁷ The figure has been identified in the past as Nyx, Persephone, and most recently — thanks to a name inscription attributed to her — as Klotho, SCHRAUDOLPH (2007) 202.

⁸ London, British Museum E776.

⁹ London, British Museum 1920.12-21.1.

¹⁰ Several squat red-figure lekythoi are decorated with such female busts — sometimes veiled, sometimes unveiled — accompanied by a crescent moon, see, for example, Berlin, Antikensammlung 3222; London, British Museum E658 and E659; Palermo, Mormino Collection 1450.

¹¹ Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico AR3; Copenhagen, National Museum 7030.

¹² Berlin, Antikensammlung F2524.

¹³ REICHARDT (2007).

identification of the winged figure with Eos is correct, then the Dawn seems to be — at least visually — more closely associated with the end of the night than with the beginning of the day. Although a comprehensive discussion of the Night should include the Dawn, in this study, for reasons of space, I will not treat the figure of Eros.

There is a rather puzzling reference to an early image of Nyx in Pausanias' work: The ancient traveler mentions a small relief on the famous chest of Kypselos in Olympia, but he remains surprisingly silent about the exact iconography of the Nyx — perhaps because there was nothing remarkable about it — while he seems fascinated by the sleeping children she is holding in her arms, the one white the other black, both identified through inscriptions as Death and Sleep.¹⁴ There is nothing to support reconstructions of the Nyx in this relief as a winged personification, and R. Splitter has indeed reconstructed Nyx as a wingless kourotrophos-like figure¹⁵ very much like the image of Aphrodite holding Eros and Himeros in her arms on a fragmentary pinax from the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁶

To the best of my knowledge, there is only one securely identified and preserved image of the Nyx on a white-ground lekythos from the early 5th cent. BCE now in New York, a work attributed to the so-called Sappho Painter (fig. 5.1a-d). Here, a female charioteer (without wings) is explicitly identified as Nyx through an inscription (fig. 5.1b). Stylistically, the vase is certainly no masterpiece, quite the contrary. Iconographically, however, this is an exceptional work both in terms of possible meaning and in terms of structural conception. Compositionally, the personified Night and Dawn (fig. 5.1b-c) seem to move

¹⁴ PAUS. 5, 18, 1: “There is a figure of a woman holding on her right arm a white child asleep, and on her left she has a black child like one who is asleep. Each has his feet turned different ways. The inscriptions declare, as one could infer without inscriptions, that the figures are Death and Sleep, with Night the nurse of both (*Νύκτα αὐτοῖς τροφόν*)” (W.H.S. JONES).

¹⁵ SPLITTER (2000) 31 with fig. 10.

¹⁶ SHAPIRO (1993) 110 with fig. 62.

very swiftly on their chariots away from each other and towards the vertical handle of the small vase and an unusual scene of Herakles during a sacrifice that apparently takes place in some sort of mountainous landscape. Herakles kneels before the altar on which the parts for the gods are already burning while he holds two obeloi with both his hands with which he is roasting the meat parts for the communal meal (fig. 5.1d). The puzzling aspect is that the only creature he can share this ‘communal’ meal with is a dog, identified as such by a label, at the foot of the hilly structure, which some scholars have identified as the cavernous entrance to Hades; accordingly the dog should be seen as Kerberos.¹⁷ We should stress that dogs are often present in symposium scenes usually shown under the kline of a symposiast or under a table with food.¹⁸ In a rather twisted scene that combines symposium imagery with the ransom of Hector, Achilles is shown as a symposiast reclining on a bed and having a serving table with meat before him under which a dog lies, while the dead body of Hector is situated under a lower table behind the Greek hero.¹⁹ Just like the dog on the lekythos in New York defies the rules of sacrificial and post-sacrificial communality, the dog in the scene with the ransom of Hector creates the illusion of sympotic conviviality in the context of the truly dramatic final episode of the Iliadic narrative.

Both Nyx’ and Eos’ garments are rendered in an almost impressionistic style that create an airy feeling of the two goddesses flying through the skies. This particular element is standing in complete opposition to the overall careless style of the vase, especially with respect to the accuracy and delicacy of the incised lines. On the other side of the vase, almost as the compositional counterpart of Herakles, Helios rises on his chariot from the ground (= horizon) in a very typical posture

¹⁷ FERRARI PINEY / SISMONDO RIDGWAY (1981).

¹⁸ See, for example, London, British Museum B679.

¹⁹ Zurich, University Collection 4001. CARPENTER (1986) 116; RECKE (2002) 69.

for charioteers depicted frontally: two horses to the left of the figure, two to the right. Helios ‘stands’ between the backs of Nyx to his right and Eos to his left (fig. 5.1a). All three figures have some sort of astronomical symbols/attributes hanging over their heads.

Most scholars who have dealt with this vase so far have focused — rather understandably — on the sacrificial imagery (fig. 5.1d),²⁰ but the most intriguing feature of the entire composition is the fact that the very center of the whole scene is not the sacrificing Herakles but the rising Helios, since the part of the narrative focusing on the Theban hero is to be found under the handle. It is not of interest to this paper to question how the vase was exactly handled and accordingly how its imagery was perceived by the one who was holding it as opposed to those who were experiencing it visually either from the sides or frontally. The focus of the entire composition is thus the moment in time in which the night, the dawn and the sun are all present, that short liminal period during which the solitary hero is sacrificing on top of the hill. Herakles is not performing a nocturnal sacrifice and he is not conducting a ritual in broad daylight. Since he is already burning the divine part of the sacrifice on the altar and roasting the human one, the actual killing of the animal has already taken place during the darkness of the night. Thus the sacrifice itself in terms of the ritual killing was a nocturnal one, but the communal meal (with whom?) will take place during the day. In this context, there might be an alternative reading of the dog: the animal is accompanied by an inscribed label, just like every other figure in this composition and thus becomes almost equally important.²¹ The only figure that has no temporal background is Herakles, so that I wonder whether or not one could see in the figure of

²⁰ See, for example, GEBAUER (2002) 364-366.

²¹ The inscription is in my view an argument against the identification of the dog with Kerberos. The painter carefully inscribed all figures with their names, thus one should have expected the same accuracy with the dog of the Underworld.

the dog a symbol of Seirios (the Canis Major)²² as a reference not to the time of the day but to the time of the year, namely the hottest one.

The whole composition cannot be one of those images we are associating with the so-called Opfernde Götter, since Herakles is not one of them and they are usually shown performing libations and with the exception of Nike not involved in actual blood sacrifices.²³ The temporal liminality might be indicative of Herakles' own liminality,²⁴ the space of the sacrifice might be a visual anticipation of the future burning of Herakles' body on a mountain top, but it remains unclear why exactly the hero is shown performing a sacrificial ritual that visually follows all rules of a 'normative' sacrifice. One could even go as far as to suggest that the hero is sacrificing to his own father, Zeus, during the summer asking for rain. The process could be seen as reminiscent of rituals, such as those, for example, associated with Zeus Hellanios on Aegina.²⁵ At the same time, the image creates an interesting anticipatory visual link to the burning of Herakles' body on top of a mountain, a step that leads to the final deification of the mortal hero.

If the lekythos was used in a funerary context — and this is unknown because of its unrecorded provenance, although its state of preservation does point towards a sepulchral use — then the liminality of the vase itself might have added to the extraordinary imagery it bears. All interpretive attempts aside, the fact remains that this is the only certain example in which Nyx herself is used most probably as a temporal signifier.

²² One should emphasize that the abbreviated form κύων is often used instead of the full name of the dog-star κύων σειρίου, LIDDELL / SCOTT s.v. κύων V and σειρίος. On a possible representation of Canis Major and Minor see BARNES (2014).

²³ SIMON (1953); PATTON (2009) part I, esp. 57-99 and 161-180.

²⁴ Following J.-L. DURAND, JUBIER-GALINIER (1998) 83 suggested that Herakles is situated in a fantastical landscape that should enhance the hero's own ontological liminality: "le héros est précisément figuré entre ciel et terre, entre bêtes et dieux, si semblable aux hommes et pourtant déjà parmi les astres".

²⁵ KOWALZIG (2007) 201-218.

2. The crescent moon

If we move away from possible depictions of the Nyx as a mythological personified concept of the Night and turn our attention to the representation of the night as a temporal framework, then the crescent moon — either on its own or in combination with stars — acts as a visual signifier for this part of the day. In the majority of cases, the crescent moon functions as a quasi-attribute for mythological figures associated with the night, such as Selene.²⁶ The function of the crescent moon as a visual signifier of the night appears to be much clearer, when it accompanies the winged figure of Eos who surprisingly is visually more often associated with nocturnal rather than solar symbols.²⁷ Accordingly, Eos seems to be more closely associated to the end of the night than to the beginning of the day.

As part of a narrative, the crescent moon and stars appear to represent the night sky that Herakles bears on his shoulders in representations on vases associated with his encounter with Atlas.²⁸ To the best of my knowledge, only once does the crescent moon appear as a decorative element on a shield in a clearly mythological context: On an early-5th-century white-ground lekythos found in Agrigento we have a rather crude rendering of Ajax saving the body of Achilles from the battlefield.²⁹ Besides the obvious aesthetic use of the crescent moon as upper and lower supplements to the actual crescent-moon-like side-openings of the eight-shaped shield, I strongly suspect that the use of the crescent moon here has also a conscious temporal connotation signifying the end of the “battle” around Achilles’ fallen body at the end of a day’s fighting and the return of the hero’s remains to the camp of the Greeks.

²⁶ GURY (1994).

²⁷ WEISS (1986).

²⁸ See, for example, a white-ground lekythos in Athens from the late 6th or early 5th cent. BCE (Athens, National Museum 1132).

²⁹ Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale C847.

3. Nocturnal violence

Angelos Chaniotis' statement that "more people found a violent death under the sun than in the darkness"³⁰ cannot be challenged. It would mean challenging the obvious. However, while quantitatively there can be absolutely no doubt about it — and the countless battle scenes clearly associated with daylight are proving this also visually³¹ — the question remains whether or not there might exist a qualitative difference between the kind of violent deaths that take place in the night, that is whether or not a very specific category of victims meet their end during the night and whether or not there are very specific ways in which they die. In the following, I will focus on episodes from the Trojan War before I turn my attention to the murder of children by their own mothers.

3.1. *Dolon*

Much attention has been given to the narratives surrounding the murder of Dolon and later of Rhesos by Odysseus and Diomedes. In the world of images, Dolon's murder or rather the moments before his violent end were certainly much more popular than the killing of Rhesos. Already Euphranor in an unfortunately fragmentary kylix dedicated his artistry to the portrayal of Dolon's capture³² and the motif continues throughout the further development of Athenian red-figure vase painting finding its way to the 4th century in products of the Lucanian and Campanian workshops.³³ The interesting aspect is that with one non-Athenian exception, artists do not depict the killing of Dolon but rather his capture. An exception appears to be a Campanian bell crater from the mid-fourth century in Syracuse

³⁰ CHANIOTIS (2017) 110.

³¹ RECKE (2002); MUTH (2008).

³² Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 743.

³³ LISSARRAGUE (1980); CIRIO (1997).

that shows the moment right before the killing of Dolon.³⁴ The iconography of the victim is clear: Dolon kneels on the ground, Diomedes is grabbing his head from behind and forces it back so as to expose the neck, while Odysseus is about to deliver the fatal blow. In the context of the visualization of the Dolon incident, this composition appears so extraordinary that scholars have attempted to see in this scene Achilles and Odysseus sacrificing a Trojan youth at the grave of Patroklos symbolized by the column behind Athena³⁵ whose presence reminds us of the Euphrontos kylix. It is going to be a constant observation that without knowing the story behind the image there would have been absolutely no way to guess the time in which the incident takes place. There is no visual indication that the capture, interrogation, and subsequent killing of Dolon happened in the middle of the night.

3.2. *Rhesos*

The Rhesos story, closely connected to the Dolon narrative, is far less popular among Greek artists. One of the earliest — perhaps the earliest — renderings of Rhesos' murder is to be found outside of Attica, namely on a magnificent so-called Chalkidian amphora from the late sixth century, probably produced in or in the vicinity of Rhegion (fig. 5.2a-b). On the one side, Odysseus brutally pierces the throat of a Thracian soldier, while on the other Diomedes is about to do the same to Rhesos himself.³⁶ Yet again, there is no visual indication in the form of a crescent moon and/or stars that the temporal frame is the night. What makes the time frame clear, however, is that the Thracian soldiers and their king are shown sleeping, a fact that makes the murder appear far more hideous and cowardly than any killing on the battlefield.

³⁴ Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 36332.

³⁵ CVA Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Nazionale I, 6: “È il sacrificio d'un prigioniero troiano, fatto da Achille ed Ulisse sul sepolcro di Patroclo”.

³⁶ TRUE (1995).

3.3. *The fall of a city*

The most violent nocturnal scenes in the context of the Trojan War are obviously associated with the fall of the city. Prominent among the victims is Kassandra who can be considered easily as one of the most tragic female figures of Greek mythology: raped by Ajax, enslaved by Agamemnon, and slaughtered by Klytaemnestra, the latter scene shown in its extreme brutality in the tondo of a kylix by the Marlay Painter in Ferrara.³⁷ The best-known incident in her tragic life and the one that most captured the imagination of Greek artists is her violation by Ajax, despite the fact that she had sought refuge at the statue of Athena. Only in Hellenistic literature do we read that the virgin was raped in front of the cult image.³⁸ Already in the early Archaic period, Kassandra's fate attracted the attention of artists, and small bronze panels originally decorating leather shield bands and showing the attack on Kassandra at the statue of Athena have been unearthed at the sanctuaries of Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi.³⁹ At least 83 Athenian vases are decorated with the scene of Kassandra's rape.⁴⁰ The earliest images appear around 580 BCE, while the latest can be dated to 400 BCE. The topic continues to fascinate vase painters in Southern Italy and Sicily, where it can be found decorating red-figure vases as late as the second half of the 4th century. In the context of Athenian vase painting, the scene is extremely popular between 540 and 520 BCE. Shortly after, painters lose their interest in the Kassandra topic, until it almost disappears from the repertoire between 480 and 460 BCE. A second climax in the interest of painters in this topic can be dated between 460 and 440 BCE, although from a purely numerical point of view the production of this period cannot be compared with the number of vases decorated with the same topic in the period

³⁷ Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 2482.

³⁸ MASON (1959) 82.

³⁹ MANGOLD (2000) 39.

⁴⁰ RECKE (2002) 20.

between 540 and 520 BCE. Early depictions of the scene show Kassandra disproportionately small. However, other elements of her iconography and especially the degree of nudity appear to vary a lot. Both in black and red-figure vase painting, Kassandra can be depicted completely naked, with only a short cloak around her shoulders, or with a longer garment that is, however, open and reveals the defenseless nudity of the virgin.⁴¹ Only rarely is Kassandra depicted completely dressed with garments that cover (and protect from the eyes of the viewer) the entire body of the figure. The degree of nudity cannot be explained in terms of a chronological pattern.⁴²

Early representations of the scene show Athena without visually clarifying that the statue and not the divinity is involved. However, from 520/500 BCE on, an increasing number of painters depict Athena clearly as a statue placed on a pedestal. This kind of representation becomes canonical for red-figure vases from 500/480 BCE on, while late black figure painters still use both variations.⁴³ A small group of high quality vases dating to 500/480 BCE appear homogenous in the rendering of the strong relationship between Kassandra and (the statue of) Athena: Kassandra is not simply touching the statue or hiding behind it, she embraces the statue with her left arm, so that the two figures create together a closed surface almost pyramidal in shape.⁴⁴ The same images seem to emphasize Kassandra's nudity: the frontality of the naked upper part of the female body can be rarely found outside the context of representations dealing with prostitutes and demands an explanation. The truly exceptional, almost revolutionary, hydria attributed to the Kleophrades Painter in Naples adds to the iconography of the naked virgin the full representation of pubic hair (fig. 5.3a), while later painters, although they are not afraid to emphasize the virgin's nudity, they refrain from depicting such anatomical

⁴¹ CONNELLY (1993).

⁴² MANGOLD (2000) 58-59.

⁴³ MANGOLD (2000) 59; RECKE (2002) 24-26; HÖLSCHER (2010) 113.

⁴⁴ RECKE (2002) 26.

details. Not a single Athenian vase showing the violent encounter of Kassandra with Ajax at the statue of Athena makes clear that it took place during the night.

In the same night, Kassandra's father, Priamos is killed by Neoptolemos at the altar of Zeus. The theme appears around 580/560 BCE with a first climax around 560/540 BCE.⁴⁵ With the exception of two examples dating around 400 BCE,⁴⁶ the popularity of the topic ceases around 440 BCE. Achilles' equally brutal son can be shown killing Priamos either with a sword or more often with a spear. Iconographically, the above-mentioned hydria in Naples is yet again unique: The badly injured Priamos is sitting on the altar with the dead body of his grandson on his lap (fig. 5.3b). He touches with both hands his head in an intense gesture of grief, while Neoptolemos grabs Priamos's shoulder and is about to deliver the fatal blow with a specific type of sword. Although the single-edged, slightly curved sword (= *machaira*) can be used in battle scenes, this is one of the few times in which Neoptolemos is shown using it against Priamos. This type of sword reminds us of the smaller machaira (knife) used to kill sacrificial animals. Most probably, the painter consciously used this type of sword in order to create the impression of an unspeakable sacrifice about to take place at an altar, thus stressing the sacrilegious character of killing a defenseless grieving older person at an altar. Priamos himself is shown bold but with his remaining hair shaved and he lacks his usual beard, but is instead shown unshaven in a singular image of bodily neglect.

From the very beginnings of the theme of Priamos' murder in vase painting, artists bring together two temporally distinct incidents, the murder of the king and the murder of Astyanax, and Neoptolemos is very often shown using Astyanax as the weapon to kill Priamos. In almost every single case, the entire

⁴⁵ RECKE (2002) 42.

⁴⁶ Athens, Agora Museum P18849; Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 5081.

body of the dead child is shown.⁴⁷ However, in a single case of raw brutality, Neoptolemos is using the severed head of the child, as if he is about to throw a stone at Priamos.⁴⁸ It is yet again the Kleophrades Painter who tries to do more with the narrative; he unites grandfather and grandson, but Astyanax is not a weapon, he is the reason for the old king's absolute grief as he lies dead and covered in blood on the lap of his grandfather. The blatant brutality of the child turned into a weapon is gone, but the scene acquires a subtler and much more intense emotional depth. Like the Kassandra narrative, the nocturnal temporal setting appears to be either completely irrelevant or considered as given by the artists who presuppose — rightly — the relevant knowledge of the myth by the viewers (and buyers) of their products.

4. Infanticide, a nocturnal horror

From the murder of a Trojan child by a foreigner and enemy, we turn to the murder of children by their own mothers. Most prominent examples of such violent mothers are Medea and Prokne. The best-known version of Medea's myth is the Euripidean one, according to which Medea kills first the young Corinthian princess Glauke with a poisoned garment and diadem and then murders both her sons in their sleep, before escaping in a chariot sent to her rescue by Helios (the Sun). The nocturnal infanticide is crowned — almost ironically — by a solar rescue. Despite the impact of the Euripidean tragedy, the myth of Medea is not very popular in Athenian art. The most significant vases decorated with scenes from the Medea narrative were produced in Southern Italy and Sicily after ca. 400 BCE and it was the escape scene that most attracted the interest of vase painters, although Medea's children are

⁴⁷ RECKE (2002) 43-44.

⁴⁸ Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 45.

often shown lying dead on the ground or more frequently on an altar-like structure.⁴⁹

The actual murder of Medea's children is rarely depicted. On a slender loutrophoros-like amphora from the time around 330 BCE decorated by the Ixion painter,⁵⁰ Medea is shown during the very moment of the murder as she is about to kill one of her sons near the statue of a divinity. The columns in the background could be a reference both to a house and to a temple. The fact that private cult within the house is very well attested does not allow a definitive answer as to the stage of the murder.

An extremely dense scene on a volute crater from the late 4th century attributed to the so-called Underworld Painter shows two different episodes from the Medea narrative in three friezes (fig. 5.4). The upper frieze is populated by divine figures on both sides of the entablature of a portico-like or temple-like structure and framed by tripods placed on columns — Herakles (standing) and Athena (seated) to its right, the Dioskouroi (one seated one standing and easily identified by the two stars between the two figures) to its left. In the middle frieze, the death of Glauke (named Kreontea) is depicted within the Ionic structure. Glauke lies already dead on an elaborate marble throne, while her mourning father, Kreon, tries in vain to rescue her. Glauke's mother, Merope, runs from the left towards the central scene. Behind her, the educator of Medea's children and a further female figure can be seen. On the other side of the structure, Hippotes, Glauke's brother and Glauke's nurse-maid are depicted. In the lower frieze, the tragedy continues: To the left, a male half-nude figure saves one of Medea's children. Medea herself dressed like an Oriental is about to kill her other son, who is standing on a small square altar with one arm stretched back towards his mother and the other stretched towards the sky (perhaps towards the divinities of the upper

⁴⁹ TAPLIN (2007) 114-125.

⁵⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre K300.

frieze). The center of the scene is occupied by the dragon-chariot on which a male figure with long hair and dressed in a long cloak leaving the upper part of the body uncovered is depicted. Only thanks to an inscription can we identify the figure with Oistros, the personified Frenzy. It seems as if Medea is about to sacrifice her own child to the personified Frenzy.⁵¹ To the right of Frenzy, Jason and a further male nude figure (similar to the one saving one of the boys) are represented. Standing on a pedestal-like structure, the “soul” of Aetes, the father of Medea, is represented (identified through the accompanying inscription: *Eidolon Aetou*). Both his head and his open right hand point towards the lower frieze, although the figure itself stands between and thus connects the middle with the lower frieze. It seems as if the dead Aetes approves of the murders as part of his revenge against his daughter for the murder of his son by Medea during her escape with Jason from Kolchis. The fact that one of Medea’s children is apparently saved demonstrates that we are not dealing with the Euripidean version of the myth.⁵² As opposed to all other scenes discussed so far, this vase contains temporal indicators in the form of the two torches held by the figure of Oistros. Although this is the only instance of Oistros being anthropomorphized, there is no reason to see in the torches some sort of an attribute; they do seem to be an indicator of the nocturnal time frame of the scene. The Helios-sent chariot arrived with Oistros as its charioteer and the figure bears torches to illuminate artificially the nocturnal horrific scene.

Although Medea’s infanticide can be explained in a Greek context and from a Greek perspective as the unspeakable act of a foreigner who had already slain her own brother, the story of the Athenian Prokne is more complicated. The unusual motif was “explained” by authors of the fourth century: Prokne, the ideal Athenian woman, placed the honor of her Athenian fam-

⁵¹ MYLONOPOULOS (2013) 81.

⁵² TAPLIN (2007) 255-257.

ily over the life of her own son who was considered a non-Athenian.⁵³ This might also explain the difference in the popularity between the Medea and Prokne myths in the art produced and consumed in Athens. I will exclude here the marble statue from the Athenian Acropolis, a work of Alkamenes, and focus on the depiction of the story in vase painting.

On the interior of a kylix attributed to Onesimos,⁵⁴ the murder scene is elaborately composed: a standing female figure, Prokne, violently assaults her young son, held in the air by a second female figure, very fragmentarily preserved — traces of a foot, a hand, and the dress are visible — and most probably to be identified with Philomela. The boy is explicitly identified as Itys by an inscription. The scene must have been rather violently depicted, since there are traces of blood running down the upper part of the boy's body. It is not the moment right before, but the actual murder that the painter chose to depict. The image of a bleeding child held by two women must have been quite a drastic subject.

A slightly earlier representation can be found on the interior of a kylix decorated by an unknown painter around 510/500 BCE (fig. 5.5). Prokne is holding down the young boy on a big bed and is about to kill him with a long sword. The Thracian cap behind the boy's head characterizes him as a non-Athenian. Itys stretches his hand towards his mother's chin in a desperate attempt to receive mercy. The position of Prokne's arm holding the sword is awkward, but allows the painter to depict the face of a mother about to murder her only child.

On a mid-fifth-century hydria in Prague, the painter managed to capture the dramatic moment before the killing, while Prokne is still struggling with herself.⁵⁵ She is represented with her body turned away from the sleeping boy, but her face

⁵³ KLÖCKNER (2005).

⁵⁴ Basle, Private Collection, Cahn 599.

⁵⁵ Prague, Charles University 60.31 (the scene has been also interpreted as Medea standing over one of her children or Klytaemnestra contemplating Cassandra's murder).

(in three-quarter view) is looking back and down to Itys. With both hands she holds the long sword. The bed in the scene depicted in the tondo of the kylix from the late 6th century and the sleeping boy on the hydria make clear that the murder takes place at night.

5. Violence against the weak. A nocturnal monopoly?

At this point, one should raise the question whether violence against young women, children, and older people is something that needs to be exclusively seen as a product of nocturnal real or metaphorical darkness. Violent acts against virgins usually in the form of rape or attempted rape are often depicted in Athenian vase painting and in most cases this violence is rather solar in its temporal quality.⁵⁶ The significant difference to the rape of Kassandra is that we are usually dealing with violence ‘performed’ by male divinities who chase after young women.⁵⁷

If it were not for an infamous incident from the broader context of the Trojan War, mortal violence against children could be considered an exclusively nocturnal work. However, the murder of Troilos most probably takes place either at dawn or sunset, but not during the night.⁵⁸ Still, the brutal killing was certainly not bathed in sunlight. Troilos’ murder by Achilles was described in the lost epic poem *Kypria*.⁵⁹ In the *Iliad*, there is only one reference to the young Trojan prince in the last rhapsody.⁶⁰ The most detailed literary accounts of the Troilos narrative date to the Hellenistic period. There were apparently various versions of the myth describing Troilos sometimes as

⁵⁶ SOURVINOU-INWOOD (1987); LEFKOWITZ (1993); STEWART (1995); COHEN (1996).

⁵⁷ For an interesting take on the subject, see DEACY (2013).

⁵⁸ ZINDEL (1974) 30-80; KNAUSS (2006) 163-171.

⁵⁹ FANTUZZI (2012) 14.

⁶⁰ HOM. *Il.* 24, 257.

a young man and more often as a boy. The aspect of a homoerotic attraction between Achilles and Troilos is a late literary addition, although its presence in early depictions of the topic strongly suggests that homosexuality was indeed part of a now lost literary tradition.⁶¹

The mythological narrative shows Achilles ambushing Troilos (and his sister Polyxena) at a fountain, Achilles chasing on foot the rider Troilos, Achilles capturing Troilos and dragging him to the sanctuary of Apollo Thymbraios (where Achilles was to be killed later), and Achilles ‘sacrificing’ the youth at the altar. Hector recovers the mutilated body of his brother. Greek art depicted almost every single moment of the narrative, showing a particular interest in the ambush and chase incidents. An admittedly small group of black figure vases depicts the most brutally violent moment of the entire Achilles-Troilos-narrative: while Hektor accompanied by further Trojan warriors tries to recover Troilos’ body, Achilles is using the head of the boy as a weapon against his opponents. On a black-figure hydria Achilles is using Troilos’ head like a stone,⁶² while on a so-called Tyrrhenian amphora the decapitated body is covered by the altar (very similar to the Delphic omphalos!) and the head is functioning as a quasi-gorgoneion at the tip of Achilles’ spear against the Trojan warriors led by Hector.⁶³ On a kylix signed by Euphronios as a potter in Perugia,⁶⁴ the sacrilegious act is emphasized by the placement of the boy very close to the altar of Apollo and the killing is prepared in a way that is reminiscent of a *sphagion* sacrifice with the head of the ‘sacrificial’ victim brutally pulled back so as to expose the throat.⁶⁵

The murder of or — more generally speaking — violence against older people is truly a rare narrative in the world of images. Priamos’s killing is certainly the most prominent example,

⁶¹ VON DEN HOFF (2005) 233.

⁶² London, British Museum B326.

⁶³ Munich, Antikensammlungen 1426.

⁶⁴ Perugia, Museo Civico 89.

⁶⁵ MYLONOPOULOS (2013) 80-81; (2017) 78.

although a small number of vases do show the murder of elderly Pelias. Despite an obvious ageism in ancient Greece,⁶⁶ older people are indeed in most cases treated with the kind of respect that is not always shown to male children and even far less so to young women.

All the more puzzling appears Herakles' assault of Geras, the personified Old Age, a story that we only know through the available visual evidence.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the "accursed" Geras is considered by Hesiod as one of the rather numerous children of Nyx.⁶⁸ The power of Nyx of whom even Zeus is afraid becomes immediately apparent when one checks the list of her children according to the Hesiodic *Theogony*: From Doom (Moros), Destruction (Ker), Disgrace (Momos), Misery (Oizys), and Death (Thanatos) to Deceit (Apate), Old Age (Geras), and Strife (Eris).⁶⁹ Painful and destructive situations alongside powerful personifications such as Nemesis and the Moirai are seen in direct connection to the Nyx. Some of these nocturnal children, such as Hypnos and Thanatos will come to acquire a rather significant existence in Greek art,⁷⁰ while others will even become important cultic figures, like Nemesis.⁷¹ The inclusion of Geras in this rather gloomy list of Nyx' offspring demonstrates clearly what and how the Greeks were thinking of Old Age that Herakles was supposed to slay in a series of Athenian images that seem to preserve a mythological tradition otherwise lost.⁷² Still, violence against older people seems to have been more problematic in its representability than the violent treatment of young women and children.

⁶⁶ MINOIS (1989) 43-77; SCHMITZ (2009). BRANDT (2002) 41-50 is more nuanced in his understanding of old age in ancient Greece.

⁶⁷ SCHULZE (2003).

⁶⁸ HES. *Theog.* 225.

⁶⁹ HES. *Theog.* 211-225.

⁷⁰ MINTSI (1991); (1997); GIUDICE (2003).

⁷¹ BONANNO (2016).

⁷² SCHULZE (2003) 234.

6. Some conclusions

In his 1963 acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, the Greek poet George Seferis made a rather interesting comment about the real and symbolic significance of sunlight:

“When I read in Homer the simple words ‘φάος ἡλίου’ — today I would say ‘φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου’ (the sunlight) — I experience a familiarity that stems from a collective soul rather than from an intellectual effort. It is a tone, one might say, whose harmonies reach quite far; it feels very different from anything a translation can give. For we do, after all, speak the same language — a language changed, if you insist, by an evolution of several thousand years, but despite everything faithful to itself — and the feeling for a language derives from emotions as much as from knowledge. This language shows the imprints of deeds and attitudes repeated throughout the ages down to our own.”⁷³

Admittedly, sunlight plays an important role in the Greek poet’s work; for him, the sunlight is occasionally even equaled to the notion of “homeland”.⁷⁴ What comes as a surprise, however, is that a closer look at the Homeric use of the expression φάος ἡλίου reveals that from the 18 examples in the Homeric corpus, seven are associated to the sunset, while all others refer directly or indirectly to death. For F. Létoublon, the society that comes to life in the Homeric epics used the phrase “to see the light of the sun” in order to express the feeling of being alive; death, on the other side, equals the darkness of the underworld.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, death is not verbally rendered through an expression that places emphasis on the presence of darkness, but rather on the absence of light. Darkness and night are silenced even in a context with which they are intimately associated: Death.

⁷³ From G. SEFERIS’ speech on December 11, 1963, to be found in FRENZ (1969).

⁷⁴ LEONTIS (1995) 5-6.

⁷⁵ LÉTOUBLON (2010).

There can be no question that the world of images does reflect actual realities of nocturnal violence, but at the same time the conscious choice to visualize specific categories of that violence and ignore others says a lot about how Greeks and perhaps more specifically Athenians were thinking about violence in general and nocturnal violence in particular. As S. Muth has argued already, the victims of violence are significant in understanding the qualities of those performing the violent acts: one of Muth's main suggestions is that the elevated status and strength of the annihilated opponent elevates almost like an attribute the nature of the victor.⁷⁶ There is, however, absolutely nothing heroic or glorious about killing children and old men or about raping young women who had sought refuge at a cult statue. There is no story to be told about killing (while laughing) an ugly, frightened spy in the middle of the night (Dolon) or about sneaking into the camp of your enemy and killing him in his sleep (Rhesos). This might explain on the one side the relatively small number of images associated with the narratives of Kassandra, Astyanax, Priamos, Dolon, Rhesos when compared to the countless depictions of scenes from the Trojan War that have nothing to do with nocturnal activities and violence during the night. On the other side, the victims on whom artists apparently chose to focus are not only part of the "Other" (children, women, older people, foreigners), but also elements of society that are considered inherently weak, and brutal violence against them although not very honorable or glorious can at least be problematized visually. The hydria by the Kleophrades Painter is in this respect an almost social comment in visual terms against the atrocities of war and nothing can put more emphasis on them than the violence against someone who cannot defend him/herself.

⁷⁶ MUTH (2008) 551: "Überspitzt formuliert, kann man demnach die Opfer- und die Gewalt-Ikonographie (auch) als einen Teil der erweiterten Sieger-Ikonographie verstehen".

In this respect, the night of doom, destruction, disgrace, misery, deceit, strife, and death seems to have been considered the ideal background for staging the usually dark fate of the weak or the undeservedly miserable death of a hero, such as Agamemnon. Not much has changed in this kind of conception of the night across the centuries, so that even a brief survey of 19th century romantic opera would reveal that the weak suffer at night and they often suffer unjustifiably. The night is the time in which Vincenzo Bellini's Amina, Gaetano Donizetti's Anna Bolena, or Ambroise Thomas' Ophélie lose their minds or even their lives. Exceptional in this respect is Donizetti's Lucia, a nocturnal victim (of her brother, Enrico) and at the same time a nocturnal perpetrator (murderer of her unwanted groom, Arturo). Only rarely do we find in Greek art this kind of role reversal of the nocturnal victim, of the female, for example, that is able to defend herself and turn the tables on her male attacker: It is again the Kleophrades Painter on his iconic vase in Naples that presents the viewer with an image of female empowerment and a complete reversal of roles in the traditional theater of nocturnal violence. Here, it is a young Trojan woman who attacks a Greek soldier kneeling on the ground with a pestle (fig. 5.3c). It is almost ironic that the posture of the Greek soldier is not identical but indeed reminiscent of old Aethra in the following scene who is about to be freed from her Trojan slavery by her grandchildren: Demophon and Akamas. In the middle of the night, two female victims are shown fighting against their fate (the anonymous Trojan) or finally escaping it (Aethra). The night is not always that dark after all.

Works cited

- ARNAIZ, J.M. (1996), *Las pinturas negras de Goya* (Madrid).
- BARNES, J.T. (2014), "Asteras eirein: An Archaic View of the Constellations from Halai'", *Hesperia* 83, 257-276.
- BONANNO, D. (2016), "Figlia della notte e compagna di Aidos: Nemesis, Dike e il senso del limite in Esiodo", in D. BONANNO / P. FUNKE / M. HAAKE (eds.), *Rechtliche Verfahren und religiöse*

- Sanktionierungen in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Stuttgart), 103-114.
- BRANDT, H. (2002), *Wird auch silbern mein Haar. Eine Geschichte des Alters in der Antike* (Darmstadt).
- CARPENTER, T.H. (1986), *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art. Its Development in Black-Figure Vase Painting* (Oxford).
- CHANIOTIS, A. (2017), "Violence in the Dark: Emotional Impact, Representation, Response", in M. CHAMPION / L. O'SULLIVAN (eds.), *Cultural Perceptions of Violence* (London), 100-115.
- CIRIO, A.M. (1997), "Fonti letterarie e iconografiche della Dolonia", *Sileno* 23, 111-117.
- COHEN, A. (1996), "Portrayals of Abduction in Greek Art: Rape or Metaphor?" in N.B. KAMPEN (ed.), *Sexuality in Ancient Art. Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy* (New York), 117-135.
- CONNELLY, J.B. (1993), "Narrative and Image in the Attic Vase Painting: Ajax and Kassandra at the Trojan Palladion", in J.P. HOLLIDAY (ed.), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge), 88-129.
- DEACY, S. (2013), "From 'Flowery Tales' to 'Heroic Rapes': Virginal Subjectivity in the Mythological Meadow", *Arethusa* 46, 395-413.
- DUNSBY, J. (1992), *Schoenberg. Pierrot Lunaire* (Cambridge).
- FANTUZZI, M. (2012), *Achilles in Love. Intertextual Studies* (Oxford).
- FERRARI PINEY, G. / SISMONDO RIDGWAY, B. (1981), "Herakles at the Ends of the Earth", *JHS* 101, 141-144.
- FRENZ, H. (ed.) (1969), *Nobel Lectures. Literature 1901-1967* (Amsterdam).
- GEBAUER, J. (2002), *Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen* (Münster).
- GIUDICE, E. (2003), "Hypnos, Thanatos ed il viaggio della morte sulle lekythoi funerarie a fondo bianco", *Ostraka* 12, 145-158.
- GOUVARD, J.-M. (2004), "Métrique comparée de l'octosyllabe français et allemand : du *Pierrot lunaire* d'Albert Giraud à sa traduction par Otto Erich Hartleben", in M. DELAERE / J.H. PEETERS (eds.), *Pierrot lunaire. Albert Giraud–Otto Erich Hartleben–Arnold Schoenberg* (Louvain), 49-66.
- GURY, F. (1994) "Selene, Luna", in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 7.1 (Zurich), 706-715.
- HÖLSCHER, F. (2010), "Gods and Statues. An Approach to Archaistic Images in the Fifth Century BCE", in I. MYLONOPoulos (ed.), *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Leiden), 105-120.
- VON DEN HOFF, R. (2005), "Achill, das Vieh? Zur Problematisierung transgressiver Gewalt in klassischen Vasenbildern", in G. FISCHER /

- S. MORAW (eds.), *Die andere Seite der Klassik. Gewalt im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart), 225-246.
- JUBIER-GALINIER, C. (1998), "Héraclès entre bêtes et dieux dans l'atelier des peintres de Sappho et de Diosphos", in C. BONNET / C. JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN / V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE (eds.), *Le bestiaire d'Héraclès. IIIe Rencontre héracléenne* (Liège), 75-85.
- KLÖCKNER, A. (2005), "Mordende Mütter. Medea, Prokne und das Motiv der furchtbaren Rache im klassischen Athen", in G. FISCHER / S. MORAW (eds.), *Die andere Seite der Klassik. Gewalt im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart), 247-263.
- KNAUSS, F. (2006), "Vor der Ilias: Neun Jahre Krieg", in R. WÜNSCHE (ed.), *Mythos Troja* (Munich), 154-179.
- KOWALZIG, B. (2007), *Singing for the Gods. Performances of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Oxford).
- LEFKOWITZ, M.R. (1993), "Seduction and Rape in Greek Myth", in A.E. LAIOU (ed.), *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies* (Washington, D.C.), 17-37.
- LEONTIS, A. (1995), *Topographies of Hellenism. Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca).
- LÉTOUBLON, F. (2010), "To See or not to See: Blind People and Blindness in Ancient Greek Myths", in M. CHRISTOPOULOS / E. KARAKANTZA / O. LEVANIOUK (eds.), *Light and Darkness in Greek Myth and Religion* (Lanham), 167-180.
- LISSARRAGUE, F. (1980), "Iconographie de Dolon le Loup", *Revue Archéologique* 1980, 3-30.
- MANGOLD, M. (2000), *Kassandra in Athen. Die Eroberung Trojas auf attischen Vasenbildern* (Berlin).
- MARSH, R. (2007), "'A Multicoloured Alphabet': Rediscovering Albert Giraud's *Pierrot lunaire*", *Twentieth-Century Music* 4.1, 97-121.
- MASON, P.G. (1959), "Kassandra", *JHS* 79, 80-93.
- MINOIS, G. (1989), *History of Old Age. From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago).
- MINTSI, E. (1991), "Hypnos et Thanatos sur les vases attiques (520-470 av. J.C.)", *Histoire de l'art* 15, 9-20.
- (1997), "Hypnos et Thanatos sur les lécythes attiques à fond blanc : Deuxième moitié du Ve siècle av. J.C.", *REA* 99, 47-61.
- MUTH, S. (2008), *Gewalt im Bild. Das Phänomen der medialen Gewalt im Athen des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin).
- MYLONOPOULOS, I. (2013), "Gory Details? The Iconography of Human Sacrifice in Greek Art", in R. GAGNÉ / P. BONNECHERE (eds.), *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece. Cross-Cultural Perspectives and Representations* (Liege), 61-85.

- (2017), “Emotions in Ancient Greek Art” in A. CHANIOTIS / N. KALTSAS / I. MYLONOPOULOS (eds.), *A World of Emotions. Ancient Greece, 700 BC - 200 AD* (New York), 72-85.
- PATTON, K.C. (2009), *Religion of the Gods. Ritual, Paradox, and Reflexivity* (Oxford).
- PUFFETT, K. (2006), “Structural Imagery: *Pierrot Lunaire* Revisited”, *Tempo* 60, no. 237, 2-22.
- RECKE, M. (2002), *Gewalt und Leid. Das Bild des Kriegers bei den Athenern im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Istanbul).
- REICHARDT, B. (2007), “Mythische Mütter. Thetis und Eos in der attischen Bilderwelt des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.”, in M. MEYER (ed.), *Besorgte Mütter und sorglose Zeicher. Mythische Exempel in der Bilderwelt Athens* (Vienna), 13-98.
- SCHMITZ, W. (2009), “Schwer lastet das Alter: Alte Menschen im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland”, in W. SCHMITZ / H.-H. VON PRITTWITZ (eds.), *Alter in der Antike. Die Blüte des Alters ist aber die Weisheit* (Mainz), 23-27.
- SCHRAUDOLPH, E. (2007), “Beispiele hellenistischer Plastik der Zeit zwischen 190 und 160 v.Chr.”, in C. BOL (ed.), *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst. III, Hellenistische Plastik* (Mainz), 189-239.
- SCHULZE, H. (2003), “Herakles bedroht des Alter, oder das Alter bedroht Herakles: Ein Bildrätsel”, in R. WÜNSCHE (ed.), *Herakles – Herkules* (Munich), 234-237.
- SHAPIRO, H.A. (1993), *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 B.C.* (Zurich).
- SIMON, E. (1953), *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin).
- SOURVINOU-INWOOD, C. (1987), “A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings”, *JHS* 107, 131-153.
- SPLITTER, R. (2000), *Die “Kypseloslade” in Olympia. Form, Funktion und Bildschmuck. Eine archäologische Rekonstruktion* (Mainz).
- STEWART, A.F. (1995), “Rape?” in E.D. REEDER (ed.), *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece* (Princeton), 74-90.
- TACK, L. (2004), “Transfert et traduction de Pierrot lunaire: une description sociosémio-tique”, in M. DELAERE / J.H. PEETERS (eds.), *Pierrot lunaire. Albert Giraud–Otto Erich Hartleben–Arnold Schoenberg* (Louvain), 85-108.
- TAPLIN, O. (2007), *Pots & Plays. Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-Painting of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Los Angeles).
- TRUE, M. (1995), “The Murder of Rhesos on a Chalcidian Neck-Amphora by the Inscription Painter”, in J. CARTER / S. MORRIS (eds.), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule* (Austin), 415-429.

- VILAIN, R. (2004), “*Pierrot lunaire*: Cyclic Coherence in Giraud and Schoenberg”, in M. DELAERE / J.H. PEETERS (eds.), *Pierrot lunaire. Albert Giraud–Otto Erich Hartleben–Arnold Schoenberg* (Louvain), 127-144.
- WEISS, C. (1986) “Eos”, in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 3.1 (Zurich), 747-789.
- ZINDEL, C. (1974), *Drei vorhomerische Sagenversionen in der griechischen Kunst* (Basle).

DISCUSSION

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Il est très heureux que cette communication nous permette de discuter le remarquable lécythe à fond blanc attribué au Peintre de Sappho. J'ai deux questions intimement liées l'une à l'autre à poser au sujet de l'iconographie de ce vase. La première concerne la représentation des entités cosmiques sur la face principale, Nyx, Eos et Hélios. Ne peut-on considérer qu'il s'agit d'une référence spatiale plutôt que temporelle ? La nuit et le jour se croisent aux confins du monde, et cette alternance est évidemment liée à la lumière du soleil. Donc, ce pourrait être une représentation de l'*eschaton* où Héraclès va pouvoir descendre dans l'autre monde. Ce qui m'amène évidemment à ma deuxième question : est-il inconcevable d'interpréter le chien comme un Cerbère et l'espace où il apparaît comme une entrée des Enfers, dont Héraclès tente de se propitier les dieux avant d'y descendre ? Je renvoie à ce sujet à l'article de Cécile Jubier-Galinier dans le 7^e supplément de *Kernos*, *Le Bestiaire d'Héraclès*.

I. Mylonopoulos: Let me start with your second question. Jubier-Galinier actually opposed the idea that the dog should be unequivocally identified as Kerberos. For her, the presence of the dog indicated the status of Herakles as being between gods (the personifications) and animals. Gloria Ferrari Pinney and Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway argued for an identification of the dog as Kerberos and saw in the whole scene, as you described, the preparation for the hero's *katabasis* into the Underworld. In my interpretation, the inscription identifying the dog plays an important role. We can either claim that the Sappho Painter is simply doing what artists such as Kleitias did, using inscriptions to identify animals and inanimate objects for

the sake of inscriptions on the surface of the vase, or we can place the inscription associated with the dog in the context of the other inscriptions on the vase. In this way, the inscription cannot simply mean “dog”, but is rather the name of the figure “Dog [Star]”. In addition, one has to emphasize that the dog occupies in the area under the handle the exact position that Helios has on the other side of the vase. Thus even compositionally, the artist is trying to show that the Dog is not just a dog. If the artist had wished to make clear that we are looking at Kerberos, then it would have been rather easy to inscribe the figure accordingly. To your first question: If one accepts the idea that the dog is Seirios, then the primary frame of the scene is a temporal one. Having said this, however, there is nothing to exclude a second more space-oriented layer of meaning. Quite the contrary, this would make the scene even more intriguing: the sacrificial ritual — that we are still trying to understand — takes place in a liminal time and space.

F. Carlà-Uhink: Would it be possible to read the lekythos ‘geographically’, considering the rising sun as an indication of the East, from which both Eos and Nyx move on their regular course towards the West, in which Herakles is located (and which would be compatible with the mythical material about his wanderings)?

I. Mylonopoulos: Basically, I avoid all too literal readings of imagery, but if we wish to go there, then the iconography of the scene shows that Nyx and Eos are moving in different directions. Thus I would be hesitant to talk about who is moving East and who is moving West. Like I mentioned in my previous answer, there is nothing against a ‘geographical’ reading of the scene. What I am proposing is that the main concern of the artist might have been the temporal rather than the spatial frame.

A. Chaniotis: Many thanks for this very original contribution. I would only add that the iconography that you studied

primarily appears on vases that were often used in a sympotic context. The images that you discussed were viewed in the flickering light of lamps. This must have certainly added to the dramatic and emotive impact of the images.

I. Mylonopoulos: Absolutely. This is something that one should consider for any sympotic vase — and it has been done already, but we need to be even more aware of the viewing circumstances (arrangement of lamps and/or candelabras in a convivial space, height of the light sources etc.).

A. Chaniotis: I think that it is significant to highlight the domestic, not public, context of viewing images of nocturnal violence. Although images of sacked cities and ambushes were seen in the safe and sheltered space of the house, they reminded how fragile this safety could be in a world dominated by war.

I. Mylonopoulos: Indeed. Usually, we tend to see these images in the context of victory and glory, but vases such as the hydria by the Kleophrades Painter make clear that the same imagery did function as a reminder of what could happen to anyone. If I am not wrong, this is something that Susanne Muth pointed out in her book on violence.

R. Schlesier: It is fascinating that a juxtaposition of Nyx and Eos is to be found in the visual evidence, and apparently not in the literary evidence. Yet in these nocturnal scenes, in which the night is indicated through such juxtaposition, no violence is visible. By contrast, in scenes, in which violence by night is the central feature of the narrative (as in the case of Rhesos, Dolon etc.), any visual reference to a nocturnal setting is missing. Does it mean that the night as the time when the violence takes place is considered irrelevant?

I. Mylonopoulos: I do not think that the nocturnal temporal frame is irrelevant, it is simply known. Visual elements, such as

the crescent moon and/or the stars, usually function as attributes of figures as in the case of the female busts on the squat lekythoi I showed, or they become almost part of the setting but not as temporal signifiers as in the case of some scenes showing Herakles lifting the sky so that Atlas can get the apples of the Hesperides. I think this is exactly what makes the small lekythos in New York so intriguing, all these personifications indicating the time, if I am correct, in which the sacrificial ritual that Herakles is performing takes place.

R. Schlesier: Luca Giuliani had argued, with regard to the iconography of mythical narratives on ancient Greek vases, that the knowledge of the viewers and users is a pre-condition for understanding a scene, since without such a knowledge, one would not be able to appreciate the divergence from the common representation of a particular story.¹ Do you think that this could apply to the material you presented us?

I. Mylonopoulos: I think that we tend to expect too much from an ancient viewer. A certain level of understanding made the images perhaps more easily ‘digestible’, but even if someone did not know the exact story, the images could help the viewer invent their own stories. It would take us too far, but I do think that our contemporary view of myths is more rigid than the ancient. This is why we have so many images that we cannot fit into a canon of literarily preserved myths. We do not always need to presuppose the existence of a lost tragedy whenever an image on a vase does not correspond to the version Euripides decided to promote or even invent. I firmly believe that ancient vase painters and artists in general were taking liberties with the stories they wished to tell that were not based on now lost versions of myths.

¹ See e.g. L. GIULIANI (2014), “Mythen- versus Lebensbilder? Vom begrenzten Gebrauchswert einer beliebten Opposition”, in O. DALLY *et al.* (eds.), *Medien der Geschichte – Antikes Griechenland und Rom* (Berlin), 204–226, esp. 221–223.

L. Dossey: As a continuation of Renate Schlesier's question regarding why the nocturnal setting was not made obvious in these vases, could it be because the night was simply not frightening in the 6th and 5th centuries BC? That is, an explicit nighttime setting would not have added anything to the horror of the scene. In one of the few of your examples where the nocturnal setting is clear — Rhesus's murder — perhaps it is the vulnerability of sleep that is frightening, not the darkness of the night. How would you respond? How scary was the night in Classical Greece?

I. Mylonopoulos: It is not the night setting that is per se frightening. The darkness allows for horrible acts to take place and in an almost circular flow these acts transform the absence of light during the night into a frightening time. I am not sure I can answer the question as to how scary the night in Classical Greece was, what the images that I studied show, however, is that violent acts know no time limit, they can happen during the day, they can take place at night. However, nocturnal acts of violence tend to be more brutal when they do find their way into the world of images. It's as if the implicit — and known — temporal frame of the night allows violence to become visualized in an even more brutal form. For nocturnal violent scenes, vase painters seem do go further than they are usually willing to do when depicting solar violence.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Le vase apulien mettant en scène les épisodes terribles de la geste de Médée présente des torches pour signifier que le meurtre d'un des deux enfants se passe pendant la nuit. Y a-t-il une relation avec la mise en scène d'une tragédie ? Et peut-on placer ce vase produit par un atelier apulien sur le même pied que les vases attiques ?

I. Mylonopoulos: As I said previously, I do not think we should start looking for lost tragedies every time an image does not correspond to the Athenian canon. We can indeed expect

adaptations of well known plays, but we should also anticipate artists that were willing and able to change the narrative without the influence of a play. To your second point: we know that Athenian tragedies were produced in Magna Grecia and thus certainly influenced the local world of images. If someone is interested in the exact pairing of word and image, and expects that the path of influence is one-sided, then there should be a clear preference toward Athenian vases over those produced in other areas. However, as I have tried to make clear, this approach minimizes the importance of visual evidence to yet another tool for finding the original text, and I do not think that this should be the point.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Dans la représentation que les Grecs se font de la vieillesse, Geras est une entité négative que la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode qualifie d'*oulomenon* (vers 225). Je ne pense pas que, en tant qu'enfant de la Nuit, Geras fasse partie des divinités 'neutres'. Le vase qui représente Héraclès s'apprêtant à frapper Geras de sa massue me paraît significatif de ce point de vue : le petit personnage est fortement marqué par les stigmates de l'âge mais, surtout, la posture d'Héraclès, massue à la main, prêt à frapper, ne place-t-elle pas la scène dans la lignée de ses travaux contre des entités malfaisantes ?

I. Mylonopoulos: The personified Old Age in Hesiod is indeed 'accursed'. This seems to correspond nicely to the small group of vases from Athens that depict Herakles fighting Geras. There is a very interesting early-fifth-century pelike in Berlin that shows Herakles fighting a winged small figure that is in its physique extremely reminiscent of Geras.² Scholars hesitate to call this figure Geras, but if it is true, then Geras could almost be seen as a daemon-like creature. There might be a reference to a winged version of Geras in Euripides' *Herakles* (637-654, esp. 653-654). However, old age as a stage in life is perceived

² Berlin, Antikensammlung 3317. CVA Berlin, *Antikensammlung XV*, 24-25.

much more ambiguously, and this is reflected both in our literary sources and in the ways older citizens and mythological figures are depicted in art, especially vase painting. I exclude here consciously the *genre* sculpture of the Hellenistic period.

K. De Temmerman: For some of the scenes that you have discussed I wonder about potential dynamics of foreknowledge of viewers on the one hand and clues given to them on the other. What is the significance, for example, of kylikes in which the horrible scene is in the center?

I. Mylonopoulos: I guess you mean the image in the tondo of a kylix. Here, one has to imagine the vase and its imagery while in use. We need to visualize a symposiast drinking his wine and, while the liquid vanishes, he encounters far too closely images of terrible acts (by men who lost control?) or even faces of terror (a Gorgoneion) reminding him of what can happen if he drinks too much and loses control. The truth is, however, that we can only speculate about the impact these images had.

P. Ducrey: I would like to ask a question on the Mykonos amphora. Is there a message, a comment against violence?

I. Mylonopoulos: Very tempting. The accumulation of truly violent scenes could indicate far too many things: an encyclopedic interest in what can happen during the sack of a city, a ‘simple’ episodic narrative of the imagined sack of Troy, or indeed, some sort of comment against violence and especially martial violence. What in my view could point towards the latter as the primary interest of the artist is the fact that the Greek warriors are shown attacking women and children. It seems as if the artist wishes the viewer to focus on the sufferings of the ‘weak’ in times of war. In this respect, the Mykonos pithamphora could be understood as a magnificent predecessor to the Kleophrades vase in Naples.

VI

SERGIO CASALI

IMBOScate NOTTURNE NELL'EPICA ROMANA

In questo intervento mi occuperò di alcuni momenti della ricezione della Doloneia omerica nell'epica romana.¹ Un recente, importante libro di Casey Dué e Mary Ebbott ha fatto compiere un deciso passo in avanti agli studi su *Iliade* 10 e su quella che le autrici chiamano la “poetica dell’imboscata”. Dué ed Ebbott dedicano anche un capitolo alla ricezione di *Il.* 10 nella poesia successiva, e in particolare nell’episodio di Eurialo e Niso in *Eneide* 9.² Visto che mi sono occupato in passato proprio di questo argomento (Casali [2004]), e visto che le due studiose citano il mio lavoro, talvolta con approvazione, talvolta criticandolo, mi sarebbe piaciuto ridiscutere il rapporto tra *Il.* 10 e *Aen.* 9; purtroppo, lo spazio a disposizione non mi permette di instaurare con Dué ed Ebbott un dialogo approfondito, che rimando quindi a un’altra occasione. In questa sede mi limiterò ad alcune osservazioni sul modo in cui l’ambientazione notturna connaturata al tema dell’imboscata influisce sulla costruzione e sui dettagli del racconto in tre momenti della fortuna della Doloneia nell’epica romana: ritorneremo su Eurialo e Niso per sottolineare la complessità del rapporto che lega l’episodio virgiliano al suo modello omerico per quanto

¹ Ringrazio Angelos Chaniotis per l’invito e tutti i partecipanti agli *Entretiens* per le molte osservazioni e le critiche costruttive. Un ringraziamento speciale a Damien Nelis che ha anche letto la versione scritta del mio intervento, dandomi suggerimenti preziosi.

² DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 135-151.

riguarda il sottotema della vestizione notturna dei guerrieri; accenneremo alla problematizzazione etica del motivo della strage dei dormienti nel libro 10 della *Tebaide* di Stazio, nonché, ancora, alla sottigliezza con cui Stazio rielabora elementi omerici e virgiliani nella vestizione notturna; e infine analizzeremo un episodio notturno del libro 7 dei *Punica* di Silio Italico che presuppone un’ulteriore, raffinata rilettura di Omero attraverso Virgilio.

1. Eurialo e Niso: lo scambio delle armi e la spada di Licaone

Ascanio finisce il suo discorso a Eurialo e Niso in lacrime. Egli dà quindi ad Ascanio la sua spada, opera mirabile del cretese Licaone; Mnesteo dà a Niso la pelle di un ispido leone; Alete scambia il suo elmo con quello di Niso (*Aen.* 9, 303-307):

*sic ait inlacrimans; umero simul exuit ensim
auratum, mira quem fecerat arte Lycaon
Cnosius atque habilem uagina aptarat eburna.
dat Niso Mnestheus pellem horrentisque leonis
exuuias, galeam fidus permuat Aletes.*

305

“Così [Ascanio] dice, piangendo; e si sfila di spalla la spada adornata d’oro, che aveva fatto con mirabile arte Licaone di Cnosso, dotandola, per impugnarla facilmente, di un fodero d’avorio. Mnesteo dà a Niso una pelle, spoglie di irsuto leone; il fidato Alete scambia con lui l’elmo.”

Questo passo è modellato sulla scena che si svolge nel campo acheo in *Il.* 10, 254-272 (citato per esteso più avanti): Trasimede dà a Diomede una spada, uno scudo, un “casco (*κυνέγνη*) di pelle di toro senza cimiero e senza cresta”; Merione dà ad Odisseo arco e faretra, una spada, un elmo di cuoio (di cui si narrano le vicissitudini), rivestito all’esterno da lamine ricavate da denti di cinghiale. In Omero i due speciali elmi hanno un rilievo particolare: gli scolii bT suggeriscono che Diomede e Odisseo siano forniti di elmi speciali, fatti di pelle e cuoio, perché il metallo lucente che era usuale, con le creste vistose, era inappropriato per la missione di spionaggio, in cui i due non dovevano farsi

scorgere dal nemico. È probabile che tale fosse la reale funzione degli elmi nel testo omerico,³ ma sicuramente Virgilio segue l'interpretazione degli scolii nel fare scambiare gli elmi ad Alete e Niso. Come notano anche Dué ed Ebbott, poiché non sembra che durante la spedizione Niso indossi un elmo metallico (che è il significato di *galea*, per esempio, in *Aen.* 9, 365 e 373), forse si deve dedurre da questo scambio che Niso ricevesse da Alete un casco non metallico.⁴ Fa riferimento al testo omerico già Servio, che alla parola *galea* (9, 307) annota: “le *galeae* infatti sono proprie delle spie, come mostra anche Omero”.⁵ Lo scambio di elmi tra Alete e Niso allude dunque al testo omerico attraverso la spiegazione degli scoliasti antichi, e prepara il terreno per il fatale errore di Eurialo: qui non si dice nulla sul copricapo di Eurialo, ma nel seguito dell'impresa egli indosserà l'elmo (*galea*) di Messapo (9, 365-366), di cui si specifica che è *cristis... decora* (contrasta “senza cresta” dell'elmo di Diomede, *Il.* 10, 258), e sarà quest'elmo, riflettendo i raggi della luna, a tradirlo (9, 373-374).

Due dei “prestiti” virgiliani sono quindi *evidentemente* significativi in termini di intertestualità omerica: Mnesteo dà a Niso una pelle di leone come quella che indossava Diomede in *Il.* 10, 177 (e in generale il motivo del vestirsi di pelli animali è di centrale importanza nella Doloneia); Alete scambia il suo elmo con quello di Niso, richiamando l'altro motivo importante delle strane vestizioni di *Il.* 10, cioè l'uso di caschi non metallici.⁶ L'indossare una pelle di leone e lo scambio di elmi sono azioni che rimandano con molta enfasi alla specificità

³ Pace HAINSWORTH (1993) 178; cf. invece DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 290-292.

⁴ DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 146, n. 106.

⁵ Cf. SCHLUNK (1974) 69-70.

⁶ HARDIE (1994) a *Aen.* 9, 304-305 ricorda che in *Od.* 8, 400-406 un Feacio di nome Euryalos regala a Odisseo una spada di bronzo con elsa d'argento e custodia d'avorio: *Od.* 8, 404, incorniciato da ἀργυρέη, “d'argento”, e ἐλέφαντος, “d'avorio”, è riecheggiato in *Aen.* 9, 304-305, incorniciati da *auratum*, “d'oro”, e *eburna*, “d'avorio”. Uno stupefacente tour-de-force intertestuale: il modello principale, filtrato attraverso l'interpretazione degli scolii, è incrociato con un modello secondario proveniente dall'*Odissea*, il cui unico legame con la presente situazione è dato dalla coincidenza dei nomi dei personaggi.

della missione notturna, che richiede un abbigliamento particolare, e allo svolgimento di questa specificità nel testo della Doloneia omerica. La pelle di leone identifica ironicamente Niso con Diomede, e lo scambio di elmi quanto meno *suggerisce* che Niso possa avere ricevuto l'appropriato casco non metallico così importante in *Il.* 10.

Sembrerebbe che la *spada* che Ascanio dà a Eurialo non sia similmente marcata. Dí essa l'unica cosa distintiva che venga detta è il nome del suo creatore, Licaone cretese. I commentatori non hanno molto da dire su questo particolare.⁷ Invece, la scelta del nome *Lycaon* per l'artista che ha creato la spada che Ascanio dà a Eurialo è significativa da almeno tre punti di vista.

(i) Che il nome dell'artista sia *Lycaon* si connette al tema del "lupo" che è così importante nella storia di Dolone. Il nome *Lycaon* allude senza dubbio alla famosa "pelle di lupo" indossata da Dolone nella sua sortita notturna (*Il.* 10, 334), che nel *Reso* suggerirà l'idea bizzarra che Dolone intenda travestirsi da lupo, avvicinandosi alle navi carponi ([Eur.] *Rhesus* 208-213).⁸ Mentre la pelle di leone identifica Niso con Diomede, creando una falsa aspettativa di successo, la spada associa Eurialo con Dolone, anticipando la contraddittorietà della spedizione del duo troiano, che è modellata sia sulla spedizione di Odisseo e Diomede che su quella di Dolone, e il suo finale fallimento.

(ii) La ricorrenza del nome *Lycaon* richiama anche *Il.* 21, 34-39, dove si ricorda come Achille avesse catturato, di notte, in un'imboscata, il troiano Licaone, figlio di Priamo:

ἔνθ' υἱοί Πριάμοιο συνήντετο Δαρδανίδαο
ἐκ ποταμοῦ φεύγοντι Λυκάονι, τόν δέ ποτ' αὔτὸς
ῆγε λαβών ἐκ πατρὸς λωῆς οὐκέτι θέλοντα

⁷ Cf. HARDIE (1994) e DINGEL (1997), *ad loc.*

⁸ Cf. PASCHALIS (1997) 311: "the sword of 'Lycaon' recalls the wolf-skin of 'Dolon'". È suggestivo ricordare come uno studio come quello di GERNET (1936), basandosi soprattutto sul passo del *Reso* pseudo-euripideo, suggerisse connessioni tra la storia di Dolone e il culto arcadico di Zeus Lykaios e il personaggio di Lykaon, che fu trasformato in lupo (GERNET [1936] 190-193; cf. DUÉ / EBBOTT [2010] 116 sulla tesi di Gernet e su altre proposte di interpretazione rituale, religiosa o folklorica della figura di Dolone).

ἐννύχιος προμολών. δ' ἐρινεὸν δέξεται χαλκῷ
τάμνε νέους ὅρπηκας, ἵν' ἀρματος ἄντυγες εἰεῖν.
τῷ δ' ἄρδετον κακὸν ἥλυθε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς.

“Là Achille incontrò il figlio del dardanide Priamo, Licaone, mentre fuggiva fuori dal fiume, che lui stesso una volta aveva condotto via dopo averlo catturato, contro la sua volontà, dal frutteto di suo padre, attaccandolo *di notte*. Licaone stava tagliando un albero di caprificio con il bronzo acuto, tagliando nuovi rami per farne parapetti di un carro. Per lui giunse un male inaspettato, l'illustre Achille.”

Achille aveva dunque catturato Licaone in un’imboscata notturna (ἐννύχιος).⁹ Nei versi successivi si racconta il seguito della storia di Licaone: Achille lo vendette a Lemno; lo comprò Euneo, figlio di Giasone; lo riscattò Eezione di Imbros, che lo mandò ad Arisba; da Arisba Licaone fuggì e tornò a Troia, dove però ebbe la sventura di incontrare di nuovo Achille, che lo uccide in una famosa scena che è stata descritta come “the climax of the set of supplications in battle”.¹⁰

La menzione del nome di Licaone in connessione con la partenza di Eurialo e Niso per la loro imboscata notturna richiama dunque non solo la pelle di lupo con cui il corrispettivo troiano iliadico di Eurialo e Niso, Dolone, si avviava alla sua disastrosa

⁹ Uno scolio del ms. Townley spiega ἐννύχιος citando *Il.* 9, 325 (ἐννύχιοις: εἴπει γάρ πολλάς μὲν ἀύπνους νύκτας ἵανον”), in un passo in cui Achille dice δέ καὶ ἔγώ πολλάς μὲν ἀύπνους νύκτας ἵανον / ήματα δέ αίματάντα διέπρησσον πολεμίζων / ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος δάρων ἔνεκα σφετεράων “così io ho passato molte notti insomni, e speso molti sanguinosi giorni in battaglia, combattendo con gli uomini per le loro mogli” (323-326). Per l’accento alle “molte notti insomni” come un riferimento all’abitudine di Achille di compiere imboscate notturne (di cui però conosciamo solo quella in cui ha rapito Licaone, poiché l’imboscata a Troilo dei *Cypria* non è attestata come notturna), vedi DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 43-44; in alcune versioni, a quanto si può ricavare da uno scolio del Venetus A ad *Il.* 22, 188, Achille uccideva perfino Ettore in un’imboscata (non si sa se notturna).

¹⁰ GRIFFIN (1980) 56 n. 12. Si noti inoltre che Licaone si è già incontrato in *Il.* 3, 331-333, in un passo in cui si narra di come Licaone diede la sua corazza al fratello Paride prima del suo duello con Menelao; quindi, in una scena di armi imprestate prima di un’azione militare; anche questo potrebbe essere significativo.

spedizione notturna, ma anche un guerriero, ancora troiano, che era stato vittima di un'imboscata notturna da parte di Achille — l'unico caso nell'*Iliade* in cui si faccia riferimento a un'imboscata notturna compiuta dall'eroe che viene solitamente, ma impropriamente, considerato estraneo al motivo del λόχος.¹¹

(iii) Il famoso casco adorno di denti di cinghiale che Merione impresta a Odisseo in *Il.* 10, 260-271 è anche provvisto della sua “genealogia”, anche se di esso non viene riferito il nome dell’artigiano che lo ha prodotto.¹² Tuttavia, è evidente nel passo omerico che almeno uno dei passaggi di proprietà del casco è altamente significativo: in origine, infatti, esso sarebbe stato rubato da Autolico, il nonno materno di Odisseo, che lo regalò ad Anfidamante, che a sua volta lo diede a Molo, che infine lo passò al figlio Merione, che ora lo presta a Odisseo insieme a un arco, una faretra e una spada. Il fatto che in origine il casco fosse stato rubato dal famoso ladro Autolico, nonno di Odisseo — colui che ora riceve il casco per la spedizione notturna — è evidentemente mirato a suggerire quanto questo oggetto sia appropriato per Odisseo, che non solo è nipote di Autolico, ma gli è anche molto simile nelle sue caratteristiche (si pensi a *Od.* 19, 395-412), e proprio ora si sta imbarcando in un’azione notturna che richiede proprio tutte le abilità proprie di un ladro come Autolico. Virgilio trovava dunque già in *Il.* 10 un caso in cui un oggetto prestato per la spedizione notturna era associato a un personaggio e un nome che rivestivano particolare significato per chi riceveva in prestito l’oggetto.

¹¹ Sull’importanza del passo per la considerazione del tema del λόχος nell’*Iliade* vedi DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 36. Su Achille come eroe anche del λόχος vedi DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 43-45.

¹² Sulla “genealogy of objects” in riferimento a questo casco e ad altri oggetti come cavalli e armature, vedi HIGBIE (1995) 195-203. DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 146 n. 103 non vedono la connessione tra la genealogia del casco di Merione e quella della spada di Ascanio, ma segnalano piuttosto che la genealogia del casco di Merione è “spostata” in quella della cintura di Ramneta, di cui Eurialo si impossessa durante la strage. Il parallelo è notato a partire dalla nota *ad loc.* di CLARKE (1729) 284. In realtà, Virgilio *distribuisce* il riferimento a *Il.* 10, 260-271 tra 9, 303-307 e 359-364.

Un personaggio e un *nome*, abbiamo detto: infatti il più importante dei nomi con cui il casco dato da Merione a Odisseo è associato, quello di Autolico, ha delle connessioni molto interessanti sia nell'ambito della Doloneia che per quanto riguarda l'eventuale appropriazione da parte di Virgilio. Il nome Αὐτόλυκος, infatti, esattamente come il *Lycaon* artefice della spada data da Ascanio a Eurialo, è connesso con λύκος “lupo”: “Autolykos” doveva essere sentito come significante qualcosa come “il lupo stesso”, “il lupo in persona”.¹³ Così anche in *Il.* 10 il tema del “lupo” è connesso a un membro della coppia di guerrieri che stanno per impegnarsi nell’imboscata: come “Autolykos” suggerisce che Odisseo muova per la spedizione notturna con un casco rubato dal “lupo in persona”, e lo associa al “lupo” che sta partendo dal campo troiano (il lupesco Dolone), così Virgilio con la menzione del suo “Lykaon” associa un membro della sua coppia di guerrieri al lupo/Dolone. Ma mentre la sorte di Odisseo sarà fortunata, e il suo essere “lupo” porterà all’uccisione dell’aspirante “lupo” Dolone, Eurialo è destinato alla sconfitta e a essere ucciso come Dolone.

2. Moralità del massacro notturno e vestizione appropriata in Stazio, *Tebaide* 10

2.1. *Le due spedizioni notturne di Tebaide 10*

In due notti della *Tebaide* si verificano imboscate: nella parte finale del libro 2 abbiamo la famosa e tradizionale imboscata dei cinquanta tebani a Tideo, che li uccide tutti tranne uno; mentre tutta la prima parte del libro 10, probabilmente con allusione al libro 10 dell’*Iliade*, è dedicato a due imprese notturne: un massacro di Tebani dormienti ad opera di una squadra argiva capitanata dal vate Tiodamante; e la spedizione dei giovani Opleo e Dimante, decisi a recuperare le spoglie dei loro

¹³ “Leibhaftiger Wolf”, KAMPTZ (1982) [1958] 93, con qualche dubbio; vedi anche PERADOTTO (1990) 128-129; KANAVOU (2015) 92 e n. 14.

capitani uccisi in battaglia, Tideo e Partenopeo. Tutte e tre le spedizioni partecipano della “poetica dell’imboscata”, e dietro a tutte e tre sta il modello della Doloneia omerica filtrato attraverso l’episodio virgiliano di Eurialo e Niso. Nel libro 10 della *Tebaide*, in effetti, Stazio opera una riscrittura radicale dell’impresa notturna del libro 9 dell’*Eneide* che ne costituisce anche una altrettanto radicale lettura critica.

Come ho cercato di mostrare altrove, Virgilio creava ambiguità e contraddizioni fondendo le due spedizioni notturne di *Il. 10* in una sola spedizione, con Eurialo e Niso che corrispondevano nello stesso tempo agli eroici e vincenti Odisseo e Diomede, e all’egoista e perdente Dolone. Nel massacro di dormienti Eurialo e Niso corrispondevano a Odisseo e Diomede, e quindi poteva sembrare che avessero l’approvazione della tendenza del testo, così come accadeva per il massacro notturno nella Doloneia, anche se vari particolari suggerivano che Virgilio volesse mettere in discussione la moralità della strage di inermi.¹⁴ Stazio compie una scelta radicale, e, mentre dichiara esplicitamente di voler imitare, con i suoi Opleo e Dimante, i virgiliani Eurialo e Niso (*Theb. 10, 445-448*), al tempo stesso conduce una serrata critica dell’episodio virgiliano e della moralità del massacro notturno. Stazio, infatti, divide l’unica azione notturna di *Eneide* 9 in *due* diverse azioni, l’una all’insegna del *furor* omicida (l’imboscata di Tiodamante), e l’altra all’insegna della *pietas* (la spedizione di Opleo e Dimante). La coppia di personaggi che dovrebbe corrispondere a Eurialo e Niso non compie alcun massacro di inermi; tutto l’aspetto stragista della spedizione notturna è riservato alle tre squadre di Argivi capitanate da Tiodamante, Agilleo e Attore. Il modello virgiliano di Eurialo e Niso e, attraverso di esso, l’archetipo della Doloneia omerica distribuiscono il loro influsso tra la prima e la seconda spedizione di *Tebaide* 10; alla prima spedizione è riservato tutto ciò che è moralmente discutibile nelle Doloneie omerica e virgiliana; alla seconda spedizione è riservato tutto ciò

¹⁴ Vedi CASALI (2004).

che è moralmente positivo ed encomiabile.¹⁵ Questa operazione staziana permette quindi di valutare quello che Stazio riteneva moralmente negativo o comunque inopportuno nella raffigurazione virgiliana di Eurialo e Niso.

Il massacro compiuto dagli Argivi su ispirazione di Tiodamante è giustamente visto da Vessey come uno dei punti di bassi del comportamento umano (ma anche divino, visto che esso nasce dall'intervento di Giunone) nella *Tebaide*.¹⁶ L'eroicità dell'imboscata notturna è peraltro messa esplicitamente in discussione dal rifiuto di parteciparvi da parte di Capaneo: *ipse haud dignatus in hostem / ire dolo superosque sequi* ("per parte sua sdegnando di attaccare i nemici con l'inganno e di seguire la volontà divina", 258-259). Si tratta di un concetto paradosale: Capaneo è un paradigma di empietà nella *Tebaide*, ma proprio per questo si rifiuta di seguire l'ordine degli dèi (attaccare i nemici nel sonno), e quindi la sua empietà "formale" gli permette di evitare un'empietà "sostanziale", quale è il *dolus* notturno progettato da Tiodamante. Vessey nota anche che questa è l'unica volta nella *Tebaide* in cui Adrasto mostra un qualche entusiasmo per il massacro: e per giunta nell'attuazione di *fraus* e *dolus*: *sed fraudem et operta paramus / proelia, celandi motus: nunquam apta latenti / turba dolo* ("ma apprestiamo un'azione ingannevole e battaglie nascoste, i nostri movimenti vanno celati: mai una folla fu adatta a un inganno segreto"),

¹⁵ Per la contrapposizione tra le due spedizioni cf. VESSEY (1973) 307. Su Opleo e Dimante come paradigmi di *pietas* cf. anche VESSEY (1973) 116-117. Vessey, però, non vede come il modello dei virgiliani Eurialo e Niso sia distribuito da Stazio equamente tra le due spedizioni, e anzi propone questo sommario dei modelli della prima parte del libro 10: "The Thebans invest the Argive camp: Homeric/Virgilian. The intervention of Somnus: Ovidian. The nocturnal massacres: Homeric. The *pietas* of Hopleus and Dymas: Virgilian", VESSEY (1973) 307, n. 3). L'episodio di Opleo e Dimante come critica dell'episodio di Eurialo e Niso è studiato bene da POLLMANN (2001) 16-25, per cui mi permetto qui di sorvolare sulla spedizione dei due argivi; Pollmann, però, stranamente non si sofferma affatto sul massacro di Tiodamante, che costituisce un'analogia lettura critica della spedizione di Eurialo e Niso. Sul rapporto tra le spedizioni notturne di *Theb.* 10 e *Il.* 10 (attraverso Virgilio) vedi anche JUHNKE (1972) 144-147.

¹⁶ Cf. VESSEY (1973) 306-307.

241-243). È evidente che l'azione piuttosto disonorevole di Adrasto qui è in qualche modo parallela alla decisione di Eteocle di attaccare Tideo in un'imboscata nel libro 2, in quella che pure era una *fraus* (2, 482; 3, 238) e un *dolus* (2, 498; 2, 516; 3, 341; 3, 358). Approvando un attacco notturno a tradimento, Adrasto mostra di non essere neppure lui del tutto immune dallo spirito malvagio di Tebe. La sua sconfitta finale nel libro 11 potrebbe, perciò, essere non del tutto ingiustificata.¹⁷ L'atteggiamento di Adrasto di fronte all'imboscata notturna proposta da Tiodamante, tuttavia, potrebbe spiegarsi come un riflesso, o un residuo, della visione tradizionale, 'omerica', del massacro notturno come azione bellica giustificabile. Si tenga conto che Adrasto *non sa* che i Tebani sono preda di un sonno soprannaturale, e che quindi questa spedizione notturna, a differenza delle usuali imboscate, non presenta nessun rischio né pericolo.

2.2. *L'arco di Odisseo e l'arco di Agilleo*

Odisseo non è un arciere nell'*Iliade*. C'è solo un passo in cui egli appare fornito di arco, e si tratta di un passo della Doloneia. Come abbiamo già avuto modo di vedere, durante la vestizione in preparazione della spedizione notturna, Trasimede dà a Diomede una spada a due tagli e un elmo di pelle di toro, senza cimiero e cresta; Merione, a sua volta, dà a Odisseo arco e faretra, una spada, e un elmo di cuoio esoticamente decorato con denti di cinghiale; di questo elmo si narra il pedigree (*Il.* 10, 254-272):

ώς εἰπόνθ' ὅπλοισιν ἔνι δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην.

Τυδεῖδη μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης
φάσγανον ἄμφηκες: τὸ δ' ἐὸν παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο:
καὶ σάκος: ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέγην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
ταυρείην, ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον, ἢ τε καταῖτυξ

¹⁷ Così VESSEY (1973) 306, n. 3.

κέκληται, ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζήδων.
 Μηριόνης δ' Ὁδυσῆι δίδου βιὸν ἡδὲ φαρέτρην
 καὶ ξίφος, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
 ρίνοῦ ποιητὴν: πολέσιν δὲ ἐντοσθεν ἴμᾶσιν
 ἐντέτατο στερεῶς: ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες
 ἀργιόδοντος ὑδες θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
 εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως: μέσση δ' ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρει. 260
 τὴν ἥρα ποτ' ἐξ Ἐλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὁρμενίδαο
 ἔξελετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας,
 Σκάνδειαν δὲ ἄρα δῶκε Κυθηρίων Ἀμφιδάμαντι:
 Ἀμφιδάμας δὲ Μόλω δῶκε ξεινήιον εἶναι, 270
 αὐτὰρ δὲ Μηριόνη δῶκεν φορῆναι:
 δὴ τότ' Ὁδυσσῆος πύκασεν κάρη ἀμφιτεθεῖσα.

“Così dicendo, i due vestirono il loro terribile equipaggiamento. Trasimede costante in guerra diede al Tidide una spada a due tagli — ché aveva lasciato la sua sulla nave — e uno scudo, e sulla sua testa pose un casco (*κυνέην*) di pelle di toro senza cimiero e senza cresta, quello che chiamano *καταῖτυξ* e protegge le teste dei giovani gagliardi. E Merione diede a Odisseo un arco e una faretra e una spada, e sulla testa gli pose un casco fatto di pelle; dentro era foderato con corregge di cuoio ben tese; di fuori i bianchi denti di un cinghiale dalle candide zanne, fitti, lo coprivano da un lato e dall'altro, bene e con arte: nel mezzo era sistemato del feltro. Questo casco un tempo Autolico lo rubò in Eleone quando scassinò la solida casa di Amintore figlio di Ormeno; e lo diede a Scandia ad Anfidamante di Citera; Anfidamante lo diede a Molo come dono ospitale, ma egli lo diede a portare a suo figlio Merione; e ora, disposto intorno, protesse il capo di Odisseo.”

Questo, come abbiamo visto, è imitato per Eurialo e Niso in *Aen.* 9, 303-307,¹⁸ e poi per i tre capi delle squadre argive che partecipano al massacro notturno in *Tebaide* 10, Tiódamante, Agilleo e Attore. Stazio riecheggia Omero attraverso Virgilio (*Theb.* 10, 249-261, cf. *permusat* 10, 259 = *Aen.* 9, 307).

¹⁸ La pelle di animali (una tigre) per la missione notturna ricomparirà indosso a Dimante, *tergoque graues quas forte gerebat / tigridis exuias in laeuam torquet*, 410-411.

<i>insuper Herculeum sibi iungit Agyllea uates Actoraque: hic aptus suadere, hic robore iactat non cessisse patri; comites tribus ordine deni, horrendum Aoniis et contra stantibus agmen. ipse noui gradiens furta ad Mauortia belli ponit adoratas, Phoebea insignia, frondes, longaeuique ducis gremio commendat honorem frontis, et oblatam Polynicis munere grato loricam galeamque subit. ferus Actora magno ense grauat Capaneus, ipse haud dignatus in hostem ire dolo superosque sequi. permuat Agylleus arma trucis Nomii: quid enim fallentibus umbris arcus et Herculeae iuissent bella sagittae?</i>	250 255 260
---	-------------------

“In aggiunta il profeta unisce a sé Agilleo, figlio di Ercole, e Attore: questi è abile nel persuadere, l’altro si vanta di non cedere in forza al padre. Con ciascuno dei tre vanno dieci compagni, schiera temibile per gli Aonii anche se li affrontassero in piedi. Egli stesso, poiché si avvia agli stratagemmi marziali di una battaglia per lui insolita, depone le sacre fronde, insegne di Febo, e affida quell’onore della fronte al grembo dell’anziano condottiero [sc. Adrasto] e indossa corazza ed elmo, dono riconoscente di Polinice. Il feroce Capaneo carica Attore della sua grande spada, per parte sua sdegnando di assalire i nemici con l’inganno e di obbedire agli dèi. Agilleo scambia le armi col terribile Nomio: a cosa gli avrebbero giovato, infatti, in una battaglia nella fallace oscurità della notte l’arco e le frecce di Ercole?”

Tiodamante affida ad Adrasto la corona d’alloro, simbolo dei suoi poteri profetici, e indossa corazza ed elmo, doni di Polinice. Questo è espressamente motivato dalle parole *ipse noui gradiens furta ad Mauortia belli* (253)¹⁹: ma perché Tiodamante dovrebbe deporre la sua corona d’alloro (regolarmente indossata in battaglia dai vati, per esempio da Anfiarao in 7, 784-785) proprio perché si sta avviando verso “gli stratagemmi marziali di una

¹⁹ 253 *furta ... belli* = *Aen.* 11, 515 (Turno a Camilla sulla preparazione dell’imboscata ad Enea) *furta paro belli conuexo in tramite siluae*. Lo stesso contesto della progettata imboscata (non specificamente notturna) di Turno a Enea era stato richiamato nel discorso di Tiodamante in 192-193 *nox fecunda operum pulchraeque accommoda fraudi / panditur augurio diuum* - *Aen.* 11, 522-523 *Est curuo anfractu ualles, accommoda fraudi / armorumque dolis.*

guerra per lui(?) insolita”? In Omero, Diomede e Odisseo ricevono caschi di pelle al posto dei loro elmi, evidentemente perché gli elmi metallici sono pericolosi nel buio in quanto possono riflettere la luce della luna o dei fuochi (onde il fatale errore di Eurialo); abbiamo visto che quando Alete scambia il suo elmo con quello di Eurialo ci potrebbe essere sottinteso lo stesso concetto: cioè, Alete darebbe a Eurialo una *galea* meno appariscente della sua, magari proprio di pelle, anche se questo non viene espressamente affermato da Virgilio. Ma Polinice sembra dare a Tiodamante proprio una qualsiasi *galea* al posto delle sue fronde di alloro, e non pare che una *galea* sia strategicamente più adatta a una missione notturna di quanto non lo sia una corona di alloro. Non mi è chiaro perché Stazio introduca questo scambio. Williams spiega che “*nouus* means that the projected foray is not a normal military operation, which a prophet might accompany wearing his prophetic insignia [...], but one in which he must be a warrior only”.²⁰ Non si capisce tuttavia bene cosa Williams intenda; cioè, in che senso le insegne profetiche non sarebbero appropriate a una imboscata notturna, e perché proprio in un’imboscata notturna Tiodamante avrebbe la necessità di essere “solo un guerriero”. Forse perché una missione notturna è più pericolosa di una battaglia diurna, e quindi il capo di Tiodamante richiede una maggiore protezione? O forse il punto è che le sacre insegne del vate sono inappropriate dal punto di vista morale ai *furta* di un *nouum bellum*? (Ma alla fine Tiodamante proprio ad Apollo dedica le spoglie dei Tebani massacrati.) Quello che è chiaro, in ogni caso, è che Stazio prende posizione sulla questione relativa ai copricapi da indossare nell’imboscata notturna: per lui non c’è bisogno di caschi di pelle o accorgimenti particolari; corazza ed elmo sono appropriati per il vate Tiodamante in missione notturna, laddove la corona d’alloro, per qualche motivo non chiaro, non sarebbe andata bene.

²⁰ WILLIAMS (1972), *ad loc.*

Il secondo prestito di armi per la spedizione notturna vede Capaneo ‘appesantire’ Attore con la sua enorme spada; qui il punto non sta tanto nell’arma che viene prestata (una banale spada), quanto nell’espressione del punto di vista “romano” di Capaneo riguardo alla partecipazione a un’imboscata (vedi *supra*).

Quello che è particolarmente interessante è il terzo prestito di armi. Si tratta di uno “scambio”: Agilleo, figlio di Ercole, al posto dell’arco e delle frecce del padre (o tipiche del padre), prende in prestito non meglio specificati *arma* da Nomio. Il punto sta nel fatto, espressamente osservato da Stazio, che arco e frecce di Ercole sarebbero inutili in mezzo alle ombre fallaci della notte: *permutat Agylleus / arma trucis Nomii: quid enim fallentibus umbris / arcus et Herculeae iuuissent bella sagittae?* (259-261).

Questa è la nota di Williams a *Theb.* 10, 260:

“In Virgil the armour is given largely as a compliment; Legras [(1905) 117 n. 2] points out that Statius is here closer to Homer, where the armour given is suitable for night fighting (*Il.* 10.257 f., 261 f.), the helmets being of leather so that there is no possibility of a reflection of light such as caused Euryalus’ downfall (*Aen.* 9.373 f.). Odysseus in *Il.* 10.260-1 is in fact given a bow and a quiver, and probably Statius means here ‘What would have been the use of a mighty bow like that of Hercules?’.”

In effetti, l’osservazione di Legras è giusta, ma solo fino a un certo punto. Infatti, dei tre prestiti di armi, l’appropriatezza del primo (corazza ed elmo invece della corona d’alloro) a un battaglia specificamente notturna è discutibile (vedi *supra*); il secondo (la spada di Capaneo) non è particolarmente appropriato a una battaglia notturna; e il terzo — questo sì — pone un problema interessante. L’interpretazione del passo che viene data da Williams è quasi sicuramente sbagliata: Stazio non vuole dire che nelle ombre fallaci della notte ad Agilleo sarebbe inutile un arco grande e potente come quello di Ercole. Stazio dice che ad Agilleo, di notte, sarebbe stato inutile un arco *tout court*; che l’arco, poi, sia quello di

Ercole, o quello tipico di Ercole, dà solo un tocco di espressività in più: essendo Agilleo figlio di Ercole, ed essendo Ercole un notorio arciere, è naturale che Stazio noti la relazione dell'arma tipica di Agilleo con le usanze guerresche del padre. Williams arriva a questa esegeti errata perché in *Iliade* 10 a Odisseo viene dato un arco con una faretra (anche Dolone è equipaggiato con un arco, 10, 333 — non arriverà mai a usarlo). Ma proprio questo è il punto: Stazio interviene nella *quaestio* sull'utilità o meno dell'arco in una incursione notturna, e prende posizione contro Omero; *corregge* Omero: di notte l'arco non serve a nulla, e quindi Agilleo lo abbandona per prendere armi più consone alla situazione.

Vorrei anche far notare che con ogni probabilità siamo di fronte a quella che si chiama un'allusione sticométrica: a Odisseo vengono dati arco e frecce per un'imboscata notturna in *Il.* 10, 260-261; ad Agilleo vengono date altre armi in sostituzione di arco e frecce in *Theb.* 10, 259-261, e Stazio esplicitamente commenta sull'inutilità di arco e frecce in una imboscata notturna in *Theb.* 10, 260-261. La coincidenza perfetta nel numero dei versi (compreso il numero stesso del libro) non credo sia casuale. Stazio segnala in modo vistoso la relazione che il suo testo intrattiene con quello dell'*Iliade*.²¹

E nel testo dell'*Iliade* la domanda che ci si pone di fronte al prestito dell'arco e della faretra di Merione a Odisseo è proprio quella a cui Stazio risponde: a che scopo portare con sé un arco in una missione spionistica notturna? Così, dopo aver ricordato

²¹ La possibilità di un'allusione sticométrica al testo omerico è rafforzata dal fatto che una clamorosa allusione sticométrica si avrà alla conclusione dell'episodio notturno di *Theb.* 10, quando il poeta si rivolgerà a Opleo e Dimante per paragonarli a Eurialo e Niso con un'apostrofe situata esattamente nella stessa posizione dell'apostrofe virgiliana a Eurialo e Niso in *Eneide* 9: in entrambi i casi, l'apostrofe è ai versi 445-448 dei rispettivi libri. Nella numerazione vulgata dell'*Eneide* si tratta dei versi 446-449, ma il verso 150 del libro 9 è certamente da espungere, come fanno sia HARDIE (1994) che CONTE (2009) sulla base, naturalmente, di altre considerazioni (fuori strada DUÉ / EBBOTT [2010] 244 e n. 100); cf. VESSEY (1986) 2966, n. 3; HINDS (1998) 92 ("Given the perils of transmission, the suggestion cannot be ruled out of court because of a one-verse misalignment", 92, n. 80 – e infatti 9, 150 va espunto).

che gli scolii T notavano che Merione era cretese e che i Cretesi erano famosi arcieri, commenta Hainsworth (1993), a *Il.* 10, 260:

“A more important question is why a bow should be thought a useful weapon for a spy to have. T supposed that Odysseus could have shot from the darkness at men illuminated by the firelight.²² Rather the poet wanted variety, a spear for Diomedes and, with a glance at the *Odyssey*, a bow or Odysseus, just as he provided the spies with two different helmets.”

Lo scoliaste che si poneva la domanda del perché Odisseo si equipaggiasse di arco e frecce per la spedizione era disturbato non tanto dal fatto che la spedizione in questione fosse spionistica, quanto dal fatto che essa fosse notturna. In effetti, perché preoccuparsi proprio del portare arco e frecce come spia, quando Diomede, per esempio, per la stessa spedizione si equipaggia con una lancia? L'utilità di arco e frecce per una spia in quanto spia non sarà minore, in sé e per sé, da quella di una lancia; sono entrambe armi da offesa. Il problema è che la spia, in questo caso, agisce di notte. Lo scoliaste quindi si chiede: quale è l'utilità di un arco nel buio della notte? Soprattutto quando si consideri il fatto che poi Odisseo non usa mai arco e frecce come armi durante la spedizione: a differenza di Diomede che usa la lancia contro Dolone, Odisseo si limita a usare l'arco per frustare i cavalli di Reso (500, 513-514). E lo scoliaste risponde: l'arco è utile perché l'arciere può mirare ai bersagli che sono illuminati dalla luce della luna o dei fuochi del campo. Hainsworth non sembra convinto da questa risposta; per lui è una questione di ricerca della varietà, a Diomede una lancia, ad Odisseo arco e frecce, come diversi erano gli elmi delle due spie (si ricordi che Hainsworth non ritiene che i caschi di cui si equipaggiano Odisseo e Diomede siano scelti in quanto appropriati a una spedizione notturna: cf. la sua nota a *Il.* 10, 254-298). E invece è assai probabile che gli scolii abbiano

²² Μηριόνης δ' Ὀδυσῆϊ δίδου βιόν: ὡς Κρής ἔχει τόξον. / ὅπως βάλλοι λανθάνων τοὺς ἐν φωτὶ. καὶ προοικονομεῖ καιρίως τὴν μνηστηροκτονίαν “Merione diede a Odisseo un arco”: in quanto Cretese [Merione] ha un arco. / Al fine di colpire stando nascosto quelli nella luce. E [il poeta] prepara in anticipo la strage dei pretendenti”.

perfettamente ragione a vedere in arco e frecce armi particolarmente adatte ad essere usate in un spedizione notturna. McLeod (1988), in un articolo significativamente intitolato “The Bow at Night: An Inappropriate Weapon?”, intende dimostrare proprio che l’arco è un’arma perfettamente appropriata per un combattimento notturno (in presenza di fuochi, e anche nella totale oscurità, in quanto l’arciere può basare la sua mira sui suoni), e lo fa ricorrendo a una varietà di esempi antichi e moderni, tra cui anche la notazione degli scolii omerici al passo in questione di *Il.* 10, 260. La tesi che McLeod intende confutare è quella espressa da Lorimer (1950) 296-297, 482-483. Lorimer aderisce alla scuola di pensiero che considera la Doloneia un’aggiunta tarda all’*Iliade*, e vede nel fatto che solo lì Odisseo compare come arciere nell’*Iliade* un influsso dell’*Odissea* (vista come più tarda dell’*Iliade*). Nelle sue due discussioni del passo, Lorimer insiste a rimarcare che l’arco sarebbe “a strange weapon”, “surely a peculiarly inappropriate weapon”, da portare con sé in una spedizione spionistica notturna.

Inoltre, lo scolio T a *Il.* 10, 333 (Dolone indossa il suo arco) conferma la problematicità insita nell’uso dell’arco in una spedizione notturna: ἄφρων, δέ μη καιόντων πῦρ πολεμίων τόξα
ἔχει “sciocco, perché prende un arco quando il nemico non sta bruciando un fuoco”. Non c’è ragione, in realtà, di credere che i Greci non avessero fuochi accesi, ma quello che importa è che anche in questo caso il partire per una missione notturna muniti di arco era avvertito come qualcosa che occorreva spiegare: diversamente da McLeod, che pensa ai suoni come possibile guida per la mira dell’arciere, lo scoliaste non riteneva che l’arco potesse essere di qualche utilità nell’oscurità totale.

Evidentemente, c’erano lettori di Omero che reagivano all’arco di Odisseo (e Dolone) in *Il.* 10 allo stesso modo di Lorimer, e altri che spiegavano come l’arco potesse invece essere utile anche di notte.²³ Stazio, invece, la pensava proprio come

²³ DUÉ / EBBOTT (2010) 57 concordano con MCLEOD (1988), e ritengono l’arco un’arma tipica delle imboscate notturne: “The utility of a bow in the dark helps to explain why the arming scene includes the weapon only at night”.

Lorimer, e riteneva che Odisseo si fosse armato inutilmente con arco e frecce. Nella stessa identica collocazione (libro 10, versi 260-261) in cui a Odisseo veniva consegnato l'arco di Merione, egli si pone quindi la domanda retorica: a che cosa sarebbero serviti arco e frecce nelle ombre ingannevoli della notte?

3. La Doloneia dei *Punica* di Silio Italico

Silio Italico, rielaborando la II Guerra Punica nei diciassette libri dei suoi *Punica*, avrebbe anche potuto inventare una sortita notturna che ricalcasse la Doloneia omerica. Invece, ha preferito adattare alla Doloneia un episodio notturno che troviamo attestato anche nelle fonti storiografiche (Pol. 3, 93-94 e Liv. 22, 16-17). Per sfuggire all'esercito romano che lo stringeva nell'*ager Falernus*, Annibale lanciò contro il campo nemico duemila buoi con fascine infuocate legate alle loro corna, di notte. I Romani, che controllavano il passo che conduceva fuori dall'*ager Falernus*, credettero che il nemico li attaccasse di sorpresa e abbandonarono le loro posizioni; Annibale poté quindi attraversare il passo. A parte la situazione del campo assediato dai nemici, della notte, e dello stratagemma, non ci sono molte somiglianze con il motivo della spedizione notturna a scopi spionistici o stragisti che abbiamo visto operante nella Doloneia omerica, nell'episodio di Eurialo e Niso, e in quelli del massacro di Tiodamante e di Eurialo e Niso. Eppure Silio si propone, con successo, di ricavare da questo episodio notturno la Doloneia dei *Punica*.²⁴

Questo appare evidente fin dall'inizio dell'episodio siliano. Il notturno di *Pun.* 7, 282-287:

*Cuncta per et terras et lati stagna profundi
condiderat somnus, positoque labore dierum
pacem nocte datam mortalibus orbis agebat.*

²⁴ Vedi anche JUHNKE (1972) 204-207 e LITTLEWOOD (2011) xxx-xxxii e *ad loc.* La persistente associazione dell'Annibale siliano con le tenebre notturne o ctonie è studiata da LITTLEWOOD (2013).

*at non Sidonium curis flagrantia corda
ductorem uiglesque metus haurire sinebant
dona soporiferae noctis.*

“Ogni cosa sulle terre e nelle vaste distese del mare era sepolta nel sonno, e, deposta la fatica del giorno, il mondo godeva della pace che la notte dona ai mortali. Ma l'animo ardente d'affanni e le paure che tengono svegli non permettevano al condottiero sidonio di godere dei doni della notte apportatrice di sonno.”

è evidentemente modellato sull'incipit di *Od. 10*:

ἄλλοι μὲν παρὰ νησὶν ἀριστῆες Παναχαῖοι
εὗδον παννύχιοι μαλακῷ δεδμημένοι ὑπνῷ:
ἄλλοι οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν
ὑπνος ἔχε γλυκερὸς πολλὰ φρεσὶν ὄρμαίνοντα.

“Tutti gli altri capi degli Achei dormivano per tutta la notte presso le loro navi, in balia del morbido sonno; ma il dolce sonno non prendeva Agamennone figlio di Atreo, pastore dell'esercito, che molte cose ponderava nella mente.”

In Omero la veglia ansiosa di Agamennone è contrapposta al sonno dei migliori degli Achei presso le navi. Silio amplia la prospettiva contrapponendo alla veglia ansiosa di Annibale il sonno ristoratore di tutte le altre cose, per terra e per mare. Questo ampliamento della prospettiva contamina l'incipit di *Il. 10* con il corrispondente passo dell'episodio di Eurialo e Niso, che non si collocava all'inizio della deliberazione tra i due compagni, ma introduceva il concilio dei capi troiani, alla cui presenza i due chiedono di essere ammessi (*Aen. 9, 224-230*):

*Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno
laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum:
ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuuentus,
consilium summis regni de rebus habebant,
quid facerent quisue Aeneae iam nuntius esset.
stant longis adnixi hastis et scuta tenentes
castrorum et campi medio.*

“Tutte le altre creature viventi sulla terra allentavano nel sonno tutti gli affanni e gli animi rendendoli dimentichi delle fatiche: i primi condottieri dei Teuchi, scelti guerrieri, tenevano consiglio

sulle supreme questioni del regno, che cosa dovessero fare, o chi ormai andasse come nunzio a Enea. Stanno in piedi, appoggiati alle lunghe lance e tenendo gli scudi, nel mezzo tra l'accampamento e la pianura.”

L'incipit dell'episodio siliano allude chiaramente all'introduzione dell'assemblea virgiliana: *Cuncta per et terras ~ Cetera per terras*. Nella seconda metà dell'esametro successivo Silio colloca un riferimento al *labor* finalmente cessato per ogni cosa (*posito que labore dierum*, 283), con ciò alludendo ai *corda oblita laborum* (225) che chiudono il secondo esametro dell'introduzione dell'assemblea virgiliana.²⁵ Si noti pure la presenza di forme plurali di *cura* e di *cor* nello stesso verso: *curis flagrantia corda* (*Pun.* 7, 285) ~ *laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum* (*Aen.* 9, 225), con elegante variazione: nell'*Eneide* i *corda* sono quelli delle altre creature viventi che godono del sonno e quindi allentano le loro *curae*; nei *Punica* i *corda* si riferiscono al cuore di Annibale che arde di *curae*. Inoltre, il nesso *curis flagrantia corda* allude inequivocabilmente all'etimologia varroniana di *cura quod cur urat* (*LL* 6, 46), e con ciò Silio allude a, e “migliora”, l'analogo riferimento a questa etimologia che già era contenuto nella collocazione virgiliana *curas et corda*.²⁶

All'inizio del suo episodio notturno, dunque, Silio segnala che il noto stratagemma notturno dei buoi portatori di fuoco sarà da lui riscritto come la Doloneia dei *Punica*, e che, in quanto Doloneia dei *Punica*, in essa non mancheranno riferimenti intertestuali alla Doloneia dell'*Eneide*, e cioè all'episodio di Eurialo e Niso. Vorrei dapprima seguire nel dettaglio il modo in cui Silio costruisce la sua Doloneia in rapporto a quella di Omero, e quindi considerare un altro piccolo segnale, finora trascurato dai commentatori, della relazione dello stratagemma notturno di Annibale con la sortita di Eurialo e Niso.

²⁵ “*Posito ... labore dierum* 283 [...] rappelle un peu Verg. *Aen.* 9, 225 *corda oblita laborum*, dans le même contexte” (SPALTENSTEIN [1986], *ad loc.*).

²⁶ Cf. HARDIE (1994), *ad loc.*: “*curas et corda*: an assonance possibly based on an etymological pun”; e O'HARA (1996) 218.

Lo stratagemma di Annibale e le incursioni spionistiche e stragiste di *Il.* 10 ed *Aen.* 9 sono azioni molto diverse, che hanno poco in comune, oltre all'ambientazione notturna e alla componente del *dolos* e dell'astuzia che regolarmente caratterizza le azioni militari che si svolgono di notte. Silio, tuttavia, riesce, a partire dal materiale poco promettente che si trovava dinanzi, a costruire un'efficace rivisitazione della Doloneia. A cosa si appiglia per questa sua ricostruzione?

Le fonti storiche che riferiscono questo episodio, Polibio e Livio, narrano di operazioni militari molto più complesse e difficili da seguire rispetto al semplificato e lineare racconto siliano, e in esse c'è poco della Doloneia omerica. Vi è tuttavia un particolare che colpisce l'attenzione di Silio, e a cui egli si aggancia per la sua riscrittura. Sia in Polibio che in Livio si racconta che Annibale, per organizzare lo stratagemma, si rivolge a un capitano dei genieri, Asdrubale, il quale si rivolge a sua volta ai suoi sottoposti per portare a compimento l'attuazione del piano. Questo è il racconto di Polibio (3, 93, 3-4):

[3] Ἀννίβας δέ, ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν παρασκευαζόμενων τῶν πολεμίων, συλλογιζόμενος ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων οὐκ ἔδωκε χρόνον οὐδὲ ἀναστροφὴν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν, [4] ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν λειτουργιῶν τεταγμένον Ἀσδρούθαν παρήγγειλε λαμπάδας δεσμεύειν ἐκ τῆς ξηρᾶς καὶ παντοδαπῆς ὅλης κατὰ τάχος ὡς πλείστας καὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν βοῶν ἐκλέξαντ’ ἐκ πάσης τῆς λείας τοὺς εὑρωστοτάτους εἰς δισχιλίους ἀθροῖσαι πρὸ τῆς παρεμβολῆς.

“Annibale, mentre i suoi nemici stavano facendo questi preparativi per il giorno successivo, si prese cura di non dar loro né tempo né agio per portare a compimento i loro piani; ma avendo convocato Asdrubale, il capitano dei genieri, gli ordinò, in tutta fretta, di fare il maggior numero possibile di fascine di legna secca di tutti i tipi, e, dopo avere scelto dal bottino duemila fra i più forti buoi da lavoro, di radunarli fuori dell'accampamento.”

Leggermente diverso, per quanto attiene alla catena di comando, quello di Livio (22, 16, 7-8):

[7] fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit. faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque uirgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur cornibus

boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. [8] ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubali- que negotium datum ut nocte id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

“I preparativi per lo stratagemma furono apprestati come segue. Fiaccole raccolte da tutta la campagna circostante e fascine di ramoscelli e sarmenti secchi furono legate alle corna dei buoi — tra domati e non domati Annibale ne aveva molti in mezzo al resto del bottino agreste. Di questi ne misero insieme circa duemila, e ad Asdrubale fu affidato l’incarico di condurre di notte questo armento, con le corna infiammate, sulle montagne, e in particolare, se possibile, sopra il passo sbarrato dal nemico.”

Nelle fonti storiche, dunque, Silio trovava un Annibale che, di notte, organizza uno stratagemma con l’aiuto di un suo geniere (non specificato come tale in Livio). Questa catena di comando, particolarmente in evidenza nel racconto di Polibio, viene allungata e complicata da Silio, che espande il semplice passaggio di ordini tra il generale e il suo capitano fino a costruire un’elaborata sequenza di capi cartaginesi che si svegliano l’un l’altro trasmettendo l’ordine di Annibale, e che è chiaramente modellata sull’analoga sequenza che apre *Iliade* 10.

Riassumendo il complesso iter che porta alla riunione dell’assemblea dei capi oltre il fossato, abbiamo Agamennone che non riesce a dormire e decide di recarsi da Nestore; Menelao, pure sveglio, che raggiunge Agamennone che si sta vestendo e viene da lui mandato a chiamare Aiace Telamonio e Idomeneo (la missione di Menelao non viene seguita dal poeta). Agamennone e Nestore svegliano Odisseo, e tutti e tre svegliano Diomede, che viene mandato a svegliare Aiace di Oileo e Megete. Quindi tutti si ritrovano al luogo dell’appuntamento, dove si aggiungono Trasimede e Merione.

Questa catena di chiamate è il modello con cui Silio espande lo spunto storiografico di Annibale che sveglia il capitano dei genieri Asdrubale per dargli l’incarico di organizzare lo stratagemma dei buoi in fiamme.

Una differenza fondamentale è che Agamennone non ha alcun piano preciso in mente, mentre Annibale fin dall'inizio ha bene in mente quello che vuole compiere. Annibale, dunque, è sveglio come Agamennone. Mentre Agamennone decide di andare a svegliare Nestore, ed è raggiunto dal fratello Menelao mentre si sta vestendo, Annibale, rivestitosi, come Agamennone, della pelle di un leone, si avvia in fretta alla tenda del fratello Magone (Sil. 7, 291-299):

*nec degener ille
belligeri ritus taurino membra iacebat
effultus tergo et mulcebat tristia somno.
stat procul hasta uiri terrae defixa propinquae,
et dira e summa pendebat cuspide cassis;
at clipeus circa loricaque et ensis et arcus
et telum Batiare simul tellure quiescunt.
iuxta lecta manus, iuuenes in Marte probati,
et sonipes strato carpebat gramina dorso.*

295

“Questi, non venendo meno ai costumi guerrieri, giaceva su una pelle di toro e cercava di addolcire col sonno gli affanni. Un po’ lontano si erge, confitta nel terreno, la lancia dell’eroe, e dalla sommità della punta pendeva l’elmo terribile; all’intorno giacciono a terra lo scudo, la corazza, la spada, l’arco e la fionda balearica. Vicino a lui sta una scelta schiera, guerrieri provati nelle armi, e il destriero, sellato, mangiava le erbe.”

Il primo incontro del generale cartaginese è col fratello Magone. Questo, per quanto riguarda la parentela, richiama il primo incontro di Agamennone col fratello Menelao. Silio però elide il parallelismo tra l’insonnia di Agamennone e quella di Menelao, e il fatto che fosse il secondo a raggiungere di sua propria iniziativa il fratello nella sua tenda. Magone, invece, dorme, e, in quanto primo guerriero ad essere svegliato, corrisponde a Nestore. La sua caratterizzazione rimanda però a quella del Diomede omerico, cioè al terzo eroe di cui viene narrato il risveglio in *Il.* 10. Agamennone sveglia: (i) Nestore; (ii) Odisseo; (iii) Diomede; Annibale sveglia: (i) Magone; (ii) Marasse; (iii) Acherra (che però è già sveglio). Come Diomede dorme su

una pelle di bue (*Il.* 10, 155), così Magone dorme su una pelle di toro (*Pun.* 7, 291-293).

Ma l'influsso di Diomede non è semplicemente sostituito a quello di Nestore. In Magone confluiscano elementi di Menelao (il fratello del generale), di Nestore (il primo ad essere svegliato), e di Diomede (il guerriero “duro” che dorme su pelle di bue). La domanda di Magone ad Annibale riecheggia quella di Menelao ad Agamennone: ‘*Heus!*’ *inquit...* / ‘*quae te cura uigil fessum, germane, fatigat?*’ “Ehi” disse ... ‘quale insonne preoccupazione, fratello, ti assilla nella tua stanchezza?’” (*Pun.* 7, 301-302) ~ τίφθ’ οὕτως ἡθεῖς κορύσσεαι; “perché ti stai armando così, fratello?” (*Il.* 10, 37). La risposta di Agamennone è focalizzata sul pericolo rappresentato da Ettore, così come quella di Annibale è focalizzata sul pericolo rappresentato da Fabio: *cum Libyae ductor: ‘Fabius me noctibus aegris, / in curas Fabius nos excitat, illa senectus / heu fatis quae sola meis currentibus obstat!’* “a lui risponde il condottiero libico: ‘È Fabio che assilla le mie notti, è Fabio che risveglia le mie preoccupazioni, quel vecchio è il solo ostacolo al corso del mio destino!’” (*Pun.* 7, 305-307) ~ “la mente (di Zeus) si è volta ai sacrifici di Ettore piuttosto che ai nostri. Non ho mai visto né sentito dire da un altro che un uomo abbia compiuto in un solo giorno tante azioni terribili come Ettore, caro a Zeus, ha compiuto contro i figli degli Achei, da solo, lui che non è il caro figlio di una dea o di un dio” (*Il.* 10, 46-50).

Alla corrispondenza ‘strutturale’ tra Magone e Nestore (sono entrambi i *primi* guerrieri ad essere svegliati) si aggiunge anche un chiaro riecheggiamento testuale: παρὰ δ' ἔντεα ποικίλ' ἔκειτο / ἀσπὶς καὶ δύο δοῦρε φαεινή τε τρυφάλεια “e intorno a lui giaceva la sua armatura variopinta, lo scudo e due lance e l’elmo splendente” (10, 75-76) ~ *at clipeus circa loricaque et ensis et arcus / et telum Batiare simul tellure quiescunt* “e il suo scudo, la corazza, la spada, l’arco e la fionda balearica giacciono sul suolo intorno a lui” (*Pun.* 7, 296-297).

Il fatto che l’elenco delle armi che giacciono accanto al guerriero dormiente unisce strettamente Magone a Nestore mette

in risalto quanto siano diversi i giacigli dei due: Nestore dorme “in un morbido letto” (*Il.* 10, 75), Magone invece, come in seguito Diomede, dorme su una pelle di toro (il fatto che la pelle sia di toro, piuttosto che di bue, enfatizza la bellicosità di Magone). La notazione *nec degener ille / belligeri ritus* “questi, non venendo meno ai costumi di guerra” sottolinea il contrasto tra Magone e Nestore, e Silio potrebbe presupporre una consapevolezza della *quaestio* che sembra sollevata dagli scolii *ad loc.*: come mai il guerriero Nestore dorme “in un morbido letto”? Essi rispondono che questo giaciglio che potrebbe sembrare “indecoroso” è invece appropriato alla tarda età di Nestore: anche l’anziano Fenice ha un giaciglio comodo nel libro 9, mentre i giovani Diomede e Odisseo, nonché lo stesso Zeus in *Il.* 14, si accontentano di giacigli di fortuna. Così qui Silio dice che Magone *non* è come Nestore (che, data la sua età, si trovava ad essere *degener belligeri ritus*), *non* dorme εὐνῇ ἔνι μαλακῇ.

Anche la lancia di Magone piantata a terra recupera, del resto, le lance piantate a terra dei compagni di Diomede: *Il.* 10, 152-154 οὐγχεα δέ σφιν / ὅρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο, τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς / λάμψ' ὡς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διός “ma le loro lance erano conficate nel terreno dritte sui loro puntali, e da lontano il bronzo risplendeva come la folgore del padre Zeus”. Il gesto con cui Magone sveglia i compagni mentre parla con Annibale — *Pun.* 7, 303-304 *ac iam constiterat sociosque in caespite fusos / incussa reuocat castrorum ad munera planta* “e già si era alzato e, colpendoli col piede, richiama i compagni distesi sull’erba agli uffici del campo” — richiama invece il gesto con cui Nestore svegliava Diomede in *Il.* 10, 157-158 “Al suo fianco giunse il cavaliere, Nestore di Gerenia, e lo svegliò, colpendolo con il piede (λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας)”. La variazione operata da Silio, che fa sì che sia il capo (Magone) a svegliare i sottoposti colpendoli con il piede, e non il visitatore a svegliare col piede un pari grado (come Nestore faceva con Diomede), può essere significativa, e magari riflettere le perplessità degli scolii, che si sentivano in dovere di spiegare che il fatto che Nestore usasse

questo modo rude di svegliare Diomede era dovuto alla sua età avanzata, che gli avrebbe impedito di chinarsi.

Lo stesso ‘problema’ è sollevato da uno scolio a *Od.* 15, 45, dove ricorre la stessa espressione in riferimento a Telemaco che sveglia Pisistrato “colpendolo con il piede”; mentre nel passo di *Il.* 10, a cui lo scolio fa riferimento, il gesto sarebbe dovuto all’età avanzata di Nestore, lo stesso non può dirsi per Telemaco, e quindi il verso viene dichiarato spurio; un altro scolio dice che Telemaco sveglierebbe il figlio di Nestore in questo modo apparentemente indecoroso a causa della sua “eccitazione”. Trasferendo il gesto “troppo” cameratesco dal capo in visita che sveglia un suo pari al capo che sveglia i suoi sottoposti, e per richiamarli proprio, appunto da capo, alle mansioni dell’accampamento, probabilmente Silio si mostra consapevole di questo “problema” omerico, e lo risolve mantenendo a suo modo $\tau\circ\pi\rho\acute{e}\pi\circ\tau$.

Torniamo allora al colloquio tra Annibale e il fratello Magone. Mentre, come si è visto, Silio procede a una riscrittura attenta della sequenza iniziale della Doloneia omerica, l’influsso dell’episodio di Eurialo e Niso non sembra particolarmente forte. Abbiamo visto all’inizio che il contrasto tra il sonno che avvolge ogni cosa tranne Annibale in ansiosa veglia unisce l’incipit di *Il.* 10 con l’incipit dell’episodio di Eurialo e Niso. Ma dopo questa allusione iniziale le tracce della coppia di guerrieri-amanti virgiliana sembrano perdere nel nulla. Eppure c’è un piccolo dettaglio che rivela come Silio continuasse a tenere davanti a sé anche l’episodio di Eurialo e Niso. Dopo avere risposto a Magone che la fonte della sua ansia è Fabio, Annibale procede ad esporre il piano al fratello, in questo modo (*Pun.* 7, 308-311):

*cernis ut armata circumfundare corona,
et uallet clausos collectus miles in orbem.
uerum, age, nunc quando res artae, percipe porro
quae meditata mihi.*

310

“Tu vedi come sei circondato da un cordone di armati e come l’esercito raccolto ci rinserri in un cerchio. Ebbene, su, poiché ora siamo alle strette, ascolta dunque quello che ho pensato.”

Il passo costituisce una precisa allusione al primo discorso di Niso a Eurialo, in cui il guerriero più grande spiegava al minore il suo piano (*Aen.* 9, 188-191):

190

*cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum:
lumina rara micant, somno uinoque soluti
procubuere, silent late loca. percipe porro
quid dubitem et quae nunc animo sententia surgat.*

Tu vedi quanta fiducia abbiano i Rutuli nella loro situazione: i fuochi brillano radi, loro sono stramazzati disciolti nel sonno e nel vino, tutt'intorno c'è un vasto silenzio. Ascolta dunque quello che penso e quale piano mi è nato nell'animo.

Abbiamo *cernis* all'inizio del primo verso, poi *percipe porro* alla fine del terzo, seguito da *quae* nel quarto verso.²⁷ L'espressione *percipe porro* (lucreziana: *DRN* 6, 46) compare solo una volta in Virgilio, e solo una volta in Silio (e in tutta la letteratura latina rimanente). Con grande finezza, Silio rovescia la natura dei presupposti dei due piani: pur in una situazione di generale difficoltà per i Troiani assediati nel loro campo, il piano di Niso si basa sul fatto che i nemici sembrano distratti, immersi nel sonno, ubriachi; il piano di Annibale è invece motivato dal fatto che i nemici appaiono ben concentrati nel loro assedio al campo cartaginese: non si tratta di cogliere un'occasione favorevole, bensì di reagire a una situazione di grande pericolo. Con questa allusione Silio sembra voler dire che non ci può essere nell'epica romana un rifacimento della Doloneia omerica che non tenga conto anche della Doloneia virgiliana di Eurialo e Niso.

Opere citate

- CASALI, S. (2004), "Nisus and Euryalus: Exploiting the Contradictions in Virgil's Doloneia", *HSPh* 102, 319-354.
- CLARKE, S. (1729), *Homeri Ilias. Graece et Latine. Annotationes in usum Serenissimi principis Gulielmi Augusti, ducis de Cumberland,*

²⁷ La cosa sfugge ai commentatori siliani, ma cf. SCHMIT-NEUERBURG (1999) 43.

- etc., regio jussu scripsit atque edidit Samuel Clarke S. T. P.* Vol. I (London).
- CONTE, G.B. (2009), *P. Vergilius Maro*, Aeneis (Berlin).
- DINGEL, J. (1997), *Kommentar zum 9. Buch der Aeneis Vergils* (Heidelberg).
- DUÉ, C. / EBBOTT, M. (2010), *Iliad 10 and the Poetics of Ambush. A Multitext Edition with Essays and Commentary* (Cambridge, MA).
- GERNET, L. (1936), “Dolon le loup”, in *Mélanges Franz Cumont. Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 4, 189-208.
- GRiffin, J. (1980), *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford).
- HAINSWORTH, B. (1993), *The Iliad. A Commentary. III, Books 9-12* (Cambridge).
- HARDIE, P. (1994) *Virgil: Aeneid IX* (Cambridge).
- HEUBECK, A. / WEST, S. / HAINSWORTH, J.B. (1988), *A Commentary on Homer’s Odyssey*. Vol. I, *Introduction and Books I-VIII* (Oxford).
- HIGBIE, C. (1995), *Heroes’ Names, Homeric Identities* (New York).
- HINDS, S.E. (1998) *Allusion and Intertext. Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge).
- JUHNKE, H. (1972) *Homerisches in römischer Epik flavianischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zur Szenennachbildung und Strukturentsprechungen in Statius’ Thebais und Achilleis und in Silius’ Punica* (München).
- KAMPTZ, H. VON (1982) [1958], *Homerische Personennamen. Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische Klassifikation* (Göttingen).
- KANAVOU, N. (2015), *The Names of Homeric Heroes. Problems and Interpretations* (Berlin).
- LEGRAS, L. (1905), *Étude sur la Thébaïde de Stace* (Paris).
- LITTLEWOOD, R.J. (2011), *A Commentary on Silius Italicus’ Punica* 7 (Oxford).
- (2013), “Patterns of Darkness: Chthonic Illusion, Gigantomachy, and Sacrificial Ritual in the *Punica*”, in A. AUGUSTAKIS (a c. di), *Ritual and Religion in Flavian Epic* (Oxford), 199-215.
- LORIMER, H.L. (1950), *Homer and the Monuments* (London).
- MCLEOD, W. (1988), “The Bow at Night: An Inappropriate Weapon?”, *Phoenix* 42, 121-125.
- O’HARA, J.J. (1996), *True Names. Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor).
- PASCHALIS, M. (1997), *Virgil’s Aeneid. Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford).
- PERADOTTO, J. (1990), *Man in the Middle Voice. Name and Narration in the Odyssey* (Princeton).

- POLLMANN, K.F.L. (2001), “Statius’ *Thebaid* and the Legacy of Vergil’s *Aeneid*”, *Mnemosyne* 54, 10-30.
- SCHLUNK, R.R. (1974), *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid. A Study of the Influence of Ancient Homeric Literary Criticism on Vergil* (Ann Arbor).
- SCHMIT-NEUERBURG, T. (1999), *Vergils Aeneis und die antike Homerexegese. Untersuchungen zum Einfluss ethischer und kritischer Homerrezeption auf imitatio und aemulatio Vergils* (Berlin).
- SPALTENSTEIN, F. (1990), *Commentaire des Punica de Silius Italicus (livres 9 à 17)* (Ginevra).
- VESSEY, D. (1973), *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge).
- (1986), “*Pierius menti calor incidit*: Statius’ Epic Style”, in *ANRW* II.32.5, 2965-3019.
- WILLIAMS, R.D. (1972), *P. Papini Stati Thebaidos Liber Decimus. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden).

DISCUSSION

R. Schlesier: You put emphasis on the fact that the ambush is a very important subject in Latin literature. For convenience, could you summarize the results of your study, especially concerning the concept of the night presented in the ambush scenes?

S. Casali: Le imboscate notturne sono davvero un soggetto importante nella letteratura latina, principalmente nell'epica, ma anche nella storiografia, e ad esse spero di dedicare in futuro una monografia specifica. In questo intervento mi sono limitato sostanzialmente a toccare alcuni punti relativi a tre filoni d'indagine: (i) il ruolo essenziale del modello omerico di *Iliade* 10 per qualsiasi narrazione di imboscate notturne nell'epica romana; (ii) la problematizzazione morale dell'imboscata notturna; (iii) il sottotema, ereditato dai poeti latini da *Il. 10*, della vestizione con armi che siano particolarmente appropriate a un'azione che deve svolgersi durante la notte. Nell'episodio virgiliano di Eurialo e Niso, il modello della Doloneia omerica serve come strumento per concettualizzare la moralità, o immoralità, dell'azione notturna quando essa si fa strage di inermi, e anche, ovviamente, per approfondire il sottotema della vestizione notturna: un dettaglio apparentemente del tutto secondario, inerte e puramente decorativo nella vestizione di Eurialo — la spada affidatagli da Ascanio è opera di un artista chiamato Licaone — contribuisce invece, a mio avviso, al motivo della problematizzazione morale della spedizione notturna, in quanto Eurialo e Niso, invece di essere associati esclusivamente con gli eroici e vittoriosi Diomede e Odisseo di *Il. 10*, vengono coinvolti nel motivo del ‘lupo’ che caratterizzava il codardo e perdente Dolone, oggetto dello scherno del narratore di *Il. 10*. Con la spada di Licaone, Eurialo è ulteriormente associato alla

sconfitta notturna in quanto il nome “Licaone” richiama alla memoria del lettore il figlio di Priamo così chiamato, che era stato vittima dell’unica imboscata notturna di Achille esplicitamente menzionata nell’*Iliade*: così i due incursori troiani dell’*Eneide* sono doppiamente connotati come predestinati alla sconfitta, sia attraverso l’evocazione del “lupo” Dolone che attraverso quella della vittima notturna Licaone. In terzo luogo, suggerisco che Virgilio, assegnando una rilevanza ‘simbolica’ e lupesca a un nome ‘accidentalmente’ coinvolto nella genealogia di un’arma notturna riprenda una strategia che, a ragione o a torto, già vedeva operante in Omero, dove il nome di Autolico nella genealogia del casco di Odisseo poteva essere visto come rinviante ancora una volta al motivo del “lupo”, quasi che il poeta di *Il.* 10 volesse suggerire che fosse Odisseo, e non Dolone, il ‘lupo in persona’ che sarebbe stato protagonista vittorioso della spedizione notturna. Per quanto riguarda Stazio, ho voluto sottolineare come la separazione tra il massacro notturno (visto come del tutto negativo) e la spedizione di una coppia di eroi (vista come del tutto positiva) costituisca un’interpretazione e una critica dell’episodio di Eurialo e Niso, dove massacro e spedizione eroica formavano invece un insieme intimamente contraddittorio. Per quanto riguarda la vestizione notturna, Stazio svolge un discorso critico anche su *Il.* 10, censurando la scelta di attribuire arco e frecce a Odisseo. Infine, Silio adatta forzatamente l’episodio dell’attacco notturno dei buoi in fiamme da parte di Annibale al modello di *Il.* 10, e vorrei sottolineare ora anche come questo adattamento forzato costituisca un ennesimo commento sulla moralità dell’imboscata notturna: a compierla è infatti il genio del male Annibale, e non c’è dubbio che essa sia connotata in senso del tutto negativo: le risonanze emotive del massacro di guerrieri inermi, che per forza di cose manca nell’episodio siliano, vengono trasferite alla sorte orribile dei buoi incendiati vivi da Annibale.

R. Schlesier: As for nocturnal episodes (particularly ambush scenes) in Greek and Latin authors like Homer, Euripides,

Statius, and Virgil, how would you describe their difference? Is there a difference in principle, or just a difference in nuances?

S. Casali: La differenza fondamentale che si deve tracciare è quella tra Omero e i suoi imitatori e interpreti romani. Il comportamento di Odisseo e Diomede, che massacrano nel sonno Reso e i suoi soldati, in *Il.* 10 è stato spessissimo criticato dai critici moderni, definito ‘antieroico’ e deprecabile, e inserito tra le caratteristiche che renderebbero la Doloneia ‘diversa’ e odissiaca, e quindi non-omerica (nel senso di non-iliadica). Dué ed Ebbott, nell’ambito di un approccio rigorosamente oralista-tradizionalista, attribuiscono — in modo convincente — l’inegabile particolarità di *Il.* 10 non al fatto che sia opera di un diverso autore, bensì al fatto che essa si rifaccia a una diversa poetica, la ‘poetica dell’imboscata’ (definita come “a theory of the structure and functioning of the traditional language within which *Iliad* 10 ... was created and must be understood and interpreted” ([2010] 31): se *Il.* 10 è simile all’*Odissea*, è perché condivide con l’*Odissea* l’aderenza alla poetica dell’imboscata. Per stabilire che quello dell’imboscata era un tema ben noto alla tradizione orale, esse prendono avvio dal libro *Achilles in the Odyssey* di A.T. Edwards (Königstein/TS 1985), che considera la seconda metà dell’*Odissea* come il racconto più lungo di imboscata che ci sia stato conservato, mentre la prima metà contiene la storia del Cavallo di Troia, che costituisce l’imboscata notturna per eccellenza. Edwards non tratta di *Il.* 10 nel suo libro dedicato al tema dell’imboscata, tranne che in un riferimento *en passant* in cui osserva che la narrazione di *Il.* 10 è strutturata come un’imboscata (Edwards [1985] 38). Edwards considera il tema dell’imboscata trattato in modo differente nell’*Iliade* e nell’*Odissea*, e soprattutto ritiene che anche la valutazione etica di questo tipo di combattimento irregolare sia diversa nei due poemi, negativa nell’*Iliade*, positiva nell’*Odissea*. Dué ed Ebbott adottano una visione leggermente diversa del rapporto tra *Iliade* e *Odissea* in genere, e per quanto attiene al tema dell’imboscata in particolare: il diverso modo in cui

Iliade e *Odissea* trattano l'imboscata non dipende da differenze tra i due poemi in sé e per sé, ma dipende dalle differenze che esistono tra due "cluster" tematici o "megatemi"; uno di questi "megatemi" è il tema dell'imboscata che caratterizza l'*Odissea* (o perlomeno molti episodi di essa), e il motivo per cui *Iliade* 10 sembra più "odissiaco" di altri si deve al fatto che esso partecipa del tema dell'imboscata che è così caratteristico dell'*Odissea*. Il comportamento di Odisseo e Diomede va inquadrato dunque, dal punto di vista della valutazione etica che il punto di vista del testo gli attribuisce, nell'ambito di questa poetica. Da questo punto di vista, il massacro dei soldati di Reso non costituisce un 'problema' morale, e Odisseo e Diomede si comportano da perfetti eroi nel contesto della poetica dell'imboscata.

Completamente diverso è il discorso quando si considerano i poeti epici romani. Parlare di "poetica dell'imboscata" al loro riguardo non ha senso, e qui Dué ed Ebbott, nella loro trattazione della ricezione di *Il. 10* in *Eneide* 9 in termini di poetica dell'imboscata, vanno fuori strada. La produzione del testo di Virgilio (e a maggior ragione quello dei successori epici di Virgilio) avviene in un contesto culturale radicalmente diverso da quello che caratterizzava la produzione dei poemi omerici. Virgilio, oltre ad attirare su Eurialo e Niso la negatività di Dolone, reinterpreta il comportamento di Odisseo e Diomede, gli eroi, le star di *Il. 10*, in un modo che presuppone una lettura 'negativa' anche di aspetti del comportamento di questi personaggi, che erano invece presentati in una luce totalmente positiva nell'*Iliade*. In particolare, Virgilio suggerisce una valutazione del massacro che i due compiono di nemici dormienti come un'azione eccessiva e crudele. L'asciutta narrazione omerica, in cui nessuno dei tredici uccisi viene nominato (tranne l'ultimo, Reso), diventa patetica, gli uccisi ricevono nomi, e sono nomi che evocano la romanità originaria come Ramneta e Remo. Il fatto che nel tema dell'imboscata l'uccisione di nemici dormienti, o che quanto meno non si aspettano di essere attaccati, sia visto come cosa del tutto normale, non significa che nella ricezione successiva, letteraria, di tale tema della tradizione orale

i vari autori non possano inserirvi valutazioni morali e ideologiche anche del tutto diverse da quelle della tradizione orale. E questo è appunto quanto fa Virgilio nell'interpretare Omero, e quanto faranno i successori epici di Virgilio nell'interpretare tanto Omero quanto Virgilio stesso.

A. Chaniotis: I will start with a comment on the usefulness of a study of the night: we not only learn something about the night; we also learn something about the literary genres in which the night is selected as the setting of a scene. My question is one about the importance of quantity. How much night is there in the epic? What percentage of action takes place in the night, and is this significant? I am aware of the fact that you cannot give numbers, but it is interesting to have an estimate of the relative weight of nocturnal scenes in the Roman epic. Similarly, if we were to count the nocturnal scenes in Thucydides and other historians — or, for instance, nocturnal scenes in Xenophon's *Anabasis* and his *Hellenica* —, we might find significant differences that are connected with the historian's focus, aims, and media of emotional arousal in the audience.

S. Casali: Prendiamo l'*Eneide* come testo di riferimento. Nell'*Eneide* la notte gioca un ruolo di essenziale importanza. Il libro 1 è prevalentemente diurno, ma Enea trascorre una notte assorto nei suoi pensieri (1, 305) e così anche Venere è preda dell'ansia per la sorte dei Troiani in Libia (1, 662). Il banchetto alla corte di Didone si protrae fino a notte fonda (1, 727, 748). Il libro 2 dell'*Eneide* si svolge per la maggior parte di notte, con la narrazione, da parte di Enea — che a sua volta parla a Didone di notte — dell'imboscata notturna per eccellenza, quella del Cavallo di legno. La notte scende al verso 250 e occupa tutto il resto del libro fino a che in 801-802 Lucifer sorge e porta la luce del giorno ai pochi Troiani sopravvissuti al massacro. Nel libro 3 abbiamo una scena notturna quando i Penati appaiono in sogno a Enea per spiegargli la profezia di Apollo sull'antica madre (3, 147-171). Il tema della notte come

momento della visione soprannaturale è qui sviluppato in senso positivo, e ancora benigna è l'atmosfera notturna più avanti nel libro 3, quando nel cuore della notte Palinuro osserva le stelle e dà il segnale della partenza alla flotta ormeggiata presso i Cerauni (3, 512-520): all'aurora, infatti, ecco il primo avvistamento dell'Italia (3, 521-524). Più inquietante è la notte oscurrissima che i Troiani trascorrono sotto l'Etna (3, 583-587), corrispondente alla notte oscura, nuvolosa e senza luna in cui Odisseo approda all'Isola delle Capre in *Od.* 9, 143-148.

Il libro 4 è il libro dell'amore di Didone e la notte vi svolge il ruolo fondamentale che già svolgeva in Apollonio Rodio, *Arg.* 3 e 4 (vedi soprattutto la notte tormentata di Medea: *Arg.* 3, 740-827; di notte Eeta, un altro modello di Didone, trama un inganno contro gli Argonauti: *Arg.* 4, 6-10; insonnia angosciata di Medea: *Arg.* 4, 1058-1068). Il libro 4 si apre con la notte insonne di Didone dopo il racconto di Enea (4, 1-5); notti tormentate di Didone innamorata seguono nei versi 80-85, e poi, dopo la decisione di Enea di partire e quella di Didone di suicidarsi, in 450-473 (la notte Didone ode il morto Sicheo chiamarla dal tempo e un gufo lamentarsi ominoso: 460-463; e, sul modello della Ilia enniana, è tormentata da incubi in cui Enea la perseguita: 465-473). La notte più importante e famosa del libro 4 è quella della partenza di Enea (4, 522-583), con il contrasto tra il silenzio notturno in cui tutti dormono e Didone sveglia, tormentata dall'ansia, dall'amore e dall'ira (522-562), mentre Enea dorme tranquillo sulla nave e riceve in sogno la seconda visita di Mercurio, che gli ordina di partire subito (563-570), cosa che Enea si precipita a compiere (571-583).

La notte come tempo di insidie mortali incornicia il libro 5: subito dopo che i Troiani hanno visto l'incendio del rogo di Didone brillare dalle mura di Cartagine (5, 1-7), nuvole minacciose portano "notte e tempesta", mentre "le onde si increspano nelle tenebre" (10-11); Palinuro, preoccupato, dice a Enea che è opportuno seguire il vento fino a Erice (12-25); Palinuro, la notte e la morte ritornano in chiusa del libro: è notte quando il dio Sonno appare a Palinuro nell'aspetto di

Forbante, proponendogli di dormire mentre lui prenderà il comando della nave; al suo rifiuto, il Sonno addormenta Palinuro, che cade in mare; più avanti Enea si accorge della scomparsa del timoniere e, addolorato, guida lui stesso la nave *nocturnis ... in undis* (835-871). La notte precedente a questa era stata invece caratterizzata dall'apparizione a Enea dell'ombra di Anchise, che gli ordina di andarlo a trovare nell'Elisio (719-742). La catabasi di Enea nel libro 6 dura un'intera giornata, ma è naturalmente scandita da insistenti riferimenti alla notte e all'oscurità: durante i sacrifici preparatori che chiudono il primo giorno di permanenza a Cuma, Enea, di notte, sacrifica, tra l'altro, una pecora nera alla Notte, la "madre delle Eumenidi" (249-251), ed è all'alba del giorno seguente che, tra strani fenomeni, Enea e la Sibilla entrano nella voragine; "andavano oscuri per l'ombra, sotto la notte sola" (268), come chi cammina in una selva alla luce "maligna" della luna; Caronte chiama gli Inferi il luogo delle ombre, del Sonno e della Notte (390); Enea dice all'ombra di Didone di essere costretto a viaggiare "per luoghi squallidi di putridume e notte profonda" (462); la notte suprema di Troia è ancora rievocata dall'ombra di Deifobo, notte nella notte, e, mentre Enea e Deifobo parlano, la Sibilla avvisa che, nonostante siano a mezzo del giorno, già "la notte precipita" (539) e bisogna affrettarsi; le ombre di Cesare e Pompeo "sono schiacciate dalla notte" (827); Enea e la Sibilla escono dagli Inferi per la porta d'avorio dei Sogni falsi e ingannatori, il passo più misterioso del poema, *forse* anche un modo di riferirsi all'ora notturna in cui avviene l'uscita, poiché si credeva che i sogni veri fossero solo quelli che apparivano dopo mezzanotte.

Nel libro 7 i Troiani, partiti da Gaeta, continuano a navigare eccezionalmente anche di notte, così che di notte, opportunamente, e alla luce tremula della luna, oltrepassano la pericolosa e misteriosa isola di Circe (7, 9-10), per poi arrivare, simbolicamente, all'alba alle foci del Tevere. Altri due momenti notturni nel libro 7 sono segnati da eventi soprannaturali: Latino riceve di notte la profezia di Fauno (102), e di notte Alletto, la

Furia “figlia della Notte” (331), appare ad Amata (probabilmente: *tacitum ... limen*, 343) e a Turno dormiente (413-474). Altra visione notturna all’inizio del libro 8: il dio Tiberino appare in sogno a Enea (26-65; il notturno di 26-27 richiama la profezia dei Penati nel libro 3); per una notte e un giorno i Troiani risalgono il fiume verso Pallanteo, anche se la scansione cronologica di questa sezione non è chiara (86-96; probabilmente la notte di 86 è sempre la stessa notte del sogno di Tiberino, ma *noctemque diemque* in 94 resta difficile da spiegare). La notte come tempo dell’eros è l’ambientazione, dapprima solo implicita, dell’amplesso tra Venere e Vulcano: dopo di esso e dopo aver dormito, il dio si alza nel mezzo della notte, alla stessa ora in cui si alza una donna che è obbligata a sostenere la vita con la tessitura, che ravviva il fuoco sopito e “aggiunge la notte al lavoro”, affaticando le serve alla luce delle lucerne (407-415), un quadro di vita quotidiana basato, oltre che su *Il.* 12, 433-436 (dove però il lavoro della filatrice non è espressamente notturno), su due similitudini apolloniane (*Arg.* 3, 291-297: il fuoco d’amore che arde nel cuore di Medea è come la fiamma accesa da una filatrice notturna, che “si è alzata prestissimo”; *Arg.* 4, 1061-1067: l’angoscia di Medea è come quella che prova una donna vedova e con figli che fila la notte). Nel libro 9 abbiamo l’episodio notturno di Eurialo e Niso. Dapprima è descritta la notte di Italici e Troiani, con i preparativi dell’assedio (159-175). Poi i due giovani, dopo aver deciso l’impresa, si presentano all’assemblea che i capi troiani stanno tenendo nel cuore della notte: ancora una volta, abbiamo il contrasto tra il sonno generale e la veglia di qualcuno (224-228), modellato ovviamente su *Il.* 10,1-4 (sonno di tutti contro veglia di Agamennone). L’assemblea notturna di *Aen.* 9 riunisce in sé, contraddittoriamente, le due assemblee notturne di *Il.* 10, quella dei saggi Achei e quella degli stolti Troiani, con Ascanio che si ritrova a ripetere soprattutto il comportamento screditato e scriteriato dell’Ettore omerico (la promessa di dare in premio per la missione notturna il carro e i cavalli di Turno, come Ettore prometteva a Dolone il carro e cavalli di Achille). Tutta

la sezione dal verso 159 al verso 458 si svolge di notte, una notte che rappresenta anche la notte della ragione: la frase di 9, 461, *iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce reiectis*, “ormai il sole si era diffuso, ormai le cose erano svelate dalla luce”, suggerisce l’amaro rinsavire al mattino dopo le follie della notte, e *rebus luce reiectis* anche lo svelarsi della verità dopo le tenebre della propaganda: l’apostrofe agli eroi morti si colloca di notte; il mattino porta luce, e porta la visione delle teste mozzate, e il lamento e la protesta della madre di Eurialo.

In 10, 146-257 Enea di notte ritorna per mare con un contingente di forze etrusche, di cui si fa il catalogo. C’è un momento intimo, e forse quasi ‘romantico’, tra Enea che sta seduto sulla nave, evidentemente reggendo il timone e ripensando tra sé agli eventi della guerra, e Pallante che gli sta accanto e gli chiede delle stelle, e dei travagli che ha sofferto per mare e per terra (159-162). L’atmosfera notturna è anche appropriata alla scena soprannaturale dell’incontro di Enea con le ninfe in cui era stata trasformata la flotta troiana (215-245). Nel libro 11, la scena dell’arrivo a Pallanteo del corteo funebre di Pallante si svolge, implicitamente, di notte: lo fanno dapprima capire i versi 143-144, con la menzione della torce funebri portate dagli Arcadi che vanno incontro al corteo, a causa delle quali “la via risplende e divide i campi per ampia distesa”; lo chiariscono poi 182-183, con il riferimento al sorgere dell’aurora.

Nell’unico, e peraltro modesto, articolo espressamente dedicato alla notte nell’*Eneide*,¹ Osmun conclude che le scene notturne sono usate sostanzialmente per (i) visioni e manifestazioni soprannaturali (ii) scene erotiche, (iii) scene di pericolo, (iv) magia (con riferimento, presumibilmente, ai riti magici compiuti dalla maga massila, con Didone, nei pressi della pira in 4, 504-521, che tuttavia non sono *esplicitamente* collocati in un’ambientazione notturna). Le scene erotiche sono in realtà

¹ G.F. OSMUN (1962), “Night Scenes in the *Aeneid*”, in *Vergilius* 8, 27-33, a 31; da vedere anche L. FRATANTUONO / R.F. THOMAS (2014), “Night”, in R.F. THOMAS / J. ZIOLKOWSKI (a c. di), *The Virgil Encyclopedia* (Malden), 904-905.

soprattutto scene di angoscia (Didone), con un solo accenno al sesso (Venere e Vulcano), mentre le “scene di pericolo” comprenderanno le imboscate vere e proprie (il Cavallo, Eurialo e Niso; ricordiamo anche che sullo Scudo di Enea è rappresentata un’altra imboscata notturna, cioè l’attacco notturno al Campidoglio da parte dei Galli di Brenno nel 390 a.C., *Aen.* 8, 655-662, da confrontare con Ennio, *Ann.* 227-228 Sk. e Livio 5, 47), tutta la catabasi del libro 6, e i momenti notturni in cui irrompe la morte (Palinuro), anche se altre scene notturne restano fuori da questa catalogazione sommaria (per esempio, scene di convivio con narrazioni, come alla corte di Didone; di navigazione tranquilla, come nei libri 3, 7 e 10; di lavoro quotidiano, come per Vulcano, e la donna della similitudine, nel libro 8, etc.). Volendo quantificare, si potrebbe dire che l’azione notturna comprende circa il 20% del poema (con molta approssimazione, e contando come notturna la catabasi del libro 6 e un segmento in fondo extratemporale come il catalogo delle navi etrusche in *Aen.* 10). La notte è misteriosa, luogo del soprannaturale (le molte apparizioni e i riti oscuri); pericolosa e anche violenta, momento in cui dal sonno si passa improvvisamente alla morte (le imboscate, Palinuro); del resto la morte stessa è talora descritta come notte (10, 746; 12, 310), e Turno paralizzato dalla Dirà è paragonato a un uomo che di notte fa sogni di angosciosa frustrazione (12, 908-912); angosciosa, sia per l’amante infelice (Didone) che per il condottiero preoccupato e carico di responsabilità (Enea nel libro 1 e poi nel libro 8, quando gli appare Tiberino; i capi troiani nel libro 9), ma anche per chi è costretto a lavorare per vivere; solo raramente è il momento dell’intimità (Venere e Vulcano, Enea e Pallante nel libro 10, anche se Enea è anche lì preoccupato e pensieroso), o del lavoro tranquillo (Palinuro che osserva le stelle in 3, 512-514).

A. Chaniotis: Is it of significance that unlike the Homeric poems and the Classical tragedies that were composed at a time in which the male inhabitants of Greek cities had war experience — ambushes were part of the standard training of a soldier —,

the Latin poets that you discussed composed their works for an audience that never had the experience of ambushes in the night?

S. Casali: È vero che c'è una differenza sostanziale tra il pubblico di Omero e della tragedia classica, abituato alla pratica dell'imboscata notturna, e il pubblico dei poemi epici romani, che si può supporre non avesse esperienza diretta di azioni belliche del genere. Tuttavia, anche se è difficile immaginare il lettore ideale dell'epica romana come un soldato esperto di guerra notturna, non va dimenticato che anche i Romani conoscevano e praticavano l'imboscata notturna. Può essere rilevante, allora, ricordare che i poemi epici romani che parlano di imboscate notturne non si limitano a costruire le loro narrazioni sul modello esclusivo della Doloneia omerica — che pure è punto di riferimento fondamentale e ineludibile, tanto che anche di fronte all'inganno 'storico' dei buoi in fiamme di Annibale Silio si rifugia nell'imitazione di *Il. 10*. Oltre a Omero, anche la storiografia e l'epica storica di tipo enniano offrivano racconti di imboscate notturne, e sia Virgilio che i suoi successori epici includono riferimenti di tipo storico o storiografico nelle loro narrazioni di imboscate notturne. Per quanto riguarda l'episodio di Eurialo e Niso, le motivazioni principali delle sortite sono diverse nella Doloneia e in *Eneide* 9: la specifica motivazione di Eurialo e Niso, che compiono la loro sortita non per spiare i pieni del nemico, ma per andare a contattare il capo assente con parte dell'esercito recupera una sortita notturna nel libro 8 degli *Annales* di Ennio, in cui si raccontava di come, dopo la battaglia di Canne, una guarnigione romana rimasta isolata in un accampamento e staccata dal grosso dell'esercito attraversava di notte le linee nemiche per ricongiungersi ai compagni e raggiungere insieme Canosa, come narrato in Livio 22, 50. Dal campo maggiore si richiede che i soldati rimasti isolati si trasferissero da loro *dum proelio, deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret* ("fino a che il riposo notturno schiacciava i nemici spossati dalla battaglia e poi dai banchetti con cui avevano fatto festa", Liv. 22, 50, 4). Il tribuno militare P. Sempronio Tuditano in Livio pronuncia un discorso

per persuadere all'impresa le truppe riluttanti; in questo discorso pone l'accento sul disordine in cui versano i nemici cartaginesi: 22, 50, 8 *sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstre-punt portis, erumpamus* (“Ma prima che ci sorprenda la luce del giorno e che più numerose schiere di nemici sbarrino il cammino, facciamo una sortita attraverso costoro, che non raggruppati per reparti né ordinati per file fanno strepito davanti alle porte”). Da questo contesto potrebbe dunque provenire *Ann.* 288 Sk. *nunc hostes uino domiti somnoque sepulti* che è riecheggiato in *Aen.* 9, 188-190 *cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum: | lumina rara micant, somno uinoque soluti | procubuere, silent late loca* (il silenzio dei Rutuli si contrapporrebbe quindi alla strepito dei Cartaginesi ubriachi in Ennio, nonché al “suono dei flauti e delle zampogne” e al “frastuono degli uomini” provenienti dal campo troiano in festa e uditi dallo stupito Agamennone in *Il.* 10, 13). In Livio P. Sempronio Tuditano prosegue la sua esortazione dicendo (22, 50, 9): *ferro atque audacia uia fit quamuis per confertos hostes* “con il ferro e l'audacia ci si apre una via anche attraverso il folto dei nemici”. Niso in 9, 356 ferma Eurialo che sta per raggiungere Messapo e i suoi cavalli, dicendogli che hanno compiuto abbastanza strage: *poe-narum exhaustum satis est, uia facta per hostis* “abbiamo punito a sufficienza: una via è aperta attraverso i nemici”. Livio e Virgilio potrebbero risalire entrambi a un modello comune in Ennio, come suggerito da Hardie ad *Aen.* 9, 189 e 356; si noti anche che P. Sempronio Tuditano addita a coloro che erano impauriti dall'idea della sortita l'esempio di L. Emilio, che preferì morire a Canne piuttosto che vivere vergognosamente, e dei suoi eroici soldati, che giacciono a mucchi intorno a lui (Liv. 22, 50, 6-7), così fornendo un possibile parallelo per la decisione di Niso di morire anche lui cercando prima di salvare e poi di vendicare l'amico piuttosto che fuggire e mettersi in salvo.²

² Vedi anche D. MEBAN (2009), “The Nisus and Euryalus Episode and Roman Friendship”, *Phoenix* 63, 239-259, a 245-247, che richiama anche le parole di L. Emilio stesso prima della sua morte in Livio 22, 49, 10-11.

Per quanto riguarda Stazio, la spedizione notturna di Tiodamante, pur se primariamente modellata su Omero e Virgilio, riecheggia anche la spedizione notturna di Camillo, da Ardea, contro i Galli, come narrata da Livio, 5, 43, 6 - 45, 4.³ Ma anche nell'episodio virgiliano di Eurialo e Niso si può sentire l'influenza di questo racconto, e Virgilio poteva conoscerlo direttamente da Livio, se, come è probabile, il libro 5 di Livio era stato pubblicato prima dell'*Eneide*, oppure attraverso Ennio, possibile fonte comune, quindi, di Livio e Virgilio.

Richiamando questi esempi, non voglio sostenere che il pubblico dell'epica romana avesse un'esperienza delle battaglie notturne paragonabile a quello dei pubblici di Omero e della tragedia classica; tuttavia, è chiaro che anche per un'audience romana il tema dell'imboscosa notturna non suggeriva solo associazioni puramente letterarie, ma richiamava esperienze storiche ben presenti nella memoria collettiva.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Dans le passage de Stace du livre 10 (vers 318-325), l'attaque a certes lieu la nuit, mais elle n'est pas aussi 'hors normes' que le massacre des femmes, des enfants et des vieillards que l'on a vu sur les vases montrés par Ioannis Mylonopoulos. Après tout, il s'agit de soldats tués par des soldats dans un contexte général qui est celui de la guerre. En quoi serait-ce plus horrible que la Dolonie de l'*Iliade* sur un plan narratif ?

S. Casali: È vero che sia in Virgilio che in Stazio a essere uccisi durante le imboscate notturne sono guerrieri, e non donne, vecchi o bambini. Eppure i poeti romani chiaramente presentano la strage notturna come particolarmente orribile, e chiaramente più orribile di quanto non lo fosse per il poeta di *Il.* 10, attraverso una strategia narrativa che consiste sostanzialmente

³ Su questo, rimando a H. LOVATT (2010), "Cannibalising History: Livian Moments in Statius' *Thebaid*", in J.F. MILLER / A.J. WOODMAN (a c. di), *Latin Historiography and Poetry in the Early Empire. Generic Interactions* (Leiden), 71-86, a 79-81.

nell'attribuzione di umanità alle vittime. In Omero il massacro compiuto da Odisseo e Diomede è ordinato e professionale; l'impeto omicida è ispirato a Diomede da Atena; i nemici sono uccisi senza che di essi sia detto il nome (tranne nel caso di Reso, ovviamente), né sia data alcuna caratterizzazione; apprendiamo solo che “dai soldati colpiti saliva un gemito atroce e la terra si arrossava di sangue” (*Il.* 10, 483-484); Diomede uccide con la spada, e dietro di lui Odisseo, metodicamente, trascina i cadaveri di lato per aprire la via al passaggio dei cavalli di Reso. Solo di Reso si dice qualcosa di più: il suo sonno era agitato da un incubo, che gli aveva mandato Atena, e questo incubo era quel Diomede stesso che ora lo uccide (*Il.* 10, 494-497), sia che con ciò si voglia parlare di un sogno profetico (Reso avrebbe sognato di Diomede proprio mentre questi stava per ucciderlo davvero), sia che invece vada inteso che Diomede sia un incubo solo metaforicamente, in quanto autore dell'omicidio. Mirto parla al proposito di “macabro umorismo”, tanto più particolare in quanto “non veicolato dalla voce di un personaggio ma direttamente espresso nella narrazione” (p. 1081); la narrazione non mira a suscitare alcuna empatia con la vittima, ma quasi la schernisce.⁴ In Virgilio, invece, si fanno i nomi di nove italici uccisi, e sono nomi che evocano la romanità originaria o i capostipiti di *gentes* romane, come Ramnete, Remo, Lamo, Serrano (vedi Casali [2004] 346-347); le vittime sono descritte nei loro ultimi istanti di vita (avevano giocato, bevuto) e caratterizzate con le loro qualifiche e occupazioni (Ramnete è un augure, Serrano è giovane e bello, i morti innominati sono servi e gente umile); uno di loro, Reto, è sveglio e cerca invano di nascondersi dietro un cratere — sono guerrieri, sì, ma il contesto non è quello del campo di battaglia, la morte violenta irrompe in un ambiente conviviale, Reto morendo vomita sangue misto a

⁴ Cerca di vedere possibili tracce di empatia, ma con scarso successo, J. HESK (2013), “Seeing in the Dark: *kleos*, Tragedy and Perception in *Iliad* 10”, in H. LOVATT / C. VOUT (a c. di), *Epic Visions. Visuality in Greek and Latin Epic and its Reception* (Cambridge), 32-59, a 55-56, che pure contrasta la scarsa essenzialità del massacro omerico con la profusione di dettagli macabri e patetici del massacro di Eurialo e Niso.

vino. Stazio esaspera il macabro patetismo della narrazione virgiliana; torna l'ambientazione ‘straniata’ del massacro, con gli uccisi che fino a poco prima avevano suonato con la lira, cantato, giocato (*Ialmeno* in *Theb.* 10, 304-305 -Serrano in *Aen.* 9, 335-338), e bevuto; anche qui si vomita sangue misto a vino (*Theb.* 10, 312 - *Aen.* 9, 349-350) tra i crateri (*Theb.* 10, 313 *crateras* - *Aen.* 9, 346 *cratera*) e le tazze. Attraverso Virgilio, Stazio recupera e interpreta, e stravolge in modo patetizzante, anche il testo omerico: Tiocamante uccide Calpeto, che stava dormendo e respirando affannosamente sdraiato sotto il suo carro, e forse — commenta Stazio — stava sognando proprio Tiocamante che compiva la sua strage (*Theb.* 10, 318-325). Questa uccisione rielabora quella di Reso in *Il.* 10, 494-497, filtrata attraverso l'uccisione di Ramnete in *Aen.* 9. Al verso 320 *proflatu* allude ad ἀσθυαίνοντα di *Il.* 10, 496 attraverso *Aen.* 9, 326 *proflabat pectore somnum* detto del *rex* Ramnete (cf. *Il.* 10, 494 βασιλῆα [= Reso]), la prima vittima di Niso (mentre Reso è l'ultima di Diomede).⁵ Con il riferimento all'incubo di Calpeto, Stazio dà la sua interpretazione del discusso passo omerico riguardante l'incubo di Reso: Tiocamante non è un κακὸν ὄναρ, ma forse Calpeto era agitato nel suo sonno (onde *proflatu terrebat equos*) perché stava avendo un sogno profetico, e sognava proprio di Tiocamante che compiva il massacro e di Tebe in lutto. Non è un caso che delle due possibili interpretazioni del passo omerico Stazio scelga quella che è meno ‘umoristica’ e più patetica. Insomma, mi sembra evidente che sia Stazio che Virgilio imprimano un giro di vite alla narrazione del massacro notturno nel senso di una maggiore empatia con le vittime e di un più accentuato senso della violenza brutale e disumana implicita nell'uccisione di uomini inermi e addormentati.

⁵ Sul dettaglio dei cavalli di Calpeto che brucano l'erba vedi M. FUCCCHI (1999), “Cavalli al pascolo” nella notte di Eurialo e Niso : rovesciamento e reimpiego di uno scolio omerico nell'*Eneide* (con un'appendice su Stazio), *RFIC* 127, 202-222, a 219-222.

K. De Temmerman: Trickery, cunning and ruse are not only morally problematic. There is also a literary tradition where these are attributed to a good statesman. In Xenophon's Agesilaus, for example, cunning is (also) the mark of good (Spartan) generalship. Are heroes in Latin epic morally infected by their nocturnal behaviour?

S. Casali: Per rispondere a questa domanda, mi riaggancio all'esempio dell'episodio liviano di Camillo che attacca i Galli di notte. Anche nella tradizione storiografica romana l'attacco notturno non è visto come moralmente problematico; o meglio, lo è, se lo compiono i nemici; non lo è, se lo compiono i Romani stessi. Virgilio del resto commenta su questa tendenziosità dell'atteggiamento romano quando in *Aen.* 2, dopo aver fatto vituperare a Enea la perfidia del *dolus* con cui i Greci attaccano Troia, lo fa aderire senza alcuno scrupolo né problema alla nefasta idea dell'‘idiota’ Corebo,⁶ che propone che i Troiani indossino le armi dei nemici uccisi e li attacchino fingendosi loro compatrioti. Nel racconto di Enea, Corebo dice espressamente: *dolus an uirtus, quis in hoste requirat?* “inganno o valore, chi lo chiederebbe nel caso di un nemico?” (2, 390), ed Enea è prontamente convito a seguire il suo consiglio, che, quando Corebo, sempre lui, si farà scoprire alla vista di Cassandra rapita, porterà al massacro degli incauti ingannatori. La domanda retorica di Corebo, “chi si pone il problema morale dell'uso dell'inganno quando si tratta di un nemico?”, costringe il commentatore a notare che sì, in qualche caso anche i Romani (nonostante l'atteggiamento ufficiale rappresentato, per esempio, da Livio 1, 53, 5 *minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo*) ammettevano l'inganno in guerra, soprattutto quando serviva al loro interesse (e infatti sul concetto giuridico di *dolus bonus*, che poteva essere ammesso contro i nemici, vedi Horsfall a *Aen.* 2, 370-401). Virgilio problematizza il ricorso

⁶ Sulla tradizione di Corebo idiota vedi la mia nota a *Aen.* 2, 341-346, in *Virgilio: Eneide 2*, a c. di S. CASALI (Pisa 2017), 212-214.

all’inganno e all’imboscata notturna, anche nel caso di Eurialo e Niso: è chiaro che i due guerrieri sono moralmente corrotti dal loro comportamento notturno; è chiaro che la strage che essi compiono è quanto meno eccessiva (Niso stesso se ne rende conto, 9, 354 *sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*, “si accorse infatti che [Eurialo] era trascinato da brama eccessiva di strage”); ed è chiaro che l’avidità di Eurialo, che lo spinge a infrangere le regole dell’imboscata notturna facendogli indossare un rilucente elmo metallico, è sciagurata, destinata com’è a provocare la morte di entrambi. Problematizzando il comportamento di Eurialo e Niso, Virgilio problematizza anche quello di Diomede e Odisseo in *Il.* 10, indipendentemente da quella che poteva essere la tendenza del testo originario, e problematizza anche il ricorso all’attacco notturno da parte di un eroe indiscusso come Camillo. Stazio approfondisce ed estremizza questa valutazione problematica dell’incursione notturna, depurando il comportamento dei suoi Opleo e Dimante dalle ‘colpe’ di Eurialo e Niso (brama di strage e avidità di bottino, ma anche la debolezza del loro reciproco amore), e riservando tutta la ferocia notturna al massacro di Tiodamante; che Tiodamante, poi, riecheggi il Camillo liviano può essere visto come un’ulteriore problematizzazione del ricorso all’azione notturna anche nel mondo ‘reale’.

L. Dossey: This question relates to Renate Schlesier’s and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge’s questions about the difference between the Homeric and Latin epic night. Your paper and the subsequent discussion suggest that there is quite a difference. In Homer, night attacks by men against other men are considered business as usual; as you said, they are just doing their job. But in Virgil and, even more, Statius, this is not the case. Night attacks here produce feelings of violation, even when soldiers are the ones being attacked (as Vinciane brought up in her question). As you said, part of this sense of violation was the intrusion of war into the private sphere. This is why the normal activities of the night (drinking, dining, sleeping) are so

vividly portrayed in Latin epic before the attack. Yet Homeric texts expect warriors to be moving around and committing violence during the night, not against women, children, and old men (as Ioannis's paper on the vase paintings showed, night violence against these sorts of people is depicted as brutal), but against each other.

I think that your discussion of weapons drives this difference between the Homeric and Latin night home. In Homeric texts, warriors are armed with bows and spears as a matter of course. In your first-century Latin texts (especially Statius) and in the scholiasts, weapons at night are considered useless. Men are not expected to go out with weapons at night. I think this is a very important difference — and one of the most important contributions of your paper. Would you agree?

S. Casali: Il sottotema dell'importanza di avere un'adeguata e specifica attrezzatura per la spedizione notturna potrebbe anche nascere, forse, da un fraintendimento del testo omerico, se avesse ragione Hainsworth nel ritener che gli armamenti eccentrici di *Il. 10* siano dovuti solamente a semplice desiderio di varietà da parte del poeta. Certo è che Virgilio, sulla scorta degli scolii omerici, interpreta *Il. 10* in questo senso, come abbiamo visto. Perché Stazio si voglia apertamente contrapporre a Omero non mi è del tutto chiaro: non è chiaro perché l'indovino Anfiaraō deponga la sua corona di alloro al momento di partire per la spedizione notturna per indossare un elmo che non è fornito di alcuno speciale segno distintivo notturno; e, se è evidente che la rinuncia all'arco da parte di Agilleo si contrappone alla scelta dell'arco da parte di Odisseo in *Il. 10*, non è del tutto perspicuo il senso ultimo di questa correzione al testo di Omero. Stazio prende posizione sulla questione dell'abbigliamento adatto per la spedizione notturna, stabilendo che la corona d'alloro tipica dell'indovino (che la usa solitamente senza problemi durante le battaglie diurne) è inopportuna, e che l'arco e le frecce sono inutili; ma non propone da parte sua nessun oggetto specificamente

adatto alla notte. Da questo atteggiamento può forse trapelare un certo fastidio per le eccentricità e gli esotismi degli abbigliamenti di *Il.* 10, che sarebbe del resto condiviso con buona parte della critica omerica moderna, che vede proprio in queste eccentricità ed esotismi uno dei segni della qualità non-omerica, e quindi implicitamente (o esplicitamente) inferiore, della Doloneia.

VII

KOEN DE TEMMERMAN

NOVELISTIC NIGHTS¹

1. Introduction

The term ‘ancient novel’ is anachronistic and refers to a number of Greek and Latin fictional prose narratives of which most are now dated to the first few centuries of the common era.² In this paper, I will be concerned, first and foremost, with the extant Greek novels (the so-called “Big Five”), which arguably form the clearest thematic sub-group within the corpus: love stories with a more or less recognizable plot pattern of falling in love, separation, reunion and happy ending. These novels are Chariton’s *Callirhoe* (ca. 50 AD), Xenophon of Ephesus’ *Ephesiaca* (ca. 100), Achilles Tatius’ *Leucippe and Clitophon* (ca. 150), Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe* (ca. 200) and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* (ca. 250 or 350). On the Latin side, I deal with Petronius’ *Satyricon* (fragmentarily preserved, 2nd half of the 1st cent. AD), Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (mid 2nd cent.) and the

¹ I thank Angelos Chaniotis for his invitation to contribute. I also thank him and all other contributors to the *Entretiens* for rich discussion and helpful comments. Sincere thanks also go to Pierre Ducrey and Gary Vachicouras for their generous hospitality at the Fondation Hardt; to Danny Praet for bibliographical suggestions; and to Olivier Demerre for insightful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter. It was written under the European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) with the support of the European Research Council Starting Grant n. 337344.

² Introductions to the genre are WHITMARSH (2008) and CUEVA / BYRNE (2014). The standard English translation of (much of) the Greek corpus is REARDON (2008).

anonymous *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (possibly 5th or 6th century and probably going back to a Greek original). Furthermore, I will occasionally draw attention to Greek novels that have come down to us fragmentarily, either in papyrus fragments (e.g. *Metiochus* and *Parthenope*, dated to the 1st cent. BC) or Byzantine summaries.³

Although the corpus in modern scholarship sails under one broad, generic banner, its texts are, in fact, diverse in many ways. This is no less true with regard to how they represent the night and nocturnal phenomena. There are quantitative differences, of course, both in the amount of nocturnal time used as temporal setting (either in the frame narrative or in embedded ones)⁴ and in the extent to which characters and narrators reflect upon the night and associated concepts. The forms of reference too differ considerably: in some cases explicit references to sunset/night/dawn/day clearly mark the beginning and/or end of nights, while in others a nocturnal setting is simply implied and may or may not have a clearly identifiable beginning and/or end in the text. Although the novels broadly echo rhetorical guidelines on the alternation between day and night as a structural aspect of narrative representation of time,⁵ precise chronological reconstructions of long periods of time in

³ The fragments are edited by STEPHENS / WINKLER (1995). On these texts see also MORGAN (1998). The so-called “fringe novels” (such as the *Alexander Romance*, *Life of Aesop*, Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius*, and the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*) remain outside the scope of this paper for reasons of space.

⁴ What we have left of Lollianus’ *Phoenicica* makes this novel perhaps the “darkest” of the entire corpus in the sense that three of the four short fragments narrate episodes explicitly set at night (*νυκτὸς περ[...]*, A.1 recto 16; *ἐπ]ει δὲ νύκτες μέσαι ἡσαν*, B.1 verso 23; *νυκτὸς ἔτι*, P.Oxy. 1368, c. II, 16). The *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, on the other hand, has only one or two nocturnal scenes. Heliodorus’ novel *Aethiopica* is different again in that one single night in the frame narrative extends over almost two books (3, 4, 9-5, 3, 2) as it accommodates a narration of a long, embedded story.

⁵ See THEON Prog. 79, 4 Sp. II on this alternation (*νυκτὸς οὔσης η̄ μεθ’ ήμέρων*) as a constitutive element of narrative (*διήγημα*).

terms of days and nights are usually not possible because of the many iterative and durative phrases.⁶

Of course, novelistic nights are not only used as a structural device; they are also semantically invested in many ways and tap into a large web of associations. They are times of discussion, deliberation and solitary thought; laments; banquets; military activity and tomb robbing; travelling, storm, shipwreck and drowning at sea; story-telling; slave-revolts; adultery (real or alleged), seduction, erotic persuasion and negotiation; flight, imprisonment and escape; divine revelation (notably in dreams) and intervention, magic, necromancy, metamorphosis and religious initiation; recognition and misrecognition; transvestism; oath-swearings; all-night vigils/festivals; and different forms of violence (abduction, murder, human sacrifice, attempted rape, suicide (both attempted and successful), and destruction of property).⁷

This paper explores from a narratological point of view some of the most salient aspects of novelistic representations of the night. How are nights and nocturnal experiences constructed and connoted, and by whom? Who perceives the night and how? What forms do such perceptions take and to what effect? In answering these questions, I argue that ancient novelists consciously construct the night as a narrative trope and capitalize on it in order to reach specific effects. Since to the best of my knowledge no study of the night in the ancient novel currently exists, I have chosen to provide a first road into the topic with a paper that covers a number of night-related aspects rather than offering a more detailed reading of just one.

⁶ E.g. X. EPH. 1, 12, 3 (“They stayed on the island for a few days”). HÄGG (1971) 32–41, 53–58, 68–76 does the math for Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, and Achilles Tatius. Heliodorus is quite exceptional in providing a clear-cut alternation of six consecutive nights and days in books 1 to 6 (and another series of three in book 7).

⁷ See also the contributions of WILSON and CARLÀ-UHINK in this volume, on the association of the night with violence in (other genres of) ancient literature.

2. Real and literary nights: extra-textual conventions and narrative *topoi*

In the opening chapter of this book, Angelos Chaniotis observes that “[a]n author’s decision to explicitly mention the night as the background of an event or to create a nighttime setting for a fictional narrative is intrinsically connected with widespread perceptions of the night” (p. 9). A good example of such a connection is offered by the famous first lines of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*, which begins *in medias res* at the “smile of daybreak” (Ἡμέρας διαγελώσης, 1, 1, 1): a group of brigands peer over a mountain top overlooking the Heracleotic mouth of the Nile and witness what evidently is the result of a carnage that has taken place at the banks of the river. Their inability to understand the scene in front of them reflects that of the reader, who will be filled in gradually throughout the first half of the novel. The passage tantalizingly foregrounds the liminal moment between night and day as a time that separates the unknown and mysterious that has taken place at night from what is perceivable through visual observation under the light of day. It draws on widespread associations of the night⁸ and at the same time makes them functional to the narrative architecture of the novel.

Occasionally the novels themselves are explicit about the importance of widespread, extra-textual conventions about and connotations of the night. One of these is the nocturnal exacerbation of suffering. In the *Aethiopica*, for example, the two protagonists are taken captive by brigands and transported to their headquarters in the Nile Delta, where they arrive at sunset (Ἡδη δὲ ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς ἴόντος, 1, 7, 1) and are eventually left alone to sleep. The narrator describes how they experience that night:

“Silence ($\Sigmaιγῆς$) enveloped the marsh. It was the time of the first watch ($\nuυκτὸς εἰς πρώτην φυλακὴν προελθούσης$). For the girl and her companion the absence of people ($\tauὴν ἐρημίαν$) to

⁸ On night and secrecy/mystery/lack of knowledge more generally in Graeco-Roman culture, see BECKER (2013) 583-585.

interrupt them presented a good opportunity for voicing their sorrows. In my opinion (*οἶμαι*), the night (*τῆς νυκτός*) aggravated their misery, for there was no sight or sound (*οὐδεμιᾶς οὕτε ἀκοῆς οὕτε ὄψεως*) to distract them, and they could devote themselves solely to their grief.” (Hld. 1, 8, 1)⁹

In this passage, the impact of the night on the disposition of the protagonists is made subject to a specific pose of the narrator, who claims uncertainty and speculates (*οἶμαι*) about it. As John Morgan has shown, this pose of uncertainty imitates a historiographical mode of writing that surfaces throughout Heliodorus’ novel in order to enhance the story’s realism.¹⁰ In this passage, the narrator stages himself as drawing on extra-textual, commonsensible knowledge about the emotional impact of nocturnal environments on people. He does so in order to create the illusion that such knowledge allows him full access to the psychology behind the behaviour of the characters about whom he narrates. In the process, different, widespread associations of the night (silence, absence of people, darkness)¹¹ are not just foregrounded but also explicitly presented as plausible catalysts for the exacerbation of suffering to which the protagonists are subject.

Such introductions of pockets of non-fiction in the fictional world are particularly tangible when they come in the form of maxims.¹² Like Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius dwells on the exacerbation of suffering at night but he elaborates it at length in gnomic discourse drawing on medical terminology.¹³ The hero of the novel, Clitophon, narrates how he fell in love at first

⁹ Here and elsewhere, translations of Heliodorus are taken from MORGAN (2008a), slightly adapted where appropriate.

¹⁰ MORGAN (1982) 227-232, who mentions (but does not discuss) this passage (228).

¹¹ On isolation at night, for example, see ANDERSON (1956); on nocturnal silence, BELTRÁN SERRA (2010).

¹² On maxims in the Greek novel, see HÄGG (1971) 107, MORGAN (1993) 202-203, and WHITMARSH (2003) 193.

¹³ PANAYOTAKIS (1998) discusses another novelistic passage (in Apuleius) where medical discourse conceptualizes nocturnal behaviour; on medical representations of nocturnal phenomena in general, see WÖHRLE (1995) 73-77.

sight with Leucippe, the heroine, and as a consequence was unable to sleep at night. He explains that “it is a rule of nature (ἔστι μὲν γὰρ φύσει) that both diseases and bodily wounds are more painful by night (νυκτί χαλεπώτερα) and besiege us all the more (μᾶλλον) when we are resting (ἡσυχάζουσι)” (1, 6, 2).¹⁴ This maxim is supported by a long elaboration that further proclaims general truths about night and day (among other things):¹⁵ it is stated, for example, that while during the day (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ) the eyes and ears are absorbed in many activities and help to mitigate illness by giving the soul no leisure in which to suffer (1, 6, 2-4), at night all the emotions dormant during the day burst out (πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμώμενα): “the woes of the grieving, the cares of the troubled, the fears of the endangered, the fire of lovers” (τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λῦπαι, τοῖς μεριμνῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες, τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι, τοῖς ἐρῶσι τὸ πῦρ). Not only does this passage (again) articulate explicitly the existence of universals about nocturnal experience, it also foregrounds them (again) as heuristically relevant to the narrator: Clitophon assumes the existence of a universal law about the night (it intensifies all emotions), which he applies, by deduction, to his own, specific situation (his love is intensified at night) in order to come to grips with the emotions that he experienced as a character in the story that he is narrating.

At the same time, Clitophon’s discussion resonates profoundly with generic codification. What he describes is, of course, a clear case of love-induced insomnia, one of the many narrative *topoi* in the genre¹⁶ — and one of the few where the night is implied by definition.¹⁷ The *topos* is nowhere better explained than in

¹⁴ Translations from Achilles Tatius are taken from WHITMARSH (2001) and slightly adapted where appropriate.

¹⁵ On the specific form of these and other gnomic elaborations in Achilles Tatius, see DE TEMMERMAN (2014) 183-184 (with references to *progymnasmata* treatises).

¹⁶ See LÉTOUBLON (1993) for an extensive overview and discussion of these *topoi*.

¹⁷ E.g. CHARIT. 1, 1, 8; 6, 7, 1; ACH. TAT. 1, 6, 2; X. EPH. 1, 3, 4; LONGUS 1, 13, 6; 2, 7, 4; and HLD. 4, 7, 7. The *topos* has a long literary history: see

Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, where Calasiris realizes (just like the reader) that Chariclea's insomnia is part of a cluster of symptoms of lovesickness. His insight is contrasted with the opinion of her adoptive father Charicles, who is at a loss as to what causes her distress. He does observe that much of her suffering takes place during sleepless nights (*τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀυπνον διαγαγούσης*, 3, 18, 2; *τῆς παροφητούσης νυκτός*, 4, 5, 2) but is easily fooled by Calasiris into believing that she suffers from a real illness. It takes a learned physician to explain to Charicles that, in fact, "inexplicable insomnia" (*ἀπροφάσιστον ἀγρυπνίαν*) is one of the symptoms of lovesickness (4, 7, 7). It is difficult not to read this passage in a metaliterary key: it foregrounds and, indeed, explains one of the main generic codes regarding both the representation of love and lovesickness and the role of the night in it.

The opposition between night and day to which we have seen Clitophon draws attention, is often articulated by the plot lines underlying individual episodes: when Artaxerxes, the Persian king in Chariton's novel, has fallen in love with Callirhoe, his eunuch tries and persuades him to turn away from his passion. He is successful at first (*Παραντίκα μὲν οὖν ἔπεισε*) but when night comes (*νυκτὸς γενομένης*) the king once more succumbs to passion (6, 7, 1). In Xenophon's novel, the protagonists themselves aim to uphold the distinction between night and day: when they have fallen in love, they attempt to limit their amorous suffering to the night and reinstall normality into their lives during the day. Habrocomes goes off to his usual (*συνήθη*) exercises and Anthia worships the goddess as usual (*ἐξ ἔθους*). But no matter how hard they try, their nocturnal suffering does impact their daytime occupations: the night wears out their bodies so much (*τὰ σώματα ἐκ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς πεπονηκότα*) that during the day their eyes are lifeless and their complexion has changed.¹⁸ Despite their efforts, the night does

FERNÁNDEZ CONTRERAS (2000) and MONTIGLIO (2016) — only the latter of these discusses the novels.

¹⁸ Translations from Xenophon of Ephesus are taken from ANDERSON (2008) and slightly modified where appropriate.

leave a permanent, visible impact during the day; it cannot be contained that easily.

Another night-related concept to recount love is robbery. Real robberies are usually set at night in the novels,¹⁹ a simple fact that Tlepolemus (in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*) exploits when he pretends to be a robber and fabricates a story about a nocturnal raid (*nocte promota*, 7, 7) in order to construct a reliable self-characterization in front of his audience (of real robbers). In Apuleius' story of Amor and Psyche, real and metaphorical robbery merge in order to characterize Amor: he is introduced as having a disdain for law and order and running about at night through people's houses (*per alienas domos nocte discurrens*) armed with flames and arrows (4, 30). Although part of this description is in line with the traditional iconography of Amor,²⁰ it also resonates with the instances of real, nocturnal robbery that immediately precede this story (4, 8; 4, 9-21).²¹ Against this background, Amor is metaphorically presented as the erotic equivalent of the real, nocturnal robber. This equation of Amor and robbery is not unique²² but Apuleius uses nocturnal imagery specifically to drive the point home.

Some novelists build further on the association between love and robbery in general, and on that between the night and abduction in particular. Achilles Tatius has Leucippe present her own elopement from home as the abduction of a willing victim: she herself invites Satyrus to "snatch her away" from home (ἐξαρπάσατέ με, 2, 30, 1) — which will eventually materialize during a nocturnal flight (περὶ πρώτας νυκτὸς φυλακάς, 2, 31, 3). In Heliodorus' novel, the hero and heroine likewise elope together at night in a scene that may hark back to Achilles

¹⁹ E.g. CHARIT. 1, 9, 1; X. EPH. 3, 8, 3 (both are nocturnal tomb robberies); APUL. *Met.* 3, 28; 4, 22 (main narrative); 4, 9-21 (embedded narrative).

²⁰ LIMC 3.1 s.v. Eros, 975-976 and LIMC 3.2 s.v. Eros, 366-387 (on Eros with torches); LIMC 3.2 s.v. Eros, 332-361 (on Eros as Bowman).

²¹ It is told, let us not forget, in the robbers' cave and addressed to a girl who has just been taken captive by them during a nocturnal raid (4, 22).

²² It surfaces in LONGUS too (Τὸ ἔρωτος ληστήριον, 1, 32, 4), and also immediately after a "real" robbery has taken place (i.e. Daphnis' abduction by pirates). On this equation, see TURNER (1960) 121.

Tatius. This elopement too is staged as a robbery: Theagenes and an armed band (*ἐνοπλος κῶμος*, 4, 17, 3) literally snatch away (*ἀναρπάζουσιν*, 4, 17, 4) Chariclea from her bedroom in the middle of the night (*μέσαι νύκτες*, 4, 17, 3) — a time chosen precisely as to cause greater alarm (4, 17, 5). The narrator is explicit that she has been informed beforehand and willingly submits to the violence (*έκοῦσαν ὑφισταμένην*, 4, 17, 4). Moreover, Chariclea's elopement, just like Leucippe's, is presented as an escape from parental control (it is engineered by Calasiris to take the heroine away from her Delphian adoptive father). A striking difference between the two episodes, however, is the motivation of the heroine: Chariclea's willingness to elope is inextricably bound up with her love for Theagenes. Calasiris informs her that if she is willing to elope with him before she is compelled to marry her foster-father's marriage candidate, she will marry Theagenes. Her answer leaves no doubt about what she really desires ("it is hard, even repugnant, to as much as speak of preferring another to Theagenes", 4, 13, 4). Leucippe, on the other hand, is conspicuously silent about her feelings for Clitophon and about whether or not they play any role at all in her decision to escape.²³ In the two novels, then, the motif of nocturnal abduction of the heroine is creatively reworked but this reworking in each case takes the characterization of the "abducted" heroine in a very different direction.

3. Describing the night: a nocturnal battle

Another type of violence set at night is the nocturnal battle.²⁴ Traditionally, battles offer occasion for description, and the description of nocturnal battles or *nyktomachiae* in particular is a stock example of what *progymnasmata* treatises identify as a

²³ In fact, she only insists that she wants to be taken away from her mother (2, 30, 1). On the profound questions surrounding the feelings of Achilles Tatius' heroine for the hero, see DE TEMMERMAN (2014) 187-202.

²⁴ On ancient night battles, both in reality and in literary representations, see DOWDEN (2010) 110-112.

mixed or compound ecphrasis: rather than focussing on one object, it describes “both how the battle is conducted and what the night is like”.²⁵ Longus capitalizes on progymnasmatic guidelines in his description of a nocturnal battle (2, 25, 3-4). When a number of pirates (who have abducted the heroine) spend the night in a boat at sea, Pan fools them into believing that they are being attacked. The narrator concludes his description of this event with the observation that “one might have thought one was watching a night-time battle (*νυκτομαχίαν*), but there was no foe there (*οὐ παρόντων πολεμίων*)”. As is well known, progymnasmatic doctrine consistently emphasizes the importance of visual power generated by descriptions, which should “vividly represent before one’s eyes what is being shown” (*ὑπ’ ὅψιν ἀγῶν ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον*, Nicol. *Prog.* 68, 8-9 Felten²⁶). Novelists are well-versed in rhetorical theory on ecphrasis,²⁷ one of the staples of the genre. Heliodorus, for example, describes a nocturnal fire through the eyes of two characters who have been under attack during a day-time battle that precedes (and causes) it.²⁸ This focalization is marked explicitly by the narrator (the two emerge from their hiding place and see [*ὅρῶσι*] the island in the grip of the blaze) and is further underlined both by interpretations (the fire is referred to as a catastrophe; *τὸ κακόν*) and by words referring to their visual perception: the flames at first remain hidden (*ἔλάνθανεν*) to them because during day-time the visual perception of the fire (*ἡ πυρὸς ὄψις*, 2, 1, 1) is prevented by the sunlight; but after sunset (*ἔδυ καὶ νύκτα ἐπῆγεν*) the flames take on “a glaring brilliance that lit the sky for miles around (*πορρωτάτω διεφαίνετο*)”.

²⁵ APHTH. *Prog.* 47, 3-5 Sp. II on “compound” (*συνεζευγμέναι*) descriptions. See also PS.-HERMOG. *Prog.* 16, 21-22 Sp. II and THEON *Prog.* 119, 3-5 Sp. II on “mixed” (*μικτή*) ecphrasis.

²⁶ PS.-HERMOG. *Prog.* 16, 11-12 Sp. II, APHTH. *Prog.* 46, 15-16 Sp. II and THEON *Prog.* 118, 7-8 Sp. II use almost identical phrases.

²⁷ On ecphrasis in the novels, see BARTSCH (1989) and WEBB (2009) 178-185.

²⁸ MENZE (2017) 214-216 reads internal focalization in Heliodorus generally as contributing to the stylistic virtue of clarity (*σαφήνεια*); he does not discuss this passage.

Longus, on the other hand, describes the nocturnal battle itself. Since it is defined by darkness and absence of vision, this passage carefully constructs the effect of vividness through aural rather than visual references. Although the description starts, like Heliodorus', with a reference to the land ablaze with fire, it subsequently draws attention to the sounds that the pirates hear: “there came a noise (*κτύπος ... ἡχούετο*) of the splashing of oars Someone gave the call (*Ἐβόα τις*) to arms, another shouted (*ἐνάλει*) for the commander”. This privileging of aural over visual perception departs from the usual, combined references to both visual and aural perceptions in ecphrases of events (such as a battle and a procession — another textbook example of ecphrasis²⁹ — in Hld. 1, 30, 1-3 and 3, 1, 3-4, 7 respectively³⁰). It foregrounds the nocturnal aspect of the scene and makes the reader’s experience of it coincide with that of the pirates, who are literally in the dark about what is going on around them and depend entirely on their sense of hearing.

Another way for the narrator to underline the perceptual slipperiness of the nocturnal battle is the persistent language of illusion, appearance and semblance, which highlights the impossibility of referring to them in terms of hard facts:

“all the land suddenly seemed (*έδόκει*) ablaze with fire ... there came a noise ... as if (*ώς*) a great fleet were sailing in to the attack ... one man appeared (*έδόκει*) to have been wounded, one lay on the ground in a semblance of death (*σχήμα ... νεκροῦ μιμούμενος*).”

This recurrent emphasis on uncertainty, illusion and the absence of correct, factual knowledge resonates with Thucydides’ descriptions of nocturnal battles at Plataea (2, 2-5) and in Sicily (7, 43-44), which are mentioned in the *progymnasmata*

²⁹ NICOL. *Prog.* 68, 16-17 FELTEN singles out “processions” (*πανηγύρεις*) as objects of ecphrasis.

³⁰ On types of perception in both episodes, see MENZE (2017) 197, 241-242. He erroneously refers to the battle as nocturnal (192-193); in fact, evening draws in only in 1, 33, 4.

as examples of *nyktomachiai*. In the Sicilian battle, Thucydides develops an *a fortiori* argument to reflect explicitly on how clouded representations of night-time battles inevitably are:

“Events are clearer in daytime operations, but even then the participants have no overall picture, but only a vague knowledge of what was going on in their own particular area. In a night battle ... how could anyone be certain of anything?” (Thuc. 7, 44).

Thucydides, to be sure, addresses a heuristic problem that night-time battles pose to himself as a historiographer; but at the same time, he traces it back to the ignorance of the observers on the ground who are involved in the battle and have an incomplete view of what is going on. Longus capitalizes on the latter point through his language of uncertainty and illusion, which again places the focalization of this episode with the pirates: rather than explaining in detail what happens exactly, he reflects their limited knowledge. The same point surfaces in Thucydides’ description of the battle at Plataea, where attention is drawn to the fact that, because of the darkness, the Plataeans are unable to assess the situation correctly: they initially act upon the (mistaken) assumption that their assailants are much more numerous than they actually are (2, 3, 1). Theon in his discussion of narrative (*diégême*) recommends this detail (among others) as one which makes Thucydides’ account credible ($\pi\iota\theta\alpha\nu\delta\omega\nu$, *Prog.* 85, 5-10 Sp. II). In Longus, both the language of illusion (which echoes Thucydides in underlining the limited knowledge of the observers on the ground) and the emphasis on aural perception can be said to produce the same effect.

4. Nocturnal thoughts

In the novels, as in much other literature, insomnia is induced not only by love(sickness) but also by all sorts of cognitive activity: thinking, worrying, deliberating, planning.³¹ As

³¹ On the notion of the ‘night thought’ and its contextualization in (a part of) the literary tradition, see HANDLEY (2007).

far as we can tell, a small pottery fragment from the Roman period that has been identified and assigned to *Metiochus and Parthenope*³² seems to present precisely one of these activities:

“Parthenope,
are you forgetful
of your Metiochus?
From the day
you [left], as if
my eyes were glued fast,
without sleep.”³³

Although we obviously need to be careful when interpreting these few, isolated lines, they may have been part of a letter or, more likely, soliloquy of Metiochus (either in the actual novel or in a rhetorical exercise based on it).³⁴ Rather than suffering from love-induced insomnia, he (also?) seems to worry about his absent beloved (about her faithfulness more specifically) and indicates that he passes sleepless nights over it. Such insomnia is recurrent throughout the genre³⁵ and often offers an opportunity for detailed psychological introspection into how characters weigh ethical, social and political arguments. Especially Chariton exploits it for reasons of psychological characterization. Much of Callirhoe’s famous ethical dilemma about whether or not to commit abortion is set at night (*δι’ ὥλης νυκτός*, 2, 9, 6). Some of the male characters also ponder at night. When Dionysius, a rich landowner in Miletus, has fallen in love with Callirhoe, he realizes that he will not be able to sleep and therefore prolongs the drinking after dinner with his friends. He dismisses the company when the night is far advanced (*ἐπεὶ δὲ προέκοπτε τὰ τῆς νυκτός*, 2, 4, 3) but is too preoccupied to sleep (*ὕπνου μὲν οὐκ ἐλάγγανεν*). Rather than being a clear-cut case of love-induced insomnia, this night scene accommodates a conflict in Dionysius between reason

³² GRONEWALD (1977).

³³ Text and translation: STEPHENS / WINKLER (1995) 94.

³⁴ See STEPHENS / WINKLER (1995) 93 on these possibilities.

³⁵ It is thematized most explicitly by Heliodorus’ priest Calasiris, kept awake at night by the interpretation of an oracle and a dream (3, 11, 4; 3, 15, 2-3).

and passion (*ἀγῶνα λογισμοῦ καὶ πάθους*, 2, 4, 4). He struggles with what he considers to be ethically problematic aspects of his infatuation: that he is still in mourning for his recently-deceased wife, that Callirhoe is a slave (or so he thinks) and therefore incompatible with his own social station, and that strictly speaking she does not even belong to him because her sale has never been officially concluded. At the same time, nocturnal deliberation also comes with the suggestion that the night clouds rational judgement. The Persian satrap Mithridates, heated with wine and passion during a nocturnal (*νύξ*) drinking party, says as much: he advises Chaereas, who has just discovered that his wife has married another man (and has a child with him), to think about all this the next day, when they are sober (4, 3, 12).

Traditionally, thought-induced insomnia characterizes statesmen — an idea that ultimately harks back to the *Iliad*, where Agamemnon is reprimanded in a dream that “a man who is a counselor should not sleep the whole night through” (*οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εῦδειν βουληφόρον ἀνδρα*, 2, 24). The idea is recurrent in Greek literature and the Iliadic line is adduced as an example of a maxim (*gnômê*) in Ps.-Hermogenes’ *Progymnasmata*.³⁶ In a lengthy elaboration (8, 13-28 Sp. II), the author explains the validity of the maxim by stating that it is necessary for a leader to be engaged in thought (*ἀεὶ διὰ φροντίδος εῖναι*) and that sleep, on the contrary, takes away counsel (*ὕπνος δὲ βουλὴν ἀφαιρεῖται*). In addition, he reasons *e contrario* that, whereas there is nothing wrong with a private individual (*ἰδιώτης*) sleeping throughout the whole night, a king should be awake. Whereas in the *Iliad* the maxim depicts Agamemnon rather straightforwardly as a less-than-ideal leader,³⁷ Chariton picks up the *topos* of the sleepless ruler in a more complex way.

³⁶ PS.-HERMOG. *Prog.* 8, 12 Sp. II. On this maxim and instances of sleepless rulers in Greek literature, see DOWDEN (2003) 142-145 and MONTIGLIO (2016) 202.

³⁷ On Agamemnon’s (negative) characterization more generally, see TAPLIN (1990).

When the Persian king Artaxerxes reflects at night (*νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπελθούσης*) about whether or not to summon Dionysius and his beautiful wife to Babylon (as one of his satraps has asked him to do), he not only weighs different political arguments (such as the dignity of his royal position and his satrap's reaction to his answer) but at the same time is also affected by his solitude, the wine and the darkness, all of which urge him to send for the beautiful woman (4, 6, 6-7). As Silvia Montiglio argues, the scene at least partly deconstructs the *topos* by showing Artaxerxes' nocturnal deliberations "susceptible to extra-political motives".³⁸

The *topos* is again reworked, I would add, in a comparably deconstructive way in one other passage in the novel. When, towards the end of the novel, Chaereas, the novel's hero, has become a successful admiral of the Egyptian fleet in a war against the Persians, he is unexpectedly reunited with Callirhoe on the island of Aradus. The narrator is explicit that, although Chaereas was used (*εἰθιστό*, 8, 1, 13) to sleep on board ship "because he was busy night and day" (*νυκτὸς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρων πολλὰ πράττων*), at that occasion he delegates everything to his best friend and goes to bed with Callirhoe without even waiting for the night to fall (*οὐδὲ νύκτα περιμείνας*). The contrast between his usual behaviour and this course of action suggests a conscious reworking of the *topos* of the sleepless ruler. Whereas before the reunion Chaereas behaves as a good leader, he suddenly behaves as Ps.-Hermogenes' "private individual" as soon as he has found Callirhoe again. At this point, it is important to recall why Chaereas joined the Egyptian forces in the first place: as part of a plan to take revenge on Artaxerxes when he thought that because of him he had lost his wife Callirhoe for good (7, 1). No matter how successful he has been as an army general, now that he has found her, he immediately puts his military commitment into perspective again. He is, according

³⁸ MONTIGLIO (2016) 200, who also deals with other nocturnal reflections by Artaxerxes (200-203).

to the generic codes underlying his story, a love hero first, and a military leader second.

The question of whether Chaereas fully lives up to his obligations as an army leader is further developed throughout the subsequent, nocturnal scene. The reunited protagonists tell stories to each other and make love in a scene clearly modelled on the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope in the *Odyssey*,³⁹ two paradigms appropriate not only because of the reunion of husband and wife but also, as we will see presently, because of the qualities of cleverness and ruse that characterize them. When during the night (ἔτι δὲ νυκτός, 8, 2, 1) they are interrupted by the sudden arrival of a messenger, Chaereas, first, “like a good general” (ώς δὲ στρατηγός ἀγαθός) orders him to come in; but as soon as he hears the bad news that he bears (Artaxerxes has killed the Egyptian king and is now making for Aradus), he jumps up. Callirhoe holds him back and urges him not to rush off (ποῦ σπεύδεις ...); and to think about the circumstances (βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἐφεστηκότων) before doing anything. She argues that making the news public would cause insurrection among the soldiers. Chaereas is persuaded by her advice (ἐπείσθη τῇ συμβουλῇ), abandons his original idea and mobilizes his forces in less than no time by playing a trick on them (τέχνης, 8, 2, 5; he has them believe that the Egyptians have beaten the Persians). As suggested by the repeated presence of terms denoting the necessity of cognitive activity (βουλεύσασθαι, συμβουλῇ), Chaereas initially seems to fall short of what Ps.-Hermogenes foregrounds as crucial characteristics of a good leader during nocturnal deliberation (cf. βουληφόρον, βουλήν, φροντίδος). Eventually he is successful in managing the situation but not before Callirhoe has shown him the way. This episode resonates with other instances in the last book of the novel where Chaereas’ leadership abilities show a crack here and there,⁴⁰ but this is the only one where this happens through systematic engagement of the narrator with a night-related *topos*.

³⁹ *Od.* 23, 296 is cited when they turn from story-telling to love-making.

⁴⁰ DE TEMMERMAN (2014) 103 discusses another episode.

5. Naughty nights: sex and magic

Chaereas' and Callirhoe's reunion scene is also emblematic in another respect: novelistic nights are full of erotic encounters. In Xenophon of Ephesus, both Hippothous and Aegialeus meet their beloveds at an all-night festival (*παννυχίδος*, 3, 2, 3 and 5, 1, 5). For unsuccessful lovers too, the night is erotically charged: one of Callirhoe's suitors, for example, complains to his fellow-suitors that they have lain waking at the door of her house (*προσκύρυπνοῦντες*, Chariton 1, 3, 2) — an echo of the famous poetic tradition of the paraclausithyron in Hellenistic poetry and its successors.⁴¹

Of course, one specific instance of nocturnal, erotic encounters is again inscribed into the generic DNA of the novels, where the wedding night of the love couple is a central *topos*.⁴² It often includes a public nocturnal ceremony (Chariton mentions torches, *λαμπάδων*, as part of the procession, 1, 1, 13) and the first sexual encounter of the protagonists (occasionally couched in metaphorical language itself reminiscent of social-religious practices associated with the night).⁴³ A frequent variation on this *topos* is its association with death, especially of the bride. It is exploited, for example, by Xenophon, whose heroine Anthia, in order to escape a second marriage, commits suicide at the night of the planned wedding by drinking what she believes to be poison (in fact, it is only a sleeping potion; 3, 6, 1). Both the preparation of the bridal chamber and the singing of the *hymenaios* in the household echo her real wedding night with Habrocomes in the beginning of the story but

⁴¹ AMBÜHL (2010) 262-263.

⁴² It typically occurs either at the beginning of the story (Chariton and Xenophon) or at the very end (Longus). On Xenophon's relatively elaborate representation of the wedding night, see MONTIGLIO (2016) 207; and TAGLIABUE (2017) 21-52 on the “two nights of love” marking both the beginning and the end of the story.

⁴³ Chaereas, in a letter to his wife, refers to their first sexual experience as “that night of initiation (*τῆς νυκτὸς τῆς μαστικῆς*) when you first knew a man, and I a woman” (4, 4, 9).

this time the bridal chamber is turned into a tomb ($\thetaάλαμον τὸν τάφον$, 3, 7, 2).⁴⁴

The proper time to have sex is at night. This is Daphnis' underlying assumption when he, after Chloe's abduction by Lampis, imagines that "when night comes he will go to bed with her" ($\grave{\alpha}\rho\pi\acute{a}\sigma\acute{a}\varsigma\; \sigma\acute{t}χε\tau\acute{a}\iota\;, \nu\kappa\tau\grave{\delta}\; \grave{\delta}\varepsilon\; \gamma\acute{e}\n\acute{o}\mu\acute{e}\n\acute{\eta}\varsigma\; <\sigma\gamma>\k\o\i\mu\acute{h}\sigma\acute{e}\tau\acute{a}\i\;$, 4, 28, 3). Interestingly, this passage occurs towards the end of the novel, when the initially ignorant protagonists have spent most of their time discovering and learning about love and sex. Earlier in the novel, their ignorance is repeatedly underlined by what is itself an inversion of the notion that the night is a suitable time for lovers to be together. After Daphnis and Chloe have been instructed by Philetas about the three remedies to love ("a kiss, an embrace and lying down together with naked bodies", 2, 7, 7), they try to put his advice into practice but are left frustrated (they do not grasp the true meaning of Philetas' words): they drive their flocks home at the end of the day and detest the night ($\tau\grave{\heta}\nu\; \nu\kappa\tau\acute{a}\; \mu\acute{i}\sigma\acute{o}\nu\acute{n}\tau\acute{e}\varsigma$, 2, 11, 3) because it separates them. Another day, they again drive their flocks home at night ($\nu\kappa\tau\grave{\delta}\; \grave{\chi}\delta\eta\; \grave{\epsilon}\pi\i\gamma\n\acute{o}\mu\acute{e}\n\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, 2, 38, 1) and make a pact to drive them down to the pasture early the next day, so that they can be together again as soon as possible after their nocturnal separation. At the crack of dawn ($\acute{A}\rho\tau\acute{t}\i\; \gamma\o\acute{u}\n\acute{\eta}\; \grave{\alpha}\rho\chi\mu\acute{e}\n\acute{\eta}\varsigma\; \grave{\eta}\mu\acute{e}\rho\acute{r}\alpha\varsigma$), they go to the pasture, where they kiss, embrace and lie down naked together again.

In these passages, their being together and their erotic behaviour are clearly marked as day-time activities, which invert the traditional connotation between sex and night and illustrate the fact that they still have a long way to go in their gradual discovery of sex and its social codification. Their erotic

⁴⁴ On the *topos* of marriage and the death of the bride, see WESSELING (1993) 121-132. Another prominent example is to be found in the tale of *Amor and Psyche* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, where an oracle combines language of marriage and death (*funerei thalami*, 4, 33) to predict Psyche's nocturnal sexual encounters with Amor and where the subsequent marriage procession is consistently described as a funereal wedding (*feralium nuptiarum*, 4, 33).

behaviour is nocturnal only in so far as it appears in their “dreams of love” (*όνειρατα ἐρωτικά*, 2, 10, 1), which are cast explicitly as imagined realizations of what does not actually happen during the day (“all the things they had not done during the day”). John Morgan is right that this psychological dream reflects a widespread view about dreams reflecting the day’s preoccupations;⁴⁵ more specifically, it offers the protagonists an experimental zone to act against their inhibitions — not so much the moral inhibitions that have been associated with psychological dreams in ancient fiction⁴⁶ but rather technical inhibitions resulting from a lack of factual knowledge. But by the time we reach the fourth (and final) book, Daphnis’ thoughts about Chloe’s imagined, nocturnal sexual intercourse with Lampis show precisely how much progress he has made by then. Whereas earlier he did not even know what sex was, he now has been taught (by Lycaenion, 3, 18) how to have sex and has acquired a cultured notion of it: he now unambiguously imagines sex as nocturnal, and builds on this when voicing his worries about what will/can happen to Chloe after her abduction.

Sexual satisfaction of adulterous desires too is sought at night.⁴⁷ When adultery is staged or supposed rather than real, characters consistently exploit nocturnal timing in order to make their fabrications plausible to other characters. Thisbe, who has fooled Cnemon into believing that his step-mother Demaenete has a lover, tells him at night (*νυκτί*, 1, 12, 1) that he is in Demaenete’s bedroom at that very moment. When Thisbe herself later gives her own version of this story, she says that she went to Cnemon at night for secrecy’s sake (*νύκτωρ* ...

⁴⁵ MORGAN (2004) 185.

⁴⁶ LEV KENAAN (2010).

⁴⁷ Demaenete, for example, declares her love for her stepson Cnemon during the day but it is only at night (*έσπέρας γενομένης ... νυκτὸς*, 1, 10, 2), when his father is going to be away all night (*διενυκτερεύειν*), that she comes to him and tries to seduce him. Similar example in APUL. *Met.* 9, 20 (*Iamque nocte promota*). Some novels in this context are explicit about the connection between nocturnal sex and the need for secrecy (e.g. HLD. 7, 26, 1 *νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκότους ... λαθεῖν*).

ώς ἀν γνοίη μηδείς, 1, 16, 2) but it is clear that her choice of this moment was equally instrumental to her own (hidden) agenda, i.e. to see Cnemon condemned for attempted patricide. Indeed, because Cnemon immediately believes that she is speaking the truth, he rushes into the bedroom of his step-mother, sword in hand. The success of Thisbe's ruse, in other words, depends on the credibility of her story generated by the implicit assumption that adulterous sex takes place at night.⁴⁸

In the Latin novels, the connection between night and sex is especially strong, systematic and persistent. In Petronius, sex only happens at night (as far as the fragmentary status of the novel allows us to tell).⁴⁹ When depicting the sex lives of his protagonists, Petronius uses the night in order to play on the Greek novelistic, 'ideal' depiction of the amatory behaviour of protagonists. Whereas the Greek novels, like Petronius, usually situate amatory behaviour at night (as we have seen), their protagonists normally do not have sex with each other until it is sanctioned by marriage (which often takes place only at the end of the novel). Petronius' central love couple, on the contrary, has sex all the time, with each other and with others, and always at night. Ascytus steals Giton away from Encolpius to have sex with him *totis noctibus* (79-81); Eumolpus too makes advances to Giton at night (92); he also tells how he found at night both Encolpius and Giton with a girlfriend whom they shared among each other (105). And when Encolpius is struck by impotence during his sexual encounter with Circe, she orders him to go to sleep that night without Giton (129). Since Encolpius follows her advice, the narration simply skips the entire night and jumps to the next morning, when Encolpius

⁴⁸ In Apuleius' novel, Charite builds on the same assumption when she fools the murderer of her husband into believing that she will have sex with him and in the process insists on secrecy — it results in him yearning for "night and hidden darkness" and to the furtive lovemaking (*de furtivo concubitu, noctemque et operata exoptat ultro tenebras*, 8, 10).

⁴⁹ E.g. 85-87 (*tertia nocte*, 86; 87), 112 (with many explicit references to the nocturnal time).

gets up (131). Especially against the background of all the preceding nocturnal sex scenes, this last instance once again (and rather amusingly) underlines the systematic connection between sex and night in Petronius, but this time *ex negatiuo*: no sex at night, no story to be told.

In Apuleius too, there is a systematic connection between sex and night both in the main narrative and in the embedded narratives.⁵⁰ Often it is functional to plot development and interconnected with notions of secrecy, (lack of) vision and (thus) inaccessibility of knowledge and truth.⁵¹ Ultimately, it serves the ideological agenda underlying the novel's narrative of conversion in the famous eleventh (and final) book (the so-called Isis book). It does so by constructing a parallel configuration between sex and magic. Like sex, magic is an exclusively nocturnal activity, both in the embedded narratives⁵² and the main narrative.⁵³ Of course, Apuleius resembles other novelists in this association⁵⁴ but in his novel magic, just like sex, undergoes an ultimate reassessment in the final book. At Cenchreae, one of Isis' cult places, the goddess reveals to Lucius how to change

⁵⁰ E.g. 2, 10 (*prima face ... tota ... nocte*), 2, 17 (*ad confinia lucis*), 7, 14 (*noctem unicam*), 9, 22 (*metis die proprinquate*), 9, 28 (*noctu diuque*), 10, 19 (*noctis unius concubitum*), 10, 22 (*noctis futurae; uitata lucis conscientia*).

⁵¹ The story of Amor and Psyche (4, 28 - 6, 24) is, of course, the clearest example: the restriction of sex to night-time is crucial for Amor's desire not to be seen by his wife.

⁵² E.g. Meroc's removal of Socrates' heart and its replacement by a sponge (1, 11-19). On this and other stories of nocturnal attacks by night hags, see SPAETH (2010).

⁵³ The witch Pamphile, for example, is explicit that she can perform magic at night only (3, 16).

⁵⁴ Examples are HLD. 6, 13-15 (where a necromancer is as explicit as Pamphile that her rites can only be performed at night: νυκτερινούς, 6, 13, 6), X. EPH. 5, 7, 7 (where Anthia builds on the association when she fabricates a story about her encounter with a ghost at an all-night festival), IAMBL. *Babylonica* (where two characters successfully pretend to be ghosts during a nocturnal episode; PHOT. *Bibl. 74b31*), LOLLIANUS' *Phoenicina* (where a ghost appears to Glauketes at night: νυκτός, 16; P.Oxy. 1368, c. II), and PETR. *Sat.* 62 (where a story is told about a nocturnal metamorphosis of a man into a wolf).

back from asinine to human form,⁵⁵ after which he converts to and is initiated in her cult and becomes a priest in her service. This consecration is arguably fundamental to our reading of the novel as a whole. Since the entire novel is an ego-narration by Lucius, we now (and only now) realize that all of the preceding story has been told to us by an Isiac priest who, after pledging to spend the rest of his life in the service of the moon goddess, recounts the life of his former, uninitiated and therefore unenlightened and erring self. This contrast gravitates mainly around sex and magic. Isis tells Lucius that, after having thrown off his asinine appearance, he will spend the rest of his life in her service, which will include abstinence from marriage and sex (*tenacibus castimoniis*, 11, 6). And magic, equally prominent throughout the preceding books, is now replaced by truly religious experience and divine revelation.⁵⁶

In both cases, the night is the most important trope to drive the point home. The eleventh book cries out the importance of the night as a marker of profound, symbolic meaning. Unlike many of the earlier books, which start either at daybreak⁵⁷ or around midday⁵⁸ and often draw attention to the presence of the sun, this book opens with Lucius waking up at night (*circa pri-mam ferme noctis uigiliam*, 11, 1) and beholding the extraordinary brilliance of the moon (a description echoed by that of Isis herself a little later: *candore* 11, 1, *albo candore lucida*, 11, 3).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ This is the first in a series of nocturnal divine revelations to Lucius, with visions of Isis (11, 22), her chief priest (11, 20) and Osiris (11, 27; 11, 28; 11, 29).

⁵⁶ FRANGOULIDIS (2008) 177-179 contrasts Lucius' contact with Isis and his contact with magic in 2, 32.

⁵⁷ *Ut primum nocte discussa sol nouus diem fecit*, 2, 1; *Commodum punicantibus phaleris Aurora roseum quatiens lacertum caelum inequitabat*, 3, 1; *Ut primum tenebris abiectis dies inalbebat et candidum solis curriculum cuncta collustrabat*, 7, 1; *Noctis gallinicio*, 8, 1.

⁵⁸ *Diem ferme cerce medium*, 4, 1.

⁵⁹ On Isis (originally a solar goddess in pharaonic Egypt) as a lunar deity among Greeks and Romans since Hellenistic times, see DELIA (1998); LIMC 5.1: 776 (on Isis-Selene and Helios), 795 (on Isis-Luna) and BORCHHARDT-BIRBAUMER (2003) 47. On her associations with the night more generally (and her nocturnal search for Osiris), see GRIMAL (2002) *s.v.* Isis.

His initiation into her cult again foregrounds night and day as being at the centre of religious experience: it takes place from dusk onwards (*sol curuatus intrahebat uesperam*, 11, 23) and takes him to the boundaries of death and back, after which he sees the sun flashing with bright light in the middle of the night (*nocte media uidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*, 11, 23).⁶⁰ The difference between night and day collapses: night and day become one in a moment of ultimate divine revelation of religious truth. Lucius' metamorphosis too (at daytime under a brilliant sun, 11, 13) is couched in the same imagery evoking the contrast between night and day. During a nocturnal appearance, Isis announces that Lucius' "day of salvation is dawning" (*illucescit dies salutaris*, 11, 5) and Lucius identifies his own metamorphosis as a restoration "to the daylight from the dead" (*diurnum reducemque ab inferis*, 11, 8).⁶¹ The combined metaphor clearly casts Lucius' preceding asinine existence (which covers the preceding novel from 3, 24 up to this point) as a nocturnal and lifeless period which is now about to end thanks to divine salvation. His previous life, where nights accommodated both sex and the dark powers of magic, will be replaced by days of abstinence and of true, religious experience and divine revelation — a notion captured, for example, by Lucius' oxymoronic characterization of Osiris' nocturnal mysteries as "illumination" (*nocturnis orgiis illustratus*, 11, 28). The narrative ideology of the (final book of the) *Metamorphoses* bans both sex and magic from a truly religious life, and the night is a fundamental trope for Apuleius both to thematize these two areas first and to reject them at the end.

⁶⁰ On this image in ritual sources and other mystery cults, and on its philosophical associations, see KEULEN *et al.* (2015) 400. See INSTONE (2007) on similar (and similarly oxymoronic) imagery in another but comparable (life and dead) context.

⁶¹ On the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses* as one of progressive 'solarization', see KEULEN *et al.* (2015) 372, 400, 417-418.

6. Nocturnal story-telling

Stories are told at night. This idea, connected with the tradition that poetic inspiration comes during sleep, is at least as old as the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus with his long story (books 9-12) enchants his Phaeacian audience throughout the evening and night (*νύξ*, 11, 330; *νύξ δ' ἥδε*, 11, 363).⁶² The novelist who exploits this motif most intensively is Heliodorus. The two main embedded narratives in his novel, that of Cnemon (1, 9-18) and that of Calasiris (2, 24, 5 - 5, 1, 2; 5, 17, 2 - 33, 3), are told at night; in both cases the nocturnal time is repeatedly emphasized. When Cnemon is asked to tell his story, he protests that what is left of the night would not be long enough for this (*οὐδ' ἀν ἐπαρκέσει τὸ λειπόμενον πρὸς τὸ διήγημα τῆς νυκτὸς*, 1, 8, 7) and that, besides, the protagonists themselves need sleep and rest after all that they have been through (they have just spent some time lamenting their own recent misadventures). But he is persuaded and tells his story, which is interrupted when he repeats his earlier concern (“we are far into the night and you badly need rest”, 1, 14, 2) in an attempt to cut his story short — again unsuccessfully. This attempt recalls a similar attempt by Odysseus during the short intermezzo of his story (*Od.* 11, 333-384): he too suggests to break off his story because it is time for sleep (*ὤρη εὔδειν*, 11, 330-331). His additional comment that the night would be too short for him to tell all details (*πρὸν γάρ κεν καὶ νὺξ φθῖτ’ ἀμβροτος*, 11, 330) is also echoed by Cnemon’s initial protest. But what sets the two narrators apart is that Odysseus wants to break off his story because he himself is tired,⁶³ whereas Cnemon consistently insists on the tiredness of his interlocutors.

⁶² See also AMBÜHL (2010) 262. On the *Odyssey* as an important model for Heliodorus throughout the novel, see FUSILLO (1989) 28-32 and MORGAN (2008b) 224-225 among others.

⁶³ That he judges it time for *him* to sleep becomes clear when he adds that he can either sleep “here” (*αὐτοῦ*, 11, 332) or in his ship.

This episode is part of a metaliterary game set up by Heliodorus in connection with the second embedded narrative in the novel: that told by Calasiris to Cnemon during two consecutive nights (ἐσπέρας οὖσης ἥδη καὶ νυκτός, 3, 4, 9; ἐννυκτερεύειν, 3, 4, 11; τῆς νυκτός, 5, 33, 4). Like Cnemon's story, Calasiris' echoes Odysseus' story to the Phaeacians.⁶⁴ Like Odysseus, Calasiris suggests to break the story and have some sleep (5, 1, 3), thereby drawing attention to his own need for sleep as a result of both his old age and the remembrance of sorrow. But unlike Odysseus (and like Cnemon), Calasiris seems particularly concerned about the tiredness of his interlocutor. He observes that Cnemon is still wide awake and not at all fatigued by the inordinate length of his story, despite the fact that they are in the small hours of the night (ἥδη γοῦν οὐκ ὀλίγης μοίρας τῆς νυκτός, 4, 4, 2), and concludes that he seems proof against sleep. A little later, he is explicit that, since his tale has dragged on far into the night (μέχρι πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν, 5, 1, 3), Cnemon must be collapsing by now, however indefatigable a listener he may be and however forcefully he fights against sleep.

In both Heliodorean episodes, the narrator explicitly foregrounds the question of how much of his nocturnal storytelling his interlocutor can take before being overcome by sleep. Cnemon answers that he would not want to stop listening to the story “even if you were to go on telling it for dozens of nights and scores of days without a break” (5, 1, 4). It is difficult not to read this comment as a metaliterary praise by Heliodorus of his own novel. Of course, the story that Calasiris has been telling all this time is, precisely, that of Chariclea and Theagenes, which the reader has been eager to find out ever since (s)he found the couple at the banks of the Nile in the opening lines of the novel.

⁶⁴ The libation to Hermes in 3, 5, 1, for example, recalls the bedtime libation in *Od.* 7, 136-138. MORGAN (2008a) 414 n. 86.

7. Conclusion

It will be clear that an analysis of the night in the ancient novel in its entirety cannot but point towards a picture of variation and differentiation. Of course, there are general tendencies throughout the genre in the sense that it adopts widespread images and stereotypes associated with the night — some of them are even inscribed into the generic DNA of the novels, so to speak, as part of *topoi* (wedding nights, love-induced insomnia, dreams), themselves often continuing literary traditions harking back to the oldest genres such as epic. Much of this will correspond with what we find in other ancient literary genres. What is perhaps more interesting in terms of interpretative mileage, is that the novelists do not simply use the night as a structural device or a background that provides colouring. Rather, they are very much aware of the possibilities of using it as a trope that can be employed for a diverse range of narrative effects. Heliodorus, for example, exploits both the night and the specificity of fiction to enhance realism; and Achilles Tatius has his narrator Clitophon inscribe the night, and the universals connected with it, into the gnomic apparatus with which he bombards his reader throughout the entire novel (and through which he characterizes himself as a narrator of his own, emotional past). Nocturnal violence is made functional to the characterization of the abducted heroine, again both in Heliodorus and in Achilles Tatius, the latter of whom perhaps does so in ways that are generically rather troubling. Longus turns, for his description of nocturnal violence, to progymnasmatic doctrine and incorporates the specific, cognitive limitations that come with the description of nocturnal battles (as already thematized by Thucydides in a similar context). The night is also a catalyst that psychologically characterizes through ethical dilemma some of the most important characters in Chariton (Callirhoe, Dionysius, Artaxerxes), who consciously deconstructs the *topos* of the sleepless statesman in order to raise questions about the military qualities of his love hero. Fundamental associations between the night and sex too are creatively reworked:

in Longus it contributes to fleshing out Daphnis' evolution towards sexual maturity, and Apuleius organizes his novel around a profound ambiguity of the night, shifting, and ultimately rejecting, both its sexual and magical associations in his final book of divine revelation. Nocturnal story-telling, finally, is used by Heliodorus to get a metaliterary message across.

Works cited

- AMBÜHL, A. (2010), "Sleepless Orpheus: Insomnia, Love, Death and Poetry from Antiquity to Contemporary Fiction", in SCIOLI / WALDE (2010), 259-284.
- ANDERSON, G. (2008), "Xenophon of Ephesus: An Ephesian Tale", in REARDON (2008), 125-169.
- ANDERSON, W.D. (1956), "Achilles and the Dark Night of the Soul", *CJ* 51.6, 265-268.
- BARTSCH, S. (1989), *Decoding the Ancient Novel. The Reader and Role of Description in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Princeton).
- BECKER, M. (2013), "Nacht (Dunkelheit)", *RAC* 196/197, 565-594.
- BELTRÁN SERRA, J. (2010), "Noche/silencio como recurso poético en la épica latina", in J.F. GONZÁLEZ CASTRO / J. DE LA VILLA POLO (eds.), *Perfiles de Grecia y Roma. Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos, Valencia, 22 al 26 de octubre de 2007. Vol. 2* (Madrid), 825-832.
- BORCHHARDT-BIRBAUMER, B. (2003), *Imago noctis. Die Nacht in der Kunst des Abendlandes. Vom Alten Orient bis ins Zeitalter des Barock* (Vienna).
- CUEVA, E.P. / BYRNE, S.N. (eds.) (2014), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* (Malden).
- DELIA, D. (1998), "Isis, or the Moon", in W. CLARYSSE / A. SCHOORS / H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years, part I* (Leuven), 539-550.
- DOWDEN, K. (2003), "The Value of Sleep: Homer, Plinies, Posidoni & Proclus", in T. WIEDEMANN / K. DOWDEN (eds.), *Sleep* (Bari), 141-163.
- (2010), "Trojan Night", in M. CHRISTOPOULOS / E.D. KARAKANTZA / O. LEVANIOUK (eds.), *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion* (Lanham), 110-120.
- FELTEN, J. (ed.) (1913), *Nicolai progm̄nasmata* (Leipzig).
- FERNÁNDEZ CONTRERAS, M.A. (2000), "El insomnio como motivo literario en la poesía griega y latina", *Habis* 31, 9-35.

- FRANGOULIDIS, S. (2008), *Witches, Isis and Narrative. Approaches to Magic in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Berlin).
- FUSILLO, M. (1989), *Il romanzo greco. Polifonia ed Eros* (Venice).
- GRIMAL, P. (1⁵2002), *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris).
- GRONEWALD, M. (1977), “Ein neues Fragment aus dem Metiochos-Parthenope-Roman (Ostracon Bodl. 2175 = P² 2782)”, *ZPE* 24, 21-22.
- HÄGG, T. (1971), *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances. Studies of Chariton, Xenophon Ephesius, and Achilles Tatius* (Stockholm).
- (2000), “The Black Land of the Sun: Meroe in Heliodorus’ Romantic Fiction”, in V. CHRISTIDES / T. PAPADOPOULOS (eds.), *Graeco-Arabica 7-8 (1999-2000): Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Graeco-Oriental and African Studies* (Nicosia), 195-219.
- HANDLEY, E.W. (2007), “Night Thoughts (Archilochus 23 and 196a West)”, in P.J. FINGLASS / C. COLLARD / N.J. RICHARDSON (eds.), *Hesperos. Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry Presented to M.L. West on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford), 95-100.
- INSTONE, S.J. (2007), “Darkness, my Light”, in P.J. FINGLASS / C. COLLARD / N.J. RICHARDSON (eds.), *Hesperos. Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry Presented to M.L. West on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford), 228-238.
- KEULEN, W.H. et al. (text, introd. and comm.) (2015), *Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI, The Isis Book* (Leiden).
- LÉTOUBLON, F. (1993), *Les lieux communs du roman. Stéréotypes grecs d'aventure et d'amour* (Leiden).
- LEV KENAAN, V. (2010), “The Ancient Road to the Unconscious: On Dream Narratives and Repressed Desires in Ancient Fiction”, in SCIOLI / WALDE (2010), 165-183.
- MENZE, M.A. (2017), *Heliodors “klassische” Ekphrase. Die literarische Visualität der Aithiopika im Vergleich mit ihren Vorläufern bei Homer und Herodot sowie ihrer Rezeption bei Miguel de Cervantes* (Münster).
- MONTIGLIO, S. (2010), “My soul, consider what you should do’: Psychological Conflicts and Moral Goodness in the Greek Novels”, *Ancient Narrative* 8, 25-58.
- (2016), *The Spell of Hypnos. Sleep and Sleeplessness in Ancient Greek Literature* (London).
- MORGAN, J.R. (1982), “History, Romance and Realism in the *Aithiopika* of Heliodorus”, *ClAnt* 1, 221-265.
- (1993), “Make-believe and Make Believe: The Fictionality of the Greek Novels”, in C. GILL / T.P. WISEMAN (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World* (Exeter), 175-229.

- (1998), “On the Fringes of the Canon: Work on the Fragments of Ancient Greek Fiction 1936-1994”, in *ANRW* II 34.4, 3292-3390.
- (2008a), “Heliodorus: An Ethiopian Story”, in REARDON (2008), 349-588.
- (2008b), “Intertextuality. 1, The Greek Novel”, in WHITMARSH (2008), 218-227.
- PANAYOTAKIS, S. (1998), “On Wine and Nightmares: Apul. *Met.* 1.18”, *GCN* 9, 115-129.
- REARDON, B.P. (ed.) (2008), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley).
- SCIOLI, E. / WALDE, C. (eds.) (2010), *Sub imagine somni. Nighttime Phenomena in Greco-Roman Culture* (Pisa).
- SPAETH, B.S. (2010), “‘The Terror that Comes in the Night’: The Night Hag and Supernatural Assault in Latin Literature”, in SCIOLI / WALDE (2010), 231-258.
- STEPHENS, S.A. / WINKLER, J.J. (1995), *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments* (Princeton).
- SPENGEL, L. (ed.) (1854), *Rhetores Graeci*. Vol. II (Leipzig).
- TAGLIABUE, A. (2017), *Xenophon’s Ephesiaca. A Paraliterary Love-Story from the Ancient World* (Groningen).
- TAPLIN, O. (1990), “Agamemnon’s Role in the *Iliad*”, in C. PELLING (ed.), *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (Oxford), 60-82.
- DE TEMMERMAN, K. (2007), “A Narrator of Wisdom: Characterization through gnomai in Achilles Tatius.”, *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics* (<http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/pdfs/detemmerman/030701.pdf>).
- (2014), *Crafting Characters. Heroes and Heroines in the Ancient Greek Novel* (Oxford).
- WEBB, R. (2009), *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham).
- WESSELING, B. (1993), *Leven, liefde en dood. Motieven in de antieke romans* (Groningen).
- WHITMARSH, T. (2003), “Reading for Pleasure: Narrative, Irony, and Eroticism in Achilles Tatius”, in S. PANAYOTAKIS / M. ZIMMERMANN / W. KEULEN (eds.), *The Ancient Novel and Beyond* (Leiden), 191-205.
- (ed.) (2008), *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* (Cambridge).
- WHITMARSH, T. (transl. and notes) / MORALES, H. (introd.) (2001), *Achilles Tatius. Leucippe and Clitophon* (Oxford).
- WÖHRLE, G. (1995), *Hypnos, der Allbezwinger. Eine Studie zum literarischen Bild des Schlafes in der griechischen Antike* (Stuttgart).

DISCUSSION

R. Schlesier: Concerning the classification of novels with regard to religious experiences, there has been a heated debate since Karl Kerényi,¹ who interpreted the narrative of the novels as containing a “Mysteriensinn”, and Reinhold Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike*, who went a step further and considered them as “wirklich Mysterientexte”.² Against this background, how would you contextualize the emphasis on the liminal and mysterious quality of the night in some of the novels? What do you think, in this respect, of the interpretation of the night episodes, for instance, in Albert Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos*?³

K. De Temmerman: Both Karl Kerényi and Reinhold Merkelbach read the ancient novels as cult texts and are part of a wider tradition of scholarship that interprets them as religious narratives.⁴ Whereas for Kerényi they reflect details of the Isiac cult, for Merkelbach each novel encodes information about a different cult. Henrichs agrees and reads Lollianus’ *Phoenicica* as representing the mystery cult of Dionysus-Zagreus (pp. 77-78). In general terms, the question of whether or not

¹ K. KERÉNYI (1927), *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Tübingen).

² R. MERKELBACH (1962), *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich). On the debate see A. HENRICHES (2006), “Der antike Roman: Kerényi und die Folgen”, in R. SCHLESIER / R. SANCHIÑO MARTÍNEZ (eds.), *Neuhumanismus und Anthropologie des griechischen Mythos. Karl Kerényi im europäischen Kontext des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Locarno), 57-70.

³ A. HENRICHES (1972), *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos. Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans* (Bonn).

⁴ See also, for example, F. ALTHEIM (1942), “Helios und Heliodorus von Emesa”, *Albae Vigiles* 12, 93-124 (for whom Heliodorus was a devotee to the Emesan Sun god).

the ancient novels are religious texts (and, if so, how precisely we need to conceptualize and explain their religious dimensions) is itself debated.⁵ Even if scholars are divided on this, it is fair to say that most agree that the views of Kerényi and Merkelbach are not persuasive in their original forms.⁶ I too believe that caution is strongly advised; and that, as John Morgan points out, there is a danger of developing circular arguments (given the paucity of external evidence about the detailed rituals of the mystery cults).⁷ In Lollianus' *Phoenicica*, the night is heavily connotated (and I do not think that these connotations can easily be limited to what for Henrichs is relevant for mapping Lollianus' scenes on the mystery cult). The fragments that we have left of this novel narrate a defloration at a festival or party, a ritual murder, an episode of cannibalism, group sex, plundertaking from dead bodies, a dressing-up in white and black costumes and the appearance of a ghost. Most, and possibly all, of these episodes are set at night (νυκτὸς πρό[...], A.1 recto 16; ἐπειδὴ δὲ νύκτες μέσαι θύσαν, B.1 verso 23; νυκτὸς ἔτι, P.Oxy. 1368, Column II, 16).⁸ There is no way to tell whether these episodes are in any way representative of the novel as a whole; or, indeed, to determine what are their place and role in it. Nevertheless, even in their fragmentary state they clearly foreground the night as a time not only of sex, violence, secrecy and magic, but also of marginality, deviation and perversion.

⁵ See, for example, J.R. MORGAN (2008), "Heliodorus: An Ethiopian Story", in B.P. REARDON (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley), 350-351 vs. K. DOWDEN (1996), "Heliodorus: Serious Intentions", *CQ* 46, 267-285.

⁶ For sensible criticism, see, among others, A.D. NOCK (1928), "Karl Kerényi: Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung", *Gnomon* 4, 485-492, and R. TURCAN (1963), "Le roman 'initiatique': à propos d'un livre récent", *Revue d'histoire des religions* 163, 149-199.

⁷ J.R. MORGAN (1979), *A Commentary on the Ninth and Tenth Books of the Aethiopica of Heliodorus* (Oxford), xl-xli.

⁸ Except, perhaps, the ritual murder and the cannibalism (B.1 recto), where the night is not explicitly mentioned.

R. Schlesier: If the night is treated in the novels as an intensifier of emotions, does this concern rather positive or rather negative emotions, or both? In general, one would like to know the way in which the novels transformed the treatment of the night in earlier genres and by earlier authors. A case in point would be the relationship between the novels and the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.

A. Chaniotis: Renate Schlesier's remark on the significance of the corpus of medical authors is crucial. I would like to comment on this. The passage in Achilles Tatius, in which the pain of love during the night is described (1, 6, 2-4) is in fact a medical description of the symptoms of love.

K. De Temmerman: As for the intensification of emotions, I think it is difficult to posit firm rules on whether it is valued positively or negatively: it depends on the narrative context and is taken in different directions by different novelists. Secondly, earlier literature is of course very important, as ancient novelists have been shown to heavily engage intertextually with a number of earlier genres (mainly epic, philosophical prose and tragedy). I agree that medical authors too are relevant, especially in novelistic representations of love, as shown for example by Patrick Robiano for Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*.⁹

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Dans le roman *Daphnis et Chloé*, il faut du temps pour que les protagonistes intègrent l'idée qu'une relation sexuelle ne pourra intervenir que la nuit. L'association entre la nuit et le sexe est aussi ancienne que la *Théogonie*, puisqu'Ouranos désireux de s'unir à Gaia "amène la nuit avec lui" (v. 176) et que Philotès, au sens d'union sexuelle, fait partie de la cohorte des enfants de Nyx (v. 224). Même s'il n'y avait pas d'interdit spécifique du sexe diurne dans les représentations

⁹ P. ROBIANO (2003), "Maladie d'amour et diagnostic médical: Érasistrate, Galien et Héliodore d'Émèse, ou du récit au roman", *Ancient Narrative* 3, 129-149.

grecques des relations amoureuses, le sexe nocturne ne fait pas forcément de la nuit une ‘hétérotopie’: c’est plutôt une forme de ‘norme’. Peut-on considérer que le roman de Longus atteste un renforcement d’une telle norme, assortie d’une dissociation entre lumière diurne et relations sexuelles?

K. De Temmerman: Oui, dans le passage que j’ai discuté le roman de Longus se tourne vers l’association entre la nuit et le sexe comme une norme sociale, exactement pour souligner l’ignorance de Daphnis, qui ne la connaît pas (encore).

A. Chaniotis: I would prefer to speak of a polarity between day and night, not of a heterotopia. This polarity can be clearly seen, when we examine the metaphors used for the arrival of the day — which is a peaceful arrival — and the arrival of the night that resembles an aggressive take-over.

R. Schlesier: Using night as a signifier that connects positive and negative aspects, the example of Xenophon’s transformation of the nocturnal bridal chamber into a tomb is illuminating. But is this typical for the novel? Or is this rather an adaptation of a *topos* already present in other and earlier genres (e.g. Sophocles, *Antigone* 891)?

K. De Temmerman: In general terms, the novels certainly resemble many other genres in their use of widespread associations of the night. In my paper, I have tried to clarify how they creatively adopt such associations; how, in other words, an analysis of their use/representation/connotation of the night pays off for our reading of them. The passage in Xenophon, indeed, draws on an association already present in tragedy, a genre which in this episode is also brought to the fore given Anthia’s lamenting monologue. Heliodorus too builds on the same image when he has Charicles tell how his daughter on her wedding night died in a fire in her room so that “before the wedding anthem was finished it modulated into a funeral dirge” (2, 29, 4).

R. Schlesier: Comparing historiography and the novel, you stress a difference in authentication. But do you think that the historians' conscious decisions to include night scenes in their narratives necessarily differ from the novelists' decisions?

K. De Temmerman: I think there is a difference given the specifically fictional quality of the novel. Even if in ancient historiography (and biography, for that matter) the borderline between fact and imagination is notoriously porous, the novels are built on the specific premise of a fictional contract: the reader knows that novel heroines like Callirhoe and Chariclea never existed but that they and their entire stories are invented constructs. This is different from historiography and biography, where we deal with literary (and often imaginative) reconstructions of pre-existing persons and events. In *The Distinction of Fiction*, Dorrit Cohn discusses this issue at length.¹⁰ As for night scenes, I do not think that how a historian builds on their cultural associations is qualitatively different from how a novelist does, in the sense that similar associations of the night and related concepts are likely to be at work in those genres. What is different, however, is that historians, in view of what their readers accepted as or believed to be historical fact, may be slightly more limited than novelists as to which specific events can reasonably be set at night. It remains difficult for a historiographer, I imagine, to have the battle of Cannae take place at night since it was commonly known already in Antiquity to have been a daytime battle. Battles in fiction, on the other hand, can be set at night (or not) for whatever reason, which for a novelist increases literary possibilities such as those that we have seen at work in Longus' description of the *nyktomachia*.

L. Dossey: Angelos Chaniotis has advised that day and night should be regarded as a polarity (not a heterotopia). The night

¹⁰ D. COHN (1999), *The Distinction of Fiction* (Baltimore).

has its own norms, just as the day has. As Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge said, sex at night was *part* of the norms for the night; it wasn't breaking the rules (as with a heterotopia). It seems to me that in most of your paper, the night of the Greek novels is compatible with the night in Angelos's "Long Hellenistic Age". It is a time for sex, emotion (both pleasurable and painful), conviviality, dreams, gods, and the dead (including ghosts, magic). These things weren't a negative in the night, but part of the normal night. Even the ghost stories weren't very evil. However, in your paper, Apuleius stands out as doing something new. In book 11, Apuleius rejects both sex and magic in the night and instead substitutes a chaste, much more controlled service to the goddess Isis. In Heliodorus (which I would see as mid-4th century), something similar occurs. The magic in Heliodorus is portrayed as far more horrible than in the other Greek novels. This novel, as you say, emphasizes solar imagery and embraces the sun cult and light. Chastity is also emphasized. I wonder if Heliodorus and to some extent Apuleius can be seen as *rejecting* the norms of the ancient Greek night, perhaps fitting with the more negative view of nighttime ritual discussed in Filippo Carlà-Uhink's paper and the fourth-century colonization of the night by the day discussed in mine?

K. De Temmerman: This is a very interesting observation and you are right that the centrality of solar and lunar imagery is one aspect that Apuleius' novel has in common with Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*. Although this novel is not a story of conversion, it does end (like the *Metamorphoses*) with an ordination in priesthood (in this case of the two protagonists) and a religious transformation (not of the protagonist, as in Apuleius, but of the Ethiopian society, which progresses from endorsing to abolishing human sacrifice to the Sun and Moon gods). You are also right that the sun is very prominent throughout Heliodorus' novel. Indeed, the whole novel is captured between two striking solar images: the rising sun at daybreak in the opening sentence,

as we have seen, and the final line, where the author identifies himself as Heliodorus (“Gift from the sun”), a Phoenician from Emesa and one of the clan of the Descendants of the Sun (ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ Ἐμισηνός, τῶν ἀφ’ Ἡλίου γένος, 10, 41, 4) — unsurprisingly, there is much scholarship exploring possible connections with the famous Emesan Sun cult. I am less sure that we can read this novel as rejecting the norms of the ancient Greek night. In fact, the night has positive valuations too in the *Aethiopica* and the moon is almost as central to the story as the sun (Chariclea is compared to famous lunar deities as Isis and Artemis from the start, and at the end she becomes a priestess of the Ethiopian moon goddess).

I. Mylonopoulos: Only one question out of ignorance: Are there instances in which nocturnal stories are the focus of the nocturnal storytelling you addressed in your paper? Do we have cases in which people are telling each other nocturnal love stories, nocturnal horror stories or speak about their dreams in the (fictitious) context of a nocturnal story telling?

K. De Temmerman: Yes, there are some examples of nocturnal events narrated by intradiegetic narrators at night. Chariclea’s abduction from Delphi (Hld. 4, 17), for example, is part of his long embedded narrative that is told at night. However, I have not been able to find instances where the novelists capitalize on this idea.

A. Chaniotis: A final remark concerning references to the senses. We note that the darkness of the night increases the importance of senses other than sight. We can see this e.g. in Chariton 1, 3, 2 with references to things smelled (μύροις ...) δῆδας ἡμικαύτους) and touched (οἴνου πηλὸν ἐποίησαν).

VIII

LESLIE DOSSEY

SHEDDING LIGHT ON THE LATE ANTIQUE NIGHT

The inhabitants of the Roman Empire had always made use of the night for activities other than sleeping. Night festivals such as the *pannychis* were popular in Greek cities. Men throughout the empire liked to drink at the night, whether the lower classes in their taverns or the rich in their homes. Night watchmen, carters, cloth workers, soldiers, and writers engaged in an array of nighttime work, often with the help of ceramic lamps.¹ Yet there is little evidence of a systematic effort on the part of city or imperial governments to install street lighting until the middle of the 4th century CE, when government-mandated lighting is attested for cities like Antioch, Ephesus, and Constantinople.² The goal of this paper is to explore both the nature of this lighting and the reasons why it was needed in these last centuries of Roman rule.

Antioch's streetlights are by far the best known because of the works of Libanius and, to a lesser extent, Ammianus Marcellinus. According to Ammianus, the caesar Gallus, resident in Antioch during the 350's, attempted to find out what people thought of him by wandering the shops and street-corners incognito in the evening, in imitation of the 3rd-century emperor Gallienus. However, doing this "in a city where the brightness of the lights (*lumina*) at night commonly equals the splendor of

¹ KER (2004) 217-218 and 225-229; MORRISON (2012) 2-3.

² For Late Antique street lighting, see ELLIS (2007); Foss (1979) 56-57; and BOURAS / PARANI (2008) 20. See also WILSON (this volume).

day” proved to be a mistake.³ Antioch’s lights had removed the anonymity of the night. Libanius’s descriptions of the city’s lighting are much more extensive. In 386, Libanius criticized Tisamenus, the governor of Syria, for requiring that the workshops (*ergastēria*) provide lighting outside their doors at night.⁴ This is our most detailed description of the regulation of street lighting, and so it is worth examining in some detail. He started with the governor’s claim “that conditions in the workshops and related to the trades got better” under his administration.⁵ Libanius pointed out two recent impositions that were anything but better. The governor had forced the workshops to “have their doorways painted” (presumably with the name of the artisan and trade, as known from other eastern cities like Palmyra), and he had also required them to triple the amount of lighting: “these same people in the workshops he orders to provide triple the amount of fire in the night” (*τοὺς γὰρ αὐτὸὺς δὴ τούτους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἔργαστηροις κελεύει τριπλάσιον ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ παρέχειν τὸ πῦρ*).⁶ Notice that the word “triple” suggests a way to count the number of lights, something we will return to below. The men of the nightwatch now patrolled the streets and pounded on the door of any workshop not burning the required number of lights. Libanius dramatized the resistance of a poor widow, who lived upstairs from her shop, crying when the nightwatch came pounding, “How can I light them? Where can I get the oil from? For long enough now I’ve never had taste of a drop of it.”⁷ Libanius concluded by questioning the very purpose of street lighting and also gave us a hint about its justification: “And yet why all the zeal about this fire, why is there so much for a sleeping city? For those who are sleeping

³ AMM. MARC. 14, 1, 9.

⁴ LIB. *Or.* 33, 35. Tisamenus was *consularis* of Syria in 386: JONES / MARTINDALE / MORRIS (1971) 916.

⁵ LIB. *Or.* 33, 33: *ναῦι, τὰ γὰρ <τῶν> ἐν τοῖς ἔργαστηροις καὶ πρὸς ταῦταις τοῖς τέχναις ἀμεινον ἔσχεν* (my translation).

⁶ LIB. *Or.* 33, 35.

⁷ LIB. *Or.* 33, 36.

it would be beside the point, and for the watch, the previous amount is enough. Can you say that there are fewer criminals now, or that there were more before?"⁸

Libanius was a very good rhetorician and knew well how to present the governor's attempt to light up a sleeping city as a colossal waste of money. Nevertheless, as we know from an oration he wrote 30 years earlier, the streetlights were put up with every expectation that people would continue to be active in the public sphere into the night. In his panegyric on Antioch (ca. 356 CE), written when Gallus was caesar, he boasted that the citizens of Antioch

"have repudiated the tyranny of [Sleep] from our eyelids. The lamps of the sun are supplanted by different lanterns, which outdo the illumination of the Egyptians. Among us, the night differs from the day in only one respect: in the form of the light. Handicrafts go on as usual, with some people energetically working with their hands, and others releasing themselves to laughter and song."⁹

Travelers arriving at night in Antioch could easily find a place to buy their dinner or refresh themselves, for the shops and baths remained open.¹⁰ What is remarkable here is Libanius's assumption that the caesar, governors and members of the Antiochene elite who listened to his orations would be impressed by this public nightlife, in contrast to earlier imperial attempts to restrict the sale of cooked food after dark.¹¹

Antiochenes, like Libanius and Ammianus, were rather like New Yorkers today. They tended to consider their city the only truly "big" city, hardly rivalled even by the capital, Constantinople. Antioch was not, however, alone in getting

⁸ LIB. *Or.* 33, 37: καίτοι τίς ἡ περὶ τοῦτο σπουδὴ <τὸ> πῦρ εῖναι τοσοῦτον ἐν καθευδόνσῃ τῇ πόλει; οὐ γάρ ἀν τοῖς καθεύδουσιν εἴη ἀν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε φύλαξιν ἀπόχρη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· κακούργους γε οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἥττους μὲν γεγονέναι νῦν, εἶναι δὲ πρὸ τοῦ πλείους.

⁹ LIB. *Or.* 11, 267, 2-9. See also WILSON (this volume).

¹⁰ LIB. *Or.* 11, 257.

¹¹ For imperial prohibitions on *popinae* selling meat and hot water, see TONER (1995) 80-83 and DEFELICE (2007) 479-482.

street lighting in the late 4th and 5th centuries.¹² Libanius's near contemporary, Basil of Caesarea, referred to city-financed lamps — or rather the loss of them — around 371 CE when Caesarea stopped being a provincial capital.¹³ In a rescript to the urban prefect of Constantinople, dated 424 CE, Theodosius II ordered the rents from the houses and shops of the colonnades near the famous public Bath of Zeuxippus to be used for the "provision of lights" (*luminaria*) for the bath area.¹⁴ Another early reference to imperially financed bath lighting occurs in the *Historia Augusta*, a historical forgery usually dated to the late 4th century.¹⁵ The 5th-century historian Priscus records how Cyrus, the popular urban prefect of Constantinople, "arranged that the evening lights were kindled at the workshops, and the night lights too" (ca. 440 CE).¹⁶ The reaction of the populace was ecstatic: "And the factions in the Hippodrome shouted for him the whole day, 'Constantine founded the city, Kyros

¹² In addition to the references in n. 2, see NEUBURGER (1930) 245.

¹³ According to BASIL *Ep.* 74, 3, trans. J. DEFERRARI and R.P.M. MCGUIRE, the gymnasia were closed, and the nights became "lampless" (*νύκτας ἀλαμπεῖς*) when Caesarea lost its imperial officials: "we cannot take thought of them at all because of our struggle to keep alive".

¹⁴ *Cod. Theod.* 15, 1, 52 = *Cod. Iust.* 8, 11, 19 (Constantinople; Jan. 9, 424): *Quia plurimae domus cum officinis suis in porticibus Zeuxippi ese memorantur, redditus memoratorum locorum pro quantitate, quae placuit, ad praebenda luminaria et aedificia ac tecta reparanda regiae huius urbis Lauacrum sine aliqua iubemus excusatione conferri*, cited by SCOBIE (1986) 403 n. 33.

¹⁵ According to the *SHA*, *Alex. Sev.* 23, 7, Severus Alexander (222-235 CE) established a supply of oil for the lights (*lumina*) of the public baths (in Rome), even though previously the baths had closed before sunset; reference from DE ROBERTIS (1963) 197. The same source (*SHA*, *Tac.* 10, 2) claims that the later 3rd-century emperor, Tacitus (275-276 CE), stopped the practice of keeping the baths open after lamp lighting, "in case some sort of sedition arise during the night". Although these statements have often been taken at face value, they might better reflect late 4th-century practice (and this author's discomfort with it).

¹⁶ PRISCUS, *Exc.* 3a, ed. CAROLLA (2008), 9: καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπενόησεν τὰ ἔσπερινά φῶτα ἀπτεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἐργαστήρια, δόμοις καὶ τὰ νυκτερινά. καὶ ἔκραξαν αὐτῷ τὰ μέρη εἰς τὸ Ἰππικὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, Κωνσταντῖνος ἔκτισεν, Κῦρος ἀνενέωσε; see discussion in GIVEN (2014) 27 and 33. Cyrus 7, who was originally from Egypt, was concurrently praetorian prefect of the Oriens and urban prefect of Constantinople in 439-441: MARTINDALE (1980) 337.

revived it”.¹⁷ By the end of the 5th century, governors in Edessa (the capital of the province Osroene) were requiring shopkeepers to hang cross-shaped light fixtures with five lamps each outside their shops on the sabbath and redirected the public oil from the church lamps to light up the city’s colonnades more generally.¹⁸ By Justinian’s time, it was expected that most cities used part of their revenues for the public lights (until Justinian confiscated them).¹⁹

The location of this lighting is significant in two respects. It was mostly in the imperial cities and provincial capitals of the eastern Roman Empire, and it was especially outside the bathhouses and workshops along the urban colonnades, which were expanding enormously in Late Antiquity.²⁰ Although the grander of these were multistory and paved in marble, many colonnades were utilitarian, part of the Late Antique tendency to turn any street into rows of workshops.²¹ Alexandria had over 400 porticoes according to the *Notitia Urbis Alexandrinae*, which may be the reason Libanius considered the “illumination of the Egyptians” to be the thing to beat.²²

¹⁷ PRISCUS, *Exc.* 3a.

¹⁸ JOSHUA STYLITES, *Chronica* 29 and 87, trans. WRIGHT (2003) 20: “he gave orders that the artisans should hang over their shops on the eve of Sunday crosses with five lighted lamps (*phanoi*) attached to them” and 69, “But the oil which had been supplied to the churches and convents from the public oil-store, amounting to 6800 *keste* (per annum), the governor took away from them, and ordered it to be used for burning in the porticoes of the city”; reference from ELLIS (2007) 297. The first of these governors was Alexander 14, *praeses* of Osrhoene in 497–498, and the second, Eulogius 7, *praeses* of Osrhoene in 504/505; MARTINDALE (1980) 57 and 419.

¹⁹ According to PROC. *Arc.* 26, 7, Justinian’s confiscation of city revenues made cities in general unable to keep the lamps burning: οὔτε λύχνα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν δημοσίᾳ ἔκάτετο.

²⁰ For the growth of colonnaded streets in Late Antiquity, see DEY (2014) 87–92.

²¹ For example, LIEBESCHUETZ (2015) 261 for Gerasa.

²² FRASER (1951) 104 for the *Notitia*, a Syriac text thought to be derived from a 4th-century Greek original. Libanius may have instead simply been referring to the famous Egyptian festivals of lights, especially the Serapia, which the 2nd-century novelist ACH. TAT. 5, 2, trans. S. GASELEE, called “the greatest spectacle I ever saw; for it was evening and the sun had set, but night was nowhere to be seen

What did this lighting actually consist of? Libanius clearly indicates that these were hanging lights, strung out on ropes in front of doorways: “This copious and idle lighting which hangs in front of the bathhouses” (*τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάταιον τοῦτο φῶς ... τὸ πρὸ τῶν βαλανείων κρεμάμενον*). The rioters of 387 cut the “the ropes (*κάλους*) from which were hung those [things] providing the light in the night”.²³ The ancient world had long made use of hanging metal and ceramic lamps, but Libanius’s phrasing (and his avoidance of the normal words for lamps) suggest that he was referring to the glass lamp fixtures of Late Antiquity, a relatively new invention when he was writing. Several reused inscriptions from Ephesus, one of the largest cities of the eastern empire and the capital of Asia, confirm the impression that this street lighting would have often taken the form of glass lamps. These inscriptions, dated to the Theodosian period (between 379 and 450), record the number of *kandēlai* on certain streets. For instance, the Street of the Horses together with the Dark (Alley) had 18 *kandēlai*. A more important thoroughfare, the Arcadiane (named after the emperor Arcadius), which led from the theater to the harbor, “has 2 colonnades (and) 50 *kandēlai* up to the Boar (monument)”.²⁴ These utilitarian, not commemorative, inscriptions give us an idea of how the night watchmen would have known how many lights were supposed to be lit on a certain stretch of street. They also hint at the type of lamp being used, employing the word *kandēla* (*κανδήλη*), borrowed from the Latin, instead of the more literary

— rather another sun had arisen”. See PODUIN (2015) 41 and ABDELWAHED (2016) for these festivals.

²³ LIB. *Or.* 22, 6: ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆσιάζον βαλανεῖον κάλους ὃν ἔξήρτηντο | τὰ τὸ φῶς ἐν νυκτὶ παρέχοντα μαχαίραις ἔξέκοπτον and LIB. *Or.* 16, 41: τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάταιον τοῦτο φῶς καὶ τρυφὴν ἀγρηστὸν δεικνύον τὸ πρὸ τῶν βαλανείων κρεμάμενον εἰς πολλοστὸν τοῦ νῦν ὄντος καταστήσωμεν / “This copious and idle lighting which hangs in front of the bathhouses, displaying useless luxury, we ought to restore to a fraction of what it is now”.

²⁴ *I.Ephesos* 1939 and *I.Ephesos* 557 (= SEG XLIX 444): ἔχει ή Ἀρκαδιανή ἔως τοῦ Συάγρου αἱ β' στοιχιαὶ κανδήλας ν', discussed by FEISSEL (1999) and FOSS (1979) 56-57.

“light” or “lamp.” In early Byzantine sources, *kandēla* was the term for the glass oil lamp.²⁵

The glass oil lamp was a 4th-century invention that has been called by Margaret O’Hea “the most significant technological innovation of Late Antique architectural fittings”.²⁶ Glass lamps were vessels filled with water and oil with a cloth or fiber wick for lighting. They came in a variety of shapes. Some were cone-shaped beakers with turned out rims, others stemmed wine cups, others goblets or hemispherical bowls with three handles for hanging (fig. 8.1-8.2). The oil floated over the water, allowing the lamps to put themselves out when the oil was used up. The end of the wick needed to reach the top layer of oil and was held in place either by means of a metal wick holder, a hollow glass tube attached to the base of the vessel, or a hollow stem base.²⁷ The lamps were hung by inserting their stems or rims into the holes of circular lamp holders (sometimes made of glass themselves) or by attaching their handles to metal chains (fig. 8.2). Their paper-thin walls made them lighter and easier to hang in groups than ceramic or metal lamps.²⁸ They could also be placed in portable lamp carriers (usually made out of basket material) and used as a torch for walking around.²⁹

²⁵ See XANTHOPOULOU (2010) 39-40. Early uses of the term include the Spanish pilgrim Egeria’s comments about the lights in Jerusalem, discussed by O’HEA (2007) 238-239; the Syriac JOSHUA STYLITES, *Chronica* 27, trans. WRIGHT (2003) 18: “They placed on its bank lighted lamps (*kandelai*), and hung them in the porticoes (*stodi*), in the town-hall, in the upper streets” (495-496 CE); the 6th-century CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Euthymii* 54, ed. SCHWARTZ (1939) 76, where a woman is cured of a demon by drinking the water from the κανδήλαι of a holy tomb (the presence of water in addition to oil indicating a glass lamp); and, perhaps earliest of all, the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, ed. WRIGHT (1871) 232, 20, as discussed by BUTTS (2016) 129-130. This last text has long been considered a 3rd-century Syriac original, although LANZILLOTTA (2015) makes a good case for it being a later (4th century?) translation of the Greek.

²⁶ O’HEA (2007) 236. For glass lamps, see also OLÇAY (2001) 77-87; UBOLDI (1995) 93-145; BOURAS / PARANI (2008) 6-7 and 12-14.

²⁷ For how wick holders functioned, UBOLDI (1995) 93 and BOURAS / PARANI (2008) 3-4.

²⁸ ELLIS (2007) 290.

²⁹ XANTHOPOULOU (2010) 41, n. 255; STERN (2003) 100. It is possible that this was the earliest kind of glass lamp, at least in Egypt: see n. 33 below.

What was revolutionary about them was that when hung from the ceiling or other high place, glass lamps could do what no classical lighting device had ever done before: light up an entire room or stall. Because the lamps were translucent, light travelled down, not just up as with classical clay or metal lamps. The water that filled the lower portion of the lamp “collected and intensified the light of the flame”.³⁰ The whole lamp would glow, rather like a Chinese lantern. Light emission studies have shown that a glass lamp burns almost twice as brightly and somewhat longer than a ceramic lamp, although the down side is that it uses twice as much as oil.³¹ Moreover, these glass lamps were used in groups, with three or more lamps being placed together. A new term — *polykandēlon* — was invented for these light fixtures.

The origins of the hanging glass lamp remains something of a mystery. O’Hea attributes their invention to Christian liturgical needs: the Christian basilica, unlike the Classical temple, had a large open space to be lit up at night.³² However, there is neither textual nor archaeological evidence connecting the earliest glass lamps to Christianity. The underlying technology of blown glass had been around since the 1st century BCE, and the earliest lamps made use of the existing forms of drinking vessels. There is some textual evidence for portable glass lamps as early as the 2nd century CE.³³ Yet the idea didn’t catch on,

³⁰ STERN (2001) 262.

³¹ STERN (2001) 262; HIGASHI (1990) 380-381, 433-435.

³² O’HEA (2007) 239.

³³ A 2nd-century letter from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* XLII 3060) lists, among other goods, a “glass little basket” (κανίσκ[ιο]ν ὑελοῦν), which LAPP (1999) 84 interprets to mean an open work glass lamp due to the use of the same term *kaniskion* in a 5th-century inventory of lamps studied by MONTSERRAT (1995) 444. According to STERN (2003) 100, the κανίσκ[ιο]ν ὑελοῦν in this letter probably meant “a little basket for glass” rather than of glass, possibly made from wicker, which was used to carry glass lamps when they were employed as torches, but could also be used to hold other types of glass vessels. Interestingly, ATH. *D.* 701b, who appears to be the first Greek author to employ the word *kandēla*, uses it to mean a type of torch (not explicitly of glass) that might be bought “for a copper” as guests depart the symposium: καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος αἰεὶ ποτε τῷ

probably because the advantages of glass in terms of illumination were outweighed by its disadvantage in fragility. Our earliest physical examples of hanging glass lamps are the luxurious glass cage cups, sometimes used as lamps by the end of the 3rd century.³⁴

By the 350's, at the same time as Libanius was praising the streetlights of Antioch, a regular, standardized mass production of glass lamps had begun.³⁵ The first known workshop for these is in Jalame, Israel (near Haifa), an area where a number of both primary and secondary glass workshops had long been producing raw glass and glass products.³⁶ The Jalame lamps, which started to be made around 351 CE, were cone shaped, and decorated with blue blobs, attractive products, not luxurious, but still meant to be seen. Very similar lamps dated to around the same time (or a little earlier) have been found at Karanis (fig. 8.1), a medium-sized town in the Fayyum, which was expanding in the 4th century, and serving as a way station for various products of the imperial annona.³⁷ They were also used in the Sasanian Empire, although not with good enough dating to indicate whether they were inspired by the Roman lamps or vice versa.³⁸

Once they began to be attested, mass produced glass lamps appeared everywhere, a virtual explosion of glass lamps across the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans in the second half of the 4th century. They have been found at both Athens and Petra in contexts dated before the 360's.³⁹ They were thick on

Οὐλπιανῷ ἀντικορυσσόμενος ἔφη. ἐμοὶ δέ, παῖ δωρόδειπνε, ἀσσαρίου κανδήλας πρίω. Could this have been a glass lamp carried in a wicker basket?

³⁴ WHITEHOUSE (1988); STERN (2003) 100; XANTHOPOULOU (2010) 42. These were a luxurious variant of *kaniskia*.

³⁵ HIGASHI (1990) 40, for the earliest dated contexts at Athens (first quarter of 4th century) and Karanis (second decade of the 4th).

³⁶ WEINBERG (1988) 87-94.

³⁷ BARNARD *et al.* (2015).

³⁸ SIMPSON (2015).

³⁹ For Petra and Athens, see HIGASHI (1990) 39 and WEINBERG / STERN (2010) 135 (from a well-dated context, a well, btwn 330/340 and 360 CE).

the ground in Egypt, not just in Karanis, but also in Alexandria: in the Kom el-Dikka excavations, conical lamps with cracked-off rims were the most popular form of glass vessel in the auditoria and bath-house areas from the late fourth century on.⁴⁰ Numerous wickholders for glass lamps have been found at Antioch, although not well published.⁴¹ Glass lamps are also well attested at Danubian fortresses in Pannonia towards the end of the 4th / beginning of the 5th centuries and perhaps produced in the area.⁴² Many of the best preserved lamps come from ecclesiastical or domestic contexts, especially the popular apsed dining rooms that became all the rage in Late Antiquity.⁴³ But they were just as common in the sort of colonnade and workshop area as the textual sources would place public lighting: the shops and colonnades of Alexandria, the commercial area near the theater at Corinth,⁴⁴ the workshop and theater area of Gerasa,⁴⁵ the colonnades and shops of the Street of the Monuments of early 6th-century Scythopolis.⁴⁶ At Karanis, surface surveys have found the highest percentage of conical glass lamp fragments in the industrial areas of the town.⁴⁷

Glass lamps never became as popular in Europe as in the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps due to urban decline and a preference for candles. Around 400 CE, Paulinus of Nola and Prudentius wrote about their use in churches and the bishop's

⁴⁰ KUCHARZYK (2011) and KUCHARCZYK (2007). Some of the lamps show wear marks from suspension.

⁴¹ RUSSELL (1982) 137.

⁴² STERN (2001) 267, 268, and 296; DÉVAI (2016).

⁴³ ELLIS (2007) 292, 300; STERN (2001) 273.

⁴⁴ WILLIAMS / ZERVOS (1982) 124-128 for handled glass lamps hidden in manholes towards the end of the 4th century CE along the colonnaded street east of the theater.

⁴⁵ OLCAY (2001) 82, 84-86.

⁴⁶ From Scythopolis, we have glass lamps from an excavated row of shops on the northern side of the Street of the Monuments from the late 4th to first half of 6th century (destroyed by fire ca. 540 CE): HADAD (1998) 63-76 (mostly stemmed lamps).

⁴⁷ SUSAK PITZER (2015) 287-288.

house with an enthusiasm suggestive of novelty.⁴⁸ Archaeological remains of glass lamps dated ca. 400 CE appear in some of the same sort of secular urban contexts as in the east — at the shops on the Palatine in Rome; quite profusely in the sewers of Classe, the port of Ravenna; in the forum area of the town Conimbriga in Portugal.⁴⁹ Yet by the second half of the fifth century, they mainly come from churches or cemeteries.⁵⁰ North Africa, as in so many other respects, comes closer to eastern Mediterranean patterns of distribution, although some fifty years later in date. By the first half of the 5th century, glass lamps are appearing everywhere: very abundantly in residential districts of Carthage, but also in smaller towns such as Nabeul. As in the east, conical lamps, suitable for insertion into light fixtures, are the first to appear, followed by the three handled types.⁵¹

All of these lamps, which joined rather than replaced the traditional ceramic lamps,⁵² would have consumed a truly tremendous amount of oil. Although residue analysis shows that their owners filled them with any oil they could get a hold of, including radish, canola, castor, linseed, sesame, and even rendered lard, olive oil was the norm.⁵³ We should take seriously Libanius's complaint that the requirement to light the lamps was driving the price of olive oil beyond some consumers' reach. Certainly not everyone was happy about them. The rioters in Antioch in 387 targeted the lamps, cutting down of ropes

⁴⁸ PRUDENT. *Cath.* 19, 416 (between 389–409 CE); PAUL. NOL. *Carm.* 23, 124–4 (dated 401); *Carm.* 19, 412–24 (dated 405 CE); RICHARDSON (2015) 117 for dating; references from HIGASHI (1990) 26.

⁴⁹ For the Palatine, WEINBERG / STERN (2010) 153–154 and for other late 4th / early 5th century contexts in Rome, UBOLDI (1995) 105, 110, 116, 123; for Classe, CURINA (1983) 167–170 (tiny, thin-walled “base knob” types are by far the most abundant); for Conimbriga: HIGASHI (1990) 81.

⁵⁰ UBOLDI (1995) 96 and WEINBERG / STERN (2010) 153 for cultic or funerary contexts in Sicily, Italy, and southern France from the second half of the 5th and 6th centuries.

⁵¹ FOY (2003) 79; XANTHOPOULOU (2010) 56.

⁵² HIGASHI (1990) 378 for Karanis.

⁵³ COBLEY *et al.* (2005) and KIMPE / JACOBS / WAELEKENS (2001).

from which the lamps hung outside the bathhouse doors.⁵⁴ In the aftermath of the riot, Libanius suggested that the boule cut “this copious and idle lighting ..., this display of useless luxury” to “a fraction of what it is now”.⁵⁵

This begs the question to be addressed in the second half of this paper: why was so much light needed? Rarely does technology change on its own accord without some sort of new demand stimulating it. Had something in people’s nighttime behavior changed to drive this technological innovation? And why at this point in Greek and Roman history, in the late 4th century?

It is useful to look at the reasons behind the later (re)invention of street lighting in the 17th century. This also started with oil lamps, which were placed in glass-paned lanterns and hung in European cities from the late 17th century on. Starting in the 1660’s in Paris and Amsterdam and spreading quickly to other European cities, royal officials began to systematically require and (sometimes) pay for oil lanterns, replacing the more haphazard arrangements of lanterns that residents may have chosen to place outside their houses or shops.⁵⁶ City governments were reluctant to undertake the expense of it; generally their rulers had to compel them to it, citing concerns about safety, morality, or simply city beautification.⁵⁷ Recent scholarship, most importantly Craig Koslofsky’s 2011 book, *Evening’s Empire*, has viewed this streetlighting not in isolation, but as part of a broader change in how people were using the night in the 16th and 17th centuries. There was a new tendency for urban dwellers to remain in the public sphere into the evening. The shift was not so much among the poor, the apprentices, prostitutes,

⁵⁴ LIB. *Or.* 22, 6, discussed above.

⁵⁵ LIB. *Or.* 16, 41: τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάταιον τοῦτο φῶς καὶ τρυφὴν ἔχρηστον δεικνύον τὸ πρὸ τῶν βαλανέων κρεμάμενον εἰς πολλοστὸν τοῦ νῦν ὄντος καταστήσωμεν / “This copious and idle lighting which hangs in front of the bathhouses, displaying useless luxury, we ought to restore to a fraction of what it is now”.

⁵⁶ KOSLOFSKY (2011) 130-133. See also CABANTOUS (2009) 270-289 and EKIRCH (2005) 330-331.

⁵⁷ KOSLOFSKY (2011) 136, 138, 144, 145.

and servants, who had long made use of the streets at night, as among the urban upper classes. By the late 17th century, the hours of dinner and bedtime in court and upper class circles had moved more than 4 hours later than they had been in the 16th century.⁵⁸ The “respectable classes” began to stay out in the public sphere later, going to late dinner parties and entertainments, and strolling around the city shops. The new lighting facilitated this, giving the respectable classes a sense of safety and comfort and distinguishing “their own growing nocturnal sociability” from the nightlife of the “apprentices, boys, maids and such unmarried folk found idly in the streets”.⁵⁹

Was something similar to this happening in Late Antiquity? Was there a shift towards people staying out in the public spaces later in the evening, especially among the respectable classes? And, if so, why?

What is at issue here is routine nocturnal activity, not night celebrations for special occasions. For as long as we have sources to attest them, Greek and, to a lesser extent, Roman communities, had held occasional religious and civic events at night. Special events like this do not change people’s everyday hours in the way described by Koslofsky nor push governments to establish permanent street lighting. To understand the flood of lighting that appears in the archaeological record for the fourth and fifth centuries, it is necessary to look beyond the special occasion and examine routine, mundane activity in the evening and night. Indeed, we must reconstruct the rhythm of daily time in general. This work has already been well done for Classical Antiquity.⁶⁰ For Late Antiquity, not so much. The following pages will make a first effort to compare Classical and Late Antique daily rhythms, with special attention to the patristic sermon collections, which are a valuable, though often underutilized source for ancient daily life.

⁵⁸ KOSLOFSKY (2011) 111-117 and 232-233.

⁵⁹ KOSLOFSKY (2011) 156.

⁶⁰ For daily schedules in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, I have mainly relied on BILFINGER (1888); LAURENCE (2007) 156-166; and DE ROBERTIS (1963).

According to the mainstream scholarship on everyday life in antiquity, most people in the early Roman Empire — or at least the sort of people our sources reflect — had kept remarkably early hours. The fifth or sixth hour was the traditional lunch time, followed by a short siesta.⁶¹ The hours of the shops and baths were heavily weighted towards the diurnal — “from noon to evening” as Vitruvius says of the baths — and most shops shut even earlier.⁶² Dinner (the Latin *cena* or Greek *deipnon*) began in the afternoon (typically, at the 9th hour of the day), though it could continue well into the evening.⁶³ For example, in the probably Alexandrian novel, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, now dated to reign of Antoninus Pius,⁶⁴ people had their main meal (*deipnon*) in the afternoon and ended it when it was still light.⁶⁵ The men, in Greek fashion, sometimes prolonged their meal by

⁶¹ BILFINGER (1888) 124, 126, and 128 for the fifth or sixth hour being the traditional lunch hour, the hour between the sixth and seventh the traditional siesta time, and the ninth hour the traditional dinner time; LAURENCE (2007) 159, 163–164, for the sixth hour as siesta time.

⁶² VITR. *De arch.* 5, 10, 1: *Tempus lauandi a meridiano ad uesperum est constitutum*, from DE ROBERTIS (1963) 196. For shop hours (except for *popinae*): see LAURENCE (2013) 256. LUC. *Nigr.* 34 describes city magistrates taking baths at the agora in the middle of the day. FAGAN (1999) 22 for bathing at the eighth hour being considered optimal, although Martial often bathed at the tenth hour. The *Hermen. Montepess. coll.* 13g (dating to the 3rd or 4th century; thought to be of eastern origin due to its explicit setting in Rome) has baths at the eighth hour: DICKEY (2015) 102 and 91–92.

⁶³ STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP (2005) 112–113, and BILFINGER (1888) 119 and 128 for the ninth (or sometimes the tenth) hour being the typical dinner time; KIM (1975) 391–402, for the 8th or 9th hour for *deipnon* in 25 Egyptian papyri dating to the 1st through 3rd centuries CE. Interestingly, the two invitations with the latest chronology, one from 3rd / early 4th century and the other from the 4th century CE, lack the work to dine (*deipnesai*). Both give the eighth hour as the time for the invitation. Could this be lunch?

⁶⁴ LAPLACE (1983) 53–59.

⁶⁵ ACH. TAT. 2, 10 and 2, 9–10 for finishing dinner before dark and strolling around garden afterwards. The only example of a late dinner is ACH. TAT. 3, 16, where soldiers pitch camp and prepare *deipnon* after evening falls in preparation for a night attack. The earlier meal (*ariston*) is less important and is sometimes preceded by activity (so more a lunch than a breakfast, but still early): ACH. TAT. 2, 33 and 7, 3.

drinking.⁶⁶ In literature from this period, the lamps and torches came out during this drinking portion of the meal. For example, in Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae*, where every stage of the banquet is discussed in excruciating detail, his guests only ask for lights at the end of the festivities, mainly in the form of torches to help light the way home.⁶⁷ These private lamps were needed because except for special festival occasions, the city streets were dark.⁶⁸ For the most part, it was the poor, not the respectable classes, who engaged in routine, everyday activities (like working, bathing, and shopping) in the public sphere after dark, and this was not because they wanted to. In Lucian, the rich took their baths in the broad day, while a humble cobbler finished his work in the late afternoon (*περὶ δείλην ὁψίαν*), only then going to the baths, and purchasing the makings for a simple dinner.⁶⁹

Were hours any different in Late Antiquity?

In Latin sources from the 4th and 5th centuries, daily hours appear to have changed only a little. Augustine, Paulinus, and Sidonius all attest to lunch (*prandium*) at the fifth or sixth hour of the day.⁷⁰ Baths were taken during the daytime before meals,

⁶⁶ ACH. TAT. 1, 6.

⁶⁷ ATH. D. 699d, trans. S.D. OLSON: "when evening began to overtake us, one member of the group said 'slave! [Get me] a luchneion". This provokes a long discussion of the various terms for lights, primarily torches, as the guests begin to leave. In LUC. *Symp.* 15, the lights (*φῶτα*) are brought in during the drinking.

⁶⁸ For the absence of street lighting in early imperial Rome, see CARCOPINO (1940) 47-48, although lamps outside private entryways partially made up for it: see SPANO (1919).

⁶⁹ LUC. *Somn.* 22: ἀπαναστὰς περὶ δείλην ὁψίαν λουσάμενος, ἣν δοκῇ, σαπέρδην τινὰ ἢ μαινίδας ἢ χρομμύων κεφαλίδας ὀλίγας πριάμενος εὐφρατίνεις σεωυτὸν ἄδων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῇ βελτίστῃ Πενίᾳ προσφύλασσοφῶν, and LUC. *Nigr.* 34 for those who rule the cities taking baths at the agora in the middle of the day.

⁷⁰ For lunch at the traditional fifth hour, see AUGUST. *Ep.* 65, 1 (rural setting); AUGUST. *Serm.* 345, 5; and SID. APOLL. *Epist.* 2, 9, 6, the last two references from BILFINGER (1888) 125. It was at the sixth hour in the *Regula Mag.* 50, 56;

ideally before *prandium*.⁷¹ People began their *cena* shortly before evening, that is, somewhat later than in the Classical period, and the rich, at least, were assumed to dine by lamp or candle light.⁷² Despite a somewhat later dinner hour, bedtime remained early. Petrus Chrysologus, the bishop of the imperial headquarters of Ravenna in the first half of the 5th century, preached of “gentle sleep first pour[ing] itself on the bodies of those sleeping” in the first or second or third hour of the night.⁷³

In these western texts, the use of lamps outside of the house is associated more with people getting up extremely early during the long nights of winter rather than staying on the streets into the late evening. The bishop Maximus of Turin, preaching

“circa meridiem” in PAUL. NOL. *Epist.* 15, 4; “medio die” in AUGUST. *Loc. hept.* 1, 177; and “post prandium... meridianis horis” in *Vita Fulg.* 8, 24. People in late Roman Gaul appear to have taken two lunches – a “first” *prandium* and a later *prandium*: MARCELL. *Med.* 20, 89; 26, 35; and AUSON. *Epist.* 7, 2.

⁷¹ PETR. CHRYS. *Serm.* 7, 53-54 (5th century, Ravenna) connects unguent and bathing with the “habitu prandentis”; CASSIOD. *Var.* 8, 31, when describing the pleasures of urban life, places “to go to the baths with acquaintances” right before “to put on banquets (*prandia*) in competitive splendor”; SID. APOLL. *Carm.* 23, 436 (in reference to the hospitality of Consentius of Narbonne at his villa, in the 460’s CE) describes baths being taken in the late morning before a meal. However, ZENO *Tract.* 2, 4, 94-95 appears to put bathing and dressing between lunch and dinner (*gulae labore culta, lauacro nitida, unguentis oblita, uestitu uaria, monilibus tota distincta, conuiuorum celebritate iucunda, uino madida*) and in SID. APOLL. *Epist.* 2, 9, 8, the (outdoor) bath was between lunch and dinner, although certainly while it was still day.

⁷² In SULP. SEV. *Dial.* 1, 13, 5 (in a village in the Libyan desert), *cena* had already ended before it became evening, but in SULP. SEV. *Dial.* 3, 17, 1, the learned participants in a discussion only went to *cena* when evening came. MACROB. *Sat.* 1, 15 (LCL 510: 18-19) is similar. In MAX. TAUR. 30, 2, the residents of Turin were finishing their *cena* and drink in the *vespertinis ... horis*. PETR. CHRYS. *Serm.* 174, 5 associates *cena* with evening and shadows. Lighting at the table during dinner is found in PETR. CHRYS. *Serm.* 26, 119: *Pone aduenienti sellam tuam, pone mensam tuam, candelabrum, lucernam* and ORIENT. *Comm.* 25, 129 (Gaul, first half of 5th century), where the candle flame shines on noble tables.

⁷³ PETR. CHRYS. *Serm.* 39, 47: *Quasi non et prima et secunda et tertia hora noctis, cum se sopor blandus dormientibus primum fundit in corpora, et uisceribus diurno labore fessis dulcis ac totus inlabitur, molesta et aspera sit inquietantis improbitas.*

during Christmastide in the first half of the 5th century, refers to people using a lamp before dawn for practical purposes.⁷⁴ The senator Symmachus, in a rare reference to lights in a public space in Rome, describes the Senate meeting during the night just before dawn on January 1, with the lights (*lumina*) lit, in order to hear the traditional New Year's letter from the emperor Gratian.⁷⁵

Those who pushed their hours too late into the night were considered dissolute and luxurious. Augustine satirizes a Manichaean who while avoiding meat and wine, consumes a well seasoned vegetarian lunch at the “ninth hour” of the day and then has dinner and a complex sweetened fruit drink (in place of wine) at night (*noctis principio*).⁷⁶ All told, these Latin texts do not suggest a dramatic shift towards later hours.

The timing of everyday activities in eastern Mediterranean sources from the same period is quite a different story. Urban dwellers, at least, were strolling, bathing, and dining later in the day than had been the norm in early imperial authors (this paper makes no attempt to compare the Classical Greek or Hellenistic period).

Lunch (*ariston*) and the siesta that often followed it had moved into the slot once occupied by *deipnon* in the late afternoon. In Libanius's Antioch, the governors were finishing their lunch (*ariston*) in the afternoon (δεῖλη) when petitioners began to show up and prevent them from taking their post-prandial

⁷⁴ MAX. TAUR. 62, 3: “Nevertheless, on account of the necessary needs of people when it is still before light, a lamp is accustomed to come before this sun of the world, before it dawns” / *Tamen istum mundi solem priusquam oriatur adhuc ante lucem propter necessarios usus hominum solet lucerna praecedere.*

⁷⁵ SYMM. *Epist.* 1, 13, 2 (376 CE): *Frequens senatus mature in curiam ueneramus, priusquam manifestus dies creperum noctis absoluueret ... luminibus accensis noui saeculi fata recitantur.*

⁷⁶ AUGUST. *Mor. Manich.* 2, 13, 29. Compare Augustine teasing his congregation for being impatient if his sermons go on too long, when their *prandia* — to which they hasten — can last until evening: AUGUST. *Serm.* 264 (PL 38: 1212).

siesta.⁷⁷ The petitioners then stayed with them until “evening and the lamps”, which was not far off.⁷⁸ The patristic sources allow us to pinpoint this afternoon lunch / siesta time as around the ninth hour.⁷⁹ When commenting on a verse in Acts about the apostles Peter and John being in the temple “around the ninth hour”, Chrysostom explained: “Around the ninth hour. At a time when other men are sleeping off their lunch (*ariston*) and drink with a deep sleep, these men are alert and awake”.⁸⁰ This afternoon siesta that followed lunch often didn’t end until dusk was approaching: “but after you have had lunch and slept, when you head out to the market-place, and see the day already pressing on towards evening, come to this church”.⁸¹ We seem to be on the way towards the traditional ‘double-day’ schedule of portions of Egypt or Greece in more recent times, where people take a break in the afternoon for a substantial lunch and siesta before returning to the public sphere around dusk.⁸²

Baths were now frequently taken in the evening, and not just by people like Lucian’s humble cobbler. Libanius and his associates, after strolling (or riding) around the city in the late afternoon dusk, generally bathed when it got dark.⁸³ John

⁷⁷ LIB. *Or.* 51, 4 (388 CE). For this being in the δεῖλη, see LIB. *Or.* 52, 4, on the same subject (οἱ δὲ δεῖλης ἐμπιπλάντες τὴν καταγωγήν).

⁷⁸ LIB. *Or.* 51, 5: ἐσπέρα καὶ λύχνος, καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπέρχονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ λουτρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῖς, ὡσεὶ ἐκείνοις μηδὲ πρᾶξαι τι τῶν ἀναγκαῖων ἐνεῖναι.

⁷⁹ VAN DE PAVERD (1991) 167, 170, 180-182.

⁸⁰ CHRYS. *Act. hom.* 2, 4 (PG 51: 84), preached in Antioch according to MAYER (2005) 174, 291 and 368. Other examples of a late lunch occur in CHRYS. *Compunct. Dem.* 1, 9 (PG 47: 408) and *In John* 18, 2 (PG 59: 116) (on John the Baptist preaching at the tenth hour of the day without thinking it untimely, since he, unlike them, hadn’t just eaten).

⁸¹ CHRYS. *De Anna serm.* 1, 1 (PG 54: 633). Reference from VAN DE PAVERD (1991) 177. This sermon was probably preached the Monday before Ascension in Antioch in 387 and therefore during the relatively long days of early May: see MAYER (2005) 90-91.

⁸² BRUNT / STEGER (2004) 17; WORTHMAN / BROWN (2013); LEE *et al.* (2007).

⁸³ LIB. *Or.* 1, 259: when leaving the baths in the evening, Libanius was almost trampled by the horses waiting in the colonnades; LIB. *Epist.* 364, 3: evening called an acquaintance to the baths, though he was detained by the pleasure of conversation; LIB. *Epist.* 1458, 1: Libanius recollects an evening

Chrysostom similarly assumes that men would bathe in the evening after leaving the market-place and before going home for dinner.⁸⁴ The governor's baths were particularly popular in the evening, as an avenue for asking for favors.⁸⁵ Evening bathing may be one possible reason for the growing Late Antique popularity of semi-private baths attached to luxury residences, since these smaller baths would have been significantly easier to light at night.⁸⁶

Shopping was also becoming an evening activity. When trying to dissuade celibates from living with virgins, Chrysostom warned them that they would end up spending their evening, without dinner, in the workshops, purchasing the perfume, linens, tents, and various other items that the virgins would need.⁸⁷ In another sermon, he mentioned that, in Antioch, you could pass time in the market-place (*agora*) until very late in the evening "in complete fearlessness", a likely allusion to the greater sense of safety brought by the public lights.⁸⁸ In Constantinople during the time of the historian Priscus, even a woman might do her shopping in the evening by lamplight, although not always with positive results, as will be discussed below.⁸⁹

bath and dinner in Athens; LIB. *Or.* 7, 3: beggars stood in front of baths in the evening when the rich bathers were leaving by torchlight; LIB. *Or.* 56, 17: the deposed governor Lucianus set out to bathe in the evening, but ended up partying (*ἐκώμαζον*) with some of his supporters with torches quenched.

⁸⁴ CHRYS. *In 1 Cor. hom.* 11, 5 (PG 61: 94); CHRYS. *In Matt. hom.* 51, 4 (PG 58: 515) (followed by dinner); CHRYS. *In epistulam In 2 Tim. hom.* 6, 4 (PG 62: 635) (followed by church).

⁸⁵ LIB. *Or.* 51, 5: ἐσπέρα καὶ λύχνος, καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπέρχονται. ἀλλὰ καὶ λουτρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῖς and LIB. *Or.* 51, 9 for the *balaneia* of the governors. LIB. *Or.* 52, 7 narrates a specific instance.

⁸⁶ See MARÉCHAL (2015) and MARÉCHAL (2016) for the growing popularity of this sort of bath.

⁸⁷ CHRYS. *C. eos qui subintr.* 10, 1-13, ed. DUMORTIER, 79. CHRYS. *De Phoca* 1, 4 (PG 50: 706), preached in Constantinople, similarly presumes that men would be shopping for their household and wives right before they return home for dinner.

⁸⁸ CHRYS. *De stat.* 17, 3 (PG 49: 179).

⁸⁹ PRISCUS, Fr. 75* (from EVAGRIUS, *HE* 2, 13), ed. CAROLLA (2008), 103 (among the dubia).

In these eastern Mediterranean cities, the second meal of the day, *deipnon*, was now clearly an evening or even a night meal. Dinner started in the evening not only in the writings of Libanius, whose social circles were hardly typical,⁹⁰ but in a variety of authors ranging from the 4th-century novelist, Heliodorus of Emesa,⁹¹ to the 5th-century epic poet, Nonnus of Panopolis,⁹² to Christian sermon writers and exegetes such as John Chrysostom,⁹³ Cyril of Alexandria,⁹⁴ and Theodore of Cyrrhus. To give one example from Theodore, the bishop

⁹⁰ LIB. *Epist.* 1458, 1 (with reference to his student days in Athens): καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀνεμήσθην εὐδαιμονίας, ὃς ἐπέβην τῶν Θησέως Ἀθηνῶν, ὃς ἐσπέρα τότε ἦν, τοῦ λουτροῦ, τοῦ δεῖπνου; LIB. *Or.* 7, 3: λελουμένοι τινὲς σοβιῦντες ἤσταν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ δεῖπνα; LIB. *Epist.* 1113, 1-3 for an evening *deipnon* with the governor of Syria; LIB. *Or.* 45, 21 for a criticism of governors who attend shows into the night and then talk about them while having *deipnon*.

⁹¹ Heliodorus, a Hellene from the Syrian city of Emesa, probably between 350 and 376, consistently puts dinners in the evenings: for example, HLD. *Aeth.* 7, 11, 3: the priest Kalasiris, returning home, gives big banquet (εὐωχία) κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν; *Aeth.* 1, 7, 2-3: robbers arrive at sunset at their quarters, and, after conversing for a while, have their *deipnon*; *Aeth.* 1, 10, 2: the father of the family, ἐσπέρας γενομένης, goes to a festive drinking party at the townhall and spends the night there; and *Aeth.* 5, 27, 7 travellers disembark in late afternoon, send people to market to get supplies, and then (*Aeth.* 5, 28, 1) begin to prepare a banquet (εὐωχία) that lasts into the night. For the date of Heliodorus, see FUTRE PINHEIRO (2014) 76-77.

⁹² NONNUS, *Dion.* 3, 51-52: sailors after disembarking at sunset, have their evening meal (ἐσπερίην δεῖπνα); 6, 25-36 an evening meal (δεῖπνον) for Demeter; 26, 357: Deriades hosts the leaders of giant host for ἐσπερα δεῖπνα. Nonnus uses the same term “evening *deipnon*” in his Christian epic, with reference to the Last Supper: NONNUS, *Paraphrasis sancti euangelii Ioannei*, Demonstratio 13, 7: ἐσπερίου δὲ δεῖπνου γινομένοι.

⁹³ In addition to those below, CHRYS. *In Gen. serm.* 6, 4 (PG 54: 603); CHRYS. *De Paenitentia* 3, 4 (PG 49: 296); CHRYS. *De prod. Iud. hom.* 1, 4 (PG 49: 378); and CHRYS. *Compunct. Dem.* 1, 9 (PG 47: 408) for pleasure-lovers stretching their dinners (*deipna*) until midnight.

⁹⁴ CYRIL, *Festal Homily* 5, 2 (SC 372: 286-288), discussed below. CYRIL, *Commentarii in Lucam in catenae* (PG 72: 789, 3-9), also makes it clear that for him, *deipnon* was an evening meal. When commenting on Luke 14:16 (“Αὐτῷ πότες τις ἐποίει δεῖπνον μέγα), he asks why the man gave a big *deipnon* instead of *ariston* (the more common choice for a festive meal in his time). His answer was typically eschatological. It was *deipnon* because Christ was sent late in the world, in the evening and under lamps, which is also when lambs were to sacrificed by Jewish law.

of a small city in northern Syria, who was himself a native of Antioch: two holy men were visiting Antioch, and were invited over for a meal by a woman who had met them in church. Well before the table was set before them, it had already become “evening and dark” (*έσπέρας οὔσης καὶ σκότους*), so dark that the woman’s small son fell into a well while she was supervising the preparations for their meal. Later when he discerned the mishap (which she, in her hospitality, had tried to conceal), one of the holy men left his dinner and ordered lights (*φῶτα*) to be provided. He found the boy sitting unharmed on the surface of the water.⁹⁵

As suggested by this story, the lighting that was needed in earlier authors to get home after dinner was now desirable to get to dinner, as well as to light up the house, both inside and out, during the preparation for the meal. As Libanius describes in *Oration 7*, people “in the evening” (*έσπέρας*) proceeded by torchlight (*ὑπὸ λαμπάδων*) from the bathhouses to their luxurious *deipna*, while the ragged beggars in front of the baths asked for bread or a coin.⁹⁶ (This was during the long nights of winter). Cyril of Alexandria, writing in the spring of 414, describes much the same thing: those going from the decorated public spaces to their even brighter dining tables, “arm themselves with torches against the darkness of the night, and they do not submit their home to the blackening evening. Instead, by festooning their dwelling with lamps, they drive out the gloom from the darkness with sparklings there”.⁹⁷ In John Chrysostom’s sermons, people lit their portable lamps in the agora before returning home, being careful not to dally and

⁹⁵ THEODORET. *Philotheus* 2, 17 (SC 234: 234-236), although dinner may have been especially late because the holy men had only just arrived in town.

⁹⁶ LIB. *Or. 7*, 3.

⁹⁷ CYRIL, *Festal Homily 5*, 2 (SC 372: 286-288): Δῆδας ἐκεῖνοι τῷ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνθοπλίζουσι σκότῳ, καὶ μελαινούσης τῆς ἑσπέρας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑστίαν οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ὅλον δὲ λύγνοις τὸ δωμάτιον καταστέψαντες, ταῖς ἐντεῦθεν μαρμαρυγαῖς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότου κατήφειαν ἔξελαύνουσιν. For the date of these festal homilies, aimed at Cyril’s clerics, see McGUCKIN (2003) 223.

use up all the oil before reaching the house.⁹⁸ Then the lamps at home were also lit up.⁹⁹ The public street lighting should not be seen in isolation, but as part of this broader network of lighting that stretched from the streets, to people's hands, to their homes.

And here we find one reason why governors may have wanted to provide street lighting that went beyond the torches people carried for themselves: to make the streets safer. Moving around in the dark in these continually refurbished cities was itself dangerous. Cyril's sermons are full of the dangers of walking the streets without a light at night — not because you might be seen as up to no good (as in Maximus of Turin), but because you might stumble into a hole.¹⁰⁰ Yet the lamps could themselves pose a danger. Priscus narrated a particularly unfortunate shopping trip by a working woman, who visited a store around the "hours of the lamps" in Constantinople. She was herself carrying a lamp, and by setting it down carelessly (or, as rumor reported, malevolently), ended up setting a large portion of Constantinople on fire. The "little basket" torches helped contain the lighted lamps to some extent. Nonnus describes portable lamps nestled in spherical basket carriers, shooting rays of light through the basket like stars, which suggests he is thinking of *kandēlai*.¹⁰¹ Sidewalk and shop lighting were an even better solution, for they could eliminate the need for a

⁹⁸ CHRYS. *De sanct. mart.* 4 (PG 50: 652).

⁹⁹ CHRYS. *De sanct. mart.* 4 (PG 50: 652). See also CHRYS. *In 1 Cor. hom.* 11, 5 (PG 61: 94): "when you recline on a couch, with a bright light around your house and an abundant table prepared, then remember that miserable and unhappy man, who is wandering the alleys just like the dogs, in darkness and mud".

¹⁰⁰ CYRIL, *Commentarius in xii prophetas minores* (PUSEY 1: 667) alludes to someone walking around in the dark (ἐν σκότῳ περιπατεῖν), refusing a lamp and then falling into a large hole; in CYRIL, *Commentarii in Ioannem* (PUSEY 3: 17), people in the evening use lights and torches (φανόντες δὲ καὶ δάχτυλοις) to prevent common misfortunes such as tripping in the dark and falling into pits.

¹⁰¹ NONNUS, *Paraphrasis sancti euangeli Ioannei*, Demonstratio 18, 18-24. The context is the torch carried by Judas and those accompanying him when arresting Jesus at night.

torch altogether. A late version of the Greek-Latin Hermeumata, with lots of 4th or 5th-century vocabulary (including a reference to a portable *kandēla* after dinner), suggests walking to the baths through the colonnades (*stoa*) “because of the light (*lumen*)”, possibly an allusion to public lighting.¹⁰²

However, we still haven’t answered the question of why people were keeping these later hours, in the face of the serious inconvenience of engaging in practical activities in the dark. The beginning of an answer may be found in the ways authors react to the more traditional hours.

Libanius associates the traditional early hours with the lazy or unemployed. He makes fun of the parasite who, not having any business of his own to do, encourages his patron to leave the agora and take an early *ariston*. Afterwards, he has his siesta and dreams of more food. In the afternoon, he quickly bathes so that he will be in good time for dinner. This meal ends towards evening and is immediately followed by sleep.¹⁰³ Some of his own students behaved this way, issuing secret invitations to one another during his lectures about visiting the baths even before lunch: “for some people really do waste money on such things”.¹⁰⁴ Libanius, when taking a break from his school duties because of illness, was himself spotted at the baths around of midday (*mesembria*) “for the illness in my head makes this my practice”. The point of his letter was to refute any idea that he was enjoying leisure (*scholē*); the demands on his time were just as onerous as ever.¹⁰⁵ Keeping early hours was something to apologize for; they suggested you may not be sufficiently devoted to work.

¹⁰² *Hermen. Monac. coll.* 10e, ed. DICKEY (2012) 122: *Hinc uis per porticum, propter lumen?* The Greek portion, which would have been aimed at the Latin speakers learning Greek, has “rain” instead of *lumen*. See DICKEY (2012) 95 for the late vocabulary in this colloquium and *Hermen. Monac. coll.* 11s for *kandēla* (used here to mean portable lamp).

¹⁰³ LIB. *Decl.* 29, 1, 16-17.

¹⁰⁴ LIB. *Or.* 3, 14: νῦν δ' ἐπὶ λουτρὸν κλήσει τὸ πρὸ ἀρίστου, δαπανῶνται γάρ δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά τινες.

¹⁰⁵ LIB. *Epist.* 650, 3 (361 CE).

Cyril of Alexandria appears to have been defending Jesus against a similar impression of laziness when trying to explain to his audience why Jesus was described in the Gospels as resting at a well at the sixth hour of the day. He can easily “refute the charge of luxury” ($\tauὴν ἐπὶ τρυφαῖς αἰτίαν$) since this was the hottest, therefore the most suitable time of the day, especially for one travelling.¹⁰⁶ In another of his sermons, even the 10th hour of the day was not an appropriate time for rest for the truly diligent. He holds up the example of the apostles, who are found staying in a house with Jesus at the tenth hour of the day. They were not in any way resting, but rather served as an example of scholarly toil: “The disciples were assiduously being instructed in the knowledge of the divine mysteries: for I do not think it right for those desirous of knowledge to have an easily sated disposition, but rather a toil-loving one”.¹⁰⁷ A toil-loving disposition ($\deltaιάνοιαν φιλοπονωτάτην$) was now desired in the highest echelons of late imperial society, including in the Christian academic circles of Alexandria that Cyril was a leader of. It was demonstrated by spending the day and often part of the evening in work.

In Late Antiquity, the powerful and respectable, not merely the humble artisans or slaves, were expected to be working late in the day, and by doing so, pushed their daily necessities into the public spaces after dark. Libanius wrote to the emperor Julian about officials who had used to bathe and rest before the middle of the day. Under a strict new governor, they now toiled the whole day — and some of the night — before the governor’s doors.¹⁰⁸ Libanius approved. The governors themselves worked nights: “evening not uncommonly finds them in

¹⁰⁶ CYRIL, *Commentarii in Ioannem* (PUSEY 1: 266).

¹⁰⁷ CYRIL, *Commentarii in Ioannem* (PUSEY 1: 195): Εὔπαρέδρως οἱ μαθηταὶ τὴν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἐπαιδεύοντο γνῶσιν· οὐ γάρ οἶμαι πρέπειν ἀψίκορον τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἐνυπάρχειν διάνοιαν, φιλοπονωτάτην δὲ μᾶλλον.

¹⁰⁸ LIB. *Epist. 811, 2* (363 CE): οἱ γάρ δὴ πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἔκεινοι λελουμένοι καὶ κοιμάμενοι Λακωνικοὶ τινες γεγένηται τοὺς τρόπους καὶ καρτερικοί, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμέρα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐκ ὀλίγον πονοῦσιν ὥσπερ προσηλωμένοι ταῖς Ἀλεξανδρου θύραις.

court, and the verdict which takes away their dinner still doesn't end the case".¹⁰⁹ In his *Declamation on Servitude*, Libanius asserts that even the governors are servants now: "the night drives the governors to the law court, with the complete neglect of baths and dinner ... and bearing the want of sleep on his eyelids".¹¹⁰ Of course he is exaggerating here; the governors did not in fact skip their baths or dinner because the nocturnal hours of their courts. What they did was facilitate the transformation of the world around them so that it would conform to their own and their associates' later hours.

The proliferation of glass lamps in the 4th and 5th centuries, of which street lighting was only the tip of the iceberg, is not simply an interesting change in lighting technology. It represents a transformation of people's daily hours, at least in the eastern Mediterranean. Routine activities such as bathing, dining, and shopping that had previously been done during the day were being pushed back into the evening or even the night. This meant there was a greater need for lighting in all sorts of contexts, bringing about change in both lighting technology (glass lamps) and people's habits. City officials and imperial governors were willing to accommodate these changes by attempting to institute street lighting, because they were themselves part of what was driving hours later. We are perhaps seeing the temporal implications of the new imperial service aristocracy of the late Roman Empire.

What does this mean for the history of the night in antiquity? The nights were becoming busier, more pressured, more like part of the day. This last frontier of leisure was being eroded as people attempted with their inadequate, expensive,

¹⁰⁹ LIB. *Or.* 45, 18.

¹¹⁰ LIB. *Decl.* 25, 43: Φαίη δὲ ὁ βουλεύων ὑβρίσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, εἰ πόλεως τε προστατεύων λαμπράς τε ἐνδυόμενος ἐσθῆτας ἔπειτα ἐν δούλοις τάττοιτο. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐβουλόμην <διν> εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, αὐτὸς δέ με ἔτερα διδάσκει πυνθανόμενος μέν, εἰ ή νῦν ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἔξει τοὺς ἄρχοντας, λοιπῶν δὲ καὶ δείπνων τὸ μὲν ὅλως ἀπολλύς, τοῦ δὲ οὐχ ἵκανως μετέχων, καθεύδων τε οὐδὲ ὅσον ἔξεστιν ὑπὸ δέους φέρων τε ἐπὶ τῶν βλεφάρων τὴν τοῦ ὕπνου χρέιαν.

and fragile little lamps to engage in what they would have once only done during the clear light of day. It is easy to see this as something positive — a modernization — for we today use the night this way. Libanius perhaps had more insight when he compared it to slavery. The ancient night had its own beauties, its own enjoyments, which we hear about less, or at least less positively, in these Late Antique sources. Much of the distinctiveness, pleasure, and mystery of the night is lost when too much light is shed on it.

Works cited

- ABDELWAHED, Y. (2016), "Two Festivals of the God Serapis in Greek Papyri", *Rosetta* 18, 1-15.
- BARNARD, H. et al. (2015), "The Fourth-Century AD Expansion of the Graeco-Roman Settlement of Karanis (Kom Aushim) in the Northern Fayum", *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 101.1, 51-67.
- BILFINGER, G. (1888), *Die antiken Stundenangaben* (Stuttgart).
- BOURAS, L. / PARANI, M.G. (2008), *Lighting in Early Byzantium* (Cambridge, MA).
- BRUNT, L. / STEGER, B. (eds.) (2004), *Night-time and Sleep in Asia and the West. Exploring the Dark Side of Life* (New York).
- BUTTS, A.M. (2016), "Latin Words in Classical Syriac", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19(1), 123-192.
- CABANTOUS, A. (2009), *Histoire de la nuit. XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris).
- CARCOPINO, J. (1940), *Daily Life in Ancient Rome. The People and the City at the Height of the Empire* (New Haven).
- CAROLLA, P. (2008), *Priscus panita. Excerpta et fragmenta* (Berlin).
- COPLEY, M.S. et al. (2005), "Gas Chromatographic, Mass Spectrometric and Stable Carbon Isotopic Investigations of Organic Residues of Plant Oils and Animal Fats Employed as Illuminants in Archaeological Lamps from Egypt", *Analyst* 130.6, 860-871.
- CURINA, R. (1983), "Vetri", in M.G. BERMOND (ed.), *Ravenna e il porto di Classe. Venti anni di ricerche archeologiche tra Ravenna e Classe* (Bologna), 166-170.
- DEFELICE, J. (2007), "Inns and Taverns", in J.J. DOBBINS / P. FOSS (eds.), *The World of Pompeii* (London), 479-482.

- DE ROBERTIS, F. (1963), *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano* (Bari).
- DÉVAI, K. (2016), “Glass Vessels from Late Roman Times Found in Pannonia”, *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 67.2, 255-286.
- DEY, H. (2014), *The Afterlife of the Roman City. Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge).
- DICKEY, E. (2012), *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana. I, Colloquia Monacensis-Einsidlensis, Leidense-Stephani, and Stephani* (Cambridge).
- (2015), *The Colloquia of the Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana. II, Colloquium Harleianum, Colloquium Montepessulanum, Colloquium Celtis, and Fragments* (Cambridge).
- EKIRCH, R. (2005), *At Day's Close. Night in Times Past* (New York).
- ELLIS, S. (2007), “Shedding Light on Late Roman Housing”, in L. LAVAN / L. ÖZGENEL / A. SARANTI (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity* (Leiden), 283-302.
- FAGAN, G. (1999), *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor).
- FEISSEL, D. (1999), “Öffentliche Strassenbeleuchtung im spätantiken Ephesos”, in P. SCHERRER et. al. (eds.), *Steine und Wege. Für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna), 25-29.
- FOSS, C. (1979), *Ephesus after Antiquity. A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge).
- FOY, D. (2003), “Le verre en Tunisie: l'apport des fouilles récentes tuniso-françaises”, *Journal of Glass Studies* 45, 59-89.
- FRASER, P.M. (1951), “A Syriac Notitia Urbis Alexandrinae”, *JEA* 37.1, 103-108.
- FUTRE PINHEIRO, M.P. (2014), “Heliodorus, the Ethiopian Story”, in E.P. CUEVA / S.N. BYRNE (eds.), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* (Oxford), 76-94.
- GIVEN, J. (2014), *The Fragmentary History of Priscus. Attila, the Huns and the Roman Empire, AD 430-476* (Merchantville).
- HADAD, S. (1998), “Glass Lamps from the Byzantine through Mamluk Periods at Bet Shean, Israel”, *Journal of Glass Studies* 40, 63-76.
- HIGASHI, E.L. (1990), *Conical Glass Vessels from Karanis. Function and Meaning in a Pagan/Christian Context in Rural Egypt* (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan).
- JONES, A.H.M. / MARTINDALE, J.R. / MORRIS, J. (1971), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I* (Cambridge).
- KER, J. (2004). “Nocturnal Writers in Imperial Rome: The Culture of *lucubratio*”, *CPh* 99.3, 209-242.
- KIM, C. (1975), “The Papyrus Invitation”, *JBL* 94.3, 391-402.

- KIMPE, K. / JACOBS, P.A. / WAELKENS, M. (2001), "Analysis of Oil Used in Late Roman Oil Lamps with Different Mass Spectrometric Techniques Revealed the Presence of Predominantly Olive Oil Together with Traces of Animal Fat", *Journal of Chromatography A* 937.1, 87-95.
- KOSLOFSKY, C. (2011), *Evening's Empire. A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge).
- KUCHARZYK, R. (2007), "Late Roman/Early Byzantine Glass from the Auditoria on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria", *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 17, 45-53.
- (2011), "Glass from Area F on Kom el-Dikka (Alexandria) Excavations 2008", *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 20, 56-69.
- LANZILLOTTA, L.R. (2015), "A Syriac Original for the Acts of Thomas? The Hypothesis of Syriac Priority Revisited", in I. RAMELLI / J. PERKINS (eds.) *Early Christian and Jewish Narrative. The Role of Religion in Shaping Narrative Forms* (Tübingen), 105-133.
- LAPLACE, M. (1983), "Achilleus Tatios, Leucippe et Clitophon: P. Oxyrhynchos 1250", *ZPE* 53, 53-59.
- LAPP, E.C. (1999), "Καντίσκιον als Glaslampentypus in einem Papyrus des frühen 2. Jhs. n. Chr.", *ZPE* 127, 84-84.
- LAURENCE, R. (2007), *Roman Pompeii. Space and Society* (London).
- (2013), "Traffic and Land Transportation in and near Rome", in P. ERDKAMP (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome* (Cambridge), 246-261.
- LEE, K. *et al.* (2007), "Circadian Rhythms and Sleep Patterns in Urban Greek Couples", *Biological Research for Nursing* 9.1, 42-48.
- LIEBESCHUETZ, J.H.W.F. (2015), *East and West in Late Antiquity. Invasion, Settlement, Ethnogenesis and Conflicts of Religion* (Leiden).
- MARÉCHAL, S. (2015), "Lauacrum: Just Another Word for Baths? How the Terminology of Baths may have Reflected Changes in Bathing Habits", *RBPh* 93.1, 139-177.
- (2016), "Public and Private Bathing in Late Antique North Africa: Changing Habits in a Changing Society?", in M. MANDICH *et. al.* (eds.), *TRAC 2015. Proceedings of the 25th Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford), 125-140.
- MARTINDALE, J.R. (1980), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. II, 395-527 (Cambridge).
- MAYER, W. (2005), *Homilies of St John Chrysostom. Provenance, Reshaping the Foundations* (Rome).
- McGUCKIN, J.A. (2003), "Cyril of Alexandria: Bishop and Pastor," in T. WEINANDY (ed.), *The Theology of St. Cyril of Alexandria. A Critical Appreciation* (London), 205-236.

- MONTSERRAT, D. (1995), "Early Byzantine Church Lighting: A New Text", *Orientalia* 64.4, 430-444.
- MORRISON, G. (2012), "Romans, the Night and Martial", *Proceedings of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies* 33, 1-12.
- NEUBURGER, A. (1930), *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* (London).
- O'HEA, M. (2007), "Glass in Late Antiquity", in L. LAVAN / E. ZANINI / A. SARANTIS (eds.), *Technology in Transition A.D. 300-650* (Leiden), 233-248.
- OLCAY, B.Y. (2001), "Lighting Methods in the Byzantine Period and Findings of Glass Lamps in Anatolia", *Journal of Glass Studies* 43, 77-87.
- PODVIN, J.L. (2015), "La lumière dans les fêtes isiaques", *Revista Transilvania* 10, 35-42.
- RICHARDSON, N. (2015). *Prudentius' Hymns for Hours and Seasons. Liber Cathemerinon* (London).
- RUSSELL, J. (1982), "Byzantine Instrumenta Domestica from Anemurium: The Significance of Context" in R.L. HOHLFELDER (ed.), *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (Boulder), 133-163.
- SCHWARTZ, E. (1939), *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig).
- SCOBIE, A. (1986), "Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World", *Klio* 68.68, 399-433.
- SIMPSON, S.J. (2015), "Sasanian Glassware from Mesopotamia, Gilan, and the Caucasus", *Journal of Glass Studies* 57, 77-96.
- SPANO, G. (1919), *La illuminazione delle vie di Pompei* (Naples).
- STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP, E. (2005), *Das römische Gastmahl. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Munich).
- STERN, E.M. (2001), *Roman, Byzantine, and Early Medieval Glass, 10 BCE-700 CE. Ernesto Wolf Collection* (Ostfildern-Ruit).
- (2003), "Kaniska: Glass and Metal Openwork Lamps", in *Annales du 15^e Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* [New York/Corning 2001] (Nottingham), 98-101.
- SUSAK PITZER, A.P. (2015), *Exploring Value through Roman Glass from Karanis, Egypt* (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles).
- TONER, J. (1995), *Leisure and Ancient Rome* (Cambridge).
- UBOLDI, M. (1995), "Diffusione delle lampade vitree in età tardoantica e altomedievale e spunti per una tipologia", *Archeologia medievale* 22, 93-145.
- VAN DE PAVERD, F. (1991), *St. John Chrysostom, The Homilies on the Statues. An Introduction* (Rome).

- WEINBERG, G.D. (1988), *Excavations at Jalame. Site of a Glass Factory in Late Roman Palestine. Excavations Conducted by a Joint Expedition of the University of Missouri and the Corning Museum of Glass* (Columbia).
- WEINBERG, G. / STERN, E.M. (2010), *Vessel Glass. The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XXXIV* (Princeton).
- WHITEHOUSE, D. (1988), "A Recently Discovered Cage Cup", *Journal of Glass Studies* 30, 28-33.
- WILLIAMS, C.K. / ZERVOS, O.H. (1982), "Corinth, 1981: East of the Theater", *Hesperia* 51.2, 115-163.
- WORTHMAN, C. / BROWN, R. (2013), "Sleep Budgets in a Globalizing World: Biocultural Interactions Influence Sleep Sufficiency among Egyptian Families", *Social Science & Medicine* 79, 31-39.
- WRIGHT, W. (2003), *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite. Composed in Syriac A.D. 507, with a Translation into English and Notes* (Piscataway).
- XANTHOPOULOU, M. (2010), *Les lampes en bronze à l'époque paléochrétienne* (Turnhout).

DISCUSSION

F. Carlà-Uhink: Your paper has shown perfectly what you called the “colonization of the night” in the practice of Late Antique city life — and still, this change in practice does not seem to have changed very much the discourses about the night and the stereotypes to which they are connected. It may have even aided in the spreading of the ‘negative’ idea of the night in the Greek East, which we find earlier in Rome. Or would you see major changes occurring also in this field? Would you speak of a ‘Latinization’ of the Late Antique night?

L. Dossey: I do think a negative discourse about the night was created in the 4th century that accompanied this “colonization of the night” by the day. Whereas in the earlier period Greeks such as Plutarch regarded the pleasures of the night favorably, this is no longer the case by the late 4th century. Nighttime drinking, socializing, and sex had become evils to be avoided if possible. The night should be put to more productive use. There was also an increasingly diabolical view of the night sky. The moon, for instance, in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, is satanic. This is quite a contrast with the previously positive view of the moon, as discussed by Sarah Johnston’s *Hekate Soteira*. However, none of these changes in discourse and stereotypes were universal; they coexisted with more traditional views, especially in the Latin sources.

As for the question of Latinization or Romanization, this, I think, was probably happening sooner, in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE when Greeks began to enter into imperial service. I have noticed a difference in attitudes towards the night in Greek authors who are writing in Rome, a greater emphasis on the importance of the night as a time for rest, for instance. The

founding of the new capital Constantinople and the creation of an eastern Mediterranean imperial bureaucracy probably had more of an impact on the changes my paper was focusing on rather than continued Romanization.

F. Carlà-Uhink: The change in the nightlife that you presented is as in every form of cultural change, a process, and it is probably not monocausal. Still, I was wondering if we should not attribute more importance to the political, or rather, a ‘top-down’ model. I mean by this that as Late Antique law forbids a series of practices during the night, especially night sacrifices from the 4th century onwards, increased illumination might also be connected with a political desire to ‘control the night’. Of course, I do not want to say that this is the only, or even the main reason, but I think this resonates with a certain ‘obsession’ for safety and its connection with light that the sources you presented show...

L. Dossey: Yes, I would absolutely agree that there was a political desire to better control the night in the 4th century, especially on the part of governors. Streetlights were useful as a form of surveillance. I see this as part of the shift towards using the night for more practical, productive purposes and the stigmatization of time-wasting social and festive activities at night. As for the prohibition of night sacrifices, wouldn’t this be part of the gradual outlawing of ancient polytheism in general? A desire to suppress raucous night festivals, Christian as well as pagan, would fit better with what I was discussing.

A. Chaniotis: I do not have a question, only a few observations. This brilliant paper has illuminated very important aspects of the night in Late Antiquity. But when seen in connection with the other presentations of the last days it also shows the necessity to study phenomena such as the perceptions and the realities of the night in the *longue durée*, in order to be able to recognize continuities and changes. What your

paper also made clear, especially with the study of the contradictory references of Libanius to his ‘city that never sleeps’, his ‘cité des lumières’, is the necessity to contextualize the references to the night. It is important to examine what kind of sources refer to the night — legal texts, orations, etc. — and, more importantly, with what aim. Thanks to your paper we need to rethink social and geographical differentiations with regard to nightlife. Finally, I should stress the importance of sources such as amulets, phylacteries, and magical papyri both for practices (rituals) and perceptions of the night (its association with fearful events, ghosts, and demonic threats).

L. Dossey: Thank you for your observations. An analysis of how nighttime magic changes over time would be very interesting, especially one that took into account, as you suggest, remnants of actual use like curse tablets and papyri. Not all-nighttime magic is frightening or diabolical; gathering certain herbs by moonlight in Lucian, for instance, is just taking advantage of certain perceived effects of the night on plants. Certainly by the time of the Paris Magical Papyrus (early 4th-century Egypt?), night magic had become something quite disturbing. Your comment about geographical differentiations would be important, I think, for understanding nocturnal magic. Egypt with its weaker city governments and longer history of imperial control was not like Asia Minor or even Syria, and might be precocious in the appearance of a more frightening, demonic night.

I. Mylonopoulos: How can we explain the difference in the use of artificial light in public open spaces during the night between the Eastern and the Western part of the Roman Empire? You associated the rather intense use of artificial light in the East with a change in habits, work ethics, mentality, etc. Are we to presuppose a completely different mentality in the West?

L. Dossey: Well, yes, I think the Western Roman Empire did indeed have a different experience, especially after the

4th century. There may have been certain cities where artificial light in public open spaces was experimented with, for example, Carthage, Ravenna, or even Rome. It would be interesting to examine the archaeology in greater depth for the period around 400 CE. However, glass lamps came later to the West, and then in the 5th century, the western Roman economy went into freefall and the barbarians were invading. This was not a context for the sort of intensification of urban time use that my paper was examining, and the Latin sources appear to bear that out.

I. Mylonopoulos: A more detailed remark: Although I do believe that you are absolutely right about the intensity of the use of glass lamps in the East, I fail to see how the generic term φῶς used by Libanios in his *Or. 16, 41* can be seen as a clear reference to these kinds of glass lamps.

L. Dossey: No, it is not a clear reference to glass lamps at all; it is a vague reference to some sort of lighting. The only reason to think he meant glass lamps is that it fits the chronology of their appearance in the archaeology and the use of a term for glass lamp in the inscriptions about streetlighting from Ephesus. My point about Libanius was that he may have been intentionally vague because a new technology was being employed.

R. Schlesier: Was ist die Voraussetzung dafür, um allgemeine Schlussfolgerungen über stattgefundene Veränderungen aus den Quellen zu ziehen? Was ist wirklich neu, und was hängt allein vom jeweiligen situativen Kontext ab? Wie steht es um die Gleichzeitigkeit unterschiedlicher Bewertungen der Nacht?

L. Dossey: One thing I have tried to do is find a coincidence in time in different types of sources — for instance, the appearance of glass lamps in urban street contexts at the same time as street lamps are mentioned in our textual sources, or shifts in

the time for bathing or meals in both Christian and non-Christian authors. I would agree that just one example or context would tell us very little, but if we find changes in a variety of contexts and sources, we may have discovered something significant. The Christian patristic sermons have been understudied as an avenue for discerning the rhythms of daily life in Late Antiquity. When we compare them with better understood authors like Libanius, we see that Christians and pagans were in fact inhabiting the same world.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Peut-on évaluer l'impact du christianisme sur la manière dont ceux que Pierre Chuvin appelle “les derniers païens” ont envisagé les rites nocturnes?¹ On a souvent souligné l'intérêt des intellectuels comme Prætextat pour les cultes à mystères (par ex. *CIL VI* 1780 = *ILS* 1260) en invoquant l'argument de l'expérience émotionnelle, voire les espérances eschatologiques, qu'ils revêtaient. Mais en écoutant la communication de Leslie, je m'interroge sur la dimension nocturne de certains de ces rites et sur l'intérêt de ce cadre rituel pour affirmer une ‘spécificité’ polythéiste face au christianisme à la fin du IV^e siècle.

L. Dossey: The use of the night by the “last pagans” in Rome is not something that I have explored. Perhaps they were engaging in nocturnal mystery rites (and boasting of it) as a way differentiate themselves from the Christians. It may have also been their idea of traditionalism. Night ritual was already a very important part of these mystery religions in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (at least in the East), long before anyone would want to imitate the Christians, and included some of the specific cults mentioned in Prætextatus’s epitaph (Hekate, Cybele). What is interesting to me is that these Romans were embracing the sort of nocturnal mysteries that earlier Romans regarded with suspicion (as discussed by Filippo’s paper). I would see

¹ P. CHUVIN (1990), *Chronique des derniers païens* (Paris).

this as another sign that the time pressures placed on the night were easing in the Western Roman Empire at the very time that they were increasing in the East.

A. Chaniotis: The strong interest in mysteries in Late Antiquity cannot be separated from an interest in the night. It is noteworthy that an interest in the ‘metaphysical’ aspects of the night is suggested by epitaphs of Late Antique polytheists — for instance in Aphrodisias — that present death as a transformation into a star.

L. Dossey: I would say that a strong interest in nocturnal mysteries in Late Antiquity would fly in the face of the type of intensified practical use of the night that my paper focused one. This interest may have existed, but I would expect it to be contested. Many of the old nighttime pagan festivals were suppressed in the eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity — and all-night Christian vigils were sometimes attacked as well (for example, the fuss about the Messalians). However, I wonder if the belief that a virtuous dead person could transform into a star (which Plutarch also attests to) is really evidence of nocturnal mysteries. It is certainly a benign view of the luminaries that would go against the diabolical night sky of authors such as Cyril of Alexandria. There seems to have been a lot of disagreement in Late Antiquity about what the stars actually were. I should take a look at these epitaphs.

I. Mylonopoulos: I am very thankful to you because of the emphasis you placed on the different uses of the night by different social strata, the distinction between the night of pleasure and the night of *ponos*. This is probably more a question to myself than to you: The so-called Hellenistic genre sculpture showing peasants, workmen, fishermen and other members of the lower classes is something entirely new in Greek art, and it does attract the attention of the Romans, who seem to like copies of such works in their gardens. The people rendered in the so-called

genre sculpture have long been associated with the night, but art historians were always puzzled by the sudden interest of the members of the elite in these figures, an interest that must have been big enough so as to motivate them into paying for such a statue. I wonder whether the phenomenon you described, with members of the elite using more and more the night either for pleasure, or as part of an extension of their intellectual *ponos*, is not one of the reasons that made this kind of themes in sculpture more attractive, since it created the temporal framework for members of the upper class to come into contact with these ‘creatures of the night’ on a more socially acceptable level and probably sparked their interest in the lives of the working classes.

L. Dossey: This is an interesting idea — that encountering others who were laboring or otherwise miserable at night could promote a sort of interest in and empathy for the lower social classes. This could be compared to Libanius’s description of beggars outside the bathhouses at night that I mentioned in my paper. The beggars were certainly hoping for empathy from the rich patrons of the baths. Libanius must have been a disappointment to them.

The other possibility, of course, is that these depictions are similar to images of laboring African-Americans in the 19th and early 20th century southern United States. It gives the slaveholding and land-holding class pleasure to see the sources of their wealth toiling away.

F. Carlà-Uhink: Could you comment on the possible impact of Christianity in the developments that you described?

L. Dossey: If the question is whether I think Christianity brought the changes to the Late Antique night that my paper focused on, I would say no. One of my goals was to show that people’s use of nighttime was changing irrespective of religion, and that in the case of the glass lamps, the secular contexts were as early (if not earlier) than the Christian.

Although your paper provided some examples of Christian night ritual that I wasn't aware of (I was especially fascinated by the references to Christians meeting with the lights off), in my own research I have found more evidence for night ritual among the polytheists of the 1st through 3rd centuries CE than among the Christians. Angelos's paper confirms this impression. The Christians had their Easter night vigil, but not much else until the 4th century. (The predawn meetings mentioned by Pliny *Epist.* 10, 96 does not seem to me to be night ritual.) Perhaps the Christians were the ones trying to compete with the mystery cults.

K. De Temmerman: Are there also elements of continuity in addition to the elements of change that you have discussed?

L. Dossey: Yes, although I didn't emphasize them in this paper. There are signs that in the countryside, meal times remained earlier, closer to what you see in the earlier Roman Empire. Also, I would see certain kinds of Christian monasticism (the kind discussed by Daniel Caner, in his *Wandering, Begging Monks*) as a 'slow-time' reaction against the intensified practical use of the night. The monks were not, admittedly, reviving the more pleasurable aspects of the night such as sex and dancing. But they did (sometimes) promote singing all night in public spaces, holidays from work, an appreciation for the natural night sky, and lingering conversations over meals. And they got in trouble for it!

IX

FILIPPO CARLA-UHINK

NOCTURNAL RELIGIOUS RITES IN THE ROMAN RELIGION AND IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The meanings attributed to the hours between dusk and daylight have been, throughout the history of Western civilization, quite stable, as some central meanings attributed to the night show great continuity throughout the ages. On the one side, the night can be understood as a symbol of the primordial, original chaos from which the Universe originated,¹ a birth of the world repeated in small every day.² Next to this, the night appears as a moment of danger and fear, but also as a moment of revelation, in which something which is hidden to the senses can be grasped.³ What keeps together all these aspects is an image of the night as an interruption of the norm, as a suspension of what is ‘daily’ and ‘routine’. In this sense, the night is, already since Classical Antiquity, the polar opposite of the day, and thus the time for the subversion of norms and rules.⁴ Roman culture and society also perceived and understood the night mostly in the sense of a moment of danger and subversion, and it is the aim of this chapter to investigate Roman discourses and stereotypes of the night, with a particular attention to their application and repercussions in the religious sphere — and thus in the relationship with the Christian religion until the 4th century CE.

¹ See JANSEN (2015) 160-162; 165-169, also for non-Western similar readings of the night.

² BRONFEN (2008) 15.

³ EKIRCH (2005) 202-208; BRONFEN (2008) 167-168; FRIESE (2015) 13.

⁴ EKIRCH (2005) xxvi; BRONFEN (2008) 171-177.

1. Roman approaches to the night

The night, as a moment of darkness and secrecy, in which it is easier to do anything without being seen, was to the Romans frightening at least since the moment Roman sources become available.⁵ Saying that some meetings or some events had taken place “during the night” was an important strategy for immediately casting a strong suspicion upon someone, a device used repeatedly by Cicero to generate a sense of uncanniness around his opponents: for example, Rullus meets his allies in the night to develop the proposal for the agrarian law (*Leg. agr.* 2, 5, 12). The night is evoked numerous times at the beginning of the first Catilinarian speech (1, 1, 1): “Is it nothing to you that the Palatine has its garrison by night? [...] Who of us do you think is ignorant of what you did the last night, what you did the night before?”⁶ [...] “What point is there, Catiline, in your waiting any longer, if night cannot conceal your criminal assemblies in its shadows nor a private house contain the voices of your conspirators within its walls, if they all are in a blaze of light and exposed to view? Take my advice; abandon your scheme and forget your murder and arson. You are trapped on every side; all your plans are as clear as daylight to us” (1, 3, 6).⁷

The uncanniness of the night is also reflected in values, norms and laws, as early as the first sources available to us. In the *Twelve Tables* the sunset marks the end of all public proceedings and the suspension of everything that constitutes a

⁵ In general, on the night and on the difficulties of measuring it, as well as on its definition, in Roman sources, as a moment of inactivity and silence, see MUELLER (2004b) 125-128. On the problem of the validity of juridical activity by night, see also CARBONNIER (1959).

⁶ All translations from the Loeb Classical Library, unless otherwise indicated. In the night Catilina goes to Laeca’s home (1, 4, 8; 2, 6, 13), in the night move the Allobrogi (3, 2, 5-6), etc.

⁷ *Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius exspectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus nefarios nec priuata domus parietibus continere uoces coniurationis tuae potest, si inlustrantur, si erumpunt omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mibi crede; obliuiscere caedis atque incendiorum. Teneris undique; luce sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia.*

civilized life (1, 9)⁸ — Cicero will say that there is a time to act and a time to rest (*Nat. deor.* 2, 132). Crimes committed in the night are particularly horrible: anyone who is caught while committing a theft by night can be lawfully killed (8, 12), while he who is caught committing a theft by day is scourged and given as a slave to the person against whom the theft was committed (8, 13-14).⁹ It might be that the thief encountered in one's own house at night was considered more dangerous (as less recognizable), but still the main idea is that the night is more dangerous than the day. The same applies to people destroying, cutting or appropriating crops: if they are an adult and act by night, they will be hung, as a sacrifice to Ceres (8, 9). Here the indication “by night” is accompanied by the indication “secretly”. Indeed, in Roman mentality, moving in the night, and thus in darkness, automatically implies secretiveness and the desire not to be seen. The danger posed by the nocturnal thief is also foremost in Livy’s representation of the decemvir Appius Claudius’ downfall, forced to lie in chains among the night thieves and the brigands (*inter fures nocturnos et latrones*), apparently the two worst categories of people with whom one could share bread (3, 58, 2).

The *Twelve Tables* also forbade organizing nocturnal assemblies in Rome — something which is punished with death (8, 26),¹⁰ as later confirmed by a *lex Gabinia* of unknown dating.¹¹ Indeed, there is an almost automatic connection between gatherings in the night and political conspiracy, which appears as a staple of Roman historiography, not only in reference to Catiline: Livy writes for instance, about the year 494 BCE, that

⁸ *Solis occasus suprema tempestas esto.* See CARBONNIER (1959) 346.

⁹ See MUELLER (2004a) 81 and (2004b) 132: that crimes committed in the night could be considered worse than the same crimes committed in the day is a feature which sometimes survives in Roman law until Late Antiquity. On the connection between nighttime and crime in European early modern mentality, see EKIRCH (2005) 31-47.

¹⁰ See KIPPENBERG (1997) 153-154.

¹¹ LATR. *Decl. in Cat.* 19. SEN. *Decl.* 3, 8 also defines such meetings as capital crime.

the *plebs* “held nightly gatherings, some on the Esquiline and others on the Aventine, lest if they met in the Forum they might be frightened into adopting ill-considered measures [...]. This seemed to the consuls, as indeed it was, a mischievous practice” (2, 28, 1-2);¹² later, when Appius Claudius tries to take Virginia, he uses as an argument that he knows “that all through the night meetings had been held in the City to promote sedition” (3, 48, 1).

The prohibition of night assemblies (and the suspicion against them) applied also to religious meetings, when they implied nightly gatherings of numerous groups:¹³ they were considered as an occasion for immoral practices, connected to cults generally described as foreign and corrupting the Roman *mores*. The temples are closed at night, and the magistrates conclude their duties before sunset. There were a few exceptions: some Roman rites did take place in the night, but in highly controlled situations, generally characterized by a high sense of liminality (as in getting the *auspicia* that would legitimate the decisions taken the next day)¹⁴ and of subversion of the ‘normal’ order. The night did not belong to the gods, but rather to the spirits of the dead, the *manes*;¹⁵ in the night are celebrated the *Lemuria*, rites and sacrifices appeasing the spirits of the dead.¹⁶

The most famous traditional cult with night meetings is the one of Bona Dea. The most important rites in honor of the goddess were held during a night of December in the house of a high Roman magistrate, presided by his wife or mother;¹⁷ the presence of men was strictly forbidden and considered a

¹² The episode is correctly highlighted in its relation to the night by MUELLER (2004a) 82-84.

¹³ PERRI (2005) 70-71.

¹⁴ MUELLER (2004b) 224; MUELLER (2011) 236.

¹⁵ MUELLER (2011) 238-241. Julian still argues thus when imposing that funerals take place only in the night: JUL. *Ep.* 136b; *CTh* 9, 15, 7. See MUELLER (2004b) 134-137.

¹⁶ OV. *Fast.* 5, 429-444. See BECKER (2013) 572-573.

¹⁷ PLUT. *Caes.* 9.

desecration.¹⁸ While there is a big debate about the specific meaning of these rites, it is generally accepted that, in broad terms, they represent an initiation for Roman women, in a complete suspension of the regular social order (as the women are not ‘controlled’ in this occasion).¹⁹ During the celebration, abundant wine was drunk,²⁰ which was otherwise forbidden to women and even punishable with death.²¹ The very character of one of the most important official cults of the Roman *res publica* explains therefore why a part of it took place in the night, to highlight its exceptionality,²² and therefore does not contradict the general Roman ‘opposition’ to night cults.

Cicero constitutes again an important testimony. As a keen adept of Bona Dea,²³ he expressed his clear disdain for all other religious rites celebrated at night. In the *Laws*, after having defined the difference between the natural law and the written laws, he highlights that, given the divine origin of law, religious belief must be the cornerstone in defining what law is, and proposing in a very short form the ‘titles’ of ideal *leges de religione*. One of them is explicitly dedicated to night rituals celebrated by women: “no sacrifices shall be performed by women at night except those offered for the people in proper form; nor shall anyone be initiated except into the Greek rites of Ceres, according to the custom” (2, 21). The legitimate nocturnal rites for Roman women are those for Bona Dea, and the prohibition refers mostly to Bacchic rites. Already in 206 BCE Plautus used the name Nocturnus to identify a god,²⁴ most

¹⁸ Famously, Clodius cross-dressed to access them, generating a huge scandal: PLUT. *Caes.* 9-10.

¹⁹ See BROUWER (1989) 359-370.

²⁰ IUV. 9, 115-117; ARN. *Adv. nat.* 1, 36; 5, 18; LACT. *Div. inst.* 1, 22; MACR. *Sat.* 1, 12, 25. See PICCALUGA (1964) 202-217; BROUWER (1989) 330-336.

²¹ DION. HAL. *Ant. Rom.* 2, 25, 6. Cf. VAL. MAX. 6, 3, 9; GELL. 10, 23, 5.

²² PICCALUGA (1964) 226-231. But other rites for Bona Dea, as the May rites, took place during the day.

²³ BROUWER (1989) 262-265.

²⁴ PLAUT. *Amph.* 272.

probably Dionysus/Bacchus/Liber Pater.²⁵ Bacchus Nyctelius, whose rites took place in the night, is mentioned by Ovid in a passage of the *Ars Amatoria* (1, 565-568) that connects him with sexual “freedom” and with wine consumption: “Therefore when the bounty of Bacchus set before you falls to your lot, and a woman shares your convivial couch, beseech the Nyktelian sire and the spirits of the night that they bid not the wines to hurt your head”.²⁶ As Servius confirms (*Aen.* 4, 303), the *Nyktelia* were forbidden in Rome — as they were probably identified with the Bacchanalia that were repressed in 186 BCE.²⁷

Cicero admits that this imaginary legislation is very strongly inspired by traditional Roman religion — or what the Romans of his time believed to be such,²⁸ and proceeds to some more detailed explanations about women’s religious rites in the night. As Cicero is trying to delineate the perfect laws in general, he must consider the religious habits of other peoples. As Atticus answers that exceptions, as for Bona Dea, could be made for the mysteries to which he and Cicero have been initiated, the latter agrees, as the (Eleusinian) mysteries have greatly contributed to civilization. But, still,

“the ground of my general objection to nocturnal rites is indicated by the comic poets. For if such licence had been granted at Rome, what would that man have done, who, as it was, intruded his lustful designs into a ceremony so sacred that even an unintentional glance at it was a sin? [...] Assuredly we must make most careful provision that the reputation of our women be guarded by the clear light of the day, when they are observed by many eyes, and that initiations into the mysteries of Ceres be performed only with those rites which are in use in Rome. The strictness of our ancestors in matters of this character is shown by the ancient decree of the Senate with respect to the Bacchanalia [...]. And, that we may not perchance seem too

²⁵ STEWART (1960).

²⁶ See also PLUT. *Quaest. Rom.* 112 on the *Nyktelia*.

²⁷ PERRI (2005) 70-71 cannot be followed when he claims that the Ovidian passage is a demonstration that the *Nyktelia* were still practiced in Rome at his time.

²⁸ CIC. *Leg.* 2, 23.

severe, I may cite, the fact that in the very centre of Greece, by a law enacted by Diagondas of Thebes, all nocturnal rites were abolished forever;²⁹ and furthermore that Aristophanes, the wittiest poet of the Old Comedy, attacks strange gods and the nightly vigils which were part of their worship by representing Sabazius and certain other alien gods as brought to trial and banished from the State" (2, 35-37).

Mysteries characterized by high antiquity and importance (for Cicero easily recognizable: they are the ones he chose to join) are therefore allowed in the same way as the traditional Roman rites, while still clearly admitting their 'Greekness'. The judgment against women's nocturnal rites is still clear and motivated with the fear of the lack of control, the 'wildness', and therefore the immorality and indecency, connected with the night, as highlighted through the reference to comedy. Beyond Aristophanes (whose comedy mentioned here, probably the *Horai*, is lost), in the New Comedy and in the Latin one, night rites are an occasion for drunkenness and rape, as in Plautus' *Aulularia* (36; 689; 745; 795) or *Cistellaria* (156-159). Plautus might follow here his Greek models, but the special insistence, in the latter comedy, on the Greekness of the setting is relevant when associated to Cicero's idea of a difference, on this specific point, between the Greeks and the Romans. But in the *Amphitruo*, revealing a more "Roman" attitude, Sosia complains that he has to walk around in the night, in spite of its dangers, and hopes he will not be arrested by the very Roman magistrates, the *tresuiri capitales* (153-155);³⁰ in the *Stichus*, the

²⁹ KNOEPFLER (2000) 345-351 has suggested to correct the Diagondas of the manuscripts, which is indeed onomastically difficult to accept, in Daitondas, and to identify him with a boeotarch attested in the 360s, thus dating the law to the same years. In his opinion, the Romans would have known this law when they dealt with the Bacchanalia and it would have inspired their decisions on that occasion.

³⁰ See CASCIONE (1999) 127-129. The *tresuiri capitales* probably represent a later evolution of the *tresuiri nocturni*, who might have been in charge of the night-watch — and therefore of protecting the city from night fires, checking that no illicit or suspicious activities took place in the night, and that no slaves wandered alone at night, something which would have immediately led to believe

dangers of the night are indicated clearly in the huge amount of violence on the streets (606-613).³¹

The Roman attitude to religious rites performed in the night is very visible also in the repression of the Bacchanalia in 186 BCE. In Livy's narration of the episode the insistence on the night is an instrument, for the author, to increase the sense of fear and estrangement towards these rites. The night appears from the very beginning: a Greek, writes Livy, came to Etruria, and he was "a priest of sacred rites performed by night" (*occultorum et nocturnorum antistes sacrorum*), opposed to the positive pole of the *aperta religio* (39, 8, 4). These initiatory rites started attracting a lot of people, both men and women of different ages, then expanded from Etruria to Rome, and started being celebrated in the *lucus* of Stimula (identified with Semele). The rites, celebrated in a state of inebriation induced by wine, are an occasion of highly immoral behavior (*obscena sacra*, 39, 11, 7), in which the initiates are, for instance, raped.³²

When the origin of the mysteries is revealed, it is a story of degeneration: originally, they were only for women, the initiations took place on three days each year, and only by day.

that they were runaways — since the 4th century BCE. The *tresuiri nocturni* are mentioned among others by LIV. 9, 46, 3; IOH. LYD. *Mag.* 1, 50. For a prosopography of the known *tresuiri nocturni*, see CASCIONE (1999) 205-208. See also CARBONNIER (1959) 349-350. It is possible that, when the *tresuiri capitales* were instituted as full magistrates, it appeared inconvenient for them to move around at night; at this point a group of *quinqueuiri* was established, which acted in their place for this specific function: CASCIONE (1999) 21-24; 77-79. For the *quinqueuiri*, D 1, 2, 2, 31 and CASCIONE (1999) 82. The name *nocturni* indicated later, during the Principate, either the same *tresuiri* in a popular way or other magistrates who, around the Empire, took care of night surveillance of the cities (PETR. *Sat.* 15; CIL III 12593).

³¹ Among many other sources, also PROP. 3, 16 and IUV. 3, 269-314 highlight, in the Principate, the dangers of wandering around at night. BOUTEMY (1936) 32-33 considers this a reference to the Bacchanalia, but the Stichus was performed in 200 BCE — what forces Boutemy to think that the text we have was the product of a later revision. On references to the Bacchanalia in Plautus, see also RIESS (1941) 151.

³² Intoxication and inebriation are across the centuries among the most important sources of the aesthetics of the night: FRIESE (2011) 72-82. See also EKIRCH (2005) 187-190.

When the Campanian Paculla Annia became priestess, she reformed the cult, initiating men, starting with her sons, holding the rites by night and not by day, and initiating new people five times per month. So, the decision to have rites during the night rather than the day is, in Livy's narration, one of the main aspects of the degeneration of the cult into complete immorality and loss of control. Once again, night is automatically the anti-day, a moment in which the norms and rules on which society is based are suspended; indeed, the presence of both men and women, and the "freedom of darkness", *licentia noctis*, caused a situation of debauchery, in which nothing was considered wrong (39, 13, 8-12).

The entire story is then reported to the Senate. The connection between night, secrecy, and lack of order, which we found already in the *Twelve Tables*, prompts the greatest fear and incites action, "lest these conspiracies and gatherings by night might produce something of hidden treachery or danger" (39, 19, 4). It is decided to start an investigation, meaningfully called *de Bacchanalibus sacrisque nocturnis* (39, 14, 6). The cult is forbidden and, for the city of Rome, it is decreed that the *tresuiri capitales* (not by chance, considering their control over the Roman nights), should make sure that no night meetings are held (39, 14, 10).³³ In his speech to the people, the consul insists on how alarming the cries and sounds of the rites at night have been; the danger, especially to the men, comes from their state of nightly inebriation. He highlights that gatherings of people, when not called or authorized, are not a good sign and are even worse when these assemblages take place at night. The gathering of huge crowds at night brings only one possible conclusion: their final aim is to overthrow the state (39, 15).³⁴ But this is not an attempt (either by the consul or by Livy) to 'politicize' these events, as these two aspects are impossible

³³ See CASCIONE (1999) 123-124.

³⁴ Livy connects strongly this religious innovation with political conspiracy, and calls the Bacchanalia more than once *coniuratio*: PERRI (2005) 65-66.

to differentiate in the Roman mentality; already in the *Twelve Tables* we see that gatherings taking place in the night are automatically dangerous and seen as a menace to the existing order, and have therefore automatically a political meaning. So, they now must be crushed, and the gods are to be awarded the responsibility for their discovery: as their name was being polluted, they brought these rites from the darkness to the daylight — and not only metaphorically (39, 16). The people involved, scared of what would happen to them, tried to escape — in the night after the investigation began (39, 17, 5).

The definition of the Bacchanalia as “foreign”, for a long time misunderstood as the sign of a political backlash against Greek influence and taste, is significant. It characterizes them as against the Roman tradition — independent of the origin of the rite, such rites are perceived as dangerous because they risk disrupting the *pax deorum*.³⁵ This is not caused by the mixed presence of men and women: Paculla’s reforms are the central point in Livy’s narration, and an important part of these is also the transformation of day rites into those of the night.³⁶ Rites taking place in the night are, as in Cicero’s statement, ‘un-Roman’. Indeed, it has been argued that the repression of the rites was juristically motivated by the prohibition of nightly gatherings, which would have provided the formal frame for proceeding against the Bacchanalia.³⁷

The night is thus a highly relevant element, as in all the other stories in which nightly gatherings are signs of conspiracy, violence, disruption, and a lack of respect for any norms and rules (Catiline’s conspiracy probably also was a literary model

³⁵ BAUMAN (1990) 345-347; TAKÁCS (2000) 307-308.

³⁶ SCHULTZ (2006) 86; DUBOURDIEU (2010) 18-19. This does not exclude the importance of the subversion of gender aspects in the rites, but these are not independent of the temporal scale: the day is the time of the *res publica*, the night the time of the Bacchants: see ALBRECHT (2016) 100-110. On the importance of the night in the Livian description of the Bacchanalia, see also MUELLER (2004a) 84-85; DUBOURDIEU (2010) 13.

³⁷ MANTOVANI (1989) 18-21.

for Livy's narration).³⁸ Even if the night was purely a literary mechanism introduced by Livy,³⁹ it would reveal that this was an important *topos*, as in Cicero, for provoking in his readers a sense of discomfort and uncanniness. But as already mentioned, Latin authors in general, already before Livy, refer to the Bacchic cult as nocturnal,⁴⁰ reinforcing the idea that Cicero's and Livy's take on this was widely widespread.⁴¹

Indeed, even if Livy elaborated on this using of the night as a scaremongering device valid for his time and his social milieu (which was not precisely the same as Cicero's), there are too many other references in ancient sources demonstrating that the Romans were generally suspicious of nocturnal congregations and rites. Juvenal sheds doubts about the liceity of behavior also in the 'recognized' rites — *Bona Dea* first of all. While his point is the loss of the old, traditional simplicity and morality, his depiction of the feast of the goddess and of the women's attitude in partaking of it is extremely graphic, as "a torrent of undiluted lust runs over their dripping thighs" (6, 318-319). The men are not excluded anymore, but brought in at the right moment — and if there are not enough, it will be the turn of animals (6, 314-345). The degeneration has come to the point, so says the satirist, that effeminate men organize their very own feast of *Bona Dea*, excluding the women, in a parallel to the Athenian rites of the *Baptae*, which, needless to say, happened "at torchlight" (2, 82-116).

"Night" is a word and a concept which is therefore deployed to automatically generate a sense of something 'creepy' going on. This unsettling aspect is connected not only to sexual license and political danger but also, as a third element often

³⁸ SCHULTZ (2006) 87; DUBOURDIEU (2010) 12-13.

³⁹ Indeed, the Tiriolo inscription, which contains the text of the *senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*, contains, among many of the measures referred by Livy, a quite general prohibition to perform religious rites "in secrecy" — *sacra in dquoltoed = oquoltoed*: CIL I² 581.

⁴⁰ E.g. VERG. *Georg.* 4, 521. See PERRI (2005) 59.

⁴¹ References to the Bacchanalia and their repression can be found in Plautus, too: see JANNE (1933) 527-529.

impossible to separate from the other two, with magic. Already in the early 2nd century BCE, a freedman, C. Furius Cresimus, was brought to trial by his neighbors, with the accusation of using magic to destroy their crops — he had much better results from his small field, than his rich neighbors had from their big properties. By showing his cattle and tools and saying that they were his spells, he was acquitted, not without having added, “I cannot also show you or bring into the forum the nights I work into or completely through, or my sweat”.⁴² Cresimus surely stressed the fact that he worked hard when his neighbors were sleeping or having banquets, but it seems relevant to highlight that the night would also have been the perfect moment for enchantments (as in the *Twelve Tables*), and that this was probably contained in the accusation that he overturned by insisting on the fact that yes, he was awake and out and about at night, but working.⁴³

Apuleius also had to defend himself from, among other things, the accusation of having performed nocturnal rites (*nocturna sacra*), as his accuser had seen the smoke of a torch and birds’ feathers, signs of sacrifices (*Apol.* 57-58).⁴⁴ While this confirms once again that the simple evocation of “nocturnal rites” worked in a repulsive way on a Roman public, the suspicion at stake, here, is that Apuleius would have, protected by the darkness of the night, performed dangerous forms of magic. Apuleius himself confirms such a *topos* while rejecting the accusations by arguing that he could not have performed dangerous, unsettling rites with fifteen slaves as witnesses, as he says that such a mysterious, horrible art “needs night-watchers and concealing darkness” (47, 3). This is, somehow, a spiral: visibility is good, darkness is bad; people doing forbidden, dangerous things would do them in darkness, and therefore what happens in the night is automatically suspicious. The boundary between

⁴² PLIN. *NH* 18, 41-43.

⁴³ In the Middle Ages, for instance, nocturnal labor was forbidden in many fields and trades: see EKIRCH (2005) 155-157.

⁴⁴ In general, on the trial, RIVES (2003) 322-328.

magic and religion in Roman culture is very hard to draw, and that which can be defined as magic emerged as proscribed practice and ritual actions from civil discourse:⁴⁵ “in Roman legal discourse secrecy served to distinguish illicit from licit rituals. In religious practice secrecy turned a religious action into a magical one”.⁴⁶ As the night is the place of secrecy *par excellence*, the connection with magic becomes very clear.⁴⁷

In the Principate, this connection assumes a particular character, as night rites were considered always to have a divinatory or evocative function,⁴⁸ connected to the life of the Emperor, his well-being, and his succession. According to Philostratus, the main accusation made against Apollonius of Tyana under Domitian was the following: “you are said to have gone to Nerva in the country, and butchered an Arcadian boy for him when he was sacrificing for the emperor’s harm; by these rites you raised his hopes, and all this was done at night” (VA 7, 20, 1). Still in the 4th century CE, Firmicus Maternus, when still a pagan, wrote that a good astrologist should not do anything secret, also not to attract undesired attention and suspicion of conspiracy.⁴⁹ This is partly achieved by not attending nocturnal sacrifices, not even the public ones (*Math.* 2, 30, 10). Night rites

⁴⁵ KIPPENBERG (1997) 139-141, recognizing in particular two moments of intensification of this discourse, the 1st and the 4th centuries CE; RIVES (2003) 314-317. MASSONNEAU (1934) 19-20 thought for instance, on the contrary, that legitimacy was one of the characters distinguishing divination from magic, even if she already highlighted that it is in the end law what divides religion from magic.

⁴⁶ KIPPENBERG (1997) 151-152. Kippenberg also highlights (158) the difference between Greek and Roman mentality on this point: for the Romans, secret performances are to be punished, for the Greeks the revelation of secret performances.

⁴⁷ PHARR (1932) 278-279 argued that the secrecy of magical rites made them suspicious; it is rather exactly the opposite: secret rites were suspicious and therefore described as magic. Pharr highlights here how magicians are suspected also of sexual crimes, how the Bacchanals were considered magical rites, or how the magic seems to have been a cloak to hide politically seditious movements — it is rather that all these activities became ‘magical’ because of their illicitness.

⁴⁸ See LIEBS (1997).

⁴⁹ MONTERO (1991) 69-70. See also MASSONNEAU (1934) 129-130.

are thus automatically *supersticio*, understood in its early meaning of divination practices, generally of foreign origin, and meant in a negative, pejorative sense.⁵⁰ Salzman has underlined the structural vicinity, in Roman mentality, of divination, magic, excessive religious fear (and political conspiracy, one might add),⁵¹ but it is necessary to highlight that this bundle of practices and meanings is also generally connected to the night as the proper moment for such actions.⁵²

The night appears therefore throughout the history of Roman culture as uncanny for three different kinds of reasons, which are in most cases not really separable from each other and often appear together. They are all connected to the idea that during the night the norms, rules and boundaries which are active during the day are either ‘suspended’ or easier to breach because of its automatic ‘secrecy’. (1) Moral codes are suspended, and in the night unconventional sexual behavior, illegitimate intercourse of many possible kinds, takes place, destabilizing masculinity and social order; (2) Political gatherings meant to overthrow the state, as they are directly contrary to ‘institutional’ gatherings, happen by night. People meeting at night evoke the suspicion that they are actually planning a conspiracy; (3) Magic takes place at night; especially black magic which, once again, implies the possibility for individuals to act above and beyond the limits of what is human, and to destabilize social and political order.

It is thus no surprise that religious meetings in the night were considered particularly problematic, as they could be considered as magical, immoral and politically dangerous — as the Bacchanalia. Next to Cicero’s “ideal legislation” (which does not mean much about actual Roman laws), a passage from the *Pauli Sententiae* refers to nocturnal religious rites: “Those who participated in or organized impious rites or nocturnal

⁵⁰ SALZMAN (1987) 173-174.

⁵¹ SALZMAN (1987) 175; GAUDEMUS (1990) 454.

⁵² See e.g. APUL. *Met.* 3, 16.

ones, in order to enchant, bewitch, or bind someone, shall be crucified or thrown to the wild beasts" (5, 23, 15).⁵³ Night rites were presumably thus not forbidden for their own sake, but only in their connection with darkness. Such rites are either "impious" or simply "nightly", as if nightly rites would be supposed to be automatically of this kind. Even if a rite's nocturnal activity was not in itself a reason for its suppression, the fact that this temporal positioning would be automatically equated to political conspiracy and magic would very easily bring further accusations and to the general repression of such a cult.

2. The night and its rites in early Christianity and in pagan perception

In the Judeo-Christian tradition the night, meant as the worldly night, is God's creation.⁵⁴ On the first day, God creates the light, which is the 'good thing', then separates it from darkness, and calls the darkness "night" and the light "day" (*Gen. 1, 3-5*). Darkness and night appear thus to be a primordial element which is separated and made distinct by the creation of light, but their existence is also subordinate to the creation of the earth and the sky (*Gen. 1, 1*); nonetheless, the light represents explicitly the positive pole and the night is perceived as a moment of temptation and challenge. Thus in *Exodus* the preparation for leaving Egypt is the institution of the nightly vigil (*Ex. 12, 42*). In early Christianity, every night is a struggle for the power of the light to come back; but every night is also going to finish and let the principle of life triumph.⁵⁵ It is in the middle of the night that the angel appears to the shepherds

⁵³ *Qui sacra impia nocturnae, ut quem obcantarent defigerent obligarent, fecerint facienda curauerint, aut cruci suffiguntur aut bestiis obiciuntur.* On the insertion of "magic" and religious deviance within the *lex Cornelia*, see RIVES (2003) 328-334.

⁵⁴ BRONFEN (2008) 58-60.

⁵⁵ BRONFEN (2008) 265-266.

announcing the birth of Christ (*Lc.* 2, 8-15). But at the same time, it is in the night that Jesus is arrested in the garden of Gethsemane, it is in the night that he is questioned by Caiaphas, and it is in the night (the night as temptation) that Peter denies him, before the cock crows (*Mt.* 26; *Mc.* 14; *Lc.* 22; *Io.* 18).

It is no surprise therefore that the night is an important religious moment for early Christianity: prayers in the night help in opposing temptation while waiting for the return of the light.⁵⁶ These vigils are instituted by Jesus himself, when he prays in the garden of Gethsemane: when he finds Peter and the two sons of Zebedee sleeping, he wakes them up saying, “Watch and pray that you might not undergo the test. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak” (*Mt.* 26, 41; see also *Mc.* 14, 37; *Lc.* 22, 40-45). In *Matthew*, Jesus explains also through the story of the ten virgins that it is necessary to watch (*Mt.* 25, 13). In the *Acts of the Apostles*, we find meetings and prayers going on throughout the night — and if the one time that Paul in the Troas speaks until midnight with many lights turned on (20, 7-8) is unusually long, there is nothing bad or wrong associated with such protracted discussions and prayers throughout the hours of darkness.⁵⁷

The Christians of the 2nd century practiced two central rites, both at night — in connection with the rising and setting sun: one in the morning before dawn and one in the evening. In the morning, they prayed (probably sang) and read from the Holy Scriptures; the evening was devoted to the common meals, the *agape*, a central aspect of early Christianity since the Apostolic Age. Drawing on the Judaic tradition of the Sabbath, once per week Christians would also gather for the vigil of Sunday, once again a rite taking place in the night and ‘preparing’ the Sunday. Finally, the vigil which characterizes Passover, as instituted in the *Exodus*, conflates the most important nightly rite for the

⁵⁶ *1 Thess.* 5, 6-8. See BECKER (2013) 582-583. See also CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 9, 79, on the necessity of waking up multiple times during the night to praise God.

⁵⁷ See also EKIRCH (2005) 59-60.

Christians, the Easter vigil, which was celebrated in the night between Saturday and Sunday.⁵⁸

The *Traditio Apostolica*, a church order presumably dated to the early 3rd century CE, confirms the importance of the night in Christian rituals, independent of the precise dating and the region of origin of the text. Night rites appear in the section dealing with catechumens and their preparation for baptism — the night before their baptism is foreseen they “shall spend all the night in vigil, reading the scriptures and instructing them” (20, 9)⁵⁹ until the cock crows (21, 1), then proceed to be baptized.⁶⁰

Vigils are generally an element characterizing the entire process of the catechumens approaching baptism (Tert. *Bapt.* 20, 1). More generally, during the meetings of the congregation, there are procedures recorded for the moment darkness comes, the so-called *lucernarium*: the deacon brings in a lamp, while the bishop prays (26, 18). Only widows of advanced age should be sent home, if invited for dinner, before sunset (27, 1). The relevance of the night is revealed also by the prescription for individual prayers. These take place at different times of the day, but the true Christian is expected to pray before going to sleep, and also to wake up to pray at midnight (36, 8), “because in this hour every creature hushes for a brief moment to praise the Lord; stars and plants and waters stand still in that instant; all the hosts of the angels ministering unto Him together with the souls of the righteous praise God. Wherefore it is right for all them that believe to be careful to pray at that hour” (36, 12-13). When the cock crows it is necessary to wake up and pray again (36, 14).

The feasts of the martyrs and of the saints were also characterized by an intense — and festive — nightly religious activity.

⁵⁸ On the Easter vigil and its liturgical aspects, see BERTONIÈRE (1972) 21-71.

⁵⁹ All translations from *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hypolitus of Rome Bishop and Martyr*, eds. DIX / CHADWICK (London 1991).

⁶⁰ These vigils and baptisms probably did not take place only in the Easter week: see BRADSHAW (1993) 41-42.

The feast began with the so-called “all night”, as the faithful gathered before dawn to celebrate together the coming of the new day.⁶¹ Later, against the mixed and luxurious character of these celebrations, some Fathers of the Church intervened, arguing that drunkenness did not belong to the saints,⁶² deploying the same *topoi* and stereotypes as their Roman predecessors and counterparts.⁶³ Augustine remembers in a sermon how, when he was a student in Carthage, the night vigils took place among huge temptations. Such a vigil could become an occasion for heavy drinking, flirting and so on — luckily, according to Augustine, it was not the case anymore, now that stronger control and a neat separation of the sexes had been introduced.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, what the Fathers of the Church criticized was always the way in which the night was spent, not the fact that the night itself was the moment of the cult — and these cults of the saints always maintained a character of vigil and of expectation.

The nightly character of Christian rites probably played a part in the onset of accusations of immoral behavior moved against them, sometimes explicitly connected to ‘lack of light’. In the perception of the Roman population, these gatherings in the night were so problematic,⁶⁵ that the most elaborated stories started circulating about such meetings. The lights would be

⁶¹ McMULLEN (2009) 29.

⁶² See BROWN (2000) 2-5. Already the *Apostolic Tradition* reminds the faithful that they need to eat and drink with moderation at religious feasts (26, 7).

⁶³ McMULLEN (2009) 29. See also CLEM. AL. *Paed.* 2, 4, in which he attacks “immoral” ways of spending the night, with alcohol and sex, and suggests what is the “Christian” way of attending banquets. It is important to highlight that Clemens writes here from a Greek, and not from a Latin, cultural background.

⁶⁴ AUG. *Serm. Dolb.* 2, 5.

⁶⁵ Also PLIN. *Epist.* 10, 96, 7 insists on the fact that the Christians perform their rites before dawn. There is no need here to suppose with GRANT (1981) 161-162, that Pliny wrote this letter in strong reference to Livy’s description of the Bacchanalia, as Pliny is stating rather the contrary: that as crazy as they might be, the Christians do not seem to be ‘dangerous’ (even if he condemns to death all those who admit to being Christians).

extinguished during the rituals, which generated the suspicion that, at that point, any kind of intercourse might happen:⁶⁶

“after full feasting, when the blood is heated and drink has inflamed the passions of incestuous lust, a dog which has been tied to a lamp is tempted by a morsel thrown beyond the range of his tether to bound forward with a rush. The tale-telling light (*conscio lumine*) is upset and extinguished, and in the shameless dark lustful embraces are indiscriminately exchanged” (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 9, 6-7).⁶⁷

The toppling of the lamp was thus a recurrent element in attacks against the Christians, and it is no “comedy of innocence”, meant to symbolically “hide” the crimes,⁶⁸ but the discursive construction of a danger coming in the night and through the night. In Minucius Felix’ *Octavius*, significantly, the pagan character Caecilius Natalis admits of some accusations against the Christians: “This may be false, but such suspicions naturally attach to their secret and nocturnal rites” (9, 4).

The secrecy of the rites, and in particular the fact that these took place at night, must thus be considered a central element in the opposition against the Christians — such secrecy caused rumors on one side of sexual excess (incest)⁶⁹ and cannibalism, on the other of political conspiracy.⁷⁰ Such references to darkness are mostly concentrated in Latin authors, while they are almost absent from Greek apologetic writing (Origen replies to Celsus) — Cicero’s difference between the Greeks and the Romans on this specific point seems to have been still valid, as Greek opponents of Christianity would not have seen this point as one worth raising. Wagemakers argues that the Christians met at night to avoid attracting attention and suspicion:⁷¹

⁶⁶ WAGEMAKERS (2010) 338-339.

⁶⁷ The same accusation is referred to in JUST. MART. *1 Apol.* 26; JUST. MART. *Dial.* 10, 1; TERT. *Apol.* 7, 1; 8, 7; ORIG. *Cels.* 6, 27.

⁶⁸ So HENRICHES (1970) 25-26.

⁶⁹ Generally read as a misunderstanding of the Christian concept of “brotherly love”: WAGEMAKERS (2010) 343.

⁷⁰ WALSH / GOTTLIEB (1992) 44-48.

⁷¹ WAGEMAKERS (2010) 343.

as the main rites in early Christianity would have taken place anyway in the night, it is hard to follow him on this; but he is surely right when he underlines that “these acts became even more suspicious because of the early Christians’ habit of holding their secret gatherings at night”.⁷² Sexual immorality surely belongs to a staple of *topoi* used against different groups, religions, and sects (as the Bacchanalia), but this accusation and the fact that they met in the night were interconnected and reinforced each other in creating a troubling image of the Christians.

As the night is connected to sexual excess but also to political conspiracy and magic, indeed, the bundle of meaning described above applied to Christianity, too. Jesus Christ was considered by many a powerful magician (and is therefore evoked in ancient magic spells), and it is presumable that Christian rituals were understood as magical rites by pagan observers:⁷³ the suspicion that Christian rites would hide dangerous magic practices was in reciprocal reinforcement with their nightly meetings. This applies also to the fear of political conspiracies: the idea that they were a menace for the political stability of the Empire is unlikely to have been the main reason for persecuting the Christians,⁷⁴ but it is well known that conspiracy against the Empire and against the Emperor belonged to the staple of accusations against them. Interestingly, therefore, the three elements which are connected with nightly gatherings in Roman mentality also appear in relation to the Christians in Western sources, and it is maybe not useless to ask whether the Christian habit to gather in the night could have been one of the catalysts of the rumors about and the public hostility against them.

⁷² WAGEMAKERS (2010) 354.

⁷³ SMITH (1980).

⁷⁴ *Contra VITTINGHOFF* (1984).

3. Night and religion in Late Antique law

For Late Antique Christians, the night still represents a moment of danger, of lack of control and it is in the night that most anecdotes implying sin and self-destruction take place.⁷⁵ For this reason, the night is still the perfect background to situate the activities of the enemies of a strict Christian world order governed by prayer and vigil. It is in this sense no surprise to see that within Christian literature, the same *topoi* about rites in the night and in darkness are used to describe the religious rites practiced by heretics. Clemens of Alexandria, thus, will deploy the story of the lights turned off to attack the Carpocratiacs (*Strom.* 3, 2, 10), and Eusebius of Caesarea will admit that the practices described by the pagan accusers were indeed real — but were practiced only by a small groups of the heretics (*HE* 4, 7, 11).

Next to the heretics, starting in the 4th century, the traditional rites assume the role of a menace to the political and social order. They become the dangerous ones, which need to be forbidden — even if Late Antique law highlights only one aspect of their multifarious danger, the political one, connected to practices to foresee the future and to scrutinize the emperors. As Christian emperors of the 4th century did not actually have any legal model to start with if they wanted to proceed against the traditional cults,⁷⁶ “the Roman practice of labelling ‘illegitimate’ religion as magical or superstitious” was a viable solution.⁷⁷ But Sandwell has correctly shown that this should not be understood as a rational decision, meant to satisfy both the Christian and the pagans (whose rites were not forbidden *tout court*), because “it was impossible for them completely to distinguish legislation against magic from legislation against pagan

⁷⁵ As for instance GREG. M. *Dial.* 4, 33.

⁷⁶ SALZMAN (1987) 179-182.

⁷⁷ SANDWELL (2005) 90. In this sense, about Constantius II, already MASSONNEAU (1934) 200: “sous le couvert de crime de magie, il s’en prit à certaines formes de la religion officielle”.

practices".⁷⁸ wrong religious behavior was magic.⁷⁹ The Late Antique emperors wanted to outlaw divination because of its political meaning, in continuity with the Republic and the Principate, but they did so by outlawing in general the rituals involved in divination; they thus opened the way for an identification of pagan rituals with magic rituals. As a consequence, pagan rituals in general were pushed further into the private sphere, and thus were exposed even more to the accusation of being secretive and dangerous.⁸⁰

Indeed, Augustine explains that ancient rituals have been forbidden in continuity with previous law, and in reference to night rites: replying to the statement that the pagan rites (but not the night ones, forbidden by the pontifical law) must have been earlier accepted by God, as he allowed them to continue for such a long time, Augustine brings the discussion onto the terrain of what happens illicitly, and whether this should show that God accepts it or not. All pagan rites, substantially, have now acquired the status of the night rites — which had, according to Augustine, always been forbidden by pontifical law (*Diu. Daem.* 2, 5).

Already Constantine forbade sacrifices in his honor on one side, and private sacrifices on the other; the latter, following a trend which had characterized the entire Principate starting with Augustus and Tiberius,⁸¹ was a prohibition caused by the fear that they might be used to explore the future, what was still considered a form of political opposition and betrayal to the Emperor.⁸² For this reason, not only are queries *de salute*

⁷⁸ SANDWELL (2005) 90.

⁷⁹ Previous literature separated neatly magic from religion, following modern definitions of both concepts.

⁸⁰ SANDWELL (2005) 119-121. See also LIZZI TESTA (2004) 220-222.

⁸¹ CASS. DIO 56, 25, 3; SUET. *Tib.* 63. Augustus should have forbidden in 11 CE to seers to prophesize to anybody without witnesses, and in general to prophesize about someone's death. See also MASSONNEAU (1934) 169-170; CASTELLO (1990) 667-671; RIVES (2003) 320-321, on the prohibition, probably in the 1st century CE, of *mala sacrificia* (presumably including night ones).

⁸² MARTROYE (1930) had already argued that the legislation 'against the Pagans' in the 4th century should actually be understood as 'against magic';

principis uel de statu reipublicae subject to punishment, but also *de salute suae suorumque* and, for slaves, *de salute dominorum* (*Coll. Leg. Mos. Rom.* 15; *Paul. Sent.* 5, 21, 4);⁸³ private haruspicy is forbidden,⁸⁴ while the same practices are allowed when they take place *libera luce*, which hints both at their openness and publicness, but also the time of the rites, during the day (*CTh* 9, 16, 2).⁸⁵ Night sacrifices were suspicious already since the Republic, as they would cause night gatherings. Further late imperial laws continue to focus on pagan night rites, identified as dangerous because still read in the century-old bundle with magic and political conspiracy.

Nocturnal sacrifices were apparently made legal again by Magnentius during his usurpation; it is hard to say whether he just wanted to show a greater tolerance or rather, as usurper, had an interest in making 'legitimate' queries about Constantius' life as part of his self-representation. The text of his decree is not preserved, and we know about it only because Constantius II, after Magnentius' defeat, forbade night sacrifices again (*CTh* 16, 10, 5).⁸⁶ Constantius II seems to feel the need to particularly highlight this prohibition — as Magnentius had been subjected to *damnatio memoriae*, and *CTh* 9, 38, 2 seems to declare void all Magnentius' laws, constitutions and decisions, the measure could have been formally superfluous and generated from a desire to particularly stress the opposition against night rites. This resonates from a passage in Ammianus, in which it is highlighted with what suspicion the Emperor, or better the *notarius* Paulus, looked at any kind of magic — and of night activity (19, 12, 13-14). The ensuing series of trials has been widely discussed, in particular whether it was a purely religious,

ROUGÉ (1987) 288: these measures "ne sont pas dirigées contre le paganisme, mais contre ce qui constitue la *terror* des empereurs et pas seulement la leur: les opérations magiques qui demandent la nuit pour s'effectuer".

⁸³ See CASTELLO (1990) 671-672.

⁸⁴ DELMAIRE (2004) 321-325.

⁸⁵ See GAUDEMUS (1947) 50-51; CASTELLO (1990) 680-681; GAUDEMUS (1990) 452-453; MONTERO (1991) 68. See also the above-mentioned passage by Firmicus Maternus, written in this period.

⁸⁶ See DE GIOVANNI (1980) 140-141; DELMAIRE (2004) 326.

anti-pagan movement, or rather a political action against potential opponents.⁸⁷ But, as shown until now, the two reasons do not have to be separated at all — the bundle of meanings is still active, and now leads to the application of *topoi* which had been earlier used against the Christians.⁸⁸ The night can be still ‘activated’ as a scaremonger when detailing accusations or proposing negative portraits.

Nocturnal sacrifices were forbidden again by Valentinian I and Valens when they became Emperors in 364, following the same principles of the Constantinian laws.⁸⁹ The reason for the measure was again the connection between religious rites in the night, magic and conspiracy, through the evocation of unsettling powers: “Hereafter no person shall attempt during the nighttime to engage in wicked prayers or magic preparations or funereal sacrifices” (*CTh* 9, 16, 7).⁹⁰ The addressee of the law, Secundus Salutius, was praetorian prefect of the Orient,⁹¹ and it has been assumed by some scholars that the law applied only to the Eastern parts of the Empire,⁹² but it is possible that the law was valid everywhere, and the compilers of the Code used a copy from the Eastern archives. According to Zosimus, this measure originated in the West but was meant for the entire Empire, and aimed to forbid the mysteries. It created troubles in the East, i.e. among those ‘Greeks’ who, as Cicero already knew, traditionally performed rites in the night. The proconsul of Achaia, Praetextatus, would have made Valentinian aware of the importance of the Eleusinian mysteries in Greece, and he

⁸⁷ See e.g. VON HÄLING (1978).

⁸⁸ LIB. *Or.* 14, 16-17 refers of a case, in this context, in which Aristophanes was accused because he consulted a soothsayer, even if only on private matters.

⁸⁹ DELMAIRE (2004) 330. The same principle of allowing pagan rites but forbidding ‘magic’ had been followed, in his short reign, by Jovian and praised by THEMISTIUS (*Or.* 5, 70b).

⁹⁰ *Ne quis deinceps nocturnis temporibus aut nefarias preces aut magicos apparatus aut sacrificia funesta celebrare conetur.* All translations of the *Theodosian Code* are by C. PHARR.

⁹¹ *PLRE* I, 814-817.

⁹² WIEBE (1995) 224-226.

would have thus abrogated the law and allowed the celebration of the traditional rites. All this is a false assumption by the author, as the law was clearly directed against magic and its possible political outcomes (4, 3, 2-3); Zosimus sounds very much inspired by Cicero, and the idea of the annulment could actually be a reference to another law, this time surely Western, which explicitly allows ‘innocent’ haruspicy.⁹³

Independent of the amount of ‘elaboration’ in Zosimus and of the original area of the law of 364 CE,⁹⁴ it can be safely stated that both Valentinian and Valens restated the prohibition, already formulated by Constantius II, of night sacrifices as ‘suspicious’ because of their connection with divination and with possible political conspiracies; the formulation of the law, which forbids ‘dangerous’ prayers and magic, is ambiguous enough to allow both the prosecution against any kind of night rite and the celebration of traditional rites which, in spite of their taking place after sunset, would consist of ‘not dangerous’ prayers. Forbidding ‘nocturnal’, ‘private’ and ‘consulting’ sacrifices⁹⁵ is somehow one and the same thing, as the three are considered to overlap constantly,⁹⁶ and the identification of the night as a moment of danger, and of a substantial difference in this sense between ‘Greek’ and ‘Western’ religion, as recognized by Cicero, was still valid. This is visible for example in the trials in Antioch in 371-372 CE, caused by the ‘conspiracy’ of a group which had tried to divine, with Delphic rituals, in complete darkness,⁹⁷ the name of the next Emperor (Amm. 29, 1).⁹⁸

⁹³ *CTh* 9, 16, 9, 371 CE, explicitly stating that in religious matters the dispositions given at the beginning of the reign are still valid. See WIEBE (1995) 241-246; LIZZI TESTA (2002) 229-235. Both connect the law of 371 with an embassy led by Praetextatus to Valentinian I, which actually aimed to obtain from the emperor a prohibition of torture for senators and a statement about the correct relationship of punishments to crime (AMM. 28, 1, 24-25).

⁹⁴ THRAMS (1992) 137-138, believes e.g. completely Zosimus’ version.

⁹⁵ So DELMAIRE (2004) 333.

⁹⁶ DELMAIRE (2004) 328.

⁹⁷ On darkness as a necessary element for the ritual: WIEBE (1995) 99 and the literature referenced there.

⁹⁸ In general, on this conspiracy, WIEBE (1995) 86-130.

In 381 CE Theodosius allowed again the traditional religious rites, but only in their ‘pure’ form, with correct prayers and not with enchantments, excluding the “forbidden sacrifices, by day or by night”, approached “as a consulter of uncertain events” (*CTh* 16, 10, 7: *uetitis sacrificiis diurnis nocturnisque [...] incertorum consultorem se inmerserit*).⁹⁹ Some nocturnal sacrifices were probably still allowed, as important traditions as the Eleusinian mysteries were still an exception.

In the 4th century therefore, the Christian emperors appropriated the suspicion against rites performed in the night as connected to divination and political conspiracy (and much less to sexual matters, mentioned only as part of accusations against groups perceived as heretical), while their ambiguous way of formulating laws against *superstizio* opened the way to a possible general association of traditional rites with evocation and divination. But this was appropriated, in the course of the 4th century, by the ‘pagans’, who, as a reaction, considered evocation and divination as central parts of their religious tradition, and defended it against Christian attacks. Through the radicalization of the religious conflict, the representatives of the ‘traditional’ religion practiced, in response to the initiatives of the Christian court, always more such rites and met and sacrificed often in the night, in a way that the tradition they thought that they were defending would never have accepted.¹⁰⁰

Libanius is thus very keen to stress, in his funerary oration for Julian, that the emperor could live next to the temples of the gods because of his (sexual) continence: he would not practice in the night anything unworthy of his neighbors (*Or. 18, 128*). This seems to imply that Julian did not use the night as moment of sexual and moral lack of control, but rather as moment for religious practice, thus already ‘subverting’ traditional thought. This would mean that by the mid-4th century the traditional rites had already changed, somehow ‘adapting’ to the changed

⁹⁹ See DE GIOVANNI (1980) 141; DELMAIRE (2004) 331.

¹⁰⁰ WIEBE (1995) 236-238.

political circumstances. Praising Julian, Libanius also states that “all the sacrifices that he knows other people make at the month’s beginning he has ensured shall take place every day; he greets the rising of the sun and sees it to its rest with offerings of blood, and also prepares the same for the spirits of the night” (*Or. 12, 80*): Julian practiced sacrifices to propitiate the dawn and in the evening — the times of the Christian rites. If such a change had already happened, Magnentius might have explicitly allowed night rites to attract the sympathies of the Neoplatonic pagan elites that he wanted to mobilize against Constantius.¹⁰¹

As a consequence of this radicalization, Christian sources will always more connect any non-Christian rite performed in the night to the evocation of the daemons. Such is the case, for instance, with the *interpretatio* of *CTh 9, 16, 7*, referring to those who “celebrate nocturnal sacrifices to the demons or [...] invoke the demons by incantations”.¹⁰² It is with this connotation, in connection with the dead and demonic forces, that rites in the night will continue to be deeply unsettling throughout the following centuries.

Works cited

- ALBRECHT, D. (2016), *Hegemoniale Männlichkeit bei Titus Livius* (Heidelberg).
- BAUMAN, R.A. (1990), “The Suppression of the Bacchanals: Five Questions”, *Historia* 39, 334-348.
- BECKER, M. (2013), “Nacht (Dunkelheit)”, *RLAC* 25, 565-594.
- BERTONIÈRE, G. (1972), *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church* (Rome).
- BOUTEMY, A. (1936), “Quelques allusions historiques dans le *Stichus de Plaute*”, *REA* 58, 29-34.
- BRADSHAW, P.F. (1993), “*Diem baptismo sollempniorem*: Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity”, in E. CARR *et al.* (eds.), *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft*, S.J. (Rome), 41-51.

¹⁰¹ WIEBE (1995) 235-236.

¹⁰² See also *Brev. Alaric.* 6, 2, 4. See WIEBE (1995) 226-227.

- BROUWER, H.H.J. (1989), *Bona Dea. The Sources and a Description of the Cult* (Leiden).
- BROWN, P. (2000), “Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity”, *EME* 9, 1-24.
- BRONFEN, E. (2008), *Tiefer als der Tag gedacht. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Nacht* (Munich).
- CARBONNIER, J. (1959), “Nocturne”, in *Droits de l’Antiquité et sociologie juridique. Mélanges Henri Lévy-Bruhl* (Paris), 345-350.
- CASCIONE, C. (1999), *Tresviri capitales. Storia di una magistratura minore* (Naples).
- CASTELLO, C. (1990), “Cenni sulla repressione del reato di magia dagli inizi del Principato fino a Costanzo II”, *AARC* 8, 665-693.
- DELMAIRE, R. (2004), “La législation sur les sacrifices au IV^e siècle: un essai d’interprétation”, *RHDPE* 82, 319-333.
- DUBOURDIEU, A. (2010), “La définition de la norme religieuse dans l’affaire des Bacchanales”, in B. CABOURET / M.O. CHARLES-LAFORGE (eds.), *La norme religieuse dans l’Antiquité* (Paris), 11-24.
- EKIRCH, A.R. (2005), *At Day’s Close. Night in Times Past* (New York).
- FRIESE, H.G. (2011), *Die Ästhetik der Nacht. Eine Kulturgeschichte. Band I, Leib und Raum* (Reinbek).
- (2015), *Die Fragwürdigkeit der Nacht* (Würzburg).
- GAUDEMÉT, J. (1947), “La législation religieuse de Constantin”, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France* 33, 25-71.
- (1990), “La législation anti-païenne de Constantin à Justinien”, *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 11, 449-468.
- GRANT, R.M. (1981), “Charges of ‘Immorality’ against Various Religious Groups in Antiquity”, in R. VAN DER BROEK / M.J. VERMASEREN (eds.), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden), 161-170.
- HÄLING, R. VON (1978), “Ammianus Marcellinus und der Prozess von Skythopolis”, *JbAC* 21, 74-101.
- JANNE, H. (1933), “L’Amphitryon de Plaute et M. Fulvius Nobilior”, *RBPH* 12, 515-531.
- JANSEN, M.E.R.G.N. (2015), “Primordial Times in Mesoamerican Memory: Monuments, Tombs, and Codices”, in U. SCHÜREN / D.M. SEGESSER / T. SPÄTH (eds.), *Globalized Antiquity. Uses and Perceptions of the Past in South Asia, Mesoamerica, and Europe* (Berlin), 157-188.
- KIPPENBERG, H.G. (1997), “Magic in Roman Civil Discourse: Why Rituals Could Be Illegal”, in P. SCHÄFER / H.G. KIPPENBERG (eds.), *Envisioning Magic. A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden), 137-163.

- KNOEPPLER, D. (2000) "La loi de Diatôndas, les femmes de Thèbes et le collège des bétarques au IV^e et au III^e siècle avant J.-C.", in P. ANGELI BERNARDINI (ed.), *Presenza e funzione della città di Tebe nella cultura greca* (Pisa), 345-366.
- LIEBS, D. (1997), "Strafprozesse wegen Zauberei. Magie und politisches Kalkül in der römischen Geschichte", in U. MANTHE / J. VON UNGERN-STERNBERG (eds.), *Grosse Prozesse der römischen Antike* (Munich), 146-158.
- LIZZI TESTA, R. (2002), *Senatori, popolo, papi. Il governo di Roma al tempo dei Valentiniani* (Bari).
- MACMULLEN, R. (2009), *The Second Church. Popular Christianity A.D. 200-400* (Atlanta).
- MANTOVANI, D. (1989), *Il problema d'origine dell'accusa popolare. Dalla quaestio unilaterale alla quaestio bilaterale* (Padova).
- MARTROYE, F. (1930), "La répression de la magie et le culte des gentiles au IV^e siècle", *RHDFE*, s. 4, 9, 669-701.
- MASSONNEAU, E. (1934), *La magie dans l'antiquité romaine. La magie dans la littérature et les moeurs romaines, la répression de la magie* (Paris).
- MONTERO, S. (1991), *Política y adivinación en el Bajo Imperio Romano. Emperadores y haruspices (193 d.C. - 408 d.C.)* (Brussels).
- MUELLER, H.F. (2004a), "Nocturni coetus in 494 BC", in C.F. KONRAD (ed.), *Augusto augurio. Rerum humanarum et divinarum commentationes in honorem Jerzy Linderski* (Stuttgart), 77-88.
- (2004b), "La reglamentación nocturna en la antigua Roma", *Noua tellus* 22, 123-139.
- (2011), "Spectral Rome from Female Perspective: An Experiment in Recouping Women's Religious Experience (CIL 6.18817 = ILS 8006 = Orelli 2.4775)", *CW* 104, 227-243.
- PERRI, B. (2005), *Il Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus in Livio e nell'epigrafe di Tiriolo* (Soveria Mannelli).
- PHARR, C. (1932), "The Interdiction of Magic in Roman Law", *TAPhA* 63, 269-295.
- PICCALUGA, G. (1964), "Bona Dea: due contributi all'interpretazione del suo culto", *SMSR* 35, 195-237.
- RIESS, E. (1941), "Notes on Plautus", *CQ* 35, 150-162.
- RIVES, J.B. (2003), "Magic in Roman Law: The Reconstruction of a Crime", *CLAnt* 22, 313-339.
- ROUGÉ, J. (1987), "Valentinien et la religion: 364-365", *Ktema* 12, 285-297.
- SALZMAN, M. (1987), "Superstitio in the Codex Theodosianus and the Persecution of Pagans", *VChr* 41, 172-188.

- SANDWELL, I. (2005), “Outlawing ‘Magic’ or Outlawing ‘Religion’? Libanius and the Theodosian Code as Evidence for Legislation against ‘Pagan’ Practices”, in W.V. HARRIS (ed.), *The Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries. Essays in Explanation* (Leiden), 87-123.
- SCHULTZ, C. (2006), *Women’s Religious Activity in the Roman Republic* (Chapel Hill).
- SMITH, M. (1980), “Pauline Worship as Seen by Pagans”, *HThR* 73, 241-249.
- STEWART, Z. (1960), “The God Nocturnus in Plautus’ *Amphitruo*”, *JRS* 50, 37-43.
- TAKÁCS, S.A. (2000), “Politics and Religion in the Bacchanalian Affair of 186 BCE”, *HSPh* 100, 301-310.
- THRAMS, P. (1992), *Christianisierung des Römerreiches und heidnischer Widerstand* (Heidelberg).
- VITTINGHOFF, F. (1984), “*Christianus sum* – das Verbrechen von Aussenseitern der römischen Gesellschaft”, *Historia* 33, 331-357.
- WAGEMAKERS, B. (2010), “Incest, Infanticide, and Cannibalism: Anti-Christian Imputations in the Roman Empire”, *G&R* 57, 337-354.
- WALSH, J. / G. GOTTLIEB (1992), “Zur Christenfrage im zweiten Jahrhundert”, in G. GOTTLIEB / P. BARCELÓ (eds.), *Christen und Heiden in Staat und Gesellschaft des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts. Gedanken und Thesen zu einem schwierigen Verhältnis* (Munich), 3-86.
- WIEBE, F.J. (1995), *Kaiser Valens und die heidnische Opposition* (Bonn).

DISCUSSION

R. Schlesier: In your paper, you deliberately focused on stereotypes and discourses, but also on legal definitions and juridical procedures. According to you, is there a correspondence between stereotypes and discourses, on the one hand, and practices on the other? And does this also apply to the legal definitions and juridical procedures connected with nocturnal religious practices in Roman culture?

F. Carlà-Uhink: This is a question that would require probably an entire conference to be thoroughly discussed. I will therefore have to give a short answer, which will sound a bit like a postulate. As you correctly highlight in your question, I would argue that we deal here with three different levels: there is the level of practice, there is the level of legal definition and of juridical production, and there are the stereotypes and discourses. All these three levels must be kept separate, but they do strongly influence each other. Stereotypes and discourses as available in a society — let's say the Roman imperial society — have a direct repercussion on the images of an 'ideal' society, or of how society should work. Such images, in the form in which the possessors of political power hold them, find an expression in legal texts and juridical definitions. Scholarship has highlighted for quite some time now that laws and legal texts do not describe at all how society functions (the continuous prohibition of the same crimes, with always harsher punishments, as recurrent in Late Antiquity, is in this sense a trace that such actions went on being performed...), but impose normative discourses about what society should be, and, thus, they have an extremely important function. They are forms of self-representation of the political power (for example, of the

Roman emperors). Practice can be partially ruled by juridical texts (as just noted, not necessarily and not always, but fear of punishment, actual punishment, being forced to perform some actions in secret, are all factors which do influence the way actions, as religious rites, are dealt with), and in its turn it influences, through its perception, thematization and reproduction in speech, the dominating discourses. I do not want to give the idea that I perceive this as a pure circle, from discourse to law, from law to practice, and from practice back to discourse, as the reciprocal influences and relationships are much more complicated; I want to highlight that it is in my opinion, taken with due care, methodologically correct to take into consideration discourses and stereotypes, laws and practices in the context of one and the same research question, as long as one is aware of the specific difficulties and issues connected with each of these three levels.

A. Chaniotis: This paper shows, once again, the importance of comparisons in the study of perceptions of the night: while for the Greeks there is a night of creation, in Judaism there is a day of creation. In your presentation you focused on the Republic and then a much later period. Might one argue that there were more discourses about the night in Rome because the Romans were confronted with radical changes — through their exposure to foreign cultural influence in the course of their expansion —, whereas in the Greek world changes were more gradual?

F. Carlà-Uhink: No, not really; you are of course right in arguing that Rome, throughout its history, was exposed to different forms of cultural contact and exchange — and the Greek cities in Southern Italy would tell a different story, not to speak of the provinces with a strong Greek culture, as Sicily or those in the Eastern Mediterranean. But the lamps from Pompeii reveal for instance the practices of nightlife, and not of the discourses or the stereotypes concerning nightlife. So, while my

contribution mostly deals with the city of Rome and with the Western provinces, and not with the Roman Empire at large, I still would like to highlight that the normative discourses we find in the literary sources which can be connected to the Roman mentality (and in general to the imperial élite) are always very similar. To say it in a very short way, Cicero's sight is representative of the sight of the entire Roman and Romanized ruling class, at least when they write (which cannot say anything about what they really did in the night!). As for the chronological bias in my contribution, I mostly wanted to show the extreme stability of the stereotypes and discourses about the night in Roman culture. I concentrated, therefore, mostly because of reasons of time and space, on the earliest and on the late sources, as I wanted to show this consistency, but of course there is plenty of other sources which reinforce these stereotypes during the Late Republic and the Principate. One can think of literary figures, such as Horace's *Canidia*, for instance: her destructive invocation was directed to Nox and Diana (meant as Moon: *Epop. 5*, 51-54), while the sacrificed boy's final malediction in the poem anticipates his comeback, after death, as *nocturnus furor* (*Epop. 5*, 92). Historiography moves on the same lines: Tacitus highlights again the connection between nighttime and lack of restraint when condemning the general moral degeneration he describes under Nero, when even the days were not exempt from shameful sights, and "every profligate could dare to pursue in the dark the lusts he had conceived in daylight" (*Ann. 14, 20*; trans. J.C. Yardley). The same Tacitus, interestingly, highlights the fact that the Germans calculate time based on the nights, and not on the days, as a central aspect of Othering (Tac. *Germ. 11, 2*: "Night they regard as bringing on day"; trans. A.J. Church / W.J. Brodribb). When Suetonius wants to describe the moral opprobrium of Domitian, he says that he promised "a night" to Clodius Pollio, with obvious sexual implications — the same when it is stated immediately afterwards that he ran away during the war against Vitellius and spent the night with the guardian of

the Capitoline temple (*Dom.* 1, 3). The same Domitian even organizes gladiatorial games at night, which is for Suetonius an absurdity on the same level as having women fight in the arena (*Dom.* 4, 2).

L. Dossey: You have wonderfully traced the Roman suspicion of night rituals over a thousand year period. You have convincingly shown that the Greek *mentalité* of the night that we have been discussing this week (one where pleasure, drinking, dancing, conviviality, and the gods all have a place) was not part of the Roman idea of the night. I think these are differences of discourse, not (or not just) practice. The Bithynian inscriptions about the night festivals discussed by Angelos are in fact normative texts, dating from the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. The city officials are presenting in a very public fashion their benefactions to enable the people to drink, make music, dance, and have light shows at night. Yet in the Latin texts, there is a dislike of public drinking, dancing, and the mixture of men and women at night. The Romans desire to control — and segregate — nocturnal rituals, to make them private. My question is why is there such a difference between Latin and Greek normative attitudes towards the night? Is it simply a cultural difference or something else?

My second question, or rather comment, is about the segregation of the sexes in Late Antique church ceremonies. Your paper shows that the Romans disapproved from the beginning of the mixture of the sexes at night ceremonies — and Augustine's discussion of his youthful search for women at church services — and then later segregation of the sexes in church fit in with this disapproval. I wanted to comment that this segregation of the sexes occurs throughout the empire, not just in the Latin authors. Augustine starts to do this because of the reforms by the bishop of Carthage (and there are objections to this in the Latin *De singularitate clericorum*, a Donatist text of the late 4th century, because the presence of God does not allow any sin). In the east, at the same time as Carthage and Hippo are

segregating the sexes, John Chrysostom wants to divide men and women in Constantinople, especially at the night vigils. So it is something you find as much in the Greek as Latin world by this time. In general, I think your paper suggests that by the late fourth century, eastern norms and Latin norms about the night are converging. Do you think this might be the case?

F. Carlà-Uhink: You are absolutely right about the difference between the Greek and the Roman world, which is one of the most important aspects, in my opinion. Your question about the reasons behind this difference is extremely difficult to answer — the difference is there in the earliest sources: as I said, the Roman suspicions about the night are clearly visible in the *Twelve Tables*, and are already connected to the dangers of subversion of the political and social order, but I honestly would not want to dare proposing any explanation, which would simply be haphazard and at risk of cultural determinism. The religious aspect is less of a problem. As Cicero shows, specific cults which are recognized as ‘traditional’ or as ‘necessary’ for the social order — in a Bachtinian sense, I would say — are accepted, as accepted is the inversion they cause in the night; but they are accepted, as you say, exactly and only because they are strictly controlled, both temporally and spatially: they take place on specific occasions and in specific places; this is known and accepted, and it is not something happening in a ‘secret way’. Of course, we are back to the problem of distinguishing magic and religion: according to different authors and to each person the boundary of the ‘good and controlled’ subversion rite and of the ‘illegitimate and dangerous’ one can run in a completely different way. Cicero, for example, calls legitimate the mystery cults to which he is initiated; later emperors might have tried to introduce new cults which were perceived as illegitimate and dangerous by most of the population (I am thinking of Elagabalus), and this belongs to their condemnation in the literary sources — but Elagabalus would have probably said that that was a traditional and legitimate rite...

As for your second question, thanks for your observation, which indeed integrates in a very meaningful way some of my points. You are right that some Christian texts defend the mixture of the sexes during religious meetings, as during the celebration of mass (even if there might have been still clear separation during the celebration itself, for instance, in the distribution within the church). Still, as I have mentioned in my contribution, many Christian authors, as Augustine, are extremely critical of situations in which religious feasts take place during the night, in particular those in honor of the martyrs, where men and women are together in situations that are not easily controllable. The main point, I guess, is that a religious rite such as mass is a controllable situation, in which men and women can be together, because everyone is together and there is light during the celebration. But feasts where darkness abounds, and where people can hang around and do not stay together become much more suspicious from a Christian perspective. I would say that for Christians it is not about the night, which for them is, as I hope I have shown, far less dangerous than for the Romans, as much as it is about leaving open spaces for temptation — for instance leaving a man and a woman alone in the dark.

K. De Temmerman: My comment is triggered by the general idea of the lack of control characterizing the night, which also has an interesting role to play in hagiographical Latin texts of Late Antiquity, where it is bound up with secret conversion. In the *Passio Caeciliae*, for example, night is the time when Caecilia persuades her newlywed husband not to have sex with her and to convert to Christianity — which has inevitably a socio-political dimension, not only because the idea of chaste marriage undermines at least some aspects of the social institution of marriage, but also because Christians in these texts are consistently opposed to the pagan political (and persecuting) authorities.

F. Carlà-Uhink: Yes, you are absolutely right: the night is central in many hagiographical texts from Late Antiquity, which

I could not consider mostly because of reasons of space. As hagiographical texts are written by Christians for a Christian audience and with the aim to celebrate the history and courage of the community and found its identity, we find in them a role for the night which must be explained from this point of view. Sometimes the night in these texts is the moment of prayer, and of divine revelation, the moment in which the congregation meets, and this corresponds perfectly to the “Christian night” I tried to delineate. Just to mention one example, Melania the Younger, just before giving birth to her second child, spends all night before the commemoration of Saint Lawrence in a vigil, praying and making genuflections, and then goes to the martyrium of the Saint and there delivers the child. (*V. Mel.* 5) But the case you mention is also a recurrent *topos* in the life of Christian female saints; in this case, I would say that what we see here is the appropriation and subversion of the role of the night. While Roman mentality saw in the night, among other aspects, the moment of uncontrolled sex, and this is one of its dangerous sides, such texts do use the night as time for intimacy between the spouses, but also for prayer — as the moment in which every form of sexual intercourse is challenged and in the end renounced for a completely Christian life. Somehow, the hagiographical text ‘memorializes’ in this form both the tension between Romans and Christians about the night and its value, which I tried to explain in my contribution, and the ‘victory of the Christian night’, from which sex is now absent, but prayer is a constant presence.

V. Pirenne-Delforge: Comme un des apports centraux de cette belle analyse concerne les représentations stéréotypées et les distinctions que l'on peut déceler entre la vision romaine et la vision grecque de la nuit, je me demande si l'on peut percevoir une différence à cet égard dans le discours des Pères de l'Église selon qu'ils écrivent en latin ou en grec, selon qu'ils viennent des régions occidentales ou orientales de l'Empire?

En contexte chrétien, trouve-t-on des traces d'une appréciation positive de la nuit en tant qu'elle est une création de Dieu

lui-même? À première vue, on a plutôt l'impression qu'il s'agit surtout d'une période où la tentation frappe avec plus de force que pendant le jour.

F. Carlà-Uhink: Answering your first question, yes — I think there is a clear difference on this point. The stories connected to the lamps being turned off are generally in authors from the West, or responding to Western accusers: in my paper I quoted Minucius Felix, because he has the most elaborate presentation of this accusation; but the same story can be found twice in Justin Martyr, whose works have all been written after his arrival in Rome, in Tertullian and in Origenes; but the latter was responding to Celsus, whose origin is unknown, who travelled throughout the Eastern provinces, and who wrote in Greek, but who also bears a very Latin name. Interestingly enough, other authors of *Apologies*, such as Athenagoras, do mention the accusations of sexual incontinence and incest (Athenagoras uses the expression “Oedipean intercourse” (*Leg. 3, 1*), and refute them, but do not put them into any connection with the night or with such episodes with dogs and lamps. So, I would definitely see such a difference and a bigger insistence on the aspects connected to the night in Western attacks on the Christians — and, therefore, in the Christian authors who respond to them. I mentioned Clemens of Alexandria, for instance, and he is a good example of that: he states (*Paed. 2, 4*) that the good Christian should not attend banquets where people get very drunk and in the end commit immoral acts, and explains how the good Christian should attend banquets, far away from prostitutes and, of course, pagan rites. But interestingly, he does not express anything against night activity as such, but against bad and immoral night activity. In this sense, it is clear that the ‘Roman’ bundle of darkness, conspiracy, magic and sex is not in the background of his chapter. Indeed, Clemens, as I said, also uses the *topos* of the lamps turned out, but against heretics, and probably deriving it from ‘Western’ accusations of the Christians.

As for your second question, I think I need to start making clear that Cicero and Livy and their peers did not, in my opinion,

have a negative opinion of the night as such, as natural phenomenon. I mentioned the *De natura deorum*, in which the night is the natural moment for rest. What they dislike is any other kind of activity taking place in this time. But indeed, I see a difference with the Judeo-Christian tradition, even if I do agree with you that most characterizations (or at least the most vivid ones, which one tends to remember!) are often stories of temptation. Already in *Genesis* (1, 4), the creation of light is explicitly presented as good, the creation of darkness not; still, the darkness is created by God and is inserted, in alternation with the day, in the order of the world, as in *Gen.* 8, 22 (see also Becker [2013] 575-577). Also Augustine, commenting on *Genesis*, calls the night “ordered darkness” (*ordinatae tenebrae: Gen. ad. Litt.* 1, 17, 34). In general, as Becker has shown ([2013] 578-583), the night has a positive side in Christian thought, not only as it is inserted in God’s creation, but also because it has a providential meaning: it gives the humans needed rest, both in the East and in the West. John Chrysostom, who recognizes that most people consider darkness evil, replies that it is a moment of relaxation and suspension of pain and struggle, and that without it we could not appreciate the light (*PG* 56, 152). Ambrose touches upon this point too, and does it in a way which brings somehow together Christian providential thought with Cicero’s idea, inspired by Stoicism, of a time to work and a time to rest, as expressed in the *De natura deorum* (Ambr. *Hex.* 1, 10, 38: *noctem enim ad quietem corporis datam esse cognoscimus, non ad muneric alicuius uel operis functionem, quae somno et obliuione transcurritur*). I do not see here a contradiction with the surviving and long-lasting Western suspicion of the night — or better, of activity in the night, as this is ‘naturally’, from a Stoic perspective, a time to rest (and therefore Seneca’s criticism of the intellectual working in the night in *Ep.* 122, 16, mentioned by Angelos Chaniotis — but see also Sen. *Ep.* 122, 9). But in Christian thought, this implies that the night is a time free from bodily activities and daily worries and therefore free for prayer and meditation — on this Cicero and his peers would not agree. This does not mean that Christians see the night only positively, and you are perfectly

right in highlighting the huge amount of episodes of temptation, of sin, etc., which takes place in the night (Ambr. *Exp. in Ps. 118*, 8, 46 has for instance a vivid description of the sinner, upset during the night). This is not inconsistent with the other aspects, if we see the night in Christianity as a moment in which the daily norms are suspended and one is left somehow alone with his conscience and in front of God. This is the opportunity, but also the great danger, which needs then to be once again controlled by the religious and the political authorities. Interestingly, the two aspects come together in the prayers said in the night to keep away daemons.

P. Ducrey: Selon les *Actes des Apôtres*, 16, 22-34, l'apôtre Paul et son compagnon Silas furent libérés de leurs entraves au milieu de la nuit, à la suite d'un tremblement de terre. Comment analysez-vous cet événement?

F. Carlà-Uhink: I think that this particular episode can be read following two threads, both very present in discourses about the night. The first one is the role of the night as "enhancer of emotional responses," as Angelos Chaniotis has made evident in his contribution. This also implies recording most natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, as happening in the night. Next to it is the night as moment of divine revelation, which is intrinsic to its being 'unbound' by the daily rules of human limits and behaviors — as this earthquake is a powerful revelation of God's will, this is a further reason to record it, in discourse, as having happened in the night — of course independent of what the actual episodes behind the narration are, which cannot be reconstructed.

A. Chaniotis: I think that this episode is more about earthquakes that occur at the right moment to save the 'good guys'. I have treated this subject in a study.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ A. CHANIOTIS (1998), "Willkommene Erdbeben", in E. OLSHAUSEN / H. SONNABEND (eds.), *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums* 6, 1996. "Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt" (Stuttgart), 404-416.

ÉPILOGUE

A. Chaniotis: In the last days (and nights) we have talked a lot about human activities and experiences between dusk and dawn in the Graeco-Roman world. And yet, there are so many subjects that we could have discussed in addition to the themes that dominated our discussions. I am thinking of the importance of astronomy and astrology, dreams and magic, homoerotic encounters, and nocturnal epiphanies. An interesting aspect that emerged from our discussions — and, again, belongs to the subjects that require special treatment — is the different perception and, sometimes, specific value of the short time immediately after sunset and shortly before sunrise. All these aspects reveal the importance of the night as a subject of enquiry in Ancient History, Archaeology, and Classics. I would now ask you to make any additional remarks, before I bring our work to a closure.

K. De Temmerman: To follow up on Angelos' reference to nocturnal epiphanies: another possible question to be addressed in future research is how the night as a time of divine communication and revelation relates to other such moments, for example midday, which in ancient literature is often foregrounded as another time privileging divine epiphanies.

F. Carlà-Uhink: I think that one of the greatest difficulties we are facing is ultimately, paradoxically, connected with the statement with which Angelos Chaniotis opened this conference: that we do know what the night is. While I obviously agree with him, I fear that the night is much more differentiated than we usually assume, and this differentiation is crucial for understanding the cultural elaborations of the night. Just to

mention two points which have emerged in different papers: on the one side the night can be perceived as the ‘continuation’ of the day before — as in the case of feasts, celebrations, and banquets that continue well into the night — or it can be the ‘anticipation’ of the following day, as in the Christian vigils. This difference in perspectives gives a radically different meaning to the function of the night as a ‘boundary’ between the days connected to it. In addition to that — and also in consideration of the ‘technological’ aspects presented by Andrew Wilson, we need to also consider the radical difference between a night with a full moon — which means with light and visibility — and the dark night of a new moon. This has huge repercussions on how the night is experienced and lived, and also, in particular, the religious experience.

A. Chaniotis: With the pleasant duty to thank Pierre Ducey and the wonderful staff of the Fondation Hardt, I now officially close the 64th *Entretiens*.

PLANCHES

TABLE DES ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 2.1. Column from the North Portico of the “Place of Palms” at Aphrodisias, Turkey, with (above the later pair of holes, perhaps an early medieval tethering arrangement), a nearly square hole 3×3.5 cm, at 1.64 m above the stylobate, probably for a hook or bracket for a lamp. Above it is carved a graffito, KHC^s (= *ALA* 203). Photogr.: A. Wilson.

Fig. 2.2. Roman mine gallery at San Domingos, Portugal, with a niche for a lamp (in which is the scale, graduated in centimetres.) Photogr.: A. Wilson.

Fig. 5.1a-d. White ground lekythos, late 6th / early 5th century BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 41.162.29. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 5.2a-b. Chalkidian amphora, late 6th century. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AE.1. Digital image courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

Fig. 5.3a-c. Attic red figure hydria (kalpis), around 480 BCE. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. H2422. Reproduced with the permission of the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei.

Fig. 5.4. Apulian volute krater, around 320 BCE. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Inv. 3296. © Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.

Fig. 5.5. Red figure kylix, end of 6th century BCE. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Inv. 2638. © Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich.

Fig. 8.1. Conical glass lamp, Karanis (UM excavation), 3rd to 4th century CE. Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Inv. 5545. Photo © Genevra Kornbluth.

Fig. 8.2. Polycandelon with three glass lamps, Eastern Mediterranean, 6th century CE. Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, NY, Inv. 63.1.30. Photo courtesy of the Corning Museum.



Fig. 2.1



Fig. 2.2



Fig. 5.1a



Fig. 5.1b



Fig. 5.1c



Fig. 5.1d



Fig. 5.2a



Fig. 5.2b



Fig. 5.3a

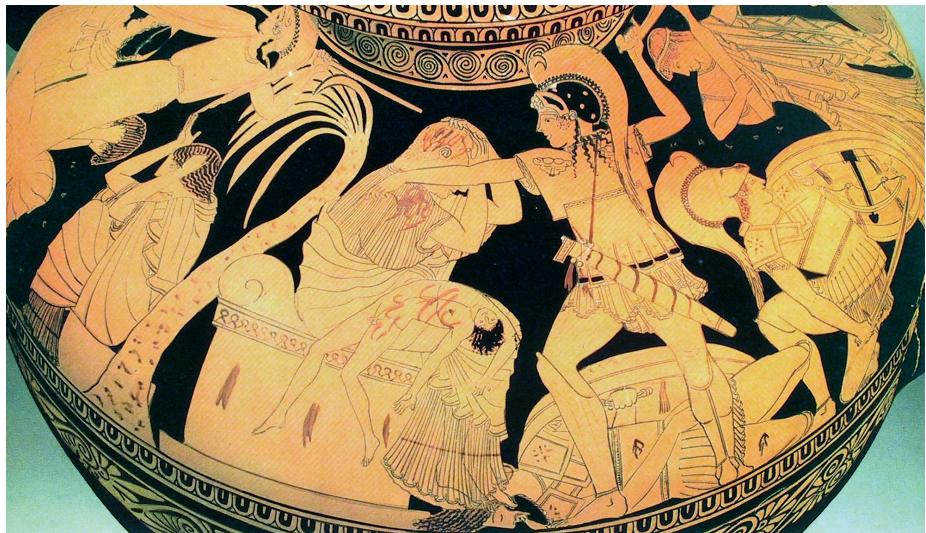


Fig. 5.3b



Fig. 5.3c



Fig. 5.4



Fig. 5.5



Fig. 8.1



Fig. 8.2

INDEX

A. AUTEURS ET TEXTES ANCIENS

- A**chilles Tatius: 128, 257-292.
1, 6: 307.
1, 6, 2: 262.
1, 6, 2-4: 262, 288.
2, 9-10: 306.
2, 18: 129.
2, 30, 1: 264-265.
2, 31, 3: 264.
2, 33: 306.
3, 16: 306.
5, 2: 297-298.
7, 3: 306.
Acta Thomae: 299.
Aeneas Tacticus:
22, 3: 12.
22, 14: 12.
Aeschines, *In Tim.*:
1, 128-130: 136.
10: 53.
Aeschylus, *Eum.* 1-8: 148.
Alcaeus: 95-97, 122, 126-127.
34, 11: 96.
72, 4-5: 96.
72, 9: 96.
298, 35: 96.
346, 1: 127.
347, 1: 96.
347, 5: 96.
352: 96.
Alcman:
1, 60 *PMG*: 96.
1, 62 *PMG*: 96.
3, 66 *PMG*: 96.
57 *PMG*: 96.
89 *PMG*: 96.
Ambrosius:
Exp. in Ps.118, 8, 46: 370.
Hex. 1, 10, 38: 369.
Ammianus Marcellinus:
14, 1, 9: 39, 68, 293-294.
19, 12, 13-14: 353.
28, 1, 24-25: 355.
29, 1: 355.
Anacreon:
346 *PMG*: 96, 126.
396 *PMG*: 108.
500, *Testimonia PMG*: 96, 126.
Anthologia Graeca:
5, 8: 7.
5, 101: 7.
5, 150: 7.
5, 151: 7.
5, 155: 7.
5, 164: 7.
5, 165: 7.
5, 166: 7.
5, 167: 7.
5, 189: 7.
5, 191: 7.
5, 197: 7.
6, 162: 7.
12, 125: 7.
12, 127: 7.
12, 137: 7.
Anthologia Palatina:
5, 184, 3-4: 123.

- 5, 201, 4: 103.
 6, 271: 158.
 6, 273: 158.
 Antonius Diogenes, Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην
 ἀπιστα: 37.
 Aphthonius, *Prog.*:
 46, 15-16 Sp. II: 266.
 47, 3-5 Sp. II: 266.
 Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* 3-4: 243-
 245.
 Appianus, *BCiv.*:
 5, 132: 12.
 5, 547: 12.
 Apuleius: 86.
 Apol.:
 47, 3: 342.
 57-58: 342.
 Met.: 257-292.
 1, 11-19: 277.
 2, 1: 278.
 2, 10: 277.
 2, 17: 277.
 2, 32: 278.
 3, 1: 278.
 3, 3: 12.
 3, 16: 277, 344.
 3, 24: 279.
 3, 28: 264.
 4, 1: 278.
 4, 8: 264.
 4, 9-21: 264.
 4, 22: 264.
 4, 28 - 6, 24: 277.
 4, 30: 264.
 4, 33: 274.
 7, 1: 278.
 7, 7: 264.
 7, 14: 277.
 8, 1: 278.
 8, 10: 276.
 9, 20: 275.
 9, 22: 277.
 9, 28: 277.
- 10, 19: 277.
 10, 22: 277.
 11, 1: 278.
 11, 1-7: 24.
 11, 3: 278.
 11, 5: 279.
 11, 6: 278.
 11, 8: 279.
 11, 13: 279.
 11, 20: 278.
 11, 20-21: 24.
 11, 22: 278.
 11, 23: 279.
 11, 23-24: 24.
 11, 27-29: 278.
 11, 28: 279.
 Archilochus, Fr. 107 W: 96.
 Aristides, Aelius: 128.
 Aristophanes: 337.
 Av. 693: 157.
 Eccl. 877: 116.
 Nub. 1069: 103.
 Pax 406-416: 146.
 Aristoteles, *Metaph.* 1071b 26-27:
 157.
 Arnobius, *Adv. nat.*:
 1, 36: 335.
 5, 18: 335.
 Artemidorus, *Onirocr.*: 33.
 Athenaeus, *Deipn.*: 35.
 699d: 307.
 701b: 300-301.
 Athenagoras, *Leg.* 3, 1: 368.
 Augustinus:
 Div. daem. 2, 5: 352.
 Ep. 65, 1: 307.
 Gen. ad. Litt. 1, 17, 34: 369.
 Loc. hept. 1, 177: 308.
 Mor. Manich. 2, 13, 29: 309.
 Serm.:
 264: 309.
 345, 5: 307.
 Serm. Dolb. 2, 5: 348.

- Ausonius: 86.
Ad libellum suum = *Epigr.* 1, 5-8:
 75-76.
Epist. 7, 2: 308.
- B**asilius Caesariensis, *Epist.*:
 74, 3: 296.
 75, 2: 70.
 Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου
 (*Life of St Andrew the Fool*): 78.
Breviarium Alaricianum 6, 2, 4: 357.
- C**allimachus, *Epigr.* 27, 4 Pfeiffer =
 56, 4 Page: 75.
 Cassiodorus, *Variae* 8, 31: 308.
 Cassius Dio:
 56, 25, 3: 352.
 80, 3-5: 31.
 Catullus:
 61, 104-105: 111.
 62: 108.
 Chariton, *Callirhoe*: 257-292.
 1, 1, 8: 262.
 1, 1, 13: 273.
 1, 3, 2: 273, 292.
 1, 9, 1: 264.
 2, 4, 3: 269.
 2, 4, 4: 269-270.
 2, 9, 6: 269.
 4, 3, 12: 270.
 4, 6, 6-7: 271.
 4, 4, 9: 273.
 6, 7, 1: 262-263.
 7, 1: 271.
 8, 1, 13: 271.
 8, 2, 1: 272.
 8, 2, 5: 272.
Chronicon Paschale 588 = Priscus, fr.
 3a, *FGH* IV 73: 70.
- Chrysostomus, Ioannes:
Act. hom. 2, 4: 310.
Compunct. Dem. 1, 9: 310, 312.
- Contra eos qui subintr.* 10, 1-13:
 311.
De Anna *serm.* 1, 1: 310.
De paen. 3, 4: 312.
De Phoca 1, 4: 311.
De prod. *Iud. hom.* 1, 4: 312.
De sanct. mart. 4: 313-314.
De stat. 17, 3: 311.
In 1 Cor. hom. 11, 5: 311, 314.
In epistulam In 2 Tim. hom. 6, 4:
 311.
In Gen. serm. 6, 4: 312.
In Ioannem 18, 2: 310.
In Matth. hom.:
 7: 74.
 51, 4: 311.
- Cicero: 86, 355, 365, 368-369.
Cat.:
 1, 1, 1: 332.
 1, 3, 6: 332.
 1, 4, 8: 332.
 2, 6, 13: 332.
 3, 2, 5-6: 332.
- Leg.:*
 2, 21: 335.
 2, 23: 336.
 2, 35-37: 336-337.
- Leg. agr.* 2, 5, 12: 332.
- Nat. deor.:*
 2, 132: 333.
 8, 9: 333.
 8, 12: 333.
 8, 13-14: 333.
- Clemens Alexandrinus:
Paed.:
 2, 4: 38, 348, 368.
 2, 9: 38.
 2, 9, 79: 346.
- Strom.* 3, 2, 10: 351.
- Codex Iustinianus* 8, 11, 19 = *Cod. Theod.* 15, 1, 52: 73, 296.
- Codex Theodosianus:*
 9, 15, 7: 334.

- 9, 16, 2: 353.
 9, 16, 7: 354, 357.
 9, 16, 9: 355.
 9, 38, 2: 353.
 15, 1, 52 = *Cod. Iust.* 8, 11, 19: 73, 296.
 16, 10, 5: 353.
 16, 10, 7: 356.
 19, 12, 13-14: 353.
Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum 15: 353.
Columella: 86.
Cornutus, Theol. Graec. 65: 161.
Corpus Hippocraticum: 288.
Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum:
 I 82 Leutsch Schneidewin: 37.
 I 123 Leutsch Schneidewin: 37.
Cyprianus, Ps., De singularitate clericorum: 364.
Cyrillus Alexandrinus: 323.
Commentarii in Ioannem: 314, 316.
Commentarii in Lucam in catevae: 312.
Commentarius in xii prophetas minores: 314.
Hom. fest. 5, 2: 312-313.
Cyrillus Scythopolita, Vita Euthymii 54: 299.
- D**emetrius, *De elocutione* 141: 107.
Demosthenes 24, 113: 11.
Diodorus Siculus 3, 12, 6: 77.
Dionysius Halicarnassensis:
Ant. Rom. 2, 25, 6: 335.
Comp. 23: 91.
- E**nnius, *Annales*:
 8: 247-249.
 8, 227-228 Sk: 247.
 8, 288 Sk: 249.
Etymologicum Magnum 609, 20, s.v.
Νυκτέλιος: 24, 152.
- Euripides: 204.
Bacch.:
 66-68: 102.
 485-486: 152.
Herc. 637-654: 206.
Hipp. 106: 114.
IT:
 1234-1283: 148.
 1260-1273: 149.
 1263-1265: 149.
 1268-1269: 149.
 1270-1281: 149.
 1289-1290: 149.
Med. 248-251: 158.
Or. 163-165: 148.
Rhes. 208-213: 212.
Eusebius Caesariensis:
Hist. eccl. 4, 7, 11: 351.
Vita Constantini 4, 22: 66.
- F**irmicus Maternus, *Math.* 2, 30, 10: 343.
- G**ellius, Aulus, *NA*:
Praef. 4: 75.
 10, 23, 5: 335.
- Gregorius Magnus, *Dial.* 4, 33: 351.
- H**eliodorus, *Aethiopica*: 257-292.
 1, 1, 1: 260.
 1, 7, 1: 260.
 1, 7, 2-3: 312.
 1, 8, 1: 260-261.
 1, 8, 7: 280.
 1, 9-18: 280.
 1, 10, 2: 275, 312.
 1, 14, 2: 280.
 1, 30, 1-3: 267.
 1, 33, 4: 267.
 2, 1, 1: 266.
 2, 24, 5 - 5, 1, 2: 280.
 2, 29, 4: 289.
 3, 1, 3-4, 7: 267.
 3, 4, 9: 281.

- 3, 4, 9 - 5, 3, 2: 258.
 3, 4, 11: 281.
 3, 5, 1: 281.
 3, 11, 4: 269.
 3, 15, 2-3: 269.
 3, 18, 2: 263.
 4, 4, 2: 281.
 4, 5, 2: 263.
 4, 7, 7: 262-263.
 4, 13, 4: 265.
 4, 17: 292.
 4, 17, 3: 265.
 4, 17, 4: 265.
 4, 17, 5: 265.
 5, 1, 3: 281.
 5, 1, 4: 281.
 5, 17, 2-33, 3: 280.
 5, 17, 5: 87-88.
 5, 27, 7: 312.
 5, 28, 1: 312.
 5, 33, 4: 281.
 6, 13-15: 277.
 7, 11, 3: 312.
 7, 26, 1: 275.
 10, 41, 4: 292.
- Hephaestion, *Ench.* 11, 5: 91.
- Hermeneumata Monacensis coll.:*
 10e: 315.
 11s: 315.
- Hermeneumata Montespessulana coll.*
 13g: 306.
- Hermogenes, Ps., *Prog.:*
 8, 12 Sp. II: 270.
 8, 13-28 Sp. II: 270.
 16, 11-12 Sp. II: 266.
 16, 21-22 Sp. II: 266.
- Herodotus:
 1, 131: 146-147.
 2, 53: 169.
 8, 133-134: 30.
- Hesiodus:
Op.:
 3-4: 135.
 11-29: 136.
- 17: 144.
 86-100: 141.
 90-92: 141.
 578-581: 108.
 762-763: 135.
 764: 133-135.
- Theog.:*
 20: 144.
 115-128: 138-139.
 120-121: 142.
 123: 138, 144.
 176: 288.
 176-178: 139.
 211-225: 140, 193.
 212: 97.
 213: 144.
 224: 288.
 225: 193, 206.
 481: 144.
 744: 144.
 744-766: 139.
 757: 144.
 758: 144.
 788: 144.
 986-991: 106.
- Hesychius:
 s.v. ἄρορος: ἄσπνος (A 5683): 109.
 s.v. εὐλογία: Ἀρτεμις: 158.
 s.v. λυστίζωνος: 132.
- Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri:* 258.
- Homerus:
Il.:
 1, 448: 104, 124.
 1, 529: 144.
 2, 19: 145.
 2, 24: 8, 270.
 2, 56-58: 145.
 2, 57: 144.
 3, 331-333: 213.
 5, 310: 144.
 5, 338: 144.
 5, 369: 145.
 5, 659: 144.
 5, 777: 145.

- 7, 476: 97.
 7, 478: 97.
 8, 434: 145.
 8, 486: 144.
 8, 488: 144.
 8, 502: 144.
 9, 65: 144.
 9, 323-326: 213.
 9, 325: 213.
 9, 474: 144.
 10: 50, 209-256. V. aussi Index
 C *s.v.* Dolon, Dolonie.
 10, 1-4: 245.
 10, 13: 249.
 10, 37: 232.
 10, 41: 144.
 10, 46-50: 232.
 10, 75-76: 232-233.
 10, 83: 144.
 10, 142: 144.
 10, 152-154: 233.
 10, 155: 231-232.
 10, 157-158: 233.
 10, 177: 211.
 10, 254-272: 210, 218-219.
 10, 254-298: 224.
 10, 258: 211.
 10, 260-261: 223-226.
 10, 260-271: 214.
 10, 276: 144.
 10, 297: 144.
 10, 333: 223, 225.
 10, 334: 212.
 10, 386: 144.
 10, 394: 144.
 10, 468: 144.
 10, 483-484: 251.
 10, 494-497: 251-252.
 10, 500, 513-514: 224.
 11, 163-164: 31.
 11, 267-272: 157.
 12, 433-436: 245.
 12, 463: 144.
- 13, 35: 145.
 13, 425: 144.
 13, 580: 144.
 14: 142-144, 171.
 14, 78: 144.
 14, 178: 144.
 14, 199: 143.
 14, 256-262: 142-143.
 14, 259: 97.
 14, 261: 144.
 14, 264-276: 143.
 14, 340-341: 144.
 14, 439: 144.
 15, 324: 144.
 16, 567: 144.
 16, 670: 145.
 16, 866-867: 145.
 19, 507: 144.
 21, 34-39: 212.
 21, 483: 158.
 22, 188: 213.
 22, 318: 108.
 22, 466: 144.
 23, 186-187: 145.
 24, 257: 191.
 24, 362-365: 145.
 24, 363: 144.
 24, 366: 144.
 24, 653: 144.
- Od.:*
- 5, 121: 106.
 7, 136-138: 281.
 8, 400-406: 211.
 9-12: 280.
 9, 143-148: 243.
 11, 330: 280.
 11, 330-331: 280.
 11, 332: 280.
 11, 333-384: 280.
 11, 363: 280.
 15, 45: 234.
 15, 250: 106.
 19, 395-412: 214.

- 23, 241-246: 111.
23, 296: 272.
- Horatius, Epod.:*
5, 51-54: 363.
5, 92: 363.
- Hyp. Pind. Pyth. a, 22:* 148.
- I**amblichus, *Babyloniaca*: 277.
- Ibycus 286 *PMG*: 110.
- Ioshua Stylites, *Chronica*:
27: 299.
29: 297.
87: 297.
- Iistros, *FGrH* 334 F 2: 29.
- Iulianus: 128.
Ep. 136b: 334.
- Iustinus Mart.:
1 Apol. 26: 349.
Dial. 10, 1: 349.
- Iuvenalis:
2, 82-116: 341.
3, 269-314: 338.
6, 318-319: 341.
6, 314-345: 341.
9, 115-117: 335.
- K**itab Arshimadas fi ‘amal al-binka-mat: 61.
- Lactantius, *Div. inst.* 1, 22: 335.
- Latro, Marcus Porcius, *Declamatio in Catilinam* 19: 333.
- Lex XII tabularum*: 339-340, 342, 365.
1, 9: 332-333.
2: 11.
8, 26: 333.
- Libanius: 293-330.
Decl.:
25, 43: 317.
29, 1, 16-17: 315.
- Epist.:*
364, 3: 310.
650, 3: 315.
- 811, 2: 316.
1113, 1-3: 312.
1458, 1: 310, 312.
- Or.:*
1, 259: 310.
3, 14: 315.
7, 3: 311-313.
11, 257: 295.
11, 267: 39, 68-69, 76.
11, 267, 2-9: 295.
12, 80: 357.
14, 16-17: 354.
16, 41: 39, 69, 298, 304, 326.
18, 128: 356.
22, 6: 39, 69-70, 298, 303-304.
33, 33: 294.
33, 33-38: 69.
33, 35: 39, 294.
33, 36: 39, 294.
33, 37: 39, 295.
45, 18: 317.
45, 21: 312.
51, 4: 310.
51, 5: 310-311.
51, 9: 311.
52, 4: 310.
52, 7: 311.
56, 17: 311.
- L**ivius, Titus:
1, 53, 5: 253.
2, 28, 1-2: 333-334.
3, 48, 1: 334.
3, 58, 2: 333.
5, 43, 6-45, 4: 250.
5, 47: 247.
9, 46, 3: 338.
22, 16-17: 226.
22, 16, 7-8: 229-230.
22, 50: 248-249.
31, 23: 50.
34, 1, 3: 78.
39, 8, 4: 338.
39, 11, 7: 338.

- 39, 13, 8-12: 339.
 39, 19, 4: 339.
 39, 14, 6: 339.
 39, 14, 10: 339.
 39, 15: 339.
 39, 16: 340.
 39, 17, 5: 340.
- Lolianus, *Phoenicica*: 258, 277, 286-287.
- Longinus, *Subl.* 10, 1-3: 91.
- Longus, *Daphnis et Chloe*: 257-292.
 1, 10, 2: 275.
 1, 12, 1: 275.
 1, 13, 6: 262.
 1, 16, 2: 275-276.
 1, 32, 4: 264.
 2, 7, 4: 262.
 2, 7, 7: 274.
 2, 10, 1: 275.
 2, 11, 3: 274.
 2, 25, 3-4: 266.
 2, 38, 1: 274.
 3, 18: 275.
 4, 28, 3: 274.
- Lucianus:
Alex. 38-39: 26.
Nigr. 34: 306-307.
Rh. Pr. 9: 37-38.
Somn. 22: 307.
Symp. 15: 307.
Vera hist. 1, 29: 40, 65.
- Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 6, 46: 235.
- Lydus, Ioannes, *De magistratibus* 1, 50: 338.
- Lysias 1, 9-14: 35.
- M**acrobius, *Sat.*:
 1, 12, 25: 335.
 1, 15: 308.
- Marcellus, *Med.*:
 20, 89: 308.
 26, 35: 308.
- Martialis, *Epigr.*:
 14, 39: 65.
 14, 40: 66.
 14, 41: 64.
 14, 42: 66.
- Maximus Taurinensis:
 30, 2: 308.
 62, 3: 309.
- Metiochus et Parthenope*: 258, 269.
- Minucius Felix, *Oct.*:
 9, 4: 349.
 9, 6-7: 349.
- N**icolaus, *Prog.*:
 68, 8-9 Felten: 266.
 68, 16-17 Felten: 267.
- Nonnus:
Dion.:
 3, 51-52: 312.
 3, 169-171: 22, 39.
 6, 25-36: 312.
 26, 357: 312.
- Paraphrasis sancti evangelii Iohannei*:
Demonstratio 13, 7: 312.
Demonstratio 18, 18-24: 314.
- Notitia Urbis Alexandrinae*: 297.
- O**rientius, *Commonitorium* 25, 129: 308.
- Origenes, *Cels.* 6, 27: 349.
- Orpheus, *Hymnus in Noctem* 3, 14: 7.
- Ovidius:
Ars. am.:
 1, 565-568: 336.
 2, 699: 100.
- Fast.* 5, 429-444: 334.
- P**assio Caeciliae: 366.
- Pauli Sententiae:
 5, 21, 4: 353.
 5, 23, 15: 344-345.

- Paulinus Nolae:
Carm.:
 19, 412-24: 302-303.
 23, 124-4: 302-303.
Epist. 15, 4: 308.
- Pausanias:
 1, 2, 5: 169.
 1, 17, 2: 136.
 1, 19, 1: 154.
 1, 22, 6: 169.
 1, 30, 1: 169.
 1, 30, 2: 28.
 1, 40, 1: 169.
 1, 40, 6: 150, 168.
 1, 42, 4-6: 150-151.
 1, 44, 4: 154.
 2, 7, 5: 152.
 2, 10, 2: 154.
 2, 11, 3: 150.
 2, 43, 2: 152.
 3, 13, 9: 159.
 3, 16, 6: 150.
 3, 18, 1: 154.
 3, 18, 4: 154.
 3, 26, 1: 168.
 5, 14, 10: 168.
 5, 18, 1: 137, 177.
 10, 38, 6: 162.
- Petronius, *Satyrica*: 86, 257.
 15: 338.
 62: 277.
 79-81: 276.
 85-87: 276.
 92: 276.
 105: 276.
 112: 276.
 129: 276.
 131: 276-277.
- Petrus Chrys., *Serm.*:
 7, 53-54: 308.
 26, 119: 308.
 39, 47: 308.
 174, 5: 308.
- Philo, *De vit. cont.* 83-89: 25-26.
 Philo Byz.: 61.
 D 94: 12.
 Philostratus, *VA* 7, 20, 1: 343.
 Photius, *Bibl.*:
 74b31: 277.
 166: 37.
 Pindarus, *Ol.* 13, 61-82: 30.
- Plato:
Leg. 874 bc: 11.
Resp.
 328a2: 29.
 328a7-8: 21.
- Plautus:
Amphitruo: 63.
 153-155: 337.
 272: 335.
Aulularia:
 36: 337.
 689: 337.
 745: 337.
 795: 337.
Cistellaria 156-159: 337.
Stichus 606-613: 337-338.
- Plinius Maior, *NH*: 86.
Praef. 18: 75.
 18, 41-43: 77, 342.
 33, 70: 77.
- Plinius Minor, *Epist.*:
 10, 96: 29, 330.
 10, 96, 7: 348.
- Plutarchus: 323.
Arat.:
 7, 2 - 9, 1: 50.
 7, 5: 12.
 7, 24: 12.
Caes.:
 9: 334.
 9-10: 335.
De ser. num. 28 (*Mor.* 566c): 148.
Mor. 501-502: 137.
Quaest. Rom. 112: 336.
Sol. 1, 7: 28.

- Polybius:
 3, 93-94: 226.
 3, 93, 3-4: 229.
- Posidonius *FGrH* 87 F 10: 15-16.
- Priscus:
 Exc. 3a: 296-297.
 Fr. 3a, *FGrH* IV 73 = *Chronicon Paschale* 588: 70.
 Fr. 75 = Evagrius *HE* 2, 13: 311.
- Procopius:
 Arc.:
 26, 6-7: 71.
 26, 7: 297.
 Secr. hist. 12, 27: 83-84.
- Propertius, *Eleg.* 3, 16: 63, 338.
- Prudentius, *Cath.* 19, 416: 302-303.
- Q**uintilianus: 86.
Inst. 10, 3, 22-27: 75.
- R**egula *Magistri* 50, 56: 307.
- S**appho:
 1: 91.
 2: 110.
 2, 1-8: 110-111.
 2, 3: 124.
 2, 8: 110.
 6, 10: 106.
 16: 100, 106.
 23: 99-104, 106.
 23, 8: 128.
 30 LP/V = 39 D: 97, 101-103, 123.
 30, 9: 109.
 31: 91.
 34: 104.
 40: 124.
 43: 101-103.
 52: 91, 107.
 58: 106.
 58, 19: 106.
 63: 112-114.
- 63, 1: 110.
 63, 2: 109.
 94: 91.
 96, 6-9: 105.
 96, 21-22: 100.
 97, 18: 109.
 103[10]: 106.
 104a, 1: 106-107.
 104a, 2: 107, 125-127.
 104b: 108.
 117B(a) = *inc. auct. fr.* 24, 1: 108.
 117B(b): 103.
 123: 106.
 126 LP = 134 D: 111, 122.
 134: 114.
 135 LP: 112, 116.
 140: 103.
 149: 101, 103.
 151: 109-110.
 154: 104, 123-125, 128-129.
 157: 106.
 160: 106.
 161: 106.
 168: 103.
 168B V: 91-129.
 175: 106.
 197: 111.
 199: 106.
 inc. auct. fr. 16 V: 125.
 inc. auct. fr. 24, 1 = 117B(a): 108.
- Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1, 288: 132.
- Schol. Ar. Nub.* 1069b: 109.
- Schol. Plat. Phaedr.* 231e: 28.
- Scriptores Historiae Augustae (SHA)*:
 Alex. Sev.:
 23, 7: 296.
 24, 6: 73.
 Tac. 10, 2: 73, 296.
- Seneca *Vetus*, *Decl.* 3, 8: 333.
- Seneca *Iunior*, *Ep.*:
 8, 1: 75.
 122, 9: 369.

- 122, 16: 369.
 Servius, *Aen.* 4, 303: 336.
 Sidonius Apollinaris:
Carm.:
 23, 436: 308.
Epist.:
 2, 9, 6: 307.
 2, 9, 8: 308.
 Silius Italicus, *Punica*:
 1, 245-246: 8.
 3, 174: 8.
 7: 210.
 7, 282-287: 226-228.
 7, 291-293: 232.
 7, 291-299: 231-232.
 7, 296-297: 232.
 7, 301-302: 232.
 7, 303-304: 233.
 7, 305-307: 232.
 7, 308-311: 234.
 Sophocles, *Ant.* 891: 289.
 Statius, *Thebais*:
 2, 482: 218.
 2, 498: 218.
 2, 516: 218.
 3, 238: 218.
 3, 341: 218.
 3, 358: 218.
 7, 784-785: 220.
 10: 210, 215-226.
 10, 192-193: 220.
 10, 241-243: 217-218.
 10, 249-261: 219-222.
 10, 258-259: 217.
 10, 259-261: 223.
 10, 304-305: 252.
 10, 312-313: 252.
 10, 318-325: 250-252.
 10, 320: 252.
 10, 445-448: 216.
 11: 218.
 Strabo 17, 1, 12: 12.
- Suda*, s.v. λυστρώνος: 132.
 Suetonius: 82.
Dom.:
 1, 3: 364.
 4, 2: 364.
Tib. 63: 352.
 Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.:*
 1, 13, 5: 308.
 3, 17, 1: 308.
 Symmachus, *Epist.* 1, 13, 2: 309.
- T**acitus:
Ann.:
 14, 20: 363.
 15, 44, 2-5: 66-67.
Germ. 11, 2: 363.
 Tertullianus:
Apol.:
 7, 1: 349.
 8, 7: 349.
Bapt.:
 20, 1: 347.
 26, 18: 347.
 27, 1: 347.
 36, 8: 347.
 36, 12-13: 347.
 36, 14: 347.
Testamentum Vetus:
Gen.:
 1, 1: 345.
 1, 3-5: 345.
 1, 4: 369.
 8, 22: 369.
Ex. 12, 42: 345.
Ps. 90: 7.
Testamentum Novum:
Matt.:
 25, 13: 346.
 26: 346.
 26, 34: 62.
 26, 41: 346.

- Marc.:

14: 346.

14, 30: 62.

14, 37: 346.
- Luc.:

2, 8-15: 345-346.

14, 16: 312.

22: 346.

22, 34: 62.

22, 40-45: 346.
- Ioh.:

13, 38: 62.

18: 346.
- Act.:

16, 22-34: 370.

20, 7-8: 346.
- I Thess. 5:

5-8: 37.

6-8: 346.
- Theostimius, *Or.* 5, 70b: 354.
- Theocritus, *Id.*:

2: 33.

17, 60: 132.

18: 108.

20, 45: 116, 123.
- Theodoreetus, *Philotheus* 2, 17: 313.
- Theognis:

984 W: 108.

1001 W: 108.

1063 W: 103.
- Theon, Aelius, *Prog.*:

79, 4 Sp. II: 258.

85, 5-10 Sp. II: 268.

118, 7-8 Sp. II: 266.

119, 3-5 Sp. II: 266.
- Thucydides: 242.

2, 2-4: 50.

2, 2-5: 267.

2, 3, 1: 268.

7, 43-44: 267-268.
- Traditio apostolica*:

20, 9: 347.

21, 1: 347.

26, 7: 348.
- Valerius Maximus 6, 3, 9: 335.
- Varro:

De ling. lat. 6, 46: 228.

De re rust. 3, iv. 2, 8-17: 62.
- Vergilius:

Aen.:

1: 242.

2: 242, 253.

2, 341-346: 253.

2, 370-401: 253.

2, 390: 253.

3: 242-243.

3, 512-514: 247.

4: 243.

4, 504-521: 246.

5: 243-244.

6: 244.

7: 244-245.

8: 245-247.

8, 655-662: 247.

9: 209-256.

9, 188-190: 249.

9, 188-191: 235.

9, 224-230: 227-228.

9, 303-307: 210, 214, 219-220.

9, 304-305: 211.

9, 307: 211.

9, 326: 252.

9, 335-338: 252.

9, 346: 252.

9, 349-350: 252.

9, 354: 254.

9, 356: 249.

9, 359-364: 214.

9, 365: 211.

9, 365-366: 211.

9, 373: 211.

9, 373-374: 211.

9, 410-411: 219.

10: 246-247.

10, 746: 247.

11, 515: 220.

11, 522-523: 220.

- 12, 908-912: 247.
Georg. 4, 521: 341.
Vita Fulgentii 8, 24: 308.
Vita Melaniae 5: 367.
 Vitruvius, *De arch.:*
 5, 10, 1: 306.
 9, 8, 4-7: 60.
 9, 8, 8-15: 62.
- X**enophon: 253.
Anabasis: 242.
Hellenica: 242.
- Xenophon Ephesius, *Ephesiaca*: 257-292.
 1, 3, 4: 262.
 1, 12, 3: 259.
 3, 2, 3: 273.
 3, 6, 1: 273.
 3, 7, 2: 274.
 3, 8, 3: 264.
 5, 1, 5: 273.
 5, 7, 7: 277.
- Z**eno, *Tract.* 2, 4, 94-95: 308.
 Zosimus 4, 3, 2-3: 355.

B. INSCRIPTIONS, OSTRACA ET PAPYRUS

- Inscriptions et ostraca:**
 (Les abréviations sont celles du *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.)
- An.Ép.:*
 2001, 1128 = 2013, 129 =
CIL II 5181: 72.
 2009, 1771 = *CIL* VIII 17970a:
 8.
 2013, 129 = 2001, 1128 =
CIL II 5181: 72.
- BGU* III 846:5.
CIG 4555a: 40.
CIL:
 I² 581: 341.
 II 5181 = *An.Ép.* 2001, 1128
 = *An.Ép.* 2013, 129: 72.
 III 12593: 338.
 VI 1780 = *ILS* 1260: 327.
 VIII 2481: 8.
 VIII 17970a = *An.Ép.* 2009,
 1771: 8.
- F.Delphes:*
 III 3, 238, l. 9: 28.
 III 3, 238, ll. 15-16: 28.
- FdXanthos* VII 21: 29.
- I.Ancyra* 2: 18, 20.
- I.Aphr.* 12, 29 ii: 19.
I.Cret. I.i.1: 5.
I.Délos:
 290, ll. 58-59, 67-68, 82, 91:
 27.
 316, ll. 78-80, 87, 99: 27.
 338, ll. 23-25, 31-32, 41: 27.
 1520: 16.
 1956: 28.
 2619: 28.
- I.Didyma*:
 185-191: 28.
 346, ll. 10-17: 39.
 496: 31-32.
- I.Ephesos*:
 10: 27.
 26, l. 15: 22.
 28 B 164, 168, 173, 186, 194:
 40.
 557 = *SEG* XLIX 444: 39,
 67, 298.
 1939: 39, 67, 298.
 2115: 16.
 4330: 20.
- I.Erythrai*:
 105: 21.

- 207: 27.
I.Histria 57: 16.
I.Iznik:
 726: 21.
 1071: 21.
I.Kallatis 32: 21.
I.Knidos 34: 11.
I.Leukopetra:
 12: 28.
 16-23: 28.
 29: 28.
 33-34: 28.
 39: 28.
 43: 28.
 52: 28.
 55-56: 28.
 58: 28.
 61-62: 28.
 74-76: 28.
 79: 28.
 81: 28.
 83: 28.
 98: 28.
 113: 28.
 120: 28.
 128: 28.
 131-132: 28.
 136: 28.
 143: 28.
I.Magnesia:
 99, ll. 28-31 = *LSAM* 34: 22.
 163: 18.
I.Pergamon III 35: 21.
I.Side II no. 153 I.26: 21.
I.Smyrna 244: 21.
I.Stratonikeia:
 192: 20.
 203: 19.
 205: 19.
 222: 19-20.
 224: 19.
 244: 19.
 245: 19.
 246-248: 19.
 248: 19.
 254: 19-20, 22.
 262: 20.
 281: 19.
 295: 20.
 311: 19-20.
 312: 19-20.
 318: 20.
 324: 19.
 345: 19.
 664: 20.
 705: 20.
 1034: 19.
 1050: 19.
 1325A: 19.
I.Thespiae 250-251 = *IG* VII 1871-1872: 159.
I.Tomis:
 2, ll. 14-16 = *Syll.*³ 731: 12.
 79: 21.
 298: 21.
IG:
 II² 1209: 7.
 II² 1368: 16.
 II² 2980: 29.
 II² 4771: 28.
 IV² 1, 44: 28-29.
 IV² 1, 424: 132.
 IV² 1, 742: 30.
 IV 597: 19.
 IV 606: 19.
 V 1, 1390, ll. 34-39: 13.
 V 2, 268: 21.
 V 2, 412: 7.
 VII 176: 29.
 VII 190: 20.
 VII 1871-1872 = *I.Thespiae* 250-251: 159.
 VII 2712: 20.
 VII 2781, l. 17: 29.
 VII 4174-4175: 159.
 IX² 1, 670: 16, 25.

- IX 2, 528: 29.
 IX 2, 531-532: 29.
 IX 2, 534: 29.
 X 2, 1, 259: 16, 25.
 X 2, 1s., 1077, l. 25: 24.
 XI 2, 159, ll. 73-75: 27.
 XI 2, 287, ll. 47-48, 56,
 72-76: 27.
 XII 4, 278, ll. 39-41: 21.
 XII 5, 129: 20.
 XII 5, 647: 29.
 XII 5, 660: 20.
 XII 5, 662: 20.
 XII 5, 668: 20.
 XII 5, 721: 20.
 XII 5, 863-865: 20.
 XII 6, 169, ll. 9-10 et 21: 13.
 XII 6, 173: 29.
 XII 6, 180: 29.
 XII 6, 461: 14.
 XII 6, 1004: 29.
 XII 7, 33: 20.
 XII 7, 389: 20.
 XII 7, 515: 20.
 XII 8, 92: 8.
 XII 8, 526: 21.
 XII 9, 906: 21.
 XII Suppl. 238: 20.
- IGBulg*:
 I² 51: 21.
 I² 111: 21.
 I² 131: 21.
 I² 167: 21.
 I² 186: 21.
 I² 204: 21.
 I² 254: 21.
 I² 324: 12.
 III 1, 1517, l. 30: 24.
 V 5103: 12.
- IGLS*:
 1, 220: 5-6.
 XIII 1, 908-909: 40.
- IGR* IV 1521: 29.
- ILS* 1260 = *CIL* VI 1780: 327.
IPark 17: 11.
IvO 54: 8.
LSAM:
 28, ll. 11-13: 30.
 34 = *IMagnesia* 99, ll. 28-31:
 22.
LSCG 181: 25.
- MAMA*:
 III 50: 27.
 VI 105: 18.
 VIII 413d: 21.
 VIII 448: 40.
 VIII 492b: 19.
- OGIS* 764: 29.
- OMS*:
 VII 571: 157.
 VII 572-573: 156-157.
- SEG*:
 IV 598: 16.
 XV 517, col. II.i ll. 23-27:
 35, 127-128.
 XVI 341: 158.
 XXIV 154, ll. 14-15: 12.
 XXVI 1306, ll. 19-20: 12.
 XXVII 933: 30.
 XXX 563: 166.
 XXX 1327: 27.
 XXXI 122: 16.
 XXXVII 487: 158.
 XXXVIII 1478: 13.
 XXXVIII 1838: 6.
 XXXIX 761: 29.
 XXXIX 1244: 20.
 XXXIX 1244, ll. 35-46: 20.
 XL 602: 21.
 XLI 76: 12.
 XLIII 68: 29.
 XLIX 444 = *I.Ephesos* 557:
 39, 67, 298.
- LIII* 550: 29.
LIV 559: 29.
LV 1448: 21.

- LVI 601: 131.
 LVI 1920: 15.
 LVII 820: 14.
 LVII 1364: 18.
 LVII 1482: 27.
 LVIII 894: 7.
 LIX 286: 31.
 LX 329: 25.
 LXII 978: 21.
 LXIII 1344, ll. 9-12: 18.
*Syll.*³:
 731 = *I. Tomis* 2, ll. 14-16: 12.
 771: 38.
TAM:
 III 1, 166: 29.
 IV 1, 16, l. 4: 22.
 IV 1, 16, ll. 7, 9: 22.
 IV 1, 16, l. 14: 22.
 IV 1, 17, ll. 4, 11, 15, 16, 21:
 22.
 IV 1, 17, ll. 5, 21: 22.
 IV 1, 17, ll. 6, 12: 22.
 IV 1, 20: 21.
 V 2, 1367: 53.
 V 2, 1400: 28.
- Papyrus:**
P.Halensis 1, ll. 193-195: 11.
P.Lond. VII 2193: 16.
P.Mich.:
 V 243: 16.
 V 244: 16.
P.Oxy.:
 1368, c. II: 258, 277, 287.
 3060: 300.
P.Würz. 8: 35.
SB:
 XIV 11, 371: 78.
 XLV 3250: 78.

C. NOMS DE LIEUX, DE PERSONNES ET DE DIVINITÉS

- A**chille: 143, 178, 181, 183, 186, 191-192, 212-214, 239, 245.
 Adonis: 103, 106.
 Adraste: 217-218, 220.
 Agamemnon: 145-146, 184, 227, 230-232, 245, 249, 270.
 Agylleus: 216, 218-226, 255.
 Ahura Mazda: 147.
 Ajax: 151, 181, 184, 186.
 Alexandre le Grand: 4, 15, 26, 35, 51-52.
 Alexandre Sévère: 73.
 Alexandrie: 12, 14, 51, 60, 66-67, 70-71, 78, 297, 302, 306, 316.
 Antioche: 39, 51, 66-72, 76, 293-295, 301-303, 309-311, 313, 355.
 Aphrodisias: 18, 21, 39-40, 71, 74, 328.
 Aphrodite: 30, 40, 69, 73, 76, 84, 103-104, 106, 110-111, 114, 116, 133, 140, 143-145, 150, 152-155, 159, 161-162, 177.
 Apollon: 39, 145, 148-149, 151, 154, 161, 184, 192, 221, 242.
 Apollon Clarios: 29.
 Appius Claudius, decemvir: 333-334.
 Arcadius: 298.
 Archimède: 61-62, 77.
 Artaxerxès: 263, 271-272, 282.
 Artémis: 22, 40, 132-133, 144, 154, 157-162, 166-168, 170, 176.
 Artémis Ilithyie: 132-133, 159, 167.
 Asclépios: 30, 52, 150, 153-155, 162.
 Asie Mineure: 12, 14-15, 18, 21-22, 26, 71, 325.
 Astyanax: 186-187, 195.

Athéna: 150-151, 159, 183-186, 188.
 Athènes: 14-15, 29, 31, 51, 60, 62,
 64, 177, 190, 206, 301, 311.
 Atlas: 181, 204.
 Auguste, empereur: 11-12, 352.

B

Bacchus Nyctelius: 336
 Bithynie: 21-22.
 Bona Dea: 334-336, 341.
 Bryaxis: 150, 152, 160.

C

Cannes, bataille: 290.
 Carthage: 303, 326, 348, 364.
 Cassandre: 184-187, 190-191, 195.
 Cerbère: 178-179, 201-202.
 Cérès: 333, 335-336.
 César: 78.
 Césarée: 70-71, 296.
 Chaos: 138, 162.
 Charites: 143, 161.
 Chryséis: 144.
 Cimon d'Athènes: 54.
 Claudia Telesphoriana: 131, 161.
 Clytemnestre: 184, 190.
 Commode, empereur: 22.
 Constance II: 351, 353, 355, 357.
 Constantin, empereur: 352, 354.
 Constantinople: 67, 70-71, 73, 78,
 84, 293, 295-296, 311, 314, 324,
 365.
 Cos: 15, 17, 21, 27, 54.
 Crète: 14, 20, 51.
 Cronos: 140, 170.
 Ctésibios: 38, 59-60.
 Cybèle: 327.
 Cypselos: 177.

D

Délos: 15, 27-28, 54, 89.
 Delphes: 28, 38, 147-148, 151, 184,
 192.
 Déméter: 32, 150-152, 156, 161.
 Démophon: 196.

Diomède: 182-183, 210-212, 216,
 218, 221, 224, 230-234, 238,
 240-241, 251-252, 254.

Dionysos: 16, 24-25, 30, 73, 150-
 151, 153-155, 162, 166, 286,
 336.

Dioscures: 188.

Dolon, Dolonie: 182-183, 195,
 203, 209, 211-213, 216, 218,
 223-235, 238-241, 245, 248,
 250, 256. V. aussi Index A s.v.
 Homerus, *Il.* 10.

Domitien: 343, 363-364.

Doura Europos: 1, 52.

Dulcitius, gouverneur: 74.

Egypte: 1, 3, 12, 15, 25, 60, 68, 78,
 82, 88.

Endymion: 26, 106, 115.

Eos: 95-96, 105-107, 125-126, 176-
 179, 181, 201-203.

Éphèse: 15, 20, 22, 39-40, 66-67,
 71-72, 83, 89, 293, 298, 326.

Épidaure: 29, 30.

Érinyes: 140.

Éris: 136, 141, 170, 193.

Éros: 138, 142-143, 146, 153, 160-
 161, 177.

Étolie: 131-132, 156-160.

Euphrénios: 182-183, 192.

Euryale: 209-256.

Gaïa, Gê: 138-140, 161, 288.

Gallienus, empereur: 293.

Gallus, empereur: 293, 295.

Géras: 193, 206.

Gérase: 297, 302.

Glycon Nouvel Asclépios: 26.

Gratien: 309.

Hadès: 152.

Hécate: 327.

Hector: 144-145, 178, 192.

- Hélène: 99-100, 106, 108.
 Hélios: 176, 178-179, 187, 189, 201-202.
 Héra, Junon: 13, 19, 133, 142-144, 159, 217.
 Héraclès, Hercule: 128, 178-181, 188, 193, 201-202, 204, 206, 220, 222-223.
 Hermès: 40, 144-145.
 Hermione: 99-100.
 Hespérides: 140, 204.
 Hespéros: 107-108, 125-126.
 Hygie: 150, 153, 155.
 Hypata: 12.
 Hypnos: 137, 139-140, 142-143, 146, 148, 154-155, 162, 171, 193.
- I**sis: 24, 28, 158, 277-279, 291-292.
 Itys: 190-191.
- J**ason: 189.
 Jésus: 346, 350.
 Justinien, empereur: 71, 83-84.
- K**allipolis: 131, 137, 159-161, 169.
 Karanis: 301-303.
- L**esbos: 93, 109.
 Lycaon: 210-215, 238-239.
- M**agnence: 353, 357.
 Magnésie du Sipyle: 53.
 Médée: 187-190.
 Mégare: 149-156, 160, 168.
 Mère des dieux: 28, 30.
 Mérion: 210, 214-215, 218, 219, 223-224, 226, 230.
 Milet: 31, 39, 269.
 Moires: 133, 140, 142, 170, 176, 193.
- N**émésis: 140, 157, 170, 193.
 Néptolème: 186-187.
 Néron: 66.
- Nerva: 343.
 Nestor: 145.
 Nikô: 131-171.
 Nil: 78, 260, 281.
 Nisus: 209-256.
 Nocturnus, dieu: 335.
 Nyx: 24-25, 131-171, 175-180, 288.
- O**lympe: 138, 143.
 Olympie: 136, 168, 177, 184.
 Oneiros: 145, 148, 154-155, 162.
 Onésime, peintre: 190.
 Osiris: 278-279.
 Ouranos: 139-140, 147, 152, 161, 170, 288.
- P**an: 154, 266.
 Pandore: 141, 155.
 Pasithéa: 143.
 Patrocle: 144-145, 183.
 Paul, apôtre: 346, 370.
 Peintre d'Ixion: 188.
 Peintre de Cléophradès: 185, 187, 195-196, 203, 207.
 Peintre de Sappho: 177, 201.
 Peintre de Marlay: 184.
 Peintre des Enfers: 188.
 Pélias: 193.
 Pénélope: 272.
 Pergame: 25, 29, 51, 156-161.
 Philotès: 140, 142-143, 152, 170, 288.
 Pierre, apôtre: 346.
 Platées: 50, 267-268.
 Pléïades: 40, 91, 96, 115.
 Prétextat (Vettius Agorius Praetextatus): 354-355.
 Priam: 145, 186-187, 192, 195, 212-213, 239.
 Procné: 187, 189-190.
- R**avenne: 303, 308, 326.
 Rhésos: 50, 182-183, 195, 203.
 Rhodes: 17, 29.

- Rome, ville: 63, 66, 73, 76, 78, 85, 303, 306-307, 309, 323, 326-327.
- S**amos: 13-14.
 Samothrace: 22, 24, 27, 39-40.
 Sardes: 15, 29.
 Séléné: 27, 95-96, 105-107, 115-116, 176, 181.
 Serabit el-Khadim: 82.
 Sévères, dynastie: 4, 50.
 Sicyone: 50, 151, 154-155.
 Sirius: 180, 202.
 Smyrne: 15, 88.
 Solon: 11, 87.
 Sparte: 20, 154, 159.
 Stimula, Semele: 338.
 Stratonikeia: 19-21.
 Syracuse: 51, 182-183.
 Syrie: 73, 294, 312-313, 325.
- T**acite, empereur: 73.
 Télamon: 151.
 Télétè: 156-157, 161.
 Termessos: 27, 31.
 Thanatos: 137, 139-140, 142, 154-155, 159, 170, 193.
 Thasos: 14.
 Thèbes: 218, 252.
 Théodose II: 296, 298, 356.
- Theos Hypsistos: 28-29.
 Thessalonique: 15, 25.
 Thrace: 20.
 Tibère, empereur: 352.
 Tiodamante: 215-221, 226, 250, 252, 254.
 Tisamène, gouverneur de Syrie: 69, 294.
 Titans: 138.
 Tithonos: 106.
 Tomis: 12, 54.
 Troie, guerre de Troie: 50, 182, 184, 191, 195.
 Troilos: 191-192.
 Tydée: 215-216, 218.
- U**lysse: 182-183, 210-212, 214-216, 218-226, 230-231, 233, 238-241, 243, 251, 254-255, 272, 280-281.
- V**alens: 354-355.
 Valentinien I^{er}: 354-355.
- Z**eugma: 89.
 Zeus: 19, 21, 31, 135-136, 139, 142-145, 147-150, 152, 161, 166, 171, 180, 184, 186, 193, 212, 232-233.
 Zeuxippe: 70, 73, 296.

D. INDEX THÉMATIQUE

- A**bstraction: 134-137.
 accouchement: 131-132, 157-160, 166-168.
 agriculture: 77, 86.
 amour, érotisme: 98-100, 106, 111-113, 116, 257, 259, 261-265, 268-269, 272-276, 282, 288, 292.
- arc: 210, 214, 218-226, 231-232, 239, 255.
 art: 173-207.
 association: 6, 10, 15-17, 21, 23-25, 36, 50-52.
 astrologie: 38, 331-370.
 atelier: 69, 73, 294, 296-297, 301-302, 311.

- B**ains: 9, 17, 19, 22, 39, 59, 68-74, 79, 86, 295-298, 302, 304, 306-311, 313, 315-317, 327, 329.
- banquet: 2, 4, 16-17, 20-22, 35-36, 38-39, 51, 56, 100, 107-108, 126, 307-308, 312, 342, 348, 368. V. aussi dîner.
- bataille: 265-268, 282, 290.
- bienfaiteur: 10, 17-22, 36, 51, 53. V. aussi évergétisme.
- brigandage: 260, 264-265, 312. V. aussi crime.
- C**élébration: 97-98, 100, 102-104, 106, 116, 128. V. aussi festival, fête.
- chant: 92-93, 98-100, 102, 107-108, 125.
- chœur: 93, 98, 102, 125.
- Chrétiens, christianisme: 2-3, 62, 66-67, 84, 300, 312, 316, 324, 327-330, 331-370.
- clepsydre: 59-61.
- conspiration: 332-333, 339-340, 343-345, 349-350, 353-356, 358.
- cosmogonie: 138, 147.
- course au flambeau: 28-29, 53.
- crainte: 7, 63, 174, 262, 331, 337-339, 344, 350, 352, 362.
- crime: 70, 174, 259, 287, 333, 343, 349, 351, 355, 361. V. aussi brigandage.
- culte: 131, 133, 135-137, 146-149, 152-155, 160, 286-287, 291-292, 334-335, 339, 341, 345, 348, 351, 365. V. aussi religion, rite, rituel.
- D**ésir érotique: 7, 9, 275, 277. V. aussi amour.
- dîner: 9, 19-20, 35, 295, 305-309, 311-313, 315, 317. V. aussi banquet.
- divination, v. mantique.
- dolus*: 217-218, 253.
- É**chope: 293-297, 302-306, 314.
- éclairage public: 1, 3, 39, 59, 66-73, 79, 85-86, 293-330.
- économie, v. agriculture, mine, travail de nuit.
- écriture de nuit: 75-76.
- embuscade: 209-256.
- émotions: 5, 7-8, 23-24, 34, 55, 261-262, 282, 288, 291. V. aussi amour, crainte, désir.
- étoile: 95-96, 104-105, 108-109, 115, 126, 347.
- évergétisme: 19, 54. V. aussi bienfaiteur.
- F**emme: 95, 99-106, 109, 111, 115-116, 125, 129, 131-132, 136, 141, 148, 151, 153, 156-158, 162, 166-168, 190-191, 193, 195-196, 207.
- festival: 14, 18-20, 23, 27-29, 34, 59, 68, 73-75, 364. V. aussi célébration.
- fête: 103-104, 124, 341, 347-349, 366. V. aussi célébration.
- G**uerre: 195, 203, 207, 219, 221, 226, 233, 246, 248, 253, 271.
- gymnase: 9, 17-19, 21, 29, 38, 52-53, 56.
- gynéconomie: 14.
- H**orloge: 61-62. V. aussi clepsydre.
- I**conographie: 176-177, 183, 185-186, 201-202, 204.
- incubation: 13, 23, 30, 34, 36.
- infanticide: 187-191.
- initiation: 6, 16, 24, 34, 57.

insomnie: 8, 37, 76, 83-84, 98, 109, 111, 113-114, 116, 213, 231, 243, 262-263, 268-271, 282.

Jeune fille: 93, 96, 98, 111, 125.
jour, lumière du jour: 2, 5, 11-12, 16-19, 36-37, 52-53, 56, 96, 102, 110, 127-128, 138-139, 142, 153, 258-260, 262-264, 266, 268, 271, 274-275, 279, 281, 289-291, 331-332, 336, 340, 345-346, 348, 363, 369.

Lampe: 59, 63-79, 82-88, 126-127, 293, 296-304, 307-315, 317-318, 326, 330, 347-349, 351, 362, 366, 368.

législation: 336, 344, 351-352.

loisir: 68, 76, 79, 86.

lucubratio: 75, 77, 86.

lumière artificielle: 6, 22, 24, 38-39, 63, 66, 84, 88-89, 126, 293-330.

V. aussi lampe.

lune: 1, 5-7, 23-24, 26-27, 91, 95-96, 104-105, 107, 109, 115-116, 124-125, 146, 161, 323, 325.

croissant de lune: 176, 181, 183, 204.

pleine lune: 104-105, 109, 115, 124-125.

Magie: 33, 38, 57, 259, 273-279, 283, 287, 291, 342-345, 350-355, 365, 368.

maiouma: 59, 73-74.

mantique: 146-149, 155, 343-344, 352, 355-356.

mariage: 93, 98-103, 106-108, 265, 274, 276, 278.

mine: 59, 65, 77, 82.

mort: 7, 11, 97, 140-141, 144-145, 155, 158-159, 170, 177, 182, 188, 193-194, 196, 243, 247,

251, 254, 273-274, 279, 333, 335, 348, 352, 363.

mystères: 10, 23-24, 26, 34, 36, 52, 57, 279, 286-287, 336-338, 354, 356, 365.

mythe: 106, 131-171.

Narration: 257-265, 268, 277-282, 286, 288, 290, 292.

natation: 72-74.

navigation: 59, 78, 87.

nuit: *passim*.

perception de la nuit: 4-7, 9, 56, 259-260.

Obscurité: 96, 115, 126, 139, 142, 152-153, 161, 175, 179, 182, 191, 194, 205, 220, 225, 243-244, 261, 267-268, 271, 276, 292.

Pannychis, *pannychizô*: 26, 29, 96-97, 99, 101-103, 109, 114-116, 126-127, 273, 293.

peinture sur céramique: 182, 184-186, 190-191, 207. V. aussi iconographie.

perception: 259-260, 266-268, 345-350, 362.

personnification: 134-137, 175-177, 181, 189, 193, 201, 204, 206.

peur, v. crainte.

poésie: 7, 35, 93-95, 97, 100, 105-108, 111, 113-114, 116, 122, 127, 273.

poésie épique: 135, 137-146, 158, 209-256.

prière: 2, 29, 34, 57, 346-347, 351, 354-356, 367, 369-370.

Religion: 2, 23, 135-136, 146-147, 152-153, 160, 331-370. V. aussi festival, mystères, prière, rite, rituel, sacrifice, sanctuaire.

- rêve: 2, 4, 6-7, 9, 23-24, 30-35, 38, 56-57, 95-96, 110, 112-114, 128, 145, 155-156, 158, 161, 170-171, 259, 269-270, 275, 282, 291-292.
 interprétation: 32.
- rite, rituel: 6, 23-34, 36, 54-55, 58, 277, 279, 287, 291, 335, 343, 347, 349-350, 352, 355, 364.
- roman (genre littéraire): 257-292.
- ruse, v. *dolus*.
- S**acrifice: 13, 21, 28, 57, 104, 124-126, 129, 178-180, 186, 189, 192, 259, 291, 333-335, 342-343, 352-357, 363.
- sanctuaire: 146, 148-151, 153-156, 162, 168.
- scène nocturne: 91, 94, 114-115, 117, 122, 258, 272, 280-281, 283, 292.
- secret: 332-333, 339, 341, 344, 349-350, 352, 362, 362, 366.
- sécurité: 6, 9-14, 36, 58, 89, 304-305, 311, 324.
- sexe: 6, 9, 35, 56, 273-279, 282-283, 287-289, 291.
- shopping: 307, 311, 314, 317.
- sommeil: 2, 4, 6-9, 38, 52, 75, 78, 91, 95-98, 101, 109-111, 113-116, 123, 140, 142-143, 145-146, 149, 154-155, 171, 177, 183, 187, 190-191, 195, 205, 217-218, 227-228, 231, 234-235, 240, 243-245, 247, 251-252, 260, 270-271, 274, 277, 280-281, 293-295, 308, 310, 315, 317, 325, 342, 346-347.
- stéréotype: 7-10, 55, 331, 348, 361-363, 367.
- symposion*, v. banquet.
- T**ablette d'exécration: 33-34.
- technologie: 2-3, 5-6, 10, 36, 38, 40-41, 59, 66, 68, 72, 79, 89.
- théogonie: 139, 142, 147, 157, 161.
- torche: 22, 24, 26-28, 30, 39-40, 341-342.
- travail de nuit: 60, 75-78, 83, 86.
- V**eilleur de nuit: 11-12, 337, 345-348, 351, 365, 367.
- vie nocturne: 1-58.
- violence: 9, 11, 173-207, 247, 251-252, 255, 259, 265, 282, 287, 338, 340.
- vol: 333.

« Chaque année, au siège de la Fondation à Vandœuvres, auront lieu des *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique*, au cours desquels des spécialistes, représentant plusieurs pays, feront des exposés sur un domaine choisi et, au cours des discussions qui suivront, procéderont à d'enrichissants échanges de vues. » C'est ainsi que le baron Kurd von Hardt, créateur de la Fondation qui porte son nom, introduisait le premier volume des *Entretiens*, paru en 1954 sous le titre : *La notion du divin depuis Homère jusqu'à Platon*.

De 1952 à nos jours, 64 *Entretiens* ont eu lieu sur autant de thèmes différents. Les 64 volumes contenant les communications et les discussions présentent une synthèse de la culture classique proposée par plus de 400 spécialistes.

Illustration de couverture: Luminaire à trois lampes de verre (*polycandelon*).

Provenance: Méditerranée orientale, 6^e siècle de notre ère. Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, NY, inv. 63.1.30.
Publié avec l'autorisation du Corning Museum.

La nuit. Imaginaire et réalités nocturnes dans le monde gréco-romain

Neuf exposés suivis de discussions

*Angelos Chaniotis, Andrew Wilson, Renate Schlesier,
Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Ioannis Mylonopoulos,
Sergio Casali, Koen De Temmerman, Leslie Dossey,
Filippo Carlà-Uhink.*

Préface de Pierre Ducrey.

Neuf chercheurs abordent le thème général « La nuit » sous l’angle de l’histoire, de l’histoire des religions, de la littérature, de l’histoire de l’art et de l’archéologie, du 7^e siècle av. J.-C. au 5^e siècle de notre ère.

Ils s’appuient sur une large gamme de sources : textes littéraires, inscriptions, papyrus, archéologie, iconographie pour dresser une image des principales activités, expériences et perceptions de la nuit dans l’Antiquité gréco-romaine.



9 782600 007641

ISSN 0071-0822

ISBN 978-2-600-00764-1

Prix: CHF 55.-