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ABSTRACTS

Guido Avezzù, *Mediazioni angeliche nella tragedia attica* (pp. 13-32)

This article explores the functions of the angheloi in some Attic tragedies, 5th century BCE, starting from the assumption that both the diversity of these functions and the way the anghelos is contrasted with the kerux may provide a deeper evaluation of each dramatic choice. The author analyses Sophocles, OT 924-64, 1110-81, 1223-1415, Trach. 180-99, 229-90, 335-496, Euripides, El. 487-502, 508-23, 531-32, where the angheloi differently contribute to the plot. As regards Sophocles' dramas, it may be speculated that both the Messenger from Korinthos in OT and the unidentified Messenger of Trach., albeit nameless, exceed the tragic conventions and play a more complex role, more akin to that of comic characters.

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Matteo Pellegrino, *La voce 'narrativa' sulla scena tragica greca del V sec. a.C.* (pp. 33-40)

Greek tragedy exploits a multitude of individual voices, but the tragic texts endow the messenger with a «narrative» voice that closely resembles that of epic: these practices distinguish the messenger from the others onstage, because the messenger offers a narrative that is disassociated from any particular point of view.

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Francesco De Martino, *L'ἄγγελος e i suoi media* (pp. 41-58)

Notes on the redundancy of the messenger and the coexistence-concurrency between oral and written *media*, and in particular: messenger's *rhabdos* and messenger's *scytale*; playwrights who write and read; writing, deleting, rewriting; postal security (saving the *deltos*); oral and written memory; faded letters and colored letters; praise and blame of writing.

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Rosa Maria Lucifora, *Medea smemorata e l'annuncio di Argo: ovvero delitto e castigo nel νοστος argonautico* (pp. 58-78)

In *Her.* 12,121-26 Medea deprecates that the ship Argo has not been shipwrecked at sea, punishing in this way the crew and herself, since she has committed fratricide; a parallel to this threnos can be found in *Met.* 7, 62-68, but as foresight. In *Orph. Arg.* 1159-1170 as Argo perceives that she has got lost, she announces it to the company spontaneously with words similar to those of Medea *herois* alleging the same cause for the anger of gods. She urges the Princes to expiate their very serious nefas by going to Circe, who will perform the necessary rites for their purification. This is found in *Apoll. Arg.* 4,580 ff., where the ship speaks through the keel, which was before a sacred oak in Dodona: this explains why she disposes of prophetic faculties that are not unusual in the mythologic tradition for Argo herself and for the «divine» Medea, who becomes an «angel» of Gods, bringing messages of material or spiritual type: the warning and the wholesome advice are the same: to look for Circe, «priestess» of Hekate in order to get purified. It is clear that the texts are similar and that the intertextual convergence between *Her.* 121 and *Orph. Arg.* 1159 is specific and can be attributed to the elements suitable to prove that in the small poem persists an extra-Apollonian myth known to Ovid, Seneca and other Latin authors, that could help to solve some exegetic questions in the 12th *Herois* and could also confirm the anthropologic and literary coherence to the Argonautic logos of Ovid, also thanks to its marked Orphic characters.

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Emanuele Coccia, *Massa e potere. Lo statuto delle divinità nell'angelo cristiano* (pp. 79–108)

The article focuses on the structural logic myths on angels of the christian tradition. The first part tries to present this vast field of the angelological narratives of christian theologies as a specific form of rational discourse which can be analysed with the same instruments used by anthropologists. The second part examines these narratives on angels as a reflexion on the statute of divinity in its most fundamental degree.

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Francesca Sivo, *Massa e potere. I colori degli angeli* (pp. 109–92)

This paper aims to analyze some literary evidences concerning mainly to the lower orders, to which belong the angelic spirits, usually sent on a mission; a limited sampling of the countless tracks available on this subject, having reference to the disparate literary forms (from theological and mystical texts to the biblical paraphrases and to the hagiographic writings in prose and in verses, from the stories of visions to the anthologies of miracles and to the sermons), which confirm the omnipresence of the celestial figures in civilization and in imaginary of the Christian era and the Middle Ages: the medieval man indeed, in the words of Philippe Faure, lives under the gaze and in the company of angels.

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Sandra Isetta, *La guerra in cielo: angeli alleati dei santi* (pp.193–210)

The struggle against the evil and the demon is the essential presupposition for the attainment and the exercise of the holiness. In the Acts of the martyrs and in the Lives of the saints, there are frequent appearances of angels sustaining the witness of Christ during the spiritual athletic struggle. The angelic element belongs to the thaumaturgic style typical of the hagiographic literature, however, its insertion comes from to the biblical tradition, with one of the principal archetypes in the apocalypse, the scriptural text with an amazing incidence of mentions and references to the angels. The author is a Christian anchored to the Judaism, that uses the apocryphal intertestamentary literature and the Prophets of the ancient Testament, and therefore the

Apocalypse is a fundamental text to understand the passage from the Jewish angelology to that Jewish-Christian and in turn to verify its transposition in the hagiographic literature. Following the path of the angelic image according to the Apocalypse, texts of the Acts of the martyrs and of the Lives of the Saints are examined.

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Maria Veronese, «*Quia et homines angeli*». *Uomini «angeli» nella riflessione dei Padri* (pp. 211-30)

The starting point of the paper is a passage in the *Liber Apologeticus*, attributed to the priscillianist sect, which designates the *auctoritas* of an *angelus* as a prerequisite for the definition of the divine inspiration of a text. The A. analyzes the texts of patristic literature where the title of *angelus* is applied to a human being; this label, according to the Fathers, is due to prophets, first of all to John the Baptist, but also to bishops, priests and preachers; only Augustine prefers to attribute it to the angelic condition of men in the eschatological reality. In light of this analysis the A. concludes that the title of *angelus* in the priscillianist apology refers to a man who, by virtue of his role, of his way of life and of his merit, has been deemed worthy to manifest the spirit of prophecy and achieved the title of *angelus*.

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Edoardo Ferrarini, *Gli angeli e gli eremiti* (pp. 231-48)

The theme of the «angelic life» (*angelikos bios*), is of crucial importance for monastic anthropology of the early centuries. The hagiographical sources, in particular, present it from different perspectives: (1) the hermits themselves look like angels, (2) between angels and hermits there is a relationship of communion and solidarity, (3) the angels visit the hermits and this their movement is like a seal, to attest the authenticity of spiritual experience and the degree of perfection attained by solitary monks.

This paper aims to explain the theological foundations of this monastic ideal, following the thought of John Chrysostom, Jerome and Eucherius of Lyon, and to review some episodes taken from the *Historia monachorum* of Rufinus, Martinian writings of Sulpicius Severus, the Life of the Jura Fathers and the hagiographical production of

Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus.

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Philippe Faure, *Le quatrième archange Uriel dans l'occident médiéval. Éléments pour l'histoire d'un insaisissable proscrit* (pp. 249-88)

The archangel Uriel (“fire of God” or “light of God” in Hebrew) has a unique history. It is not mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, unlike Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. However, Uriel is present in ancient Jewish literature and the Christian apocrypha, as a partner of the three other archangels, as belonging to a heavenly court of seven entities, or, alone, as guiding angel of the prophet Ezra (IV Ezra). He has also been worshiped with other angels, in a tradition that seems to be well established in the Eastern, Egyptian and Syrian churches, before extending to the Byzantine Empire and the western world. Mentioned by some prestigious authors such as St. Jerome, St. Ambrose of Milan, Isidore of Seville, and Bede, Uriel was early associated with the angels through liturgical practices and prayers by both the monastic culture and French royal ideology, during a period (VIIth-VIIIth centuries) where the religious authority had not yet established standards. To invoke names of angels was forbidden by a Lateran Council (745) and the devotion was restricted to the three archangels named in the Bible. But Uriel kept some visibility during the Middle Ages.

In fact, Uriel could not be easily removed: he was a direct emanation of divine light or fire, according to the etymology of its name (*Lux Dei* or *Ignis Dei* according to Jerome and Isidore); he was identified by the Hebrew tradition as the angel with flaming sword, guardian of Eden, and as the Lord's angel in the heart of burning bush; in several apocryphal he appears as a guide and commentator of the visions of heaven and hell. The survival of Uriel after the VIIIth century is mainly a consequence of his association with the cosmological and mystical theme of the four angels associated with the four cardinal points of the sky and the four powers that bear the divine throne of the *Shechinah* (divine Presence). From the Byzantine Empire, this iconographic pattern has been used in Rome, in Catalonia and in Palermo (Sicily), where Uriel's name clearly appeared twice with others archangels. The work of Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende in the late XIIIth century, following the isidoran tradition of Uriel, and a prayer at the beginning of the XVth century also reflects the longevity of the invocation to the four archangels in the western monastic culture. Uriel still occupies a significant place in the magical literature of Jewish and Byzantine inspiration.

A second theme has given to Uriel a new visibility at the end of the Middle Ages: connected with a Dominican's work, the release of an apocryphal tradition associating to Uriel St. John the Baptist and Christ himself, in the context of Jesus' childhood.

This tradition has led to a series of paintings in Italy in the XIVth century. Uriel is also associated with other archangels in the religious theater of the XVth century and with the prophet Esdras in a famous work, the *Speculum historiale* of the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais. Many members of very different academic communities have contributed to the survival of Uriel, despite of the carolingian sentence: The revival of a devotion to the seven spirits in early Italian XVIth century led to a new production of pictures including Uriel. The fourth archangel arrived in Latin America and his picture was painted in churches and monasteries in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia. Perhaps he is the only no-canonical archangel who travelled as far as the New World.

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Lucia M. M. Olivieri, *L'Angelus nelle Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (pp. 289-306)

The Irish interest in angelology, in combination with an intense and original interpretation of some biblical motifs, including the importance of water – a therapeutic element par excellence and, as such, of primary importance in the cult of St. Michael – gave place to the inclusion of angelic figures on several occasions in the *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (VII-XI centuries). In these works we perceive a constant link between the type of miracle wrought by individual saints and the presence of an angel that seals or sometimes promotes the miracle. The *angelus* works very often in the presence of water, along rivers, near a lake or near sources: the geography of the island pushed to the predilection of the theme of water in the literary production, which is laced with biblical references and constituted the ideal breeding ground for the arrival in Ireland of the cult of the Archangel Michael. The obvious similarities between the cult of St. Michael in its specific characteristics (water, rock, inaccessibility, height) and the Irish miracles mediated by angels, connected with the water and the cave, may constitute evidence of early spread of the cult of the Archangel in Ireland.

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Ada Campione, *Angeli nell'agiografia di area italo-meridionale* (pp. 307-32)

The cult of the Angels, which represent immaterial creatures without corporeity and

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space-time coordinates and preferred mediators with the divinity before the “competition“ of the cult of saints, is particularly felt and widespread since the Christian origins; this, in spite of the Apostle Paul’s distrust, of the specification of the author of Hebrews and Apocalypses and of the condemnation of the canon 35 of the Laodicea council (second half of the fourth century). However, the concept of Angel, as expression of God’s favor, halfway between heaven and earth, has indeed involved different fields, including theology, literature and patristic exegesis, iconography, and hagiography.

The texts considered, coming especially from Campania, show a significant presence of the Angel in the complicated plot of the stories: sometimes the references are generic and seem to keep in mind the figure of the guardian angel, who appears in a dream or intervenes to help the protagonists of the stories; sometimes the connection Angelus Domini/Michael is suggested by the narrative context and/or by reference to some specific attributes of Michael, which are consolidated in the religious tradition (e.g., the connection with natural phenomena) and/or by context; in other cases it is clear that the interventions of the angel and/or Michael will be much more frequent and incisive as from later *recensiones* attesting this.

The procedures of action of the angelic power seem to have a dual function: on one hand, they are configured as resolute of the extreme difficulties in which the protagonist has incurred; on the other hand, they are connected to sudden movements, difficult to justify even by the most imaginative hagiographers. In this way, the intervention of the Angel assures to the hagiographer the ability to assign a distant and foreign homeland to the saint/martyr, which is the protagonist of the story, and this is intended to ennoble the saint/martyr’s origins, linking him to famous people of the ancient Christianity.

Michael, Raphael and Gabriel are the archangels mentioned with their own names in the Holy Scripture; they assume different functions and tasks. Among them, Michael is the one with the greatest fortune and which combines a number of functions and attributes – God’s messenger, warrior and leader of the heavenly army, protector of Israel, of the Church, of nations and cities, healer, liturgist, psycopompo – which end up overshadowing the role of the other two archangels, attracting functions and tasks: Michael becomes the angel *par excellence*. In the Jewish and Christian traditions, Michael has been often identified in figures generically described or presented like Angels.

In this perspective, St. Michael’s hagiography plays a key role also in the foundation of the sanctuaries; this hagiography is strongly “characterized”. The “required” starting point is the *Liber de apparitione Sancti Michaelis in Monte Gargano* (eighth century), the hagiographic text, which allows to reconstruct the history of the cult of the Angel on the mountain of Puglia and the foundation of the sanctuary on Gargano mountain, the most important place of the cult of St. Michael in Western Europe between Late Antiquity and Middle Ages. This hagiographic text and the sanctuary of St. Michael drew up specific identifying characteristics to make a prototype for hagiography and type of sanctuary. Michael, the Angel who fights and wins, is the ideal Angel to sanc-

tify new areas, expressing dominant instances or voicing the dominant demands: indeed, Lombards, Byzantines and Normans understood the power of St. Michael in Southern Italy: in the name of Michael they worked out a hagiographic production “focused” to endorse their presence in the territory, also by “rewriting” some hagiographic texts. All of the above was often aimed at expressing specific underlying political-religious strategies.

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Francesco Santi, *Ildegard di Bingen e gli angeli* (pp. 333-50)

The article studies two visions of Hildegard in which it is documented a complex angelology: *Liber Scivias* I.6 (1151) and *Liber divinorum operum* III.1 (1173-74). Hildegard takes for reference Gregory the Great (*Moralia*) rather than ps. Dionysius (*De Coelesti hierarchia*) and its choice has no relationship with the contemporary debate on suspicion about the authorship of the works related to the name dell’Aeropagita. The concern of Hildegard is to recognize a role to angels (who communicate to man the order of creation, offer aid to respect and reflect the good works of men), but did not put them as ontological intermediation; for Hildegard it contradicts the core of the Christian theology (the nearness of God to man, in its specific nature). After the incarnation of the Son, men no longer have need of angelic mediation for their salvation; recognized the dignity of man through the incarnation is at the origin of the fall of Lucifer, but also of the marvel of the faithful angels (“de quo angeli mirabantur”), which also recognize the excellence of man, who joined God in his body. A decrease in importance of role of angels in the time of the New Testament with respect to time of the Old Testament, was recorded especially in the later *Liber divinorum operum*.

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Edoardo D’Angelo, *Angeli e Diavoli alle Crociate* (pp. 351-64)

This study does analyse all occurrences of the words *angelus*, *diabolus*, *daemon* (and derived adjectives) in ten historiographical texts about the Crusades. The presence in these texts of angels and devils is absolutely weak: they only very seldom attend the

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deeds of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, and so they do not influence the wars.

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Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, «*Papa maior est angelis*». *Intorno ad una dottrina culmine della plenitudo potestatis del papa* (pp. 365-408)

Moving from the reflection on the *persona papae* from the middle of the XI^e century on to Innocent III, the A. examines origins et evolution of a formula grounded on the idea that the pope is greater as the angels – as far as his *plenitudo potestatis* is concerned. Presented in a complete form at first by Hostiensis (if Antoninus of Florence is correct), this metaphor has been discussed in detail by the Augustinian friar Augustinus de Ancona (1243-1328) and then by the archbishop of Florence, Antonnus Pierozzi who could so extend the *plenitudo potestatis* «ad caelestia, terrestria et infernalialia». This important ecclesiological and institutional formula survived at least until the XVII^e century, remaining however controversial among medieval theologians and even more during the Reformation.

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Nicole Bériou, *La figure de l'ange dans l'imaginaire du XIII^e siècle, révélée à la lumière de la prédication* (pp. 409-26)

The angel is one of the motifs employed by preachers in the process of communicating their religious message, a process that had become an organised social practice, recognized officially by the Latin Church, from the thirteenth century on. The role and the missions of this spiritual being – a messenger bearing 'good news' – at decisive points in the history of salvation, and, as such, a prototype of the preacher himself, are represented with emphasis in the Bible, the supreme authority on which the preachers' teaching was based. At the interface of a learned culture which was at home with doctrinal abstractions and a popular culture full of visual images, the developing idea of the angel drew on both modes of thought. The hierarchical conception of the

orders of angels was above all presented in the context of teaching about the diversity of their missions. Most often, preachers made contact with their hearers' experience by treating angels as warriors (like the archangel St Michael) and protectors (the guardian angel), these being the images that the liturgy, devotion and iconography impressed on the imagination and memory of the faithful.

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Tiziana Suarez-Nani, *De la théologie à la physique: l'ange, le lieu et le mouvement* (pp. 427-44)
In the culture of the Latin Middle Ages, angels have been the subject of deep and extensive analyses. Specifically, the countless commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard witness across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries an evolution that gradually frees the discussions of angels from the theological context that gave rise to them to make them a breeding ground for issues pertaining to the philosophy of nature. This contribution illustrates the relevance of the question on the location and movement of angels, whose treatment, especially in Duns Scotus, calls into play not only Aristotelian physics, but also Euclidean geometry, giving rise to innovative hypothesis concerning the relationship to place, the spatial continuum and local motion.

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Barbara Faes, *Fondamenti teologici intorno agli angeli custodi. La riflessione di Bonaventura da Bagnoregio* (pp. 445-62)

In this paper, I investigate whether angels guard human beings, and, more importantly, why they do it. I also examine whether prelapsarian Adam and Christ have their own guardian angel. I focus on the Franciscan theologian Bonaventure of Bagnoregio: Bonaventure's importance lies in his having located the authoritative legitimacy of the devotion to guardian and non-guardian angels in S. Francis, the founder of his religious order. According to Bonaventure, the order of created universe (creation) requires an opposition between good and evil: therefore, a negative power – the Devil – must be contrasted with a positive power, namely the good guardian angel who protects the helpless human being. Such an order also demands that the office of guard-

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ing is exercised always and only by a superior over an inferior. The social figure who most aptly represents the guardian angel is the defending soldier: God, however, plays the role of the general who exercises command and confer to his subordinate, the guardian angel, the mandate to protect. The guardian angel is, for this reason, at the service of God, being His minister and the executor of His will. In guarding, he has a twofold function: vicarial with respect to God and auxiliary with respect to human being. In connection with the latter, the angel intervenes to help the human being and assist them in a variety of situations, but most notably to defend them against the Devil's snares: his task is to instruct and direct his dependants away from the deceit of reason, exhort and incite them to the good against the flatteries of the will; defend them against the violence that overwhelms and mortifies their virtues. Bonaventure's theological reflection is characterized by the tight connection he establishes between the guardian angel and the human being qua sinner, and even more by his finding in the angelic guardianship the expression of God's power, wisdom, and mercy – the three attributes of the Trinitarian persons. Bonaventure's doctrine about guardian angels is therefore informed by two main theological foundations: the sin that debilitates the human being, and the Trinitarian perspective.

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Raffaele Argenziano, *I compagni di viaggio Tobia e Raffaele. Alcune precisazioni sull'iconografia di Raffaele 'arcangelo' come protettore e taumaturgo* (pp. 463–86)

The story of Raphael is linked to that of Tobias and is taken from the deuterocanonical text of the Old Testament so that the iconography of the «healer» archangel, in this survey, is inextricably linked to that of the young Jew. The reason for the appeal to the intercession of Raphael is already in the meaning of his name that in Hebrew means «God heals» and the double role of divine guide and thaumaturge is recognized in the Judeo-Christian tradition, too. In popular piety he embodies the model of «guardian angel» and is invoked as a protector of travel too, of those on the land, as well as those by sea. Here we are interested in the theme of the patronage accorded to him toward the people sick in their soul, because he fights and wins against the devil and toward the people sick in their body due to its power of do miracles especially to heal eye diseases. Raphael is represented as a winged young haloed man without beard, wearing the dalmatic or old-fashioned clothes, mostly white colored. Sometimes in iconography, he is characterized by the attributes of the pilgrim, namely: the staff, the purse and the canteen. The attributes of the Tobias and Raphael's «group» are a little dog and a fish held in one hand by the young Jew. The emblem of Raphael's medical

skills and miraculous capabilities are summarized by the metal box that the archangel often holds in his hands, as the better known «anargiri» saints Cosmas and Damian do. And although Raphael is not himself a doctor since according to the holy texts, he transfers the matter medical occupation to the young Tobias, in the iconography he is characterized by the presence of the medical saints attributes.

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Livia Semerari, *I voli degli angeli nell'arte contemporanea* (pp. 487-504)

The depiction of the angel with its representations and its metamorphosis accompanied for centuries the art history of the West. If it is true that in the art of the Middle Ages and the modern age are found the most of iconographic evidences on the angelic figures, cannot be excluded that there are significant references belonging to the visual cultures of the '800 and '900. The European West offers a sacred and profane imaginary that is rich winged presences: from the painting of the visionaries Francisco Goya and William Blake in a particular climate, characterized by the sensitivity of Romanticism, to the reproduction through the new techniques of serial production (printing, photography and lithography, etc.) of angelic figures. In the twentieth century, the century of the artistic avant-garde, of the breakdown of traditional figurative languages, of the deformation of the human figure, the art history reveals extraordinary capacities in seeking new formulas of expression but, at the same time, suitable to a religious and mystical vision, as is claimed in all the work of the Russian painter Marc Chagall.

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